Editorial Cartoons and Propaganda Posters of the Union of South Africa's pro-war press during the First World War; 1914–1918

by

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SUMMARY

The thesis investigates how editorial cartoons and propaganda posters of the pro-war South African press were employed during the First World War to recruit soldiers from British colonies. A brief discussion that identifies various forgotten aspects of South African involvement in the First World War traces the history of this country's involvement in the 1914-1918 conflicts in Europe. This discussion outlines the socio-political background against which a selection of cartoons and posters were developed and published, while it also contextualises the study. Five examples of jingoist editorial cartoons and two propaganda posters are carefully analysed within a semiotic theoretical framework, ultimately to explain and inform on the illustrations, book art objects, installations, and various other art works constituting syntheses in an investigation that integrates theory and practice.

OPSOMMING

Die tesis ondersoek die maniere waarop koerantspotprente en propaganda plakkate deur die pro-oorlog Suid-Afrikaanse pers gebruik is om gedurende die Eerste Wêreldoorlog soldate vanuit die Britse kolonies te werf. 'n Kort bespreking wat verskeie vergete aspekte van Suid-Afrikaanse betrokkenheid in die Eerste Wêreldoorlog identifiseer volg ook die geskiedenis van hierdie land se betrokkenheid in die 1914 - 1918 konflikte in Europa. Hierdie bespreking teken die sosio-politieke agtergrond waarteen 'n seleksie van spotprente en plakkate ontwikkel en gepubliseer is, terwyl dit ook die studie kontekstualiseer. Vyf voorbeelde van jingoïstiese koerantspotprente en twee voorbeelde van propaganda plakkate word versigtig ontleed binne 'n semiotiese teoretiese raamwerk om uiteindelik lig te werp op die illustrasies, boekkuns objekte, installerings en verskeie ander kunswerke wat sintese in die ondersoek verteenwoordig in 'n studie wat teorie en praktyk integreer.

Contents

pro-war press during the First World War; 1914-1918	1
Overview of South African involvement in the First World War	1
(i) Background to the study	4
(ii) Focus	6
(iii) Problem statement and research question	7
(iv) Objectives of this thesis	8
(v) Theoretical framework	8
(vi) Definition and contextual explanation of key concepts	10
(vii) Research methodology	11
(viii) Salient literature	11
(ix) Chapter layout	12
Chapter 1: The Union of South Africa: Socio-political context	14
1.1. The Union's formative years; 1902-1910	14
1.2. The First World War; the 1914-1918 global conflict	16
1.3. South African entry into the First World War	19
1.3.1. Opposing politics during the First World War	20
1.3.2. The Afrikaner Rebellion	22
1.3.3. The home front	23
1.4. The Union Defence Force in the First World War	26
1.4.1. Formation of the UDF; 1912-1914	26
1.4.2. The SAOEF & the nature of recruitment during the First World War	28
1.4.3. The German South-West African Campaign	30
1.4.4. The German East-African Campaign	31

1.4.5. The Western Front	33
1.4.6. "Botha's Boys"; motivations for military service	35
1.4.7. Pro-war press reliance on editorial cartoons and propaganda posters	37
Chapter 2:	
South African pro-war Editorial Cartoons and Propaganda Posters of the First World War	38
2.1. Overview of pro-war South African Editorial Cartoons and Propaganda Posters during the First World War	38
2.2. The application of a Semiotic Analysis	41
2.2.1. Spineless Sam	43
2.2.2. Well Played!	47
2.2.3. Waiting For The Call	51
2.2.4. The New Springbok	55
2.2.5. Still Smouldering	59
2.2.6. Men Of South Africa - Avenge	62
2.2.7. Are You Helping Your Overseas Pals In The Final Knockout?	65
2.3. Preliminary Conclusions: South African propaganda during the First World War	68
Chapter 3: Practical Component	70
3.1. Shun! - a brooch-logo and identity manual	73
3.2. Visual diary	77
3.3. Over the top	80
3.4. Campaign medals	83
3.5. Remember Us South Africa (RUSA)	85
3.6. Per Adua Ad Astra: The story of Andrew 'Prockie' Beauchamp-Proctor VC, DSO, MC & bar, DFC	88

3.6.1. Illustrations in the novel	92
3.6.2 Three-dimensional scale models of aircraft	94
3.6.3. Prockie's military medals and battledress	95
3.7. Summary of practical work	97
Chapter 4: Conclusive Summary	99
4.1. Annals of history	99
4.2. Alternative annals of history	103
5. Sources cited	105
6. List of illustrations	110
7. Turnitin Report	112
8. Proof of planning	113

The Parable of the Old Man and the Young By Wilfred Owen

"So Abraham rose, and clave the wood, and went, And took the fire with him, and a knife. And as they sojourned both of them together, Isaac the first-born spake and said, My Father, Behold the preparations, fire and iron, But where the lamb, for this burnt-offering? Then Abraham bound the youth with belts and straps, And builded parapets and trenches there, And stretched forth the knife to slay his son. When lo! An Angel called him out of heaven, Saying, Lay not thy hand upon the lad, Neither do anything to him, thy son. Behold! Caught in a thicket by its horns, A Ram. Offer the Ram of Pride instead. But the old man would not so, but slew his son, And half the seed of Europe, one by one."

(Hussey 1967: 98)



Editorial Cartoons and Propaganda Posters of the Union of South Africa's pro-war press during the First World War; 1914-1918

A great deal has been written about the key cultural, social, political and military dynamics of South Africa's participation in the First World War, 1 but little research has been done on the manifestation of South African propaganda during the war. This thesis investigates pro-war South African propaganda materials as developed and distributed locally in the 1914-1918 period.

Overview of South African involvement in the First World War

On Sunday, 28 June 1914 (Barnett 1980: 9), Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne (Ferro 1973: 17) was assassinated in the Bosnian town of Sarajevo (Barnett 1980: 9). What subsequently started as a limited series of Eastern European hostilities (Keegan 2000: 67) quickly degenerated into a global conflict as various European nations, along with their colonies and dominions, honoured pre-war defence treaties and went to war with each other (Barnett 1980: 17). As a result, contemporary historians view Sunday, 28 June 1914 as the genesis of a conflict that would last four years and involve some 49 countries (Fay 1929: 11). At its conclusion on 11 November 1918, this war was to have taken the lives of an estimated nine million people (Hochschild 2011: 347). This conflict that produced such a death rate, the extent of which had never been known prior to that point in time, came to be called the First World War.³

The entry of Britain into this fray was met with widespread enthusiasm in its Empire (Hochschild 2011: 95) (notably Canada, Australia and New Zealand) (Nasson 2007: 5), but this was not the case in the Union of South Africa (Meiring 1975: 79).4 South Africa, as a newly-added Dominion of the British Empire, was unique in that prior to its forced inclusion into the British Empire, two previously independent Afrikaner-ruled Boer Republics had lost their independence after a devastating colonial war with Britain during the Anglo-Boer War (Nasson 2007: 5). Thus, in 1914, Afrikaner nationalists opposed South Africa's participation in the predominantly European conflict. In contrast to the nationalists, English-speaking South Africans, who had a socio-cultural attachment to Britain, fiercely advocated active military support for the crown (Stiff 2001: 274).

¹ These include accounts of South African military campaigns abroad, manpower shortages, unstable civilian support for the war effort and cultural-and linguistic differences that made the imposition of conscription in South Africa impossible in the 1914-1918 period (Stiff 2001: 273).

Although the immediate cause of the First World War was the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the conflict had its roots in a number of pre-1900 European tensions, which culminated in expanding international empires as well as the construction of ever-increasing military hardware and navies (Barnett 1980: 11). It can also be argued that paranoia and mistrust, between the competing European colonial powers, were the fundamental characteristics that led to the outbreak of war; especially where France, Germany and Britain was concerned (Hochschild 2011: 5).

³ Prior to the outbreak of the Second World War (1939), this conflict was known as the Great War or the World War. For the purpose of placing this conflict in a chronological order of world history, in this thesis the conflict is referred to as the First World War. ⁴ The official name of South Africa, as it existed between 1910 and 1961 (Stiff 2004: 19).

Notwithstanding this ambiguous state of political differences, Prime Minister Louis Botha⁵ and General Jan Smuts ⁶ succeeded in gaining a parliamentary majority vote for belligerence (Meiring 1975: 79). South Africa joined the war on 14 September 1914 (Nasson 2007: 13).⁷

Upon South Africa's entry into the war, the Union government mobilized its economic resources and manpower in support of the war effort. An estimated total⁸ of 232 000 white, black and coloured South Africans volunteered for service with South African military units between 1914 and 1918 (Baker s.a: Online). Individual South African volunteers, who were directly influenced by British propaganda, also travelled to Europe in order to serve in British Army units and Royal Flying Corps/Royal Air Force formations during the war (See Figure 1).



Figure 1: n.a. Join The Royal Air Force (1918). An RAF poster created in the last year of the war. (Slocomb & Steel 2014: 87)

Initially, the Union Defence Force (UDF)⁹ was entrusted with managing its own landward defence (Strachan 2001: 205).¹⁰ In time, and due largely to political reasons and strategic ambitions on the part of the Union government, contingents of South African soldiers

⁵ Botha was a Boer-war era Afrikaner General and eventually served as the first Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa (Trew 1999: 137).

⁶ Like Botha, Smuts was also a former Boer War Afrikaner General. During the First World War, he served as the Union's Minister of Defence (Van Der Waag 2015: 94). Following the Botha's death in 1919, Smuts replaced him as Prime Minister of South Africa (Meiring 1975: 91). He led the country from 1919 until 1924, and again from 1939 until 1948 (Trew 1999: 257).

⁷ The Union of South Africa, owing to its official status as a British Crown Dominion, was constitutionally compelled involve itself in the war at the behest of its colonial master (Nasson 2007: 5). Although the South African Parliament, by way of majority vote, ruled that the Union should assume an active role in the conflict, a formal declaration of war was never issued to the Central Powers. In effect, South Africa's invasion of German South-West Africa amounted to a declaration of war on Germany (A Grundlingh, personal correspondence, 22 September 2015).

An estimated 3 500 South Africans also volunteered, in individual capacities, for service in British Army and Empire units (Nasson 2007: 12).

Between 1912 and 1957 South Africa's defence establishment was known as the Union Defence Force (Stiff 2004: 19).

¹⁰ This ensured the availability of British garrison units based in South Africa for service in Europe (Crafford 1945: 106).

eventually served in infantry and artillery expeditionary units abroad (Williams 2012: 8).11 They achieved fame for fighting in five British-sponsored military campaigns, mainly in German South-West Africa¹² (in 1914) (Meiring 1975: 80), German East-Africa¹³ (in 1915) (Strachan 2001: 569), Egypt and the Middle East (1916) and in Europe (1916-1918) (See Figure 2, below) (The Centenary Of the First World War; South Africa's Contribution In The Great War 2014: Online).

At war's end, some 12 452 South Africans were listed as having been killed in action (Baker s.a: Online).14



Figure 2: Springbok soldiers in hastily prepared fighting positions on the Western Front. (Williams 2012: 9)

Despite the considerable repute the so-called Springboks¹⁵ gained whilst fighting abroad, South African participation in a foreign war did not, as mentioned, enjoy the support of Afrikaner nationalists. This segment of the society was at best ambivalent with regard to their soldiers' sacrifices in the war (Nasson 2014: 36), or at worst, downright opposed to it. 16 Nevertheless, thousands of pro-British Afrikaners served with great distinction alongside English-speaking South Africans during the First World War (Stiff 2001: 273). Apart from this, South Africa's racial issues also ciphered through into the armed forces. Non-white citizens (specifically blacks) were encouraged to volunteer for service, but were ironically not permitted to participate in fighting as combatants (Williams 2012: x).

¹¹ While little was done in the way of forming an effective South African navy during the war, the Union did succeed in tentatively establishing an air force in the form of the South African Air Corps (SAAC). The SAAC was eventually renamed the South African Air Force, which is the world's second oldest air force (McLean 2005: iii).

Present-day Namibia

¹³ Present-day Burundi, Rwanda and Tanzania (Williams 2012: 20).

¹⁴ Of this number, 3 901 were black volunteers (Gleeson 1994: 99).

¹⁵ During both world wars, South African military forces adopted the nation's sporting culture and referred to themselves as Springboks.

Instead, they were relegated to performing auxiliary duties and labour services (Gleeson 1994: ix).

The Afrikaners' hesitance to fight and the South African racial issues ensured that South Africa's participation in the war became a highly controversial domestic issue. Thus, maintaining a conscript army was a political impossibility in South Africa during the First World War (Stiff 2001: 273). As a consequence, the nation relied on volunteers to perform military service and war-related work on the home front (Cruise 2015: 4).

From the above it becomes clear that to promote support for the war effort and voluntary military enlistments, the pro-war South African press had to develop and distribute editorial cartoons and propaganda posters domestically on a regular basis. The subject of this thesis centres on those pro-war propaganda materials. The nature, appearance, and visual language of such propaganda materials play a pivotal role in my own art production and the work I deliver towards obtaining the MA Visual Arts degree. The relative obscurity of these cartoons and posters, their absence from academic literature dealing with the First World War and even on South Africa's role in the war, warrant a closer look at these materials. Critical reflection on the cartoons and posters provides not only contextual background to their evolution, but also insight into the evolvement of my art practices.

(i) Background to the study

Contemporary research on the use of pro-war propaganda in South Africa during the First World War is overshadowed by the work done in the field of visual representation by other nations, notably Great Britain (See Figure 3) (Peterson 1939: 12), the United States (Kingsbury 2010: 8) and Germany (Hardie & Sabin 1920: 2). Therefore, this thesis aims to conduct a Semiotic investigation of pro-war South African wartime propaganda materials and their effectiveness.



Figure 3: Arthur Wardle, The Empire Needs Men (1915). A recruitment poster produced in Britain during the First World War.

Curiously, no mention is made of South Africa in this design.

(The Empire Needs Men: Online)

Given contemporary South African society's obsession with taking pride in its heritage, it is intriguing that even a basic knowledge of active, South African involvement in the First World War seems largely lacking (Grundlingh, A. 1987: 5). Although the First World War achieved little for the virtues of humanity and democracy, especially in a domestic South African context, arguably little thought has been given to the fact that South Africans of all races fought, and died, in horrific conditions on overseas battlefields. The controversial nature of war and the dubious honour of having made enormous sacrifices in the First World War notwithstanding, it is my view that South Africans are morally compelled to honour the sacrifices of their soldiers, past and present.

In contrast to this view, South African sacrifices in the First World War remain largely forgotten in the nation's popular imagination (Nasson 2007: 247). In my opinion, the contemporary South African society clings to the prejudiced view that the 1914-1918 war was little more than both a 'white man's war' and an 'Englishman's war'.

In addition to this, and as mentioned, the First World War and South African participation in it did not achieve any noteworthy, final victory for posterity. It certainly did not achieve anything for democracy in South Africa. ¹⁷ Moreover, this specific era in our military history is largely overshadowed by the nation's more recent conflicts, and in

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¹⁷ In 1948 the National Party of South Africa, who steadily built up support for itself amongst Afrikaners by propagating anti-British, anti-war and proisolationist messages in the period covering the world wars (Stiff 2004: 21), won South Africa's general election. In an effort to address domestic cultural and racial issues, the NP implemented Apartheid, which would cause tremendous political, racial and social trouble in the decades to come.

particular its highly controversial military occupation of South-West Africa and subsequent Border War with Angola (Williams 2012: 67).¹⁸

Valuable conclusions can be drawn as to how our society, to this day characterised by racial inequality and contrasting racial and cultural outlooks, once sent its sons to die in a needless, devastating and distant war in Europe (See Figure 4, below). It is my fervent hope that the conclusions of this thesis may signify in future when it again becomes necessary to guard South Africa from embarking on a similarly ill-fated international adventure.



Figure 4: The battlefield, and mud, of the First World War in northern France and southern Belgium. (Digby 1993: 259)

(ii) Focus

In every nation involved in the First World War, propaganda was utilised by both pro-war and anti-war segments as a means of commenting on cultural, social and political issues (Lamb 2004: 35). Propaganda was also used to promote, or alternatively to dissuade, pro-war fervour. In South Africa, the pro-war press made use of propaganda in an attempt to maintain public support for the war effort and to motivate voluntary enlistment for military service (See Figure 1).

Although it would be naive to suggest that the propaganda influenced the progress of the war, it nevertheless helped to shape jingoistic public opinions of the First World War while it was in progress. Despite widespread local opposition to the conflict, these primitive

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¹⁸ Contemporary public interest in these periods of South African history comes at the cost of excluding a focus on South Africa's participation in earlier conflicts. From a political perspective, South Africa's use of a conscript Army to uphold Apartheid during the 1980s (Laurie 1989: 7), in conjunction with the Border War, also enjoys considerable literary attention in this country's contemporary, post-Apartheid, society.

forms of printed mass media succeeded in motivating a fiercely divided society into waving-off the flower of its youth to an unwinnable European war.

The primary focus of this thesis is aimed at researching the pro-war editorial cartoons and propaganda posters as developed in South Africa during the First World War. Propaganda posters, in some instances that I discuss in detail in a later chapter, reiterated broader, propagandist messages of the time, not the least of which was also seen in editorial cartoons (See Figures 3 and 5, below).



Figure 5: n.a. Rally Round The Flag (1915). A British Army recruitment poster created in the First World War. (Rally Round The Flag: Online)

(iii) Problem statement and research question

The wartime domestic situation in South Africa during the 1914-1918 period was profoundly polarized. On the one hand, anti-British political views, specifically amongst the Afrikaner nationalists, led this segment of the South African society to oppose the war. Pro-British South Africans, on the other hand, supported belligerence in the conflict. Amid these contrasting views, the racial tensions prevalent in the Union further exacerbated what would ultimately lead to a controversial South African involvement in a stalemated and predominantly European war. As a means of downplaying these sentiments, the prowar South African press, by their use of editorial cartoons and propaganda posters, attempted to portray South African involvement in the First World War as essential for maintaining long-term stability within the Union. The success of this attempt is yet to be judged.

The overarching question that this thesis attempts to answer is:

To what extent did pro-war propaganda succeed in unifying a society characterised by immensely intricate racial, cultural, social, and political issues, in support of an unwinnable European war?

(iv) Objectives of this thesis:

- 1. To investigate South Africa's use of pro-war editorial cartoons and propaganda posters during the First World War.
- 2. To formulate conclusions as to how and why the pro-war South African press, by their use of printed propaganda materials, motivated active support for the Union's participation in the First World War.

(v) Theoretical framework

This thesis examines South African editorial cartoons of the First World War by way of the implementation of a Semiotic Analysis, requiring as theoretical framework for generating discussion that is also based in Semiotics. I provide here a brief overview of salient theories central to and definitive of Semiotics.

Semiotics, in its barest essence, entails the study of signs. Signs are linguistic and/or visual in composition and are used to convey meaning as it represents, or make reference to, physical objects or figurative conventions (Tomaselli & McClennan-Dodd 2005: 225). A Semiotic Analysis, therefore, entails the systematic unpacking of signs and signification, inclusive of their connotative, mnemonic, and referential value and content, generate observable and interpretative meaning when in complex configurations within linguistic paradigms or visual schemata (Crow 2003: 16). Citing the authors Sturken and Cartwright in their article, *An Intended-Perceived Study Using Visual Semiotic*, Sandra Moriarty and Shay Sayre explains a Semiotic Analysis as the following:

"We decode images by interpreting clues to intended, unintended, and even suggested meanings" (Moriarty & Sayre 2005: 244).

The two most influential theorists of Semiotics were Ferdinand de Saussure¹⁹ and Charles Sanders Peirce. This thesis employs some of their theories to frame its discourse.²⁰

Saussure believed that linguistics, being organized into a system of signs, are constructed and used for conveying meaning (Crow 2003: 18). This system facilitates interplay between what is known as the *signifier* (the word or image used when referring to a physical object or a convention) and the *signified* (the physical object or the convention itself) (Saussure

²⁰ Peirce was an American philosopher who lived in America between 1839 and 1914 (Peirce 1998: xi).

¹⁹ Ferdinand de Saussure was a Swiss expert on linguistics who lived between 1857 and 1913 (Crow 2003: 15).

1983: 67). A sign is therefore established when the signifier and the signified are combined (Crow 2003: 18). Members of a society learn this interplay, subliminally agreeing on a signifier-signified relationship that manifests as their shared language and effective form of communication (Saussure 1983: 68).

In analysing editorial cartoons and posters, Peirce's theories of Semiotics are directly applicable in this thesis. Peirce held the view that a sign is created by interplay between three elements, namely the sign itself (Crow 2003: 24), the interpretant of the sign and the object referred to by the sign (Moriarty & Sayre 2005: 244). In this triangular context, the sign itself is a representation of what is referred to. The interpretant entails a variable and subjective understanding of the sign, while the object can, as mentioned, be physical or manifested by way of a figurative convention (Crow 2003: 25). In addition, Peirce categorized all signs as belonging to one (or more) of three categories, these being Iconic Signs, Indexical Signs and Symbolic Signs (Peirce 1998: 5). An Iconic Sign refers to a specific entity by way of resembling that entity (Tomaselli & McClennan-Dodd 2005: 226); an Indexical Sign refers to a direct relationship between the two entities (Crow 2003: 33); and a Symbolic Sign relies on the learnt understanding of a sign and the entity to which it refers (Tomaselli & McClennan-Dodd 2005: 227).

Although the examples of editorial cartoons and propaganda posters that I investigate in this thesis belong to all three of these categories, they are predominantly representative of the Symbolic Sign. This is so because they make use of historical South African personalities that are depicted by way of a culture-specific system of signs (Crow 2003: 36) to convey pro-war messages to the South African public of the 1914-1918 period. The Semiotical aspects that the relevant propaganda material employs constitute the Semiotic notions of Denotation and Connotation. Denotation manifests when a sign represents, or mirrors, an entity in objective form. In contrast to Denotation, a Connotation relies on the subjective experiencing of a viewer as informed by personal history, memory, heritage, psyche, and so forth. (Crow 2003: 57).

In line with these understandings, I investigate the examples of pro-war propaganda by applying a number of Semiotic Analytical tools,²¹ such as *Syntax-Lexicon Relationships*, *Totems* and *Repetition* as connotative culture-specific signs.

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²¹ See Chapter 3, Page 41 [2.2. The application of a Semiotic Analysis].

(vi) Definition and contextual explanation of key concepts

Certain key concepts that relate in the thesis require definition and contextual explanation.

Propaganda entails communication to the masses, intentionally commanding people to adopt and support a certain ideology or course of action. Propaganda is frequently biased because it adopts either a pro-stance or an anti-stance and it influences its target audience subconsciously. It motivates direct and immediate action and, if effective, it is very persuasive. Propaganda makes its greatest impact when it is embodied visually or vocally for the purpose of public display (Richards 1971: 6). Therefore, it takes many different forms, including general notifications, warnings, and informative designs.

