Places at the Cape

A Guidebook for Beginner Researchers

Carohn Cornell and Antonia Malan
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Cover: Table Bay and Table Mountain, sepia wash S C Malan, (1812-1894) University of Stellenbosch
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1

Researching places: An introduction

This section discusses key concepts and themes of this guidebook:

• ‘layered history’: how a place may have layer upon layer of history and many human stories
• ‘cultural landscape’: how a natural landscape has been shaped by people; traces of how people have lived in it and used it over time
• ‘sense of place’: anything about a place that makes it special or unique and gives someone a sense of attachment and belonging there
• ‘nothing there’: places and communities that have been marginalized, seem to have disappeared, or been changed beyond recognition, often for political reasons.

These themes run through the examples in the Guidebook, especially the stories (in Section 8) about research that people have done about different places, what made them curious in the first place, clues and sources, dead ends and discoveries.

What we look for in the past depends on what interests us ... I like to know who and what was there before – what buildings were used for, what value they had at that time, how the landscape has been layered – it’s always interesting to hear people’s stories and to map the places, to get a picture. I’ve spent years mapping places as they changed over time, people, names, places, how to get there, where all the little wagon roads were …

(Kathy Schulz, Land Claims researcher)

‘Layered history’

Places have layers of history. The history of a place, layer upon layer, is connected to the stories of the people who made the place and used it. The places that we live in are constantly changing. A family alter the house they live in, a farmer extends vineyards up the slopes of a mountain, a town planner redesigns a city block, a house becomes a church, a church becomes a gallery or a refugee centre, informal settlements develop.

• A single building, such as the Auwal Mosque in the Bo-Kaap or the pass office in Langa or the Woodstock Town Hall, can bear witness to the history of communities.
• The streets of Cape Town retain the imprint of architectural developments from the 17th to the 21st century, and spaces like the Company Gardens and the Grand Parade and old buildings such as the Castle have hosted dramatic events and changes through time.
• Think of the layers of history in Salt River: pre-colonial uses; the violent end to a slave revolt; the Salt River fish and fresh produce market; Cape Town’s first industrial site, the railway workshops; churches, schools and training college; synagogues and mosques; textile factories, many now closing; the very literary English street names; the Town Hall now used mainly by the Angolan community; the route to the Muslim graveyard that was a site of protest in the 1980s; Community House, site of trade union and NGO activism, bombed by ‘security forces’ in the 1980s; London Road, scene of the lynching of a gang leader; and recently a fashionable address for design studios.
• An area like Porter Estate in Tokai is layered with physical remains of its use from before European settlement to the present – from when VOC cattle took over the old Khoi grazing grounds, through the history of landed gentry, slave and convict labour, punishment and reformatory systems, to present-day ‘green belt’, youth leadership training and a smart Saturday produce market.

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The layers of history are briefly described in the next two sections, a history of the peopling of the Cape, and a timeline for places at the Cape.

‘Cultural landscape’

The concept of ‘cultural landscape’ was developed to counter the idea that areas without buildings were still in their pristine natural state, or could be returned to their natural state. In fact, people have altered the plant and animal life of the Cape over millennia, through selective hunting, grazing their herds, and using fire. More recently, we have introduced forestry and alien crops and plants, animals and insects.

Table Mountain National Park is an interesting example. It is a nature reserve but at the same time it is a cultural environment, with traces of human activity in even the most remote areas. Making decisions about how to manage such a complex environment is not easy. Should the terraces of Luyolo on the mountain slopes of Simon’s Town be returned to nature, should a derelict farmhouse be demolished, should people have access to a grave site or sacred cave?

The Cape was inhabited many tens of thousand of years before Western settlement but because of the mostly nomadic lifestyle of its earlier inhabitants, the lasting visible impacts of humans on this land goes back little more than three centuries, and in vast tracts of it not more than two centuries. The interaction of the two layers of the landscape is no less fascinating for it.

(Hans Fransen, architectural historian, Old Towns and Villages of the Cape, 2006: 1)

South Africa has about 3000 kilometres of coastline. All along there are spectacular sandy beaches, dramatic rocky headlands, steep cliffs and wild estuaries, lagoons and river mouths. These places are rightly viewed as a huge natural, national asset. For archaeologists there is another treasure here, a cultural treasure, one not so easy to appreciate at first sight, but tremendously valuable nevertheless. Almost everywhere along this coastline there are heaps of shell and other debris that result from early people visiting the shore, collecting shellfish, camping in the dunes, in a cave or a bluff overlooking the sea and then moving on.

(John Parkington, archaeologist, Shorelines, Strandlopers and Shell Middens, 2006: 7, 42).

‘Sense of place’

‘Sense of place’ is a difficult concept to define as it encompasses everything about a place that makes it special or unique and fosters a sense of human attachment and belonging – characteristic features, historical context, position in the landscape, tangible remains, associations, smells, views, aesthetic beauty, memories, plants, traditional uses ... ‘Sense of place’ is important in heritage conservation management as it is one of the criteria for assessing the significance of a heritage resource and protecting it. Conflicting opinions, feelings or perceptions can also be part of the intangible heritage of the place.

For example, some may see the site of the VOC woodcutter’s post, Paradise in Newlands Forest, as a picturesque picnic spot, the ruins of a cottage where Lady Anne Barnard once wrote eloquently in her Journal; others would regard it as an example of colonisation and oppression, a military surveillance post defending old Khoe grazing lands against their rightful occupants on behalf of European-born slave-owners.

‘Nothing there?’

In archaeological terms there is no such thing as a ‘greenfield’ site, a vacant piece of land or a pristine environment. People have been have been interacting with the environment for millions of years and the remains of their material culture can be virtually anywhere.

(Tim Hart, archaeologist)

Even when it looks as though there’s nothing left of a place, the impact of people on the land, and between groups of people within a neighbourhood or household, has always left traces. Sometimes
these traces can be seen in the fabric of the place, its walls and rubbish pits, sometimes they are recorded in documents or images, but most often they are only distant memories.

In the central city streets of Cape Town there is virtually no visible fabric remaining from the slave period (mid 17th to mid 19th centuries) as even the ‘older-looking’ buildings are often late Victorian or Edwardian facades. A handful of monuments could be classed as visually ‘unchanged’ since the slaves built, planted or fixed them – the Castle, possibly some trees in the Gardens, Old Town House, the Palm Tree mosque in Long Street. Nevertheless, the old street layout remains and pedestrians can catch an occasional view linking the city and its sea and mountain environs, or linking public spaces and thoroughfares. The outer routes include considerably more original fabric, particularly the Bo-Kaap, and evocative environments, such as upper Gorge Road.


The beginnings [of ancient cities] can often be reconstructed only from the potsherds, walls and ashes which were the most enduring marks left by their inhabitants, and perhaps by a few hand tools. [The origins of younger cities] are the result of a different process of reconstruction: the painstaking sifting of contemporary records dealing with the daily process of bureaucracy which comes into being when a group of people consents to government. Births and deaths, rules and regulations, sales and acquisitions, lists of stores and inventories of wills are the dead bones from which the semblance of life can be resuscitated...

(Margaret Cairns, Cradle of Commerce: the story of Block B, 1974: 11)

In areas that suffered forced removals and demolitions under the Locations Acts, Land Acts or Group Areas it may look as if there is ‘nothing there’ except memories, but there are usually traces. In Simon’s Town there are collapsed wood and iron structures overgrown by weeds on the hillside terraces where Luyolo was home to black families. In the green belt opposite Kirstenbosch grassy mounds cover broken china, bottletops and scraps of plastic in the rubble of wall footings of Protea Village and former residents will show you the old path to the spring. In the ‘empty space’ of District Six you can see the cobbles and granite kerbstones of Horstley Street and the horseshoes tumbled in the charcoal-black debris of a blacksmith’s hearth in Stuckeris Street.

Researchers may say about some places that there’s nothing there, meaning that there is nothing that deserves attention, nothing that would be interesting to research. A ‘location’, a council housing estate, an RDP housing project, an informal settlement, may be seen as nothing special because it is like many other marginalised areas – but people who make their homes there have stories to tell and the place and the community may have a very layered history. For instance, Ndabeni was established in 1901 by the Cape Town City Council to accommodate those infected during an outbreak of bubonic plague. By the 1920s, Ndabeni had become an industrial area and by 1933 its black residents had been forced to move to Langa. In turn, Langa was established in 1927, barracks were built after the 1950s removals, and now the hostels and streets are undergoing another layer of remodelling. Today the name Ndabeni lives on in the name of the railway station and the industrial area but also in the Land Claims committee of former residents and their descendants.
A very brief history: 
people and places in the Western Cape

This section is about ‘the changing and enduring relationships between people and the physical places in which they lived’ (Worden et al. 1998: 7). It deals with when, how, why different places evolved at the Cape. The spatial overview is followed in the next section by a timeline of some significant places and events.

The overview in this section and the timeline in Section 3 are based on two invaluable sources for anyone researching the history of places in Cape Town, Worden et al., Cape Town: The Making of a City (1998), and Bickford-Smith et al., Cape Town in the Twentieth Century (1999), with additional material from other sources. For a detailed case-study of the evolution of a place around the people living there, see Penny Pistorius, Texture and Memory: The Urbanism of District Six (2002).

The indigenous people of the Cape

Archaeological evidence

The history of places at the Cape started well before the Europeans ‘discovered’ it in the 15th century, and this unwritten story has been unearthed through archaeological research into the physical traces that people left behind. Skeletons and the tools of hunters and gatherers from the Middle and Late Stone Age, some dating from about 30,000 years ago, have been discovered at sites on the modern Foreshore, Maitland, Peers Cave at Fish Hoek, and across the southern part of the Peninsula and Cape Flats. Remains of sheep from 1,600 years ago, and cattle bones from at least 1,300 years ago, have been found at sites across the south-western Cape, revealing the presence of pastoralist communities. There seem to have been no hunter-gatherer communities left in the Cape Peninsula by the 17th century but at least two Khoe groups, the Gorachoqua and Goringhaiqua, used the shores of Table Bay as part of an annual grazing migration with their herds (Worden et al. 1998: 16).

We refer to the indigenous herders of the Cape as the ‘Khoe’ herders, the ‘Khoekhoe(n)’, but in some quotations from earlier sources you will see ‘Hottentot’ or ‘Khoi/Khoikhoi’.

(See Andy Smith, ‘Where have all the Hottentots gone? The archaeology and history of the Khoekhoen’, 2002).

Written records

The earliest eyewitness accounts were written by Europeans whose experiences and prejudices coloured their view of places they saw. The European seafarers were concerned with access to fresh water and food, finding a place to recover from sickness and somewhere to repair their vessels. They were also writing for an audience back in Europe – their superiors, funders or fellow sailors. These visits and interactions have left us with an archive of information to interpret.

Their speech it seemed to us inarticulate noise, rather than language, like the clucking of hens or gabbling of turkeys. Wearing the raw guts of beasts, which serve as well for food as complement … the rest of the body is naked, save that about the waist they have a thong of leather … only upon their feet they have a sole piece of leather tied with a little strap, which while these Hatten-totes were in our company their hands held, their feet having thereby the greater liberty
to steal, which with their toes they can do exactly, all the while looking us in the face the better to deceive.

(Edward Terry, European traveller, 1616)

What the indigenous people experienced and thought they did not record, but there are a few glimpses here and there. Jan van Riebeeck, who disliked and distrusted the Cochoqua, especially when he realised they were not interested in bartering away their herds for copper trinkets, recorded his frustrations in the Company journal:

Would it matter so much if one deprived them of some 6 or 8 thousand cattle? For this there would be ample opportunity, as we have observed that they are not very strong – indeed they are extremely timorous. Often only 2 or 3 of them drive a thousand cattle within range of our cannon, and it would therefore be quite easy to cut them off (Worden et al. 1998: 21).

During talks after the first Khoe-Dutch war of 1657, Khoe leaders demanded: ‘Who should rather in justice give way, the rightful owner or the foreign intruder?’ (Boonzaier et al. 1996: 72). In 1695, J.G. Grebenbroek recorded a Khoe perspective:

You eaters of grass and lettuce, feed it to your oxen. Personally we would rather fast. Your habits disgust and sicken us ... With your foolish values you treasure a woman’s necklace of tiny beads above sheep. You have no gods: you have none. Like savages you disburden your bowels on the graves of our ancestor Heitsi Abib.

Later missionary and visitors’ records give a more sympathetic but very paternalistic picture. George French Angas, the British artist, writer and traveller, arrived in Genadendal in July 1847, and then ‘painted the portraits of our old and young Hottentots of both sexes in the most accurate manner’. He commented on the portrait of an old man, Leveregt Ari, ‘a pure Hottentot, about eighty years old’:

Nowhere within the limits of the Cape Colony are these people now to be met with existing in a wild state ... At Genadendal and several other mission stations much has been done for the amelioration and benefit of this oppressed and timid race; and the old man before us, after a life of servitude and slavery has found an asylum where he may lay his bones in peace in the soil once his own.

(Russel Viljoen, ‘Soil once his own’, 2007: 215-216)

Imaginative accounts of the early days of settlement have been written with the help of archival records, such as Daniel Sleigh’s Islands (translated by André Brink, 2004).

How the small settlement spread under the VOC

The original settlement was not intended as a permanent and extensive colony but it soon spread, first into the Liesbeeck valley and within a few years the other side of the Cape Flats to the Eerste River and Stellenbosch. Free burgher farming extended the frontier of the VOC settlement and in so doing marked out neatly rectangular blocks, in a further mapping and naming of the landscape which would become the basis of suburban expansion in the 19th century (Worden et al. 1998: 20).

To adventurers and traders from 17th century Europe there was something very attractive about wild and unexplored territory. Once the VOC garrison felt confident of their military superiority over the indigenous herders and hunter-gatherers, they marched, rode and shot their way north and east from the Cape Peninsula.

On the elastic frontiers of the colony, men hunted, traded and searched for mineral riches – with the very necessary help of indigenous knowledge and labour. However, relations between Khoekhoe and colonists were not allowed to develop into friendship or intimacy as it was against Company rules for its ‘servants’ to marry or settle with the indigenous people. The hunters, traders and fortune-hunters were followed by farmers with wives, children, servants and livestock, who settled on the land, marking it out with beacons and defending it with firearms.
Colonists’ land rights expanded: to the Liesbeeck River (1657), the Peninsula (1672), Stellenbosch (1679), Drakenstein (1687), Land van Waveren (1700), Oliphants and Upper Breede Rivers to the north, to the south of Langeberg in the east (1723), to Nieuweveld, Camdebo and Sneeuberg (1760s) and the Great Fish River (1778). In time, small settlements, villages and towns developed on important routes, along with sites of churches and drostdys (magistracies): Swellendam (1747), Graaff Reinet (1786), Tulbagh (1804) and Worcester (1820).

The Cape colony under British rule

The British were not only explorers, merchants and traders but also professional colonial administrators. Gradually during the 19th century, the small spaces in Table Valley between farms and grazing lands, private and state-owned land and buildings, were identified, mapped and marked, and assessed for their commercial value. Industrialisation and modern technology improved roads, railways and communications. The emancipation of slaves, enforced servitude of the Khoekhoe and San, and immigration of European artisans and labourers as settlers, had a great impact on the spatial development of rural towns and farms.

As the colonists searched for new places to settle, there was conflict between more and more groups of people, and fluid groupings such as those of the Griqua developed. People on the ‘eastern frontier’, the African agriculturalists and cattle keepers who lived east of the summer rainfall boundary, proved more than a match for the Europeans. The ‘frontier wars’ were bloody and seemed to be endless.

The changing face of the city

The urban spread of metropolitan Cape Town from the 1880s fanned out along the main transport routes. Working class and middle income housing clustered at the intersections of rail and road, such as Claremont and Wynberg. Social stratification was beginning, with the wealthy moving to leafy suburbs, though with interspersed ‘pockets’ of ‘coloured’ neighbourhoods, such as Protea Village in Newlands and Belletjiebos in Claremont, but the centre of Cape Town was still quite mixed, both socially and racially (Pistorius 2002: 33). This was particularly true of District Six, home to people from all over the world, where every street also had African residents.

In District Six, ‘coloured and white Afrikaner rural migrants rubbed shoulders with Jewish and Indian shopkeepers; West Indians introduced the language and ideas of African America; and St Helenans lived cheek by jowl with Cape Muslims and the descendants of Filipino fishermen … the hotels had Italian chefs …’ (Bickford-Smith et al. 1999: 122).

Immigration changed the demographic composition of parts of the city. By 1945, for the first time since the early 19th century, there were more blacks than whites in the city. Most were ‘coloured’ people but rural poverty also drove large numbers of Africans to the Western Cape, many into informal shack settlements like Windermere. The influx of ‘poor white’ Afrikaners changed the working class districts of Woodstock, Salt River and Observatory and they also moved into Goodwood and Parow (Bickford-Smith et al. 1999: 70-71).

The changing face of the Cape Flats – from rural hamlets to densely populated townships

Until the 1940s new developments avoided the inhospitable Cape Flats. Philippi farmers had lived on the sandy soils for generations but after the Second World War speculators sold or leased plots to needy townpeople who built what became disparagingly known as pondoks. In Retreat, among other building projects, land was bought for a coloured housing scheme consisting of several hundred houses with a converted cowshed as the community centre. The ‘northern suburbs’ of Goodwood (centre of horse-racing in 1905), Bellville (still a village in 1940) and Parow followed Voortrekker Road and the railway line across the Flats, largely for the benefit of Nationalist voters.

By 1920 most Africans no longer lived in Ndabeni … A new location, Langa, was built to replace Ndabeni. The barracks for migrant labourers were to be separated from one another by
a high, unclimbable fence with only one point of access. The layout … was designed for control (Bickford-Smith et al. 1999: 87).

Cape Town had had permanent African residents for more than a century, as well as generations of migrant workers, by the time the Western Cape was declared a ‘coloured labour preference area’ in 1954. For more than a generation no more family housing was built for Africans. Almost all Africans in Cape Town and other urban areas were classified as ‘temporary sojourners’, visitors: by law they could remain only as long as their labour was needed and could be sent to live in the ‘homelands’ if officials so decided. Over the years the government tried various strategies to move Africans out of Cape Town to rural ‘homelands’ but urbanisation continued: alongside the townships of Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu, many informal settlements developed, perhaps the best known being Crossroads. Prime Minister P.W. Botha failed to realise his dream that all Africans in Cape Town could be forced to move into the new township, Khayelitsha, under tight official control.

The Group Areas Act extended and enforced existing residential segregation and set out to destroy mixed areas, such as District Six in the heart of Cape Town. ‘The Group’ changed the face of Cape Town as well as towns and villages all over the Western Cape (and the rest of South Africa). There were forced removals in many areas of the Cape Peninsula. Between the 1960s and the 1980s, about 150,000 Capetonians, mostly coloured and African, were forced to move from many of the older areas of the city to new council townships on the Cape Flats next to industrial areas (such as Bonteheuwel next to Epping Industria). This opened up areas for urban ‘replanning’, as did the Separate Amenities Act (1953). The development of Cape Flats housing schemes for coloured Capetonians went hand in hand with residential segregation.

After 1994

In 1997 the six municipalities of greater Cape Town received their formal independence. Urban renewal had touched only parts of metropolitan Cape Town, including the wealthier areas of the city and suburbs. The contrast with the coloured and African areas of the city was extreme: ‘The uneven distribution of power and wealth, and its approximate correlation with gender and race, remained dramatically visible’ (Bickford Smith et al. 1999: 233).

In 2000 the huge Cape Town Unicity was formed, with the political aim of ensuring that the wealthier areas with better infrastructure and services could cross-subsidize the areas that lacked them. Separate municipalities and apartheid legislation have been abolished but most Capetonians still live and go to school in racially segregated areas, with racial differentiation in facilities including public spaces.

Cape Town Memory Project

Communities of the Western Cape still show the divisions entrenched by segregation and apartheid, the Locations Act and the Group Areas Act. Sadly, geographical divides have translated into deep structural, social and psychological cleavages. Public spaces remain charged with tensions of the past and we are faced with a lack of collective ownership of public spaces and of memory.

The Cape Town Memory Project began as a response to this apartheid hangover and aims to create living spaces that acknowledge the full range of diverse memories. The Project aims to develop a public conversation about memories in Cape Town – including as many voices and opinions as possible in order to make Cape Town a hospitable city for all its citizens.

At present the Memory Project is co-ordinated by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation but it is not ‘owned’ by any organisation or individual. It is a networking initiative among all those who are involved in ‘memory work’ in Cape Town. For more information or to go onto the mailing list, email njaynes@ijr.org.za.

(Natalie Jaynes, Coordinator, Cape Town Memory Project)
### 3 Timeline for the Cape

This is a long and quite detailed timeline but of course it doesn’t tell the whole story. It focuses on places at the Cape:

- when, how, why the settlement changed and expanded
- when and where significant events took place
- how infrastructure and communications developed
- how segregation and apartheid shaped the geography of the Cape
- urban planning and administration.

There isn’t enough space for all that we wanted to include about places at the Cape and their layered and often contested history:

- how the town spread around the peninsula so that outlying estates and villages – from Zonnebloem to Woodstock (Papendorp), Constantia to Simon’s Town – became part of greater Cape Town
- how dairy farming and agriculture had to move further and further out of town, as land was built up (in living memory there was dairy farming in Woodstock, Protea Village and Jakkalsvlei, later Bonteheuvel; a few Philippi vegetable farms remain among factories and informal settlements; and so on)
- how public spaces, parks, commons, were established; landmark public buildings; public transport routes and interchanges; open air markets, corner shops and family businesses, supermarket chains, malls and casinos
- how informal settlements have changed over time (e.g. Windermere, Modderdam and Crossroads)
- sites of struggle, marked and unmarked
- how recent development/redevelopment and planning in the metropolitan area affects people, places and heritage (e.g. pedestrian areas, the station concourse, the Parade and East City, Klipfontein Road development corridor, the N2 Gateway) and controversies around developments on private and public land (e.g. Oudekraal, Prestwich Street, the 2010 stadium on Green Point Common, Sea Point Promenade).

For a fuller picture, look at Nigel Worden et al., *Cape Town: The Making of a City* (1998), and Vivian Bickford-Smith et al., *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century* (1999), which bring together a wide range of primary and secondary sources for an illustrated social history of Cape Town. The references will lead you to plenty of other sources on people and places at the Cape.

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### European mariners

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<tr>
<td>1487</td>
<td>Portuguese explorer Bartholomeu Dias and his men climbed Signal Hill.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1503</td>
<td>Portuguese explorer Antonio de Saldanha sailed into Table Bay.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1510</td>
<td>More European ships stopped at the Cape for fresh water and some traded with the Khoekhoe; when Portuguese explorer d’Almeida tried to kidnap two Khoekhoe he and his men were killed; after that the Portuguese avoided Table Bay.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1602</td>
<td>The Dutch East India Company (VOC) was founded; English and Dutch ships in Table Bay and their tents along the shore were a regular sight.</td>
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Commanders Shillinge and Fitzherbert took possession of Table Bay and raised the English flag but the claim was not followed up.

Castaways from the Haerlem reported that the local inhabitants of Table Bay were friendly.

Under the VOC

The VOC established a refreshment base in Table Bay for its ships, under Van Riebeeck; the Khoekhoe claimed their right to graze cattle on the settlement site and were reluctant to barter their breeding animals.

The settlement became a colony; the first free burgher colonists were granted land along the Liesbeeck River with freehold tenure; the first land surveyor was appointed; four taverns opened near the fort and Company garden.

First slaves were imported to the Cape.

Open conflict between colonists and Khoekhoe over access to grazing land: a militia company of free burghers armed 'self defence' and a 'peace agreement' was made.

The first house erven were granted in Table Valley; settlers mapped out the VOC settlement and outposts.

Work began on a permanent fort (Castle of Good Hope).

First grant of land to a 'free black' (ex-slave) in Table Valley.

French attacked the VOC outpost at Saldanha Bay.

Token 'payment' to the Goringhaiqua for permanent VOC occupation of Table Bay, to fend off European rivals.

The Castle was completed: symbol of permanent colonial presence and domination.

New VOC outposts marked the expanding frontier: Stellenbosch (1679), Drakenstein (1687), and Land van Waveren (later Tulbagh, 1700).

New VOC outpost at Groene Cloof (later Mamre); Koina lost grazing land to VOC cattle farmers.

After 1704 free burghers were allowed to barter for livestock with inland Khoekhoe; game hunting parties penetrated deep into the interior; VOC grazing permits permitted colonists to use traditional Khoew grazing land.

Smallpox epidemic decimated the Khoekhoe and Company slaves.

System of leasing land (loan farms) introduced: this gave colonists exclusive rights to land as far as the Oliphants River valley, upper Breede River and eastwards south of the Langeberg mountains.

Quitrent tenure introduced but not widely adopted; expansion into Little Karoo.

'Bushman War' and introduction of compulsory commando system; expansion into Hantam and Roggeveld.

Baron von Imhoff introduced 'loan-ownership' but few titles were issued; in Overberg, a new Swellendam district (1747), there were large circular farms, measured by 'walking off' an area around a central point.

Wentzel plan of Cape Town streets, blocks and lots.

Slaves and Khoekhoe obliged to carry passes; Nieuweveld, Camdebo and Sneeuwberg colonised.

Governor van Plettenberg confirmed an agreement with certain Gwali chiefs on the eastern frontier (1778): the Great Fish River to be the boundary between the Cape Colony and the people of those chieftaincies; Graaff-Reinet district established (1786).

First British Occupation, after the 'battle' of Muizenberg.

Under the British

After the Battle of Blaauwberg, British established permanent control of the Cape Colony; postal service, mainly on horseback, throughout the colony.

Slave trade abolished in all British colonies, and by the Swedes and Dutch, but slaves confiscated from slave ships of other nations were brought to the Cape as 'prize negroes' and 'apprenticed' to established slave owners for 14 years.
1809 All Khoekhoe had to be contracted to employers and had to have a ‘fixed place of residence’.

1812 Khoe children between 8 and 18 were indentured to work on colonists’ farms where they had been raised.

1813 Governor Cradock reformed land tenure system: perpetual quitrent grants and survey diagrams, to be registered with Court of Justice, along with freeholds.

1817 First formal plan of Stellenbosch, by land surveyor Hertzog.

1820 Worcester district was established; farmers crossing the Orange River settled under Griqua chiefs.

1825 First steamship, Enterprise, arrived in Cape Town.

1828 Under Ordinance 39, property transfers registered in the newly created Deeds Office; Ordinance 49 imposed pass controls on African workers in the Cape Colony.

1830 Sir Lowry’s Pass opened up the Overberg transport route.

1834 Slavery abolished, but replaced by ‘apprenticeship’.

1838 Emancipation of slaves/apprentices at the Cape; many moved into Bo-Kaap and other already crowded areas.

1840 Cape Town got its own municipal government with elected wardmasters and a board of commissioners (franchise based on property ownership); Masters and Servants Ordinance (1841) entrenched control of labour.

1854 First parliament of representative government for the Cape, which made Cape Town an imperial and national capital; new civic buildings and the town’s canals gradually filled in.

1859 Cape Town’s first industrial site, the railway workshops at Salt River.

1860s First telegraph line between Cape Town and Simon’s Town; new harbour plans started with construction of breakwater and Alfred Basin (1860); Cape Town Railway and Dock Company railway line to Eerste River (1862); railway reached Wellington; Cape Town linked to Grahamstown by telegraph (1863); railway line to Wynberg (1864).

1867 Discovery of diamonds in Kimberley (and gold in Witwatersrand 1886) required extensive harbour developments, such as Robinson Dry Dock and outer basins; Municipal Act divided Cape Town into six districts (District One to Six).

1885 Submarine cable between Cape Town and Europe.

1890 Railway reached Simon’s Town.

1897 Public Health Act to tackle chronically bad urban sanitation and living conditions.

1899 South African (‘Boer’) War; over 25,000 people (mostly uitlanders/foreigners) took refuge in Cape Town while British troops at times numbered 10,000.

1901 Plague epidemic; Africans forcibly removed from the city to Uitvlugt which became Ndabeni, the first planned African ‘location’ in Cape Town; resistance continued in Ndabeni, including boycotts and delegation to British government; socialist political and union movements developed (e.g. the Stone meetings in Clifton Street, District Six); Durbanville became a municipality.

1902 Location Act: urban Africans to live in ‘locations’.

1905 SA National Society founded to protect historical artefacts (later evolving into the National Monuments Council and SA Heritage Resources Agency).

Under the Union of South Africa

1910 Cape Colony became the Cape Province in the new Union of South Africa.

1913 Native Land Act banned purchase or lease of land by Africans outside of ‘native reserves’; National Botanic Garden established at Kirstenbosch; Arthur Elliott exhibited photographs of buildings and places at the Cape.

1914 South Africa entered the First World War; between the First and Second World War modern technology appeared (cars, electricity, wireless).

1918 Influenza epidemic killed thousands of Capetonians.

1919 Pinelands Garden City (white) and Maitland Garden Village (coloured) established; organisations such as the Citizens’ Housing League built low-cost houses to reduce overcrowding.

1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act to force urban Africans to live in ‘locations’; Natural and Historical Monuments Act (No.6).
1927 After forced removals from Ndabeni, Langa and Nyanga were built over two decades; first Town Planning Ordinance.

1929 Cable car to top of Table Mountain; Union Air Mail inaugurated.

1930 Great Depression changed Cape Town’s workforce: by 1936 over 50% were white Afrikaners, many from rural areas; government aid for ‘poor whites’.

1934 Municipal Town Planning branch in City Engineer’s department drew up comprehensive zoning schemes to remodel the city, especially to transform ‘narrow streets and congested buildings’; Slums Act enabled the municipality to acquire and demolish ‘slum’ properties for rebuilding.

1936 Native Trust and Land Act: Africans forbidden to buy land outside the reserves except from other Africans.

1938 Goodwood, Parow and Bellville became municipalities.

1940s Cape Town’s pier demolished to make way for Foreshore development; the French planner’s Foreshore reclamation plan for rebuilding the city on a much grander scale, replaced ‘much of District Six and the Malay Quarter’, but fortunately this did not happen.

1945 Second World War; expansion of light industry brought more women into workforce; many Africans migrated to Cape Town; influx controls were introduced.

1948 Nationalist Party government: apartheid policy to extend existing segregation.

1950s Costly modern municipal buildings in the new municipalities; Foreshore plan redesigned as the new station roof blocked the middle of the vista from the harbour; traffic problems tackled by De Waal Drive and Table Bay Boulevard; under Group Areas Act, 1960s to 1980s, about 150,000 Capetonians, mostly coloured and African, were forced to move from older areas of the city to new council townships on the Cape Flats next to industrial areas (e.g. Epping); this opened up areas for urban ‘replanning’, as did the Separate Amenities Act (1953); resistance to apartheid laws included public gatherings and the Defiance Campaign.

1954 Western Cape declared a ‘Coloured Labour Preference Area’; over the years government attempted to move Africans out of Cape Town to rural ‘homelands’.

1957 First Group Areas declared by the Land Tenure Advisory Board (Group Areas Board).

1960 Anti-pass march from Langa into the city.

1966 District Six declared a ‘white Group Area’; protests; forced removals ‘killed the inner city’; from Sea Point to Simon’s Town in the peninsula, and in towns and villages throughout the country forced removals continued, 1960s to the late 1980s.

1968 Eastern Boulevard cut through District Six.

1969 Earthquake destroyed many historical buildings in Tulbagh and nearby towns and villages; National Monuments Act (No.28).

1972 Whites-only parliamentary rolls for municipal elections.

1978 Western Bypass created further barrier between city and sea.

1980 Waterfront redevelopment plan led to V&A Waterfront, visited by millions of tourists and locals.

1982 Municipal plan for ‘Greening the City’ created ‘urban trails’ and ‘greenways’, and proposals to restore or conserve the vleis, flora and fauna of the Cape Flats; parts of central city for pedestrians only; Black Local Authorities Act extended powers of Community Councils in townships, widely opposed as ‘puppet’ bodies; mass anti-apartheid pro-democracy marches and new Defiance Campaign in and around the city continued into the 90s.

Towards democracy


1999 National Heritage Resources Act (No.25).

2000 Cape Town Unicity was formed by the merger of seven smaller municipalities, and administered under the Cape Metropolitan Areas of Cape Town, the South Peninsula, Blaauwberg, Helderberg, Tygerberg and Oostenberg.
4
How to research pieces of land/property

This section outlines, step by step, how to research the history of pieces of land and the people who owned and/or occupied them.

Researchers are fortunate that some of these resources have been collected by Robert Shell and published as a CD: 'Changing Hands: a calendar of bondage in Southern Africa, 1550 to 1888'. A central theme of the CD is ownership and/or change of ownership of people and places. It is available through www.Ancestry24.co.za. This website is a must for researchers.

We have a wealth of sources but it is important to recognise bias in the sources we use. The main bias is towards elite white men whose lives were recorded by officials, by themselves and by others. It is not usually difficult to track the particular blocks or buildings where the elite of colonial Cape Town lived. It is much more difficult to track so-called ordinary people who owned or rented property and very difficult if not impossible to track servants, slaves and other people without property: it's as if they were invisible.

Quick overview: How to research a property

• How to research the places and structures on a property (location, extent, buildings)
• How to research the property owners (assets, estates, families)

Background on land tenure/property rights

Sources for researching properties and the people who owned/occupied them

• Shortcuts to the sources
• 1650s to 1830s: Household inventories
• 1650s to now: Genealogies
• From 1660: Maps, charts and plans
• 18th century: Panoramas
• From about 1750: Drawings and paintings
• 18th and 19th century: Tax returns and census records
• 19th century: Almanacs and directories
• From 1800 to now: Newspapers
• From about 1850: Photographs
• From 1926: Aerial surveys and maps.
Quick overview: How to research a property

When land is sold to or granted to a private owner it has to be surveyed and registered in that person’s name:

- Each title deed has a surveyor’s diagram of the land parcel to which it relates.
- Each land parcel is defined by measurement.
- Each land parcel has a number.

Land grants, individual property surveys and deeds of transfer are stored in the Surveyor General’s Office and Deeds Office at 90 Plein Street, Cape Town. The term ‘cadastral’ is used to describe official records: these are land registration and census lists.

1. How to do a search on a property at the Surveyor-General’s Office (9th floor) and Deeds Office (13th floor)

To research a property you need the property reference (farm number and district, or erf number and location), or survey diagram reference (number and date and district). Then you can search for digitised diagrams on the Surveyor General’s Office website from your home computer. The digitised survey diagrams are traced copies of documents and are neither as attractive nor as informative as the originals. To see the originals, visit 90 Plein Street, Cape Town.

On the 9th floor you will find the Surveyor-General’s Office (SGO), where you can check for your property reference and get copies of survey diagrams, noting sheets, etc. Occasionally, the survey plans indicate details of the shape of houses, outbuildings and other features, as well as the use of grounds around the buildings. Take some money for copies.

The Deeds Office (DO) is on the 13th floor, where there is a help desk. Once you have the location and farm or erf number, go to the 14th floor for an abbreviated history of the property: these documents are bound by area in files in numerical order. In the 13th floor strong rooms the transfer deed manuscripts are filed by date so you can trace each transfer from original grant to the present day. Each deed of transfer should contain dates of previous transfers in the text and is cross-written with the next transfer number and date. Take some money for copies.

Wanneer daar gekyk word na die datum van toekenning van eiendomsgrond aan die Kaap, moet daar tussen vyf datums onderskei word, naamlik: Datum van Toesegging, Datum van Opmeting deur Landmeter, Datum wat Erfbrief opgestel is, Datum van Ondertekening deur Goewerneur, en Datum van Registrasie in Erfbriefboek.


Hans Fransen dedicates his book, Villages and Towns of the Cape, to the memory of the land surveyors of the Cape ‘who, 150 to 200 years ago, were the “authors” of so many of the towns described in this book – the Hertzogs, the Knobels, the Voormans, the Hopleys. We know very little about their lives or about their background and training. … But we do have the individual surveyors’ signatures on the scores of farm diagrams, and on dozens of town designs’ (Hans Fransen, 2006: vii).

2. How to research the property owners, their assets and estates

You can follow the history of owners or occupiers as the property was passed from one owner to the next, along with the story of how the land was used.

- Titles and transfers in the Deeds Office record the owner’s name and his or her spouse, legal ownership or title, price, occupation, neighbours, etc. They don’t usually record occupants (with some exceptions) and they don’t always record transfers within the family.
- In the Cape Archives, a search of the computerised data bank may provide references to a property or the people associated with it. NAAIRS (National Automated Archival Information Retrieval System) is accessible online from home as well as from the public computers in the Reading Room. (See Section 9: Archives and Libraries.)
- Detailed records of the administration of deceased and/or insolvent estates up to 1834 are lodged
in the Cape Archives (Master of the Orphan Chamber, MOOC). They include death registers, inventories and wills, liquidation and distribution accounts, etc.

**Background: Land tenure and property rights**

The importance of the land tenure in shaping the character of Cape colonial society can scarcely be overemphasized. ... The concept of a free farmer owning and working his own land was never questioned even though the concept required slave labour to be workable ... Had the VOC directors not been wedded to the principle of private land ownership ... alternative native systems of land allocation might well have been adopted.


In principle, the system of recording land and property rights that we use today is the same as the system introduced by and used by the VOC from 1657 (Fisher 1984: 60-61). The VOC also established the original system of block lettering and erf numbering (e.g. Table Valley block A lot 4; erf 234 Woodstock) for locating land grants and tracing subdivisions in transfer deeds, and this system was used in transfer deeds into the 19th century.

