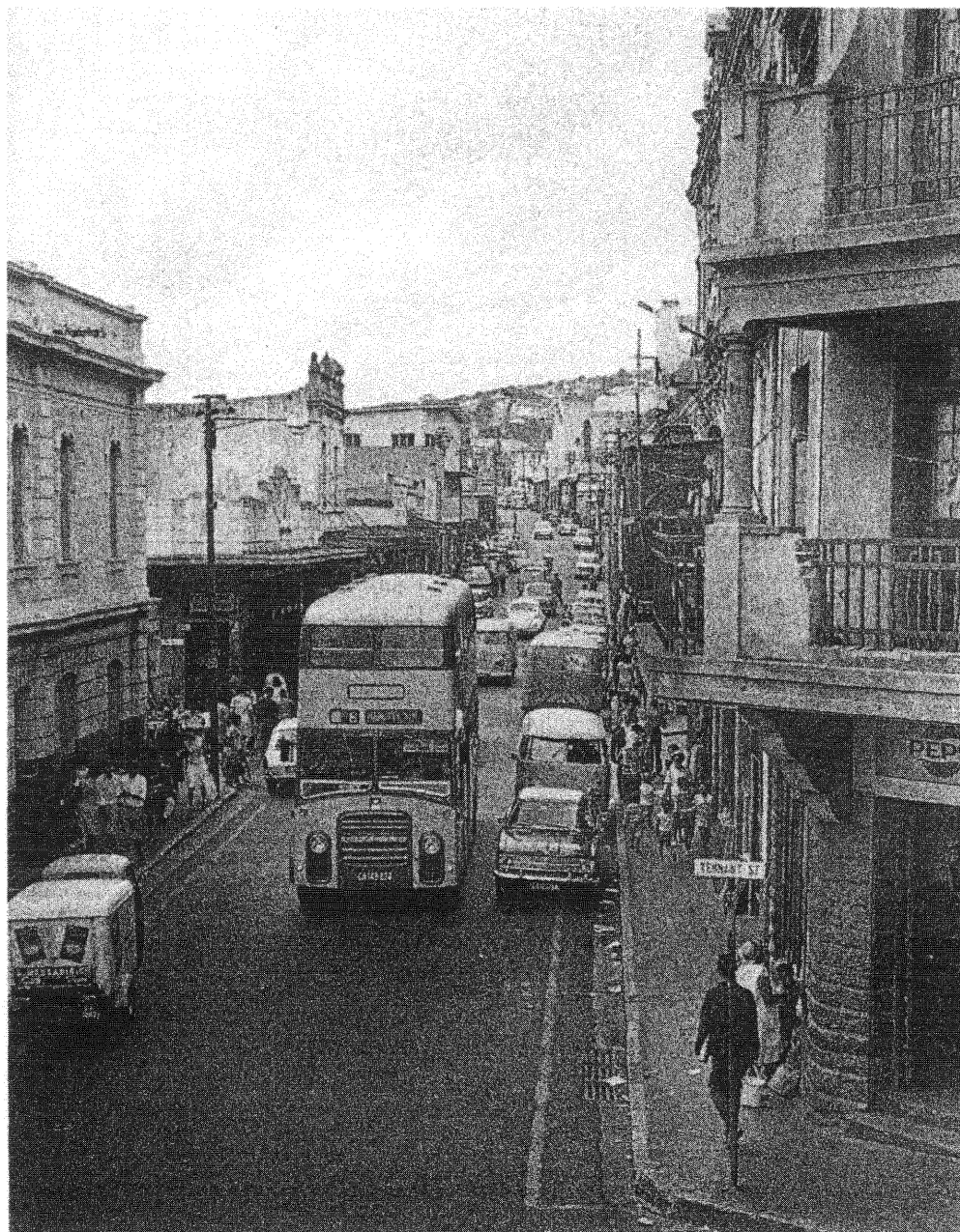


9/2/08/154

DISTRICT SIX

HERITAGE IMPACT ASSESSMENT (HIA)



May 2003

Lucien le Grange, Architects & Urban Planners

1 Albert Road, Mowbray, 7700 / P.O. Box 22, Woodstock

Tel (021) 686-7047/8 Fax (021) 685-7214

E-mail: lgarchts@africa.com

3.0 ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT

(Note: This Section has been prepared by Antonia Malan, Archaeology Contracts Office, UCT).