Terence Qualter defines propaganda as follows:

"Propaganda is defined as the deliberate attempt by some individual or group to form, control, or alter the attitudes of other groups by the use of the instruments of communication, with the intention that in any given situation the reaction of those so influenced will be that desired by the propagandist" (Qualter 1965: 27).

During the First World War, the nations involved in the conflict used propaganda to nurture patriotism and to glorify battle. In the British Empire, propaganda bred notions of Victorian Era honour (Crossley 2014: Online) and the selfless sacrifice of life and limb for the Empire's defence. In practical terms, propaganda requested voluntary enlistments for military service, private monetary donations, tolerance for austerity measures (Binns 2010: 106) and civilian support for the production of war-related commodities (Nasson 2007: 178).

Propaganda manifested in a wide-range of printed, motion picture-based, lyrical and illustrated mediums specifically for digestion by the masses.²²

Editorial cartoons, specifically those that mirror common propaganda themes and are used for the purpose of commenting on political issues, are frequently satirical in nature. Satire entails the degrading and symbolic attack on personal, often humiliating, grounds of a person or social entity (Lamb 2004: 39). In the case of pro-war editorial cartoons, satire is used in conjunction with propaganda to ensure support for a national identity by visually attacking, criticizing and marginalising a defined enemy. As a result, editorial cartoonists choose a specific side or moral standpoint, and, through their subsequent work, they motivate a specific target audience into choosing, adopting and/or supporting the same

²² During both the First and Second World Wars, propaganda was even developed in the form of leaflets dropped by aircraft (Field 1954: 22).

side or moral standpoint as themselves. In wartime, editorial cartoonists use satire as the fundamental weapon to defend their chosen side's socio-political identity simply by criticizing the opposing side's socio-political identity through humour.

(vii) Research methodology

In this thesis, the theories of Semiotic Analysis will be used to deconstruct five pro-war editorial cartoons and two propaganda posters, as developed in the Union of South Africa during the First World War. For this purpose, a Qualitative Research Methodology relates.

Firstly, and in order to establish why and how the Union government relied on propaganda materials, I investigate available historical accounts pertaining to South African involvement in the First World War. This provides an overview of the intricate sociocultural and political dynamics in the Union's domestic setting, which affected both civilian support for the war effort, the nature of recruitment, and the subsequent political and cultural circumstances that prevented conscription.

Secondly, as a means of forming theoretical conclusions as to the nature, scope and influence of South African editorial cartoons created in the First World War, I also analyse archival sources of the relevant visual material. The archives of the Castle of Good Hope and the National Library of South Africa in Cape Town provided adequate visual and literary sources for analysis.²³

(viii) Salient literature

I employ in this thesis Bill Nasson's *Springboks On The Somme* and *WW1 And The People of South Africa* to gain insight in the 1914-1918 era of South African history, with a specific focus on the First World War period. These texts provide detailed historical accounts of South Africa's domestic circumstances as well as the nation's involvement in overseas military campaigns during the First World. Additionally, Peter Digby's *Pyramids & Poppies: The 1st SA Infantry Brigade in Libya, France And Flanders* provide a historical perspective regarding the composition, culture and capabilities of the South African military during the war. Another important source is Adam Hochschild's *To End All Wars*. I consult this source for the purpose of analysing the First World in terms of how it was experienced and perceived by various famous personalities of the time.

²³ In addition to published literary sources and archival sources, it should be mentioned that the World Wide Web was consulted on a secondary basis. This source served as an invaluable aid where my searches required fielding and background information regarding the First World War, and propaganda used in that war in its broadest sense.

(ix) Chapter layout

1. Chapter 1: The Union of South Africa; Socio-political context

The first chapter provides a historical overview of South African involvement in the First World War. It highlights the wide-ranging cultural, social, and political issues in South Africa that both hindered the country's involvement in the war and ultimately rendered this involvement controversial. Chapter 1 deals with such issues, because they shaped the 1914-1918 historical context that necessitated the development of jingoistic propaganda in South Africa. This chapter provides context for the Semiotic deconstructions of editorial cartoons and propaganda posters in Chapter 2.

2. Chapter 2: South African pro-war Editorial Cartoons and Propaganda Posters of the First World War: Signification and significance

Chapter 2 starts with an overview of a Semiotic Analysis and explains how I apply it as methodology for generating discussion beyond analysis. Eventually, the analysis reveals a major paradox that is also central to my art production. I outline the deconstruction of five examples of editorial cartoons and two examples of propaganda posters from the 1914-1918 period as follows:

- (i) I provide the heading of the editorial cartoon or the name of the poster.
- (ii) I deconstruct the material by applying Semiotic Analysis as method.
- (iii) I discuss and provide conclusions.

The purpose of this chapter is to find and articulate preliminary conclusions towards discovering how the pro-war South African press promoted active support for the war effort.

3. Chapter 3: Practical production; Illustration

Chapter 3 contains a detailed discussion of my art practical work, which constitutes illustration, both in two- and three-dimensional forms. I draw in this chapter from those conclusions that Chapter 2 reveals to support and construct insight in the devices that I employ in my practice.

4. Chapter 4: Conclusive Summary

I divide Chapter 4 into two subchapters, the first of which is titled *Annals of history* and provides conclusions on the historical section of the thesis as basis for reflection

on my art practice. I discuss the effects of the war and the international arena of its politics in relation to South African circumstances of the time.

Subchapter two, titled *Alternative annals of history*, draws some conclusions on my art practices as an alternative telling of the events that led to South Africans joining the war.

Chapter 1: The Union of South Africa: Socio-political context

For the purpose of contextualising the study and understanding the circumstances from which the editorial cartoons and propaganda posters that I subject to Semiotic Analysis emerged, it is necessary to provide an overview of South African history in the 1902-1918 timeframe. This period formed the socio-cultural and political context that led to an active South African participation in the First World War.

1.1. The Union's formative years; 1902-1910

South Africa, as a geographical entity, can trace its origins to the conclusion of the Boer War, which ended on 31 May 1902 (Reitz 1933: 13). The ensuing peace treaty stipulated that the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic submit to British colonial rule.²⁴ As a means of conducting post-war reconstruction, the British policy in South Africa was based on reconciling the fiercely independent Afrikaner-burghers with the imperial interests of the British Empire (Trew 1999: 168).²⁵

This objective partially materialised in the 1905-1907 period with the formation and election of Louis Botha's *Het Volk* political party as the rulers of the Transvaal and Orange River areas. Despite a substantial measure of Afrikaner hostility to British rule, Botha assumed responsibility for continuing the cultural reconciliation between Afrikaner nationalism, as seen during the Boer War, and British-interests (Cruise 2015: 2). Furthermore, the British authorities granted the areas mentioned above with a local "Responsible Government" (Reitz 1933: 58); in effect, a limited right to self-determination in local affairs (Clothier 1987: 3). ²⁶ Progressing congruently with these political developments, the two former Boer Republics (Trew 1999: 168) underwent a long-term period of British-supervised economic development (Nasson 2007: i).

Ultimately, in June 1910, the Transvaal, Orange River, Natal and Cape territories²⁷ were merged (Grundlingh 1987: 5) to form the Union of South Africa (Trew 1999: 169). Louis Botha, as the head of the emergent South African Party (SAP) (See Figure 6, below) (Van Der Waag 2015: 71), became the nation's first Prime Minister, with Jan Smuts serving both as his deputy and as the head of various government portfolios (See Figure 7, below) (Crafford 1945: 76). Furthermore, Britain granted South Africa permission to establish a

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²⁴ In a regional sense, South Africa and its neighbouring British Dominions in Africa, served as the manifestation of a nearly completed *Cape to Cairo*²⁴ colonial vision. This was developed by Cecil John Rhodes; a British industrialist and businessman who was at the forefront of the British Empire's colonial endeavours in Africa during the late 1800's and early the 1900's (Paice 2008: 1). Specifically, Rhodes laboured to expand the British Empire from Cape Town to Cairo (Hensman 1974: 283).

²⁵ The Cape Sea Route, which straddles South Africa's coast, along with the nation's economically fertile Witwatersrand goldmines, was now firmly under British control. This strengthened Britain's international prestige and it guaranteed, to a large extent, the Empire's strategic dominance of the Southern Hemisphere (Paice 2008: 1).

²⁶ Naturally, this was allowed only to the extent that it reflected the British Empire's regional interests in Southern Africa.

parliament that could settle domestic issues at its own discretion. Legislative provision was also made for the possible inclusion of neighbouring British-ruled dominions, under the Union's governance, at a later stage (Van Der Waag 2015: 73).



Figure 6: General Louis Botha, the Prime Minister of South Africa during the First World War. (Cruise 2015: 77)



Figure 7: General, later Field Marshal, Jan Smuts. (Cross 1946: 3)

The fledgling Union was, to a certain extent, characterized by racial discrimination and a general lack of political franchise where the majority of its inhabitants were concerned. Blacks, in particular, were denied parliamentary influence (Grundlingh 2014: 4). ²⁸ Moreover, in spite of the determined attempts at reconciliation, undercurrents of Afrikaner nationalism were never entirely appeased by the Botha-government (Nasson 2014: 19).

Nevertheless, these two domestic political issues were ignored for the time being (Nasson 2007: i) as the Union's Anglo-Afrikaner leadership ²⁹ focussed on consolidating South Africa's stature within the British Empire (Paice 2008: 125). On an international level, the Union's fate was inexorably linked to British leadership and, therefore, linked to a wider European political context. Events in this context were destined to take a turn for the worse in 1914.

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²⁸ The denial of the black political freedom was legalised in the form of the 1913 Natives Land Act. This act led to the forced removal of black South African inhabitants from so-called 'white' geographic living areas within the Union (Cruise 2015: 3). Ultimately, this denial of black political influence led to the creation of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), the forerunner of the contemporary African National Congress, in 1912 (Grundlingh 2014: 4). ²⁹ Botha and Smuts presided over a predominantly Afrikaner parliament; this can be viewed as ironic, as it came about only eight years after the end of the Boer War (Paice 2008: 12).

1.2. The First World War; the 1914-1918 global conflict

As mentioned, the assassination of Franz Ferdinand was the immediate cause that led to the outbreak of the First World War, but this conflict had its roots in multiple pre-1914 global tensions.

Foremost amongst such early tensions were colonialism, ³⁰ sporadic nationalism, economic disparities³¹ and varying levels of domestic unrest in Europe (Barnett 1980: 11). ³² As a result, these facets of an unstable continental powerhouse ultimately manifested as ever-expanding armies and naval forces. ³³ This led to the emergence of two treaty-bound European alliances, which directly opposed each other for defensive purposes in the event of war (Van der Merwe 2012: 2). The British Empire, ³⁴ along with France and Tsarist Russia (Mandelsohn & Shain 2008: 84) formed the basis of the so-called *Triple Entente Powers* (also known as the Allies) (Nasson 2014: 41). Opposing them were the forces of the *Central Powers*. The Central Powers eventually consisted of an alliance between Germany, the Ottoman Empire³⁵ and the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Ferro 1973: 24).

This volatile state of European tensions reached an unstoppable climax, and erupted into open hostilities, in the immediate wake of Franz Ferdinand's assassination in July 1914. Seeking to punish Serbia³⁶ for their alleged involvement in the assassination (Barnett 1980: 12), Austro-Hungary launched a military mobilisation against Serbia on 28 July 1914 (Esposito 1964: 33). Following this, and in quick succession, Russia (Barnett 1980: 2), Germany, France (Hochschild 2011: 89), Belgium (Barnett 1980: 4) and Britain (with the active support of its constitutionally-bound Empire) (Grundlingh 2007: 7) mobilised and

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³⁰ Colonialism in Africa took place between 1881 and 1914 (Chamberlain 2010: 53) and it entailed various Western European countries annexing large tracts of African and Far-Eastern geographical areas for economic exploitation. The Boer War, and the eventual formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, can historically be viewed as the conclusion of this period of direct European colonialism. Nevertheless, the international tensions that were created by the Boer War manifested itself in European politics. This was caused by the fact that Germany, as a socio-economic rival of Britain, provided clandestine financial and military aid to the Boer Republics.

³¹ Germany belatedly entered the *Scramble For Africa*. As a result, the economic fruits of this endeavour, which had financially aided Germany's prospering European neighbours (notably Britain), eluded the German economy to a large extent (Chamberlain 2010: 56). Despite this, prior to 1914, the Germans succeeded in establishing Europe's strongest continental economy (Hochschild 2011: 43).

³² In this time, the British society experienced the emergence of the Suffragette movement (Rover 1967: 4) as well as mounting domestic trouble caused by

³² In this time, the British society experienced the emergence of the Suffragette movement (Rover 1967: 4) as well as mounting domestic trouble caused by socio-political and religious issues in Ireland (Barnett 1980: 12). However, by far the most volatile area in Europe, and one that ultimately led to the outbreak of the First World War, was the Balkans (Hastings 2013: 19).

the First World War, was the Balkans (Hastings 2013: 19).

33 Owing to the need of effectively policing a vast international empire, Britain had the most powerful navy in the world for much of the 19th and the 20th Centuries. This status quo was eventually challenged by Germany, in the form of a naval arms race with the Britain, in the years leading up to the First World War (Die Burger. 2014. 05 August: 4).

³⁴ Although Britain never signed a specific defence treaty with France or Russia, its entry into the European conflict was inevitable if Germany posed an immediate threat to the sea-lanes between the British Islands and mainland Europe (Hochschild 2011: 93).

³⁵ Present-day Turkey.

³⁶ Serbia was Austria's Eastern-European neighbour.

went to war.³⁷ Britain's entry into the war during the first week of August 1914 signalled the beginning of a four-year period of total war in Europe.³⁸



Figure 8: Daily life in the trenches. (Holborn & Roberts 2014: 275)

Following the outbreak of hostilities in August, Anglo-French forces (Barnett 1980: 39) halted a series of initial German short-term victories in northern France and southern Belgium in October 1914 (Hochschild 2011: 123). From that point onwards, despite numerous offensives³⁹ by both military alliances in operational theatres as far-afield as eastern Africa, the Middle-East (Gilbert 1994: 241) and the Pacific (Hastings 2013: 414), the war in Europe settled into stalemate. More ominously, the various frontlines moved little in the subsequent four years. It became a war of attrition that was characterized by an ever-increasing defensive system of opposing trenches (See Figure 8). Given this universal strategic reality for both alliances, the First World War heralded the first widespread use of mass-killing technology as a means of ending the deadlock. This manifested itself in the form of machine guns, poison gas (See Figure 9, below) (Die Burger. 2014. 05 August: 4) and aerial bombardment (Holborn& Roberts 2013: 237). 40 These technological innovations led to industrialised slaughter on a horrific scale and wreaked havoc in Victorian-Era military cultures (Hochschild 2011: 136). In conjunction

³⁷These nations became involved in the war following Germany's decision to support Austro-Hungary in its military mobilization against Serbia following the assassination. Specifically, in an attempt to safeguard its borders against dual French and Russian hostile intentions (these two nations maintained mutual defence agreements), Germany launched a daring military attack against France by rushing its forces through Belgium (Barnett 1980: 11). This action broke a pre-war European pledge to respect Belgian neutrality (Strachan 2001: 205) and thus guaranteed Britain's entry into the war. On 4 August 1914, after repeated British demands for Germany to withdraw its forces from Belgium, Britain declared war on Germany (Fay 1929: 8). Dominions of the British Empire made similar declarations in the weeks that followed.

³⁸ With notable exceptions: Italy (Barnett 1980: 5), the Netherlands (Hastings 2013: 160), Switzerland (Hochschild 2011: 161) and Norway (Hastings 2013: 416) secured initial neutrality at outbreak of hostilities.

³⁹ By far the costliest offensive of the war, from a British point of view, took place near the Somme River in northern France between July and November 1916.

By far the costliest offensive of the war, from a British point of view, took place near the Somme River in northern France between July and November 1916. On 1 July, the first day of the Anglo-French offensive, the British Army suffered some 57 470 casualties (Travers 2003: 223). Of this number, 19 000 were killed in the first hour of battle (Hochschild 2011: 206).

⁴⁰ Other aspects of what are contemporarily viewed as essential equipment of modern warfare, such as tanks, tactical-level artillery and air support and immediate long-distance communication was also developed or improved in this time. Also, the more traditional military tactics and customs utilised in pre-1914 conflicts (especially those employed by European powers in their colonial wars) proved to be ineffectual in this new war and, as a result, became obsolete. This included cavalry-charges (Travers 2003: 212) and the high-emphasize placed on imperial notions of peacetime soldierly practices (Hochschild 2011: 137).

with the new mass killing technologies, inept political and military leadership severely undermined morale, unnecessarily increased casualties and decreased the fighting efficiency of European armies as the war prolonged.



Figure 9: Canadian soldiers awaiting medical treatment after being burnt by a German flamethrower.
(Holborn & Roberts 2014: 368)

In order to break this deadlock, and for drawing on additional reserves of manpower and economic resources, Britain and France relied on the tactical and strategic support of its colonies (Strachan 2001: 495).⁴¹ This meant that the Allied powers were sure to prevail in the long run, as they had access to a large pool of subjugated persons to draw reinforcements from. Gradually, reinforcements from Canada, Australia and New Zealand proved decisive in wearing down German forces, specifically on the Western Front.

In spite of this, the Russian Revolution, which took place in March 1917 (Douglas 1995: 79), led to a regional Russian and German truce, which resulted in Russia's withdrawal from the war in the same month (Moorhead 1958: 297). In turn, this allowed Germany to claim a stunning strategic victory on the Eastern Front. More importantly, it enabled the German Army to redeploy a substantial portion of its forces to the Western Front for renewed attacks on Allied armies in France (Hochschild 2011: 310). With the entry into the conflict of the United States on the Allied side in April 1917,⁴² an end to the war came within sight.

⁴¹ On the British side, this included contingents from Canada, Jamaica, Rhodesia, South Africa, India, Australia and New Zealand (Hochschild 2011: 309).

⁴² The US managed to remain neutral for the majority of the war, despite repeated overt and covert British attempts at obtaining American belligerence. Unrestricted German submarine warfare in the North Atlantic, which led to the sinking of the passenger ship Lusitania off the Irish coast in May 1915, made America's entry into the war inevitable (Die Burger. 2014. 05 August: 4). It was a German-Mexican attempt to consolidate an alliance against the United States that led an American declaration of war on Germany on 6 April 1917 (Douglas 1995: 85).

Massive additional American manpower, coupled with food shortages, revolutionary strife within Germany (Hochschild 2011: 338), and a naval blockade of its ports (Hastings 2013: 547) ensured large-scale German defeats in France and Belgium (Hochschild 2011: 333). On 11 November 1918, following a German acceptance of humiliating peace terms, a peace treaty was signed and an Armistice declared, thus ending the First World War. An uneasy peace was to settle over Europe for the next 21 years.

1.3. South African entry into the First World War

After Germany's invasion of Belgium, and Britain's subsequent entry into the First World War on 5 August 1914 (Barnett 1980: 5), the Union government assumed responsibility for ensuring South Africa's landward defence.⁴³ It was inevitable that South Africa, as in the case of the other British Dominions, would be compelled by Britain to render more active assistance in the war against Germany (Van Der Waag 2015: 73). Indeed, on the 6th August 1914, the British Government presented a formal request to the Union government that South African forces invade and occupy German South-West Africa (Cruise 2015: 8).⁴⁴

This placed Botha in a political quandary, specifically in terms of the political dynamics of Afrikaner hostility, to and mistrust of, British rule (Nasson 2007: 13). Nevertheless, given the context of his post-1910 policy of reconciliation between Afrikaner nationalist sentiments and British interests, Botha viewed a South African participation in the war as an opportunity to soothe Afrikaner opposition to the Anglo-Afrikaner Union government and, by implication, to British rule (Nasson 2007: 17). In addition, he hoped to use participation in the war as a means of promoting a form of white 'South Africanism' that was based on a continued cultural and political unification of Afrikaners and English-speaking South Africans (A Grundlingh, personal interview, 1 October 2015).

Apart from these political aspirations, Botha and Smuts viewed the First World War as an opportunity to expand the Union's territorial influence in Southern Africa (Strachan 2001: 601). Smuts, in particular, believed that a South African occupation of German South-West Africa could lead to this country being incorporated as a fifth province of South Africa, and under exclusive Union control (Nasson 2007: 84). He also cherished hopes of establishing a long-term strategic South African influence in the German East-African area (Strachan 2001: 601).⁴⁵

⁴³ This, as mentioned, led to the subsequent British withdrawal of its 6 000-strong garrison (Grundlingh & Swart 2009: 15) from South Africa for service in Europe (Ingham 1986: 77).

⁴⁴ Britain's reasoning behind this request was to guard the Cape Sea Route against possible German naval intentions (Williams 2012: 3). In addition, Britain tasked South Africa with terminating three powerful wireless facilities, situated in Lüderitzbucht, Swakopmund and Windhuk (Van der Merwe 2012: 9).
⁴⁵In a flight of fancy, Smuts hoped that a takeover of German East-Africa would result in a South African and Portuguese dismemberment of this German colony. This strategic ambition, if realised, would result in Britain gaining control of the northern area of German East-Africa, while Portugal would assume control of its southern portion. In exchange for this, South Africa would incorporate the Delgoa Bay and Beira areas of Moçambique within the Union's geographic boundaries, thereby guaranteeing quick access from the Witwatersrand mining sector to Beira's ports (Strachan 2001: 601).

As a result of the Afrikaner hostility to Britain, and in an attempt to create an air of legitimacy intended for public display, the decision to invade South-West Africa, which would virtually amount to a South African declaration of war on Germany, was left to Parliamentary vote and approval (Strachan 2001: 546). 46 As mentioned, this was duly obtained and South Africa went to war on 14 September 1914 (Nasson 2007: 13).

1.3.1. Opposing politics during the First World War

At the outbreak of hostilities in August 1914, and in a continuously decreasing level thereafter, ⁴⁷ English-speaking South Africans displayed immense pro-British fervour and demanded an active South African contribution in defence of the Crown (See Figure 10) (Langner & Raath 2014: 52). Moreover, English-speaking South Africans viewed the war as permissible on moral and benevolent grounds and perceived it as having been waged both as a means of curbing German militarism and punishing Germany's territorial violation of Belgian neutrality (Cruise 2015: 11). Internationally, as well as in a domestic South African sense, British propaganda was crucial in maintaining these pro-war perceptions during the war (Grundlingh 2014: 12).



Figure 10: Durbanites gathered in the Durban City Hall in a rush of pro-war fervour upon the outbreak of war in August 1914. (Alhadeff 1979: 12)

Apart from English-speaking South Africans, this pro-British standpoint also enjoyed scattered support from anglicised Afrikaners, particularly in the Cape and Natal provinces (Nasson 2007: 14). In contrast, rural Afrikaners, especially those residing in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Provinces (Bothma 2014: 147), were influenced by Afrikaner

⁴⁷ As a result of the strategic stalemate, and the accompanying war of attrition, the pro-war South African public gradually took on a more pessimistic view of the war, especially from 1916 onwards (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen & Worden 1999: 52).