There were three distinct forms of land tenure under VOC administration:

- **Loan tenure (leening)** was not always recorded by way of title deeds with surveyor’s diagrams.
- **Quitrent tenure (erfpacht)** had to be formally registered by title deed. The quitrent grants are recorded in volumes similar to the freehold records (below).
- **Freehold (eigendom)** had to be formally registered by title deed. Official registration of the original grant of freehold land is recorded in documents in volumes called ‘Old Cape Freehold’ (OCF) and ‘Old Stellenbosch Freehold’ (OSF), etc. stored in the Deeds Office with copies at the Cape Archives.

In the early years when the settlement was still small, the house or garden-land of a person often took his or her name. Visitors would be given addresses and directions based on the names of householders, e.g. ‘Tuyn van de Tweede Bouman’ (Picard 1968:25-27). This happened even after there were official street names. As the town expanded and the alphabet ran out, blocks and lots, wards and districts, were given numbers instead of letters. In 1762 the Burgher Council grouped blocks into 48 numbered wards (Picard 1968: 36). Street names and numbers changed over time as the streets extended or large plots were subdivided.

**Land as private property**

At the Cape, the institutions that turned land into a commodity had been put in place from the earliest days of colonial Dutch rule. The VOC, after all, was the greatest merchant company of its day. Deeply embedded notions of private property were at the centre of the making of the Dutch Cape Colony. Colonial conquest was legitimated by the sophisticated registration of land title deeds. Every piece of conquered indigenous land had its corresponding title lodged in the Cape Town Deeds Office, even if on occasion the maps that accompanied these documents did not accurately represent the extent of the occupation. A virtually identical system of deed registration sanctified and underpinned slave ownership and by extension the basis of the slave society that was the VOC Cape. These land and slave title deeds also made possible the means to obtain credit and to secure debt and to pass on and acquire inheritances. Ultimately, the registration of land and slave titles provided the basis for the structuring of social relations of inequality and reciprocity ... But it was the formation of a settler colony that firmly established Dutch claims to land, even though the Company released their servants from service only reluctantly... Over the course of the next one-and-a-half centuries, land title deeds gave legitimacy to colonial conquest. Even though the majority of white settlers held their land on loan from the VOC, they nevertheless enjoyed a great deal of security. In theory, only the improvements to the land could be sold, but to the freeburghers, the land itself came to hold real value.

Sources for researching properties and the people who owned or occupied them

Shortcuts to the sources

Some archival records have been copied, either by hand or onto computer in various formats.

- **Copied records** are those written by hand and photocopied, or copied onto computer as a text file or made into a table, by a researcher for their own use and for distribution to fellow researchers. Pictures, plans and other images can also be made into digitised copies, by scanning or by photography, and shared with other researchers. These copied records are multiplying by the day and are sometime downloadable for free or can be purchased. Consult www.Ancestry24.co.za for further information.

- **Transcribed records** are a complete and accurate version of the original document, down to the last abbreviation and spelling mistake, which have been professionally edited two or three times to ensure that they meet archival standards. From this ‘authentic database’, which is kept archived and cannot be changed, different versions can be extracted for various uses, in formats such as texts or tables.

Computerised records

Here are some examples of computerised records that we refer to in this book.

Copied records

**Stellenbosch CD:** The Stellenbosch 1/STB series of inventories, has been transcribed and published as a CD by Annemarie Krzesinski-de Widt: ‘Die Boedelinventarisse van Erfaters in die Distrik Stellenbosch 1679-1806’ (2002), available through the Stellenbosch Museum.

‘Changing Hands’ CD: includes some maps and several records relating to property ownership and use:
- Database 3: 1657 to 1750 – Map of the Southwestern Cape Colony Freehold Land Grants.
- Database 5: 1658 to 1768 – Slave Sales and Transfers.
- Database 6: 1658 to 1795 – Freehold farms (to be used in conjunction with Database 3).
- Database 9: 1677 to 1731 – The Cape Cadastral Calendar (‘The Deeds Book’), the original of Database 3, sorted by region.
- Database 12: 1687 to 1793 – Salt Collection and Hunting Permits and Loan Farm Applications.
- Database 18: 1700 – Census of the Cape (Opgaafrol), partial listing.
- Database 22: 1719 – Census of Cape, Stellenbosch and Drakenstein (Opgaafrollen).
- Database 42: 1755 – Census of Inhabitants of Cape Town (Opgaafrol).
- Database 44: 1762 – Census of the Cape Colony (Opgaafrol).
- Database 45: 1762 – Census of Slave-Owning Burghers and Slave-Owning Company Officials.
- Database 71: Appendix Four: List of Standard Cape Surnames.
Transcribed records

Website: The TANAP (Towards a New Age of Partnership) Project put the Resolutions of the Council of Policy of the Cape of Good Hope on a website (www.tanap.net/content/activities/documents) at the National Archives in The Hague. It is easy to search the Resolutions (minutes of official meetings) for names of people and places (and ships) during the VOC period. There is also a more laborious ‘free search’ option which allows you to search on any word you wish. When you find what you want, you can download a pdf version. This information has now been put onto CD format by the TEPC project (see below).

Website and CD version: A related transcription project, Transcription of Estate Papers at the Cape (TEPC) Project, recorded the MOOC inventories and some auction rolls for Cape properties (deceased estates), covering people and places from the end of the 17th century until about 1840. There are indexes of people’s names, including slaves’ names, and the places where they lived or which they owned (districts, towns, rivers, farms, opstallen, streets and blocks). The TEPC team also transcribed lists of VOC employees at the Cape (VC series), and lists of bannelingen (exiles) and bandieten (convicts and criminals) who were sent to the Cape from the East Indies (CJ series). The TEPC CD, ‘Cape Transcripts’, is available from info@sentrum.co.za. Transcriptions of the TANAP Resolutions are also on CD.

1650s to 1830s: Household inventories

See our guidebook, Household Inventories at the Cape.

A household inventory is a list of assets compiled by approved appraisers, usually after the death of a householder (man or woman). The appraisal was not for tax purposes but to ensure fair distribution of the estate to heirs. Not all households were inventoried, however, so it is a matter of luck whether there is an inventory for the house or family you are researching. Inventories vary in size and quality, from a very sparse list of possessions to many pages listing several hundred items described room-by-room, as well as extensive stores. Household inventories are very valuable sources of contextual information about house layout, room function, material culture, household inhabitants, status and wealth.

Inventories are a frozen moment in the life span of the household. Later auction(s) of the assets of an estate provides another picture of the same household, as the items are dispersed into the community.

- Detailed records of the administration of deceased and/or insolvent estates are lodged in the Cape Archives in Roeland Street. Inventories and Appraisals of Estates are filed with the papers of the Master of the Orphan Chamber (MOOC8), as are Auction lists of loose goods later sold off (MOOC10). The MOOC8 series and first five volumes of MOOC10 have been computerised and you can search and download these from the internet.
- There are also inventories and auction lists under the Council of Justice (CJ) and Insolvent Estates (MOIB and MOIC). See especially CJ III (c) (vii) Vendue Rolls, Inventories and Miscellaneous Estate Papers, 1688-1800, vols. 2914-2951; and (x) Registers and Indexes to Notarial Documents, 1702-1779, vol. 3135. These have not been computerised so you have to consult them in their original handwritten form.
- The Stellenbosch District has its own files of inventories: 1/STB. Stellenbosch inventories have been transcribed in a project funded through the Stellenbosch Museum and are available on CD. Rural and dorp inventories dating from 1687 to 1827 are filed under Stellenbosch papers 1/STB are in volumes 18/30-39. Volumes 18/37 onwards have an index.

1650s to now: Genealogies

To understand the history of a property and land ownership over time, you need to know the sequence of the owners and their family relationships. For instance, sometimes a property appears to be sold out of the family (to a person with another name) but it may have been inherited by a relation with a different surname and/or transferred to a son-in-law or brother-in-law.
There are three things to keep in mind about Cape family research:

- Roman-Dutch inheritance laws regarded male and female heirs as equal, and no child could be disinherited. This meant that after a death or disaster the family estate was carefully assessed and divided, so there are many useful records for today’s researchers.
- Women kept their family names even after marriage so it is relatively easy to track them as individuals rather than someone’s wife or widow.
- Many families repeated the same sets of Christian names through the generations so it is important to know someone’s birth and/or death date to confirm whether you are looking at the grandfather or father or son.

The main published sources for family histories are De Villiers and Pama, *Genealogies of the old Cape Families* (1981) covering male heads of households who were considered important and who left heirs (*stamvaders*). Cor Pama edited an updated version of C.C. de Villiers’s original work which includes introductory essays on sources. J. Hoge, *Personalia of the Germans at the Cape 1652-1806* (1946) concentrated on immigrants of German extraction. Heese and Lombard (1999) improved on De Villiers and Pama for the first few letters of the alphabet but Pama’s contribution still needs to be updated. Peter Philip, *British Residents at the Cape 1795-1819* (1981) covers the ‘biographical records of 4,800 pioneers’ who came to the Cape before the more famous ‘1820 settlers’.

You may need to consult individual family histories. You can also check the *Dictionary of South African Biography* (seven volumes) for people considered important. This field of study keeps growing and you should consult the main commercial internet site, www.ancestry24.co.za. Smaller family history groups with extensive links in the Cape are the Family History Society (www.family-history.co.za) and the Cape Family Research Forum (www.capefamilyresearch.com). The Stellenbosch and Paarl Heemkring have recorded several local resources, such as church and property records. There are also local heritage groups which publish newsletters or websites, such as the Swartland Heritage Foundation, see www.athlone.co.za or www.heritage-sa.co.za.

**Non-elite individuals and families: Sources**

- Hans Heese (1984), working with the deliberate intention of revealing the complex relationships between immigrant Europeans and their servants and slaves, both men and women, added significant information about non-elite families.
- Anna Böeseken (1977) and Margaret Cairns were very interested in the genealogies of slaves and free blacks.
- Margaret Cairns wrote a number of articles on less well-documented families and women. Manuscripts and Archives (UCT) has a collection of her work, including newspaper clippings.
- Karel Schoeman has written a great deal on social history in the form of extremely well researched histories and historical novels.
- *Kronos: Journal of Cape History*, University of the Western Cape, has built up many histories over the years, mainly of less well known individuals and families.
- *Familia* is the quarterly journal published by the Genealogical Society of South Africa (GSSA), and is available on paper or in pdf format. Past issues are available on the ‘Familia’ CD.
- *Capensis* is the quarterly journal of the Western Cape branch of the GSSA.
- CABO is the journal of the Historical Society of Cape Town.
- The *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library (QBSAL)* has a long history of excellent research articles.

Go to Section 7, Peopling the Places, for more information on who was where.
From 1660: Maps, charts and plans

Two plans were compiled during the early years of the Cape settlement to show the Dutch East India Company officials in The Netherlands that the settlers were complying with their orders. The first (about 1660) shows the old fort and the second (1693) the new Castle of Good Hope, in relation to the Company gardens, buildings and other features (traced versions, CA: M1/377).

The Atlas of Mutual Heritage (AMH) is an expanding digital academic catalogue of illustrations and data about settlements of the Dutch East and West Indian Company (VOC and WIC). Here you can search for maps, drawings, prints and paintings. The Atlas is the result of intensive co-operation between the Nationaal Archief, RACM (Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg), the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, and the Koninklijke Bibliotheek. At present the database contains 5192 images drawn from a variety of collections in the Netherlands and abroad. The website also offers a complete overview of the places where the VOC and the WIC were based (www.nationaalarchief.nl/amh).

For a list of maps and plans of Cape Town, see Antonia Malan and Stewart Harris, Archives & Archaeology: a guide to source material for researching colonial Cape Town households (1999 revised 2005), which you can download from www.vassa.org.za.

In 1795 when the British occupied the Cape they found very few maps and they must have wondered how the Dutch had governed this huge territory without proper maps. Little did they know that the Dutch had taken maps and charts to Europe to keep them out of British hands. In 1791 Governor C.J. van de Graaff took a large number of hand-drawn maps and charts to Europe and in 1795 Colonel R.J. Gordon, the military commander who surrendered the Cape to the British, removed the remaining maps he found in the Castle. It was not until 1950 that the van de Graaff collection was discovered in the archives of the Dutch Topographical Services in Delft by the geodetic engineer, C. Koeman (Knoetze, 1984).

The municipal surveys carried out by C.D. Wentzel (ca 1750), W.B. Snow (1862) and W. Thom (1898) are useful as a spatial framework for analysing Cape Town households of the 18th and 19th centuries. The properties adjoining the road from Cape Town to Simon’s Town were mapped by L.M. Thibault (1812).

Published street directories are another source of schematic plans useful for locating addresses and important buildings. The first was Greig’s in 1830.

The Survey Department of the City Council of Cape Town (CCC) has a valuable collection of historic maps and plans of the city, and many for the whole of the Cape colony and the country. It was established by Ralph Taylor and since his death has been overseen by Iain Black. The collection is not freely accessible but you can ask for special permission from the Land Use Management or Heritage Resource sections of the City Council.

A special plan of Cape Town, was compiled in about 1910 to establish property boundaries. These sheets show blocks, lots and earliest grants or re-grants (CA: M4/10-13). Different coloured inks are used to identify later deductions and sort out conflicting data.

The Cape Archives stores original copies of maps and plans, old maps from the SGO, as well as photographs and prints of maps and plans, such as those by Thibault and Snow.

Late 19th and early 20th century: Goad’s Insurance Plans in the National Library of South Africa (NLSA) are a mine of information about the built environment of Cape Town because they record the major structural elements (walls, doors, windows, roofs, construction materials, etc.). ‘D’ is a ‘dwelling’, ‘S’ is a shop, ‘PH’ is a public house, ‘TENS’ are tenements, thick lines are shared walls, the numbers 1 and 2 are storeys, and so on. They were regularly updated and revised so they provide a sequence of records showing change over time. It is interesting that the crowded tenement blocks are not recorded in detail, presumably as they were not insured.

18th century: Panoramas

Panoramas are valuable for seeing a place in its cultural landscape, as well as showing changes to the building, street or neighbourhood over time. But not everything is shown in paintings, and photographs date from the 1850s. The best-known drawn panoramas are:

- Early 1700s: The six delightful panoramas drawn by E.V. Stade in 1710 (see James Walton, Old Cape
Farmsteads, 1989: 16) are a most important contribution to our knowledge of the Cape farmstead in the first decade of the 18th century.

- Johannes Schumacher, an artist working for Governor Swellengrebel, travelled round the colony with him in 1776/7. The original pictures are in The Netherlands, but some were published (Hallema, 1951).

- Robert Jacob Gordon was a Dutch military officer who commanded the Cape garrison up to 1795. Gordon himself drew, or someone else (possibly Schumacher) drew for him, 456 sketches in full colour, to accompany his journal. 157 of these drawings have appeared in various forms. The originals are owned by the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, which retains full copyright for publication. The drawings are reproduced on Patrick Cullinan’s website http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/age/people/Gordon. You can see a colour reproduction of Gordon’s annotated panorama of Table Bay (ca 1793) in the Prestwich Memorial exhibition, corner Buitengracht and Somerset Road, or monochrome copies at the Cape Archives (CA: M1/11125 ff).

- About 1808 Josephus Jones did a panorama of Cape Town from the Grand Parade near the corner of Adderley and Strand Streets. You can see this in the Rembrandt van Ryn Gallery, Stellenbosch, and part has been reproduced in colour in Obholzer, Baraitser and Malherbe, The Cape House and its Interior (1985).

- Lady Anne Barnard spent years working on a 360 degree panorama from the Castle wall, and agonised about in her diary: Paradise, April 18, Thursday, 1799 …Took to my old & laid aside Panorama, I am totally forgetting to finish it which is all wrong having promised so faithfully to Lord Macartney – I do not succeed to my own taste in landscapes – I know what is right, but don’t know how to do it’ (Lenta & Cordeur 1998: 106).

- Captain W.S. Sherwill’s panorama from the Lutheran Church tower in 1849 is reproduced in Hymen Picard, Gentleman’s Walk (1968). Names of streets and buildings are given in a panel on the version in the William Fehr Collection.

For a list of all known drawn or painted panoramas of the Table Valley, see Pauline Cook (1959) in the NLSA.

You can find photographed panoramas in the indexes to photographic collections (but use search synonyms, e.g. ‘aerial view’). The earliest wide view is by William Millard, about 1859; and one of the best is W.F.H. Pocock’s, about 1880. Several are reproduced in the Cape Provincial Institute for Architects (CPIA) survey, The Buildings of Central Cape Town, Vol.1: Formative Influences and Classification, 1978.

From about 1750: Drawings and paintings

- The most commonly reproduced pictures are those of Johannes Rach, 1762, who drew views of the town and squares.

- In about 1804 an unknown artist made a drawing of the Table Valley with drawings of some of the houses on market gardens. Stewart Harris compiled historical information about each place in the drawing, at that time (Stewart Harris, Table Valley Market Gardens, 2007). The centre spread, Denis Verschoyle’s map, conveniently names the gardens and outlines the shapes they had grown into by 1820.

- There are several well-illustrated publications dealing with individual artists who liked to paint buildings and places, such as Charles Bell and Charles D’Oyly in the 1830s, and Thomas Bowler in the 1840s.

- Alfred Gordon-Brown’s Pictorial Africana (1975) references 1,000 Cape artists active to the end of the 19th century, with selected examples of their work.

- R.F. Kennedy (1966, 1975) catalogued pictures (seven volumes) and prints (two volumes) at Museum Afrika, arranged by artist, with an index of places.

- Some picture collections (William Fehr Collection and Library of Parliament) have card indexes.
18th and 19th century: Tax returns and census records

Census-taking in the colony was erratic and irregular. The opgaaf (census) grew out of the monsterrollen (lists of the garrison) and by 1680 was a combined militia muster, agricultural tax list and demographic census. The 18th century lists are not standardised and there are gaps in the records, especially between 1795 and 1806. After 1816 slaves were listed in the Slave Office registers as well as the census records (Shell 1994: 439-441).

From 1680: Tax returns or Opgaven list heads of households and the number of people in the family, the number of servants and slaves, and stock, by district but do not give the address of the household. The Opgaven lists were compiled by Hans Heese from records in The Hague; a printout is available in the Cape Archives (A2250) or microfiche (KA4066/ZA2/10/1 – Opgaafrollen en Briewe ontvang van de Kaap – returns for tax purposes). See also Shell’s CD, ‘Changing Hands’.

1731: The most complete record of the population of Cape Town in the VOC period comes from a survey in 1731 when Cape Governor De La Fontaine made a confidential assessment of the character and worth of Cape inhabitants for the authorities in The Netherlands. The ‘De La Fontaine Report of 1732’ (compiled in 1990 for computer from Algemeen Rijksarchief, Collectie Rademacher, Inv.Nr.507, by Leonard Guelke, Robert Shell and Anthony Whyte), is available at the Cape Archives, and on Shell’s CD.

In 1799 there was a useful census of central Cape Town which contains a ‘List of Persons Living in Wards … in 1799’ (CA: BRD 27). This census is a very important resource because it lists the head of the household and his or her family members at a particular address, but also names other occupants such as lodgers and tenants, servants and slaves. Unfortunately, some wards are missing. A source of this kind shows clearly that a list of property owners and their families does not reflect the number or range of inhabitants of a household (see Cairns 1981). A plan (probably by Thibault, in the William Fehr Collection) made at about the same time as the census marks the ward numbers and ward masters.

1830: The list of occupations of Capetonians in 1830 was taken from the returns of wardmasters who visited the houses in their wards and recorded details of occupants (CA: RDG 121). This list includes tenants and family members, not only heads of households, and is thus a much fuller record than the street directories, although there are still gaps (Worden et al. 1998: 94).

1836: The census records after 1836 started classifying Capetonians as ‘white’ and ‘coloured’ (Worden et al. 1998).

19th century: Almanacs and directories

An Almanac is a calendar with information on social, economic and similar topics. It becomes a Directory if it contains a list of people’s names and addresses. In its most comprehensive form it becomes a Year Book. The earliest South African almanacs appeared at the Cape in 1795-1797 and were printed by J.C. Ritter, but only a fragment of one remains. They can be found at the NLSA, major public libraries and African Studies Library, UCT. See www.ancestry24.co.za for more information on almanacs and year books.

Gaps in the street directory records can be filled directly from the original assessment rolls (CA: 3/CT).

19th century to now: Newspapers

Newspaper sources generally don’t have much useful information unless a property is advertised for sale or auction and then it is usually over-praised. Some libraries collect newspaper cuttings about the local area or specific subjects, for instance a librarian at the Central Cape Town Public Library (previously in the City Hall, now in the Drill Hall) had a particular interest in architecture.

Both campuses of the National Library, in Cape Town and Pretoria, are legal deposit libraries: the publishers of all periodicals including newspapers are required by law to deposit copies with them. The Cape Town campus also holds a collection of bound newspapers, based on the comprehensive collection of the Cape Colonial Office which it received as a donation in 1910. This collection includes the first South African newspaper, The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser (1800), which later became
The Government Gazette of the Cape, as well as the first privately published paper, the famous South African Commercial Advertiser (1824). There is also a large and varied collection of periodicals acquired over the last 170 years, including such important titles as The Cape Monthly Magazine (1857-62: 1870-81), and The Owl (Penstone's Weekly) (1896-1907).

From about 1850: Photographs

- The main photographic collections are at the Cape Archives and include Elliott, Ravenscroft, Morrison and Jeffreys. See Hans Fransen, A Cape Camera (2000), for a critique of how these collections are organised.
- The Manuscripts and Archives section of UCT’s library has a collection of photographs organised by area.
- The NLSA picture collection is organised in a similar way, and includes magazine illustrations.

From 1926: Aerial surveys and maps

In 1926 the first in a series of aerial views was apparently taken from a hot air balloon: the course is erratic and the height changes between sheets. The Chief Directorate of Surveys and Mapping (in Mowbray) is the government agency responsible for aerial photography and has an archive of photos going back to the 1930s. Vertical pictures are taken from aircraft and photography is continually re-flown (some now in colour). The first accurate maps were produced from these photos by what was then known as the Trig (Trigonometrical) Survey Office in the early 1930s.

The maps cover the whole country at various scales. Choose the version of the maps with topocadastral details (physical features and the reference numbers and boundaries of farms). You can also buy copies of the four sheets of the Cape Peninsula area in 1934 and 1964 (at a scale of 1: 25,000) which were reprinted to commemorate the 80th Anniversary of Surveys and Mapping.

Go to Section 5, Looking at Buildings, and Section 9, Archives and Libraries, for more on photographs, drawings and maps.
5
Looking at buildings people made:
A guided tour of Cape architecture and cultural landscapes

This section looks at different styles and periods of architecture and cultural landscapes at the Cape. Cultural historians describe different time periods that have a recognisable style, for example Cape Dutch or Art Deco. The ‘Georgian’ and ‘Regency’ (1806-1830s), ‘Victorian’ (1837-1901) and ‘Edwardian’ (1901-1910) periods refer to the reigns of kings and queens of England.

This section offers a survey of Cape architecture of different periods through:
• booklets and leaflets
• books
• picture collections.

It also offers a guided tour of different periods of Cape architecture: where to go to see the architecture and cultural landscapes of different periods, or traces of these. The guided tour begins with an introduction to Cape vernacular or folk architecture which ‘is not in the library, deeds office or the archives, it is in the country, and that is where we must look for and record it’ (Len Raymond, Daljosaphat Restorations).

Looking at architecture in books and pictures

• Stewart Harris compiled an annotated bibliography of sources for Cape architectural history, which you can read on or download from the VASSA website (www.vassa.org.za). For example, he notes that ‘B.E. Bierman’s Boukus in Suid-Afrika: ‘n beknopte oorsig van ons boustyle en bouwyse geskryf en afgebeeld (1955) provides a crisp review of building styles 1650s to circa 1950, including examples of Cape and Georgian architecture, Zulu huts and 20th century architecture, with drawings and cut-away perspectives’.
• Anton Obholzer et al., The Cape House and its Interior (1985), published a superb collection of photographs of Cape buildings and their interiors. The introductory chapters are a useful summary of early building influences and developments in the south-western Cape, and discuss the ‘origins of Cape architecture’ debate.
• Hans Fransen and Mary Cook, The Old Buildings of the Cape (1980), describes old buildings – the more important ones – that survived reasonably intact to 1980. The book includes chapters on materials of the period and the development of Cape architecture from about 1750 to 1850. In 2004 Hans Fransen updated and published their catalogue of surviving buildings, noting those that have gone and adding some new examples.
• Hans Fransen, Old Towns and Villages of the Cape (2004), is a richly illustrated study of the physical history of the older towns of the former Cape Colony, from Calvinia to Colesberg. Distinctive features of Cape dorpe are the water erven, leibeurt, tuishuisies, outspans and market squares.
• Ronald Lewcock, Early Nineteenth Century Architecture in South Africa (1963), contains some significant architectural landmarks and elements of late 18th and early 19th century Cape Town. It is extensively illustrated with period graphics and well referenced. The thesis on which the book is based (available in the library of the School of Architecture at UCT) has glossy original photographs.
• Dennis Radford, ’The architecture of the Western Cape, 1838-1901’ (1979), starts where Lewcock
left off, describing the architectural history of the Victorian years (1838-1901). The thesis deals with social and economic impulses, shows influences and describes period detail and construction.

- Désirée Picton-Seymour, *Victorian Buildings in South Africa* (1976), describes the buildings of the late colonial period (particularly 1890-1910), and deals very well with materials, especially cast iron.

- Vivienne and Derek Japha, *The Landscape and Architecture of Montagu* (1992), is a detailed illustrated architectural history of a Victorian-period town in the Western Cape, based on a fieldwork project by UCT architecture students.

- Helen Robinson, *Wynberg: A Special Place* (2001) and *Beyond the City Limits* (1999), examines the early settlement of Wynberg and its growth into a self-sufficient municipality, and the ‘essential elements which have characterized development – and decay – in Wynberg since 1900’.


- Paul Righini, *Thinking Architecturally: An Introduction to the Creation of Form and Place* (University of Cape Town Press, 2000) was written as a design primer for students in the School of Architecture and Planning at UCT. It is also valuable to the general reader because it clearly explains why and how architects see the world, describes the evolution of architectural traditions, and is illustrated with examples of architects and buildings at the Cape.

A comprehensive source book for researching the architecture of the 20th century in the Cape has not yet been written. It is sorely needed, as all buildings older than 60 years (currently pre-1948) are generally protected by heritage legislation but there is no agreement as to which are more important than others. For lesser buildings, decision-makers need help in making informed assessments of their individual significance and their contribution to the neighbourhood before alterations or demolitions are approved.

For those who would like to know more about the architecture of southern Africa, Franco Frescura published articles he wrote between 1980 and 1990 in *Collected Essays on Southern African Architecture, 1980-1990* (Department of Architecture, University of Port Elizabeth, 1991). The articles are grouped in three themes: culture conservation, indigenous architecture, housing and developmental issues. Some sections describe buildings and places. Others take a strong political line as Frescura was ‘heavily involved with the politics and the economic realities of the time, subjects which do not sit easily in the craw of South Africa’s essentially conservative white community’. The articles are also available on his website:

… the deconstruction of the ‘apartheid city’ remains high on my wish-list, and I have grouped here a number of essays on the subject. Associated with this is the topic of popular housing, and I have included here a number of hitherto unpublished reports.


The City of Cape Town has printed a series of heritage advice pamphlets which include drawings of typical architecture and streetscapes and guidelines for preservation and for designing alterations. These are available from the Heritage Resources Section, Environmental Management: heritage@capetown.gov.za.

The Wynberg Historical Society produced well-researched self-help guides for walkers, with clear maps and comprehensive information on the older parts of Wynberg that include the parks, the old buildings and churches, as well as information on the apartheid and anti-apartheid history of the area. These pamphlets are available at the Cape Town Tourism offices at the Pavilion in Muizenberg and elsewhere.

Conservation architects and planners have produced booklets for towns and communities throughout the Cape, which can be consulted at the library of the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), at 111 Harrington Street, not far from the Cape Archives in Roeland Street. SAHRA Library is open during working hours on weekdays (library@sahra.org.za) and there is also an online catalogue: www.sahra.org.za/info_library_catalogue.htm
Looking at architecture and cultural landscapes

Places that typify the various architectural periods at the Cape tend to survive better where their owners have been able to maintain or restore them at great cost, or where they have not been under threat of modernisation or redevelopment. Some have changed their use and you have to look carefully for clues. For instance, you can recognize the old corner shops by the distinctive chamfered (angled) corner entrance and sometimes an elaborate parapet or small tower above.

Cape vernacular architecture, a changing heritage

Vernacular architecture has been described as:
• ‘architecture without architects’ (Bernard Rudofsky 1965)
• the sort of building which is ‘strongly related to place, especially through the use of local building materials’ (R.W. Brunskill 1981)
• ‘common places – the structures and environments of ordinary people’ (Dell Upton and Michael Vlach 1986)
• ‘the architecture of the people’ … those buildings not designed by architects, but by owners and inhabitants of the houses themselves – sometimes built with the help of family or community members, using locally available materials and in accordance with local regulations …’ (Paul Oliver 2003).

Vernacular architecture is sometimes described as though it is static and timeless but in reality, ‘vernacular buildings and vernacular landscapes are always changing’ (Upton and Vlach 1986: xx). Vernacular buildings are still being constructed: indeed ‘a re-evaluation of vernacular traditions and a new interest in conservation studies has become evident, even mainstream, in many schools of architecture’ (Paul Righini 2002: 44).

In the south-western Cape, vernacular architecture is associated with European settler buildings, mission settlements, and the semi-permanent dwellings of sapling, reed and mats of the pastoralists that the European settlers saw and copied when they were travelling into the interior. Very little survives from the period before 1750.

James Walton, in Old Cape Farmsteads (1989), his pioneering overview of homesteads and villages, describes the early period and the emergence of vernacular buildings: ‘The fortified farm-houses of the frontier and the hardbieshuise [hard reeds houses] of the early stock-farmers are as typical of South African life as the delightful white-washed, gabled houses of the Cape.’

To experience the rural vernacular architecture of the early colonial Cape, visit the open air Worcester Museum (formerly known as Kleinplasie) on the outskirts of the town. You can go inside the farm buildings that have been moved from all over the south-western Cape and rebuilt on the site: dwellings, a barn, a water-mill, a blacksmith’s forge, a ‘house’ for soap- and candle-making, an external bakoon (baking oven) and so on. Demonstrations of traditional bread and soap making, animal husbandry and other daily and seasonal activities take place on site.

In Cape Town

• In Cape Town you can see the remnant of late 18th century architecture at the intersection of Buitengracht and Strand Streets, where a pair of ‘neo-classical’ Cape townhouses flank the Lutheran Church.
• For examples of restored late 18th and early 19th century buildings visit Heritage Square, next to Riebeeck Square on the corner of Bree and Shortmarket Streets, or the Bo-Kaap, where certain sections have been restored, ‘though a great deal has been lost through official delay, political ideology and general bungling’ (Picton-Seymour 1989: 27).

1 This guidebook focuses only on the Cape but James Walton included other forms of vernacular architecture developed by African townspeople, farmers and pastoralists further to the east and northeast (the ancient and recent architectural traditions of stone, wattle-and-daub, adobe clay, and reed-and-grass buildings). See also www.sahistory.org.za/franco/franco-frescura-index.html.
• The best example of an English Georgian building in Cape Town is Bertram House at the top of the Avenue within the grounds of Hiddingh Hall. The square form and red face brick is very different to the white plastered Cape Georgian style of Ravenswood in Hatfield Street.

• There are many examples of middle-class Victorian houses in Cape Town and the suburbs, with towers, crenellations and ironwork. These include houses with colonial verandas (as in Hofmeyr Street, and most rural dorps), picturesque gothic-cottage type houses (as at 8 Hof Street), the more prosperous spaakhuis (ghost house) in Milner Road, Rondebosch, and castellated Strubenheim (UCT College of Music) in Rondebosch. The outer appearance from the street was all-important, with the kitchens and servants’ quarters at the back.

• The Art Deco Old Mutual building, 14 Darling Street, was once the highest in Cape Town (300 feet), and ‘probably the finest modern building in South Africa’ (Bickford-Smith et al. 1999:115). The building has now been changed into an apartment block. Elements that were once part of the boardroom, such as the relief carvings depicting the history of South Africa, are now inside a private apartment. Mullers Optometrists building, on the corner of Parliament and Longmarket Streets, is probably the best preserved piece of Art Deco in Cape Town. Untouched by time, it still shows all the elements of a great Art Deco shopfront design (Chris Smit, KMH Architects, 2007).

In the suburbs

• Victorian working class houses in Woodstock (for example, 1-13 Melbourne Terrace) and Observatory (Albert Road) escaped demolition under the Group Areas Act as they were located in ‘grey’ (mixed population) areas. Because their occupants were relatively poor and usually tenants, the houses were little changed from when they were built. Since the mid-1990s urban densification policies, ‘gentrification’ and ‘security’ walls have damaged many terraces.

• Observatory was a lower middle class British suburb where ‘speculators were erecting the kinds of houses the new settlers wanted and could afford. The houses, constructed by small builders and contractors … were mainly semi-detached or terraced, with small gardens. Single-storeyed, they were densely concentrated in narrow streets, ornamented with “brookie lace”, stained-glass panels and brass knockers’ (Worden et al 1998: 161, 259-260). House and street names showed the British influence: Oxford and Crown Streets, London and Park Villa Roads, Clifton Terrace.

• A lone remnant of what was until recently a group of wood-and-iron buildings can be seen in Rosebank, behind Starke Ayres nursery. There is a single one left in Duignam Road, Kalk Bay. There used to be lots in Rondebosch East, Athlone, Lansdowne, etc. They can be difficult to recognise if the corrugated iron walling has been disguised.

• ‘In Claremont prosperous middle-class families like the Ardernes dominated the southern end of the village. Clustering round the mosque on the Main Road and below the main road were the homes of coloured residents, mainly rows of cottages (Worden et al. 1998: 253). Most of these cottages are gone (see ‘Around Cavendish Square in Claremont’ in Section 8). Below Main Road (‘Harfield Village’) the people were removed but the houses remain.

• You can see the typical Edwardian ‘villa’ or suburban house in Kenilworth, less ornate than the Victorian style but still designed to require several servants and surrounded by a spacious garden.

• Art Nouveau decorative motifs and Art Deco have come back into fashion again: cinemas (bioscopes), office buildings, blocks of flats and the occasional house were built in this style, with its simple, clean lines and vertical emphasis. These can be seen in rural town centres, as well as in Muizenberg and Cape Town.

• Pinelands was designed as Cape Town’s first ‘garden city’ (zoned for whites only), with its early thatch-roofed buildings in the style of imaginary English cottages and its central square surrounded by churches, shops and civic buildings. Maitland ‘garden village’ (for coloureds only) was the smaller-scale village equivalent.

• There is a growing interest in township and informal settlement structures, hostels and shacks. They are an environment in which people have developed their own, cost-effective solutions outside legal or formal planning constraints but with their own internal order (Righini 2000: 131, 254-255). These can be contrasted to the ‘planned’ government-supported developments, such as the mushrooming rows of RDP houses (‘matchboxes’, ‘Unos’, ‘smarties’), and the controversial N2 Gateway apartment blocks.
Out of Cape Town

The less prosperous towns and villages are the best place to look for period streetscapes of everyday buildings because there was less money to spend on modernisation.

- To experience the early colonial Cape rural vernacular visit the open air agricultural museum in Worcester, formerly known as Kleinplasie. (See section above: ‘Vernacular Architecture’.)
- To experience a series of period buildings and gardens from about 1700 to 1900 (early colonial vernacular to late Victorian), visit the Stellenbosch Village Museum which extends across two town blocks. Each dwelling has been restored to a certain date and the house and its décor and contents match the period. But there is little sense of the previous inhabitants – family, slaves and servants.
- A very attractive late Cape Dutch-style farmstead is Boschendal. This was actually built in the early 19th century when some Cape landowners were actively resisting the architectural influences of the British colonial period by flaunting their traditional Cape Dutch style.
- During the 1969 earthquake, the houses in Church Street, Tulbagh, were very badly damaged. Due largely to the vision of Gawie and Gwen Fagan, these were rebuilt and restored to what they looked like in the late 18th and early 19th century, though with modern conveniences. The buildings are protected against drastic alterations and provide a recreated streetscape of the Cape Dutch period. Elsewhere in the town are remaining examples of 19th and 20th century modifications to earlier houses (e.g. where thatch has been replaced by corrugated iron roofing or cement columns and balustrades has been added).
- At the Drostdy Museum in Swellendam there are old houses of all periods and a jail, working water mill and a cluster of workshops replicating the late 19th century vernacular style, for a cobbler, wagon-maker, saddler, etc.
- The mission villages of Genadendal, Elim, Wupperthal, Mamre, Goedverwacht and others retain the layout of 19th century church-dominated communities of slave and Khoe descendants. It is interesting to compare the regulated form of church missions to the more organic layout of settlements such as Tesselar(s)daal, near Caledon, which was built on land given by a local farmer to his workers in the 19th century.
- In the valley of Gamkaskloof at the bottom of a steep road in the Swartberg, the architectural remains of a once-thriving early 20th century agricultural community can be rediscovered in thickets of trees, though several of the buildings have now been drastically rebuilt to accommodate visitors.

This section has introduced the range of buildings to be found at the Cape and where they are. The next section focuses on individual buildings and how to describe them and research their history.
6
How to research a building: from the building itself, from documents, from what people know

‘There’s no reason to rely on professionals. This is not astrophysics; everybody is an expert on buildings’ (Stewart Brand 1994: 213).

This section explores ways to research a place, treating buildings as primary sources to decode, explore and interpret.

Interpreting a building as an historical source

How is it made? How does it work? How does it change? How is it thought?
(Dell Upton and John Vlach, Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture, 1986).