3.1 General Principles

Most of District Six is potentially an archaeological site. This has legal, practical and financial implications. Legally, structures over 60 years old, archaeological sites and burials are protected and permission is required for intervention. The decision-making process includes a sequence of pre-disturbance research and assessment procedures. Practically and financially it is not feasible to investigate and record each and every site. However, it should be understood that a permit has to be obtained for the disturbance or destruction of any archaeological site, and once destroyed the archaeological record can never be regained. In terms of valuing our archaeological heritage, and with the best interests of the community in mind, the general principle should be to identify, assess and grade sites/ places so that a sense of significance, vulnerability and priorities is established.

3.2 General Procedures

There are general principles that apply to all impacts on the area, but some heritage places will be selected as more significant than others, and a few may require special treatment. The following pre-disturbance (preferably pre-planning) archaeological impact assessment procedures should be applied to all projects associated with the redevelopment of the area:

- find out what was on the site (Archaeology Phase One);
- make an assessment of archaeological significance(s);
- correlate this assessment with other heritage indicators, i.e. vested in the Act and vested in community values;
- decide if:
 - there is clearly nothing worthy of archaeological investigation, or
 - any or all clearing or construction should be monitored, or
 - there is or may be something important enough to merit further pre-disturbance examination or excavation (archaeology phase two), or
 - the site should not be touched at all.

Mitigation

Once it has been agreed that the project can proceed in principle (i.e. the site will be impacted in one way or another), it is necessary to assess what preparations or interventions would be appropriate to deal with the archaeological record. In this case, consider:

- further archival research;
- the conducting of a test excavation;
- the conducting of a partial excavation;
- a full excavation;
- monitoring of works at all times;
- occasional monitoring of works (daily, weekly, monthly); or
- notification if something found, at discretion of project manager.

Potential

In the redevelopment of the area, consider what archaeology can contribute towards the redevelopment process and during construction. While archaeological remains have value for academic research purposes, more importantly they also have potential social values in terms of their association with community history and memorialisation. Consider the collection of:

- tangible artefacts (e.g. for analysis, interpretation, display);
- physical remnants of living memories;
- historical background;
- education / training opportunities;
- community participation opportunities, and,
- local knowledge archive, and,

If the area is to be divided into precincts, there is an opportunity to include an archaeological research project in each precinct. The site itself, and/or its interpretation in the form of a display, then becomes a core feature integrated into the design of public space in the precinct. Suitable sites for excavation could then be selected by I&APs in consultation with the archaeologists.

3.3 Previous Archaeological Work

ACO Assessment of state-owned land in 1995

The Archaeology Contracts Office (ACO), Department of Archaeology, UCT (ACO 1996), carried out a general archaeological surface survey of Open State Land in 1995. On the basis of a field survey and historical maps and documents, the report assessed and graded the potential of the areas surveyed and provided a list of apparently well-preserved blocks (see Fig. 33).

The study included the identification of archaeological priority areas, preliminary identification of potential landmarks and significant sites, preparation of maps and other documentary material to verify site investigation, preparation of maps indicating levels of disturbance and/ or destruction, and a summary of the existing remains (including historical road surfaces). No test excavations were conducted. The database assembled on the archaeological potential of District Six was based on the original road/ block grid system and then mapped with modern street alignments overlaid. Little has changed since then to merit extensive re-evaluation, except a new Technikon sports field and perhaps some City of Cape Town Council work.

Significant sites

The ACO suggested that some of the following sites/ features are potentially important to the original community, while others are of general archaeological and historical interest (especially those dating to the 18th and early 19th century, beyond the reach of living memory). It should be noted that the archaeological remains of a number of highly significant heritage places, such as the intersection of five streets at Hanover and Tennant and nearby public buildings, have been destroyed since the removals period (ACO 1996). The following issues and elements are of concern (letter/ number codes refer to the maps in the ACO report):

- the remaining street fabric (e.g. kerb stones, cobbles);
- the old stream channels (viz. historical maps);
- any drains and wells (if exposed by construction);
- sites of relatively high archaeological potential, include:

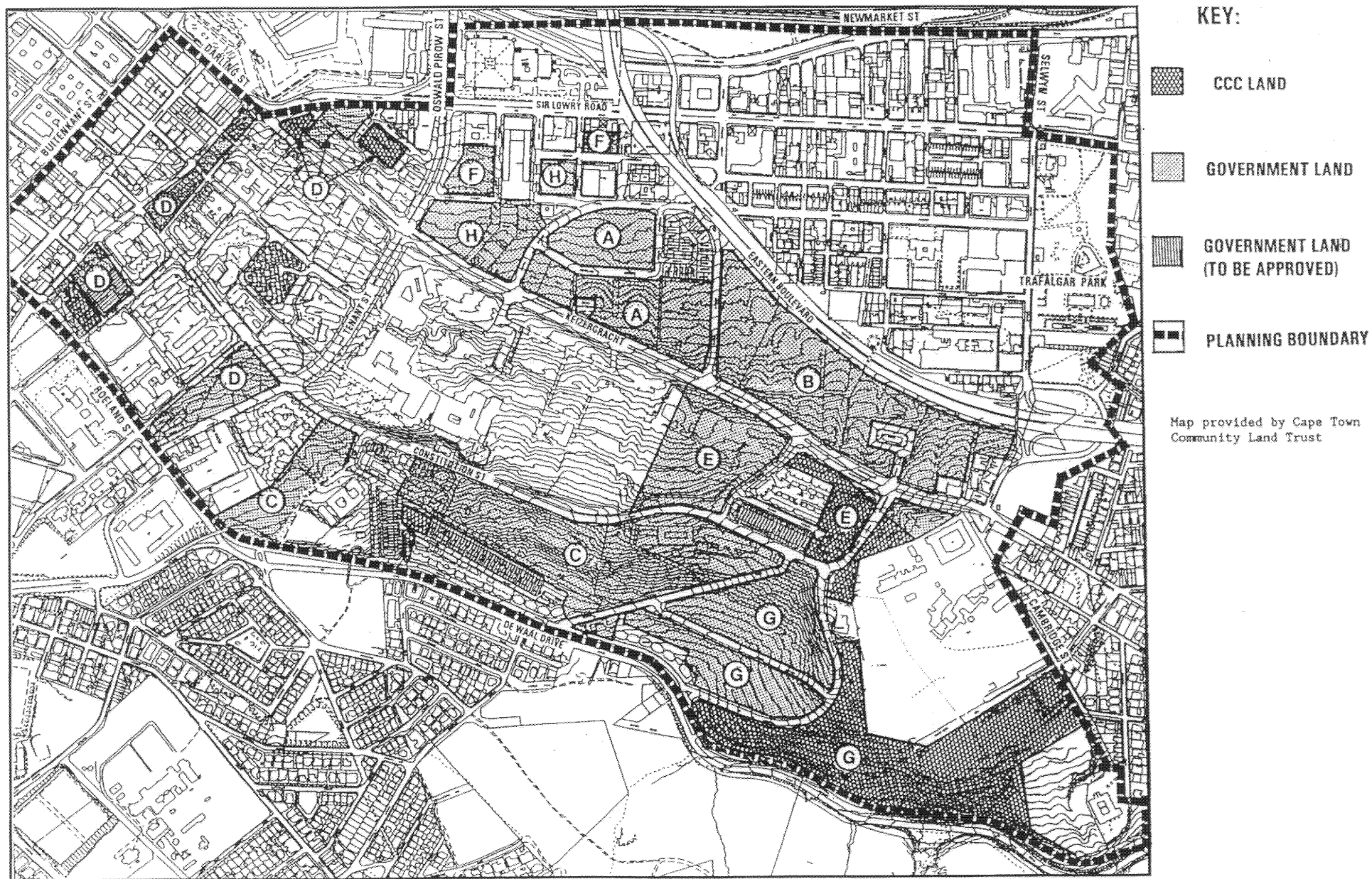


Figure 33: Study Area, Archaeology Contracts Office (UCT) Map, circa 1995.

- o Late 18th century structures (Welgelegen, Bloemhof, Hope Lodge), covered drain, buried stream (D4, D15);
- o 18th-19th century intersection, upper portions of Hanover Street at old entrance to Zonnebloem (blocks E10/E11);
- o 19th century structures, watercourse, middens (A2, A4, D1, D2, D10, D11, D12, F1, F2);
- o 19th-20th century residential structures (A3, A14, A15, B2, B5, B10, B11, B13, B14, B21, C2, C3, G5);
- o 20th century structures, waterworks, cinema (B6, B22, E5), and,
- block D11 requires professional excavation of a sample of the stratified *in situ* deposit to supplement previous salvage work in Tennant Street.

Considerations

In the redevelopment of the District Six area, the following considerations need to be taken into account:

- re-establishing the streets, along with their names and in their original alignments, where possible;
- reclaiming and retaining the granite kerb stones, cobbles and stone gutters; e.g. an old gutter runs down Roger Street and was unearthed during excavations, which probably dates back to the time when the street was constructed of cobbles and they may still exist beneath the modern tarred road surface;
- supporting the idea of the District Six Museum to establish a Memorial Park in District Six, as part of the redevelopment process of the area. With the pending development and re-occupation of all the open land for housing of claimants and associated development, there will be no sense left of the destruction that took place. The Horstley Street Memorial Park proposal would be to acknowledge the events that took place and in so doing contribute to the process of healing. While it is acknowledged that this would involve the use of valuable land that is in short supply, and such a venture would be costly, the ACO recommends that this proposal be given serious consideration;
- that the archaeological sites excavated in Horstley Street and Stuckeris Street be considered as 'open site museums', and,
- the need to judge the archaeological potential of other sites, possibly by test excavation. The process of selection should involve all stakeholders, including the District Six Beneficiary Trust, SAHRA, PHRA, City of Cape Town and other interested and affected parties.