⁴⁶ Notwithstanding the requirement of official Parliamentary approval for action against German South-West Africa, preparations for a full-scale invasion of South-West Africa had been in progress since the outbreak of war in August 1914 (Nasson 2007: 13).

nationalist sentiments and opposed supporting Britain in its war against Germany (Crafford 1945: 119).

For, as mentioned, many Afrikaners did not support the formation of a British-led Union of South Africa in 1910 (Van Der Waag 2015: 76). When the question of an active South African participation in hostilities became a political issue in South Africa at the outbreak of First World War in August 1914, it was not surprising that a substantial segment of Afrikaners opposed the Union's participation in the war (Nasson 2007: 13). In essence, to Afrikaner ambivalent-thinking and largely isolationist mind-set, the war was worthy of condemnation as it was European in origin (Bothma 2014: 147) and British-led (Nasson 2014: 64). Added to this, and to the nationalist Afrikaners' chagrin, the European war also led to a regional South African clash with its German South-West African neighbour, whose colonial authorities, like Germany itself,48 supported the Afrikaner cause during the Boer War (Nasson 2007: 13).⁴⁹ In terms of domestic politics, Afrikaners were of the opinion that South Africa's participation in the war would ultimately weaken the socio-political position of white South Africans (Nasson 2014: 67). These views were pronounced by JBM Hertzog's 50 National Party (NP) (Cruise 2015: 2) for much of the war and enjoyed substantial political credibility (See Figure 11) (Krüger 1969: 80). Although Hertzog accepted the fact that the Union was constitutionally at war, he never ceased to advocate a position of non-involvement in actual fighting (Nasson 2014: 71).



Figure 11: Doctor JBM Hertzog, the first leader of the National Party. (Langner & Raath 2014: 180)

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⁴⁸ At the outbreak of war, the Afrikaner nationalist-elite was convinced that Britain would lose the war. Furthermore, they believed that South Africa would inevitably incur the wrath of a victorious Germany if the Union were to engage in hostilities against German South-West Africa (Reitz 1933: 67).

49 Moreover, it was to be waged only a mere decade after the conclusion of the Boer War led to the demise of the Afrikaners' political autonomy (Van der

Merwe 2012: 5). ⁵⁰ A qualified lawyer and, like Smuts and Botha, a Boer War-era Afrikaner General, Hertzog was the founder of the National Party.

Where black South Africans' views with regard to the war were concerned, this segment of the population was also divided on the question of a South African belligerence in the conflict (Grundlingh 2014: 37). For blacks, however, the pertinent issue was whether to make themselves available for performing thankless labour service in a predominantly white military structure, under a racially orientated government and in support of an uncaring European colonial power's war effort (Nasson 2014: 62). Owing to these political considerations, the black South African political elite opted to discard their socio-political grievances and orchestrated support for the war effort amongst its black followers. Their aim was to accumulate political merits for their continuous challenge of the Land Act of 1913 (Grundlingh 2014: 11).⁵¹

1.3.2. The Afrikaner Rebellion

In addition to a vocal Afrikaner opposition to the war, the more anti-war and militant Afrikaners mounted an ill-fated armed Rebellion against the Union government. This began on 15 September 1914 (Grundlingh & Swart 2009: 17). Although the immediate outbreak of the Rebellion was caused by an Afrikaner disinclination to side with Britain in the European conflict (Stiff 2001: 273), Afrikaner opposition to the Union's invasion of German South West Africa also featured heavily in Afrikaner discontent (Strachan 2001: 551). These grievances led four former Boer War-era Afrikaner officers, Manie Maritz (Cruise 2015: 59), Christiaan de Wet (Bothma 2014: 14), Christiaan Beyers (Trew 1999: 170) and Jan Kemp (Nasson 2014: 92) to mount a 12 000-strong Afrikaner armed insurrection in the Orange Free State and Transvaal Provinces (Nasson 2014: 92). Owing to speed and surprise, the Afrikaner Rebels momentarily succeeded in capturing numerous rural towns in the rural Free State (Cruise 2015: 59), while also sabotaging government infrastructure in the Transvaal (Nasson 2014: 93). Nevertheless, the Rebellion was not thoroughly planned, nor was it carried out coherently. Apart from this, it was tactically flawed (Nasson 2007: 46), regionally confined and it lacked popular support, both nationally and in Parliament (Nasson 2014: 93). After a speedy mobilisation of some 30 000 government soldiers (Grundlingh & Swart 2009: 23) and the declaration of martial law by Smuts, the Union government succeeded in containing the uprising within six weeks (Trew 1999: 170). Ultimately, with Maritz's defection to German South-West Africa, the government's capture of De Wet and Kemp and Beyer's drowning in the Vaal River in an attempted escape from government forces (Meiring 1975: 82), the Rebellion ended unceremoniously on 30 January 1915 (See Figure 12, below) (Nasson 2007: 48).

⁵¹ In contrast to the black elite, owing to their meagre economic and socially-subjugated existence at the hands of white-exploitation, the pragmatic-minded black working class and the more militant black rural class was lukewarm with regard to, and in some cases opposed to, supporting a white-led war effort (Grundlingh 2014: 14).



Figure 12: A group of militant Afrikaners captured during the Rebellion of 1914-1915.

(Langner & Raath 2014: 59)

Although the Rebellion was quickly crushed (Trew 1999: 170), it nevertheless highlighted, and heightened, the socio-cultural and political tensions prevalent in South Africa for the duration of the First World War (See Figure 13, below) (Meiring 1975: 85).

1.3.3. The home front

Although the First World War was waged primarily in Europe, it nevertheless fundamentally altered both the social fabric and the economic conditions in the warring nations.

In South Africa, apart from the deepened socio-cultural rift between English-speaking South Africans and Afrikaner nationalists, the war also led to a domestic persecution of expatriate German-South Africans by pro-war South Africans (Ingham 1986: 81). Apart from this, the war also led to the implementation of austerity measures by the Union government (Nasson 2014: 176). Yet, on balance, the war caused a relatively large-scale growth in the nation's industrial capacity and an expanded economy (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen & Worden 1999: 58).

Originating as a result of the German invasion of Belgium at the outbreak of war in August 1914, and continuing for the duration of the conflict, the British press and their propaganda demonized the German character on the grounds of its militarism and its violation of Belgian neutrality (Kingsbury 2010: 220). An obliging pro-war South African press followed suit (Douglas 1995: 18). Accordingly, large segments of the South African

society adopted an extremely hostile stance toward the scattered German communities presiding in South Africa. 52



Figure 13: Hebert MacKinney, To Keep Our House In Order. A pro-war editorial cartoon created during the First World War by Hebert MacKinney, another well-known South African illustrator. Brush and ink. (MacKinney 1919: 96)

It was widely feared that German immigrants in South Africa would embark on subversive activities in strategically sensitive cities and areas within the Union (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen & Worden 1999: 58). Following the German navy's sinking of the Lusitania in 1915,53 the domestic anti-German sentiments in South Africa turned into public hysteria. German-owned shops and businesses in Cape Town and Johannesburg were damaged and vandalised by local anti-German agitators (Ingham 1986: 81).54

Apart from this, outspoken anti-German organizations, especially those who enjoyed moral support from British-orientated communities in the Cape and Natal Provinces, called for stringent measures to be taken by the Union government in curbing the social and political freedoms of the German community living in South Africa (Nasson 2014: 135). One notable example circulated in Durban in 1915 by the British Citizen Movement, titled "Anti-German Campaign", requested the Union government to take judicial action against German-South Africans on the grounds that the Union was:

⁵² Specifically, loyalty towards their adopted nation came into question where these communities were concerned (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen & Worden

⁵³ See Chapter 1, Page 16 [1.2. The First World War; the 1914-1918 global conflict].

⁵⁴ In addition, various German individuals of note were publicly humiliated, while others suffered physical assault at the hands of rampaging crowds (Nasson 2014: 136).

"...increasingly contaminated by enemy immigrants who have nothing in common with British traditions of Government, justice and life, and to prohibit immigration of enemy subjects for a period of ten years after the war." (British Citizen Movement 1915)

In response to this, or perhaps as a result of succumbing to the anti-German paranoia, the Union government arrested and interned thousands of German-South Africans for the duration of the war (Nasson 2014: 128).

Apart from this xenophobic climate, the domestic situation within the Union during the war was initially characterised by a mixture of feverish war-related civilian activities (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen & Worden 1999: 58) and economic austerity measures (Nasson 2014: 176).

Where the activities mentioned above were concerned, South African women were at the forefront of a wide range of civic activities in support of the war effort. These included public fundraising initiatives (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen & Worden 1999: 53), the organization and staffing of Army and (Royal) Navy rest centres (Nasson 2014: 141), domestic or internationally orientated war relief societies (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen & Worden 1999: 58) and voluntary service as nurses in military hospitals (Nasson 2007: 179).

As to the South African economy, between 1914 and 1916 the Union successfully continued importing household commodities and foodstuffs. This led to a substantial rise in inflation from 1916 onwards (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen & Worden 1999: 50). In response, the Union government imposed a wide range of austerity measures by its enforcement of the Public Welfare And Moratorium Act of 1914. In outcome, this Act gave the Union government executive power in price-control (Nasson 2014: 176), with a specific focus on regulating the sale and distribution of food and alcohol within the Union (Nasson 2014: 178). 55

However, on a wider national scale, both the South African economy and its industrial sectors enjoyed the fruits of domestic and international wartime consumer needs. Due to German submarine hazards on the high seas, economic efforts in the Union was focused on developing the local manufacturing capacity as opposed to relying largely on imports, as had been done prior to the war (Nasson 2014: 162). The result was an economy that began establishing itself in a manufacturing capacity, specifically in such sectors as clothing (Nasson 2007: 176), food and machinery for local use and as required by the war effort

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⁵⁵ In response to this, a flourishing black-market made its presence felt in varying degrees, while rumours of individuals engaged in profiteering circulated nationwide (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen & Worden 1999: 50).

(Nasson 2014: 162). Unemployment decreased more or less correspondingly while the nation's infrastructure also saw exponential growth (Nasson 2014: 163).⁵⁶

1.4. The Union Defence Force in the First World War

Although war in Europe was inevitable, and a South African participation in it on Britain's side was constitutionally compelled, South Africa was not in a fit state to meet the challenge at the outbreak of hostilities in 1914 (Van der Merwe 2012: 5).

The reasons for this were strategic, political and legislative in scope. Cultural antagonism between Afrikaners and English-speaking South Africans, which mirrored conditions in the South African society, was the underlying factor (Nasson 2007: 38). The wide-ranging dynamics of this antagonism ultimately influenced both the opposing domestic perceptions of the war and the nature of recruitment during the war.

1.4.1. Formation of the UDF; 1912 -1914

In terms of its geographical position, the Union of South Africa did not face an impending landward threat in the immediate wake of its 1910 unification (Nasson 2014: 18). ⁵⁷ Nevertheless, Botha and his SAP caucus viewed the establishment of a professional military organization as a pre-requisite for the guaranteed successful administration of the Union (Van Der Waag 2015: 73). In its primary objective, this organization would ensure South Africa's regional autonomy (Nasson 2014: 17). Its secondary objective, yet one which was never publicly disclosed, was to preserve, if necessary by force, the socio-political dominance of the white ruling class over the black majority within the Union (Grundlingh 1987: 38). ⁵⁸

These ambitions bore fruit with the passing of the Defence Act of 1912, which led to the establishment of the Union Defence Force (Cruise 2015: 3). Crucially, the Defence Act made provision for conscription, yet owing to an inevitable Afrikaner resentment of forced military service in a British colonial military culture, national service was not implemented at this stage (Stiff 2001: 273). In addition, the Defence Act also limited the geographic area within which the UDF could operate to the Union's borders (Langner & Raath 2014: 45). Where the recruitment of blacks were concerned, the Defence Act alluded to the

⁵⁷ The territories immediately due north of the Union consisted of fellow British dominions, while friendly Portuguese colonial authorities governed Moçambique, to the north-east. Nor, for that matter, did the small German community presiding in South-West Africa pose a serious threat to South African security in the Orange River area (Cruise 2015: 8). Apart from this, protection of the Cape Sea Route was the responsibility of the Royal Navy; thus, the defence of South Africa was not a pressing priority as far as South African politicians were concerned (Nasson 2014: 19).

⁵⁷ White opposition to both the arming and training of blacks, for active participation in war, reflected the Union's exclusion of black leadership from

⁵⁶ In contrast to these areas of economic growth, trade of the two quintessential South African natural resources, gold and diamonds, stagnated during the war. South Africa's diamond trade, specifically with the Netherlands, was halted by the war in Europe (Nasson 2014: 158). At the same time, South Africa, bowing to British pressure, agreed to the selling of all gold ore mined within the Union, for the duration of the war, exclusively to Britain and at a fixed rate of just over 3£ per ounce (Ally 1994: 31). This, in effect, gave Britain direct strategic control over South Africa's largest natural resource (Nasson 2014: 166).

⁵⁷ White opposition to both the arming and training of blacks, for active participation in war, reflected the Union's exclusion of black leadership from meaningful national politics. Specifically, the white leadership was paranoid over the possible long-term cultural effects of placing blacks on a social parity with white soldiers. It was also privately feared that providing small-arms training to blacks would eventually aid the black majority in any future armed uprising against their white oppressors (Grundlingh 2014: 22).

possibility of employing black labourers in a non-combatant and supporting role to white-manned fighting units in the event of war (Gleeson 1994: ix).⁵⁹

As a means of establishing a subordinate landward defence arm, the UDF created the South African Army in 1914 (Delport 2014: 28) out of existing Boer War-era Afrikaner rural militia and English-speaking South African units. Upon its formation, the Army attempted to harmonize the prevalent antagonism between Afrikaners and English-speaking South Africans (Nasson 2014: 19), which mirrored the wider political ill-feelings prevalent in South Africa. This was done by overzealously enforcing a doctrinal fusion between the unconventional Boer way of soldiering, characterised by independent action and horse-mounted fighting ethos (Williams 2012: 3) with the formal and regimentally rigid command-structure and conventional approach to warfare, as traditionally practised by the British Army (Cruise 2015: 4). Given the fact that the Boer War, which had formerly pitted these polarized military cultures into mutual hostility, ended only a decade earlier, this government-orchestrated initiative was bitterly resented by the Afrikaner officers and men within the Army (Nasson 2007: 39). 60 Moreover, the UDF's political intrigues reinforced the Afrikaners' perceived social subservience to British rule.

In addition to these socio-political institutional problems, the Army suffered from a shortage of manpower and a lack of equipment (Cruise 2015: 8). In the 1912-1914 years, the Army only amounted to a paper strength of some 44 000 men (Cruise 2015: 4),⁶¹ which was organized into six (Nasson 2007: 37) largely unorthodox and moderately reliable components (Nasson 2014: 80). These were the British-trained Permanent Force, ⁶² the Active Citizen Force, ⁶³ a coastal defence formation (Nasson 2007: 38), nationwide civilian Rifle Associations (Cruise 2015: 4),⁶⁴ an enforced system of cadet training for boys in secondary schools (Nasson 2014: 74)⁶⁵ and a General Reserve of demobilised servicemen (Van der Merwe 2012: 4).

Accordingly, when the First World War broke out in August 1914, the UDF consisted of little more than a racially exclusive, politically divided and undermanned Army.

⁶⁰Afrikaners in the Army vehemently opposed the British identity that UDF inevitably adopted. In particular, this resentment was channelled at was viewed as English-speaking political appointments within the army's powers that be (Nasson 2014: 75), the imposition of bureaucracy (Nasson 2007: 39), inflexible centralized command and control (Nasson 2014: 76), the lack of bilingualism in training (Nasson 2007: 38), the political nature of the school cadet system, (Nasson 2007: 76) and the newly-adopted regulations regarding the wearing of British-made khaki army uniforms (Cruise 2015: 4). Instead of successfully addressing these issues, the forced socio-cultural unification within the army merely deepened the rifts between the polarized cultural camps.

⁶¹ An overambitious government plan called for the raising of a 64 000-member defence force in this time (Cruise 2015: 4).
⁶² The Permanent Force functioned as the institutional heart of the Defence Force. Its members were schooled in conventional warfare and served as full-time professionals. By 1914 it was manned by only 2 500 men, who were organized into five mounted regiments and three artillery units. The remainder consisted mostly of staff officers or non-commissioned officers engaged in training duties within the Union (Van der Merwe 2012: 4).

⁶³ Citizen Force units were manned by what was derisively known as 'part-time' English volunteer soldiers, whose ages ranged between 17 and 21. In total, some 23 000 CF soldiers were theoretically available for service by 1914 (Nasson 2014: 18). Their military service, if and when they were called-up, was normally confined to acting as a national reserve in support of the Permanent Force (Cruise 2015: 4).

⁶⁴ This unit was a renamed version of the Boer War-era Boer commandos. It consisted mostly of older Afrikaner men (Nasson 2007: 38) who had fought against

⁶⁴ This unit was a renamed version of the Boer War-era Boer commandos. It consisted mostly of older Afrikaner men (Nasson 2007: 38) who had fought against British in the Boer War (Williams 2012: 2). Initially, it was predominantly rural-based and it had some 8 000 men enlisted in its membership (Nasson 2007: 38). ⁶⁵ This reserve force consisted of 12 000 under-age soldiers (Nasson 2014: 74).

1.4.2. The SAOEF & the nature of recruitment during the First World War

In the light of large-scale Afrikaner resistance to the war in Europe, conscription was not enforced during the First World War (Stiff 2001: 273). Apart from this, the UDF was constrained by the legislative nature of the 1912 Defence Act, which, as mentioned, limited the geographic area within which it could conduct itself.

In response to these challenges, and following in the examples set by the Australian and Canadian armies, which faced similar legislative problems, the UDF formed the so-called South African Overseas Expeditionary Force (SAOEF) in July 1915 (Delport 2014: 36)66 for South African participation in British-led campaigns abroad. During its existence, the SAOEF was made-up exclusively of volunteers and it was given the designation of a British Imperial Unit (Digby 1993: 417). Owing to political considerations, when deployed overseas (Van Der Waag 2015: 109) the Expeditionary Force officers and men were paid, equipped and administered by the British Army (Buchan 1920: 15).67 Despite its command and control by the British, the SAOEF maintained its South African cultural identity and the *esprit de corps* of South African volunteers (Digby 1992: 416).

For the purpose of establishing a unit that could provide black labour service, the South African Army created the South African Native Labour Contingent (SANLC) for service with the SAOEF in overseas campaigns (See Figure 14) (Van Der Waag 2015: 129).68



Figure 14: Although normally dressed in the same uniforms as their Imperial masters, these black SANLC personnel took along their native battle dress to the Western Front.

(Holborn & Roberts 2014: 337)

⁶⁶Prior to the formation of the SAOEF, the South-West African campaign was waged by a haphazard combination of Permanent Force mounted units, supplemented by elements of the Active Citizen Force. Participation in the campaign by UDF units was conducted on a voluntary basis (Delport 2014: 36).

⁶⁷ The UDF was responsible for forming recruiting and training volunteers for agriculture and training volunteers for agriculture and training volunteers.

⁶⁷ The UDF was responsible for forming, recruiting and training volunteers for service in SAOEF units until these units embarked from South Africa for military operations abroad (Buchan 1920: 15).

⁶⁸ Although it was attached to the SAOEF for operational purposes, the SANLC was administered by South Africa's Department of Native Affairs (Van Der Waag 2015: 129).

With the appointment of Sir Charles Crew (Buchan 1920: 16) as the Director of Recruitment in July 1915 (Delport 2014: 36), the SAOEF began recruiting South African volunteers for military service abroad. Sir Crew was placed in charge of 144 War Recruiting Committees, which was located throughout South Africa. These Committees were staffed by prominent citizens and was aided in their endeavours by a sympathetic, pro-war press (Delport 2014: 37).69 They organised regular recruitment campaigns in South African towns and cities (Defence HQ 2012: 212).

Where the recruitment of blacks for service in the SANLC was concerned, recruitment took on a decidedly immoral nature. With the SANNC's support, and with the active participation of black tribal leaders (Grundlingh 2014: 41), black volunteers were lured by a combination coercive means, which played on the naivety of isolated rural blacks of the time (Grundlingh 2014: 41), and colonial propaganda (Grundlingh 1987: 62). This appealed to patriotism and portrayed military service as exotic opportunities for travel,70 education (Grundlingh 2014: 47), free food and clothing (Grundlingh 1987: 63).

Eventually, an estimated 20% (Van der Merwe 2012: 5) of the South African male population volunteered for service as "Botha's Boys" (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen & Worden 1999: 52) during the war. This statistic amounted to total of some 265 775 men⁷¹ (Gleeson 1994 99), or 146 000 whites, 83 913 blacks (Gleeson 1994: 99) and 2 500 South Africans of mixed origins. (The Centenary Of the First World War; South Africa's Contribution In The Great War 2014: Online).

Following the horrific losses of South African troops on the Western Front (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen & Worden 1999: 52), and the ensuing domestic demoralization that the war-weariness incurred, successful recruitment became more problematic, specifically from 1916 onwards. Therefore, women were utilised. In this capacity, they took part in recruitment drives with the specific aim of raising the issue of men's patriotic duty to serve the nation in time of war (Nasson 2014: 149). In effect, they publicly manipulated and humiliated men into volunteering (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen & Worden 1999: 52). Nevertheless, the recruitment continued to suffer decreasing success rate (Van Der Waag 2015: 106). In the last two years of the war, the majority of Afrikaners came to oppose the war and the English South African population was also drastically loosing heart for the war effort (Nasson 2007: 140). By 1917, even the recruitment officials were themselves

⁶⁹ In addition, appeals for military service were regularly placed in newspapers (Delport 2014: 37) and by way of posters and even massive banners, which covered buildings in South Africa's larger cities (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen & Worden 1999: 52).

⁷⁰ By far the biggest loss of life, where black South Africans were concerned, occurred when the SS Mendi, a British troopship carrying SANLC reinforcements bound for France, sank in the English Channel (Gleeson 1994: 1) after a collision with another ship on the night of 21 February 1917. In total, some 615 black South Africans drowned (Clothier 1987: 52).

This figure includes government soldiers who participated in containing the Afrikaner Rebellion.

demoralized, both by the war and their decreasing success in recruitment (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen & Worden 1999: 52).

For the purpose of formulating conclusions regarding the nature of pro-war South African propaganda developed during the First World War, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of three⁷² notable campaigns in which South African forces served. Not only did these three campaigns draw on the biggest reserves of available South African manpower and resources, but it also served as a Trojan horse for the Union government's territorial ambitions in Africa. Furthermore, it directly influenced the means adopted by the pro-war press to ensure civilian support for the war effort.