One of the most inspiring books about how and why to investigate the history of buildings is How Buildings Learn (1994) by Stewart Brand. Brand sees buildings as places that ‘learn’ during their lives, undergoing dynamic changes ‘between the dazzle of a new building and its eventual corpse, when it is either demolished or petrified for posterity as a museum’. Buildings are ‘pushed around by the three irresistible forces of technology, money and fashion’. Fortunately for historians, we can put a date to technology and fashion.

When you research a place you can treat a building as a primary source and ask these questions:
• What does this building look like now? Did it look different in the past?
• What is this building used for now? Has the building been used for different purposes at different times?
• How was this building originally constructed?
• What has happened to this building over time: has it been extended or altered in other ways? Has the building changed in appearance?
• You can try to track and record the chronological sequence of building construction, alterations, additions and demolitions.

These guidelines for researching a building are based on discussions with a number of researchers who have their feet firmly on the ground:
• Start by walking around and having a good look at the building and its surroundings – outbuildings, entrance etc.
• Find out what people know about it – ask around.
• Record the building: draw or photograph it and measure it up.
• See if you can find photographs that show changes over time (they date from ca 1860).
• See if you can find plans or survey diagrams that go back a long way and show changes over time.
• For a building that goes back to the 19th century or earlier, see if you can find household inventories and auction lists.
• Archaeology can go deeper into the history of buildings and cultural landscapes.

What you need to find out

In his Preface to A Guide to the Old Buildings of the Cape (2004), Hans Fransen comments that you need to write a description of the architecture, along with short historical notes, but gaining this information can be more difficult than it seems:
• the type of building
• the style of building
• type of ground plan
• outstanding architectural features such as gables and other ornamental plaster-, wood- or metalwork
• the state of the building and how authentic it is, and who was the architect?
• who bought or was granted the land, who was the builder (if possible), and who owned the building when it was enlarged, given a gable, or altered in other ways?

Where is it, what is it called?

Every place has a unique location in the world and on a map, the intersection of lines of longitude and latitude. Today, these map co-ordinates are familiar not only to geographers but to any driver who has a satellite navigation system. Places also have unique references according to a standard cadastral system used throughout South Africa. This is based on regions, districts and numbered land parcels (farm numbers, town erven). Farm numbers and names can be tracked on an Ordinance Survey map (with topocadastral details); town erven have to be traced on municipal noting sheets. Places and buildings often have names and street numbers, but these can change over time.

It is worth collecting copies of maps for the area you are interested in. Some are available very cheaply direct from the Chief Directorate of Surveys and Mapping in Mowbray, in paper or CD format. Or try the Surveyor-General’s Office in Plein Street (9th floor), where you can trace references for urban properties and farms, and get prints of noting sheets with erf numbers.

How to recognise what you find.

Collect drawings and photographs of different types of buildings and architectural elements with known dates or periods. Learn the development of technology and spot the difference between hand-made and machine-made things. It saves a lot of frustration if you can distinguish between an old Cape Dutch style building and a modern replica, a genuine Bo-Kaap terrace house or a copy built by the City Council. You can find useful clues in the brickwork and woodwork – you can’t disguise modern materials and machinery.

There are different sorts of buildings suited to various uses and use often depends on whether they are in the country or in a town. Many houses have outbuildings, and the house and outbuildings should be studied as a group as well as individually. A building may be used for different purposes during its life: a domestic dwelling may become a school, a warehouse may become a church, a stable may become a store-room.

It was very common on Cape farmsteads for old dwellings to be replaced by larger and newer homesteads, and then the old buildings became homes for the farm workers, or store-rooms. Towns and villages changed after more people had cars: off-street parking replaced front gardens or garages were built onto houses. The mass-produced wood-and-iron structures that were imported during the diamond and gold rushes could even be dismantled and re-erected in another place.

How to look for clues

You can date the parts of a building – the structure, ‘skin’, services and interior space plan, and the stuff put into it – by looking at physical clues about materials, style and positioning. There are various clues to architectural period: the shape of the house and roof, the windows, the woodwork, wallpaper designs, and so on.

Windows:
• Many early windows at the Cape were side-opening casements covered with cloth instead of glass panes and secured by wooden shutters.
• The Dutch-style sash window has a fixed transom so only the bottom part slides up, and it is set flush with the outside surface of a wall, but in the British-style sash window both parts can move up and down, and they are recessed into the wall.
• Windows became more affordable once larger and thinner panes window-glass could be manufactured, and improved sea and road transport cut down on breakages.

Walls and ceilings:
• The thickness of a wall can be a crucial clue to a building’s history.
• Early walls were built of low-fired bricks and mud or clay mortar and finished with shell-lime plaster – try knocking in a nail and the wall may crumble. It is easy to detect the later use of cement and concrete.
• The British disliked the dark Dutch interiors and preferred light-coloured paint and plaster on walls and ceilings.

It is not unusual to find buildings which are a mix of styles from different periods, for example a vernacular building which has been modernised with steel windows and a modern roof; a Victorian house exterior with a rebuilt open-plan post-modern ‘minimalist’ interior, or a Bo-Kaap mosque built in the Victorian style which has been modified to look more Saudi Arabian.

Working-class housing and township projects were often constructed by speculators looking for a quick profit: the buildings were built as cheaply as possible so rooms are small, there may be a single common wall between dwellings (as in rows of terrace houses), and the fittings and features were mass-produced (e.g ‘broekie lace’, cornices, carpentry).

How to describe what you see

Being able to describe is valuable skill. Survey work is really just being able to describe – this is a flat roof, etc. A different story may emerge once you do research – maybe it wasn’t always a flat roof. It’s like detective work – looking for clues, evidence, weighing up evidence.

(Sarah Winter, heritage consultant)

The Vernacular Architecture Society of South Africa (VASSA) has published a Guide to Measuring Buildings (van Niftrik 2003) to make the process as simple but as informative as possible.

The easiest way to describe a building if you don’t have the right words is to draw or photograph it. Remember to include inside and outside views, boundary walls and gates and outbuildings as well – and the whole setting. There are conventions for doing this and it is worth being systematic in case you never go back there again or in case the building gets altered or demolished.

SAHRA can supply you with printed record forms and guidelines for describing a building.

Vernacular buildings

Vernacular buildings are closely tied to the people who built and lived in them, and the skills and resources within the area in which they were built. This makes them valuable evidence of the material culture – ‘artefacts’ – of families who probably did not leave a written record. They can be more challenging to study than the more standardised forms.

Vernacular buildings are simple and ‘home-made’ – some would say ‘primitive’ – so they are often not properly valued, often neglected or replaced, allowed to fall down or get demolished, or modernised in ways which change them dramatically. This means there are fewer and fewer vernacular buildings to be found and very few are left untouched. Their localised distribution makes them very vulnerable.

Vernacular architecture is not in the library, deeds office or the archives, it is in the country, and that is where we must look for and record it. The written record should always be secondary to what we can see. It is our responsibility to record information accurately so that it can confidently be used for research and collaboration purposes.

Look for documentary sources and images.

Survey diagrams: Look for copies of survey diagrams at the Surveyor-General’s Office. If you have the necessary references you can search online from your desk – if the diagram has been digitised. The Cape Archives also has copies of early survey diagrams.

Building plans: These are available from the City (if you own the property or get special permission). Building or alterations sometimes happened – and still happen – without plans being submitted but Municipalities have generally enforced the regulations. From 1887 the various Municipalities required plans of buildings and alterations to be submitted for approval. These documents include plans, sections and elevations of structures, signatures of owner and architect, and key location maps, and indicate materials.

There is an index to building plans made by Professor Pryce-Lewis that covers the period 1888 to 1913 for all Cape Town Municipalities except Wynberg (which was too big to cope with). The index can be accessed by street name, owner, architect and plan number (Manuscripts & Archives, UCT).

Paintings: There are many paintings of Cape Town buildings at various stages of growth but the problem is finding them as many are catalogued by artist rather than general location. Panoramas are wonderful sources to consult. Of course, the artist could not be expected to include every building in his or her paintings.

Sequential photographs: Nearly all photographs are later than the 1860s. If you can find sequential re-photography of a place or building, it is a great bonus. The series of aerial photographs, for some areas since the 1930s, are valuable sources. For example, District Six was photographed several times from 1926 while it was still growing, and photographed again when it was being demolished from the late 1960s. Several Cape buildings shown in Arthur Elliott’s photographs were re-photographed by Hans Fransen, James Walton, André Pretorius and others.

Sequential re-photography of buildings already fills a considerable collection of books. … To step into the exact point of view of an old photograph is to step into a time machine. While I was happily perusing thousands of old pictures in various archives, I gradually learned what makes photographs most usable for sequential study. A building exterior photo shows the most clarity and unshadowed detail if shot in hazy or overcast weather, preferably in a season when foliage doesn’t hide half the building. Vehicles or people in the frame instantly announce the era of the photograph because everyone can intuitively date styles in clothing and vehicles. It is helpful when photos show more than just the building itself, since often it is change or lack of change in relation to the setting that is most interesting. Since detail is everything, the larger the camera format, the better.

Interior photographs are all too rare, which is a nuisance since that is where the most change occurs. Particularly rare are photos of the really hard working, rapidly changing rooms – kitchens and bathrooms. Rarest of all are pictures of the undefined spaces – basements, attics, garages, and storerooms. Interior photographs taken with available light best give the feeling of the place, but flash photos have a lot more detail. When I could, I shot both. People in interior shots can be distracting (because they are so interesting), but if the picture is to be taken informally, they help show how the space is being used. Interiors change so rapidly that to be useful for analysis, sequences need to be shot every few months or weeks or even hours. For that sort of project I found it helpful to put marks on the floor so that later photos could be taken from exactly the same angle, which aids comparison.

All photos should have the date of exposure pencilled on the back of the print… Photographs are evidence, memories, history – peerless records of how something actually was. Precise dates multiply their value.

(Stewart Brand, How Buildings Learn, 1994: 213)
Household inventories: It is very rare to come across a description of a building’s construction in an inventory but inventories contain valuable information about the layout and the use of spaces within and around the building. See Household Inventories at the Cape (2005).

MOOC8/1.14 16950928  Bibout, Ditloff
Een huijs van kleij, seer slegt, staande in dese Tafelvaleij, bij den boedelhouster bewoond, op de hoek van de Tweede Berg dwerssstraat, gewaardeert op 240:—.

MOOC8/1.16 16960926  Angola, Antonij
Een plaats leggende aan Stellenbosch in Jan Jonkers Hoek, groot ruijm 57 morgen; daarop een kleijn kleijn huijsjen met lies bedekt; strekkende volgens ervgrondbrief daar van zijnde.

In inventories of estates, ‘fixed properties’ (as opposed to ‘loose goods’, livestock and slaves) were often recorded in a sequence starting with the main building and moving from one room to the next, then to the outbuildings (wine cellar, shed, etc.) and finally the surrounding werf. The room-by-room inventories are particularly valuable sources of information about households because they show the layout or plan of the house. The appraisers named the rooms according to their positions – left, right, in front, behind, above. The number of rooms gives an indication of the size of the house, and we can read the contents in each room. The main function of rooms is shown by what is kept in them, for instance beds, dining ware, stores. During most of the 18th century rooms were used for many purposes. For instance, sacks of seeds or a riding saddle could be listed under a bed.

MOOC8/71.20. 18290228 Niekerk, Hugo Hendrik van and Spuy, Maria Jacoba van der
The freehold place called Weltevreeden situated at Groot Drakenstein in the district of Stellenbosch
In the dwelling house:
   In the parlour [voorhuis]
   In the chamber on the right hand
   In the room on the left
   In the dispens [pantry]
   In the kitchen
   In the wine cellar
   On the premises
   In the stable
   Cattle
   Slaves

A property could be sold at public auction if an estate was insolvent, or if the heirs were overseas, or if the family wished to divide the assets. Details of the ‘real estate’ to be auctioned were sometimes very specific. Conditions of sale would refer to the house and plot adjacent: ‘… staande en leggende … belendende als de koopconditien’. For instance, in the auction roll of Jacobus van Brakel and Manga the real estate is specified as ‘1 hofstede met zijn huising ende daaropstaande timmeragie volgens de koop conditien gemijnd door Pieter de Meijer voor f7025’ (MOOC10/1.43,1707).

Household inventory studies track changes over time and compare places and the nature of the occupants. Inventories listed room-by-room enable us to define and describe the spatial framework in which furniture and fittings were found at the Cape during different periods and within different socio-economic contexts. The documents are so detailed that we can look inside chests and top of cupboards, along shelves and into store rooms, to see what things were used for and what activities went on in the Cape house. … [A] sequence of records shows how possessions were moved around as the family grew and the house was enlarged and modernized.

Work with others.

‘... to study common places in a multidisciplinary manner is to be rewarded with uncommon insights’ (Upton and Vlach 1986).

It is impossible to measure up a building by yourself. You need at least three people, one at each end of the tape measure and one recording the information – and three pairs of eyes are better than one for spotting details and anomalies. It is good to work with people from different backgrounds who have different perspectives. Architects look up – at roofs and ceilings. Archaeologists look down – under floors, in wall corners and at things just below the surface around the building. Artists and artisans look straight ahead – at wall texture, wood grain and colours.

Share information – and keep looking.

Even if your research is not complete, even if your drawings are still pencilled sketches, the time and effort is only worthwhile if people know about it and don’t have to repeat the work. The City of Cape Town, municipalities and SAHRA/Heritage Western Cape are busy gathering information and preparing inventories and computerised databases for public access to information about heritage places in the Cape. They need people to identify new heritage places and motivate for their protection and conservation. It would help the responsible authorities if you donated a copy of your research project for their records.

Conservation work in this country ... has long been hampered by the lack of detailed inventories. ... It is still nothing unusual ... when taking an alternative route to some small village or exploring some little cross valley or back street, to come across highly interesting buildings not described before. Similarly, it still happens that some uninteresting-looking iron-roofed farmhouse in an area like the Swartland turns out to contain fine two-centuries-old doors, wall-cupboards and ceilings.


What people know: Oral history

‘Handbook for oral history interviewing’: This tiny 20-page booklet from the Centre for Popular Memory at UCT includes practical guidelines for planning an oral history research project, doing interviews, copyright release forms, transcription, and so on. Check the website www.popularmemory.org for information about oral history projects and how to access recorded interviews in the CPM. The archive focuses on individual and community life histories of the Western Cape and areas of interest include heritage sites and forced removals.

Oral history reading pack: The Oral History Colloquium, 5 April 2008, at the Robben Island Museum had a very useful reading pack,’ Reading the Transcript: Preserving and Analysing the Recorded Voice’. This includes papers and articles by local and international oral historians. One article, Katie Mooney’s ‘How to do an oral history interview’, brings together a wide range of sources and gives very practical advice. Contact Katie Mooney, senior researcher, Robben Island Museum, at katiem@robben-island.org.za, and see the website www.robben-island.org.za.

Digging deeper: Archaeological sources

Some stories from Antonia Malan’s historical archaeology research dig deeper into Cape households in the 17th and 18th century in Household Inventories at the Cape.: Paradise, Newlands 1768, Strand Street 1786, Waterpoel, Paarl 1790 and Kloovenberg, Riebeeck Kasteel in the 1700s.

Archaeologist Hennie Vos (‘An historical and archaeological perspective of colonial Stellenbosch 1680-1800; 1993) explores how applying archaeological techniques to architectural features and structures located above ground can be valuable when a building is being renovated or restored. When the
plaster of a building is removed, you can view the original ‘skeleton’ and elements in context. Just as an archaeologist carefully strips away the layers of time in the soil, so the researcher ‘digs’ into the building, meticulously laying bare layers of paint on plaster or woodwork and recording each layer. Even plaster layers should be investigated because replastering may indicate where alterations were made. Stripping off layer by layer may reveal where there used to be openings, or reveal the original walls and floor-finishes: these structural details brought to light can give a fuller picture of how the building has changed over time. Construction materials such as various types of stone, and the way they were applied, show how competent the builders were. Identifying different kinds of bricks and mortars can help you to date broad periods. The width of the walls usually shows different periods. Woodwork with more decorative finish – doors, windows, built-in cupboards, screens, ceilings and beams – is the best indicator of stylistic periods, but woodwork from another building, like bricks and stones, may have been re-used.
Peopling the places: Who lived where?

This section looks at sources which tell us something about the people who were living in places at the Cape and explores these questions:

Where did people come from? What were their links with places in Europe and around the Indian Ocean?

Who lived where in the 17th and 18th century?
- Owners and tenants
- Slaves
- Indigenous people

Who lived where in Cape Town in 1800?
- VOC and burgher families: 1800
- Strand Street/De Waterkant: 1800
- Differences between areas in Cape Town: 1800

Who lived where, 1800-1902?

Who were the builders?

Where did people come from?

Links with places in Europe and around the Indian Ocean

Thousands of people sailed to the Cape from other countries during the Dutch and British colonial periods, as Company or government employees and militia, as settlers, traders, as slaves, exiles or prisoners. The places they came from, where they lived at the Cape, or where they ended their lives, can be mapped by searching across the various sources. These examples from VOC Court of Justice records in the Cape Archives illustrate the crisscrossing movement of people to and from different places around the Indian Ocean region.

Helena Liebenberg writes in an introduction to transcriptions of the Court of Justice (CJ) series:

Since the early years of the 18th century the Cape had become a settlement for prisoners (exiles as well as criminals) who were sentenced to long terms of confinement by the courts in the East Indies. ... The following place names give an indication where these VOC courts, councils or governments were established: Batavia, Nagapatnam, Colombo, Jassanapatnam, Samarang, India, Gale and Cheribon. ... The convicts and exiles were sent to the Cape by ship and if they survived the time determined by their sentence in Batavia, many of them returned to their home country in the same manner. ... Not all the convicts and exiles wanted to return home after such a long absence.
Helena Liebenberg gives a number of interesting cases from the Court of Justice records:

Jawie Kare, a former oombol and regarded as a dangerous subject, was sent to the Cape without being sentenced, but returned with the *Vrouw Petronella* to Batavia in 1757. Mousa of Boegies who arrived with the *Landsceon* in 1734, was one of the people who preferred to remain at the Cape (CJ 3186).

The case of the Chinese Lim Soeijko: After he had served his sentence at the Cape Lim Soeijko left for Batavia in 1751. He was accompanied on board the *Brouwer* by his two wives Lokrees of Moor and Rosetta of Ternaten, together with his three sons Bassing, Tjoensing and Kitsing, all born at the Cape, as well as his male slave Maart of Boegies and female slave Dina of Batavia (CJ 3190).

The case of Doumano of Termanos: Sometimes it is possible to follow a person’s comings and goings from the records, as in the case of the exiled Doumano, former regent of Termanos. In 1739 he arrived on board the *Cornelia* and, according to the minutes dated 21 October 1738, was banished to the Cape where he was obliged to earn his own food and living (CJ 3186). After twelve years in exile he was again put on a ship, this time the *Brouwer* that left for Batavia on 29 December 1751. One of his co-passengers was the Chinese Lim Soeijko (CJ 3190).

The case of Jacop Hijcook of Amsterdam: Quarter-master Jacop Hijcoop of Amsterdam was convicted by the Council of Justice at the Castle of Jassanapatnam in 1721 but no reason was given for his conviction. He was sentenced to 10 years’ hard labour in chains on Robben Island but was only released after twelve years and allowed to return to his home-country (*het vaderlandt*).

**Who lived where in the 17th and 18th century?**

**Owners and tenants**

Wealthier families owned several properties, in town and country, and rented out some of their properties. They also provided mortgages (bonds) on fixed properties to those less well off. Many of the people who left deceased estates did not own a house or farm, but lived with a friend or rented a room or house. The house where the person lived and died (*sterfhuis*) was usually inventoried first and always in more detail than their other properties.

MOOC8/73.3a 18310226  Flamme, Fredrik Wilhelm &  Breedschoe, Johanna Sophia
f50000  Certain house, store and premises situated in Plein Street N: 32
8000  certain house and store situated in Mosterd Street Lot N: 1
18000  certain four hire houses, with the premises thereto adjoining, situated in the Spin Steeg
14000  certain two houses and premises situated between the Rose Street and Matfelds
Steeg Lot 1 part of N: 4

MOOC8/16.53 17740116  Roos, Matthiam le &  Leever, Petronella Catharina
Een huis en erf staande ende gelegen in deeze Tafelvalleij in ’t Blok H: en aldaar N:o 6, mitsgaders een gedeelte van N:o 1 blijkens transport de dato 14 October 1762

een stuk huis erfs in ’t gem: Blok H: gelegen en aldaar een gedeelte van N:o 1 welke erf door den burger Urbanus Sauerman blijkens transport de dato 26 November 1766 aan den overledene is verkogt, zijnde door den overledene vervolgens twee huizen daarop getimmert, waar van het eene aan den burger Johannes le Roes de jonge voor een somma van vijf duizend vijfhonderd Caabse guldens is verkogt, en zodanig als de daar van door den landmeeter geformeerde caart komt aan te wijzen ook aan denwierzelven zal moeten worden getransporteerd; zijnde het ander door de wede ingevolge het testament aan haar gelatene keuse, onder het geprelegateerde aanvaard een huis en erf staande ende gelegen in ’t gem: Blok H: staande ende gelegen, mitsgaders een gedeelte van N:o 1 uijtwijzens transport de dato 26 November 1766

een huis en erf insgelijx staande ende gelegen nevens en in het Blok H:, blijkende bij transport de dato 10 December 1767

een plaats ofte hofsteede gelegen in Hottentots Holland gen† Fortuijntje, uijtwijzens transport van den 4 November 1768
een plaats ofte hofsteede meede in Hottentots Holland geleegen, als na luid van ’t transport de dato 18 Januarij 1770
een opstal staande op de leeningsplaats gen:t de Aries Kraal geleegen over de Palmiete Rivier

The tenants of houses can sometimes be identified, either through debts (such as rent) owed to a property-owner’s estate, or in the papers of large landlords such as Jan Marten Vogel who owned several houses and erven in Table Valley and the farms Cronendaal and Ruijteplaats situated in the Houtbaij:

Erf N:o 7 and 21; house and erf in Block N:N:, N:o 9 and erf N:o 20; houses and erf N:o 11 and 12; houses and erven N:o 14 and 15 and erf N:o 18; erf Nos 23 and 24; erf Nos 22, 25, 26, 27, 28; house and erf N:o 6; house and erf N:o 3; house and erf N:o 2; house and erf in block N:N:, N:o 10; house and erf N:o 1; house and erf N:o 4; house and erf in block K:K:, N:o 11; house and erf in block K:K:, N:o 12

Vogel’s estate papers (MOOC14/78.18 (31), 1776-1792) include a list of people who bought houses, a colour drawing of some blocks of houses by C.D. Wentzel, a list of tenants and their payments, the dates of transfer (when Vogel obtained the houses or farm), an account for surveying 35 houses and erven, an account for 37 transfers, a map of properties sold, and so on. There is also a list of slaves and their occupations.

The property owner’s family

The preamble to inventories lists the heirs of the estate, sometimes members of an extended family procreated from several marriages, and occasionally children born out of wedlock. This is of enormous interest to genealogists.

The estate of Jacob Marais was inventoried at the family farm Le Plessis Marle, where Jacob built the surviving homestead in 1764.

MOOC8/19.37, 1787
Inventaris van alle sodanige vaste en losse goederen als op den 17 Junij 1787 ab intestato metter doot ontruijmt en nagelaaten sijn door den oud Heemraad Sr. Jacob Marais ten voordeele sijner overgebleevene huijsvrouw Maria Elisabeth Blom en zijne bij wijlen dessels Eerste huijsvrouw Maria Elisabeth Booijens verwekte en nagelatene kinderen en kindskinderen in name
1. Jacob Marais de Jonge
2. Pieter Marais Jacobsz.
3. Maria Elisabeth Marais, getrouwd met Jacob de Vieliers Jansz.
4. Susanna Marais getrouwd met Willem Adolph Krige
5. Catharina Margaretha Marais getrouwd met Jacob de villiers Jacobsz.
6. de nagelatene Neegen kinderen van geetruijd Marais getrouwd geweest met daniel Malan in naame
   a: Jacob Stephanus Malan oud 22 Jaaren
   b: Lenora Elisabeth oud 20 jaaren
   c: david Jacobus oud 18
   d: daniel gerhardus oud 16
   e: maria Elisabeth oud 14
   f: Stephanus Jacobus oud 12
   g: Hester Catharina oud 10
   h: Jacobus petrus oud 8
   i: Pieter oud 3 Jaaren
7. het nagelaaten kind van wijlen Elisabeth Johanna Marais, door haar verwekt bij haare nagelaatene man Hermanus Johannes van Brakel in naame Jacob Johannes van Brakel oud 6 Jaaren..

Where did the slaves live?

Many place names are associated with Company and privately owned slaves. Slaves came from
around the Indian Ocean: India, Malaysia, the Indonesian islands, Ceylon, China and Japan, the East African coast and the island of Madagascar. There were also slaves from Angola. The country of origin, or where the slave was shipped from, formed part of the name given to a slave by a trader or owner and slaves born at the Cape were known as ‘of the Cape’ (van de Kaap/Caab).

It is harder to find information about the slaves belonging to free burgher and free black Capetonians than it is to find out about Company slaves. Recently, this gap has been partly filled by the TEPC Transcription Project as privately owned slaves are listed as assets or possessions in the documents associated with the estate papers of the Orphan Chamber at the Cape (MOOC). The heading ‘Lijfeigenen’ or ‘Slaves’ often appears towards the end of an inventory of possessions. Slaves were sold off with other household goods at public auctions and their new owners and purchase prices were listed in the vendurollen so we can work out which slaves were living together, where, at the time the record was made. It can be a little tricky, though, when a property-owner kept slaves at the town house and on the farm and they are all listed together in a single group.

MOOC8/73.3a 18310226 Flammé, Fredrik Wilhelm & Breedschoe, Johanna Sophia

| Rd:s | 700 | a female slave n.d Louisa of Mosambique (Mosambiek, Louisa van) 49 1/2 years of age, with her child Hendrik (no surname, Hendrik) born 10 Novemb: 1822 |
| 1200 | a male slave n.d Louis of this Colony (Kaap, Louis van de) 19 years of age |
| 750  | a female slave n.d Delphine of this Colony (Kaap, Delphine van de) , housemaid, 34 years of age |
| 100  | a female slave n.d Spasie of this Colony (Kaap, Spasie van de) 65 years of age |
| 300  | a male slave n.d September of Mosambique (Mosambiek, September van) |

Anna de Koning (MOOC8/5.118, 1734), widow of Olof Berg, owned all these places but we don’t know on which properties her 27 slaves were working:

Huis & Erf in TV Heeregragt, boekhouder Fr. Daniel Godfried Karnspek, f6000
Huis & Erf als boven agter debovingent. woning
Huis & Erf by de Kerk
Huis & Thyn mede gelegen an dese TV
Plaats ofte Hofstede gelegen aan de Steen bergen gent. Constantia
Twee opstallen beide gelegen aan de Piquetbergen, Guergap & Sonquas Clooff en ‘t Klygat.

Between 1816 and emancipation in 1838, all privately owned slaves had to be registered at the Slave Office. Once you know the name of the slave owner, you can search to find out where he or she lived. There are detailed records of each slave in the owner’s household, with the name of the buyer if the slave was sold, and when the slave died. Each volume covers a letter of the alphabet: search using the first letter of the owner’s surname.

Slave Office (SO) Registers and associated documents of the early British period at the Cape of Good Hope (1816-1837) are in the Cape Archives, filed by Magisterial District.

• The Slave Registers of all districts of the Cape Colony, an average of 100 pages per volume, are filed as SO 6/1-151
• Cases from the Slave Office, each ‘volume’/box containing about 10 cases, are filed as SO 3/22-25, 1816-1837.

Here is a copy of a typical page from a Slave Register, listing the slaves belonging to Anthon Jonker. It is not always easy to read the original documents. In this case, the copy is incomplete because the pages are faded and damaged.
After the abolition of slavery, many ex-slaves moved into the Bo-Kaap and the community rapidly expanded.

Bo-Kaap, with its cobbled streets lined with terraced houses and their narrow frontages which flow naturally into the street, is ... a small residential area not even a mile in extent, nor a quarter mile at its widest point. Yet it is densely populated, having a population of over 6,000 the majority of whom ... are Muslim.

The 'Malay Quarter' is probably the oldest residential section of Bo-Kaap. The houses ... were constructed between 1750 and 1850, and were first occupied by the present population from 1790 onwards. Prior to this the ancestors of the people of the Bo-Kaap lived in what is now the heart of Cape Town's commercial area, around Long, Keerom, Green streets, etc.


Where did the indigenous people live?

It is very difficult to find out where the indigenous people lived. The inventories and auctions sometimes throw a little light on the descendants of the Khoi and their links to a particular farm. There may be records of money owed and owing to a family estate (e.g. for wages or a loan to a herdsman), or there may be clues in contracts between farmers and workers. In the 19th century, the possessions of deceased persons of 'Hottentot' descent were sometimes sold after their death.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of birth</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>about 29 years</td>
<td>Comanie</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Mosambique</td>
<td>Mason</td>
<td>Reported to have died 19th September 1818</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 37           | Adonis   | Male | Cape     | Shoemaker  | Transferred the 14th February 1826 to F.Th[...]
|              |          |      |          |            | vide La.T folio 6 Cape          |
| 21           | Daniel   | Male | Cape     | Mason      | Sold and transferred the 8th January 1819 to J. Raw, senior, vide La.R folio 108 Cape |
| 29           | Francois | Male | Mosambique | Painter    | Transferred the 14th February 1826 to F.Th[...]
|              |          |      |          |            | vide La.T folio 6 Cape          |
| 27           | Carolus  | Male | Mosambique | House servant |  |
| 8            | Samuel   | Male | Cape     | –          |  |
| 34           | Aletta   | Female | Mosambique | Servant maid |  |
| 34?          | Daniel   | Male | This Colony | Mason     |  |
The owners of the properties on which Khoe descendants lived were listed in the 19th century ‘Hottentot’ Registers, dating from 1812 (e.g. CA: 1/STB 16/139-142; 1/STB 18/175-198). These were compiled for each district after Governor Caledon’s Proclamation of 1812 which required a census of ‘alle Hottentoten Bastert Hottentotten vryswarten’. These Registers have not been digitised so it is very time-consuming to search them.

Here is a typical page from a Stellenbosch district census, drawn up by Veldcornet Petrus Stephanus du Toit (copied from a photograph so the full names of the ‘huisvaders’, which are in the central fold of the ledger, were not fully legible).

| Opgave van alle Hottentotten Bastert Hottentotten vryswarten onder ’t Landroststamp van Stellenbosch gevonden waardende Zoals ’t zelve door het Gouvernement is voorgeschreven by Proloamatie van den 23 April 1812 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Naam der huisvaders van Hottentotten en Bastaards zyn inwoonende | Naam der Mannen en ouderdom | Naam der Vrouwe en ouderdom | Naam der Kinderen en ouderdom | Generale of afsonderlyke Wooninge in myn district van Hottentotten of Vry Swarten |
| Germieshuisen | Vader, Claas, onbewust | Moeder, Marie, onbewust | Claartjie, 15 | |
| De Kock | Cornelis, een slaaf van de Kock, 36 | Jacomyn, overleeden | Claas, na gis., 12 | |
| Du Toit | David, een slaaf van du Toit, 28 | Alett, 20 | Jan en Frans, 3 en 1 | |
| Roux | Buyten vader in deze district | Buyten moeder | Lys, 10, en Regina, 8 | |
| Ponty | Antonie, een slaaf van Ponty, onbewust | Hester, onbewust | | |
| Ponty | Onbewust | Zara, onbewust | Abraham, 3 maanden | |
| Maree | Andries, een slaaf van Maree, onbewust | Lena, onbewust | Vieleeda, 13 | |
| Raats | Kowis Kaaloor, 50 | Caatje, 35 | Kandaas, 10, Ragel, 8, Kaatje, 5, en Jan, 3 | |
| Venter | Adonis, een slaaf van J.V. van der Merwe, 20 | Clara, 20 jaare | Adonis, 1 jaar en 2 m: | |
| Venter | Vader, Spielman, 36 | Moeder, Caatje, 36 | Zara, 14 | |
| Du Toit | January, een slaaf van Claas Swart, 32 | Eva, 24 | Titus, 4, en Hanna, 1 jaar en 6 maande | |
| Du Toit | Adonus, een slaaf van A. du Toit, 28 | Kaatje, 24 | Adonus, 1 maand | |
| Otto | Piet, 26 | Katryn, 20 | Andries, 1 jaar en 3 m: | |
| Du Toit | Andries, 42, overleeden | Griet, 40 | Willem, 8 | |
| Du Toit | Vader onbewust | Anna, onbewust | Zara, 10, en Joseph, 8 | |
| Botha | Vader een slaaf Jefta, overleeden | Moeder, Zara, overleeden | Zuiken, 16, en Andries, 14 | |
Who lived where, 1800-1902?

VOC and burgher families: 1800

Eric Rosenthal’s *Cape Directory 1800* (1969) is based on two census lists in the Archives (CA: J37 and J38). It lists names and addresses of burghers and VOC employees, their wives and sometimes their children.

Strand Street/De Waterkant: 1800

Margaret Cairns researched who was living in the Strand Street / Waterkant area in about 1800. She described the inhabitants and gave their addresses in an article ‘Genealogical kaleidoscope: Ward 13 Cape Town 1700-1800’ (1981). The references she used were:
- Rosenthal’s *Cape Directory 1800* which lists names and addresses
- the Burgher Council ward census for 1799 which lists names and addresses (CA: BRD27)
- names of free blacks in 1797 (J443) and 1800 (CA: BRD29).

She found that ‘those who lived in Strand Street itself were for the most part business or professional men while the people who had to exist in the densely populated areas towards Table Bay were of more humble calling and of very mixed racial origins’. The lanes in the Strand Street/De Waterkant area (Mosselsteeg, Krabbesteef, Kreeftesteeg, Vischsteeg and Roggesteeg) housed many people connected with the sea and people who needed cheap lodgings: free blacks, washerwomen, shoemakers and some slaves who had permission to live away from their owners. Almost every household had at least one boarder who was often related to the property owner.

Differences between areas in Cape Town: 1800

Hans Heese is well known for his revelations about the diverse origins of old Cape settler families (*Groep Sonder Grense*, 1984). He also revised and extended genealogical references for genealogies, and for Eric Rosenthal’s *Cape Directory 1800*. Several groups of people who were not in the Directory appear in other sources:
- The census of *Vrijcorps* and *Compagnie der Vrijswartes* militia includes free blacks, ‘Bastards’ and other ‘Hottentotten’ (J443).
- The garrison lists (*Rijksarchief Den Haag* VOC 4347) include Company or Government slaves.
- Inventaris van slawe te Nuweland; SO 7/34 Lys van slawe; see Heese, ‘Slawejesinne’, *Kronos* 4: 45-47.

Hans Heese (1983) was interested in who was living where in Cape Town in 1800; whether there were separate poor (*onder-dorp*) and rich (*bo-dorp*) neighbourhoods and areas based on social class; and whether these areas were segregated. He found out who owned 15 or more slaves. Thirty-eight householders in Cape Town qualified as ‘the wealthy’: eight living in Strand Street, five in Berg Street, four in Heerengracht, three in Burg Street and three in Keizergracht.

Of 50 households in Strand Street, only one was owned by a free black, two free black women lived with free burgher families, and two heads of household were married to descendants of slaves. In Waterkant Street, one street nearer to the sea, most of the inhabitants were of mixed slave and European descent. This pattern of mixed households continued into Ziekedwarsstraat, where the richest man in the street, Johan Herwig, was married to Clara van de Kaap. (H.F. Heese, ‘Die inwoners van Kaapstad in 1800’, 1983: 45).

Early 1800’s

The ‘1820 Settlers’ in the Eastern Cape are well-documented, but small groups, families and individual immigrants from Britain and elsewhere in the British Empire made their way to Cape Town after the British took control in 1795. Peter Philip (*British Residents of the Cape, 1795-1819*, 1981) records the names, properties, occupations, etc. of English, Scottish, Irish and Welsh visitors and settlers, from information he collected from fellow researchers, the Cape Archives, the Deeds Office and various Society journals and bulletins.

The same is yet to be done for indentured labourers and passenger immigrants from India who
came to Cape Town, though the history of the majority who went to Natal is better served (see for example the work of J.B. Brain, University of Durban-Westville, on www.ancestry24.co.za).

Street history: 1847-1966

Street directories are a mine of information about who lived where in Cape Town in the 19th century, how people earned their living, and who were neighbours in the same street. You will find a full set of Directories and Almanacs in the National Library of South Africa (NLSA). For more, see Section 9, National Library of South Africa.

Some properties can be difficult to trace because of gaps or inconsistencies in the original sources. The names of owners, occupiers and proprietors of businesses do not always correlate with other records, and there are changes in street numbering over the years. You need a significant landmark (like a church or pub) on or near the block you are researching to help you work out how the street numbers have changed.