1.4.3. The German South-West African Campaign

Owing largely to British pressure, and domestic strategic ambitions, South Africa invaded South-West Africa on the 15 September 1914 (Langner & Raath 2014: 14). In total, the South African expeditionary force earmarked for the campaign consisted of 60 000 soldiers (Van der Merwe 2012: 9).⁷³

The South African invasion originated from three locations simultaneously. Two South African contingents invaded from Port Nolloth and Upington northwards (Cruise 2015: 32), while a limited amphibious invasion was mounted in the Lüderitzbucht area (Strachan 2001: 550). Although these attacks suffered little initial opposition (See Figure 15, below), South African forces were dealt a humiliating defeat at the hands of stronger German colonial troops at the Battle of Sandfontein, near the South African and South-West African borders, between 16 and 26 September 1914 (Cruise 2015: 48). Moreover, the Afrikaner Rebellion broke out in this time (Nasson 2007: 44). The Union army was therefore compelled to divert forces for quelling the uprising in South Africa (Meiring 1975: 81), thus temporarily delaying continued pressure on South-West Africa (Reitz 1999: 229).

⁷³ Of this number, 33 000 were non-white and black support personnel (Grundlingh 2014: 42).

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⁷² In addition to these three campaigns, and as mentioned, contingents of South African formations also served in Egypt and in the Middle East during the war.



Figure 15: German colonial officials discuss local surrender terms with General Louis Botha amid the German South-West African Campaign. (Nasson 2007: 25)

Owing largely to highly-mobile mounted warfare (Williams 2012: 5), South African forces succeeded in capturing large tracts of South-West African territory at the cost of minimal casualties. Windhuk surrendered on 12 May 1915 (Cruise 2015: 155) and two months later, on 9 July, the out-numbered and out-manoeuvred German soldiers surrendered control of South-West Africa to South African forces (Nasson 2007: 76).

1.4.4. The German East-African Campaign

The German East-African Campaign originated in 1916 as a result of German naval activity in the Indian Ocean and regional hostilities between German and British colonial troops. Specifically, German soldiers seized territory belonging to the British dominion of Kenya (Keegan 2000: 210). The German intention was to divert Allied strategic focus and armies to this region, thereby denying the Allied forces fighting on the Western Front additional reinforcements (Williams 2012: 20). In a hurried attempt to curb this German strategic intention, the British Army formed the 73 000-strong East-African Expeditionary Force⁷⁴ under the command of Jan Smuts (Strachan 2001: 602). ⁷⁵ This formation eventually included a SAOEF Brigade of some 20 000 South African volunteers (Van der Merwe 2012: 25). ⁷⁶

The Allied strategy, carried-out by Smuts, was to envelop the German colonial forces in Kenya from a northern, western and a south-eastern simultaneous attack (Williams 2012:

76 Of this number, 18 000 were non-white and black support personnel (Grundlingh 2014: 42).

⁷⁴ This unit eventually consisted of multinational British and Imperial contingents of soldiers (Strachan 2001: 602)

⁷⁵ The British government, who was not convinced over the necessity of the campaign, especially since it diverted men and resources from the Western Front, maintained strategic control in the East-African theatre (Nasson 2007: 97).

23). This commenced on 12 February 1916 and despite strong initial German resistance, 77 the Allies gained ground (Nasson 2007: 103). Nevertheless, in the two years that followed, the Germans successfully evaded larger Allied forces (Nasson 2007: 103), while simultaneously mounting sporadic attacks against targets as far as Moçambique and Northern Rhodesia (Williams 2012: 26).⁷⁸ In pursuit, Allied forces became bogged-down amid dense bushveld (Nasson 2007: 100) and wide rivers (Williams 2012: 21) in East-Africa, which increased their woes considerably (See Figure 16, below). At the same time, they were plagued by massive supply and logistical problems, while also suffering from inadequate medical support (Nasson 2007: 105). ⁷⁹



Figure 16: Motorised transport, still in its infancy, as used during the German East-African Campaign.
(Nasson 2007: 27)

It was only the end of the war in Europe, in November 1918, and the subsequent Armistice, that led to a German capitulation in East-Africa (Strachan 2001: 569).

⁷⁹ As a result of these issues, the Allied forces in East-Africa had suffered some 12 000 casualties to malaria and other tropical illnesses by the end of 1916 alone (Nasson 2007: 105).

⁷⁷ The German forces in East-Africa consisted of some 12 000 men (Williams 2012: 22). Although white German colonial officers commanded it, its ranks consisted primarily of black volunteers, known as *Askaris* (Nasson 2007: 113).

⁷⁸ Present-day Zambia.

1.4.5. The Western Front

In 1915, after the conclusion of the German South-West African Campaign, the British government requested South African assistance on the Western Front, specifically in northern France and southern Belgium (Van Der Waag 2015: 107).



Figure 17: The cap badge of the 1st South African Infantry Brigade, as recreated by this student.

Thus, while South African forces were still engaged in the on-going German East-African Campaign, the Union army raised the 1st South African Brigade, a composite expeditionary infantry force,80 for service in France (See Figure 17). This Brigade eventually consisted of 5 800 men⁸¹ and 400 nurses (Van der Merwe 2012: 4) who were trained in Potchefstroom (Buchan 1920: 18), and were embarked for Europe in August 1915.82 Once there, this formation took part in the trench warfare on the Western Front, and, whilst fighting under incompetent British command (Travers 2003: 213) suffered appalling losses83 amid the Battle of Delville Wood during the Somme offensive of July 1916 (See Figure 18) (Schoeman 2014: 4).

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⁸⁰ Although it was primarily an infantry unit, consisting of four infantry battalions, the Brigade was strengthened with the addition of five battalions of artillery,

a field ambulance unit, a signals unit and a military hospital unit (Buchan 1920: 16).

81 Of this number, 21 000 were non-white and black support personnel affiliated with the SANLC (Grundlingh 2014: 52).

⁸² After a brief training period in Britain, it was redeployed for service in Egypt from December 1915 until April 1916. At this point, it was sent to France (Schoeman 2014; 19).

83 Out of 3 153 officers and men of the 1st SA Infantry Brigade, 767 men survived the four-day battle (Uys 1991: i).



Figure 18: Delville Wood, or what remained of it, after the three-day battle in 1916. (Nasson 2007: 204)

After Delville Wood, what was left of the Brigade was strengthened with reinforcements from South Africa (Nasson 2007: 141). It also took part in other costly engagements on the Western Front, notably the 1917 Battles of Ypres (Hochschild 2011: 124) and the Battles of Marrieres Wood (Nasson 2007: 151) and Cambrai in 1918 (Travers 2003: 230).

In their participation in these battles, South African soldiers, like their Imperial counterparts and German enemies, were exposed to the horrific conditions that characterized trench warfare in northern France and southern Belgium (See Figure 19, below). In his book, *Springboks On The Somme*, Bill Nasson quoted Joe Samuels; a veteran's accounts of the conditions the South Africans exposed to on the Western Front:

"... what we found ourselves in is still unspeakable, in every minute of our situation then, it was kill or die. All day long, all night long, nothing made any difference... really, we were just dogs then, probably a lot worse to anyone who knew the truth of it. Mad dogs, jut trapped there in a hole, like all reason was gone." (Nasson 2007: 195)



Figure 19: South African soldiers showing the strains of months on the Western Front.
(Nasson 2007: 201)

The complete withdrawal of South African soldiers, along with the disbandment of the SAOEF, began in the aftermath of the end of the war in November 1918 (Nasson 2007: 154).

1.4.6. "Botha's Boys"; motivations for military service

Aside from being motivated by the widespread public pro-war sentiments that were seen throughout South Africa during the war, there were numerous reasons that led to South African men volunteering for military service. Owing to the diverse racial, cultural, social and political composition of the Union, these reasons varied considerably.

For the English-speaking South African middle-class, especially British expatriates, the outbreak of war stimulated notions of patriotic duty and led many to return to Britain for service in the British Army (Nasson 2007: 174).⁸⁴ As for the English-speaking South African youth, those in British-orientated private schools and universities, a desire to serve King and Country in defence of the British way of life was the foremost reason for volunteering (Douglas 1995: 6). For the less idealistic, and the more adventurous, the war promised to be the epitome of boyish notions of high adventure (in a sense, similar to a sport) (Hochschild 2011: 118). For other young English-speaking South Africans, active service in this war subscribed to the timeless misconception that participation in war is the ultimate opportunity to prove their masculinity, patriotism and loyalty as young citizens (Conway 2012: 23). To others, military service was portrayed as a crusade against the tyranny of German atrocities in Belgium and France (Kingsbury 2010: 10). Aside from these reasons, peer pressure was also one of the underlying reasons for volunteering (Schoeman 2014: 8). English-speaking volunteers, unsurprisingly, proved to be the highest-motivated soldiers

⁸⁴ This was specifically the case with British-born miners working in the Witwatersrand Goldmines at the outbreak of war (Nasson 2007: 174).

(See Figure 20) (Nasson 2014: 37).85 Of these, the fittest, best educated and the offspring of respected Anglo-South African families succeeded in gaining officer commissions (Graves 1973: 203).



Figure 20: A South African-born Royal Flying Corps pilot of the First World War.
(Maxwell & Smith 1970: 17)

Although, as mentioned, the outbreak of war did not enjoy widespread enthusiasm from Afrikaners, thousands nevertheless volunteered. 86 For older Afrikaner men, specifically those who fought in the Boer War and retained personal loyalty to Botha and Smuts (Cruise 2015: 10), the 1914-1918 war presented a new opportunity for fighting purely for the love of fighting (Williams 2012: 3). The majority of these men, though with notable exceptions, 87 served primarily in the German South-West African and German East-African Campaigns (Buchan 1920: 15). Around 20 000 Afrikaners also participated in the suppression of the Rebellion (Grundlingh & Swart 2009: 20). Where the Afrikaner youth were concerned, especially those residing in the Cape and Natal Provinces, pro-war propaganda and, in the same manner as the English-speaking youth, a desire to serve King and Country, led many to volunteer for military service (Nasson 2014: 42). Apart from also serving in the campaigns mentioned above, these younger Afrikaners eventually performed military service, albeit on a limited scale, alongside English-speaking South Africans in France (Stiff 2001: 271).

⁸⁷ Deneys Reitz, a well-known Afrikaner soldier in the Boer War, served with South African contingents in both the German South-West African Campaign and the German East-African Campaign. He also volunteered for service in France, where, as a commissioned officer in the British Army, he commanded the 1st Battalion of the Royal Scots Fusiliers (Stiff 2001: 273). Although severely wounded in France (Reitz 1933: 229), he survived the war and went on to have a prolific career in South African politics between the world wars.

 ⁸⁵ In response to the xenophobic attacks prevalent in the Union during much of the war, and in an attempt to submerge their cultural stigma, and in some cases their collective Eastern European identity, English-speaking Jews also volunteered in substantial numbers for military service (Mandeloshn 2008: 84).
 86 Initially, 15% of the SAOEF's ranks consisted of Afrikaners. By the end of the war, this statistic had grown to 30% (Uys 2006: 2).

Aside from their susceptibility to colonial propaganda (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen & Worden 1999: 52), rural black volunteers donned the Union's uniform in most cases due to economic considerations, a desire for foreign travel and personal reasons (Grundlingh 1987: 79). In contrast to rural blacks, black miners volunteered for military service out of loyalty to the SANNC88 and this organization's appeals for non-white support for the war on idealistic (and political) grounds (Nasson 2014: 42).89

1.4.7. Pro-war press reliance on editorial cartoons and propaganda posters

Against the historical background that I provide above, it becomes clear that a wide range of social, cultural, racial and economic factors surrounding South Africa's controversial participation in the First World War sheds light on the political reasoning behind the prowar press' reliance on editorial cartoons and propaganda posters. The enormous political complexities reigning in South Africa before and during the First World War, elicited by extremes in dissent versus support amongst the different demographic sectors living in South Africa, had created a situation characterised by a multitude of different loyalties. To promote coherent support for the war effort amongst the different factions necessitated radical measures. Therefore, editorial cartoons and propagandistic posters were used in South Africa, as in the case of Great Britain and its Dominions, to influence public opinion and to motivate the colonies' co-operation for the Union government's handling of the war. The home front in South Africa during the First World War was in effect, and in addition to the primary military fronts abroad, regarded by the pro-war South African press as a second front; worthy of as much pro-war editorial cartoon focus as the German South-West African Campaign and the Western Front, where actual fighting took place.

The next chapter deals in more detail with specific examples of these editorial cartoons and propaganda posters.

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⁸⁸ South African Native National Congress. See Page 14 [1.1. The Union's formative years; 1902-1910].

⁸⁹ Coloured South Africans, specifically those in the Cape Town area, volunteered for military service for much the same reasons as blacks. Specifically, they were influenced by the pro-British African Political Organization (APO), who represented the coloured community's views in domestic politics (Nasson 2014: 45)

Chapter 2: South African pro-war Editorial Cartoons and Propaganda Posters of the First World War

In this chapter, I investigate and analyse five pro-war editorial cartoons and two propaganda posters by applying Semiotic Analysis. The objective of this investigation is to formulate conclusions as to how the South African press used propaganda, as manifested in editorial cartoons, for the purpose of motivating their wartime viewers, and the wider South African public, into actively supporting the Union's participation in the First World War.

2.1. Overview of pro-war South African Editorial Cartoons and Propaganda Posters during the First World War

Chapter 1 concluded that, as a means of addressing the prevailing and intensely complicated domestic socio-cultural and political issues that directly influenced the nature of recruitment and civilian support for the war effort, the Union government relied on pro-war propaganda.⁹⁰

Editorial cartoons arguably represent the most effective propagandistic visual entity, as encapsulated within wartime newspapers. In a South African context, editorial cartoons in conjunction with propaganda posters appealed to a collective South African sense of patriotism, loyalty and responsibility as citizens (See Figure 21, below) (Hardie & Sabin 1970: 40).

⁹⁰ In this context, South Africa followed the example set by the highly developed British propaganda effort (Hochschild 2011: 148).



Figure 21: Herbert MacKinney, Keeping The Home Fires Burning (1918). A pro-war editorial cartoon, created in the First World War, criticizing Hertzog and his National Party. Brush and ink.

(MacKinney 1919: 37)

These editorial cartoons and propaganda posters were not considered as works of art in any aesthetic sense (Sinclair s.a: Online). Instead, the Union government indirectly relied on these visual materials for the portrayal of a unified patriotic ideal in support of the war effort (Judd 1972: 19).

In the 1914-1918 timeframe, South African editorial cartoons commented on the daily progress of the First World War in all the conflict's spheres. Specifically, they focused on creating jingoistic political perceptions, euphemizing both the stalemated nature of the war in Europe and the significance of military setbacks as and when it occurred (Sinclair s.a: Online). In a psychological sense, they commented on supposed German atrocities (Kingsbury 2010: 6), thereby promoting the war as a struggle for common humanity and decency. In these aspects, given the traditional nature of newspapers, and the rate at which they are read and digested, editorial cartoons held the enormous advantage over other forms of propaganda in that they commented on a regular (in some cases daily) basis. As a result, editorial cartoons continually reinforced popular support for the war effort more than any other medium of propaganda used during the First World War.

A secondary advantage of editorial cartoons was that they mirrored the popular and prowar sentiments as displayed by their target audience. In effect, these cartoons subtly showed their wartime viewers and readers what they wanted to see. This aspect assumed a greater importance from 1916 onwards, when domestic support for the war began to falter. In response, editorial cartoons increasingly attempted to show their wartime viewers what they *should* be seeing: that continued, staunch support for the war would see the Union, and the Allies, through to ultimate victory. Moreover, the editorial cartoons were utilised, particularly in the South African context, to criticize and to marginalise the widespread non-interventionist attitudes regarding the country's participation in the war, particularly those prevailing in the nationalist Afrikaner sociocultural camp (Reitz 1933: 67).

One notable editorial cartoonist in South Africa, during the Great War, was Denis Santry (See Figure 22).⁹¹ During the course of the conflict, Santry achieved notable acclaim for his work in the illustration of numerous brush and ink editorial cartoons for publication in the Rand Daily Mail and the Sunday Times (*Santry*, *Denis* s.a: Online).



Figure 22: Daniel Boonzaaier, Caricature of Denis Santry (1915). This drawing was made by Santry's arch opponent.

Brush and ink.

(Schoonraad & Schoonraad 1983: 214)

Viewed in totality, these pro-war editorial cartoons and posters represented the wholly naïve views of a pro-war press, which were, in turn, used by the Union government for repeated reinforcement of political-, moral- and patriotic doctrines in a politically-divided nation.

⁹¹ Santry lived between 1879 and 1960. Although born in Ireland, he moved to South Africa in 1902 due to medical reasons. Educated at the Royal College of Art in London (Vernon 2000: 44), he was both an architect and engineer by training and eventually also became a successful and well-known fine artist (Schoonraad & Schoonraad 1983: 215).

2.2. The application of a Semiotic Analysis

A Semiotic Analysis places the relationship between text and images, which is collectively known as signs, under close scrutiny. For the purpose of conducting a deconstruction of a propaganda entity, a Semiotic Analysis firstly entails the identification of specific propagandist elements encapsulated within this entity and, secondly, an in-depth investigation of how these elements were applied in rendering the propaganda entity effective.

The main Semiotic tool that is utilised in this investigation is that of the *Lexicon-Syntax Relationship*. A *Lexicon* refers to key figures or images that relate to each other in a text with the goal of creating a specific, desired visual or thematic relationship, this being a *Syntax* (Cohen 2007: Online). In addition to the Lexicon-Syntax Relationship, the prolific visual use of *Body Language* in the seven examples of wartime propaganda will be analysed, as and where applicable. In propaganda, the visual portrayal of Body Language, within a specific cultural, political or social context, creates an affect that a target audience will follow (Chandler 2014: Online). The prevalence of *Totems* in these seven examples will also be investigated. A Totem refers to the visual portrayal of an object (image or text) that promotes, or symbolizes, a group identity (Tejera 1988: 147). In addition, these specific South African editorial cartoons and propaganda posters contain relationships between Totems and *Repetition*. Repetition is also an important aspect of propaganda, as repeating a simple and basic idea creates a sense of legitimacy and reinforces obedience to a stated objective amongst a target audience (Oak 2012: Online).

Apart from these Semiotic tools, three forms of Semiotic appeals are also prevalent in these editorial cartoons and propaganda posters. These are a *Join the Crowd Appeal*, a *Black and White Appeal* (Oak 2012: Online) and a *Common-Man Appeal* (Roland 2015: Online). A Join the Crowd Appeal attempts to persuade a target audience to partake in a popular course of action. A Black and White Appeal, in terms of mass media, is a form of emotional persuasion that presents only two options to a target audience, with no middle ground. Specifically, the idea being advocated is usually portrayed as the better choice. In contrast to these, a Common-Man Appeal refers to a propaganda technique that is designed to enjoy the confidence of an audience by communicating in the same manner as this audience. Moreover, the presence of *Metonymy* and *Metaphors* in the wartime editorial cartoons will also be investigated. Metonymy, in this context, refers to the total (Crow 2003: 44) substitution of one visual identity by another visual identity, with some form of symbolic or cultural link inherent in the substitution (Lee 2003: Online).

The application of *Direct Order* (Oak 2012: Online) in propaganda and mass media also relates. Direct Order is designed to simplify the decision-making process by telling, in fact ordering, a target audience exactly what course of action to adopt or to support. The examples that I discuss here also demonstrate another important tool of propaganda, namely the *Flag-waving Technique* (Oak 2012: Online). Flag-waving entails an attempt to justify an action on the grounds that the particular act will make an individual more patriotic. Lastly, *Over-simplification* and *Intentional Vagueness* also furnish my analyses and discussions of the five editorial cartoons and two wartime propaganda posters (Roland 2015: Online). In these examples, these forms of generalization were intentionally used to provide simple answers to intricate social, cultural or political problems. The generalizations provided the target audience with largely undefined and over-simplified courses of action.

2.2.1. Spineless Sam

Spineless Sam was published in the Sunday Times on 18 April 1915 (See Figure 23); in it Denis Santry commented on, and in effect severely criticized, American neutrality in the 1914-1915 period of the First World War.⁹²



Figure 23: Denis Santry, Spineless Sam (1915). Brush and ink. (Santry 1915: 16)

In this illustration, a surprised John Bull⁹³ has stumbled into a political surgery procedure wherein President Woodrow Wilson⁹⁴ removed Uncle Sam's⁹⁵ backbone. Accordingly, Sam is presented as sitting slumped over and paralysed. The medical tools that were used in his surgery, mainly a saw, knife and bowel lie on the ground in front and to the side of Sam.

⁹² See Chapter 1, Page 16 [1.2. The First World War; the 1914-1918 global conflict].

⁹³ John Bull is a personification of the British Empire; traditionally employed in propaganda, he symbolizes British might, perseverance in the face of adversity and esteem.

and esteem. ⁹⁴ Woodrow Wilson was the incumbent President of the United States during the First World War (Link 1954: 281).

⁹⁵ Uncle Sam, as an unofficial national symbol, is an identity popularly used when referring to the US government or the US military. In a sense, he can be viewed as John Bull's American counterpart (Botkin 1944: 286).

Behind Wilson, on the wall and visible through open *Stars and Stripes* curtains, is a map of continental United States. The inclusion of an open door behind Bull, in conjunction with the indoor setting of this cartoon, indicates that Bull arrived on the scene of Sam's surgery, without prior knowledge of Sam's presence, possibly with the aim of requesting American assistance from Wilson in the Allied war against Germany.

The purpose of investigating this editorial cartoon is to gain an understanding of how the pro-war South African press, by their use of editorial cartoons, motivated active support for the war effort by their negative portrayal of neutrality, as was practised by the United States in the 1914-1917 years.

In terms Metonymy, and seen within the historical context of the First World War, Sam represents the paralysis of American might; Wilson represents selfish and devious American politicians, and John Bull is indicative of British dependability and steadfastness.

Where the Lexicon-Syntax Relationship is concerned, the key Lexicon elements in *Spineless Sam* are Uncle Sam, his detached backbone, Wilson and John Bull. These Lexicons create a Syntax of poor American political leadership, which paralyses, by way of their imposed stance of neutrality for the United States amid the war in Europe, American resolve to defend its ships at sea and the lives of its citizens. By his portrayal of Bull as steadfast and as the physical antithesis of Sam, Santry is, in effect, accusing the contrasting American political leadership of cowardice and unscrupulous behaviour.

The thematic portrayal of British steadfastness in the face of wavering American resolve is also supported by Santry's differing depictions of Body Language with regard to the three figures in this illustration. Aside from the fact that he has just had his spine brutally removed, Sam is depicted to the viewer as being old and frail; Wilson is depicted as sly and mischievous while Bull is depicted as well-fed, to the point of being overweight. As a result, the viewer may conclude that the imposition of neutrality and passivity by the unscrupulous Wilson has left Sam worn-out and dismembered. In contrast to Sam, active participation in the war is presented to the viewer as being physically beneficial to Bull, because the war has him looking like a purpose-driven, middle-aged man in his prime.