This table is from the study of a block next to Somerset Road, Green Point. It is based on three different sources: de Lima’s 1847 Almanac, Juta’s 1900 Almanac and the Cape Times Directory of 1935 and 1966:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Street</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation/Use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>de Lima</td>
<td>Dixon</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Berning Fredrik Simon</td>
<td>Wine merchant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>de Lima</td>
<td>Dixon</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Berning FS</td>
<td>Enclosed yard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>de Lima</td>
<td>Dixon</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Hammes Pieter Engelbertus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>de Lima</td>
<td>Dixon</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Logier Fredrik</td>
<td>Professor of music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>de Lima</td>
<td>Hudson</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Vos Michiel Christian</td>
<td>Wine store</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>de Lima</td>
<td>Hudson</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Munting Hermanus Gerhardus</td>
<td>Clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>de Lima</td>
<td>Hudson</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Vos MC</td>
<td>Stores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Juta</td>
<td>Dixon</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>Green EK &amp; Co</td>
<td>Wine and spirit merchants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Juta</td>
<td>Dixon</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Bales W</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Juta</td>
<td>Dixon</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>De Villiers JS</td>
<td>Grocer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Juta</td>
<td>Dixon</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Spengler T</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Juta</td>
<td>Dixon</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Lomberg S</td>
<td>Cab proprietor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Juta</td>
<td>Dixon</td>
<td>15-17*</td>
<td>Dublin Castle Hotel</td>
<td>J Power prop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Juta</td>
<td>Hudson</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kolbe C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Juta</td>
<td>Hudson</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Geyer A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Juta</td>
<td>Hudson</td>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>Green EK &amp; Co</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Juta</td>
<td>Hudson</td>
<td>12-16</td>
<td>Malay dwellings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Cape Times</td>
<td>Dixon</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>Green EK &amp; Co Ltd</td>
<td>Stores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Dixon</td>
<td>5-11</td>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Dixon</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Volkwyn W</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Dixon</td>
<td>13a</td>
<td>Khotoo B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Dixon</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Khotoo B</td>
<td>General dealer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Dixon</td>
<td>17*</td>
<td>Lomberg Mrs SM</td>
<td>Greengrocer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Dixon</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Dixon</td>
<td>21*</td>
<td>Dublin Castle Bar (side)</td>
<td>Bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Hudson</td>
<td>2-4</td>
<td>Nackidien HS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Hudson</td>
<td>6-12</td>
<td>Green EK &amp; Co Ltd</td>
<td>Store</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Hudson</td>
<td>14-18</td>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Dixon</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Balla MH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Hudson</td>
<td>14-20</td>
<td>Armstrong Gordon (Pty) Ltd</td>
<td>Covas Garage, Alphen Motors Ltd – workshops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Waterkant</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>Forbes P &amp; Co (Pty) Ltd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Waterkant</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Shields Display Service</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Waterkant</td>
<td>cor Vos</td>
<td>Dublin Castle Bar</td>
<td>Bar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Note change of street number for the public house, Dublin Castle.
Who were the builders and carpenters?

We can sometimes identify the builders of the Cape by name and get a glimpse of their lives. For example, Johannes Christoffel Dill (Tille) from Eisenach was a master house carpenter (CA MOOC14/46.10 (26), 1779). But it is not easy to link anyone with the design and construction of specific buildings.

The deceased estate of Christiaan Daniel Perzoon (MOOC8/17.22, 1776) shows clearly that though he started out his free burgher life at the Cape as a tailor and baker, at his death he was a substantial property owner and speculative builder. The list of his possessions is fascinating and useful: it gives the locations of his properties and date of last transfer, and also shows the variety and the amount of materials, supplies, and tools necessary for a construction business in the late 18th century. These included timber (planks, spars, window frames, doors), ironwork, scaffolding, ladders, tar and axle grease, window glass, imported bricks, reeds, spikes and nails, lime and quarried stone. A crucial asset of Perzoon’s business was the labour of his 20 male slaves, some of whom had specific skills: Alexander van Bougies, Passo van Balij, Dado van Bougies and Maaart van Ambon were masons (metzelaaren), Julij van Bengalen and Dophin van Madagascar were stone breakers (klipbreekers) and Quassa van Bougies was a carpenter (timmerman).

Casper Liebregt (Lybrecht/Lijbergt/Leiprecht) (CA MOOC14/57(1).12 (14, 1782) came from Wengelen in the Duchy of Tyrol (Austria or Northern Italy). The VOC hired him out as a mason in 1746 and after getting his free burgher papers he served as a mason in the service of the Cape Church Council until 1779. His heir, Anna Maria van de Caab, was the daughter of the free black woman, Rachel van de Caab. One document states that Liebregt gave his slave Thomas, also a mason, the freedom to work for himself as long as he supervised the other slave masons. Hoge (1946: 237) believes Thomas was Liebregt’s son. Curiously the costs of cleaning and repairing his house after his death were included in the funeral expenses.

The architects, builders and craftsmen responsible for the design, construction and finishing of the Cape Dutch homesteads remained anonymous, but without doubt the work was performed by slaves and we know with certainty that an appreciable number of the craftsmen were slaves. (Karel Schoeman, ‘Life at the Cape’, 2002: 121).

Their value is illustrated by Lichtenstein’s reference in the 1760s to the industry on Philip Myburgh’s farm, Meerlust: ‘He keeps a number of mechanics, some slaves, some freemen, by whom everything that is wanted for his household whether of clothes, furniture, implements of husbandry, or tools of any other kind are made on the spot … Nay, further, his near neighbours, who have not all these conveniences about them, often send things to him to be made, or hire some of his slaves to work at their own houses, as masons, as smiths, as wagon-wrights, as cabinet-makers, as tailors, etc’. (Viljoen, 2002: 165).

A directory of people and places:
Stewart Harris, Who’s where in Cape Architecture (2006), has indexed all the people mentioned in Hans Fransen’s survey of Old Buildings at the Cape (2004), with additional material from De Villiers and Pama’s genealogies, The Dictionary of South African Biography, and other sources. This booklet is available from publications@vassa.org.za.
8
Detective stories:
How people have researched places

This section gives examples of how people have researched places at the Cape, what caught their interest, what they found out. Research is a kind of detective work: you look for clues in the obvious places, sometimes you come across evidence in surprising places, you follow up contacts, cope with false leads and dead ends, and learn from mistakes. The detective work is usually a time-consuming process, sometimes mechanical and tedious, sometimes rewarding. Gradually you piece together a story – using all kinds of evidence, guesswork, imagination and luck.

Some of the stories are told by professional researchers (architectural historians, historical archaeologists, museum researchers, a lawyer turned archivist), but there are also stories told by officials in the heritage sector, NGO development workers, a priest, an engineer, a retired school principal, a librarian and a tour guide.

In the first Guidebook in this series, Slaves at the Cape, we included eight detective stories by different researchers and there was very positive response from readers. That is one reason why the second Guidebook, Household Inventories at the Cape, has a lot more stories. In Places at the Cape we stopped counting when we had twenty-five stories but kept going until we had more than the book could contain. There were many other stories we hoped to follow up, particularly stories about past and present informal settlements at the Cape where so many people live or have lived.

We hope you will find stories that interest you, that give you ideas about steps and sources and contacts for your own research, and inspire you to share what you discover about places at the Cape.

The stories are arranged according to place: we start in District One of the inner city, move around the city and the suburbs as far as Simon’s Town, and then move outside Cape Town, to towns, villages and farms in the Western and Southern Cape.

Cape Town and suburbs

- District One of De Waterkant, ‘site of ancient graves and gallows of a colonial past’ – Michael Weeder
- District One: The Cape Quarter – Antonia Malan
- Researching sacred sites in Cape Town
- Slave washerwomen’s places on Platteklip stream – Elizabeth Jordan
- Woodstock Memory Project – Mogamat Dollie, Woodstock Library, and Josette Cole, Mandlovu
- Hidden history around Cavendish Square in Claremont – Sally Titlestad
- Schools’ oral history research: Forced removals in Constantia – Carohn Cornell and Cecyl Esau
- Porter Estate, Tokai: Layers of history – Antonia Malan
- Researching forced removals in Cape Town
- Project Phoenix: Community research – Cathrynne Salter-Jansen, Simon’s Town Museum
- ‘If trees could speak’: the Trojan Horse story in Athlone and Crossroads – Shirley Gunn, Human Rights Media Centre
- Researching sites of struggle in Cape Town
- Crossroads research: Mayenzeke Street Names Project – Josette Cole, Mandlovu

Out of Cape Town: Villages, towns, farms

- Historical Precinct in the heart of Somerset West – Antonia Malan and Carohn Cornell
- Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum – Bongani Mgijima and Vusi Buthelezi
District One of De Waterkant, ‘site of ancient graves and gallows of a colonial past’

Michael Weeder

While the history of the District Six community and forced removal is well-known, District One, between Somerset Road and the Waterfront, seems to have fallen out of history. One District One landmark that is familiar to many Capetonians is the Traffic Department at Gallows Hill but how many know the origin of that grim name? Michael Weeder spent his early childhood in District One. This story is based on extracts from his M.A. thesis: ‘The Palaces of Memory: A reconstruction of District One, Cape Town, before and after the Group Areas Act’, UWC 2006.

Michael Weeder has been active in a campaign to preserve the burial grounds of slaves and other ‘forgotten people’ unearthed during the redevelopment of an area in Green Point/De Waterkant known as Prestwich Place. He has explored the legacy of slave foremothers and forefathers in Cape Town.

Roots in De Waterkant

In my research I worked towards imagining the past of a community associated with the north-west end of old Cape Town, District One of De Waterkant – site of ancient graves and gallows of a colonial past. This part of Cape Town is the place of my beginning, of my father before me and that of his father before him, reaching out to beyond the days of slavery. The origins and growth of this world city parallels that of my family and the myriad of others who formed its population.

Cape Town’s stories of conquest and domination, the pursuit of gain and love found, the ebb and flow of human need and triumph, are contained in the life experience of the countless thousands who lived and worked in and who were this city. At the heart of my research lies my desire to ‘own’ our personal and public history – the history of the communities who lived from the 19th century onwards in the parts of the city known as De Waterkant and District One.

I was born in the Cape Peninsula Maternity Hospital in Constitution Street, District Six. A few days later I was taken to my paternal grandparents’ home at 6 Amsterdam Street, off Ebenezer Road in the Dockland area. (Our family left the area in the early 1960s and ended up in Factreton Estate. Later we lived in a part of Elsies River where Balvenia Avenue crossed 40th Street, creating the border between Indian-classified Cravenby Estate and the coloured community of Malawian, Xhosa, Khoe, Griqua, Indian and other descent.)

Sources for research

In researching District One I moved to and fro between different kinds of sources which threw light on
each other: personal family history and broader oral history, between archival research on the specific place and community and wider reading about Cape Town in the 19th and early 20th century. As a first step I had to meet up with members of my father’s side of the family, many of whom I had never known or who knew me only as ‘Stanley’s eldest’ ...

Some of the family history I knew, some I had to research. My grandparents were Marie and John Weeder. Marie was born 18 October, 1886 to Louis Evon, a native of Reunion Island, and Cape-born Sarah Edwards. Louis and Sarah were married a year later on 17 July 1887. The street directory for 1902 registers Louis Evon as resident at 70 Hout Street between Buitengracht and Rose streets, which means that they lived in the Bo-Kaap part of Hout Street. By 1910 the Evon family lived at 10 Amsterdam Street. Sometime between 1902 and 1903 the Evon family moved into 2 Amsterdam Street above the corner shop owned ‘by a Jewish fellow by the name of Samuels’. In 1921 Marie Evon married John Henry Weeder and they started their married life in Marie’s family home in Amsterdam Street ... It was to their home that I was taken soon after I was born.

Oral history was important. Family conversations and interviews led on to a wide range of interviews with former residents and others ... For instance, a former resident who grew up in the area during the 1950s recalled: ‘We had six grocery stores in this little area, one on the corner of Amsterdam Street owned by Jewish people, one on the corner of Ebenezer and Kershaw Street, owned by Portuguese, one directly opposite in Ebenezer Road owned by Muslims, and one in Fleming Street, owned by Muslims. We lived next door to a butcher (German) separated by their carport. We had the traffic Department, the City Council’s goods yard, the Immigration Detention Centre, Irvin and Johnson’s warehouse…and a nightclub called the Navigator’s Den (whites only).’

The Cape Almanacs in the National Library were a fascinating window onto the community of the same area in the first half of the 19th century. For example, the 1836 edition contained a list of ‘Free Blacks’ including Abdul Saboer, alias Achilles van Batavia, Malay schoolmaster, of 4 Coffee Lane; Abraham van der Kaap, carpenter, 3 Chiappini Street; Adam of Mr G.H. Meyer, shoemaker, 28 Waterkant; Caroline van de Kaap, 14 Rose Street; Clara van de Kaap, 23 Waterkant – ‘the principal personages of the Free Black community’.

Visual images including personal photographs of interviewees and other ex-residents were a rich source: formal studio portraits; photographs of people on Amsterdam Street or where they were moved by the Group Areas Act. Somerset Road has a rich visual record and features in many maps, paintings and photographs of the area.

Sources in the Archives and Deeds Office were interesting. Up until 1827, Buitengracht Street formed the border of the western end of Cape Town. George Thompson’s ‘Plan of Cape Town and Environs’ of 1827 shows the developments at that end of the city that included Rose, Chiappini, Dixon and Hudson Streets. Transfer Deeds in the Surveyor General’s and Deeds Office show that in 1827 land between Somerset Road and the Amsterdam Battery was subdivided and sold for private development. By 1833 buildings had already been erected on the Prestwich Street site and these were included in William Snow’s Municipal survey of 1861. An unexpected source was the insurance plans of the firm of civil engineers, Chase Goad Limited, which detail the mixture of businesses and residential buildings in Amsterdam Street ... Deeds Office records show that in July 1898 Erf 165, ‘formerly portion A of lots 34 to 38 between Ebenezer and Amsterdam Streets’, was transferred into the name of W. Beatty. The Goad plan shows that the residences in the street were seven double-storey dwellings numbered from 2 to 14 and these were bounded by Ebenezer Road, Amsterdam Street, Bennet and Fleming Streets. Next to the row of double-storey tenements in Amsterdam Street was the CTC coffee warehouse and the ‘Braces and Belts’ factory stood on the corner of Amsterdam and Bennet Streets. The buildings in Amsterdam Street were expropriated in October 1967 by the City Council (Cape Town City Council Valuation Records). In the 1970s Amsterdam Street’s row of double-storey dwellings was demolished.

The deep questions
How do people remember when the material in which their memory is embedded is destroyed or removed? How to restore a place with its associated knowledge (sight, sound, smell, touch and taste) into the everyday experience of people whose sense of place has been affected by forced removal and by spatial transformation?
District One: the Cape Quarter

Antonia Malan

In 2001 Antonia Malan did archival research into District One in Cape Town, looking at the block bounded by Hudson, Dixon and Waterkant Streets, and Somerset Road. This research was for Phase One of a Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA). The block has since been redeveloped as the Cape Quarter, a fashionable area of upmarket offices, shops and restaurants. Though the new buildings retain the old form and scale of the area, and you can see some original bricks, stones and cobbles, there are no memorials to its previous history.

‘Cities are built on their pasts, constructed by the living on top of the dead. It is both a physical and a political process.’

District One received little historical attention until the 1990s, after the city’s unmarked burial grounds were discovered during building operations in Cobern Street in 1994, and again in Prestwich Street in 2003. I have been slowly collecting information in order to build a long stratigraphic sequence (chronology) from prehistoric times to the present. I looked at primary sources in the Deeds Office and Cape Archives (such as maps, plans, property transfers) and published histories (such as Worden et al. (1998) and Bickford-Smith et al. (1999)) – which led me to unpublished reports and theses. I also took every opportunity to do contract work in the area, such as the Cape Quarter project. Currently, the Archaeology Contracts Office at UCT is compiling all the known records into a single database, with the help of Lotto funding. There is now a small exhibition of the area’s history in the newly built Prestwich Memorial on the corner of Buitengracht and Somerset Road.

The area between Buitengracht and Green Point Common, once known as District One, developed quickly after the 1820s. In the mid 19th century there was a demand for working class housing, due largely to slave emancipation and immigration from Britain, and fresh business opportunities resulting from the expanding Victoria and Alfred harbour. Private dwellings and commercial activities spread alongside old and new burial grounds and up the slopes of Signal Hill. By the end of the 19th century the official burial grounds had been closed and the remains relocated to Maitland. Even more buildings were constructed on the newly available land during the first half of the 20th century.

By the end of the 20th century, the Slums Act and the Group Areas Act had emptied District One of most of its residents, with commercial activities taking their place. Property transfer deeds for the Cape Quarter block showed that ‘Indians’ owned most of the domestic properties from the 1920s to between 1963 and 1971, when they were removed from the area under the Group Areas Act. Schotse Kloof was proclaimed a ‘Malay Group Area’, adjacent to the ‘white Group Area’ that ran along upper Strand Street and into High Level Road. People classified ‘Indian’ were excluded from both areas. Families became widely scattered. For instance, Imam Karjika became a well-known member of the Grassy Park community.

As you can see from the Deeds Office records, an anonymous entity ‘Chasinvest’ systematically purchased the properties from owners who were being forcibly removed, completing the purchases by the end of 1971:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Erf no.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Owner</th>
<th>Date / Purchaser</th>
<th>Purchaser</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>585</td>
<td>1927-1963</td>
<td>Khotoo, Balla</td>
<td>1963 Shub</td>
<td>1969 Chasinvest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>586</td>
<td>1930-1971</td>
<td>Karjika, Harkas, Baba</td>
<td>1971 Chasinvest</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>588</td>
<td>1924-1969</td>
<td>Osman, Balla, Ahamed</td>
<td>1969 Chasinvest</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>589</td>
<td>1930-1971</td>
<td>Karjika, Harkes, Baba</td>
<td>1971 Chasinvest</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>608</td>
<td>1948-1963</td>
<td>Khotoo, Balla</td>
<td>1963 Shub</td>
<td>1969 Chasinvest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 The names of property-owners indicate Gujarati origins (personal communication, Prof. Abdulkader Tayob).
Before the redevelopment of the block, a survey was carried out of the buildings that remained from earlier times. The following brief architectural descriptions of buildings are based on the Cape Provincial Institute of Architects survey (Buildings of Central CT, 1978) and have been amended by new research using sources in the National Library of South Africa (such as Goad Insurance plans and street directories), as well as personal observations in the area.

16-18 Hudson Street, erf 3623 (old lot 3).
Single storey, wide stoep extending to street gutter, plain plaster shallow rusticated front, moulded cornice, raised parapet, steel roof construction, vehicle entrance, hardwood doors. According to street directories these were dwellings for ‘Malays’ and ‘Coloureds’ until the late 1940s. The interiors are substantially gutted and the rear outbuildings that were also dwellings in 1925 were demolished in 1956.

20 Hudson Street, erf 3623 (see erf 603, lot 2).
Single storey, narrow, deep, top-lit warehouse behind old replastered frontage. Enlarged central opening, modern hardwood sliding glazed entrance doors. Dekenah the dairyman lived here in 1900 but by 1910 it was a store and then by 1925 a garage.

66 Waterkant Street, corner Hudson Street (nos 22-26), erven 603 and 604.
Two storey, plastered, concrete framed, timber bowstring lattice trussed roof, curved corrugated iron, industrial steel windows, stepped plaster parapets and plaster décor. McQueen’s building, 1934, still remains. Dekenah had a dairy here from about 1864 when he purchased the property until 1930 when he sold it to the Duffets. Endee Panel shop still operates out of the upper floor, and they use No.68 as their office.

Sacred sites and heritage in Cape Town

A special issue of the Journal of Islamic Studies (edited by Louise Green and Nöeleen Murray, 2004/5) focuses on conflict over life space and burial space in post-apartheid Cape Town, particularly the conflict over the development of a section of the St Cyprian’s School property adjacent to the kramat of Abdul Malik in Oranjezicht.

The ‘St Cyprian’s dispute’ is part of a much wider debate about burial grounds in the city: their strong emotional and political role in transforming sites and spaces of the city have created deep divisions among academics, politicians, the authorities and public opinion.

Articles by Nöeleen Murray, Antonia Malan and Abdulkader Tayob discuss the difficulties of reconciling professional management and political and public claims to heritage in Cape Town, and the search for common ground. Intangible factors that define the significance of places, such as religious beliefs and practices, complicate the process. The writers make reference to kramats at Oudekraal, St Peter’s Anglican graveyard below Groote Schuur Hospital, the Tana Baru, which is the historic Muslim burial ground in the Bo-Kaap, unmarked graves in Cobern Street in Green Point, and ‘the case most swiftly and brutally resolved’, the nearby Prestwich Street burial ground.

The Cultural Sites and Resources Forum, an ad hoc network of academics and researchers, was formed in 2000 in response to calls from participants in the ‘St Cyprian’s dispute’ and became a place for debate around history and heritage. What emerged was the need for clear concepts of what constitutes historical evidence, and the need for careful documentation of heritage sites.

The Journal includes detailed research reports and opinions from archaeologist Mary Patrick (Cape Archaeological Survey cc) and historian Auwais Rafudeen (Islamic Peace University of South Africa), and a comment on the resolution process by Anthony Haggie (Chairperson of the St Cyprian’s School Council). Follow-up interviews with several of the stakeholders revealed their very diverse experiences and feelings about the place, the dispute and its apparent resolution.

Slave washerwomen’s places on Platteklip Stream

Elizabeth Jordan

Historical archaeologist Elizabeth Jordan reconstructed the social, cultural and material lives of slave washerwomen and their descendants over time, around the washing places and municipal washhouses of Cape Town. She combined several historical methods and sources:

- archaeological (the paths to the washing places and structures and artefacts found at the washing places)
- archival (maps; official records and correspondence with washerwomen; newspapers)
- oral (including interviews with washerwomen and their descendants).

When I first visited Cape Town in 1999, I knew only that I wanted to study urban slave culture and life. At first, I found it difficult to pin down a place to work on. I spent hours in the South African National Library in the Gardens reading through old Cape histories, traveller’s accounts and personal memoirs, in the hope of identifying a suitable subject for a detailed historical archaeological investigation.

I came across many mentions of slaves but none were linked to a specific site, with the exception of washerwomen. There were many references to slave – and later freed – washerwomen doing washing in the streams on the slopes of Table Mountain, particularly in the Platteklip Stream. I decided to research Cape Town’s washerwomen and their workplaces. This was a great opportunity because few archaeological studies of slavery have been conducted in urban contexts and none have focused specifically on the experiences of enslaved women.

The many washing places in Cape Town have long since been buried or destroyed by urban and suburban development, but the upper reaches of the Platteklip Stream are preserved within Van Riebeeck Park on the slopes of Table Mountain. When walking through the park, you can still see small boulder-lined pools in the stream similar to those described and illustrated in historical records as used by washerwomen.

When walking along the stream banks en route to the platteklip (flat rock) itself, I passed the surviving Municipal Washhouse buildings, as well as a set of concrete wash tubs. All over Van Riebeeck Park I noticed colonial-period artefacts surfacing along paths and eroding from the banks of the stream. Clearly, washing had left visible signs on the landscape. The question then became: what, if any, impressions did the washerwomen leave in the archaeological record? Fortunately, the archaeological record exceeded all expectations.

In 2001, we conducted a systematic archaeological survey throughout Van Riebeeck Park, and found concentrations of ‘wash-related’ artefacts, including buttons and clothing hooks, just below the Municipal Washhouses. In 2002, we returned to this spot to begin a full-scale archaeological excavation. Within hours of opening our first units, we found large boulders beginning to surface along the western portion of the site and next to these we encountered poorly-sorted river gravels laden with artefacts. We soon realized that we had uncovered an older and abandoned course of the Platteklip Stream and had landed ourselves knee-deep in the washerwomen’s pools! We continued to excavate the buried streambed for the next six weeks and found nearly 24,000 artefacts, most from the late 18th to the late 19th centuries. Some artefacts (like buttons, buckles, and beads) were knocked off when clothes were banged against rocks during the washing process, while others (such as coins and pencils) fell out of pockets. Other artefacts including ceramic bowls and glass bottles were used to carry food and drink to the site for the washerwomen and their children. On the basis of excavations at the washing places, it seems clear that washing sustained generations of slave women and their families in Cape Town. These artefacts not only represent the washerwomen’s industry and their daily lives, but serve as tiny testaments to the social, cultural, and economic significance of their work.

After an article about the research appeared in Muslim Views in 2003, several people contacted me to share their memories. As a child, one lady had assisted her Auntie by carrying laundry to and from the
Hanover Street Washhouse in District Six. Another lady recalled her mother, who lived in Bo-Kaap, washing for tourists in Sea Point. Her mother not only earned enough money to support 12 children, but left them each an inheritance which they used to go to Mecca on *hajj*. These oral histories not only help to bring the washerwomen to life, but carry their stories into the present day.

Combining all these sources of evidence led to the conclusion that the washing places were not only work spaces, but meeting places where generations of slave women and their descendants created lives for themselves and their families. While doing the washing, these women exchanged news, information, goods and services, and shared the responsibilities of childcare – maintaining ties of friendship and community that spanned three centuries, straddled the transition from slavery to freedom, and extended well into the modern era.

(See Elizabeth Grzymala Jordan, ‘Unrelenting toil’: expanding historical archaeological interpretations of the female slave experience’, 2005, and ‘From time immemorial’: washerwomen, culture and community in Cape Town, South Africa’, 2006.)

The Woodstock Memory Project

*Mogamat Dollie, Woodstock Library, and Josette Cole, Mandlovu*

Woodstock and Salt River were established in the late 19th century on land previously occupied by small farms and market gardens. They are today among the oldest mixed but largely working class residential areas in Cape Town – rapidly undergoing a process of ‘gentrification’. In social and cultural terms, Woodstock and Salt River are unique neighbourhoods.

Woodstock, the oldest suburb in Cape Town, has a vibrant multi-cultural past that makes it one of the most diverse social spaces in the city. The Woodstock Memory Project is a new initiative to preserve and popularise the stories of local citizens and institutions (past and present) that contribute to the historical and cultural heritage of Woodstock. The Project was initiated by the Woodstock Library and the Mandlovu Development Trust and Institute and supported by the Van Kalker Photographic Studio and The Woodstock Whisperer, a local paper which focuses on the history and heritage of the area.

For more information, or if you would like to contribute memories or other resources, please contact Mogamat Dollie at the Woodstock Library dolliem1@smartcape.org.za or Josette Cole at mandlovu@mweb.co.za. The Woodstock Whisperer is available at Woodstock Library.

The Project was launched on Heritage Day 2006 with a Heritage Festival held at the Woodstock Town Hall and the Van Kalker Photographic Studio. The festival featured local performers, musicians, food and informal trader stalls, and activities for children, and brought together young and older residents and visitors. Banners, posters and photo exhibits aim to ‘brand’ the Woodstock Memory Project as an integral part of urban renewal and revitalisation initiatives in Woodstock.

Woodstock Library next to the Town Hall is known to everyone who grew up in the area as an important place in the community, which has kept going even when other civic amenities like the swimming pool have been forced to close. Mandlovu Development Trust and Institute has developed an approach to social development that integrates notions of memory, culture and healing: ‘historical memory and cultural expression become the glue that binds and holds people together, as active citizens, while developing themselves and their built environment in a post-apartheid context’.

Van Kalker Photographic Studio holds photographs and memories of generations of Woodstock residents and other Capetonians. *The Woodstock Whisperer* which brings out several issues a year, is a valuable resource for research on Woodstock. Articles give a sense of the multi-cultural past and many changes in Salt River/Woodstock – the Jewish community and the (now closed) synagogues, the Wesleyan schools and training college, the Catholic church surrounded by Irish street names, the mosque communities, the factories, the political organisations, the changing population, and more.

Perhaps the most valuable historical sources and resources for Woodstock are people who have
lived, worked, organised, worshipped, or attended school or college, in the area and who have recorded their stories in some way or are willing to tell their stories and share their memories and their photographs. There are also many people in the area, including newcomers, with specialist skills and contacts to offer (such as oral history interviewing, architectural history, archival research, journalism, photography and layout).

The Memory Project aims to build a small research team to undertake oral history research using ‘reminiscence therapy’ with older residents (current and former) who were born, lived or worked in the greater Woodstock area. This will contribute to an archive of written, visual and audio materials on Woodstock’s history and heritage. The Memory Project also aims to hold cultural events (music, films, poetry readings etc) to celebrate the life and times of people interviewed and to contribute to locally inspired development projects.

Melbourne Terrace, Woodstock: 1900-2000

Thys Hattingh and Keith Loynes

In architectural terms Woodstock and Salt River contain important concentrations of 19th and early 20th century architecture.

Two residents of Queen’s Road Urban Conservation Area in Woodstock, Thys Hattingh and Keith Loynes, worked closely with their neighbours to research and carefully renovate a row of seven houses known as Melbourne Terrace. To mark the centenary of Melbourne Terrace and to benefit future owners, Thys Hattingh compiled a booklet: History of Melbourne Terrace, Woodstock, 1900-2000, which is available in the National Library of SA and SAHRA library.

For more information contact: thys.hattingh@gmail.com.

It took years of background research to make sure that we restored our houses in Melbourne Terrace correctly. We searched the documentary records for the history of the grant and subdivisions – in the Deeds Office, Cape Archives, and records of the National Monuments Council, now SAHRA. We talked to residents and former residents of the area to gain an oral history of the area. We found out how and when the terrace got its name, its original setting, and who lived there over time – using street directories, maps and people’s ‘memoirs’, both written accounts we came across and what people remembered.

One former resident, Mrs Davidson, who was born at No.9 Melbourne Terrace, recalled watching from the verandah when the mailships berthed and when they sailed from the Docks – in those days the Terrace stood alone, with no other buildings in the vicinity to obscure the view. Mrs Davidson also had vivid memories of dairy cows strolling around Woodstock. In summer when grazing was scarce, dairy cows would be herded past the Terrace and onto the mountainside just above Elmwood – really No.13 Melbourne Terrace but it had a name instead of an unlucky number! One day the gate and the front door happened to be open and a cow strolled down the passage. When the cow saw herself in a mirror she went berserk and it took several men to remove her.

We compiled evidence of architectural and stylistic features, past and present from city surveys, personal observations, oral history, family photographs and aerial photos. We consulted with builders and conservation architects about appropriate materials to use and we kept a careful record – photographs and written notes – of all the restoration work on the houses from when we started in the 1980s. Based on our research and the experience of doing the restoration we wrote guidelines for current and future owners of houses in the Terrace. To ensure the protection of the Terrace we motivated for it to be declared a National Monument in 1991 and it’s now a provincial heritage site – in terms of the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999.
Woodstock/Salt River architectural guidelines

A 1990 City Council survey in Woodstock, Salt River, Walmer Estate and University Estate revealed that the community felt very positive about their architectural heritage and were concerned that this heritage was being lost. People felt that the area was being damaged by lack of building maintenance, inappropriate renovations and new construction, commercial buildings intruding into the residential neighbourhood.

Guidelines were drawn up to help owners maintain affordable housing in the area, increase the value of their homes and maintain or develop the quality of public spaces in the area. Those parts where the original form and scale of urban development, and the buildings themselves, have been retained in a relatively unchanged condition were proposed as Urban Conservation Areas.

(Adapted from Woodstock / Salt River: A Guide to Building and Repairs, prepared for the City Planner’s Department, Cape Town City Council, by Lucien le Grange Architects in association with the Town Planning Branch, October 1993.)

According to a recent City of Cape Town pamphlet (2005), between 1977 and 1994, the City of Cape Town commissioned a series of conservation studies of many of the historic architecturally significant parts of the city. As a result 32 urban conservation (heritage) areas were established. See Section 9 for an account of the Heritage Resources Section at the City of Cape Town.

Hidden history around Cavendish Square in Claremont

Sally Titlestad

For many Capetonians, Claremont is a place of exclusive shopping malls, street traders and taxi ranks. I became curious about the history of the area after moving there in 2002. It was a short walk from my home to Cavendish Square and on the way I would see a few beautiful Victorian villas on large plots and then closely packed rows of small Victorian terrace houses on small plots. I became interested in the area above Cavendish Square.

This interest led into research for a Masters of Philosophy in Architecture. I decided to focus on the British period because it looked as though that’s when the houses were built. Most architects who look back into the past are interested in the details of design of individual buildings. I’m interested in architectural design and the ways ordinary people create architecture and impact on their environment.

This story describes steps and sources in my research, on the way to finding out that this land was developed by free black landowners when Claremont first grew into a suburb from the 1820s and 1830s. 140 years later the descendants of freed slaves and other free black landowners were forcibly removed under the Group Areas Act – dispossessed and excluded from Claremont. Nowhere in Cavendish Square or the surrounding area is this heritage acknowledged. I believe the social history of this land should be explored and made public to counter the silence of exclusion and dispossession.

Much remains to be done and I would be interested to share sources and discuss findings and questions with other researchers (sally@voicecom.co.za or phone 021-6868124).

Questions and clues

One day in 2003, I was shocked to see a bulldozer flattening semis and their gardens and a sign went up advertising new townhouses for about R2 million. I quickly discovered from older residents that a few developers had bought up tracts of houses at the time of Group Areas forced removals from the
late '60s. They put in tenants but did no maintenance until the houses were in such bad shape that they 'had to be demolished'.

My first step was to find out if the demolition was legal – it was. The next step was to ask about the history of Grove, the local primary school where my children were. Sure enough, the history of the land and the school had been written by G.A. de Smidt (www.family-history.co.za/grove_school.html). Reading this history, I picked up links with Sir John Herschel and started looking at books about him. Herschel was an astronomer sent to the Cape to 'map the southern skies' and he was involved in the early development of photography in the 1830s. I was excited to find in one book some pictures (camera lucida sketches) of the mountain taken from his house which showed an avenue of trees along what is now Feldhausen Avenue. Herschel’s house was originally called Feldhausen and he renamed it The Grove. In his diary he described the area in great detail and that helped me figure out the layout of the Estate as it was back then. Grove school has an obelisk, a National Monument, marking the place where Herschel’s telescope stood, and the obelisk and the diaries made me realise that his house had been somewhere nearby – it’s no longer there.

Meanwhile, I kept on walking around, wondering how the area had developed, how it used to work. Why was there such a distinct line between the big houses and the row houses? Were the small houses built so that the big houses had servants nearby? What used to be at the end of Feldhausen Avenue, an avenue of big old trees? How come Cavendish Square was built in a residential area?

I talked to older residents and found a few clues. For instance, our neighbour across the road showed me an old surveyor’s diagram of their house and I realised there must be one for each property. I found out that these surveyor’s diagrams are kept in the Surveyor-General’s Office, along with title deeds. I found an old photograph of the house, Feldhausen (Fransen, 2000: 61). Then Antonia Malan told me about the old maps in the Cape Archives. From the maps and old plans I worked out that Feldhausen had been where the Synagogue is now, that the avenue had extended to the front of the house, and that there was another avenue from the Main Road, which is now Grove Road. The Thibault map (ca 1812) shows the two avenues as well as footpaths, other buildings, and the line along which the housing types changed from big to small. I was new to this kind of research and archivists and fellow-researchers helped me along the way.

Finding answers?

It felt like a breakthrough when I realised that the property sizes changed where the boundary line had been between Feldhausen Estate and Sans Souci Estate. I went to Sans Souci High School to see if they had historical information and they did. I also did a search on the two estates in the Deeds Office and the Surveyor General’s section.

It began to get really interesting when I found that the smaller houses on the Feldhausen Estate above Cavendish had been registered (as early as the 1840s) in the names of people who had been slaves. Ago of the Cape, later recorded as Ajouhaar, was the first I found. His house may have stood on the site of one set of semis demolished in 2003 to make way for Natella Place. I started wondering how come ex-slaves owned land between the estates of two very wealthy men, Herschel (Feldhausen Estate) and Hamilton Ross (Sans Souci Estate). By the way, Ross had an elegant house in town, the Mount Nelson.

I found that before Herschel left the Cape he gave small plots of land to his groom, Zoomai (or Samay), and some other servants, perhaps ex-slaves. These plots were away from the grand homestead, well out of sight. Names written on the subdivision diagram before 1850 include David of the Cape, Slamodien, January, Akildien, Widow Salom, Livie, John Lander, Joseph Turner and James Bond. Herschel sold the rest of his land to an auctioneer who capitalised on his name by building a house named after him (now Herschel School), subdivided and sold off the rest of the farm, and became very wealthy.

At the time of emancipation, Hamilton Ross gave land on his Sans Souci Estate to ex-slaves on condition they continued to work for him. The subdivision of the land around Main Road where Pick ‘n Pay stands today was registered as early as 1824. It seems that none of the houses that were built on those plots are still there – unless they are incorporated into other buildings. The Main Road Mosque (completed by 1850) was positioned within the community, as were a number of churches.

The 1902 subdivisions of the Sans Souci strip show land owned by Mohommed Abduragheim,
Ebrahim Behardien, William Lewis, Harry Church, Abdol Giadien, Mogamat Harries, Hesham Effendi, Abas Adams, Hendrik Deenik, Ali, Jabada, Sanea, Gazant, Saphia, Jabire, Gava Arteka, Mohamed Hassan, Mogamet and Omar Ajouhaar, Achmat Jaffer, the South African Mohommedan Building Company, the Moslem Dassweli Educational and Water Welfare Society of Cape Town, and others. For some at least, the subdivision was formalising their ownership of properties they had had for some time.

Forced removals in the area above and below Cavendish Square in Claremont grabbed land that had been held by ‘free black’ people as far back as the 1820s, broke up an established community and destroyed areas of ‘mixed race living’. I tried to access the historical research that had been done for land claims from former residents but unfortunately could not, perhaps because the claims had not been settled so the research was not yet in the public domain. I approached officials but they would not give phone numbers of the land claims group. Perhaps I could have tracked claimants via the Claremont Main Road Mosque or St Saviour’s Anglican Church or some other network but there wasn’t time.

Useful sources

I focused on archival as well as contemporary documents, cross-checked sources against each other, and got excited when information started to overlap. Primary sources included maps from the beginning of settlement at the Cape, Surveyor General’s survey diagrams and Deeds Office records showing who owned or transferred properties and when properties were subdivided. Some of my neighbours talked about how the area had changed and I read transcripts of interviews (such as K. Daniels, ‘Life in Claremont – An interview with May Sarton’, 2001) but I didn’t do any interviews.