Apart from Body Language, Santry's criticism of American neutrality also manifests in this illustration's Black And White Appeal. In essence, Santry is appealing to South Africans to support Bull, and the British Empire by implication, in the war. He presents the adoption of what he thematically refers to in this illustration as "Spineless" and cowardly neutrality as practised by the United States, as the only alternative supporting Britain. Moreover, Santry is attempting to dispel hopes of American belligerence in the war, despite apparent

British requests for this, as is hinted by Bull's reason for visiting Sam and Wilson in this illustration.

An element of Intentional Vagueness is present in this illustration as Santry is vague regarding the legitimate reasons behind America's hesitation to involve itself in a stalemated European war. In addition, Santry is vehemently condemning neutrality, while his criticism of the handling of an unwinnable war is absent. By doing this, Santry is deflecting the viewer's attention from, and possible criticism of, poor British leadership that led to the Union's participation in a European-led international bloodbath. Apart from this, Santry is quick to condemn a lack of American resolve in the face of what he calls "...loss of American life and ships at the hands of the (German) pirates", yet he makes no mention of the substantial American financial aid that has been given to Britain and France in the 1914-1915 period (Hastings 2013: 415).

In summation, Spineless Sam motivated support for the war effort by portraying neutrality, as an alternative to belligerence, as a sign of national weakness and a lack of political moral fibre. In his contrasting depictions of body languages with regard to Uncle Sam and John Bull in this editorial cartoon, Santry depicted active participation in the war as essential for maintaining the collective welfare, in the form of autonomy and the right to self-determination, of the British Empire (and by implication, the Union). By calling American judgement on the matter of their self-imposed neutrality into question in Spineless Sam, Santry criticized the American socio-cultural principles of freedom and democracy by pointing out that while America preached democratic principles, they were not making a stand alongside France and the British Empire against German militarism. Santry depicted British leadership in the war as resolute and determined, thereby creating an impression that civilian support for Britain is warranted as this leadership, in the face of a lack of American support, had the resolve to lead the Empire to ultimate victory. In turn, by focussing on this lack of active American support, Santry effectively laid the blame of the stalemated war in Europe on the doorstep of American political leadership, thus rendering British leadership blameless.

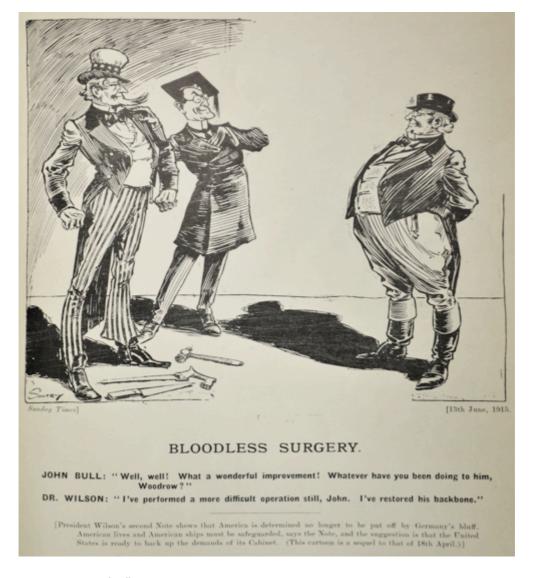


Figure 24: Denis Santry, Bloodless Surgery (1915). This editorial cartoon was published as a sequel to Spineless Sam.

Brush and ink.

(Santry 1915: 38)

Bloodless Surgery (Figure 24) was published on 13 June 1915 in the Sunday Times and served as a sequel to Spineless Sam. This editorial cartoon originated from a changed American attitude towards German aggression on the high seas, specifically in the April-June period of 1915. In this illustration, Bull glances approvingly at a proud Wilson who has reinvigorated Sam by replacing his backbone, leaving him looking fit and ready for action. What is immediately noticeable in this illustration, and stands in sharp contrast to Spineless Sam, is the Body Language of these three figures. Their demeanours inspire the viewer's confidence in American might, morality, and resolve in the face of German aggression. Santry creates the impression that Bull values American support of Britain in the war by representing him as satisfied with Sam's surgery. In this way Santry motivated and promoted support for the war effort in the 1914-1915 period. He indicates that the

world's largest follower of neutrality, namely the United States, was in the process of actively joining the war. He raised the popularity of participation in the war while at the same time drastically diminishing the appeal of neutrality for sceptical South Africans and Afrikaners in particular.

2.2.2. Well Played!

Well Played! was illustrated by Denis Santry two days after the German surrender of Windhuk, which took place on 12 May 1915, during the German South-West African Campaign (See Figure 25).%



Figure 25: Denis Santry, Well Played! (1915). Brush and ink. (Santry 1915: 26)

⁹⁶ See Chapter 1, Page 30 [1.4.3. The German South-West African Campaign].

In a desolate landscape, a triumphant Louis Botha, given the title "Union Captain" and clad in the emblemised Springbok rugby uniform, kicks a rugby ball marked as "Union Forces" through goalposts marked as "Windhuk".97 Meanwhile, a terror-stricken Kaiser98 flees from this spectacle.

As explained in Chapter 1, one of the prime reasons for Afrikaner nationalists' opposition to South African involvement in the First World War was rooted in the Union government's decision to invade German South-West Africa. 99 I analyse Well Played! in order to formulate conclusions as to how the pro-war press downplayed Afrikaner opposition to the war by depicting the South-West African Campaign as beneficial to South Africa, both strategically and politically.

Thematically, this illustration compares South Africa's successful invasion of South-West Africa and the country's participation in the war to a rugby game. In particular, it places Louis Botha's leadership during the Campaign on a par with a victorious rugby captain who gains additional points for his team. Within the context of opposing warring sides during the First World War, his team constitutes the Allied nations. This comparison can be linked to the Lexicon-Syntax Relationship inherent to this illustration. The Lexicons are Botha, presented as the Springbok Captain (the Union's Prime Minister), who is kicking (in reality leading) the rugby ball (Union Forces) to victory over a frightened opposing team (the Germans). These Lexicons create Syntax of a regional, overwhelming and convincing South African victory in German South-West Africa. This in turn, and if compared to the subtext, creates additional Syntax of a South African nation doing its utmost with its British and French Allies to achieve total victory over Germany.

In addition to the Lexicon-Syntax Relationship, this illustration also relies heavily on the Semiotic elements of Body Language and Repetition, with the specific aim of emphasizing the South African victory over German forces in South-West Africa and decisive South African leadership versus weak German leadership:

In terms of Body Language, Louis Botha is depicted as very much the strong, fit, skilful and agile rugby player. 100 This is an attempt on Santry's part to motivate the viewer's confidence in and admiration of Botha and his leadership. In sharp contrast to the body

⁹⁹ See Chapter 1, Page 20 [1.3.1. Opposing politics during the First World War].
 ¹⁰⁰ This can be viewed as ironic, specifically as Botha was middle-aged and obese during the First World War.

⁹⁷ Although a discernible Springbok rugby emblem is not present on Botha's rugby jersey, given that Botha, the then-Union Prime Minister, is referred to as the "Union Captain", we can assume that his rugby team, in this match, is the country's most esteemed; therefore, it is comparable with the Springbok rugby team, traditionally South Africa's most esteemed sport entity (Greyenstein 1977: 143).

⁹⁸During the First World War, Germany's national leader, Wilhelm II, was known as the Kaiser.

language of Botha-the-rugby-player, the Kaiser is portrayed as a coward; more than this, a coward whose choice of flight over fight highlights him as a weakling.¹⁰¹

The comparison of war to a sport, as evidenced by the Springbok rugby dynamic, is linked to Repetition. In essence, the viewer is motivated by this illustration to believe that as the Springbok rugby team with Botha as its star player is successful in this game against the Kaiser, the Allied cause, with the continued and effective help of South Africa and Botha's leadership, will also triumph over Germany.

Well Played! also motivates support for the war effort on the grounds of a Black And White Appeal. In essence, the viewer is presented with an option: Support the winning team and, in reality, the victorious Union Forces in their fight or, alternatively, support the loosing German side. Given the fact that Santry portrays Botha as the better player (in terms of his physical demeanour and dominance of the rugby field), he makes it clear to the viewer which figure we should support.

Apart from the Black And White Appeal, Santry also used the Flag-waving Technique in *Well Played!* However, in this instance, the portrayal of Botha, wearing the Springbok rugby jersey, is used as a substitute for the Union flag or the British flag. As a result, Santry is appealing for the viewer's support of the Union Forces on the assumption that supporting them in the same manner as supporting a sports team, will lead to a highly motivated and increasingly-effective team, be it in war or in sport. Santry is Over-Simplifying war by comparing it to sport, as mentioned earlier. In effect, he is oversimplifying the socio-political nature of the First World War by portraying the War simply as a regulated and refereed physical contest.

Viewed in its totality, *Well Played!* downplayed Afrikaner opposition to the war by portraying the Union victory in (and subsequent occupation of) German South-West Africa as having led to increased international political stature for both Union and its leadership, as well as immense territorial gain for South Africa. Simultaneously, in this editorial cartoon Santry depicted the South African occupation of South-West Africa in terms of it having added to the Union's regional security, specifically as it removed the perceived threat that a German presence adjacent to the Orange River posed to stability within the Union. In effect, by him visually presenting the Kaiser as having been present in South-West Africa, Santry played on the fears of his wartime viewers. At the same time, by depicting Botha and his Union Forces as heroes in all but name, he drew attention to and motivated support for the Union's use of strategic initiative in the First World War. By

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¹⁰¹ See Chapter 1, Page 23 [1.3.3. The home front].

portraying Louis Botha as the personification of this initiative, Santry increased Botha's political esteem, thereby indicating that his leadership, as a subordinate of British leadership, will both safeguard the nation and be of immense value to the Allied side in the attainment of ultimate victory over Germany. In sharp contrast, he depicted the German enemy as weak and cowardly. Thus, Santry motivated support for the war effort by creating the perception that in the long run the final defeat of Germany will be achieved effortlessly.

2.2.3. Waiting For The Call

This editorial cartoon, titled *Waiting For The Call*, was illustrated by Denis Santry and published in the Rand Daily Mail on 30 June 1915 (See Figure 26). Contextually, this cartoon deals with the British request to the Union government for a South African military contingent to perform military service in France.¹⁰²



Figure 26: Denis Santry, Waiting For The Call (1915). Brush and ink. (Santry 1915: 45)

Visually, the cartoon depicts a South African soldier, dressed for a military expedition, glancing in anticipation across a body of water at explosions and turmoil in France. Although equipped with an ammunition bandolier and wearing a sun helmet, the soldier is reaching out for a rifle being held by Lady South Africa. Viewed in the light of this cartoon's subtext, Lady South Africa, who is wearing a headband marked "S. Africa",

¹⁰² See Chapter 1, Page 33 [1.4.5. The Western Front].

symbolises a combination of the soldier's civilian support, the delicate South African nation and this nation's sense of freedom and liberty.

I include *Waiting For The Call* in order to formulate conclusions as to how the pro-war press motivated active support for the war effort by their portrayal of South African belligerence in the war, specifically on the Western Front, as having been essential for maintaining the Union's security. This cartoon motivated support for the war by the Union's civilian population, particularly by their womenfolk.¹⁰³

Semiotic Analysis of *Waiting For The Call* provokes an interesting interplay between its Lexicon and Syntax elements that is noteworthy. The primary Lexicons in this illustration are the soldier, Lady South Africa, the body of water separating them from Europe and the war in France. These Lexicons create Syntaxes of anticipation and the urgency of overseas service. Specifically, if the Union of South Africa, and its soldiers in particular, were to go and fight in France, and in aid of Britain, it would confine the destructive nature of the war to Europe, thereby ensuring that a fragile and indefensible South Africa (as depicted by Lady South Africa) would remain safe. Moreover, these Lexicons also create a Syntax of the importance of wartime South African civilian support for the Union's soldiers. Specifically, Santry depicted Lady South Africa by emphasizing her supporting role to the soldier (she is holding his rifle), thus, to the viewer, Santry indicates that South African women should support their soldier-sons.

Apart from the Lexicon-Syntax Relationship, this illustration is noted for its use of Body Language. In particular, the South African soldier is depicted as physically fit and muscular. He has his sleeves rolled-up, and the positioning of his feet and legs indicate that he is ready to depart immediately, upon receiving orders and his weapon, for war in France. Given that the subtext makes mention of "sons" in the plural form, yet this soldier is depicted as the only combatant in sight and standing on what might be viewed as the shoreline of South Africa, the depiction of him from a rear angle places him in a leadership role to us, the viewers. In comparison to the soldier, the portrayal of Lady South Africa, and her body language, denotes a supporting, yet decidedly fragile, role. As a result, in this context Santry placed an emphasize on portraying Lady South Africa as quintessentially feminine, especially in terms of her weaker physical appearance (in comparison to the muscular soldier) and her clothing: she is wearing a skirt.

Waiting For The Call also relies heavily on a Totem of unity and a glamorous, yet exclusive, pro-war South African group identity for impact. The depiction of the soldier's uniform

 $^{^{103}}$ See Chapter 1, Page 28 [1.4.2. The SAOEF & the nature of recruitment during the First World War].

fulfils this purpose. The combination of his Boer War-era British sun helmet (See Figure 27), his ammunition bandolier, his rolled-up sleeves, riding breeches and knee-length boots creates a semi-formal, yet readily identifiable, South African appearance (See Figure 28, below). Given the fact that this illustration was created for domestic circulation, the soldier's curious uniform establishes a group identity with which white South African men of the time (both English-speaking South Africans and politically-moderate Afrikaners) could have identified. ¹⁰⁴ In conjunction with the soldier, Lady South Africa's appearance is also tailored for the purpose of being readily identifiable with a South African viewer in that she is depicted as being in the process of handing the soldier his weapon. This alludes to her having a hands-on approach to sending her son off to war, which would have resonated specifically with Afrikaner women, especially those of Boer origin. ¹⁰⁵



Figure 27: British soldiers wearing sun helmets during the Boer War.
(Pakenham 1979: 71)

The fact that the soldier's face is obscured creates a Common-Man Appeal in the sense that, although the soldier is typically South African, by way of his dress and positioning to Lady South Africa, the absence of his facial features intentionally leaves him unidentifiable as an individual. Accordingly, Santry attempts to motivate support for the Union's soldiers not as individuals, but on the basis of their group identity: as combatants officially representative of South Africa.

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¹⁰⁴ See Chapter 1, Page 26 [1.4.1. Formation of the UDF; 1912 -1914].

¹⁰⁵ In staunchly conservative Boer communities, Afrikaner women were well-known for their active approach to supporting Afrikaner men in the carrying -out of everyday activities (Grundlingh & Huigen 2008: 10).



Figure 28: A UDF soldier in the Afrikaner Rebellion. (Langner & Raath 2014: 17)

In addition, Santry did not specify to the viewer the reasons for the intended participation of South African soldiers in the war on the Western Front. This creates a sense of Intentional Vagueness, specifically as Santry, representing a pro-war press, is attempting to garner support for the war effort, yet he is vague as to the hoped-for eventual outcome of this support, beyond the mere contribution of South African soldiers for fighting in France. In effect, he motivates the South African public to support the war, but he does not invite his viewer to embark on a deeper consideration as to the possible consequences of a South African participation in the conflict.

By his creation of this editorial cartoon, Santry attempted to motivate his viewers into actively supporting a South African participation in the war on the Western Front primarily on the basis of patriotism and as a means of guarding the nation. Specifically, he attached political, strategic and humanitarian importance to confining the war to Europe. By his depiction of the European settler cultural identity of white South African men, as manifested by the South African soldier's curious uniform in this cartoon, Santry portrayed volunteers for service in Europe as men of principle and character (akin to the Dutch and British pioneers who established South Africa) (Hockly 1957: 197), who would sooner travel to Europe and fight, and possibly die, in France; rather than see South Africa destroyed by the war. By highlighting the fragile feminine characteristics of Lady South Africa, he depicted the Union as fragile and exposed to danger and in need of defence. Yet, at the same time, he used the symbolism of Lady South Africa as a means of displaying the South African civilian population's support behind both the nation's participation in the war and for its fighting men, with the intended goal that it would motivate continued support for the war when the Union sent its soldiers to France. Furthermore, in this editorial cartoon,

Santry portrayed the protagonists in terms of readily identifiable cultural traits. This was an attempt to motivate public support for the war effort by referring to it as an all-inclusive, culturally-reconciled¹⁰⁶ white-South African venture.

2.2.4. The New Springbok

The New Springbok was published on 11 August 1915 (See Figure 29). As in the example of Well Played! 107, it made use the Springbok rugby identity and white South Africans' infatuation with rugby (Black & Nauright 1998: 1). In this editorial cartoon, Santry made use of the sport as a means of recruiting volunteers for military service in the SAOEF. 108



Figure 29: Denis Santry, The New Springbok (1915). Brush and ink. (Santry 1916: 6)

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¹⁰⁶ See Chapter 1, Page 19 [1.3. South African entry into the First World War].

¹⁰⁷ See Figure 2.2.2, Page 47.

See Chapter 1, Page 35 [1.4.6. "Botha's Boys"; motivations for military service].

This illustration depicts a tall and proud Springbok antelope wearing an Expeditionary Force uniform, holding a rifle and admiring his reflection in a mirror. Featured on the wall behind and to the side of him is a tribute to the Springbok rugby team's past sporting achievements. A portrait of a rugby-playing Springbok, with the words "The Springboks Of 1906-7; 1912-13" is centred over two laurel wreaths; one is tagged as "Olympic Games 1912" and the other "GSWA".

The objectives of an investigation of *The New Springbok* are two-fold: Firstly, this editorial cartoon will be investigated for the purpose of formulating conclusions as to the extent to which the pro-war South African press portrayed participation in the war as a progression of the Union's sporting prowess, from rugby to war. Secondly, this cartoon will be analysed to gain an insight as to how this press motivated voluntary enlistments in the SAOEF by having focussed its portrayal of the war as both an adventure and as a test of masculinity.

Viewed in terms of Semiotics, the key Lexicons in this illustration are the Springbok, his uniform, rifle, the laurel wreaths hanging against the wall and the "1906-7; 1912-13" framed portrait of the Springbok victories. These Lexicons create Syntax of a strong South African athletic identity; in essence, this Springbok soldier becomes the embodiment of a relatively long history of South African sport conquests in Europe. As in the example of Well Played!, The New Springbok depicts war as a sport. This observation is strengthened by the portrayal of the Springbok soldier. Although he is similar in bodily characteristics and in demeanour to the Springbok rugby player in the portrait, they are different in that Springbok soldier substituted his rugby ball with a rifle. This comparison, if viewed in conjunction with the subtext, is an attempt on Santry's part to establish proof of South African athletic superiority over Germany. Specifically, this illustration carries the argument that rugby is a toned-down form of warfare. Rugby is a contact sport and considerably physical and, in some cases violent, in nature. Given the fact that this sport very popular as a national sport in South Africa, while it is a little-known in Germany by comparison, Santry is arguing that South Africa will eventually triumph militarily over Germany owing to the fact that South Africans enjoys physical and violent challenges (as can be found in war), as evidenced by their perceived prowess in rugby. Moreover, those South Africans who play rugby, particularly on a national or international level, are typically idolized as warriors of sorts in their communities. In contrast to South Africa, according to Santry in this illustration, the concept of "football togs" for use in rugby is alien to Germans. This, then, is an attempt by Santry to depict Germans as inferior warriors to their South African counterparts. In addition to this, and again as in the example of *Well Played!*, this illustration attempts to motivate South African support for the war effort by portraying South African soldiers fighting in the war as continuing in the tradition of successful sporting achievements in Europe, worthy of South Africa's best possible support from its sport-loving citizens.

Given this cartoon's indoor scene and the framed portraits displayed on the wall, in conjunction with the overall masculine dynamic of the mentioned Lexicon-Syntax Relationship, this cartoon's setting can be viewed as an adolescent young man's bedroom or secondary school dormitory. 109 This creates an additional Syntax of war as the epitome of boyish notion of sport and adventure. As a result, Santry is appealing to young South African males to support the war effort by volunteering for military service, as their participation in this adventure this would result in them gaining the same stature, esteem, and respect normally accorded exclusively to Springbok rugby players.

Apart from these Lexicon-Syntax Relationships, the concept of Body Language in propaganda is also present in this illustration: The portrayal of the tall, ramrod-straight, uniformed and confident Springbok soldier, staring approvingly at his reflection in the mirror is an attempt by Santry to inspire self-confidence in the Union's soldiers. By depicting Union soldiers as extremely confident and as the equals of the nation's Springbok rugby players, Santry is motivating civilian support for the war effort by channelling the perceived high morale of the Union's soldiers into the editorial cartoon's viewer.

If the presence of the portrait of the rugby-playing Springbok and the laurel wreaths displayed on the wall is taken into account, this illustration makes use of Repetition. Specifically, the visual repetition of previous Springbok victories leads the viewer to believe that the Union's soldiers, who, as mentioned, is portrayed by Santry as the stated equals of the nation's Springbok rugby players, will emulate the rugby-warrior tradition and past victories in the war against Germany.

To conclude on the use of *The New Springbok* for the purpose of comparing the war to a sport, it is clear that Santry created this editorial cartoon in order to counter an apparent insecurity regarding South African culture as opposed to German culture. Specifically, the fact that Santry used rugby as the common denominator for the basis of establishing South African unity and fighting spirit (amid the prevalence of socio-political instability within the Union during the war) is an indication that he attempted to bridge the antagonism between Afrikaners and English-speaking South Africans. This tactic would ensure support

¹⁰⁹ A noticeable facet in this illustration is the depiction of mirror: it is mounted on a vertical installation, possibly a closet in a bedroom.

for the war effort, because it drew attention to their joint love of rugby, while it highlighted the fact that Germany, as a nation not particularly fond of rugby, fell outside the South African and British rugby bond. The fact that Santry made reference to the legacy of Springbok rugby victories, instead of past South African military victories in other wars, indicates that he perceived the Union as having had little military heritage from which a unified warrior tradition can be claimed. By comparing the war to a game of rugby in this editorial cartoon, Santry abused the adolescent naiveté of the Union's younger male inhabitants. He portrayed the Union's participation in the war, and its fight with Germany, as an inevitable victory, comparable to a Springbok rugby victory. He did not portray dead or mutilated Springboks, which would be the ultimate and inevitable result of this victory.

2.2.5. Still Smouldering

Still Smouldering was published in the Rand Daily Mail on 3 September 1915 (See Figure 30). Although this editorial cartoon makes little mention of South African participation in the war, it does comment on the danger that Afrikaner-based political disunity, and the resultant unstable socio-cultural domestic situation as evidenced by the Rebellion of 1914,¹¹⁰ posed to a successful South African participation in the war.