Autobiographical writing, diaries and correspondence of people who lived in the area between 1806 and 1910 were useful for descriptions of places and perspectives on the social context – even prejudice can be very informative. This autobiographical writing included the published diaries and correspondence of Sir John Herschel (Evans et al., 1969) and Lady Margaret Herschel (Warner, 1991) between 1834 and 1838 and Norah Henshilwood, A Cape Childhood (1972), about living in the area from the early to mid 1900s. Henshilwood’s annotated map, ca 1910, showed ‘Malay Field’ and the text gives insight into who lived where but also into social attitudes of the time: ‘Coloured Folk, mostly Malays …established their own community there. The roads and the empty space of the field were neglected, with many open drains and consequent untidiness, though the houses were solid enough and occupied by some of the most respected and worthy of the local Malay and Indian families … On the corner was a Coolie shop, run by an Indian.’

Secondary sources included Hans Fransen and Mary Cook (1980) and histories of nearby suburbs (Wagener, 1957; Robinson, 1994 and 2001) which gave me clues about where to look for information. Nigel Worden et al. (1998) brought together in a single book a range of research on the 19th century social context.

Looking back, I realize that it could also have been useful to approach other Claremont institutions for historical information – the mosques, Livingstone High School, Claremont library, Cavendish Square planners, and so on – but that was beyond the scope of my thesis. The social history of this area should be further explored and made public to counter the silence of exclusion and dispossession. A key question is how this heritage should be acknowledged in public spaces.

On the evidence of my study it is not possible to reconstruct the 19th century architectural fabric of the area around present-day Cavendish Square, but we can begin tracking the changes that occurred. The links between land ownership, power and status are very tightly woven. For a reliable socio-spatial history of the development of suburbs and their sub-areas, we need methods that go across disciplinary boundaries. Spatial practices have always differed with class, race, gender and culture … but spatial studies are two-dimensional. To assess the lived processes of the development of any place, spatial studies – studies of the spaces between things – need to go along with studies that explore in depth the physical, economic, political, social, religious and cultural aspects that together create a living environment.

3 A valuable source on life in Claremont before, during and since forced removals under the Group Areas Act is Fahmi Gamieldien, The History of the Claremont Main Road Mosque: Its people and their contribution to Islam in South Africa. 150 Year Commemoration Edition, published by the Claremont Mosque in 2005. Unfortunately, this was not available when I was doing my research. See for example the chapter on ‘A Walk through Claremont’, historical photos; and references to a range of sources, published and unpublished, written and oral.
Schools’ oral history research: Forced removals in Constantia

Carohn Cornell and Cecyl Esau

This story focuses on the value of oral sources in revealing the layering of history in a place, Constantia, and developing an appreciation of the cultural landscape. ‘How did forced removals in Constantia affect people’s lives?’ was the research question and Constantia was the case study for an oral history project for schools in 2005.

Forced removals and oral history are both on the Grade 11 history syllabus. Fifty Grade 11 learners and seven teachers from five high schools in the Western Cape, ID Mkize High (Gugulethu), Fish Hoek Senior High and Lentegeur, Sinethemba (Khayelitsha) and Fairmount (Grassy Park) Senior Secondary Schools participated in the research.

Cecyl Esau co-ordinated the project for the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation and the partners were about 20 former residents of Constantia; the Western Cape Education Department (Education Management Development Centre South); and the District Six Museum. Spenser Janari, History subject advisor, facilitated links with the schools. Bonita Bennett welcomed the schools group to the District Six Museum and later ran the oral history training. Mr C.W. Pietersen, who farmed in Ladies Mile Road until the forced removals, gave memorable guided tours of the area and was one of the interviewees.

A small team researched the history of Group Areas removals in general and the history of Constantia, mainly from secondary sources, and put together a timeline and a pack of resource materials for teachers. This historical background was useful but it was interacting with the people (the oral sources) and the place that got learners interested and doing research.

This story is based on the book which was developed for and from the project, Forced Removals: A case study on Constantia. An oral history resource guide for teachers, published in 2005 by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.

Hidden layers of history

Little has been written about the recent history of Constantia and the forced removals. Walking around with a guide who had lived in Constantia before forced removals revealed layers of hidden history. The guided tour and the oral history interviews that followed pointed to some of the landmarks that bear witness to Constantia as it used to be.

The Sillery Mosque and graveyard remain in Sillery Road. The mosque and the big Muslim cemetery in Spaanschemat River Road are still owned and used by former residents. The kramats in the area are still tended with reverence. The Anglican Church, Christchurch, has ‘coloured’ former residents in its congregation who have generations of family members buried in the churchyard. The Dawood family shop, ADM Superette, near the turn-off to Groot Constantia is the only one of the old shops that was not demolished. The old street names are still in use – Spaanschemat River, Schilpadvlei, Pagasvlei, Sillery, Ladies Mile, Kendal, but you have to look hard to find any signs of the farms, cottages and shops that people were forced to leave behind when they were scattered to the Cape Flats.

The house of old Imam Pagoedien Allie, the carpenter, ‘on the dirt road to Varkiesvlei’, still stands but is now a garden shop opposite the Constantia Village Mall. The Pietersens’ family farm at 1 Ladies Mile Road which exported grapes has been replaced by a garage and a Woolworths Food Store. The municipal dumping ground in Ladies Mile Road occupies land where the Solomon and Kherekar families once lived and farmed. The green open space at the intersection of Ladies Mile Road and Spaanschemat River Road was the lively centre of village life, but Mr Karjekar’s U-shaped yard, cottages, butchery and shops were demolished to widen the road (that was never widened) and those who lived there were sent to the Cape Flats.

In Strawberry Lane, where rows of cottages once stood among flower gardens, there is a lavish new development called Strawberry Fields ... If you want to know the history of Strawberry Lane, you
could ask the flower-sellers in Rondebosch or elsewhere in Cape Town. Many of them have links with Strawberry Lane and other parts of Constantia – and stories to tell. Or in late summer, ask the older people selling hanepoot grapes at roadside stalls in Constantia or at Constantia Nek.

Oral tradition in the mosque communities

According to archival records, ‘two Mohammedan priests’, Tuan Said and Hadji Mattaram, spread Islam through the kramats or holy shrines in Constantia and around the city. The Imams and office-bearers at the two Constantia mosques have an older oral tradition about the role of Constantia in early Islam at the Cape going back to the early years of the settlement. (They also have private collections of historical documents and photographs.) Many slaves, including African slaves, were Muslim or became Muslim, and are among the ancestors of Muslim community of Constantia and the Western Cape. Former residents all describe the close links between Muslim and Christian neighbours.

Former residents remember

These quotations from interviews by learners with former residents give some sense of roots in Constantia and the experience of forced removal.

I was born in Strawberry Lane 1924 … When I was young we had a police station but they closed Constantia police station [the building stands near ADM Superette] because there was no crime. (Mrs Mary Petersen)

See the rows of tall trees next to the old school at the corner of Kendal and Spaanschemat … I planted one of those trees as a schoolboy in the 1930s. (Mr Allie Takay)

My dad had a farm in Ladies Mile Road. Our water came from wells in our garden and from fountains, from springs. We grew flowers, vegetables, most of the vegetables were taken to market. (Mrs Marie Frans)

We had a big house – three bedrooms, big sitting room and big kitchen and large yard, we had a flower garden and a vegetable garden, fig trees … so we lived out of our garden … We were moved out and that house still stands open, no one moved in there, it is a very sad story. (Mrs Mariam Samsodien)

Everyone was scattered as far as Manenberg, Grassy Park, Retreat, Lavender Hill, Parkwood and all the areas there. It was just sand and like living on a beach … It’s years ago and still when I dream at night it will be like still living there, in Constantia. (Mrs Ellen Deane)

I am going back there … They must bury me there because that is my place. I want to lay among my ancestors. (Imam Ismail Allie)

Responses from learners

All the learners were enthusiastic, firstly about working in a diverse group from areas and schools that still show apartheid divisions, and secondly about the experience of oral history research – ‘living history’. These comments from three learners were typical:

It was interesting travelling around Constantia to know its roots – do the people who live in the big houses know the history of the place?

Oral history helps us to interact and to know that even if apartheid is supposed to be over, we need to listen to people’s stories, to relate to their suffering.
At school we didn’t take forced removals seriously, as if it never happened, but when we met the people from Constantia, that’s when we learned the real experience of apartheid. There were so many questions I wanted to ask and I have also asked old people in my family.

Responses from teachers

Teachers were initially nervous because the project added to their workload (with over 50 learners in some classes) but they found the interactive research process ‘motivating’ for themselves and for their learners.

It was good for all of us to get out of the usual environment – we tend to get stuck in the geography that apartheid left us.

Perhaps the most important thing is that the project has demystified the notion that research is for experts only, it’s inducted learners into doing research.

Ways forward?

This was a small pilot project and learners were new to oral history interviewing but there is a lesson here for the Groot Constantia Museum and for others interested in the history of the area. Iziko Museum has placed a huge timeline near the entrance to the historical exhibition in Groot Constantia for the benefit of visitors including school groups. The timeline shows key events from prehistory to the present, alongside key events in the history of the Constantia Valley but does not mention forced removals. In the same way, a beautiful photographic display on ‘Constantia then and now’ held recently in the Village Mall celebrated architectural heritage and multicultural harmony but gave no hint that forced removals had taken place.

A fuller oral history would need to draw on other sources, such as interviews recorded in the 1980s by Barry Gasson of the UCT Department of Architecture and Planning, and more recent interviews conducted by Bonita Bennett of the District Six Museum and Michele Paulse and others.
Porter Estate, Tokai: Layers of history

Antonia Malan

Porter Estate is in Tokai, past the Tokai picnic area, between Constantia and Ou Kaapseweg. You pass Porter Estate and the Tokai Manor House if you want to want to walk in the Tokai Arboretum or climb up to the Elephant’s Eye cave on the mountain.

Porter Estate has had one layer of human settlement after another and the land has been used in many different ways: grazing first for indigenous herders and then for the VOC, convict station and reformatory, organic market ... It is a microcosm of Cape history, reflecting the changing pattern of South Africa’s social, architectural and political history, spanning the pre-colonial, colonial, apartheid and more recent periods. The challenge is to determine how further transformations can take place without wiping out all marks of the past.

This story is based on a baseline study, called a scoping study, the first stage of a Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) for the Porter Estate Development Framework. It was commissioned by the Western Cape Provincial government and done by the Porter Heritage Landscape Group, 2001.

‘It was a great pleasure to work closely in a specially created multi-disciplinary team, the ‘Porter Landscape Group’ (Henry Aikman, Sarah Winter and Antonia Malan), and because of the complexity of the place we also set up a reference group of colleagues with special knowledge who gave advice and read our draft reports.’

Layers of history

If you go to the produce market on the Porter Estate, or watch cross-country running, or visit the leadership training centre, you might not notice physical traces of the past but they are to be found. While future plans are still unknown, the challenge is to determine how further transformations can take place without wiping out all marks of the past.

The Porter Estate has many layers of history. It has been used for:

- Khoe grazing lands and wetland food resources: the name of the Prinskasteel River is supposed to derive from a corruption of Prinseskasteel, a cave on Constantiaberg reputed to have been the stronghold of a Khoe chieftainess.
- Dutch East India Company cattle pastures from about 1700: the area was known as Buffelskraal until the late 18th century, which suggests a long tradition of good grazing.
- Private country estate from 1790s with a large Cape Dutch house, market gardens and vineyards worked by slaves: its new name, Tokai, comes from an area in Hungary that produced a famous aromatic wine called Tokay essence.
- Commercial forestry to supply timber and for agriculture: after vine disease bankrupted wine farmers, the government bought the estate in 1883.
- Punishment and reform in the convict station (old Orpen House about 1890) and reformatory movement (Porter Reformatory): from the early 1900s the reformatory system was based on the concept of an isolated ‘total institution’ that would be ‘self-sufficient’. In 1911 the Reformatory Act segregated facilities for ‘Europeans, Asians and coloureds’, and by 1920s ‘natives’ were also removed, leaving Porter Reformatory for coloureds only. Craft workshops, market gardens and a dairy provided work training and produce for consumption and sale, but there was minimal formal education. Porter Reformatory closed in June 2000.
- Nearby, Constantia School for Boys, the white reformatory, developed educational and sports facilities through the 1950s with a major upgrade in the 1990s. Constantia School for Boys closed in June 2001.
- Leadership training for teenagers from disadvantaged backgrounds: Chrysalis Academy.
- Environmentalism: under South African National Parks (SANParks) the aim was to return part of the grounds to ‘pristine natural wilderness’.
- Cross-country running and Saturday market: the Western Cape government aims to maximise the
value of their property, but that usually results in commercial development or houses and recreation for the elite.

Archival sources

When we did the research for the first stage of a Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) for the Porter Estate Development Framework, the few published sources turned out to be unreliable, repeating unreferenced stories, so we went back to primary evidence such as archival records and maps. A huge discovery was the archive of drawn plans in the Public Works Department (PWD), the government department responsible for public properties. We were first shown architect’s drawings of Porter Reformatory developments by Mark Wiley, of Chrysalis Academy, who had found and carefully preserved documents left behind in an office when the reformatory was closed. From these we could see what alterations had been made, and when and by whom, as well as the plans of new buildings and their context in the estate as a whole. As a result, we could dispel the myth of Herbert Baker’s role as architect. The PWD archive is not open to the public, but in my opinion it is worthy to be a national heritage resource in itself, and should be appropriately conserved and somehow made accessible.

The evolution of the reformatory landscape

There are three settlement areas which are of particular heritage significance: Tokai Manor House (late 18th century), the Porter Campus (late 19th century) and the Bloekomlaan Cottages. They represent three forms of settlement in their architecture, layout, and the way they relate to the physical features of the estate: the river and wetland, the slope of the land, etc. Within each of these settlement areas or precincts there are groupings of buildings, patterns of planting, routes and irrigation systems, and collections of objects which have historical, social, aesthetic and scientific significance and which help us understand and appreciate the landscape of Porter Estate, its history and the memories associated with it.

The oldest reformatory building is Old Orpen House (about 1890), incorporating an older long out-building and convict station on the Tokai homestead werf. The first new block of buildings, built on a prominent ridge, was typical of British colonial military installations with long verandahs, interlocking courtyards, barracks and messes. Despite popular belief, we found no evidence that Herbert Baker was the architect but he may have advised on construction. Hostel and staff accommodation was added from the 1920s to 1960s, ranging from free-standing cottages and apartment buildings, to a modernist red brick detention centre (1969).

I became fascinated by the story of the origins of the reformatory concept, introduced to South Africa by William Porter, and the extraordinary tangible and intangible world that the ‘isolated self-sufficiency system’ created at Tokai. I read a thesis on reformatory education by Linda Chisholm (‘Reformatories and industrial schools in South Africa’, 1989), talked to Azeem Badroodien about his study of Ottery School of Industries (2000), and, of course, sought out the first-hand experiences of the Porter staff. This was outside my brief as a heritage consultant on a first phase study, but many of my informants did not participate in the public consultation process and the only way to find out was through personal interviews in their homes.

People’s memories are part of a place

Some important information came from listening to the stories of people who had lived or worked on Porter Estate. People’s memories are part of a place.

There was a strong tradition of music, not only traditional school songs and hymns but also the work songs of the sort common to reformatories, prisons and military institutions throughout South Africa. Teams of inmates would sing while doing rhythmic tasks such as scrubbing and polishing floors (using wood and bristle brushes known to the boys as bybels). The boermusiek and klopse styles of the Cape folk music tradition were strong influences. I.D. du Plessis, who collected Cape folk music, made a recording at Porter for a radio programme.

Staff and inmates of Porter Reformatory (and likewise, of Constantia School for Boys, the reformatory for white boys), identified themselves with the isolated, self-sufficient institutions in ways which strongly affected their lives and their families. Some families served the reformatory for two and three
generations. Indeed, the place became seen as a personal empire under the authority of the principal.

The dedicated group of teachers, working together in relative isolation, initiated important developments in special education in South Africa such as Vista Nova, as well as the system of industrial schools.

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**Research on forced removals – an introduction**

If you want to do research on a place and community which suffered forced removals, visit the District Six Museum and/or log onto their website www.districtsix.co.za for an excellent introduction. The Museum focuses on District Six but it also gives a history of forced removals across Cape Town, in the Western Cape and nationally. The Museum sound archive includes hundreds of interviews. For information about and access to these the Museum’s sound archivist: info@districtsix.co.za.

If you want a single book that covers the history of forced removals in more detail, look for Sean Field, *Lost Communities, Living Memories: Remembering Forced Removals in Cape Town*, 2001. This readable book includes chapters by different researchers on Group Areas removals in Cape Town: in Windermere, Tramway Road in Sea Point, District Six, Simon’s Town and Claremont, with many ‘voices’ from oral histories. The introductory chapter, ‘Mapping Cape Town; From Slavery to Apartheid’, traces the roots of segregation from long before apartheid became law. It starts with Cape Town’s first forced removal in 1901 when African residents of the city were forced to move to Ndabeni and then forced to move to Langa from the late 1920s, and goes right up to Group Areas removals of people classified ‘coloured’ from the late 1950s to the 1980s.

The Centre for Popular Memory at UCT has a very useful ‘Handbook for oral history interviewing’, a tiny 20-page booklet with practical guidelines for planning an oral history research project, doing interviews, copyright release forms, transcription, and so on. Check the website www.popularmemory.org for information about oral history projects and how to access recorded interviews. The archive focuses on individual and community life histories of the Western Cape and areas of interest include heritage sites and forced removals.

Oral history interviews give glimpses of people’s experience of places before and after forced removals:

- **Blouvlei** was where Lavender Hill is today. There were no streets, just sandy pathways and a lot of well-built shacks. From Blouvlei to Jakkalsvlei African and coloured people were used to staying together. The Pass Laws and the Group Areas Act divided people but even at the height of apartheid music sometimes brought people together (Rev. Vuyani Sebenya).

- **I** will never forget the time before forced removals in Windermere, when coloured and black people were neighbours … That changed when we moved to Athlone. We didn’t go to the same schools (Minnie Ferhelst).

- **The** jazz culture in Langa at the time brought together musicians of different racial background … white or coloured musicians were not allowed to enter Langa but would play with a black band and hide behind a curtain to evade arrest. There was a culture of defying apartheid laws and following your own conscience to remain human (Sister Linda Gqiba).

- **Afrikaans** was the lingua franca in Jakkalsvlei. Weekends there was always dancing in various yards … the most popular dance was called the jive… We used to shop in Langa. The police used to harass black people in Jakkalsvlei for passes and for illegal trading … and then came the forced removals. [Jakkalsvlei farmland became the coloureds only council township of Bonteheuwel.] (Sophia Anthony).

- **I** was born in Athlone and my family came to stay in Makana Square in Langa after the Group Areas Act made Athlone a ‘coloureds only’ area. For some years, old friends visited each other in their new racially segregated communities in Langa, Bonteheuwel, Bokmakierie and elsewhere but in later years people got used to racial segregation, especially with new generations being born into the new reality (Ackella Thembi Magwaca).

These short extracts are from interviews in 2007 in the community-based Bontelanga project of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. See www.ijr.org.za.
Project Phoenix: Community research

Cathrynne Salter-Jansen, Simon’s Town Museum

Cathrynne Salter-Jansen was appointed as display artist and researcher for the Simon’s Town Museum in 1988 and is now the curator. Born and bred in Simon’s Town, she recognised the gaps in the Museum’s depiction of the community and was determined to include the history of the whole community in every display that she mounted. Her colleague, Joan Swain, who had been displaced by the Forced Removals in the late 1960s, gave invaluable help and encouragement, and together they proceeded to research the history of Simon’s Town’s displaced community. Their vision was to portray the many aspects of Simon’s Town’s multi-cultural diversity, which had been all but destroyed by the forced removals. Progress was slow. For more information contact stmuseum@mweb.co.za.

A unique multicultural community

The early residents of Simon’s Town were VOC officials and soldiers as well as traders and farmers, most of them Dutch but some German, French and Scandinavian; slaves, mainly from around the Indian Ocean – Indonesian islands, India, Ceylon, Madagascar, Mozambique and East Africa; and the indigenous San and Khoe people. After the British took control of the Cape, the Royal Navy established a permanent naval base at Simon’s Town in 1814. The base was only handed over to the South African Navy in 1957 and by that time many British people had passed through the town or settled here permanently. With the Royal Navy came West African sailors called ‘Kroomen’ and Muslim sailors from East Africa known as ‘Seedies’ and many married local women and settled in the town. During the 1800s and early 1900s islanders from Tristan da Cunha and St Helena came to live in Simon’s Town. From the 1890s Xhosa-speaking people from the Eastern Cape came to build the railways and work on the East Dockyard and over the next 50 years many settled with their families in the corrugated iron shacks and Nissen huts of Luyolo Location on the mountain slopes above Long Beach.

In the 1960 census Simon’s Town had a total population of 8,676: 3,482 whites, 3,579 coloureds, 115 Indians and about 1,500 blacks. There was always a certain separation between racial groups in Simon’s Town but centuries of social interaction and intermarriage had created a unique community, with a rich multicultural history and heritage and the forced removals set out to destroy that.

1960s: Forced Removals

Simon’s Town municipal files, newspapers of the time, and other sources reveal the painful story. In 1965 the 80 families of Luyolo were forced to move and in 1967 Simon’s Town was declared a ‘white Group Area’ and coloured families were forced to move. The forced removals did not happen unopposed. Existing associations protested, as did many newly formed bodies. Twelve organisations formed a unified front, including the Simon’s Town Municipality and Chamber of Commerce, the churches, the Mosque Trustees, civic associations and the Black Sash. But Simon’s Town residents classified ‘black’ were scattered to Gugulethu, Langa and Nyanga, and those classified ‘coloured’ to Grassy Park, Retreat, Heathfield, and many to the new ‘township’ of Ocean View where there were no amenities at that time, not even a bus service.

Saddest of all was the splitting of families and neighbours. Centuries of intermarriage meant that virtually all residents were interconnected, across race and religion. The forced removals succeeded in shattering families and dividing siblings, and separating neighbours and many had nothing more to do with one another after the displacement of our community.

Step by step: Building relationships and doing community research

In the late 1980s the Museum had very little information about the coloured, Muslim and African peo-
ple of Simon’s Town, other than newspaper clippings and a small collection of photos. The people we approached to bring their artefacts and stories to the Museum would not do so, either because they saw the Museum as a white, colonial institution, or simply because they had more pressing issues to deal with at that time in our history.

We carried on trying to make the Museum become more inclusive and in 1993 assisted members of our displaced community from Ocean View, Retreat, Grassy Park and Gugulethu with the ‘Put the Heart Back into Simon’s Town’ March to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the forced removals.

We also became involved in assisting those members of the former Simon’s Town community who needed assistance with their land claims, as part of the Land Restitution process. The then curator, Cherry Dilley, decided to make it policy to continue to assist all land claimants (free of charge) for as long as the land restitution process continued – a policy which is still followed today as many land claims have not yet been resolved. We believe it is this assistance that has helped to build a positive relationship between the Museum and the displaced community.

In 1996 we mounted the first really inclusive exhibition: ‘Collecting Today for Tomorrow’. Artefacts came from all racial and religious groups of the Simon’s Town community, including those who had been forcibly removed. As curator, Cherry Dilley then initiated ‘Project Phoenix’ and the Simon’s Town Phoenix Committee was formed with representatives of those forcibly removed from the town and the late Albert Thomas as chairperson, to assist the Museum to gather, record and exhibit the history of Simon’s Town’s dispossessed people.

The Museum has recorded oral history interviews with former residents and collects, copies and returns old photographs of people and events. Exhibitions mounted as part of Project Phoenix depict the history of the people of Simon’s Town and record the history of the 7,000 people forcibly removed from Simon’s Town under the Group Areas Act. Phase 1 consists of panels of photographs of different places in the Simon’s Town area – Glencairn, Dido Valley, Klein Vishoek, Redhill, Paradise Road, Luyolo, and others – depicting the homes of the community. Underneath each panel, in silent testimony, are lists of surnames of the families who lived there together, before being forced out. Phase 2 is an exhibition about Simon’s Town families, artists, poets, dancers, societies and sports clubs and so on.

Over the years issues have arisen with regard to land restitution that have resulted in divisions within the ranks of the Project Phoenix participants, at the expense of the Museum. Inter-religious difficulties led to the creation of a second project, ‘The Slave and Exile History Project’ in November 2002. Despite setbacks, the Museum has had a number of successes:

- more inclusive exhibitions and collections
- annual Heritage Day celebrations
- outreach programmes for disadvantaged learners and displaced residents
- assistance to Land Restitution claimants
- archaeological digs
- assistance to the Ocean View Development Trust with their Sites of Memory
- assistance to The Heritage Museum in Simon’s Town
- an Evening of Memories with Gladys Thomas, Peter Clarke and others
- an exhibition and poetry reading by Peter Clarke
- a Woman’s Day event with Gladys Thomas
- Christmas parties for pensioners
- a DNA testing project by Prof. Himla Soodyall, Director of the Human Genomic Diversity and Disease Research Unit at the SA Institute for Medical Research, as part of the international Genographic Project.

On Heritage Day 2003, the Minister for Social Development, Dr Zola Skweyiya, himself a former resident of Simon’s Town, sent a very encouraging speech to be read at the cultural event attended by more than 350 former residents:

The entire day’s programme and the exhibition are also about my personal journey and the collective memories of my immediate family… The exhibition and the oral history project remind us of both the forced removals of the 1960’s and the vital role that culture played during the 1970’s and 80’s in sustaining the struggle for a democratic and just South Africa ... Museums have a social responsibility to reflect diversity and a role to play in creating a more tolerant,
informed and inclusive society ... I commend the Simon’s Town Phoenix Committee and the Simon’s Town Museum for organising a programme of activities for Heritage Day that is inclusive and reflects the community’s diversity... they realise that the unique contribution of a museum to social development is in consolidating the identity of a community and society...

The Museum persists in helping to trace family histories and appeals to descendants of families forced out of the town for help in collecting and exhibiting ‘the real history of your ancestors and the very special community of Simon’s Town before the Forced Removals’. The Museum staff and the Project Phoenix Committee continue to work with displaced residents and their families to make the Museum accessible to all.

‘If trees could speak’: the Trojan Horse story
Athlone and Crossroads

Shirley Gunn, Human Rights Media Centre

In October 1985 the infamous Trojan Horse ambushes took place in Thornton Road in Athlone and Klipfontein Road Extension in Crossroads, at the height of political struggles on the Cape Flats. For the full story of research about what took place, see ‘If trees could speak’: The Trojan Horse Story (2007), compiled and written by Shirley Gunn, Human Rights Media Centre. The book includes a very interesting account of the processes of community consultation essential to the research process, the interviews which proved to be most valuable sources of oral history, and the difficult detective work involved in trying to track documentary evidence and trying to interview policemen.

Many Cape Flats residents will remember the story of the Trojan Horse shootings in Thornton Road in Athlone on the afternoon of 15 October 1985, when police who had been hiding in crates on the back of a railway truck opened fire and three youths died, Jonathan Claasen (21), Shaun Magmoed (15) and Michael Miranda (11).

The Trojan Horse History project grew out of a collaborative initiative: the City of Cape Town commissioned the Human Rights Media Centre and ACG Architects and Development Planners to install a memorial for the Trojan Horse victims in Athlone. The place of the Trojan Horse shootings is now marked by a memorial unveiled at a big community event on Heritage Day, 2005. The memorial on the side of the road in front of the pine trees includes a story board explaining the political context of that time, and plaques with stories of the dead youths, as told by two mothers and the guardian of the third youth. The Human Rights Media Centre also raised money from the community to erect tombstones for the three youths.

The Trojan Horse shootings that took place the next day, 16 October 1985, in Klipfontein Road Extension in Crossroads are less well known. Police hidden on the back of the same truck opened fire and killed two young men, Goodman Mali (19) and Mabhuti Fatman (20). ‘For 22 years the story of the Crossroads community has been buried, as if in an unmarked grave waiting to be exhumed, to take its rightful place in history’. The story of the Crossroads ambush is mentioned by in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) final report but the TRC event hearing dealt only with the Athlone shootings. The investigative research was done by the Human Rights Media Centre and one day there will be a memorial to mark the place next to the bluegum trees in Klipfontein Road Extension where the Crossroads youths died. The Crossroads community will be consulted during 2008 about the form this memorial should take.

The Trojan Horse History project was extended:
• to record and archive interviews and life stories of people from the Athlone and Crossroads communities who were involved in that history

4 This book and other valuable resource materials are available from the Human Rights Media Centre, 2 Haven House, 2 Mains Avenue, Kenilworth, Cape Town – admin@hrmc.org.za – and phone 021-7622092.
• to educate society, in particular the communities of Athlone and Crossroads and their schools, about anti-apartheid history and its deep and deepening legacy
• to raise funds for the tombstones of the victims of the Crossroads shootings, and engage the Crossroads community in a process of ‘memorializing’ the Trojan Horse shootings in Crossroads.

The history of the Trojan Horse shootings comes from court records (including the two inquests and the public violence trial which followed the Athlone shootings); newspaper articles; testimonies at the TRC event hearing which focused on the Athlone shootings; interviews with the lawyer (now a Judge) who represented the Athlone families in the move to press murder charges against the security forces responsible for the Athlone killings; and interviews and focus groups with Athlone public violence trialists, eye witnesses and families of the victims from both the Athlone and the Crossroads communities.

Detective work in the research included invoking the Promotion of Access to Information Act and spending time in the Sensitive Records Reading Room in the National Archives in Pretoria. The struggle to access ‘sensitive sources’ is detailed in the book.

The Trojan Horse Memory Project, with support from the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, aims to build a bridge between the communities of Athlone and Crossroads through political education about that historical period, with a focus on both communities. The life stories of the Crossroads families are included in the book to bring the social history into the public arena.

Commemorating sites of struggle

The Cape Town Memory Project should look at the space in the city for commemorating the heroes of resistance against colonialism and apartheid in the form of a wall or a park. Debates around issues of heritage, past traumas and injustices in the city, should be part of the process ... The Memory Project should conduct interviews to collect stories of the struggle especially from older members of the community – every area should have their stories recorded and one collective record should be kept. In Athlone, for example, there are several places of commemoration and stories, for example, the Alexander Sinton siege and the Q-Town bombing ...

(Listening Campaign Report, Cape Town Memory Project, 2007)

The BonteLanga Project coordinated by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation has identified a range of historical sites in Bonteheuwel and Langa. These will be developed into a unified tour memorializing events from the anti-apartheid struggle. See www.ijr.org.za.

For ‘a journey to commemorate the role young people played in the resistance against Apartheid’ see www.dacpm.org – Direct Action Centre for Peace and Memory.
Crossroads research:
Mayenzeke Street Names Project

Josette Cole, Mandlovu

In 2002 Mandlovu Development Trust and Institute initiated a community-based regeneration pilot project called Mayenzeke (‘Let’s Make It Happen’) in New Crossroads. This started with the Street Names Project, a six-month heritage project funded by SAHRA and the City of Cape Town’s Tourism and Development Directorate. The project brought together unemployed young people, some with matric or tertiary study, and older people who were veterans of the struggle for land rights in Crossroads.

From the late 1970s and through the 1980s the Crossroads ‘squatter’ community resisted forced removal by the government and its agents – and eventually gained land rights. It is an amazing story of courage and survival in the face of violent repression. The Crossroads Women’s Committee were leaders in that struggle. A generation later, that story needs to be remembered, recalled and honoured.

For more information contact: Mandlovu@mweb.co.za

Mapping New Crossroads

The aim of the Mayenzeke Street Names Project was to make the history of Crossroads more visible to local residents and to use what was evoked through the project – memories, sense of identity, place in the city – as a building block for a larger community-based project combining heritage, tourism and development.

In 2001-2003, Mandlovu staff members worked in partnership with a core group of older and younger New Crossroads residents, and a number of partners from outside the area. They listened to many voices in order to learn more about local context, constraints and opportunities, and to test and challenge assumptions about heritage and community development.

A community-based spatial mapping and research project brought together students from UCT’s Department of Environmental and Geographical Science, local residents and Mandlovu staff members. The outcome of the research was a large map showing vacant land and informal economic activities in New Crossroads. When the map and research findings were discussed in a series of community workshops, community members highlighted:

- pride in remembering the history of Crossroads – community roots and struggles
- frustration in remembering promises of development in New Crossroads – broken promises
- high levels of poverty and unemployment
- the lack of social infrastructure
- the need to involve educated (but often unemployed) youth in New Crossroads in future activities and plans and to generate employment opportunities for them.

Heritage in community development

Mandlovu staff designed and facilitated a 10 week oral history and heritage training programme for Mayenzeke participants. Over 18 months, Mayenzeke participants worked side by side with contracted staff on heritage projects:

- starting an archive of visual, audio and written materials on Crossroads history
- interviewing for the stories of the people who have streets named after them or whose names lie behind the street names
- taking part in ‘Vukani Mzantsi’, an SABC2 documentary on youth that profiled the Street Names Project
- organising New Crossroads Heritage Day celebrations that included a photo exhibition; film festival on African heritage; music and drama; and the unveiling of the first community memorials.
The skills and community involvement generated by these heritage projects enabled Mayenzeke participants to work on:

- a community newsletter.
- a large community-based survey to create a database and qualitative picture of housing, tenure and service problems in New Crossroads
- a Human Sciences Research Council survey on service delivery in Old Crossroads as part of a Presidential review of service delivery for 10 years of democracy.

In 2005, Mandlovu entered into a partnership with Public Eye to design and implement the Street Signs Project. This project trained a group (most of whom had been part of the Street Names Project) in media skills to create a series of community memorials – eight memory boards – to honour local leaders whose names appear on the streets. Seven of these memorials are dotted around the streets of New Crossroads and one is attached to the small shack called Mama Luke’s Studio.

The history of African settlement history in the City of Cape Town, including the story of the New Crossroads Mayenzeke Pilot Project, was highlighted in an exhibition in October 2005 as part of the Cape Town Memory Project at the Cape Town Civic Centre.

Some of the original Mayenzeke group were part of a community-based team that assisted organisations and artists from the Netherlands on a collaborative DIY and artist installation of a mobile village in New Crossroads (Cascoland eNewXds) between January and March 2006 at the temporary Mayenzeke Centre and Uvimba (Memory) Café.

The original oral history project, the Street Names Project, has thus had a number of positive spin-offs for the community. There was also a revival of interest in the Crossroads Women’s play (Imfunduso) through the ‘We Made History Project’. All of these initiatives, and more, were part of generative community development process.

Historical precinct in the heart of Somerset West

Antonia Malan and Carohn Cornell

Many visitors and some residents of Somerset West are not even aware of the historical precinct which includes Predikantsplein and war memorial, the original Dutch Reformed Church and cemetery, and the Methodist Mission Ground with the church, mission primary school and rows of cottages with garden allotments.

‘The initial and striking impression is that despite the depredations of the Group Areas and 1970s modernization, and the current phenomenal expansion of the town, the Somerset West historical precinct still survives as a tangible and evocative historical environment within the town. However, it is clearly also a neglected backwater that few people know about or visit’ (Sarah Winter).

This account is based on a preliminary study to prepare for an Integrated Study Plan, researched and written in June 2006 for the Arts and Culture Unit, City of Cape Town, by Carohn Cornell and Antonia Malan, with Sarah Winter.

The research question

Like a forgotten backwater behind the municipal centre of Somerset West, lies a fascinating group of streets, buildings and open places left over from the old village and mission settlement established in the early 19th century. We were commissioned to assess the suitability of using the original Dutch Reformed Church as a museum, and how best to develop the sites and spaces around it. The problem was a complex one as responsibility for the properties belonged to different institutions and, though the initiative arose from a newly formed local project group, there were a variety of ideas for their future.
Doing the research

Through personal networks, we knew people who were doing research in the broader area of Somerset West, Raithby, Strand and Lwandle and through them we made contact with representatives of Renaissance Somerset West and local researchers from Sir Lowry’s Pass Village. Our first step was to invite a group of interested parties (including representatives of an organisation one of our ‘contacts’ belonged to, Renaissance Somerset West) to meet with us on site to discuss these questions:

- Where did the project originate?
- Who are the key stakeholders and lines of authority?
- What is the extent of the site and elements within it?
- Why is it important?
- What are the current ideas for the site(s)?

During our site visit, we were introduced to the acting headmaster of the Methodist Primary School. He described the dedicated and active role of the school in conserving the traditions and planning future developments in the community. When we asked how the Methodist mission ‘village’ had survived the Group Areas Act, Harold Hermans, local historian and our guide, explained that the church was designated a ‘white person’ in law so the homes and schools owned by the church were not expropriated and people not removed.

The site visit and discussion were enlightening and we went home with some local history pamphlets and other information not available on any website or in a general archive.

One unexpected benefit was that the researchers who came from different places but were all linked with the University of the Western Cape learned about each other’s research for the first time – histories of migrant workers in Lwandle, the Strand Muslim community, Methodist mission’s contribution to education in Somerset West, Raithby and Sir Lowry’s Pass Village.

The next step was to arrange a meeting with the local authorities and ward councillor to explain the planning and political contexts of the project. We invited Sarah Winter, an experienced heritage practitioner and friend, who had worked on other projects in the area to join us. We wanted to know what the chances of success would be for any proposals:

- Who is responsible?
- What larger plans are there for the area?
- What are the opportunities and constraints?
- Where is the money coming from?

Sharing the findings

The next step was to draft a report, circulate it to the interested parties for comment, and then finalist the report and submit it to the Arts and Culture Unit, City of Cape Town, who commissioned it. Reports of this kind depend on the goodwill and participation of local community members, are paid for out of public money and are intended to benefit the local community. So we circulated the report to all those who participated, including the local municipal authorities, so that they would be in a position to follow up with the authorities.

The Methodist Mission Ground: Church, school and houses

This precinct is probably unique. It is the largely unaltered core of a 19th century Methodist mission compound consisting of a church, school and dwelling houses right in the centre of a town. The surviving cadastral pattern of houses and allotments, and historical fabric that remains despite ‘improvements’, gives it a village character. The potential for upgrading this area is probably greater than would be the case for rural missions because of the relatively wealthy civic envelope in which it lies, but at the same time there is a danger of losing the ‘rural’ qualities. The link with the river has already been severed, the leiwater system is defunct, and few of the allotments or gardens are productive. Residential qualities are lost where houses are turned into businesses, such as the precinct near the railway station, and this creeping problem has already affected the Mission Grounds (the Coachman’s House, and the large grey office block and nursery beside the Dutch Reformed Church).
Any proposed changes would require further exploration of these qualities and whether they should or could be retained within the redevelopment process. Some are more resilient than others and will require different types and levels of control: aspects such as plot size, orientation, street frontages, patterns of planting, irrigation system, and so on.

The school serves the needs of its congregation and increasingly accommodates children from nearby townships, including Lwandle. This ethos of inclusivity should attract government and community support, but probably not enough to sustain the school into the future. The school, famous for its Squirrels rugby team, also needs somewhere for the children to exercise and play sports.

The potential for retaining the integrity and sustaining the existing residential and working community is less clear. The land belongs to the Methodist Church, but there seems to be no policy or written vision for redeveloping church land. More importantly, the church and community must be consulted first. Consultation would be relatively simple. There is a well-established decision-making progression through Glebe Committees and Trusts Property Committees, and the residents are all church members. For instance, Mr Titus, the bell-ringer, married a Miss Gordon, who has been the church organist for 61 years, and they live in a house opposite the church.

There are a number of questions still to be answered about the Mission Ground:

- How does the community operate and sustain itself as a whole?
- How are individual plots used and maintained at a domestic level?
- The role of the church and school are evidently important factors, but how strong is their influence today?
- What kept the Mission Ground system going up to the present?
- How does the system work now?
- Who are the families that live on the property? Are they all members of the church?
- Are there rules and regulations for occupants, and what rights do they have?
- How many families or previous residents would like to return to this precinct?
- What happens to the mission land under different circumstances, such as sub-division and privatization, community ownership, church ownership, etc.?

Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum

Bongani Mgijima and Vusi Buthelezi

Somerset West resident, Charmian Plummer, and Lwandle resident, Bongani Mgijima, were key members of the group who initiated the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum. Bongani Mgijima, son and grandson of migrant workers, was the first curator and is now working in the Western Cape Department of Economic Development and Tourism. Vusi Buthelezi took over as curator and coordinator from 2002 to 2005 and is now working in the Western Cape Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport. The present curator of the museum is Lunga Smile, an historian and radio announcer from Lwandle.


Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum, the first township-based museum in the Western Cape, opened its doors on Workers’ Day 2000. Lwandle is on the N2 40km from Cape Town, near to the towns of Somerset West, Strand and Gordon’s Bay. The Museum focuses on the hostel system in Lwandle and how migrant workers built a community and celebrates the heritage of migrant workers in South Africa.

The exhibition around the walls – based mainly on documentary sources – shows the history of the migrant labour system and its impact on people’s lives. Taking up the floor space is a striking photographic exhibition, ‘Home Stories’, which brings visitors face to face with the people of Lwandle, their families, their working lives and their links with rural areas – through their stories, in their own

5 An exhibit on the family of Mrs Cynthia Nontobeko Galada forms part of the Lwandle Museum exhibition. A bigger exhibit on the Galada family forms part of an exhibition, ‘Nine South African Families’, first housed in the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam, then in Pretoria. For the story of five generations of the Galada family, based mainly on oral sources, see Bongani Mgijima and Carohn Cornell, ‘So many rivers to cross’, 2002.
The board of the museum supported the idea of mounting a permanent exhibition based on an oral history research project in Lwandle. The theme of 'Home Stories/Iimbali zeKhaya' came out of consultations with the community which revealed that they have different places that they call home. For some it is in the Eastern Cape, for some it is Lwandle and for others it is both places. It was decided in community meetings who were the relevant people to interview, based on the time they had spent in Lwandle.

The interviews were carried out by all the museum staff, the manager Vusi Buthelezi, the education officer Bonke Tyhulu, the financial officer Kutala Vube, and the receptionist Lungiswa Teka. The Centre for Popular Memory conducted an oral history workshop with the staff. We tape recorded the interviews and photographed every interviewee in her or his dwelling and asked them to let us copy old photographs. Bonke Tyhulu transcribed the tapes and collected the photographs before passing them to the exhibition designer, Jos Thorne. Jos Thorne and Leslie Witz, the UWC history professor who chairs the Museum Board, then edited the transcripts and selected parts for the exhibition. By the time all this was done the Museum staff had changed and it was the new manager, Mbulelo Mrubata, who translated the edited texts into isiXhosa. The exhibition text is in English and isiXhosa to make it more accessible to members of the local community. The 'Home Stories/Iimbali zeKhaya' exhibition was mainly funded by the National Lottery Fund.

The Museum is run as a Section 21 Company and relies on ad hoc funding from the Western Cape Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport. Funding is never guaranteed and every year the Museum has to re-apply.

The Museum employs qualified local people; it partners with groups from inside and outside Lwandle to support youth development, local cultural activities, crafts and small businesses; and staff organize walking tours of the area. For instance, a recent partnership with the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, funded by the Department of Arts and Culture, looked at Lwandle as ‘a community on the move: belonging and migrancy in the Cape’. Young people from Lwandle and other communities came together to do research in the community. They listened to life stories from older community members and wrote stories, young artists created images to go with the stories, and local craftspeople made bags printed with different stories and images of Lwandle – now available from the Museum as community souvenirs with a Lwandle heritage message.

Hostel 33

A short walk from the Museum is Hostel 33, the only remaining migrant labour hostel in Lwandle. The other hostels have been rebuilt as family flats but this bleak building has been preserved to show how millions of African people were forced to live under the migrant labour system. Each bunk was once ‘a bed called home’ (to quote from Mamphela Ramphele’s 1993 study, A Bed called Home: Life in the Migrant Hostels of Cape Town) to a migrant worker and sometimes to his wife and family as well. It has not been easy to preserve Hostel 33 and to win community support for the preservation of ‘heritage’. There is such pressure for places to live in Lwandle that even the hostel is in demand as accommodation.

6 Past and present Museum staff have studied Museum and Heritage Studies and Public History in the postgraduate programmes jointly run by UWC History Department, the UCT Department of Historical Studies and the Robben Island Museum.
Researching family roots and the Strand Muslim community

Ebrahim Rhoda

‘It has been a fascinating journey researching the history of my family and my home town – with oral traditions in family, mosque and community, as well as archival records, showing the way. I am proud that in 2008 the eighth generation descendants of the free black Kalamodien Rode and his wife, Jaria Rode, former slave, are still residents in the Strand, in their own houses along Lower Gordon’s Bay Road and elsewhere.’

Ebrahim Rhoda has long been interested in the history of his own family and the history of the Muslim community of the Strand where he grew up. Mr Rhoda retired as principal of the Strand Moslem Primary School in 1993. In 2001 he participated in a short training programme at the archives for a group of community-based researchers, run by the Slavery and Heritage Project of UCT and UWC. In 2003 at the age of 65 and with no prior degrees, he received a National Research Foundation scholarship for a Masters degree in history at UWC. His thesis was entitled, ‘The founding and development of the Strand Muslim community, 1822-1928’. He has written three booklets to share his research findings with community members: ’The Strand Muslim community and the Javanese connection’; ‘Die Strand Moslem Gemeenskap – ‘n historiese oorsig’; and ‘The Islamic da’wah from the Auwal Masjid in the Bo-Kaap to Mosterd Bay (Strand), 1792-1838’. He is a founder-member of the Cape Family Research Forum.

For more information contact: Ebrahim Rhoda ballie@mtnloaded.co.za.

Tracing family roots – back to the time of slavery

I was bitten by the research bug and became passionately curious to know where my forebears came from. According to a fifth generation descendant of the Muslim Rhodas, the late Gadija Wentzel (born Rhoda), the forebears of the Muslim Rhodas of the Strand7 were two slave brothers, Leander and Jacobus. When slavery finally ended at the Cape in 1838 the two brothers settled at Mosterd Bay, became fishermen and embraced Islam. Leander was renamed Faggedien and Jacobus was renamed Samodien. According to Deeds Office records, the name Mosterd Bay for the area today known as the Strand was already in use in 1714 when it was shown as the southern boundary of the farm Vlooibaai.

My first task was to establish when and where the two brothers died. I started with the Slave Registers of farms in Hottentots Holland, one of the six wards in the Stellenbosch district. From 1816 it was compulsory for slaveholders to keep a register of all their slaves including those born into slavery. I hoped to find a record of when the brothers died, and their age, so that I could work out approximate dates of birth. Then I could search for two slave brothers named Leander and Jacobus, born in those years on a specific farm or farms in a specific area. Death notices I found in the Cape Archives enabled me to establish that Faggedien Rode was born in 1819 and died in 1912 and Samodien Rode was born in 1824 and died in 1911. Both died at Somerset Strand. Samodien’s death notice also revealed that his parents were Kalamodien and Jaria Rode.

The next step was daunting: how to find two slave brothers, Leander and Jacobus – not uncommon slave names – who were born in 1819 and 1824, in a slave register of some slaveholder, presumably in the Hottentots Holland area. This task was made much easier when I got talking to one of my fellow-researchers in the Cape Archives, Jody Sarich of Chicago, who had compiled the records of the slaves of the Morkel family of Hottentots Holland. That kind of sharing among researchers can be immensely valuable.

Leander and Jacobus were registered in the slave register of Willem Morkel of the farm Voorburg. Leander was born on 1 March 1819 and Jacobus on 1 September 1824. The two brothers were registered on 3 April 1819 and 24 November 1824 respectively. Their mother, Kandaza, was first registered on 5 December 1816 when she was already 25 years old and the register indicated that she was born at the Cape. Thus, Kandaza was born in 1791, probably on the farm Voorburg. Her husband, Kalamodien, was a free black resident of Mosterd Bay.
Voorburg and Onverwacht (De Bos) were among the extensive farms owned by the Morkel family in this period. What is now the Bridge Water Housing Estate in Somerset West, as well as the area of Van der Stel and a great stretch of land south of the N2 Freeway near Van der Stel, would have been within the boundaries of Voorburg. The Lourens River meandered through the farm to False Bay. The oldest bridge in the country, in present-day Somerset West, was actually built on Voorburg and the road leading to the Hottentots Holland Kloof, present-day Sir Lowry’s Pass, passed through Voorburg. To cross the pass travellers had to pay at the tollgate. This tollgate once stood on a site in front of where Vergelegen Medicity is today, where the road branches off from Somerset West to the Strand. On this historic farm the matriarch of the Muslim Rhoda family was born.

In 1829 Willem Morkel Senior must have been in some financial difficulty because the Mortgage Register in the Cape Archives reflects that he offered Kandaza, Leander and Jacobus, along with seventeen of their fellow-slaves as collateral for a loan of 16,000 rixdollars from Pieter Gerhard van Zyl. Four years away from final freedom in 1838, Kandaza was appraised for £90-10-0d whilst Leander and Jacobus were valued at £90 and £75.

I cannot pinpoint the exact date when Kandaza and her two sons, Leander and Jacobus, joined the settlement at Mosterd Bay. By 1838 there had been an Islamic enclave at Mosterd Bay for sixteen years. The story of how this remarkable settlement came about is told in the booklet, ‘The Strand Muslim community and the Javanese connection.’ Kandaza was given the name of Jaria, which in Arabic means slave woman, most probably by one of the imams at Mosterd Bay. Leander was renamed Faggedien and Jacobus became Samodien.

Samodien Rode (Rhode) was my great-great-grandfather. The Muslim Rhoda family was most probably united at Mosterd Bay before 1849 as Faggedien’s eldest daughter, Momena, was born at Mosterd Bay in 1849. Momena’s death registration in the Cape Archives indicates that she died at the age of 65 in 1914. Momena was my maternal great-grandmother.

In 1988 my father, Oesman Rhoda, pinpointed the site where his great grandfather Samodien Rode had erected his thatch roofed house. My father was born in that house in 1906 and he passed away in 1996 at my house in Firgrove. Samodien’s death notice indicated that he had landed property and the site shown to me corresponds with the site of the erf on the Government Surveyor’s map of Mosterd Bay dated 1879. Samodien Rode eventually received the small erf, which he had occupied illegally, as a quitrent grant by virtue of the Mosterd Bay Crown Lands Act of 1881. In 1904 Samodien Rode bonded his property for £100 with Johannes Petrus Roux. At the time of his death in 1911 the bond was apparently not settled and the property was transferred to Johannes Petrus Roux on 1 March 1913. Lulu Rhoda, my grandfather, must have been in a position to settle the bond because in 1914 the erf was registered in his name. The erf was finally sold to Abraham Gideon Braaf in 1923. Today this erf is occupied by a double-storey building on the corner of Abegglan Street and Anderson Street.

Living memories of the Strand Muslim community

I was born in 1938 in a rented house in Fagan Street close to the Strand Moslem Primary School, not far from the site where my great-great-grandfather built his house on Crown land. In 2008 the site where I was born is occupied by a second hand goods business opposite Hendrik Louw Primary School. The old school site on the corner of Abegglan and Fagan Streets is occupied by businesses.

Islam was alive in this little community. There were three mosques in a small area and the three imams each had a turn to deliver the jumu’ah sermon. The Market Street Mosque where my father first took us for jumu’ah, Friday congregational prayer was the first place of worship to be erected in the Strand in the 1870s. The Nurul Anwar Mosque, built in 1896 by Gatief Railoun from Java, was a stone’s throw away from our house in Fagan Street, and not far from the Nurul Islam Mosque.

I can still visualize the Market Square where Mohamed Bagus had his double-storey house and shop below. That building is still there today, but somewhat changed. Next door my grandfather, Lulu Rhoda had his barbershop and next door to him, Boeta Jalalie Gabier later did shoe repairs. This area was later occupied by Dorringtons Garage and today Lewis Furniture Store occupies the site.

On the Wesley Street side of the Market in the mid-1940s you had a few houses, Mr Hollum the shoemaker, Hassiem’s café, Wallab Dallab’s café, the entrance to the arcade, Mr Starck’s fish shop, my father’s tailor shop, the butchery, Tannie Koewa’s house, Imam Doenie Baderoen’s fish shop and Mrs Jacobson’s grocery. This would bring us to Abegglan Street. Opposite Mrs Jacobson’s shop was Dival’s Bakery and I can still see the horse-drawn bakery vans on Market Square and the horses being taken to
the water trough. Today all this is no more, replaced by Friedman and Cohen, the Old Mutual Building and Arcade, and other businesses and highrise buildings.

On the Abegglan Street side of the Market, Mr Hassan Khan and later Hadj Abbas Noor had a shop. Next door was Mr Holden’s dairy and the house, according to oral tradition, where Imam Taliep Cassiem once lived. Next was the Moslem butchery where Mr Ritter was the butcher and Mansoor Waggie, his blockman, and the house and café of Imam Braim Hercules. In 2008 Shoprite takes up this whole block.

In those years you could leave the front door of your house wide open whilst you walked to the beach front to buy fresh silver fish, doppies, from the boats which came in before lunchtime ... On Saturdays the Market Square would be a hive of activity as hawkers and farmers sold their produce. On Saturday evenings every rugby or cricket match would be replayed on the stoeps of Mr Prag’s café and the café of Hadj Tape Railoun ...

The Rhodas, like many Muslim and Christian families classified ‘coloured’, lived in the Strand for generations and made this part of the town as vibrant and alive as District Six – until they were forced out by the Group Areas Act. Many of the families were living in Heyneke, Abegglan, Wesley, Market, Terhoeven, Faure, Fagan and Church Streets, in the heart of the Central Business District of the Strand. Some families owned property but most lived in rented houses. The Group Areas Act led to the total destruction of this neighbourhood in the mid 1960s and the community was scattered in the new ‘coloured’ residential areas of Rusthof. The rows of houses made way for businesses, parking lots, open squares and highrise buildings. In 2008, the three mosques established by our forebears stand proudly, in defiance of the inhumane system of apartheid.

Research to ‘transform’ museums in Caledon, Swellendam and Worcester

Tizzie Mangiagalli, Worcester Museum

Tizzie Mangiagalli works for Western Cape Museum Services. He is currently manager of Worcester’s open air farm museum. From 1990 to 2002 he was manager of the Caledon Museum and from 2002 to 2007 of the Drostdy Museum in Swellendam. In the three Museums – which range from cultural history to agriculture – he has worked with staff and the community to include history of those who have been marginalised.

In Caledon research focused on the history of families classified ‘coloured’ who were forced to move out of homes in the town and the closing of businesses, schools and churches in the CBD. In Swellendam research focused on slaves and Khoekhoe workers who were virtually invisible in the beautiful Drostdy and other buildings and outdoor spaces of the Museum and space was allocated to exhibit the role of labour at the Drostdy.

At Worcester museum, an open air museum with an agricultural theme, the challenge is to link the indigenous culture of hunting and gathering and the keeping of livestock and the introduction of a new system of agriculture by European colonists and to explore the consequences for the indigenous inhabitants and the European colonists at the Cape.

For more information contact: manager@kleinplasie.org.za.

Caledon Museum: Remembering forced removals

In Caledon in the early 1990s, I began to collect oral histories of families in the community who had been affected by forced removals under the Group Areas Act. Local people who restored the museum buildings encouraged me to interview members of their community and the museum Board of Trustees reluctantly agreed that I could launch the project. It took some time to develop relationships and build enough trust to interview and discuss the impact of forced removals in Caledon. With little funds and no guidance I started visiting members of the community and collecting and/or copying photographs of families, sports events, church life, music groups, working life – everything that made up the fabric of community life in bygone years. Partnerships and friendships developed and valuable material was
donated to the museum. This led to a community archive and a photographic exhibition in the town hall next to the museum shop brought home to visitors the impact of Group Areas removals on the central business district, the residential streets and the community of Caledon.

I also worked, hands-on, to research and restore the Caledon Masonic Lodge and the new Caledon House Museum in Constitution Street. The artist Peter Clarke generously donated to the museum a collection of his drawings done during his visits to Tess(e)laarsdal, a village some distance from Caledon. This encouraged me to research communities living in the Caledon district.

**Drostdy Museum, Swellendam: Exploring hidden histories**

The Swellendam Museum complex is a magnificent group of buildings, gardens and open spaces consisting of the Drostdy, various house museums, the old jail and the ambagswerf – artisans’ green. When I became Museum manager, I initiated research on the slaves and the Khoekhoe people who worked in the Drostdy and the other buildings, fields and gardens of the museum complex but whose lives and contribution were previously kept out of the heritage celebrated in the museum. The exhibition commemorating the ‘forgotten people’ opened on the Day of Reconciliation 2006.

The exhibition was a team effort. The archival research was done by Jackie Loos who is well known for her writing about slaves and other ‘forgotten people’. She commented: ‘There are tens of thousands of documents about Swellendam and its people in the Archives and most have never been touched – enough to keep a team of researchers busy.’ The English archaeologist Charlie Arthur added information from excavations in the nearby Bontebok National Park and related research. Museum staff and I worked on an exhibition in the old barn at the Drostdy, ‘the slave quarters’. A wealth of research had to fit onto five story boards: images and a total of 750 words of text in each of the province’s official languages, English, Xhosa and Afrikaans. Carohn Cornell wrote the exhibition text with the assistance of Antonia Malan.

To encourage visitors to continue this kind of research, one panel focused on ‘How to explore hidden histories’.

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<tr>
<td>We know very little about their life histories but we can look for the legacy of slaves and Khoekhoe people in:</td>
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<td>• complaints from slaves to the Slave Protector</td>
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<td>• Colonial Office records</td>
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Worcester Museum: New audiences and partnerships

I moved to Worcester Museum (formerly known as Kleinplasie) in 2007. The open air farm museum has traditionally focused on the role played by European settlers in the Breede River region and excluded the history of those disenfranchised under the oppressive system of apartheid. The lack of community involvement over many years had left the Museum in a vacuum but fortunately for Worcester the Museum is within easy reach of the various sectors of the community, unlike many other traditional museums. The community is large and dynamic with a rich history and I believe the Museum is ready to take up the challenge to transform by extending its archives and exhibitions to represent all the inhabitants of Worcester.

An important port of the Museum’s research is making contact with local residents and former residents who remember the ‘forgotten histories’ of Worcester, and locating private collections in the community. The Museum is negotiating to archive Mr Yunus Lackay’s private collection of photographs, many predating the Group Areas Act of 1950. A collection of audiovisual material from the struggle in Zweletemba will be catalogued and taken up on loan in the Museum collection. We plan to record interviews and document private collections for archival and exhibition purposes. Unemployed youth from the local community will be trained in research (including oral history interviewing) and archival work. This will help to build Museum-community links and a community archive on local families in politics, education, sport, recreation, religion, business and trades, and record the impact of forced removals.

A major challenge we face is that although our learners have the same educational curriculum they live in separate residential areas, a legacy of the ‘Locations’ Acts and Group Areas Act. We now have an educator from Zweletemba who has brought renewed vigor to the museum. We have also been able to introduce ‘time travels’ at the Museum, following training in Sweden for which I was sponsored. This model offers a great deal to our divided communities, engaging people in local history through education, research and historical ‘time travels’. An Nguni cultural ‘time travel’ on the open air museum site last year brought elders and learners together – and the event also raised struggle issues of 1976. Next, we plan to arrange Nguni time travels for learners who are not from the African community to promote understanding of African culture and history, as well as ‘time travels’ in the colonial settler period. We are developing ‘time travels’ partnerships with the provincial departments of Social Development and Education. The international Time Travel Conference will take place at the Museum in October 2008.

Stanford 150: Portrait of a Village

Annalize Mouton

Stanford is a village in the southwestern Cape between Hermanus and Gansbaai where Annalize Mouton has lived for more than ten years. To celebrate the 150th anniversary of the founding of Stanford in 2008, she created an impressive photographic exhibition of the people of Stanford and wrote and illustrated Stanford 150: Portrait of a Village with more than 500 photographs.

For more information about the book or about the magazine Village Life, now in its fifth year, co-edited by Mare Mouton and Annalize Mouton, see www.villagelife.co.za

The people of Stanford and their stories have become my passion. I’ve taped many interviews with local residents, from farm labourers to business people. Everywhere I go I ask for old photos and photograph the photos without taking them away from people. I’ve also photographed old letters, documents and diaries. I also researched on the internet using TANAP and TEPC databases and went to the Cape Archives to take photos of the original documents. From the government I got the original documentation about the forced removal of coloured people and their memories as sent in to the Land Restitution Committee.

In 2007 I took over 50,000 photographs of people and places in Stanford and chose 500 to illustrate Stanford 150: Portrait of a Village. The book portrays the history, the natural environment, streets and buildings, and especially the people of the entire village. It includes sections on early travellers and
farmers, the founding of the village, the farming community, and the forced removals of coloured families. The book offers a portrait of a South African village which has a unique character and a special mixture of people but it is not only about one specific village, it is about a South African rural community, about history and about people.

Digging deeper at Genadendal

Antonia Malan

Antonia Malan works as a historical archaeologist and has facilitated or managed a range of research projects over the years. She is very interested in vernacular architecture and in how to involve communities in research.

The mission village of Genadendal in the Overberg has been studied by researchers from many disciplines: archaeology and history, education and religious studies, architecture and planning, economics and sociology.

This story focuses on five research projects in Genadendal:
- three archaeology research projects by postgraduate students: on slaves, Khoekhoe and the early missionaries; and leiwater and the gardens of Genadendal;
- ‘Archaeology in Action’, an educational outreach project in which staff and students of UCT’s Department of Archaeology collaborated with Genadendal teachers, learners and museum staff;
- ‘Restoration Genadendal’, a big community development project to restore houses and the cultural landscape, and develop skills and cultural tourism in the Genadendal community.

Historical background

Genadendal – Valley of Mercy or Valley of Grace – is a village in the Overberg founded by Moravian missionaries. During the 1790s missionaries imposed guidelines for laying out the settlement and persuaded the local people to turn from older traditions of hunting and gathering and herding to a settled way of life with crop cultivation based on fertile river valley soils, irrigation and strict control of the movement of animals. Eventually each household had their own garden which was watered by irrigation furrows leading from the Baviaans River.

When Lady Anne Barnard visited in May 1798, she observed that the landscape between Caledon hot springs and Genadendal was ‘covered with cattle, garden plots, grazing lands, huts and still more cattle’. The huts were clay and thatched with reeds, some square and others round (in the ‘original Hottentot manner’). The missionaries explained how the Khoekhoe working for farmers got caught in a trap of debt and dependence, while at the mission they learned to grow gardens, make butter and cheese, weave mats and grind flour and make knives. Women made traditional caps, purses, pouches and necklaces to sell as curios to visitors.

In time, Genadendal became an educational centre with one of the most successful and respected Christian schools in the country, as well as South Africa’s first teacher training college, founded in 1838, which did good work for almost a century. A community where white missionaries lived and worked alongside the coloured people of the village, where there was good education, many skilled workers and full employment, was bound to be noticed. In 1913 the Department of Public Education announced that only white lecturers could be appointed at Genadendal Training College and made it clear if this order were disobeyed, the annual subsidy of £200 would be withdrawn. The Department of Public Education insisted that ‘coloured people have no need of tertiary education and are better employed on farms’. The Training College held out as long as it could but in 1928 it finally closed after 90 years (Chance 2006).

Primary sources

In the 18th century the history of Genadendal was partially documented by the missionaries and by travellers passing through. These written accounts from the 18th and 19th century complement
the architectural and archaeological material found at the settlement. The Khoekhoe living there are 
described in those written accounts but it is more difficult though not impossible to access their ‘voi-
ces’, and the ‘voices’ of freed slaves who settled there especially from the late 1830s.

The Mission Museum is a rich source of documentary information, offering an introduction to 
church records, travellers’ accounts, archival records and oral history of the area. The Museum also 
has a collection of things from people’s homes and the industries of the valley, such as the once famous 
printing press and high quality Hernhutter knives, and interesting drawings and photographs.

- 1737 to 1743 and from 1792: The Moravian missionaries kept regular diaries.
- 1770s to 1820s: Travellers en route to the interior stopped at Baviaanskloof to see the converted
  ‘Hottentots’. Anders Sparrman (1770s), John Barrow (1797), Lady Anne Barnard (1798), Paravicini di
  Capelli (1803), C.I. la Trobe (1816) and John Burchell (1820) drew views of the mission. Presumably,
  Colonel Robert Gordon also paid a visit at the end of the 18th century, as there is a lithograph by
  D. Suhl based on a painting by Gordon of the view into Genadendal.
- 1799 to 1991: A series of maps and plans show the layout of the settlement and some of the struc-
tures: Schwinn map (1799: Moravian Archives); J. Melville (1816: Genadendal Museum); reconstruc-
tion of 1836 and 1899 werf buildings by L. le Grange (1991: UCT); Schmidt map (1901: Genadendal
  Museum); General Plan of Glebe Lands (1926: Surveyor-General’s Office).

On a plan, the layout of Genadendal looks like a narrow horseshoe. A werf with the church and most 
important buildings is situated in a prominent position in the centre, with residential areas of the 
village lying along parallel entrance roads on either side of the garden lands along the banks of the 
Baviaans River. As you approach from below, your eye is drawn up to a vista of church and mountain 
behind. This is a familiar ‘mission pattern’ that is repeated in valleys nearby, such as Boesmanskloof,
Voorstekraal and Bereaville.

Researchers in Genadendal

A great deal of research has been done in and on Genadendal over the years. Anyone embarking on 
research in historical archaeology as we did needs to be familiar with previous research.

- Isaac Balie, *Die Geskiedenis van Genadendal, 1738-1988* (1988), describes the social and material life of
  people living in Genadendal during the 19th and 20th century: house structures, furniture, educa-
tion and trade activities.
- H.C. Bredekamp and J.L. Hattingh, *Dagboek en Brieue van Georg Schmidt: Eerste Sendeling in Suid-
- Elizabeth Prins’ theses, ‘Aspekte van die geskiedenis van die Westelike Overberg in die agtiende
  en vroeë negentiende eeue’ (1980), and ‘Die Kulturele en ekonomiese ontwikkeling van die westelike
  Overberg in die agtiende en vroeë negentiende eeu’ (1983), give a detailed overview of the eco-
nomic, cultural and historical development of the western Overberg in the 18th and 19th centuries
  from a colonial perspective and refers to conditions in early land grants for treatment of Khoekhoe.
- Lucien Le Grange carried out a thorough survey of the village layout and architecture in 1991: 
  ‘Moravian Mission Stations in the Western and Southern Cape’: This was work in progress towards
- A joint research project of the Surplus People Project and the Legal Resource Centre compiled ‘An
  inventory and description of the Historical Acquisition of Moravian Church Land’ for the Moravian
  Church of South Africa (2000) which has a useful summary of the complex land tenure systems
  associated with missions.
- Staff and students of local universities have contributed towards community history and develop-
  ment projects. As the list of publications indicates, the University of the Western Cape has always
  had close connections with Genadendal. University of Cape Town postgraduate archaeology pro-
  jects in the 1990s studied the material culture of the village: the leiwater system, the construction of
  early buildings, and traces of early Khoë-Mission relations.
Leiwater and the gardens of Genadendal

Claire Rosenthal first became aware of and concerned about the neglected condition of the gardens of Genadendal during a visit in 1993 when she was still an undergraduate. During 1994 she researched the history of the leiwater irrigation system and the rise and decline of the historic garden farming system. Her sources included:

- historical overviews by Dr Isaac Balie and others (available in the Cape Town City Library)
- Lucien le Grange’s building surveys emphasising architectural history and the setting
- government records (not so easy to access)
- archival records in the Cape Archives
- the Mission Museum in Genadendal (through the curator, Dr Balie)
- oral sources (people who still had gardens, or used to work them before they fell into disrepair).

(Claire Rosenthal, ‘Irrigating the gardens of Genadendal: the past, the present and the future’, 1994)

Slaves and Khoekhoe at Genadendal

Goodman Gwasira came to UCT from Zimbabwe and developed an interest in the work on slavery and vernacular architecture that was a hot topic at that time in the Historical Archaeology Group under Prof. Martin Hall. Goodman Gwasira wanted to see if the houses that were constructed by emancipated slaves who settled at Genadendal in the late 1830s differed from those built by Khoe converts, although both groups were constrained by the Mission’s regulations about building design and dependent on locally available building materials. He was also interested in seeing how the layout of the settlement may have reflected social hierarchy. Rev. John Campbell (1816) remarked that the church stood out from a distance as the largest artefact in the settlement and the most important. He also described the missionaries’ cemetery: how the use of space and placing of the graves reflected gender and social rank. Goodman Gwasira’s investigations were hampered by a lack of existing historical information about who built which houses, but his careful record of construction materials that have since been lost, his video footage, and the details of 76 graves, have contributed to the archival record of the village.

(Goodman Gwasira, ‘A study of conformity and continuity in vernacular architecture from Genadendal’, 1996)

Khoekhoe and early missionaries at Genadendal

Harriet Clift did an extensive archaeological, archival and field survey to locate Khoe sites in the Genadendal area and to see if any 18th century archaeological sites remained within the settlement. To identify features dating from the early 19th century she overlaid three historic maps and compared them to le Grange’s survey and an aerial photograph. When she did a survey on foot, she found that no 18th century material survived on the surface and the parsonage and adjacent buildings on the eastern side of Church Square were built over an early irrigation canal. She then did two excavations, to look for Khoe artefacts in a rock shelter and to look for traces of Schmidt’s house on the historic werf. A third excavation was planned at a ruined cottage in the earliest row of village buildings in the lane opposite the pottery, but between 1998 and 1999 this was unfortunately bulldozed into a pile of rubble. During fieldwork in Genadendal in 1998 Harriet Clift found a great reluctance to speak about pre-mission history that might be interpreted as ‘un-Christian’. An elderly woman, who made her living collecting indigenous plants and domestic herbs to make remedies, assured her that she had learned the craft from her mother who had been taught by ‘white people’. An elderly man felt that ‘bushmen and Hottentots’ and their histories were best forgotten as ‘people have evolved since then’. Those who were interested in the pre-mission history of the area tended to be well educated or with ties to the Institute for Historical Research and the University of the Western Cape.

(Harriet Clift, ‘A sortie into the archaeology of the Moravian mission station, Genadendal’, 2001)
Educational outreach project: ‘Archaeology in Action’

Harriet Clift was concerned about ‘a general lack of information about pre-mission history at the museum, in the school syllabus and as teaching material given to teachers’, and wanted to explore the possibility of using archaeology in the school curriculum. With the support of Reverend Martin Wessels, the Genadendal Archaeology schools project, ‘Archaeology in Action’, began in 1999 as an educational outreach programme from the UCT Archaeology Department in collaboration with the mission, teachers and learners and museum staff in Genadendal. It took several months of discussion to develop a programme that filled the needs of the museum (artefacts associated with the building) and the history curriculum (materials on slave and Khoesan history).

She was amazed at the layers of history that continued to emerge from the community while she worked there. Teacher Magda Hans brought history and geography learners from Emil Weder High School, and her brother, teacher Connell Balie, brought a group of learners from Swartberg Secondary School in Caledon. With the help of student volunteers from UCT they measured up buildings, made maps, excavated, cleaned, sorted and identified artefacts, critically analysed historical resources (such as maps and pictures of Genadendal), and designed and put on a public display for their parents and members of the community. Teachers and learners were exhilarated to realise how many layers of fascinating history there are in Genadendal, and the role they could play in unearthing and sharing this history.

Project ‘Restoration Genadendal’

In 1996 Antonia Malan took two Dutch visitors to see Genadendal and a new initiative happened with the support of substantial overseas funding and expertise. Prof. Fritz van Voorden of the Technical University in Delft, an international consultant for restoration projects, fell in love with Genadendal and immediately started working on a proposal to revive longstanding Dutch support for its preservation. Ron van Oers (at that time researching for his doctorate in Cape Town, but later with UNESCO in Paris) was equally enthusiastic. He took over the reins after Fritz van Voorden’s untimely death.

Most conservation work at Genadendal had taken place on the historic mission core and the aim has been to stimulate economic and tourism potential. Fritz van Voorden and Ron van Oers insisted that the restoration project should work at two levels: to provide a conservation plan for the whole settlement and environment in order to provide infrastructure for cultural tourism, and to integrate community efforts towards skills training and sustained development.

The funding was the largest single amount ever made available for a restoration project outside of the Netherlands. The collaboration of Provincial Government departments was crucial. Wendy Arendse, the project manager seconded from Provincial Government, dedicated several years of hard work to making the plan a success. In 2004 she outlined the vision of the project:

The project is a pilot and is intended to be an example of an integrated approach in which conservation is embedded in a programme of sustainable development. As a 19th century Moravian mission station in the Western Cape Province, at the same time it represents a type of heritage that is currently not figuring on the World Heritage list. The primary aim of the project is to improve the living and working environment of the local population and to provide future generations with a reference point in which they can reflect and look for their own way forward, having restored their dignity and pride in themselves and the town again. The project seeks to empower and develop the local community by transferring various skills to the community in order for them to effectively participate in the job market after the completion of the project.

Lucien le Grange was asked to develop a Conservation Plan with guidelines on appropriate architectural restoration. Since 2002 several buildings have been restored – this was the first time rural housing subsidies were used for rehabilitation of historic structures – and brick-makers, thatchers, managers, and others, many of them women, are now fully trained and experienced artisans and business people.

The future?

Little comparative work has been done regarding the archaeology or material culture of missions in the Cape and elsewhere. It would be interesting for historical archaeologists to compare the cultural landscapes of mission stations established by different missionary societies (e.g. Moravian and London Missionary Society), and those of different communities of KhoeSan/slave origin (e.g. Tess(e)laarsdal in the Overberg, and Moedverloor and Elandsvlei in the Bokkeveld).

Elizabeth Elbourne (1995: 72) comments that particularly during the 19th century, missions and the ways their inhabitants made use of the missions played an important role in the process of reinventing or ‘reconstructing a broken world’. Interdisciplinary research is needed to explore the different perspectives and worldviews of the indigenous Khoe and Nguni communities, slaves and freed slaves imported and locally born, the missionaries, the settlers and the colonial authorities – and the ways they interacted and influenced each other.

A tour leader’s research: Mamre and Pacaltsdorp

Aubrey Springveldt

Aubrey Springveldt has combined his interests in community-based research and cultural tourism. He works as a tour leader and enjoys researching places and people associated with various tours. ‘Many tourists ask what happened to the people who lived here before European settlement, the ‘forgotten people’ who are often left out of the tourist brochures, and I’m committed to finding out and sharing that part of the story. Fortunately, there is valuable information to draw on in published research and I follow up with my own research.’ Here he discusses research on Mamre, an early stop on the West Coast flower route, and Pacaltsdorp in George, a regular stop on Garden Route tours.

How to do the research

Responding to the questions that tourists ask often requires a broad perspective of South African history, even of world history. It’s important to be able to dispel some of the myths … Our training as tour guides does include some history with The Readers Digest Illustrated History of South Africa (Saunders, 1994), the latest South African Yearbook, On Route in South Africa (Erasmus 1995) and T.V. Bulpin’s Discovering Southern Africa (1980) as the standard textbooks. I’ve found that the bibliographies and endnotes offer interesting leads for further research. Three books which I’ve found valuable for background are Isaac Schapera, The Khoisan People of South Africa (1930); Robert Shell, Children of Bondage (1994); and Peter Raper, New Dictionary of Southern African Place Names (2004).