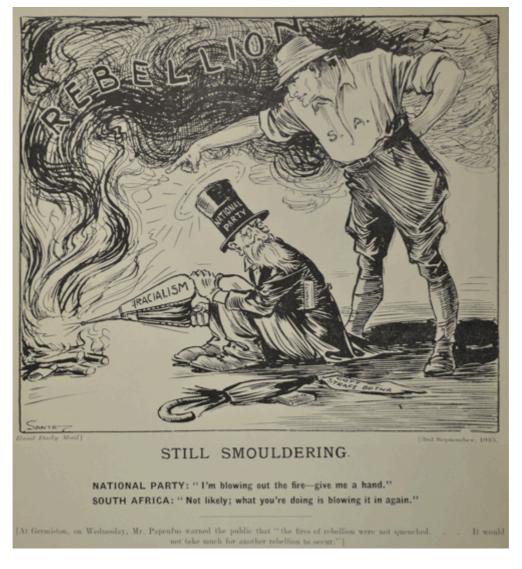


Figure 30: Denis Santry, Still Smouldering (1915). Brush and ink. (Santry 1916: 16)

Still Smouldering depicts a villainous-looking and bearded Afrikaner nationalist, sporting a top hat and wearing a dynamite tag on his jacket, pumping oxygen onto a smouldering fire of "REBELLION" with a pair of bellows marked as "RACIALISM". On the ground next to him are a Dutch Bible and a closed umbrella tagged with the German phrase "GOTT STRAFE"

¹¹⁰ See Chapter 1, Page 22 [1.3.2. The Afrikaner Rebellion].

BOTHA" (May God punish Botha). The Afrikaner nationalist is uttering the words: "I'm blowing out the fire - give me a hand". In response to this, and towering over the Afrikaner, is a heavyset South African Man, wearing riding breeches, knee-length boots, a shirt marked as "S.A." and a gardener's hat, who points at the smouldering fire with the words: "Not likely, what you're doing is blowing it in again". Given that the SA Man is opposed to what the Afrikaner nationalist figure is doing, the viewer can assume that the SA Man is pro-Botha.

This editorial cartoon provides understanding of how the pro-war press, by their portrayal of the legacy of the Afrikaner Rebellion in this specific example, motivated white unity in support of the war effort by their marginalisation of Afrikaner nationalism, which opposed the war.

In terms of the Lexicon-Syntax Relationship, the key figures in this illustration are the Afrikaner nationalist, his "RACIALISM" pair of bellows, the anti-Botha umbrella and the opposing SA Man. These Lexicons create Syntax of unquestionable South African morality in the face of Afrikaner dissent. If viewed in terms of its caption, it becomes clear that Santry used Still Smouldering to convey the principle that responsible South Africans do not, and will not, permit Afrikaners' sense of political depravity and nationalist politics to undermine the nation's unity, 111 nor its resolve to continue aiding Britain in the war against Germany. Using an Afrikaner nationalist figure as Lexicon, one pretending to blow out the fire of Rebellion while in fact re-igniting the smouldering flames, is an attempt by Santry to portray the National Party, and their racial views, as a Syntax denoting hypocrisy and obscure intentions. In contrast to this negative view of Afrikaner nationalists, Santry, by his use of the Lexicon of the SA Man, creates a Syntax of responsible South African citizens, whose actions in opposing the nationalists is portrayed as serving the best interests of the Union.

The Lexicon-Syntax Relationship in *Still Smouldering* is linked closely to the manifestation of Body Language within this illustration. In particular, the old, unkempt and frail Afrikaner nationalist sitting in the foetal position presents a sharp contrast to the well-fed, strong and decisive-looking SA Man. Were the viewer to choose which he or she would support in the quarrel enacted in this cartoon, Santry, by his portrayal of these vastly different demeanours, makes it clear that the SA Man, and his embodiment of moral purity, is the better option. Given that Santry aimed this illustration at the pro-war segment of the South African population, he depicted the action of the SA Man as wholly superior to the Afrikaner nationalist. He used this as a mirror image for the pro-war target audience.

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¹¹¹ See Chapter 1, Page 14 [1.1. The Union's formative years; 1902-1910].

In effect, Santry is reminding pro-war South Africans that their actions in opposing Afrikaner nationalists during the Rebellion are an indication of their socio-cultural strength and high moral character, both of which ensure their continuous political esteem.

The concept of a mirror-image intention links with the Totem in the illustration. Given the fact that the "GOTT STRAFE BOTHA" umbrella is depicted as belonging to the Afrikaner nationalist, and the SA Man is portrayed as being opposed to both the Afrikaner and his anti-Botha sentiments, the SA Man is used by Santry as a Totem to promote the pro-war South African group identity and its steadfast support for the Botha government, and, by implication, the Botha government's participation in Britain's war effort.

In addition to these propaganda devices, this illustration also contains a Black And White appeal, featuring in a very literal sense. Santry portrayed the Afrikaner nationalist as wearing sinister black clothing with dynamite fixed to his jacket. The SA Man, in contrast, is wearing what might be viewed as a white shirt that is almost puritanical in comparison to the Afrikaner nationalist's attire. These particular depictions of differing clothing, as well as the Afrikaner nationalist's "DYNAMITE" tag, is an attempt on Santry's part to motivate the viewer's support for the SA Man, specifically on the grounds that the SA Man is morally pure compared to the Afrikaner and therefore overwhelmingly the safer choice.

Still Smouldering was illustrated by Santry in order to ensure continued support for the Botha government and its handling of the war, specifically by Santry's portrayal of Afrikaner nationalism as dangerous and ill-advised, and therefore not worthy of support. Santry depicted this element of danger as being connected to white unity and hegemony. In effect, Santry depicted the nationalists' actions of supporting the Rebellion as selfish, irresponsible and treasonous in all but name. In contrast to this, Santry depicted the prowar South Africans' opposition to the nationalists as patriotic, honourable, and as a noble action aimed at saving the Union from self-destruction, specifically by helping to keep Afrikaner nationalism in check. Ironically, instead of promoting a unified Afrikaner and English-speaking South African hegemony in support of the war effort (as was the goal of the pro-war press), Santry possibly inadvertently widened the chasm between these sociocultural identities. Instead, his ridiculing of Afrikaner nationalism and his condemnation of what nationalist Afrikaners of the time held dear - the hopes of political autonomy and their perceived right to self-determination - alienated the Afrikaners further.

2.2.6. Men Of South Africa - Avenge

This black and white propaganda poster was designed by Bert Thomas and distributed in South Africa circa 1915 (See Figure 31). It appeared in the wake of the much-publicised execution of Edith Cavell in October 1915.112 Cavell's death was a tremendous propaganda coup for the pro-war Allied press, who, for much of the war, portrayed Cavell as a martyr and her controversial execution as a beacon amid alleged widespread German atrocities (Morton 2010: 122).113



Figure 31: Bert Thomas, Men Of South Africa-Avenge (c. 1915). (WW1 In Pictures; Poster Women Of World War One: Online)

Under the heading "Men Of South Africa - Avenge", and enclosed in a black border, a British soldier is crouching on one knee and blowing on a bugle. On a patch of grass in front of him, a dead nurse is sprawled next to an untangled bandage. At the bottom of the poster, for the benefit of would-be volunteers for service in the SAOEF, are the words: "Recruiting Office - City Hall".

62

¹¹² Cavell was a British-born Red Cross nurse who served in both Allied and German hospitals on the Western Front, specifically in Belgium (Morton 2010: 147). In August 1915, the Germans accused her of having aided in the escape of some two hundred Allied Prisoners Of War held in Belgium. After confessing her involvement, she was subsequently executed by a German firing squad (Men Of South Africa –Avenge: Online). Unsurprisingly, the circumstances surrounding her death prompted a public outcry in the British Empire and in the United Sates.

113 See Chapter 1, Page 23 [1.3.3. The home front].

This wartime design provide understanding on what drastic measures (in the form of unadulterated propaganda) the pro-war press resorted to in their attempts to motivate active support for the war effort.

In terms of Semiotics, this design contains an effective mixture of propagandistic devices. In particular, the Lexicon-Syntax Relationship stands out. The principal Lexicons are the British soldier, blowing his bugle to summon help and revenge from South Africa and the dead nurse. These Lexicons create a Syntax (and a metaphor) of German brutality and the danger that this poses to defenceless women. In effect, Thomas is appealing to South African men to volunteer for military service in order to avenge the murder of Edith Cavell and to protect European women. In a political context, these Lexicons present the Allied cause in the First World War on Syntax of high moral ground. As a result, Thomas is conveying the notion that the Allies are not fighting for material, territorial or economic gain, but to defend and to preserve humanity and decency against German brutality.

Apart from these Lexicon-Syntax Relationships, the propaganda concept of a Join the Crowd Appeal is also present. The fact that this poster was designed in 1915 before the arrival of SAOEF contingents in France in April 1916, indicates that the soldier depicted in this editorial cartoon is British. The soldier's nationality implies that Thomas is appealing to South African men not yet enlisted in SAEOF units to volunteer for military service in order to support British troops fighting German brutality in France.

In terms of Direct Order, this design's order is two-fold: Firstly, and specifically through his graphic portrayal of a slain nurse, Thomas is appealing to the viewer to condemn German brutality and cold-blooded murder. Secondly, with the words: "Men Of South Africa - Avenge", Thomas is attempting to transform the viewers' condemnation of German atrocities into a desire to actively participate in the war by voluntary military service.¹¹⁴

Although the heading of this design is written in English, it does not distinguish explicitly between Afrikaner and English-speaking South African men as a target-audience. It appeals to "Men of South Africa". The viewer can therefore assume that Thomas is calling on all South African men. This, then, is evidence of a Common-Man Appeal. The soldier blowing on his bugle, as opposed to shouting, insinuates that he is symbolically appealing for revenge not from a specific individual, but to any man and all South African men within earshot.

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¹¹⁴ See Chapter 1, Page 35 [1.4.6. "Botha's Boys"; motivations for military service].

In conclusion, *Men Of South Africa - Avenge* motivated active support for the war effort by having propagated the war as waged in defence of non-combatant women. Specifically, it 'proved' German brutality and militarism, as evidenced by their execution of Edith Cavell. Although the First World War was eventually waged by some 2 446 719 British and Imperial soldiers (Travers 2003: 235) in France and northern Belgium, the poster portrayed South African men as the only ones capable of avenging Cavell's murder.

Thomas conveniently omitted from the poster the inherently controversial nature of the work done by medical personnel in wartime. Although nurses and unarmed doctors are traditionally considered as non-combatants, even when in uniform and deployed in close proximity to frontlines, the role they fulfil in war, specifically in saving wounded and dying soldiers, is ultimately aimed at maintaining the fighting efficiency of armies to which they are attached. This in itself does not make them legitimate targets in war. However, if they trespass the line between non-belligerent humanitarian work and active participation in war, for instance by helping Prisoners Of War escape to freedom, their identity of non-combatants becomes highly debatable. Therefore, in a moral context, the portrayal of Cavell as a victim of German brutality was not sustainable beyond its usage for propaganda purposes. Accordingly, in this poster, Thomas called on South African volunteers not to dwell on her death, but to find her executioners and to avenge her murder. In my opinion, these volunteers were in fact needed as canon-fodder in Britain's ultimately unwinnable and stalemated war against Germany.

2.2.7. Are You Helping Your Overseas Pals In The Final Knockout?

A Holland designed the recruitment poster Are You Helping Your Overseas Pals In The Final Knockout? (See Figure 32). The poster was displayed locally in South Africa during the First World War. 115 Although it does not refer to a specific event in the war, textually and visually it does point out to the viewer that British Imperial troops wearing WW I uniforms and using WW I weaponry are fighting German troops in a European theatre of operations.¹¹⁶ We can therefore assume that this poster was circulated in South Africa during the 1916-1918 period of the conflict. 117



Figure 32: A Holland, Are You Helping Your Overseas Pals In The Final Knockout? (c. 1917). (Barnett 1980: 80)

In this design, an impeccably dressed Australian officer, wearing an iconic Australian slouch hat and carrying an officer's sword on his belt is pointing his revolver at a German soldier hiding behind a rocky outcrop. In the background, a European city engulfed in flames and explosions is visible.

¹¹⁵ See Chapter 1, Page 35 [1.4.6. "Botha's Boys"; motivations for military service].

See Chapter 1, Page 16 [1.2. The First World War; the 1914-1918 global conflict].
 Australian Expeditionary Units commenced only operations on the Western Front from 1916 onwards (Basset 1997: 56).

Are You Helping Your Overseas Pals In The Final Knockout? promotes understanding of how the pro-war press visually portrayed the war for the specific purpose of recruiting South African volunteers for military service on the Western Front.

For the purpose of making a Semiotic Analysis of *Are You Helping Your Overseas Pals In The Final Knockout?*, it is important to note this particular design, in contrast to the other visual examples discussed in this chapter, is characterised by a relatively joyous and lighthearted, yet extremely eerie, visual feel.

The main Lexicons in the poster are the burning city, the Australian officer and the German soldier in hiding. These Lexicons create Syntax of one-sided punishment; in effect, British troops, with the aid of Australian, Canadian and New Zealand troops, have brought havoc and destruction upon Germany. The poster shows that only one German soldier remains to "Knock-Out" and that British Imperial troops need the help of their South African "Pals" to find and to kill him.

The British Imperial troops' confidence in their final victory shows in Holland's use of Body Language. In particular, the Australian officer is portrayed as unfazed by the death, destruction, and mayhem that are taking place behind him. He literally swaggers with confidence, menace, and disregard for personal safety. The way this officer carries himself implies that he is single-handedly responsible for winning this battle. He is in the process of administering the final "Knock-Out" upon the German soldier in hiding. In contrast to the Australian officer, the German soldier is depicted as a pathetic and terrified animal, desperately hiding behind a rocky outcrop.

The Australian officer's portrayal as armed with only a revolver, wearing a ceremonial sword, highly polished riding boots and a glistening Sam-Browne belt (Graves 1973: 92) indicates him as a staff officer rather than a combat officer. Yet, instead of conducting staff-work safely behind the lines, he is engaged in duties normally reserved for combat troops. This is an indication of a Totem, promoting the notion of a non-hierarchical group identity shared amongst Imperial troops, an identity that discards with distinction of rank or privilege, rather, the poster suggests troops and officers share equal risk, fame, and esteem in combatting the cowardly Germans. This Totem of a unified front to danger is further supported by the phrase that appears in the top right-hand corner of the design, reading: "Australians, Canadians & New Zealanders Will Welcome You Side By Side."

This poster's utilisation of text as image further supports the dynamic of a South African group identity. The words "Pas op Springboks" appear in shades of yellow and green, immediately relating the text (as image) to the Springbok rugby identity. Holland, in this

design, attempted to curry favour with a South African audience by firstly depicting the war as a game of sport and, secondly, presenting the Germans as cowardly and inept opponents, as was the case in *Well-Played*. ¹¹⁸ The vertically aligned words "*Are you helping your Oversea Pals*" next to a triumphant Australian officer, juxtaposed with "*In The Final Knockout*" (written in bold and horizontally aligned text) that appear beneath the cowering German soldier, reinforce the concept of both a defeated German soldier and a British Imperial sporting victory over Germany. The word "*you*" in red, in contrast to the light-heartedness associated with yellow and green, establishes undercurrents of imminent danger. The surviving German soldiers in "Final Knockout" could, for example, imply a threat to South African citizens and young men not yet in uniform. The red-lettered "you" in relation to the Australian officer quite aggressively suggests a charge of dereliction of duty. The red-lettered "*you*" in relation to the red stripes on the officer's rank insignia (on his cuff) creates the impression that South African civilian men who are not serving as officers and soldiers in British Imperial units are neglecting their responsibility as patriots and citizens.

The poster is clearly a recruitment poster, since it requests South African voluntary military service in order to support Imperial troops. The design incorporates a Join The Crowd Appeal through such a direct appeal, encouraging the viewer to join an Imperial brotherhood of brave, confident and almost-victorious heroes (as symbolised by the Australian officer) who have succeeded in bringing Germany to its knees.

However, this poster too visually and thematically ignores the stalemated trench warfare in France. It also neglects to depict dead or mutilated bodies killed or maimed as a result of the destruction that is suggested to be taking place in the city to the rear of the Australian officer, far in the background. The absence of such visual details reflects Over-Simplification as propagandistic device. Accordingly, the poster shows the war as little more than finding and killing or capturing the last remaining German soldier.

This propaganda poster attempted to recruit volunteers for military service on the basis of portraying the war as nearing completion, thereby implying that South African men should make haste in volunteering for service, or miss out on an opportunity to participate in a glamorous adventure. The German soldier being portrayed as hiding behind a rocky outcrop suggests that the Allies had succeeded in evicting the German Army from the trenches, thereby creating the impression that the war has progressed beyond its stalemated nature and the horrendous casualties caused by this stalemate. The poster presented South African men with the chance of becoming swashbuckling heroes equal to

¹¹⁸ See Figure 2.2.2, Page 47.

their Imperial comrades from Australia, Canada and New Zealand in a war that was portrayed as the ultimate test of their bravery and masculinity.

2.3. Preliminary Conclusions: South African propaganda during the First World War

The editorial cartoons and propaganda posters that I investigate in this chapter provide insight in how the pro-war South African press motivated active support for the Union's participation in the First World War. As mentioned before, the Union government was constitutionally compelled to involve the nation in some measure in the conflict; yet the government was still able to determine the level of this involvement. Neutrality was never far from the minds of those South Africans who opposed participation in the war, specifically the Afrikaner nationalists. Ultimately, this dynamic of neutrality versus active belligerence served as the primary socio-cultural and political platform on which pro-war South African propaganda of the 1914-1918 period was developed, as seen in the examples analysed in this chapter.

The adoption of American-style neutrality and passivity, as was advocated by Afrikaner nationalists in response to the question of the Union's involvement in the conflict, was visually and thematically condemned in pro-war South African propaganda as morally unjust and weak. British political leaders in the war, in contrast to the American leaders of an isolationist and neutral United States, were portrayed as the defenders of civilization and democracy. Support for their conduct of the war was emphasized as being the only practical way of guaranteeing the defence of the Empire, and South Africa in particular. Active South African participation in the war, as demonstrated by the Union's invasion of German South-West Africa, was therefore depicted in pro-war propaganda as a means of aiding this overall British effort of maintaining the Empire's defence. Moreover, occupation of South-West Africa was portrayed as both an effective international display of South African strategic initiative and morally permissible as it neutralised a perceived threat to South African security and stability.

In the aftermath of the German South-West African Campaign, when the Union leadership turned its attention to deploying South African troops on the Western Front, the editorial cartoons portrayed this form of increased commitment in the European war as unquestionably essential, because it was viewed as confining the destructive effects of the war to Europe. In the face of continuous Afrikaner nationalist opposition to the war, the South African men who volunteered for service in France were portrayed as defending a fragile Union. Their service was propagated as having been the epitome of patriotism in selfless service. In addition, military service in France was compared to a game of sport.

The purpose of this was two-fold. Firstly, it downplayed a South African cultural insecurity regarding its lack of unified military heritage by focussing on the nation's traditional sporting prowess, as seen in rugby. Secondly, rugby was used for motivating support for the war effort, because love for this game, specifically by English-speaking South Africans and Afrikaners, was a very effective unifying factor amid a socio-politically polarized society.

On the other hand, support for Afrikaner nationalism was demonized in pro-war propaganda. Afrikaner nationalism was viewed as traitorous and unpatriotic. Opposition to Afrikaner nationalism, therefore, was portrayed as absolutely essential for maintaining both the Union's national welfare and successful participation in the war. This South African participation, like the war itself, was legitimized in pro-war propaganda as the only means of keeping German militarism in check and avenging German atrocities. As attrition-motivated trench warfare on the Western Front degenerated into stalemate, specifically from 1915 onwards, the reality of mounting losses was portrayed as necessary, because it was perceived as accelerating an inevitable British (and South African) victory. The role that South African soldiers played in the attainment of this victory, although it amounted to being cannon fodder, was depicted as a life-changing adventure.

I expand on these conclusions in the next chapter by discussing how it informed my illustration work during the course of my studies.

Chapter 3: Practical Component

In this chapter, I briefly draw together the insights and conclusive issues that emerge from Chapters 1 & 2 before describing my illustration practices. I limit discussion of my art works largely to description and explanation in this chapter, at most linking specific elements in the illustrations and art objects to observations and insights I draw from Chapters 1 & 2. I limit the contents of this chapter as such with a view to informing and providing the reader with the necessary material that, along with the wider historical context of Chapter 1 and the analyses of specific cartoons and posters offered in Chapter 2, will logically support conclusive discussion in the final chapter.

My interest in focussing this thesis, and its practical application, on South African involvement in the First World War was triggered by the fact that South African military history has featured frequently in my studies as a visual arts student.¹¹⁹ In addition, I have visited Delville Wood, 120 in northern France, as a 17-year old exchange student to a French school in 2007 (See Figure 33). The desire to learn more about the circumstances in which thousands of my countrymen lost their lives in famous battlefields a century ago, served as a personal motivational factor both in this thesis and in my Illustration.



Figure 33: Paul Roos Gymnasium's Europe exchange group of 2007 visiting a South African cemetery of the First World War in northern France.

I subsequently started to explore various war-related themes in my illustration work as a visual arts student at Stellenbosch University. The aims and objectives I pose in Illustration are closely linked to the study of Semiotics, South African heritage that had its roots in

¹¹⁹ I have investigated the South African/Angolan Border War in my undergraduate studies, as well as South Africa's involvement in the Second World War in my Honours studies.

120 See Chapter 1, Page 33 [1.4.5. The Western Front].

European wars, and national history. The current commemoration (2014 - 2018) of the 100-year anniversary of the First World War (1914-1918), presented me with an opportunity to focus my illustration work on examining those forgotten aspects of South African involvement in the First World War.

As a first step in achieving the objectives of this thesis it was necessary to conduct an indepth investigation of the First World War and South African involvement in it, which I presented in the first chapter of this thesis. The historical investigation and the retrospective perspective it made possible enabled me to define and assume a moral standpoint in the subsequent investigations of the editorial cartoons and propaganda posters of the time. Chapter 2 and the Semiotic Analyses it relates were sustained by the outcome of the historical research of Chapter 1. The outcome amounted to two important broad yet conclusive issues that also underpin my stance in both theoretical and practical investigations.

Firstly, the First World War, viewed in totality from its colonial gestation in the 19th Century until the Armistice in 1918 was, to my mind, a needless international catastrophe. The lives taken by the conflict, the suffering it held for soldiers in the trenches, the anguish it caused civilians who lost loved-ones, along with the minimal (if any) change for posterity that it achieved, ultimately was, in my opinion, too heavy a price to pay to warrant its eruption or justify its duration and place in world history.

Secondly, the active belligerence of South Africa in the 1914-1918 conflict, although it arguably enhanced South African stature in an international context, did not lead to an improvement of social, cultural and political conditions in the South African domestic context. Instead of establishing a political hegemony between Afrikaner nationalism and English-speaking South Africans, as was originally intended by Botha and Smuts and served as reason for involving the Union in the conflict in the first place, the war in fact increased the political acrimony between these two polarized cultural identities. Participation in the war did not improve the plight of black South Africans, as was evidenced by the gradual degeneration of South African domestic relations in the years leading up to the implementation of Apartheid in 1948 and beyond.