I’ve been fortunate to meet a number of historians from the Universities of Cape Town, Western Cape and Stellenbosch who have introduced me to books, relevant archival references and unpublished dissertations, as well as to people who share my research interests. I’ve enjoyed participating in public events such as history seminars and workshops offered by the TEPC archival project, Transcription of Estate Papers at the Cape. The hard work of all the transcribers has made archival information readable and accessible. I sometimes follow up footnotes and consult primary archival sources for the pure fun of it.

The local museum is often a useful starting point. Staff members – and retired staff members – have always been a great help. They usually know a great deal about the area, but they also know other people in the area who are well informed about local history, maybe people involved in research. I’ve met principals and teachers, ministers of religion, newspaper journalists, librarians and estate agents who are a valuable resource, not to mention so-called uneducated people who know the oral tradition of the area. Sometimes it can be very intriguing to cross-check information with different informants. Oral reports from local inhabitants only cover the last 50 or 60 years but people’s recall of hearsay history that was handed down to them provides very interesting insights.
Mamre

The West Coast Flower Tours take us past the mission station of Mamre, established by the Moravians in 1808 on the Dutch outpost called Groenekloof. In the secondary sources mentioned earlier I came across VOC and travellers’ accounts of the first few expeditions through the area in the late 1600s. Nigel Penn gives some interesting background on the cattle post at Groenekloof in his book, *The Forgotten Frontier* (2005), which covers the long drawn out clashes between colonists and Khoesan on the Cape’s northern frontier. Penn describes the conflict between the Cochoqua leader of the area, Gonnema, and the VOC authorities, the so-called Second Dutch War of 1673-1677. The Cochoquas lost at least 1,765 cattle and 4,930 sheep. They also lost the war and became subject to the VOC. The two main leaders of the Cochoqua died soon after each other, Gonnema in 1685 and Oedasoa in 1689, and that led to further fragmentation of the clan.

It’s often said that by the early 1800s the Khoekhoe were no longer an independent cultural grouping but in the Cape Archives I discovered records of various Khoe clans as late as 1818. Some clans still had livestock including breeding cattle (*aanfokbeeste* or *aanteelbeeste*). There are also records of Khoe contract workers.

Church history inevitably concentrates on the role of the denomination, its missionaries and the progress made under its jurisdiction over the last 200 years. A number of altercations between the British colonial authorities and the local missionaries are mentioned in Bernard Krüger’s well-known history of Moravian missionary work, *The Pear Tree Blossoms* (1966), and Jackie Loos wrote about these in *The Cape Argus* of 21 February 2008.

An unpublished Masters dissertation of 1992, ‘Missions and Emancipation in the south western Cape: A case study of Groenekloof (Mamre), 1838-1852’ by Elizabeth Ludlow (African Studies Library, UCT) follows the story of about 700 newcomers who came to the mission station in the 15 years after the final emancipation of slaves in 1838. Most were born within a day’s walk on farms around but some came from as far away as Mozambique, Ceylon and Bengal. The bibliography suggests useful sources for taking the research further.

We need to make known the diverse history of the people of the area so that visitors to Mamre and local residents alike can appreciate that heritage as well as the beauty of the historic mission werf and the spring flowers.

George and Pacaltsdorp

When we do the Garden Route Tour we normally visit the lovely town of George. Little is said in the museum or in tourist information about the last outpost, Hooge Kraal, of the local Khoe clan under Captain Dikkop who lies buried outside of the church graveyard. The mission station, Pacaltsdorp, established in 1813 after Captain Dikkop asked the missionary J. Campbell to establish a mission station for his people, was named in honour of the first missionary, Charles Pacalt, not the last clan leader (Anderson, *The Story of Pacaltsdorp and Some Reminiscences*, 1957). After Captain’s Dikkop’s death, nobody was appointed to succeed him. According to Campbell’s diary, he took Dikkop’s son, Paul, aged eleven, to England on 15 February 1821 to receive an education. Rev. Pacalt died in 1818 and Rev. Messer took over. Before he left in 1821 he gave Campbell a good report on the initiative and ‘spirit of enquiry’ of the young local Khoe (‘Hottentot’) schoolmaster.

One of the features of Pacaltsdorp is the hill, Hooge Kraal, and the ‘meeting tree’ of the local Khoekhoe. The beautiful church, inaugurated in June 1825, was described by the well-known Bishop Gray when he toured the Cape Colony in 1848: ‘I have found the most church-like looking edifice I have seen in the Colony. It has a tower of very respectable proportions, is built entirely of stone, and without a covering of plaster which disfigures every other church I have seen.’

Almost 80 Pacaltsdorp men – half the adult men – volunteered to fight on the British side in the frontier wars against the amaXhosa and by 1837 at least four had been killed. It should be possible to do in-depth research into the political, economic and social history and struggles of the local community, using church records, official archives and other sources including oral tradition. The history of the indigenous people of the area has been marginalized for too long.

Currently, the community are battling to reclaim the land adjacent to Pacaltsdorp, previously known as Hans Moes Kraal, and for their rights of access to the beaches and harbour. Oral history
interviews show how attitudes changed from subservience (under colonial and post-colonial oppression) to resistance. As in many other communities, people mobilised against apartheid oppression through educational, sporting, cultural, worker and political action. This struggle history needs to be properly recorded and made available for public access in the local museum or library.

Worcester Research Group/
Breede Vallei Sosiaal-Historiese Vereniging

Cecyl Esau and Aubrey Springveldt

The Worcester Research Group/Breede Vallei Sosiaal-Historiese Vereniging is a community-based research group. We are working together to research the history of the marginalized people of Worcester and the Breede River Valley in time for the 200th anniversary of Worcester’s colonial history in 2020. We are determined to ensure that the written history of the area is more inclusive and comprehensive than the colonial and apartheid history of the past. We want the initiative to be located in Worcester with appropriate institutional support.

Getting the hidden history out in the open is an enormous task which involves raising awareness in our Worcester schools and community, continuing with oral history interviews with local people, networking with academics and a range of others, collecting relevant academic material that has been collecting dust in university archives, and coordinating studies of social history and identity. The response across the spectrum has been enthusiastic and encouraging – from the Mayor and ordinary citizens; from the local radio station, Valley FM, and the local newspaper, The Worcester Standard; from school principals, teachers and the history curriculum section of the Western Cape Education Department; from expert researchers and beginners; from residents, former residents, friends and supporters.

The mission village of Saron: Memory of water

Sarah Winter

Saron is a small mission settlement between Wellington and Porterville where the community have lived and worked the land for more than 150 years. The mission centre with its church, pastorie, school, cemetery, blue gum avenues and walled spaces is situated on a gentle plateau overlooking quite a
flat plain. The natural setting is dramatic and from the R44 you can see the church against the backdrop of the Grootwinterberge. The church _werf_ was originally the farm _werf_ of the farm Leeuwenklip. The homestead which dates from about 1775 became the _pastorie_ when the Rhenish Mission Society acquired the property in 1846. The mission _werf_ has retained its role as a religious and social centre within the life of Saron.

Tulbagh and Saron are close as the bird flies, separated only by the mountain range, and Saron was one of the small places damaged by the 'Tulbagh earthquake' in 1969 and not restored. Very little survives of the historic buildings of the mission settlement.

Saron is laid out in the traditional way: a grid of streets with decorative flower gardens in front of the houses and productive vegetable gardens in allotments at the back. The _leiwater_ furrows were an integral part of the historical character of the place. Water from the Leeuwen and Vier-en-Twintig Rivers was diverted via a canal to a furrow which fed the water mill and the _leiwater_ furrows for the rest of the village.

Today only a very small portion of the village still has a working _leiwater_ system. The same thing has happened in many historical settlements. Why has Saron's _leiwater_ system fallen into disuse over the years? The community blame the construction of the Kaapse Kanaal in the early 1970s which diverted water to the Voelvlei Dam but other outside interventions also affected the _leiwater_ system. The upgrading of the road and storm water infrastructure by the local municipality which started in 2001 interrupted the natural water flow and seepage patterns. The water furrows were sometimes covered over.

In 2006, Heritage Western Cape responded to local protests by putting a stop to the works. The next step was a Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) of the road upgrade. That is when I was brought in as a heritage practitioner with an unusual task: to establish the heritage significance of the _leiwater_ system to the life of the town.

I entered the community through a local resident, Mr Dan September, chairperson of the Heritage Committee. He had led the battle to preserve the heritage of Saron, approaching the National Monuments Council years back and then its successor, SAHRA. An interview with Mr September and a house to house survey of more than 300 people living in the historical core of Saron made it very clear that the _leiwater_ was a source of livelihood and a means of subsistence for many families. Access to free water was seen as a critical issue and there was overwhelming support for rehabilitating the _leiwater_ system. In the words of Mrs Vermeulen, a Saron resident:

Saron was an agricultural town from day one. It was our tradition to grow our own vegetables and flowers. Our community was poor and thus dependent on their gardens which provided food for our own families and we also gave fresh produce to the elderly and unemployed. Without free water to irrigate our gardens, especially during the dry summer months, the gardens of the town have badly deteriorated.

I realised that social and cultural activities had evolved around the _leiwater_ system and it had symbolic importance in the town. It was clear that Saron needed a fair system for distributing water to retain or regain a sense of social stability and self-reliance and for the older people, water rituals were a significant part of their heritage in Saron. In 1998 Mr Dan September told a National Monuments Commission Survey:

Since the 1840s, the opening of the furrows during the summer months was when the community would have a carnival. People painted their faces and legs white, black and red and drove donkey carts through the town.

It would be fascinating to find out more about this ritual and its origins. Did the carnival commemorate the freeing of the slaves in 1838, not that many years before the founding of Saron? Did it have older indigenous roots? Was it related to summer festivals in the European homelands of the Rhenish missionaries? Whatever its roots, was it a local festival 'christened' by the missionaries?

As a result of the Heritage Impact Assessment, Heritage Western Cape decided that the Municipality must where possible fix up the damage to the _leiwater_ system that the road upgrade had caused. The Municipality has agreed to subsidise water to the community either via a restored _leiwater_ system or a reticulated piped water system. Piped water could upset the natural equilibrium of the _leiwater_ system which has sustained the community for more than 150 years but aesthetic concerns have to be balanced
against the need for engineering that does the job well. The quaint old leiwatersloot needs to start running again to restore the symbolic role of water in the life of Saron but the people also need the free water to sustain their food gardens ...

A group in Saron has received Lotto money to develop cultural tourism in the area. Local skills training and looking after the historical buildings, character and living heritage of the town could draw visitors. Perhaps Saron will one day be included in a historical Mission Route. Sadly, Mr September passed away in 2007 but he will be remembered for his passion for Saron’s heritage and his battle to save the ‘memory of water’ within the town.

Tracing the history of dispossessed rural communities

Kathy Schulz

Kathy Schulz has worked on a wide range of places including 17th century shipwrecks along the Wild Coast, early woodcutters in the George area, and dispossessed communities across the southern Cape. She is a self-taught researcher who first became interested in Deeds Office and archival research when she was working in a conveyancer’s office.

‘How did I get into Land Claims research? In the 1980s when I was involved with SCAR, Southern Cape Against Removals, in Thembalethu and elsewhere, I was introduced to the Southern Cape Land Committee and gradually built experience and networks of contacts around land issues. Then the Land Act was changed in 1991 and with the Restitution Act in my hand I started mapping dispossession across the southern Cape – an unbelievable number of forced removals, including Beaufort West, Calitzdorp, Murraysburg, Zoar, Plettenberg Bay and Covie; Salt River, Ouplaas, and Flenters in Knysna; Slangrivier in the Heidelberg district; Dysseldorp near Oudtshoorn; Kraaibos near Sedgefield; and many more.’

From 1994 there was a public appeal for researchers to come forward to verify forced removals for restitution of land rights. From 1995 Kathy Schulz worked as a researcher for the Land Claims Commission in the southern Cape, mapping forced removals across the area, working with communities and using oral and documentary sources to authenticate land claims. She continues to work with communities on their histories and her enthusiasm for research is inspiring.

The methodology (outlined below) for researching issues of land and ‘social landscape’ was developed over years. The stories of dispossessed communities – Prince Albert, Knysna, Slangrivier, Blanco, Suikerbult, Covie, Klippieseiland, and others – show how challenging, complicated and important this kind of research can be.

For further information contact: kschulz@absamail.co.za.

Research toolkit and methodology

I’ve developed a basic toolkit for my work as a contract researcher dealing with land and ‘social landscape’. The kit includes maps, books and national and international political timelines. If you don’t have a basic toolkit, you can get hold of maps and library books specific to the project you are researching and you can use timelines available on the internet as a guide but be sure to verify internet timelines with further research.

The methodology I’ve found most constructive entails packing information from the Archives and Deeds Office, together with any other ‘paper trail’, and information from oral accounts, onto a ‘web’ of local and national political history. I’ve found that unless all four kinds of information are brought together, very rigorously, there’s a risk that conclusions will be skewed or inaccurate. I also find it useful to compile a sound archival template of an area before conducting oral interviews. If you’re armed with background information – when a ‘Group Area’ was officially proclaimed, when a major flood happened, and so on – then you’re better able to guide and understand conversation.
Research process: step by step detective work

1. I like to do background research to find out when the relevant legislation was passed and when it came into force (Group Areas Act, Slums Act etc); when the specific area was first proclaimed; any later proclamations (for example in 1958/9 people could stay in their homes until they died, but in 1961 further proclamations reduced the notice to a year, and from 1963 to three months); and how long the removal took. Rural removals were generally quicker than urban removals which could take several years.

2. I try to get information from the community. I may start by asking direct questions of some people with whom I have contact but I also like to have a public meeting as soon as possible. Usually on a Saturday afternoon we have tea at their place and we just talk. I try to identify what they want out of the research: is it about personal knowledge or a family dispute, a fight with the municipality, church history … I just listen and make notes. There may well be disagreement. For instance, three or four out of 20 will agree about the year of dispossession. It can get hectic if there are a lot of people but I always walk out with a sense of the level of anger and the urgency of the problem.

3. I always ask people to form a committee, even a loose committee: that’s a huge building block for democracy, a way to get information transferred to the community. I’m aware that it costs a lot to get people together and community members don’t get paid for it so I try to have an open public meeting every three months and I consult inbetween. For instance, in Suikerbult (Oudtshoorn) there was a prayer meeting every week that I attended and we had tea and discussions afterwards. Sometimes community members come up with photos, letters and other documents which may help with the research.

4. I look at early maps from my own database and then from diagrams attached to title deeds from the Surveyor General’s office.

5. I look at political and other timelines in my own database developed over the years. I do extract from the internet but check any new information for accuracy.

6. I start a deeds search on the property – I need to have a clear picture of when the land was granted, what willed exist, what was going on, or I get lost further on in the process.

7. I crosscheck different sources all the time. Giving people lifts makes for easy conversations. I’ve found the Rastafarian community in George and Knysna very valuable oral back-up as they are really interested in heritage and discuss it among themselves.

8. Probably the hardest aspect of researching is taking the findings back to the community. When I was working on land claims I’d take back every piece of information as it came up and would record whether people agreed or disagreed and why. I don’t wait until the end of a research project before presenting results to a community. This is a very consultative, labour-intensive, grounded process. One can’t skip any step or everyone gets confused.

9. I usually present the research findings with a timeline.

10. How to make research into public history? I say to people: ‘You decide what you want to do with your history but I can help you motivate if you want to apply for funding to memorialize.’ Most communities do want to have a little centre where the story can be told, they want photos on the walls.

Clues in the sources

Deeds Office/Surveyor General records: The easiest way into Deeds Office research is via the erf registers. You need an accurate erf or farm number to locate your property. Entries at the top of the folio give you the original name of the farm and the quitrent or freehold number (diagram deed) from which the current sub-division was taken. Look out for endorsements on the folio about government intervention such as Group Area proclamation numbers or forestry reserve proclamations.

Working backwards in the erf registers you’ll find the numbers of all the diagram deeds and this creates a picture of the property. You can also work from original quitrent or freehold deeds and trace subsequent ownership patterns by reading the ‘cross writing’ which is hand written on each title deed. This pushes you on to the next clue about who owned the property.

You may want to find all the owners of the property from the original grant to the present, or you may just want to find out when development or sub-divisions took place. Over the years you develop the ability to look sideways at each property you are researching and to take nothing for granted. For
example, a piece of quitrent farmland may have been acquired at a later stage and then attached to an earlier freehold grant, so your property may be older than it seems in the erf register folio. You should be able to pick up the clues if you scrutinize all the early diagrams. Deeds Office diagrams all have a number from the Surveyor General’s office and you can have copies made.

**National and Local Archives:** Most of the Local Municipal and Magistrates files (those going back 20, 30 or 40 years depending on the grading significance) have been sent to the Cape Archives. These files have not yet been accessioned but they can be retrieved and viewed if you put in a request to the Archives some days beforehand. The Community Development Board (CDB) was set up during the apartheid era to administer all aspects of forced removals. CDB files are incomplete in the Provincial Archives, but a third copy was always sent to Pretoria where the full CDB archive is intact though not yet accessioned.

**Newspaper sources:** Mainstream newspapers are often a source of misinformation about forced removals. There are usually no reports of forced removals, it’s as if they never happened but a few months later there may be a photo of ‘Mrs April and her new home’. Or there may be an upbeat story of a new church being built but nothing about the deconsecration of the old church and no photos of the solemn march down the main road by the dispossessed congregation carrying banners and religious objects.

Occasionally, though, local newspapers do prove to be useful sources. For instance, in the *George and Knysna Herald* (was it 1884 or 1888?), there was a story about the community who walked from Preto (later known as Watsondorp) to the church in town carrying banners to celebrate 50 years since the emancipation of slaves. The alternative press, the struggle press, can be a very useful source. For instance, *Saamstaan* community newspaper from the Oudtshoorn area covered the forced removals from Lawaaikamp (George) in the mid-80s. Pamphlets and posters of the time are also a valuable source of information but it’s hard to find them except in private collections as offices and homes of activists were so often raided before 1994.

**Oral sources** are vital for information that isn’t disclosed in documents: informal conversations with people, community meetings and sometimes longer ‘interviews’. Of course, it’s important to cross-check oral sources against each other and against documentary sources.

**Prince Albert**

Prince Albert illustrates the difficulty of researching a place where there has been layer after layer of forced removals: removals from the farmland, removals in the centre of town first of owners and then of tenants, then removals from a small coloured area called Nuwerus where people were tossed across the road just to cause inconvenience. It was very hard to plot who owned what and when. A family might have owned a plot of land in town and some sort of right to farm land out of town and might have been removed from one in the 1950s, from one in the 1960s and from one in the 1970s, so which should they claim for or were they entitled to three claims?

**Knysna**

There were similar problems with the Knysna claim because there were so many areas and layers of forced removal and dispossession at different times: Welbedacht, Salt River, Flenters, Oouplaas, Oubaai, Concordia and so on. It was very difficult to show all this on paper, too complex, too much to explain.

**Slangrivier, Heidelberg**

Slangrivier in the Heidelberg area was declared a ‘coloured Group Area’ so coloured people were not removed and the Land Claims Commission originally said, ‘It stayed a coloured area so they lost nothing’. The oral sources told a different story. The original residents lost self-sufficiency and land and their vibrant community was overwhelmed when about a thousand people were moved in from nearby Heidelberg when the area where they lived was declared a ‘white Group Area’. Slangrivier
people also lost land when a neighbouring farmer purchased a portion of water-bearing land and put down a borehole, leaving the community with a dry river-bed.

**Dysseldorp, Oudtshoorn**

Dysseldorp illustrates the difference there may be between the legal (‘factual’) situation of a place and that place in public memory. The displaced residents of the Dysseldorp mission settlement remembered it as a huge area, far bigger than the freehold land within the farm that was shown on the 1832 map with Queen Victoria’s stamp. They rejected my researched documentation as fraudulent, insisting that they had been manufactured by whites to cheat the community and that somewhere in a lawyer’s office in Willowmore there was box, a *kis*, with the true papers. This difference between the legal position and the community’s strongly held belief arose from the fact that while there was limited freehold land within the legal boundaries of the farm, the claimants (and the white farmers) had had the use of far more land for grazing. The legal boundaries didn’t matter at that time because people sorted out land use among themselves. The only boundaries people knew about were on the *spykergrond* (freehold), good land along the river that had been demarcated with iron pegs. They thought all the *spykergrond* had been lost in about 1903 when a trader was given permission to park his wagon there, traded with the community, and asked for land in lieu of payment for goods. The irony was that the *spykergrond* was still registered in the names of the original owners. There had never been a legal transfer.

**Blanco/Watsondorp, George**

A Deeds Office search of who owned the property revealed a will attached to the 1846 title deed which showed how the community came about as result of the emancipation of slaves. The farmer left a portion of land for emancipated slaves to live on – Preto which was later named Watsondorp. They became a community of about 50 families with their own homes and a school and church. The area was declared ‘white’ in the late 1960s and right through the 1970s the community resisted forced removal, using passive resistance. For years the local authorities didn’t worry too much because this was known to be ‘a decent community’ and the people had jobs, but in 1986 the government put more and more pressure and in 1989 the bulldozers came in. Without the community’s knowledge, three people had gone to the officials, got paid out a sizeable amount as ‘compensation’ and then disappeared, while the rest of the community were left to their own devices without receiving compensation.

When the Watsondorp community put in a land claim, I did the research and came across evidence of a sale for R120 000 that nobody knew about. It was very difficult to give this news to the community. The evidence was there on paper but how could the Land Claims Commission say: ‘This community got adequate compensation before the land was transferred to the municipality’? A farmer from South West Africa (now Namibia) bought this lovely piece of land very cheaply from the Municipality. It lay fallow for years and then he sold it for R3 million. The bulldozers were due to come in on the Monday so we had a community meeting on Saturday and to stop the bulldozers we had to put a document together in 24 hours, get the newspaper in, make a banner and so on. The development still hasn’t happened but the land claim seems to have stalled, three elders have died in the last 18 months, and the developers might go in overnight.

**Suikerbult, Oudtshoorn**

This story illustrates how one might get called in to work with a community in a hurry – and how unconventional sources and clues may be useful. The Suikerbult community put in a land claim but they did not know what happened to their land claim – it seemed to ‘go missing’. They were not approached and offered first option to take over their old land. Instead ‘Smartietown’ (RDP housing) was built on the land and a new community moved in. There were new street names and nothing to acknowledge the history of the Suikerbult community on the land, their name or their dispossession.

When the Municipality put in water pipes that interfered with grave sites of the Suikerbult community, Poem Mooney, Chief of Attaqua Indigenous Peoples’ Movement, got the media in and objections went into the newspaper. Suikerbult community members took action. The first step was to stop the Municipality working on the site so women went to the municipal offices and when they were
ignored, they went to the newspaper. Eventually officials kept appointments and the community got a signed commitment from the Municipality to finance the reburials in a municipal cemetery and the Department of Arts and Culture paid for coffins and a plaque. The authorities also undertook to pay for the archaeology and background research and for a reburial celebration, an ox and other supplies. The Suikerbult Community Trust was offered 900 square metres of land for an interpretative centre or community playground.

It proved very difficult to research the history of the site and to establish whether or when people were buried there. The municipal records are unclear and so are the church records. The ground does not seem to be deep enough for six foot graves. Archaeologist David Halkett has recently done test excavations that confirmed burials on the property.

Klippieseiland in Oudtshoorn and Lawaaikamp in George

Over many years going back to the 19th century, people from the Eastern Cape were recruited for road and rail construction work and established informal settlements in these areas. When Group Areas were proclaimed, there was no provision for black residential areas within Western Cape boundaries. By the time Group Areas legislation was enforced, many black people had married locals and had families. Many changed their African surnames in order to stay in the area and many descendants have now completely lost their Eastern Cape identity. There is not much of a paper trail for these families and timely oral history recording is crucial if this very important part of Western Cape history is to survive.

Churches and Mission Stations

All over the southern Cape – and elsewhere in the country – many churches and mission stations were dispossessed. They lost church buildings, church schools, church-owned farms and houses, and public commonage like the public outspan outside Heidelberg. If there was a coloured congregation in an area declared ‘white’, they had to move out – the law did not allow for the category of ‘non-racial church’. In some cases the buildings stayed in the name of the church but the people were moved.

Covie, near Nature’s Valley, Knysna

Covie is a small settlement in the Bitou Local Authority in the Southern Cape which falls in the Western Cape Province. The Covie community has put in a land claim and the land being considered for the community is above the Otter Hiking Trail in the Tsitsikamma National Park.

Covie has an unusual story. People told me there had been a forced removal, dispossession, but the records showed that Covie had been proclaimed a ‘coloured Group Area’ so it wasn’t a Group Areas removal. I was puzzled by the apparent clash between oral sources and the documents. Over the years I’ve found that when it’s difficult to understand what is going on, it helps to shut your eyes, then open them again and look for a clue on the erf register – there’s usually a clue even if it is the gap in the information.

The clue to understanding what happened in Covie was there in the erf register in tiny writing: the Forestry Department had closed the area and removed the people. I knew from oral sources that people were told they would lose their jobs if they tried to go back, and that Forestry cut off the water (as Group Areas officials usually did) and stopped maintaining fire breaks and roads. That made it impossible for people to carry on living there, but only a handful of the properties were ever expropriated. The properties were still registered in the names of the original owners and they didn’t know it.

Covie timeline (Department of Land Affairs)

It would obviously be very valuable to access research done for land claims in areas you are wanting to research. We need to keep trying for public access. This timeline comes from a Department of Land Affairs (DLA) document, ‘Training Case Study: Integrating environmental planning into land reform and land development’, August 2005. It shows the complex history of the area and the origins of the land claim.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Covie was established as a woodcutters’ location and white and coloured woodcutters were allocated 30 individual allotments by Deed of Grant and given grazing rights on the adjacent Covie Commonage (Farm 287).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>Erf 271 was again granted by the state to the original white owner and remained in his name though his family did not and still do not live there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Erf 263 was donated to the Anglican Church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964, 1974</td>
<td>Government declared portions of Covie Commonage part of Tsitsikamma National Park.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971/72</td>
<td>Three allotments (Erf 261, 262 and 277) were given by the original coloured owners to white people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Covie was declared a coloured Group Area and the Community Development Board bought the 17 allotments owned by white landowners; these allotments were later transferred to the Department of Housing. (In 2002 the National Housing Board sold one of these plots (Erf 267) back to a white person. The remaining 16 plots form part of the land under claim.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Of 13 remaining allotments, nine were occupied by the original coloured families; a number of tenants also lived on the allotments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>After the white landowners were expropriated, all services to the area stopped. At the same time, residents lost their remaining rights to the commonage and their access to the sea so some had no alternative but to leave the area.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1995? | A claim for two portions of land was lodged for the Covie Community:  
• 16 plots – 32 hectares registered in the name of National Housing Board  
• 733 hectares of unregistered state land for Covie Commonage Farm. (150 hectares of this land had been incorporated into the Park so alternative land was claimed.) |
| 1995? | The claim was validated by the Land Claims Commission and valued at over R9m. |
| 2004 | The Covie Claimants Committee reached a Memorandum of Understanding with Dept of Land Affairs, the Land Claims Commission, Bitou Municipality, the Provincial Housing Department, Dept of Public Works, Dept of Water Affairs and Forestry, and Dept of Education and Training.  
• The Commission was to set the money value of the claim (over R9 million).  
• The Department of Housing was to restore the 16 residential allotments of about 32 hectares at a price of R5 000 per allotment to the claimants.  
• The Department of Public Works was to restore the remaining 683 hectares of the Covie Commonage that is outside Tsitsikamma National Park.  
• The Department of Public Works was to grant the claimants 150 hectares of State land that had been included in the Tsitsikamma National Park. |
| July 2005 | A service provider was appointed to prepare a plan and budget for Covie community development, business and asset management. This was to form the basis for settling the claim in terms of the Restitution of Land Rights Act. |
After the initial establishment of the Museum, we have focused on adding a research centre, which will be open to anyone who wishes to use the facility – local and international researchers; people from local communities who want to reconstruct their personal or family history, as well as educators and learners.

All the documents and references compiled during the detailed research for the Museum’s historical display will be made available. Visitors will also have the opportunity to access archival records and library collections kept on the Internet.

Museum workers will be able to offer guidance to those unfamiliar with the often complicated and confusing process of research as to how to access archival material and how to structure their research. This role might include listening to the stories of people who come to visit the Museum.

An innovative empowerment deal will transform previously disadvantaged residents and employees on the three Solms-Delta properties based in Franschhoek into land owners, after generations of tilling vineyards on which they had no claim.

(Adapted from InterAir South Africa, March/April 2007.)

The story which follows is based on extracts from Tracey Randle’s overview of the Museum van de Caab: www.solms-delta.co.za/main/overview.html.

The Museum van de Caab tells the story of Delta farm, a story that is typical of so many of the old farms in the Drakenstein Valley. While many other places of interest to the public give general histories, the real voices of individual people, through which the farm’s story is told, make this Museum unique. These individual voices facilitate a personal connection between the present and the past, which could not be established through abstract facts and figures.

Both the historical and the archaeological traces of the people who lived on the farm are part of the displays and these elements embody the major themes of the Museum. However, the story of Delta farm cannot stand on its own. Its significance lies in its relationship to greater events and historical processes that shaped the human fabric of the Drakenstein Valley, and on a broader scale, South African society as a whole.

Our story is told both chronologically and thematically, starting from the very beginnings of human settlement on the farm, through pre-colonial pastoral usage of the land, the establishment of private ownership through colonial viticulture, the scars left by slavery and apartheid, and beyond, to the establishment of a democratic South Africa and our hopes for the future – always contextualising the story of the farm in relation to the country as a whole. The value of the personal voices and human dramas of the people who lived at Delta is that they can be used to create a realistic, complex and sometimes contradictory picture of the past. This allows visitors to form their own opinions about what happened, to decide how they feel about certain events or agents, and to relate aspects of these stories to their own lives.

It has been argued that communities sometimes look to museums as places in which their identity is articulated. As a result, and perhaps particularly in a society such as ours, museums have the responsibility of ensuring that exhibitions depict history and culture in a dynamic way.

One way of achieving this is to represent communities from the past and present as changing, non-static entities. For example, we do not represent San or Khoe groups as having had the same traditions, culture and beliefs for the last 2 000 years – we show their changing position in the history of our farm as they were affected by colonialism and other historical events. We also try to indicate their role in the creation of modern South African society and culture, and draw attention to contemporary groups that are trying to reclaim Khoe and San identities as something meaningful for themselves today.

Another example is that the personal memories and aspirations of the farm workers currently living on the property are included within the Museum; the history of the farm thus continues in the dynamic complexities of the present. As our story evolves, so too will this aspect of our display. The Museum as an oral history centre for the workers on the farm and the surrounding farm communities represents...
all voices – even that of the owner. This allows a story to emerge that is authored by the inhabitants themselves, as they discuss what is meaningful and important in their lives today, and describe how they feel about the past – even where this contradicts other aspects of the display. The theoretical issues that underlie the use of oral history in the Museum include the question of who has the right to speak for whom.

The Museum van de Caab is open from 9 to 5 seven days a week (closed only for Christmas Day and New Year’s Day) on Solms-Delta Wine Estate, Delta Road, off the R45, Groot Drakenstein, Franschhoek Valley. Phone 021 8743937 or 021 8741852 or see the website at www.solms-delta.co.za or email info@solms-delta.co.za.

Off the beaten track: researching Soutpan

Nigel Amschwand

In my wanderings off the beaten track I’ve had an interesting time trying to ‘read’ or ‘reconstruct’ the history of farms, buildings and the people who lived and worked there. This has been a team effort, with fellow-members of the Vernacular Architecture Society who know a lot more than I do about architectural history, archaeology and surveying – I’m a mechanical engineer by profession. One of the remote places that we’ve researched and written about is the farm Soutpan (Zoutpan) in the Calvinia District in the Bokkeveld Karoo.

For a full account see Nigel Amschwand ‘Soutpan, a Farm on the Edge’ in VASSA Journal, No.18, December 2007. For more information contact: nigel@grasso.co.za.

Why research farms?

Why research farms? It takes us into beautiful remote places and the detective work is interesting in its own right, but it also contributes to preserving our heritage. Our research also has a pay-off for present-day occupants or owners who want to understand the history of places as they restore or convert buildings and use the space for new purposes – green tourism, conference and retreat centres, artists’ studios and living quarters, whatever.

How do we research the history of a farm? There are many different research sources – the place itself, the people around, and documentary evidence. The first stage is usually to go walkabout on the farm with someone who knows the place or used to know it and to look and listen for any clues to the history – clues in the buildings and ruins, a dry river-bed and a water mill, the remains of a mine or a blacksmith’s shop, gravestones, old graffiti on walls or rocks. The owners and workers on the farm may be valuable sources but even if the farm has long been abandoned somebody in the neighbourhood will know somebody with a story to tell and somebody may have old photos, letters, a family bible with the family tree, a scrapbook, a privately published local history. Exploring local networks can turn up clues that you won’t find in any formal archive or through any computer search. It’s worth asking at the nearest church, pub, post office, library, tourist office, wherever. Just take all the photos you can and make a note of all your sources, human and otherwise.

Getting curious about the farm Soutpan

Even today Soutpan is a very isolated farm between somewhere and nowhere, we realized as we drove around the district. I originally became interested in the farm when I came across a reference (CA:CO 3902/42) to a letter (called a ‘memorial’) written by the wife of a Jan Harmse Steenkamp asking that he be released from prison. I found this during an Internet search of the Cape Archives (www.national.archives.gov.za). It’s convenient to search for references at home over the Internet – you don’t have to wait for a terminal at the Archives and you can print out the reference sheets. I use the reference sheets at the Archives for making notes on the information I’ve found.

I made two discoveries in the Archives. Firstly, this Jan Harmse Steenkamp was a complete rascal
who ordered a Commando to murder some stock thieves when they caught them (CA: CJ 1814/806). Nigel Penn has written the full story of Steenkamp’s activities in the November 2005 issue of Kronos: Journal of Cape History. Secondly, this Jan Harmse Steenkamp was not the one I was looking for but it was an interesting diversion.

Starting to explore the place

Some time later, while in the Onder-Bokkeveld for other reasons, I heard that the buildings on Soutpan were in very poor condition and there was no economic justification for restoration. After talking to the two owners of the farm, both from the Boltman family, we were given permission to visit.

Walking around on the farm gave us a sense of the prehistory of the area. Upriver from the werf on the other side of the Soutpans River there are extensive stone kraals, next to the cliffs there are two small shelters that were probably dwellings of stock herders, and there are faded rock paintings of human figures and finger dot patterns thought to be associated with the indigenous hunter-gatherers and herders. We also spotted initials and names engraved on rock faces – graffiti going back to the early 1800s left there by people we were later able to identify.

It was very useful to find that the history of the Boltman family in this area had been documented in Van Hede tot Boltman Verlede (From the Present to Boltman’s Past), privately published by Ell-Marie Schutte in Pretoria. This was a good starting point for the documentary research that we ended up doing. The book includes sketch maps showing the farmhouse, outside kitchen for farm workers, farm school from about 1924, wagon house, a dairy later made into a house, a stable, blacksmith’s workshop, barn, threshing floor and dam.

Exploring in the Archives and Deeds Office

Before making an expedition to carry out a full survey of the farm buildings we needed to do some more research. At the Archives, I checked the files to see if Soutpan had been registered as a loan farm. There are record cards – categorized by farm name and by people’s names – for all the farms listed in the Register of Land record books. Under the Dutch East India Company, farms in country districts were given out as loan farms and the occupants had to pay an annual rent. After the second British occupation of the Cape, the authorities decided that the farmers would farm better if they had more secure tenure and so the farms were converted to perpetual quitrent ownership.

In the 1818 tax rolls (Opgaafrolle CA: J21A page 4), Jan Harmse Steenkamp was listed as occupying Soutpan and two other farms (Klipfontein and Driefontein), with his wife, four children and ten Khoek servants – and 20 cattle, 1150 sheep and 1250 goats. Jan Harmse Steenkamp seems to have been on the farm some years earlier, to judge by his initials ‘JHSK’ and the date ‘1811’ engraved on the rock-face behind the farmhouse.

Armed with the farm number and the district (Farm No. 989 Calvinia District), I headed for the Deeds Office. The farm numbers are on the 1:50000 and 1:250 000 maps available from the Department of Land Survey. At the Deeds Office I got the Transport Document from the Deeds Register and this gives the survey date (1823) and the registration date (1831). The Deeds Register gives a list of the owners from when Soutpan became a perpetual quitrent farm. The Transport Document shows that Soutpan was owned by the Theron family from 1823 until 1897 when it was transferred to Frederick Hendricus Boltman. Was there a connection between the Therons and the Boltmans? Careful reading of the genealogies of these families in Heese and Lombard’s South African Genealogy showed that after the death of Thomas Petrus Arnoldus Theron’s son Petrus Lodewicus, his widow Alida Strauss married Petrus Jacobus Boltman (her third husband), and in 1897 Soutpan was transferred from the estate of Petrus Lodewicus Theron to Alida’s stepson, the Frederick Hendricus Boltman mentioned above.

At the Deeds Office I looked through the book containing the Transport Documents and found that in 1823 Theron had also registered two other farms, Klipfontein and Driefontein (Calvinia District 991 and 982). This was interesting as according to Jan Harmse Steenkamp’s death notice (found in the Archives), he died at the age of 80 three days after Christmas in 1848 on the farm Klipfontein. So he was living there after Theron took over ownership of the three farms. Despite intensive research I have not been able to find the connection between Steenkamp and Theron.
Unfortunately, farm survey diagrams for the Northern Cape are filed at the Deeds Office in Bloemfontein – you have to visit or arrange for a copy to be posted. For the Western Cape, you can obtain farm survey diagrams from the Deeds Office or via their auto-emailer program. These farm diagrams give quite a lot of detail about buildings, rivers, roads etc. and who the neighbours were.