From Chapter 2 emerge a number of insights that also inform my art practices. The Semiotic Analyses show that the particular editorial cartoons and propaganda posters that I include in this thesis, illustrated and designed by Santry, Thomas and Holland, were wholly political in nature, specifically in how they depicted the war and its protagonists. By their use of stereotyping and caricature, these illustrators and designers created

infallible heroic characters, fuelled by democratic ideals and depicted as acting, or fighting, for the preservation of the Empire, the Union and British ideals. The symbolic portrayal of politicians and lesser known living persons, or groups of persons, actively engaged in the war, invited public support for the war effort. The heroic element and its glorification of the war as an attractive option and the manly thing to do even for citizens of the colonies could also be seen as devices of exclusion, effectively marginalising anyone not sharing such pro-war sentiments. The cartoons and posters would indeed have alienated American supporters of neutrality and Afrikaner nationalists. In direct contrast to depicting the Allied forces as heroes, the Germans were depicted as weak-willed and ineffectual cowards who deserved punishment and defeat on account of their supposed barbarism. Both these portrayals represent mere types stripped of the complexities that life, mind, and psyche impose. As a result of these biases evident in the editorial cartoons and posters, they were also void of both emotional depth and moral fairness, as were the protagonists they portrayed as noble heroes.

These understandings also inform my art practices and explain my stance of commemoration without idolisation or without repeating the (to my mind) meaningless practice of creating monuments to war and war heroes (Hastings 2004: xii). Exactly what I commemorate in my practice is also of central concern: I commemorate South African soldiers as imperfect human beings, not much different from ourselves, who were misled by the politics of their day and who were ultimately caught up in a world event of unprecedented suffering. This commemoration I call *Shun!*

3.1. Shun! - a brooch-logo and identity manual

As a way of introducing my art practise, I provide here as my artist's statement, titled Shun:

To shun is to reject with extreme prejudice a controversial social concept or person. In military parlance, paradoxically, it is a command bellowed across parade grounds to call a body of troops to attention.

This dualistic and conflictive interpretation of a simple word mirrors South Africa's controversial involvement in the First World War - a contribution and participation largely forgotten by contemporary society. To my mind wrongfully marked as an exclusively 'European' and 'a White Man's War', the complexity of South African identities participating in this global conflict remains overlooked in the popular and official imaginary as evidenced by the annals of national history. In this body of work, I attempt through narrative illustration to redress an imbalance in understanding the nature of South African participation by pointing out and speaking to the lack of interest amongst specific South African identities regarding the First World War.





Figures 34 and 35: Front and back of a Shun! business card.

Commemorating South African participation in the 1914-1918 conflict require first of all awareness and knowledge of the history of its peculiar nature. Accordingly, and in order to attach a visual identity to *Shun!* (See Figures 34 and 35), I developed a logo that was also subsequently adapted for use as an ornamental brooch (See Figures 36 and 37). Its present day and newly imposed status as mere logo and decorative body adornment to be worn under non-wartime circumstances many years after the First World War are in direct conflict to the original and authentic signification of the emblem this object simulates.





Figure 36: The Shun! logo.

Figure 37: The Shun! brooch-logo.

The design of my brooch-logo deliberately mimics military medal ribbons, ¹²¹ as traditionally worn above the left breast pocket on military parade uniforms (See Figures 38 and 39).





Figures 38 and 39: A Rhodesian veteran of both the First and Second World Wars wearing his medals (left) and his ribbons (right).

(Baker 2003: 145)

In war, authorities in power award medals for bravery, distinguished service, and to mark participation in specific military campaigns. Accordingly, whereas South African soldiers along with their Imperial counterparts were awarded medals for their actions in the First

¹²¹ In the armed forces of most countries, military medals are awarded in sets consisting of the medal itself, fixed to a coloured rectangular strip of fabric, and a ribbon. The ribbon is a smaller representation of the medal's fabric strip.

World War, my idea behind designing the Shun! brooch-logo and wearing it as a brooch is to retrospectively honour South African soldiers' participation and sacrifices in the First World War.

As a South African born in 1990, two years prior to the abolishment of national service in this country, 122 I was never exposed to military service. I am frequently told by older generations of South African men that my infatuation with military history and its culture is compellingly naïve, because I lack the first-hand experience of war in its gruesome reality. Criticism is also levelled at the irrelevance of this interest to the job market and corporate environment. With comments of this nature in the back of my mind, I, like most artists at one time or another, periodically question both the validity and morality of my work. Therefore, my intention behind making this brooch-logo is as much for personal use as it is for its stated objective of commemorating South African involvement in the First World War. By wearing it, I demonstrate the progression of my continuous personal journey and my commitment to attaining pride in my interests and work as a graphic designer and illustrator with a social conscience. I hope to, by looking at and understanding meta-level political mistakes of the past, gain perspective on territorial and materialistic greed that the power-mongers continue to practice with relentless contempt for the common man.

The colours of this logo and the specific symbolism they project, in conjunction with the image of the barb (as found on barbed-wire) that appears on the brooch-logo, commemorate the horrors of trench warfare that South African soldiers were subjected to in the war. The vertical brown lines embroidered with cotton thread, situated behind the barb and in the centre of the design, are also symbolic of the disease infested, muddy trenches, while the horizontally aligned maroon cotton thread symbolizes the reality of a horrifying death that confronted South African troops when they dared to emerge from their trenches.

As a means of making thematic and commemorative reference to the First World War, the slogan 101 Years is inscribed on the rear of the brooch-logo. 123 This visual identity is taken a step further by the creation of a Shun! identity manual that provides illustrations of differing versions of the Shun! logo. The identity manual doubles as book cover design (See Figure 40, below).

¹²² During Apartheid, the South African government required all white South African males to perform a two-year period of national service. National service in South Africa ended in July 1992 (Thompson 2006: 224).

123 The First World War started 101 years ago at the time of writing.



Figure 40: Front cover of the Shun! identity manual.

As in the brooch-logo, I combine embroidering, ink drawing, and painting in creating the Shun! identity manual. Horizontally and vertically aligned embroidered grids cover a brush and ink drawing of a First World War South African soldier against an orange background in gouache. The *Shun!* identity manual consists of discarded cardboard joined by khakicoloured plastic packaging tape at the spine, reflecting my experimentation in bookbinding. The crudely handmade, worn, and unadorned character of the manual poses anti-aestheticism as visual parallel to anti-heroism: the deliberately deskilled appearance of the identity manual evokes the opposites of glory and heroism. I deliberately suggest the intense fatigue and physical distress I imagine those unwilling South African soldiers of long ago must have felt in reality and in the face of certain death, in contrast to narcissistic and heroic pride in committing meaningless killing and, perhaps worse, accomplishing meaningless victories.

3.2. Visual diary

To strengthen my oppositional stance against the pro-war portrayals of South African or British protagonists as heroes and supermen of the Empire and the Union, I also include a visual diary as deliberately deskilled object that deals with the participation of ordinary individuals in the war (See Figures 41 and 42). The visual diary is filled with A5-sized drawings of everyday individuals that I encounter daily in my immediate activities and surroundings. My intention in this diary is not to create perfectly planned and executed compositions or details, but to allow for those visual elements of surprise and discovery or happenstance that frequently emerge from unplanned and haphazardly conducted drawings. The visual diary also contains a range of figure drawings of a posing female model. Given that Denis Santry primarily used brush and ink as a medium in his pro-war editorial cartoons, I employ the same medium in my imperfect figure drawings, and like Santry, limiting colour to the minimal use of neutral colours.





Figures 41 and 42: Examples of the drawings of everyday persons, as conducted in my visual diary.

In keeping with the impulsive, deskilled nature and appearance of the Shun! identity manual and the brooch-logo objects, I also continue experimenting with needlework in the diaries. In contrast to the carefully considered colour symbolism and subsequent application of thread in the Shun! logo, I focus in the diaries on enhancing the drawings to add three-dimensionality to the depictions of everyday individuals. I intend the drawings to involve more senses than one, presenting the viewer-reader with both tactility and visibility, to be both touched and seen.

Poetry and autobiographic accounts of the First World War inspire these experiments specifically those created in opposition to the war and by participating British and German soldiers, such as Wilfred Owen, 124 Robert Graves, 125 Siegfried Sassoon 126 and Erich Remarque. 127 Accordingly, in the manual, I cite sections from their poems, presenting them in handwritten form that echoes the stylistic deskilled aspect of the drawings. I also try my hand at generating my own poetry in the visual diary, partly from the tensions I perceive as nascent between image and text, and partly from the meaning I draw from the poets' words combined with the signification that my drawn images engender.

The research I conducted regarding the First World War, as presented in Chapter 1, led me to the conclusion that life as a front-line soldier in the First World War was monotonous to the extreme. It was monotony that did not reflect only boredom, but also spells of terror and extreme violence interspersed with the agonies and undesirable aspects of daily routines of life in a trench in a stalemated war. Although I cannot begin to fathom what a life in these circumstances must have been like, I also experience monotony (albeit of an entirely different sort) regularly as a postgraduate student. Whereas the poets mentioned above resorted to the compilation of literature as a mean of commenting on their experiences of the monotony of life as a soldier, I utilise this visual diary to compile whatever I find noteworthy on a daily basis as a postgraduate visual arts student. Much of the subject matter that is contained in the diary reflects that which I have the good fortune to experience, specifically in comparison to what was denied to front-line soldiers during the First World War. My friendship with the girl who posed as a model for my figure drawings, spending time with family, dreams and hopes for the future are all overtly and covertly referenced visually in the diary (See Figure 43).

¹²⁴ Wilfred Owen was a British infantry officer who became famous posthumously for his war-related poetry created during the First World War. He was killed

in Belgium, seven days prior to the Armistice of 1918 (Purkis 1999: 144).

125 Robert Graves, like Owen, served as an infantry officer in the British Army during the First World War. Despite being seriously wounded several times, he

survived the war and went on to become a famous poet and writer of ancient Greek history in the post-war years (Graves, Graves & Ward 2000: xli).

126 Siegfried Sassoon, whilst serving as a Lieutenant in the Royal Welch Fusiliers (Wilson 2013: 110) during the First World War, became famous for his publicly-stated opposition to the war in the wake of the war-related death of a close friend. Like Owen and Graves, with whom he was close friends, Sassoon

also became well-known after the war for his poetry.

127 Erich Remarque was a German soldier in the First World War. He published a narrative of his experiences in the war, titled *Im Westen nichts Neues*, in 1929 (Taylor n.d: Online).



Figure 43: An example of my experimentation with combining illustration with needlework, as conducted in my visual diary.

The thematic focus shifts somewhat in the visual diary to include drawings of soldiers and historical military leaders, but in these drawings too I continue to experiment with the imperfect style of earlier diary drawings, and with the utilisation of thread.

3.3. Over the top

As is clear from my discussions in Chapter 2, pro-war editorial cartoons and posters portrayed participation in the First World War as a healthy means of maintaining psychological and moral fitness, specifically where the Allied leadership and citizenry were concerned. This is for example evident in Santry's cartoon titled Spineless Sam. 128 World War I was waged primarily in northern France and in southern Belgium, and as a result neither the political leadership nor the civilian populations of Britain or South Africa had first-hand experience of the war as the horrific life and death struggle that it certainly was for front-line soldiers in the trenches. Later conflicts of the 20th Century, such as the Second World War, differed in this sense. 129 The pro-war propaganda of the First World War attempted to motivate support for the war effort by portraying British and South African leadership in an extremely positive light, as can be seen in both Spineless Sam and Well Played!. 130

It is my opinion that in actual fact, British leadership and its pro-war press duped a largely ignorant civilian population and (with the aid of their South African and other Dominion counterparts) shamelessly delivered the fighting men of the entire British Empire to unwinnable and systematic industrialized attrition warfare.

Over the top constitutes two series of A2-sized illustrations. Both series deal with the coercive actions of British leadership and their pro-war press as subject.¹³¹ The first series of three illustrations portray how I imagine life in the trenches and on the frontline must have been in reality for British and South African soldiers during the First World War. The progression in size from A5 (as seen with my visual diary) to A2 came about as a result adapting the imperfect style of portrayal to also include larger scale figures of soldiers. Increasing the paper size create more opportunity and space for experimenting with the depiction of differing thematic backgrounds and foregrounds as they relate to the quality of life in the trenches. Over the top continues in brush and ink with the only addition of the colours orange¹³² and brown. The particular hue of brown that I use resembles both the colour of coffee stains and the colour of sandbags, which lined the trenches to support their steep embankments. I do so for the specific purpose of suggesting or evoking awareness of the neutral area known as the so-called 'No-Man's Land', the killing-ground

¹²⁸ See Chapter 2, Page 43 [2.2.1. Spineless Sam].

During the Second World War, air power developed to such an extent that both the German Luftwaffe and the Royal Air Forces regularly bombed each other's capitals, thereby invoking unprecedented loss of civilian life and destruction of infrastructure many miles behind either side of the front-lines (Hastings 2009: 89).

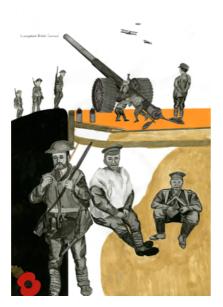
130 See Chapter 2, Page 47 [2.2.2. Well Played!].

Over the top is a phrase commonly used when referring to the First World War action of soldiers' suicidal advance, as part of an assault, from the safety of their trenches and toward opposing enemy trenches. These advances were met with heavy enemy machine gun and rifle fire and inevitably led to high casualties. 132 The colour orange is my visual trademark, I started using it in the design and illustration work during my undergraduate years. Orange is also a colour that has traditionally been used, both visually and thematically, by anti-establishment organizations in their campaigns.

area between opposing forces. 133 These colours create contrast between background and the brush and ink depictions of British and South African soldiers (See Figures 44-46, below).









¹³³ During the First World War, No-Mans Land was usually covered in barbed-wire and had to be negotiated successfully before a trench raid or large-scale offensive had any chance at success.



Figures 44, 45, 46, 47 and 48: Over the top A2-sized illustrations.

The second series of illustrations depict aerial combat and chemical warfare, as was historically used for the first time in the First World War (See Figures 47 and 48). ¹³⁴ In contrast to focussing on the aspects of life in the trenches, as in the first series, I portray in the second series the effects of mechanical weapons of war on the soldiers and their experience of such warfare. The orange backgrounds are absent from these illustrations and instead, using colour pencils, I depict the weapons of war in differing shades of green, red and brown.

The bigger sized paper (A2) reflects my views on the enormity of the First World War. Other conflicts, particularly those that took place in the second half of the 20th Century, were limited to low-intensity and regional conflicts characterized by relatively modest casualties. In *Over the top* my intention is to portray the First World War in terms of the enormous suffering it entailed for an entire generation of young men, irrespective of nationality, who took up arms in the conflict. I attempt to convey my moral unease at commemorating an unwinnable and pointless war that did not achieve anything good or constructive for posterity. This unease manifests in an ambiguous ambition, namely to deglorify the war in order to promote awareness of it, in this way deliberately reversing the falsities and duplicity of pro-war propaganda from WWI.

¹³⁴ See Chapter 1, Page 16 [1.2. The First World War; the 1914-1918 global conflict].

3.4. Campaign medals

Active participation in the First World, specifically as a soldier on the Western Front, was likened to a sport by wartime propaganda, as the pro-war editorial cartoon The New Springbok clearly illustrates. 135 The sport metaphor afforded SAOEF 136 soldiers the same prestige as Springbok rugby players in the pro-war news media. In stark contrast to the connotations that such a sporty, humorous, and playful metaphor would evoke, the soldiers measured their success in their ability to remain sane, at least physically unharmed, and able to carry out orders from day to day amid the endless horrors of trench warfare. Instead of being awarded money or sponsorships to reward and celebrate their successes on the playing field, as is the case with present day Springbok rugby players, South African soldiers in the First World War who lived to see out the day were lucky to receive some scraps of food to at least participate in another day of fighting. At best, some survivors who had committed acts of exceptional bravery earned medals, and deservedly so.

The war medal as theme is central to the body of work that I deliver in this thesis (See Figure 49). Its centrality emanates from my perception that First World War medals were awarded by faceless army bureaucrats and manipulative politicians in order to downplay and soothe over the pointless and horrific realities of the war.

South African soldiers, who survived battles such as the hell of Delville Wood and managed to stay sane, were decorated merely to appease their anguish over what they had experienced in the trenches, the traumatic events they had witnessed, and the despair they must have felt knowing that they were fighting an unwinnable war.

See Chapter 2, Page 55 [2.2.4. The New Springbok].
 South African Overseas Expeditionary Force. See Chapter 1, Page 28 [1.4.2. The SAOEF & the nature of recruitment during the First World War].



Figure 49: Recreated versions of First World War campaign medals.

As a means of translating my viewpoint visually into my illustration work, I present two campaign medals of the First World War (See Figure 49), which are the products of careful discretion and consideration in determining which medals would be appropriate for my purposes without dishonouring individual recipients of medals that were awarded for bravery. In keeping with the deliberately imperfect style of my preceding drawings and illustrations, I used only found materials, mainly paperboard and tinfoil, for making the medals. I use a ballpoint pen to engrave imagery and details on the faces of the medals. I again employ embroidery and sewing to create the coloured fabric that I affix to the medals as ribbons. These medals form part of the *Over the top* illustration series and visual diary. These medals, and the preceding work I discussed, were presented in the Masters in Visual Arts August Review of 2014.

Thematically, the imperfect nature of these cheaply created medals intend to convey the futility of the First World War, which was typified by costly battles and campaigns on the Western Front, such as the Somme Campaign of 1916. 137 Specifically, the low quality of these recreated medals strive to dishonour the incompetent British political and military leadership that, with the aid of their South African counterparts, misled and encouraged young South Africans to volunteer for service as cannon fodder in a stagnant war. Furthermore, their adherence to military service in this war, through all the stages from recruit training to deployment for death on the Western Front, was characterized by life in a culture that stressed personal neatness, adherence to protocol, uniformity, and form that follows function to the point of clinical perfection. Although these recreated

¹³⁷ See Chapter 1, Page 33 [1.4.5. The Western Front].

campaign medals deal with this culture on a thematic level, they do not in any way mirror these characteristics in visual form. Instead, by making these medals by hand, their inevitable imperfect nature adds a measure of human quality to their symbolism.

3.5. Remember Us South Africa (RUSA)

Shun!'s objective, as mentioned, is to commemorate South African involvement in the First World War. I applied the stylistic elements of Shun! and those of my portrayals of ordinary people (in the visual diary) in the illustrations of individual South African soldiers and pilots on the Western Front that appear in Over the top. As explained above, the intended goal of all these illustrations, including the Shun! brooch-logo, is to create awareness amongst modern-day South Africans regarding the participation of South African soldiers in the First World War. As a means of reaching as wide as possible an audience for this intended goal, I established contact with Remember Us South Africa (RUSA). 138 I formed an agreement with RUSA to generate illustrations and designs that would promote and assist the organization in their efforts to honour South African sacrifices in past wars. I produced three A5-sized illustrations to this purpose (See Figures 50-52, below), still using brush and ink, needlework, and limited colour ranges in combination with gouache paint, brown coffee stains and watercolours in the creation of for use by RUSA in their blog.



¹³⁸ RUSA is a South African military heritage organization, which was launched in 2012 (Remember Us SA (RUSA): Online).





Figures 50, 51 and 52: Illustrations created for display on the RUSA blog.

As we have seen in Chapter 2, they were frequently depicted in pro-war propaganda as infallible supermen or talented athletes preparing for, or participating in, action-filled and adventurous combat in defence of women and democracy. I criticize the naivety of this view through an imperfect style of illustration. I portray soldiers as smoking (Figure 50), engaging in a humdrum discussion (Figure 51) and attempting to keep warm in a cold winter (Figure 52). The absence of civilians, particularly non-combatant women and symbols of national pride, such as flags, support this intention. I also convey my view that these men were ordinary human beings who served in a war, the political leadership of which did not value lives.

Although illustrated by hand using mixed media, these works were digitally enhanced to include details such as handmade badges of rank and insignia on the uniforms of the

soldiers depicted in the illustrations. Once completed, RUSA uploaded the images on their blog. 139



Figure 53: RUSA illustrations adapted for use as postcards, as displayed in my August Review of 2015.

In response to the suggestions of my fellow-Masters students, I adapted these illustrations and the *Shun!* logo to postcard form for printing and distribution in the tourist and popular markets (See Figure 53). This will ensure that an even larger audience can be reached in promoting public awareness.

 $^{^{139}\} To\ view\ my\ illustrations\ as\ presented\ on\ the\ RUSA\ blog,\ visit\ http://rememberussa.blogspot.com/2015/05/illustrations-by-tiaan-conradie.html.$

3.6. Per Adua Ad Astra: The story of Andrew 'Prockie' Beauchamp-Proctor VC, DSO, MC & bar, DFC

The Semiotic Analyses that I conduct in Chapter 2 conclude that pro-war South African editorial cartoons and propaganda posters depicted the First World War as necessary and meaningful in terms of safeguarding the British Empire and the Union of South Africa. 140 Patriotism was viewed and portrayed as the fundamental attribute of those leading the Empire and the Union, 141 a notion that was extended to the British and South African soldiers, demanding the ultimate sacrifice from them: the willingness to die for their countries. Moreover, the politicians and soldiers involved in the 1914-1918 war were, as mentioned, depicted as men of character and principle, who fought German militarism, barbarism, and other dishonourable practices, 142 such as the rape and murder of women. To ensure domestic civilian support for the war effort and to promote the (false) notion of a united civilian support, we saw in Chapter 2 that the war was portrayed as a sporty, humorous, and light-hearted event.¹⁴³ These understandings lead me to further subscribe to the defined goals of Shun! by creating an illustrated novel that commemorates South Africa's participation in the First World War. In this novel my intentions evolve not around creating portraits of South Africans who fought in the war as heroes or supermen, but around an intention to emphasize the fact that they were imperfect human beings. They were characterised by vice as much as by naivety, misled by British and South African jingoistic politicians that used them to fight not for magnanimity, but for the territorial ambitions and political esteem of those in power. In the novel I make no mention, visually or otherwise, of patriotism, warrior-like glory, or of war as a sport. Instead I emphasize barbarism (in the sense of grievously wounding or killing a fellow human being) as a universally shared human quality during the war, rather than attributing it to the citizens of a specific race, such as the Germans. For this purpose I omit stereotyped symbolisms of nationality in the novel.

The novel is also a biographic work, titled *Per Adua Ad Astra*. 144 It deals with the life and wartime exploits of Andrew 'Prockie' Beauchamp-Proctor, a South African-born fighter pilot of the First World War (See Figure 54, below). For the purpose of providing clarity as to who Beauchamp-Proctor was, I provide a biographic summary of Beauchamp-Proctor's life below. This extract also serves as basis for the illustrations in Per Adua Ad Astra (See Figures 55-62).