**Research team at Soutpan**

It was time for the Vernacular Architecture Society’s Historical Research Group to conduct the survey. The group – including architects, archaeologists, artists, photographers and historians – works whenever possible with members of the local community to encourage a sense of the importance of local heritage. As usual the group split up into teams: to survey the buildings in relation to each other; to measure up the individual building and make dimensioned sketches; to take digital photographs and to make a record for archival purposes on black and white 35 mm film; and to write descriptions of the construction of each building, doing some educated guesswork about the age and the stages of construction. The historians sometimes collect anecdotal material from local residents – this has to be done in a very sensitive manner. Lastly all the information is collected and archived for future use. Whenever possible an article is published so that future researchers can benefit.

The low population density in many areas, its distances, its prominent geographical determinants like semi-deserts and mountain ranges, have all helped to preserve the strong local character of environments like the Sandveld, the Duineveld, the Hantam, the Little Karoo, the Bokkeveld, the Langkloof, the Hoeko, the Onder-Kouga.

*(Hans Fransen, *Old Towns and Villages of the Cape*, 2006: 2)*
This section goes into some of the main Archives and Libraries in Cape Town, repeating some information from previous sections. Be warned that you should check before visiting these repositories. As all researchers know, rules and regulations, access policies, storage management, times of opening, website updates, costs, etc. can be changed without notice.

- The Cape Archives
- National Automated Archival Information Retrieval System (NAAIRS)
- The Deeds Office and Surveyor-General's Office
- The National Library of South Africa (NLSA)
- Chief Directorate: Surveys and Mapping
- University of Cape Town Archives and Libraries and Centre for Popular Memory
- SA Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) and Heritage Western Cape
- Heritage Resource Section, Environmental Management, City of Cape Town.

### The Western Cape Archives & Records Service

The Cape Archives has a wealth of primary sources from the beginning of the VOC period at the Cape, through the British period, to the present. Its treasures include: Resolutions of the VOC Council of Policy, inventories and auction lists of deceased estates, census lists and property registers (e.g. registers of loan farms, registers of slaves, copies of title deeds); maps and plans; wills and personal papers of deceased estates; and photographs. There is also an extensive library of books, articles, theses and other secondary sources. Researchers are obliged to give a copy of their results to the library.

The Western Cape Archives and Records Service (usually referred to as the Cape Archives) is at 72 Roeland Street, Cape Town. It is open to the public from Monday to Friday between 08h00 and 16h00, on Thursdays to 19h00, and in the morning on the first Saturday of the month. There is street parking right outside.

Behind the forbidding front wall and gate which remain from the old Roeland Street Goal, there is a modern archival storage and research facility with a ‘welcome’ mat in the lobby. Register at the reception desk and you will be directed to the Public Reading Room where you can order the documents you need. Ask the staff at the desk to help you find your way around the printed search aids and card indexes, and the computers with online search engines. At the desk you will find a list of archivists and researchers you could pay to do some of the more difficult work or to help you get going.

All you need to do is fill in a Requisition Form available at the counter with the reference number you’ve found during your search (maximum three documents at any one time), put the slip in the collection box and wait patiently for the documents to arrive. I say patiently as there are kilometres of shelves spread over many fireproof vaults and the porters, although obliging, can’t take short cuts. The staff are very helpful if you need advice (Nigel Amschwand).

It’s so much easier now that the archives have indexes to wills, estates and liquidation accounts and computerisation means that you can type in the name of a person or a place and it will throw up references to all the archives in South Africa and you get a printout … Before we did research the hard way without short cuts – we had to go from place to place, looking through the actual documents and hoping to find information or just a reference (Margaret Cairns).

Fellow researchers in the Reading Room are often willing to assist new researchers who have similar interests.
When researchers in the Archives share their findings with each other it can be immensely valuable. I was daunted by the task of finding two slave brothers, Leander and Jacobus – not uncommon slave names – who were born in 1819 and 1824, in a slave register of some slaveholder, presumably in the Hottentots Holland area. When I got talking to a fellow-researcher, Jody Sarich of Chicago, it turned out that she had compiled the records of the slaves of the Morkel family of Hottentots Holland and there the brothers were (Ebrahim Rhoda).

Maps and plans

The Archives has a vast collection of maps and plans, both originals and copies. These range in scale from individual farms to the whole of southern Africa. Some were drawn by military engineers and others by travellers; some have place names on them and others mark the names of property owners; some were drawn up by government authorities. For different kinds of questions you need different kinds of maps to provide the answers. For instance, there is a plan of Cape Town showing where cases of plague were reported in 1901 and which houses were disinfected (CA: M4/14).

Property records

You can do a search for references to a property or the people associated with it on the computerised databank in the Archives, NAAIRS (see below).

Cape Town Municipal Archives are in the Cape Archives. The minutes of Council and sub-committee meetings, health department reports and so on, contain a great deal of information about places, and changes in places over time. For example, there are records of trading permits and events on the Grand Parade; trading permits and inspections at the municipal markets; the building of the Fishermen’s Flats in Kalk Bay from the late 1930s (community meetings, health reports etc.); and so on.

Photographs

The Archives houses a number of photographic collections including Elliott, Ravenscroft, Morrison and Jeffreys. You can spend days browsing through the files of black and white prints that line the walls of the Reading Room. Many photographs show houses and their settings but unfortunately for researchers many are not dated. The well-known historian of Cape architecture, Hans Fransen, comments:

It is amazing that a man with Elliott’s reputedly alert mind, and with the persistence to which his collection bears evidence, did not make any field notes of names of farms and their occupants, of dates or initials on gables, of groundplans or interiors of houses – particularly as his studies suggest that he must often have spent hours waiting for optimal lighting conditions. His photographs are all undated, and the negative numbers are not in chronological order; nor, for that matter, are they thematically arranged. … Ten thousand photographs, then, and only that.

(Hans Fransen, A Cape Camera, 1993: 9-10)

National Automated Archival Information Retrieval System (NAAIRS)


The National Automated Archival Information Retrieval System (NAAIRS) is a finding aid to assist you to identify and locate the archival material you need. NAAIRS contains only information about archival material and not the actual texts of documents. There is a separate database for each archives repository of the national and provincial archives services. After identifying the material you need, visit the relevant archives to consult the documents, or request further information or copies where such services are available.

There are also databases for the national registers of non-public records. The National Register of Manuscripts (NAREM) and the National Register of Photographs (NAREF) are in a single database, which also includes information on maps and library material, microfilms and copies in the National
Archives. There is also a database for the National Register of Audio-Visual Material (NAROM). These databases may be consulted in a combined database.

NAAIRS also includes two non-archival databases: heraldic representations registered by the Bureau of Heraldry and genealogical information on gravestones prepared by the South African Genealogical Society.

The databases are:

GEN: Data of the South African Genealogical Society about gravestones
HER: Data of the Bureau of Heraldry on heraldic representations registered
KAB: Cape Town Archives Repository [does not include images – see MAN below]
MAN: National Registers of Manuscripts and Photographs; National Archives' cartographic material, library material and copies
NAB: Pietermaritzburg Archives Repository
OVM: National Register of Audio-Visual Material
ROS: National Register of Oral Sources
RSA: Incorporates all the above
SAB: National Archives Repository (public records of central government since 1910)
TAB: National Archives Repository (public records of former Transvaal province and its predecessors, as well as of magistrates and local authorities)
TBD: Durban Archives Repository
TBE: Port Elizabeth Archives Repository
TBK: Cape Town Records Centre
VAB: Free State Archives Repository.

The Deeds Office and Surveyor-General’s Office

I could happily spend weeks and weekends in the Deeds Office – all that information, the name of the purchaser, the names of the neighbours, and the fascination of knowing that this place had already been named before it was registered (Kathy Schulz).

The Surveyor-General’s Office (SGO) and Deeds Office (DO) are at 90 Plein Street, not far from Parliament. The SGO is on the 9th floor, and here you will find farm and erf numbers and you can search for survey diagrams and ask to have them printed. You can also get them online (see box below). The DO has bound volumes of freehold and quitrent grants and all the transfer deeds made later. The public desk is on the 13th floor.

Resources include property records from the first land grants at the Cape under the VOC to the present, and a big collection of maps and plans, including a plan of Cape Town showing changes from about 1660 to about 1910.

The offices aren’t like a quiet reference library. The opening hours are from 08h30 to early afternoon. It’s a busy place with people coming in and out all the time: lawyers, estate agents, historians, people researching family histories and land claims. The people at the desk will help you order the right maps and plans and volumes so that you can look things up. For advice about working in the Deeds Office, look at *Archives and Archaeology* (1999) by Antonia Malan and Stewart Harris, available on Shell’s CD ‘Changing Hands’, or download from www.vassa.org.za.

Property records from 1660s to now

The property records go back to the first land grants at the Cape under the VOC, so you can make a chronological list of buyers and sellers of properties at the Cape, from the 1660s to the present day. Many survey diagrams have plans of structures on the property.

If you want to look up the history of a property or the buildings on a property, you need the address or preferably the erf number. Then you can find out who was the first person to own the property, who else has owned it, and changes made over the years. The town properties are the most difficult to track because of constant urban subdivision. You can use street directories (at the NLSA) for more information about the household and the street.
The ‘Deeds Book’

Thanks to researchers who have shared the information they gathered from the Deeds Office and elsewhere, you can do a search of the computerised databank (‘Deeds Book’) in the Cape Archives for references to a property or the people associated with it. It is now available on Robert Shell’s CD, ‘Changing Hands’.

- The first historian to collect transcriptions of deeds of grant and transfers in a systematic way was Leonard Guelke in 1970-1971. Guelke’s handwritten ‘Deeds Book’ may well be the most complete record of property transfers from the 1650s to 1795. It does not include the land grants themselves, only the transfers of property.
- Guelke was followed by Anna Böseken and Margaret Cairns (1970-1975) whose work was reproduced in the appendix of Slaves and Free Blacks.
- Their work was followed in 1981-2 by Robert Shell, who worked mainly on the slave transfers, but also took several months to fill in many of the gaps on town properties in Leonard Guelke’s ‘Deeds Book’ or Deeds Calendar.
- That research was followed by research by Leon Hattingh and other staff members of the Institute for Historical Research of the University of the Western Cape.
- Leonard Guelke returned to Cape Town to complete the whole series (1652 to 1795) in 1985. The vast bulk of the transcription has been his work.

Missing or unregistered Deeds Office records?

According to Robert Shell, Leon Hattingh, one of the most careful archival historians in South Africa, was the first to point out that Deeds Office documents were being lost. Hattingh wrote a critique of Anna Böseken’s work in 1979 but later on found that some of the original documents had been lost so he could not do his own transcriptions and was forced to use many of her transcriptions in his own work.

Margaret Cairns discusses a number of cases where property transfers were not registered in the Deeds Office and she had to draw on other archival records to work out who owned the property and when. For example, for the farm Diemersdal in the Tygerberg there were six unregistered owners in about 50 years in the 1700s, and for No.1 Strand Street no transfers were registered for about 90 years up to 1813.

(Margaret Cairns, ‘The Archival Role in establishing the ownership of the land’, 1984)

Surveyor-General’s Office: Survey diagrams
http://csg.dla.gov.za

How to search for scanned images

There are two ways to search for scanned images, using:

- the survey diagram number (search on document number)
- the property description (search on town /region/farm name).

It is easy to look up if you have the survey diagram number (number/date):

- Choose the relevant SG office.
- Under ‘Enter Key (Exact Syntax)’, enter the number as it appears on the referencing document, for example 123/1820 or A123/2005, or in the case of a compilation: JRNQ123 or JR1A12C (upper case, no spaces or dashes or slashes).
- Click on ‘search’.

To look up a property on the description:

- Choose the relevant SG office.
- Choose ‘rural’ or ‘urban’.
- Fill in the information as indicated below that.
- Click on ‘search’.
- Click on the ‘action’ button. (If there is more than one result, choose the correct one here.)
- The next page will give you a document number, page number, document type and a real name.
- Click on the link under ‘real name’.
- Save the file to disk (recommended) or view it directly.
The National Library of South Africa (NLSA)

The NLSA is at the bottom of the Company Gardens, behind St George’s Cathedral. As a legal deposit library, it keeps a copy of every book and many of the magazines, newspapers and pamphlets published in South Africa. As a reference library it does not lend material but any adult can spend time reading in the big reading room. Entrance is free but you need an identity document to register, and cash for a locker deposit.

Street directories and almanacs, 1800-1902

A full set of directories and almanacs, 1800-1902, is available at the National Library of South Africa (NLSA). The most useful are:

- **1801-1827**: *The African Court Calendar (De Afrikaansche Staatsalmanak)*: from 1810 the calendars list the principal inhabitants of the Cape.
- **1828-1835**: *The South African Almanack and Directory* (George Greig): from 1830 it includes a ground-plan of Cape Town, based on Thompson’s 1827 plan and from 1832 lithographs by H.C. de Meillon of important Cape buildings.
- **1836-1850**: Continuation of *SA Almanack and Directory* (B.J. van de Sandt); from 1841 named *The Cape of Good Hope Almanac and Annual Register*.
- **1852-1863**: Continuation of above (B.J. van de Sandt de Villiers, then J. Noble).
- **1865-1867**: Continuation of above (C. Goode), under title of *The Cape Town Directory*.
- **1868-1897**: Taken over by Saul Solomon and Co. with various name changes, e.g. *The Argus Annual*.
- **1832-54**: *De Kaapsche Almanak en Naamboek* (J. Suasso de Lima). De Lima’s 1855 *Almanac* is the most comprehensive list of Cape Town inhabitants, listed street by street: he claimed he had ‘not left unvisited a single house, situated in any nook or corner, street, gracht, lane, passage, court or yard’ (Worden et al 1998:159).
- **1897**: *Juta’s Directory of Cape Town and Suburbs*.
- **1899-1927**: *Juta’s Directory of Cape Town and Simon’s Town*.
- **1910 until today**: *Official South African Municipal Year Book*, an indispensable source of information about cities and towns.

1800: Based on the 1800 ward census (CA: J37) Rosenthal (1969) compiled the first published directory which listed residents street by street, and Heese (1983) added to this. 1833: The Cape Town Directory for 1833 is reproduced in Cor Pama’s (1975) *Regency Cape Town*, and lists inhabitants alphabetically by surname.

Some properties may be difficult to trace because of gaps or inconsistencies in the original sources. You will find that the names of owners and occupants of buildings and business proprietors don’t always match other records. Over the years street names and numbers have changed so you need a significant landmark (like a church) on or near the block you are researching to help you work out how the street numbers have changed.

The Goad Insurance Plans

The Goad Insurance Plans cover the central business area of Cape Town. Because they were made for insurance purposes (e.g. against fire), the plans show construction details (number of storeys, roof type, wall type, door and window openings, etc.), and what the property was used for (store, retail, dwelling, lodgings, etc.). As each plan was updated (five volumes between 1895 and 1966), new building details and occupants were added. Each time people request copies from the Library the pages have gradually been digitised for public use.
Photographic collection

The NLSA has a big collection of photographs (and some newspapers), some catalogued according to place. You can look in the catalogue for specific buildings (e.g. St Mary’s Cathedral, the Slave Church, Livingstone High School) or areas (e.g. Woodstock, Rondebosch, Langa) or spaces (e.g. Salt River Market, Grand Parade, Green Point Common). Speak to the librarians about what you are researching.

Please don’t hesitate to speak to staff members. It’s the best way to start using the library – whether you are a professor or a beginner researcher ... we’d like to meet you and talk before you start your research here. Once we know your interests, we can help you find sources ... By the way, we’re pleased to have speakers of all three regional languages on our staff.

(Najwa Hendrickse, NLSA librarian)

Chief Directorate Surveys and Mapping
http://w3sl.wcape.gov.za/

The Chief Directorate of Surveys and Mapping, the government agency responsible for aerial photography, has an archive of aerial photographs dating back to the 1930s and has covered the whole country since the 1950s. These are all vertical aerial photographs taken from aircraft, at different scales. The photographs and the maps are re-done at regular intervals. You can visit their office in Rhodes Avenue, Mowbray (021 6584300), during working hours, or see what they have available online and order by email using their online form.

The first aerial photographs produced by the Chief Directorate of Surveys and Mapping (then known as Trig Survey), in the early 1930s, were of the Cape Peninsula area at a scale of 1:25,000. The originals have been reproduced to mark the 80th anniversary and it’s interesting to compare the Peninsula then and now.

Most people find aerial photographs easier to interpret than standard maps which show only lines. An aerial photograph shows almost all the detail: open land and built-up areas, hills, rivers, streets, buildings etc. You can’t make accurate measurements on the photograph but you can interpret for yourself what exists on the ground. Aerial photographs are also an historic record of what existed at the time the photograph was taken.

Most aerial photographs are black and white but some areas are in colour. Modern aerial photographs are a standard contact size of 23 x 23cm. Enlargements of up to three times a photograph area are available. You can buy overlapping stereopairs for stereo viewing as a three-dimensional image.

Different maps for different purposes

The 1:10,000 orthophoto maps cover all metropolitan and peri-urban areas and growth areas – about 25% of the country. These maps combine all the advantages of conventional line maps and aerial photography. The photographic background has been rectified to remove image displacements and enlarged to a scale of 1:10,000. Accurate measurements can be made on the map – which can’t be done on a conventional aerial photograph. Cartographic elements have been added: a co-ordinate grid, contours and spot heights, place names and route numbers. Orthophoto maps are useful for detailed planning and analysis of what exists on the ground. They are available as ammonia-developed prints on either paper or opaque film or as bromide prints on photographic paper.

The 1:500,000 topo-admin maps:
- give similar information to the 1:250,000 maps but not cadastral information
- show magisterial districts
- are used for national and regional planning
- are used for route planning and travelling.
The 23 sheets of this series are more generalised and less detailed than the 1:250,000 sheets and generally cover the area of four such sheets or 2 degrees of latitude and 4 degrees of longitude.

The 1:250,000 topo-cadastral sheets/maps:
- show topographical features (but in less detail)
- show cadastral detail: names, numbers and boundaries of original farms, the boundaries of magisterial districts, and provincial and international boundaries
- show elevation by means of contours at 100m intervals, with shades of brown becoming progressively darker as elevation increases
- are essential for regional planning and administration.

These sheets are generally derived from the larger scale 1:50,000 topographical maps but only show the more important features. 70 maps of this series cover South Africa with each sheet generally covering an area of one degree of latitude and two degrees of longitude.

The 1:50,000 topographical maps, the largest scale maps, provide full coverage of South Africa. The series consists of 1,916 sheets. They accurately show the location of natural and man-made features by means of symbols and colour, and elevation by means of spot heights and contours (20m interval), as well as place names, boundaries, magnetic data, etc. These maps contain essential information for planning and decision making but also have many other uses. The 1:50,000 topographical maps are generally compiled from aerial photographs. A standard 1:50,000 map sheet covers a rectangle of 15 minutes of latitude by 15 minutes of longitude or approximately 640 square kilometres.

The series of provincial maps provides a map of each province on a single sheet. The maps show cities, towns, smaller urban centres, district/regional councils, rural local government councils and magisterial districts, as well as the main road and rail networks, main rivers and dams, nature reserves and airports. The maps are mainly used for administrative purposes.

Digital maps, as raster images, are produced as digital copies of the printed maps at scales 1:50,000, 1:250,000 and other scales. The raster images are produced as by-products from the computer-assisted cartographic system. These map images are most useful as ‘backdrops’ in various applications such as navigation systems.

Many people can’t read maps but they can read aerial photographs which show fields, trees, rivers and the shape of the mountains, and have a three-dimensional quality. Oblique aerial photos are really useful. Take a modern aerial photo and an old one and you can read the landscape to see historical patterns (Sarah Winter).

University of Cape Town: Specialised libraries and Centre for Popular Memory

The African Studies Library, Manuscripts and Archives, and the Built Environment Library at UCT have copies of Africana, local publications, information such as street directories, special architectural collections, building/area studies, photographic collections, and much more. (See www.lib.uct.ac.za.) Members of the public who wish to use the Chancellor Oppenheimer Library (COL, previously known as Jagger Library) just once or for a few visits, may do so at a cost of R30 per day. You need an identity document with a photograph. Researchers wishing to consult specialist resources, such as the African Studies Library, Government Publications, Rare Books and Special Collections, and Manuscripts and Archives, may do so free of charge, by arrangement with the head of the relevant section. For access to the Built Environment Library, phone 021 6502370 or 021 6504455.

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8 For information on libraries and relevant research institutes at the University of Stellenbosch, University of the Western Cape (UWC) and Cape Peninsula University of Technology, see their websites. Examples would be the Stellenbosch University Archives; JS Gericke Library (James Walton Collection), and PLAAS (Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies) at UWC.
Manuscripts and Archives

Manuscripts and Archives holds these Architectural Collections, among other treasures:

- BC 1205  Denis Verschoyle Papers
- BC 1311  Dirk Visser Papers
- BC 831  Drummond Chaplin Collection
- BC 1243  Elsworth/Herbert Baker Collection
- BC 605  Fleming Collection
- BC 904  George Aschman Collection
- BC 968  Graham Viney Papers
- BC 326  Hawke and McKinlay
- BC 1217  Jack Barnett Papers
- BC 953  Kaspar Arendt Papers
- BC 644  Langham-Carter Papers
- BC 1074  Pryce-Lewis/ Parker Collection
- BC 353  Thornton-White Papers – additions
- BC 1000  Valkenburg Restoration Papers
- BC 318  Walgate and Elsworth Collection
- BC 677  WWW Wendland Papers
- BC 206  Baker Collection: 1890-1930s:
  This is a large collection of Victorian architectural drawings from the firm of Sir Herbert Baker, his partners F.Masey, F.K.Kendall, J.Morris and their successors, covering the period 1890-1930s. It includes correspondence, building specifications, photographs, newspaper clippings etc. A wide range of buildings are featured in the collection from public to domestic buildings. Cathedrals, churches, banks, schools, office buildings, foreman’s cottages and seaside villas are included; as well as sketches of designs for furniture and garden layout. Examples of some major Cape Town projects are Groote Schuur, St George’s Cathedral and Rhodes Memorial. (See also Fleming Collection BC605 and Church of the Province of South Africa Collection).

The Built Environment Library

This library (in the School of Architecture and Planning, Centlivres Building, on University Avenue) has many important sources including large-scale architectural surveys of the City of Cape Town and its suburbs, surveys of other settlements that have been undertaken since the 1970s for conservation and planning purposes, and studies of individual buildings. Examples are:

- Rondebosch, Sea and Green Point, and Franschhoek, by Fabio Todeschini and Derek and Vivienne Japha
- The Central City by a team led by John Rennie
- District Six by the Cape Technikon (Pistorius 2002)
- Grand Parade and the East City
- Precinct of Parliament
- Wetton/Landsdowne Corridor by Lucien le Grange
- Moravian Mission Stations and Genadendal by Lucien le Grange.

Several of these surveys are also in the African Studies Library. Studies by government departments are listed under Government Publications.

Centre for Popular Memory

The Centre for Popular Memory in the Department of Historical Studies at UCT has valuable sources on people’s memories and experience of places in Cape Town. It aims ‘to make the invisible spaces and unrecorded stories of people in Cape Town visible’, through exhibitions, community radio, publications, soundscapes and the web, as well as public access to its archive. Training and support
to community-based researchers is integral to this work. (Phone 021-6504758/9, website www.populationmemory.org.)

The CPM archive has more than 2,100 hours of one-on-one interviews in five languages. Audio originals and transcripts are housed in Manuscripts and Archives (see above). Catalogued, data-based copies and mini DV and video interviews are stored at the CPM in the Beattie Building at UCT. There is also a visual archive of photos, diaries, performances and documents.

Sources on places in Cape Town include:
• 44 interviews on forced removals from Ntabeni and Blouvlei and 80 interviews on forced removals in the Northern suburbs of Mamre-Atlantis
• ‘Umqomboti, utywala and lucky stars: stories of liquor in Langa between 1930 and 1980’
• ‘Imini zakudala: Guguletu elders remember’ exploring social trauma experienced by residents during the unrest of the 1980s
• ‘Street Stories: Space and Memory in Cape Town’: interviews with over 400 people, 2005-2007, about living and working along the three arterial roads of Cape Town, Main Road, Klipfontein Road and Lansdowne Road.

Work in progress, 2007-2010, includes ‘Digital-Divide’. Through this project learners and teachers from ten local schools are taught to conduct oral history interviews in their communities, school libraries receive digitised copies, and learners are taught to create web pages with their interviews in multilingual galleries with text, audio and images, to be hosted on the CPM server.

SA Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA);
Heritage Western Cape;
Heritage Resources Section, City of Cape Town

This section is not a guide for restorers or for Heritage Impact Assessments, but we hope it will prove useful to people who are concerned about heritage buildings and places and sites of memory, and how to conserve and care for them.

The national South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) and the provincial agency, Heritage Western Cape (HWC), are responsible for implementing the National Heritage Resources Act (No.25 of 1999). This is the legislation for identifying, proclaiming and conserving places as heritage sites, including places of intangible heritage. Communities and local and provincial authorities need the know-how and the initiative to act at local and regional level.

SAHRA national head office (021 4624502) is at 111 Harrington Street (www.sahra.org.za) and SAHRA Western Cape office (021 4245026) is at 212 Buitengracht, Bo-Kaap. HWC head office (021 4839695) is in the Protea Assurance Building, Greenmarket Square (www.capegateway.gov.za).

At local level, for instance in the City of Cape Town, various zoning schemes define property rights and areas of special character. In certain areas the zoning scheme provides for management of new development work, alterations and additions to the built fabric, and protection of mature trees and hedges. The Heritage Resources Section of the City of Cape Town and planning offices are in the Civic Centre Tower Block.

Resources at SAHRA

The SAHRA archives contain existing heritage conservation records generated by SAHRA and its predecessors, including information about all heritage sites and any other places and objects with which SAHRA and its predecessors have been involved. You can arrange public access to SAHRA’s Registry of heritage conservation records – ‘provided that the information may be withheld if its disclosure may impact negatively on the privacy or economic interests of the owner or any person with an interest in a property, or a potential investor, or on the continued conservation of a heritage resource’.

SAHRA library provides a service to the staff and councillors of SAHRA, as well as bona fide researchers from various disciplines but you need to make an appointment. Contact library@sahra.org.za. SAHRA has a number of useful publications, such as the ‘Heritage Surveying, Interviewing and
Mapping Kit’ (2006) prepared by Lesley Freedman Townsend. Copies are available on request from SAHRA’s head office in Cape Town.

Resources at Heritage Western Cape

Heritage Western Cape (HWC) is responsible for promoting co-operation between national, provincial and local authorities for identifying, conserving and managing heritage resources for all communities in the Western Cape. There are three committees:

- The Built Environment and Landscape Committee (BELCom) is responsible for considering applications for permits and approvals including formally declaring provincial heritage sites, heritage areas, public monuments and memorials, and structures older than 60 years. The Committee also considers proposals about heritage resource management for certain categories of development, and comments on applications in terms of the Environmental Conservation Act, 73 of 1989.
- The Archaeology, Palaeontology and Meteorites Permit Committee (APMCom) is responsible for considering applications for permits related to archaeological and palaeontological sites and meteorites in the Western Cape.
- An Appeal Committee has been appointed to meet on an ad hoc basis when appeals are received.

‘Cultural landscape’ and ‘conservation planning’

During the 1990s new concepts such as ‘cultural landscape’ and ‘conservation planning’ were introduced into the surveying process, which meant that wider environmental and community factors had to be considered. These concepts are embedded in the National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999, but it has taken years to develop the necessary guidelines and skills to implement what the law intended: to identify heritage resources and assess the impact of developments on these. The National Heritage Register or database was implemented only from 2007.

The heritage resources database ... will be a tool for heritage management for all levels of government and the general public. ... For the needs and values of communities to be recognised and acknowledged in heritage practice, community participation in the identification of culturally important sites is essential

(Lesley Freedman Townsend, architect at SAHRA, 2006).

Heritage surveying, interviewing and mapping

The SAHRA ‘Heritage Surveying, Interviewing and Mapping Kit’ explains step by step how to carry out a heritage survey and how to find the necessary information. It provides people with the skills to learn about their history and the tangible and intangible environment, and to determine what is culturally valuable.

What are community surveys?

A community survey is an inventory (database) of places, oral histories and maps. Usually, the idea of undertaking a survey starts with a small group of people who are interested in local history and culture, people who recognise that knowing about our heritage and finding ways of memorialising it helps us to define our cultural identity.

Why do we need to do a survey?

Each community has its own views on heritage and what makes its heritage unique: knowing who we are and the past which formed us. A survey extends community awareness and celebration of its heritage; promotes new research into rich traditions; serves as a body of knowledge and information for the community and for educators, writers, artists, tourism; helps with planning and management; helps protect significant places; drives new proposals for social and economic development; encourages partnerships and exchanges.
Who is the responsible authority?

When you are undertaking a survey in an urban area, it is essential to make contact with the local and provincial authorities. Tell the planning department at the local municipality and the provincial heritage resources agency (Heritage Western Cape) that you intend to do a survey. Ask them for guidelines and standard recording forms. Try to include a representative from these authorities in the group.

Declaring a local or regional heritage place

The completed survey is sent to the Provincial Manager of SAHRA Western Cape, who will evaluate it and discuss the appropriate conservation measures with the survey group, the community and authorities. Declaration as a ‘Heritage Area’ is suitable for groups of sites and areas that, together, are regarded as of heritage value and interest. A ‘Protected Area’ is a buffer zone around a national heritage site, for example to protect the views, or the debris scattered around a shipwreck. The City of Cape Town can declare ‘Urban Conservation Areas’ and ‘Special Areas’.

Heritage Resources, City of Cape Town

According to Melanie Attwell, formerly heritage planner at the heritage resources section, City of Cape Town, urban conservation is not only about architecture and buildings but increasingly about protecting the character of an area, relationships between landscapes and people, and cultural value and significance. Qualities that add value to the urban environment – memories, character and what reinforces this character – are also worthy of conservation. This includes sites associated with traditions, historic events, cultural landscapes, historic places and settlements, sacred places and landmark features.

Currently, Cape Town has 32 ‘urban conservation’ (heritage) areas. If you own property in conservation area, you were probably drawn there by its special character and would be reluctant to change it yourself or see others do so. Fortunately, urban conservation areas are governed by Section 108 of the Zoning Scheme so any structural changes (alterations, new buildings and demolitions) have to get special approval. Changes are permitted, as long as they respect and fit in with the character of the area.

There are also ‘special areas’ that are regarded as not quite warranting conservation status, such as Harfield Village. For ‘special areas’, design and planning guidelines have been developed to retain the qualities that make the area interesting (e.g. scale of the buildings and their relationship to the street edge).

Misty Cliffs/Scarborough is a ‘special area’ that is managed as a conservancy. Simon Baxter-Elliott, consulting town planner, explains that a conservancy is a voluntary commitment by landowners to abide by conservancy guidelines – supported by a constitution, management plan and management committee and registered with Western Cape Nature Conservation Board. Most of the people who moved to the area did so because of its natural features and want to protect those.

Postscript
Going public: Sharing research

Some isolated surveys of specific towns have been undertaken over recent decades, but, regrettably, few have been published and made easily accessible.


A wealth of information about places at the Cape (and throughout South Africa) has been gathered in terms of enlightened legislation such as the Land Restitution Act and the National Heritage Resources Act introduced since 1994. It is important that this information, painstakingly researched (often at taxpayers’ expense), should not be ‘lost to history’ but made publicly accessible now, and preserved for posterity.

Who might want to access these resources? The ‘detective stories’ in Section 8 give some examples of local museums and libraries, community based researchers and research groups, keen to research places and people in their local communities and to share their research.

The new high school history curriculum means that teachers need study material on heritage resources to set projects for their learners. Jean Bottaro, Pippa Visser and Nigel Worden, In Search of History, Grade 11 (2006), suggest in the section on heritage and presentation of the past that learners do a survey of street names or buildings in their areas. For Grade 12 (2007), in the section on ideologies and debates about heritage, the learners are tasked with doing a Heritage Impact Assessment. Teachers, learners and practitioners in Museum and Heritage Studies, or those in cultural tourism, could also make use of information from Land Claims research and HIAs.

Public access to Land Claims research

To substantiate claims for land restitution an enormous amount of research was needed, especially where documentation was lacking. The final date for the submission of Land Claims to the Commission was 31 December 1998. A great deal of information about communities and the places where they lived is to be found attached to applications for Land Claims, which sometimes include transcripts of oral testimonies.

The Southern Cape stories in Section 8 give a sense of the complexity and the immense value of Land Claims research reports (Kathy Schulz, ‘Tracing the history of dispossessed rural communities: Prince Albert, Slangrivier, Knysna, Dysseldorp, Blanco/Watsondorp, Suikerbult, Lawaaikamp and Covie’). Some fortunate researchers have been able to access land claims research. For Stanford 150: Portrait of a village, Annalize Mouton had access via a government office. For research on Protea Village, which is mentioned in passing in this book, the claimants had a copy of the research report and shared it with researchers at the District Six Museum. But generally, researchers are either not aware of the wealth of information available in Land Claims research reports or have not been able to gain access to them.

Where do HIAs go?

In terms of the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA), the nation, provinces and local municipalities are tasked with making inventories of their ‘tangible and intangible heritage’ resources. For example, a big multi-disciplinary team spent months making a heritage inventory of the precinct of Parliament. This included a timeline and research report on how people have used spaces within and around that precinct from pre-colonial times to the present; the history of the buildings and public spaces; and the history of protests in public spaces within and around that precinct from the 19th century to the present.

Before permission may be given for alterations or for demolitions to buildings over 60 years old
and within conservation areas, and for certain new developments, the Act requires a Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA). Professional heritage practitioners – such as architects, planners, historians, archaeologists and others – are contracted to assess the impact that the proposed change might have on tangible and intangible heritage, including the cultural landscape. They are required to do this ‘in consultation with interested and affected stakeholders’ and a process of public participation is part of the brief.

A number of stories in Section 8 give a taste of research done for HIAs: ‘District One: The Cape Quarter’ and ‘Porter Estate, Tokai: Layers of history’ by Antonia Malan; ‘Historical Precinct in the heart of Somerset West’ by Antonia Malan and Carohn Cornell; and ‘The mission village of Saron: Memory of water’ by Sarah Winter.

Public access to research material gathered during the HIA would seem to be a logical extension of the public participation process but, if there is access, it is usually through personal networks.

Every stage of an HIA contains valuable research material about places but what happens to that research material, to all the documentation from the public participation processes, the pamphlets and posters and other documents, the powerpoint presentations? It seems that many end up in a cupboard somewhere but they should be copied and archived in book form. In fact, shouldn’t it be built into the quote for every HIA and similar process: three extra copies, for SAHRA library, for the NLSA and for the local library, plus a copy for the Cape Archives if archives material was used? And what about informing the local ratepayers’ and heritage associations? Make it mandatory!

(Remarks from a conversation between heritage practitioners, 2008)

HIAs are also done as part of Environmental Impact Assessments (under the National Environmental Management Act), and end up in a different department altogether. However, the Archaeology section of SAHRA is digitizing all the Archaeology Impact Assessment reports that have been submitted in terms of the permits that archaeologists require for doing excavations.
References

The Bibliography lists the books, articles and other sources that are referred to in Places at the Cape, in alphabetical order. CDs are listed separately, followed by Abbreviations.

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CDs

TEPC: ‘Cape Transcripts’ (available from info@sentrum.co.za).

TANAP: ‘Resolutions of the Council of Policy of the Cape of Good Hope’ (available from info@sentrum.co.za).


Abbreviations

ACO Archaeology Contracts Office, UCT

ANC African National Congress

APMCOM Archaeology, Palaeontology and Meteorites Permit Committee, HWC

BELCOM Built Environment and Landscapes Committee, HWC

CA Cape Archives (Western Cape Archives & Records Service)

CBD Central Business District

CDB Community Development Board

CJ Council of Justice

COL Chancellor Oppenheimer Library (Jagger Library)

CPIA Cape Provincial Institute for Architects (now Cape Institute for Architecture)

CPM Centre for Popular Memory, UCT

CSRF Cultural Sites and Resources Forum

DLA Department of Land Affairs

DO Deeds Office

DEIC Dutch East India Company (VOC)

GSSA Genealogical Society of South Africa

HARG Historical Archaeology Research Group, UCT

HIA Heritage Impact Assessment

HSRC Human Sciences Resources Council

HWC Heritage Western Cape

IJR Institute for Justice and Reconciliation

MOOC Master of the Orphan Chamber

NEUM Non-European Unity Movement

NGO Non-Government Organisation

NAAIRS National Automated Archival Information Retrieval System

NHRA National Heritage Resources Act (no.25 of 1999)

NLSA National Library of South Africa

NMC National Monuments Council / Commission (now SAHRA)

OCF Old Cape Freeholds

OSF Old Stellenbosch Freeholds

PAC Pan African Congress

RDP Reconstruction and Development Programme

SABC South African Broadcasting Corporation

SAHRA South African Heritage Resource Agency

SANParks South African National Parks

SCAR Southern Cape Against Removals

SGO Surveyor-General’s Office

SO Slave Office

TANAP Towards a New Age of Partnership

TEPC Transcription of Estate Papers at the Cape of Good Hope

TRC Truth and Reconciliation Commission

UCT University of Cape Town

UNESCO United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNISA University of South Africa

UWC University of the Western Cape

VASSA Vernacular Architecture Society of South Africa

VOC Vereenigde Oost-Indiesche Compagnie (Dutch East India Company)