¹⁴⁰ See Chapter 2, Page 51 [2.2.3. Waiting For The Call].

See Chapter 2, Page 59 [2.2.5. Still Smouldering].
 See Chapter 2, Page 62 [2.2.6. Men Of South Africa-Avenge].

¹⁴³ See Chapter 2, Page 65 [2.2.7. Are You Helping Your Overseas Pals In The Final Knockout?]

¹⁴⁴ Per Adua Ad Astra, translated from Latin, means Through Adverssty To The Stars.



Figure 54: Andrew Beauchamp-Proctor as a pilot in the Royal Flying Corps (Maxwell &Smith 1970: 19)

Per Adua Ad Astra- The Story of Andrew 'Prockie' Beauchamp-Proctor

Andrew Frederick Weatherby 'Prockie' Beauchamp-Proctor was born on 4 September 1894 (Maxwell & Smith 1970: 18) in Mossel Bay, South Africa (Die Burger. 2014. 05 August: 4). He was the youngest of three children. When he was fourteen years old, Andrew and his family moved to Cape Town. There, he enrolled at South African College Schools for his secondary education. At this age already he was distinguished by his small stature. 'Prockie' eventually grew to a height of only 1,57 meters tall. His academic talents led him to the University of Cape Town in 1913 (Andrew Beauchamp-Proctor: Online), where he studied engineering (Duffy 2009: Online): Online). At the outbreak of the First World War, Prockie placed his studies on hold and enlisted in the UDF. Trained as a signalman, he served with The Duke of Edinburgh's Own Rifles (Cape Town Highlanders) in the German South-West Africa Campaign (Andrew Beauchamp-Proctor: Online). Following the successful conclusion of this Campaign, he was demobilized in August 1915.

Boredom soon got the better of him and he sailed to Britain in 1917 in order to join the British Army. Once in wartime Britain, Prockie volunteered for service in the newly created, and somewhat fledgling, Royal Flying Corps (RFC), in March 1917. Here, his short height proved to be a major challenge (Maxwell & Smith 1970: 18) and he was forced to fly with the aid of wooden blocks, which were fastened his aircraft's pedals. Owing to the fact that he

crashed three of his own aircraft prior to shooting down his first enemy aircraft, he was not judged to be a particularly good pilot. He was, however, a deadly shot (Duffy 2009: Online) Information: Online). Upon the successful completion of his flight training, he was awarded his wings and commissioned as a Second Lieutenant in the British Army. During the course of the war, he shot down some 54 German aircraft, including 19 balloons. He became South Africa's leading fighter ace, and Britain's fifth leading ace, of the First World War (Die Burger. 2014. 05 August: 4). Due to these achievements, Prockie was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross, the Military Cross and the Victoria Cross. The VC is Britain's highest award for bravery (Maxwell & Smith 1970: 18).

After the war, Prockie was given a year's leave and briefly returned to South Africa in order to complete his university studies. He also became a qualified seaplane pilot and was re-commissioned as a Flight Lieutenant in the Royal Air Force, as the RFC was renamed, in 1918 (Andrew Beauchamp-Proctor: Online). Upon his return to Britain and normal active service, Prockie was transferred to an RAF aerobatic squadron. After everything he survived in the First World War, Andrew 'Prockie' Beauchamp-Proctor was killed in a peacetime airplane crash on 21 June 1921 ((Duffy 2009: Online): Online). His final resting place is in Mafeking, South Africa (Maxwell & Smith 1970: 18).







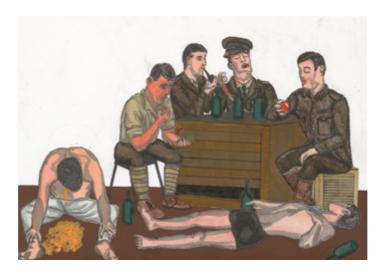


Figure 55, 56, 57 and 58: Per Adua Ad Astra A5-sized illustrations.

3.6.1. Illustrations in the novel

The *Per Adua Ad Astra* illustrations (See Figures 55-58) continue the deliberately deskilled style that I applied in all former illustrations and that I describe above. They differ only in terms of contents, theme, and the application of mixed media. Where the drawings in my visual diary and the illustrations of *Over the top* are characterised by limited use of mixed media, the illustrations of *Per Adua Ad Astra* are characterised by increased use of mixed media, including brush and ink, gouache paint, coloured pencil, permanent marker, brown coffee stains, ball-point pen and watercolours (See Figures 59-62).









Figures 59, 60, 61 and 62: Double-page spreads, as digitally edited, of Per Adua Ad Astra illustrations.

Pro-war propaganda of the 1914-1918 period was created in a highly stylized and considered manner, serving its intended goal of essentialist pro-war political messages. In deliberate contrast to the elegance of style that pro-war propaganda posters displayed, my use of mixed media, in relatively crude application, strives to suggest the complex experiences of the soldiers who participated in the First World War. For them, the war was not merely a dull, colourless black on white political contest between a 'right' side and a 'wrong' side. In reality, and as I attempt to portray in these illustrations, for those who were intimately engaged with fighting and dying in the war, it was very much a colourful, crude and nightmarish daily tragedy.

3.6.2 Three-dimensional scale models of aircraft

I decided to build my own scale models of actual British and German fighter aircraft flown in the First World War to use as source material for illustrating dogfighting scenes. In this endeavour, which proved to be immensely intricate and time-consuming, I use 1 385gsm cardboard as primary material in constructing the fuselages of the model aircraft. Winsor & Newton Vermilion Hue and Vandyke Brown acrylic paints simulate the original colours of the German airplane and the British airplane respectively (See Figures 63 and 64, below).

Pro-war propaganda of the First World War visually and thematically depicted the war as a personal and political quarrel between 'good' and 'evil'. Consistent with such thematic over-simplification, the editorial cartoons and propaganda posters portray, to varying degrees British or South African national heroes conducting honourable fighting against German villains. My aim with the construction of these scale models is to challenge the over-simplified assessment that the pro-war press expounded during the war. I attempt to do this by conveying the fact that impersonal technology was frequently used for the purpose of conducting mechanised murder on a massive scale. In addition to this, the practical benefits of having scale models for recreating, and illustrating aerial combat allow me greater freedom in depicting the aircraft from different angles. This in turn allowed me to maintain a close link between the portrayal of Prockie's biographic exploits as a fighter pilot and the visual depiction thereof. Thus, instead of piecing together historical pictorial presentations of wartime aircraft, which restricts visual representation, I can pose these scale models to add an element of first-hand authenticity to my illustrations. In essence, these illustrations are not based on photographs as source material, but on hand-made representations of actual aircraft flown in the 1914-1918 period.





Figures 63 and 64: Scale models of British and German fighter aircraft flown in the First World War.

3.6.3. Prockie's military medals and battledress

The graphic novel inspired the making of additional art works that, in a certain sense, emerged as art objects or three-dimensional illustrations in their own right, able to and intended to stand independently from the novel.

Conceptually and stylistically, these works constitute extensions of the *Shun!* brooch-logo, and of the illustrations in my visual diary (See Figures 41-43) and they take the form of the military medals resembling those awarded to Prockie. In this way, these objects link the major works that I deliver towards this study, culminating in these medals adorning two handmade military jackets that simulate the characteristics of British wartime battledress (See Figures 66 and 67, below).¹⁴⁵

Prockie's medals (See Figure 65, below) differ from the *Campaign Medals* (see Figure 49) in one major way. In contrast to my retrospective condemning of the British and South African leadership of the First World War as central to the *Campaign Medals*, the recreations of Prockie's medals and the uniforms they adorn, attach a measure of emotional depth to the character of Prockie. My intention with the creation of these jackets and medals is to convey the fact that Prockie was a living person. He was not created by propaganda. Rather, he was a product of his surroundings and his fame was created as a result of what he had to do - kill or be killed in the highly technical and highly dangerous realm of aerial combat. To communicate such notions, the medals show intricate detail painstakingly executed in unconventional materials not designed for easy sewing or mass reproduction.

¹⁴⁵ My supervisor, Professor Elizabeth Gunter, produced the jackets. I focused on making the badges, rank insignia, labels and brevets.

The laborious process of recreating the jackets, the aircrew brevets and badges of rank, ribbons, and medals is meant to recreate and reflect the mental and physical strain that Prockie and his fellow-pilots and all soldiers involved in the First World War had to endure on a daily basis. The process of commemorating them should not be confined to remembering them as the propaganda and politics of their day idolized them - as heroic and perfect soldiers - but as ordinary men who were forced by their political leadership to perform extraordinarily gruesome and murderous acts.



Figure 65 Recreated versions of Prockie's military medals.





Figures 66 and 67: Recreated versions of wartime British and South African battledress.

3.7 Summary of practical work

The masses of armies that fought in the First World War and its industrialized slaughter that killed millions overshadow the experiences of South African individuals who participated in the conflict. As a result, they are easily overlooked and forgotten in contemporary society. The six bodies of work that I describe in this chapter have several intentions in common. They all attempt to counter or challenge the obscurity of South African soldiers and the role they played in the First World War. By focussing on the portrayal of individuals, or groups of individuals, I emphasise in my work their desperate vulnerability in a war that served no purpose to their country and its diversely complex demographics. Simultaneously, my work endeavours to commemorate the First World War by emphasizing the tragedy of its nightmarish armed conflict and how it manifested in the lives of young South Africans (See Figure 68). Their youth and lack of worldly experience were major impediments to formulating objective judgements as to the validity of the war, and the worthiness of sacrificing themselves. In my work I attempt to show that, with the aid of the pro-war press of the time, the British and South African leaders abused the youthful ignorance and naivety of South Africans who joined as fighting soldiers. The British and South African governments of the time masked their own political incompetence and greedy territorial ambitions by guiding the press to portray the First

World War inclusive of the inevitable human sacrifice it would entail, as necessary for conforming to benevolent ideals that were never really threatened in the first place.



Figure 68: A drawing of a badly burnt pilot of the First World War, as created in my visual diary.

Chapter 4: Conclusive Summary

4.1. Annals Of History

The annals of First World War history reveal the war as a tragedy that did not achieve any positive change for humanity nor for posterity (See Figure 69). In all probability, all wars could be seen as such, but I am of the opinion that it is particularly true about the 1914-1918. The First World War was responsible for millions of deaths - more soldiers and civilians were killed than in any other war before it. Moreover, the war had a profound effect on international relations and balances of power, altering the futures of a number of countries for the worse.



Figure 69: Herbert MacKinney, *The Rainbow* (1918). A sombre depiction of the Armistice of 1918. Brush and ink. (MacKinney 1919: 80)

Germany in particular represents such a country. The First World War established the socio-political basis for an even more destructive and horrendous world war that followed later in the 20th Century. In the post-First World War years, the German National Socialist Party gained much political strength due to their campaigning against the humiliating terms of surrender brought onto Germany by the Armistice of 1918. Subsequently, in 1933, Adolf Hitler, as head of the Nazi Party, became the autocratic ruler of Germany. In the ensuing 12 years, Nazi Germany, and the nations that eventually fought against it, incurred a level of violence and bloodshed that eclipsed all other wars in history, including the First World War.

The First World War also served as the beginning of the end of the age of European empires and colonialism (Hochschild 2011: 362). For the subjugated African, Middle

Eastern and Far Eastern peoples, active participation in the war highlighted the irony of their belligerence in a war supposedly being waged for the survival of European democracy, while they themselves were bereft of democratic freedom. The white man's war in Europe also ruffled the feathers of the perceived moral superiority of Europeans, as originally propagated to the non-white inhabitants of their colonies before the war (Grundlingh 2014: 12). Because of this, the First World War can be viewed as the point of origin of decolonization, which gained increasing momentum after the Second World War and climaxed in the second half of the 20th Century.

To a certain extent mirroring these international effects of the First World War, the relationship in post-war South Africa between Afrikaners and English-speaking South Africans, and between white and non-white South Africans, degenerated steadily and disastrously - as we still witness and experience to this day. Due to the complex and tense domestic relationship between Afrikaners and English-speaking South Africans that already existed before the First World War - a legacy of the Boer War - the Union's white ruling class was by no means a politically unified entity at the outbreak of the First World War. The Union government's campaigns for South African participation in the First World War to a certain extent was in itself an effort to establish unity between these two factions (Nasson 2007: 12). Indeed, the Union government, with the aid of its pro-war press, attempted to portray the war as the symbolic burial of antagonism between Afrikaners and English-speaking South Africans for the purpose of nation building (Nasson 2007: 123). In fact, participation in the First World War in the long run led to an increase in political instability, as seen in the steady ascendance in power by the National Party in the years leading up to 1948, the subsequent institutionalization of Apartheid after 1948, and the resulting persecution of the nation's black inhabitants for much of the duration of the 20th Century.

Our contemporary South African society displays a persistent obsession with laying the blame of our present social, cultural and political problems squarely in front of Apartheid's door. Perhaps as a result of this, we remember the First World only insofar as it led to the radicalisation of the anti-British and pro-isolationist Afrikaner nationalists, who opted to cling to political power at all costs in the years after 1948 until 1994.

Furthermore, our society frequently concludes Apartheid as being at the basis of many more current problematic situations that endure into the 'New South Africa' (post 1994). The continued problematic complexities of race relations and cultural differences are solidly placed at the feet of Apartheid. This, in my view, is unsound, exactly because we have seen that these tensions in fact preceded the First World War, creating substantial

differences between the 1914-1918 and 1948-1994 eras of South African social history. The only aspects these two eras had in common, was in fact the destructive dynamics of a racially, socio-culturally, and politically divided nation. Indeed, it would be reasonable to say that these divides have remained unchanged through the decades since at least the end of the 19th Century to current times.

The examples of pro-war South African editorial cartoons and propaganda posters that I subject to Semiotic Analyses in Chapter 2 provide insight as to how our South African society, characterised by fundamental internal instabilities were once motivated into supporting an unwinnable European war.

Judging from the continuous growth of war-weariness in South Africa from 1916 onwards, as well as the continuous manpower shortages that handicapped South African military operations abroad during the First World War, one highly important observation can be made: The amount of visual and thematic artistic effort invested in developing these editorial cartoons and propaganda posters did not achieve commensurate results. This was particularly the case with regards to consolidating unified domestic support for the war effort, and also with regards to achieving increased voluntary military service amongst South African men. In fact, it can be argued that these editorial cartoons and posters, and the propaganda efforts they represented, merely served to further alienate an already hostile Afrikaner nationalist audience, while affirming the domestic problems the Union government were facing during the war. The duplicity that the posters and cartoons communicated by soothing over the realities of war with humour and propaganda simply enhanced feelings of bitterness towards the Union government's handling of the war and, by implication, towards the perceived subservience of the Union to British rule.

Therefore, and in the absence of cultural unity, these posters employed classic tactics of bullying and deceit by appealing to an ungrounded patriotism. They played on emotions such as fear, humiliation, and degradation to completely disregard, diminish, and trivialise cultural, social and political differences and identities, while also playing on ego to promote pride, chivalry, and manliness - coercing and doping South Africans into willingly accepting death as a noble and just sacrifice.

We saw that propaganda materials motivated support for the war effort by portraying dissent as cowardly and unscrupulous, while active support for the war was depicted as necessary and noble, because it would protect the Union. Pro-war illustrators and designers of editorial cartoons and posters focussed their efforts on creating perceptions of South Africa as a nation under threat by the presence of German colonial forces in

South-West Africa. In effect, they depicted both the British Empire and South Africa as under siege, with defenceless women being the intended target of German militarism and atrocities. Paradoxically, they also promoted the notion that, despite being under siege, being a South African soldier was a humorous and light-hearted endeavour similar to a rugby game, an endeavour that would prove to be pivotal in their lives as a life-changing adventure. In addition to this, the war was portrayed as the ultimate test of courage and honour, the characteristics all true men should harbour.

The young South African men who proved susceptible to these lies and joined military service under the uncaring overall and long-distance leadership of impeccably dressed chateau-generals (Reid 2006: 279) or Whitehall politicians, were turned into expendables, nothing more than canon-fodder. Their youthful naiveté, initial innocence, promise of life and dignity as human beings were forever stained by the mud of French and Belgian trenches - that is, if they were amongst the extremely fortunate few who survived.

The above opinions and observations, subjectively formed without any claim to scientific proof or validation, shape and inform my art practices, on which I conclude in the following section.

4.2. Alternative annals of history

This thesis attempted to show how I pose my own art as alternative annals that emphasize and rewrite factual history as subjectively articulated history - in a first person voice that I simulate as that of the soldier in battle. In my own work, I counter the dissonance that a Semiotic Analysis reveals between propagandistic signification and lived experienced, an element that articulate visually mainly through a deliberately deskilled, imperfect stylistic aspect. My work is deliberately and purposely devoid of both humour and propagandistic idealisation or foolery, although its narrative is historical, even linear.

It discloses a compelling paradox at the core of war that, in conclusive and summarised terms, could be construed as follows: Pro-war propaganda of the First World War attempted to portray participation in the war as the ultimate method of solidifying masculine identity. By depicting South African soldiers in the splendour of the nation's military uniform, propaganda in effect legitimized the notion of sacrificing oneself for the well-being of the nation. Accordingly, this propaganda provided Afrikaner and English-speaking South African men with the opportunity to view themselves, and their society to view them in turn, as the saviours of South Africa and the British Empire. The inevitable cost of wearing the nation's uniform, adopting and maintaining a heroic self-image, ultimately materialized as horrendous suffering and the deaths of thousands of young South African men in the trenches and on the battlefields of Europe.

The cost of all wars was made conspicuous by its absence in pro-war propaganda of the First World War, while it becomes conspicuously present as subject matter in my art practices.

In conclusion I can say that I attempt through my art to investigate wars of the past, revealing in particular the duplicitous and manipulative nature of WWI pro-war propaganda by posing it against the soldiers' rather more grim experience of it.

Rudyard Kipling's Epitaphs Of The War:

"If any question why we died, Tell them, because our fathers lied."

(Hochschild 2011: 364).



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6. List of illustrations:

Fig. 1: n.a. Join The Royal Air Force (1918). An RAF poster created in the last year of the war. (Slocomb & Steel 2014: 87)

Fig. 2: Springbok soldiers in hastily prepared fighting positions on the Western Front. (Williams 2012: 9)

Fig. 3: Arthur Wardle, *The Empire Needs Men* (1915). A recruitment poster produced in Britain during the First World War. Curiously, no mention is made of South Africa in this design. (*The Empire Needs Men*: Online)

Fig. 4: The battlefield, and mud, of the First World War in northern France and southern Belgium. (Digby 1993: 259)

Fig. 5: n.a. *Rally Round The Flag* (1915). A British Army recruitment created poster in the First World War.

(Rally Round The Flag: Online)

Fig. 6: General Louis Botha, the Prime Minister of South Africa during the First World War. (Cruise 2015: 77)

Fig. 7: General, later Field Marshal, Jan Smuts. (Cross 1946: 3)

Fig. 8: Daily life in the trenches. (Holborn & Roberts 2014: 275)

Fig. 9: Canadian soldiers awaiting medical treatment after being burnt by a German flamethrower. (Holborn & Roberts 2014: 368)

Fig. 10: Durbanites gathered in the Durban City Hall in a rush of pro-war fervour upon the outbreak of war in August 1914. (Alhadeff 1979: 12)

Fig. 11: Doctor JBM Hertzog, the first leader of the National Party. (Langner & Raath 2014: 180)

Figure 12: A group of militant Afrikaners captured during the Rebellion of 1914-1915. (Langner & Raath 2014: 59)

Fig. 13: Hebert MacKinney, *To Keep Our House In Order*. A pro-war editorial cartoon created during the First World War by Hebert MacKinney, another well-known South African illustrator. Brush and ink.

(MacKinney 1919: 96)

Fig. 14: Although normally dressed in the same uniforms as their Imperial masters, these black SANLC personnel took along their native battle dress to the Western Front. (Holborn & Roberts 2014: 337)

Fig. 15: German colonial officials discuss local surrender terms with General Louis Botha amid the German South-West African Campaign.

(Nasson 2007: 25)

Fig. 16: Motorised transport, still in its infancy, as used during the German East-African Campaign. (Nasson 2007: 27)

Fig. 18: Delville Wood, or what remained of it, after the three-day battle in 1916. (Nasson 2007: 204)

Fig. 19: South African soldiers showing the strains of months on the Western Front. (Nasson 2007: 201)

Fig. 20: A South African-born Royal Flying Corps pilot of the First World War. (Maxwell & Smith 1970: 17)

Fig. 21: Herbert MacKinney, *Keeping The Home Fires Burning* (1918). A pro-war editorial cartoon, created in the First World War, criticizing both Hertzog and his National Party. Brush and ink. (MacKinney 1919: 37)

Fig. 22: Daniel Boonzaaier, *Caricature of Denis Santry* (1915). This drawing was made by Santry's arch opponent. Brush and ink.

(Schoonraad & Schoonraad 1983: 214)

Fig. 23: Denis Santry, Spineless Sam (1915). Brush and ink. (Santry 1915: 16)

Fig. 24: Denis Santry, *Bloodless Surgery* (1915). This editorial cartoon was published as a sequel to Spineless Sam. Brush and ink. (Santry 1915: 38)

Fig. 25: Denis Santry, Well Played! (1915). Brush and ink. (Santry 1915: 26)

Fig. 26: Denis Santry, Waiting For The Call (1915). Brush and ink. (Santry 1915: 45)

Fig. 27: British soldiers wearing sun helmets during the Boer War. (Pakenham 1979: 71)

Fig. 28: A UDF soldier in the Afrikaner Rebellion. (Langner & Raath 2014: 17)

Fig. 29: Denis Santry, The New Springbok (1915). Brush and ink. (Santry 1916: 6)

Fig. 30: Denis Santry, Still Smouldering (1915). Brush and ink. (Santry 1916: 16)

Fig. 31: Bert Thomas, Men Of South Africa-Avenge (c. 1915). (WW1 In Pictures; Poster Women Of World War One: Online)

Fig. 32: A Holland, *Are You Helping Your Overseas Pals In The Final Knockout?* (c. 1917). (Barnett 1980: 80)

Fig. 38 & 39: A Rhodesian veteran of both the First and Second World Wars wearing his medals (left) and his ribbons (right). (Baker 2003: 145)

Fig. 54: Andrew Beauchamp-Proctor as a pilot in the Royal Flying Corps (Maxwell &Smith 1970: 19)

Fig. 69: Herbert MacKinney, *The Rainbow* (1918). A somewhat somber depiction of the Armistice of 1918. Brush and ink. (MacKinney 1919: 80)

7. Turnitin Report

Submission Title	Turnitin Paper ID	Submitted	Similarity	Grade
Editorial Cartoons and Propaganda Posters of the Union of South Africa's pro-war during the First World War 1914-1918	595185890	4/11/15, 18:10	8%	-

8. Proof of planning