Excavations/ Salvage

Between January 1996 and August 1999 archaeologists from the Department of Archaeology at the University of Cape Town conducted three studies. Sites in Horstley Street, Stuckeris Street and Tennant Street were historically researched, salvaged or excavated, and interpreted in some detail (Malan & Soudien 2002).

The Horstley Street site has already been earmarked for inclusion in a Memorial Park and was integrated into the exhibit, Digging Deeper, at the District Six Museum. Excavations exposed two units in a row of houses built in the 1890s at the upper end of the street. Detailed archival research placed the street and the neighbourhood into historical context (van Heyningen & Malan 2001).

The Stuckeris Street site is in the neighbouring block to the Pilot Project. House foundations were exposed and a sequence of building and occupation/ use was described. First constructed in the 1860s, the building was extended and adapted through time as it the area became more densely populated.

The Tennant Street site provided education opportunities for local school children and history teachers. An aborted development on the site resulted in large artefact-rich spoil heaps being abandoned beside

the foundation holes. The artefacts were salvaged by school children under the supervision of student and post-grad archaeologists (Klose & Malan 2001). The 18th and 19th century architectural and social history of the block bounded by Hanover Street, Tennant Street, Wicht Street and Rotten Row was historically researched (Malan et al 1999).

3.4 Pilot Project

ACO survey of block A1

The block was partially developed by 1862 and mainly residential in 1898. By 1944 it was fully developed with a mixture of residential and commercial properties. Roger Street's cobbles are still visible. The ACO gave it a medium archaeological potential rating (see Fig. 34).

BLOCK: A1

Street Name	Visibility	Damage	Surface	Pavements	Gutter
Chapel	Modernised: in use as Chapel Street	-	New	-	-
Stuckeris	None*	Unknown	Tar	None Visible	None Visible
Roger	All	Partial	Tar**	None Visible	None Visible
Rutger	Modernised: In use as Aspeling Street	-	-	-	-

* Stuckeris Street probably exists but is covered.

** Cobbles are probably present under the tar.

(see Archaeology Contracts Office, Department of Archaeology, University of Cape Town, *Excavations in District Six: A residential property at the corner of Stuckens and Roger Streets*, January 1966, Appendix A, page 1).

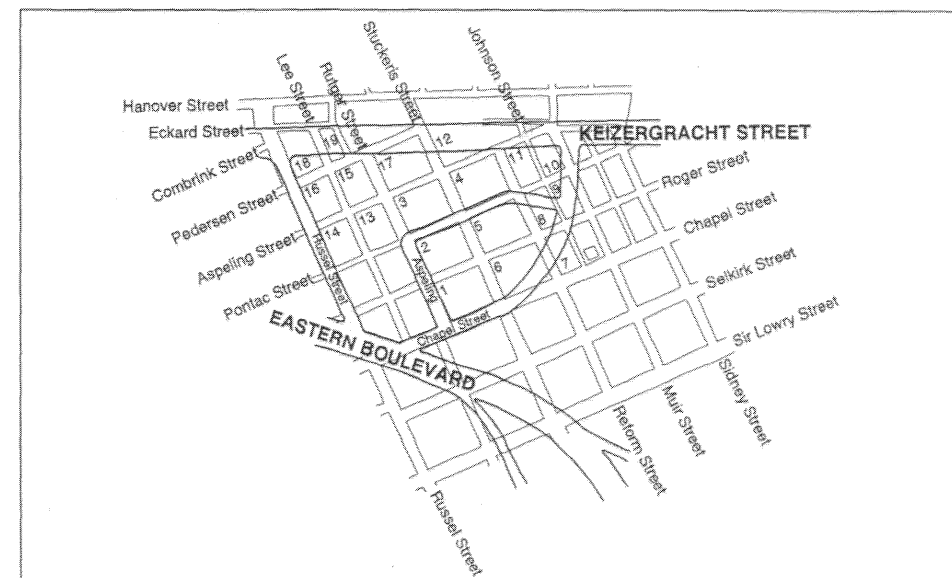
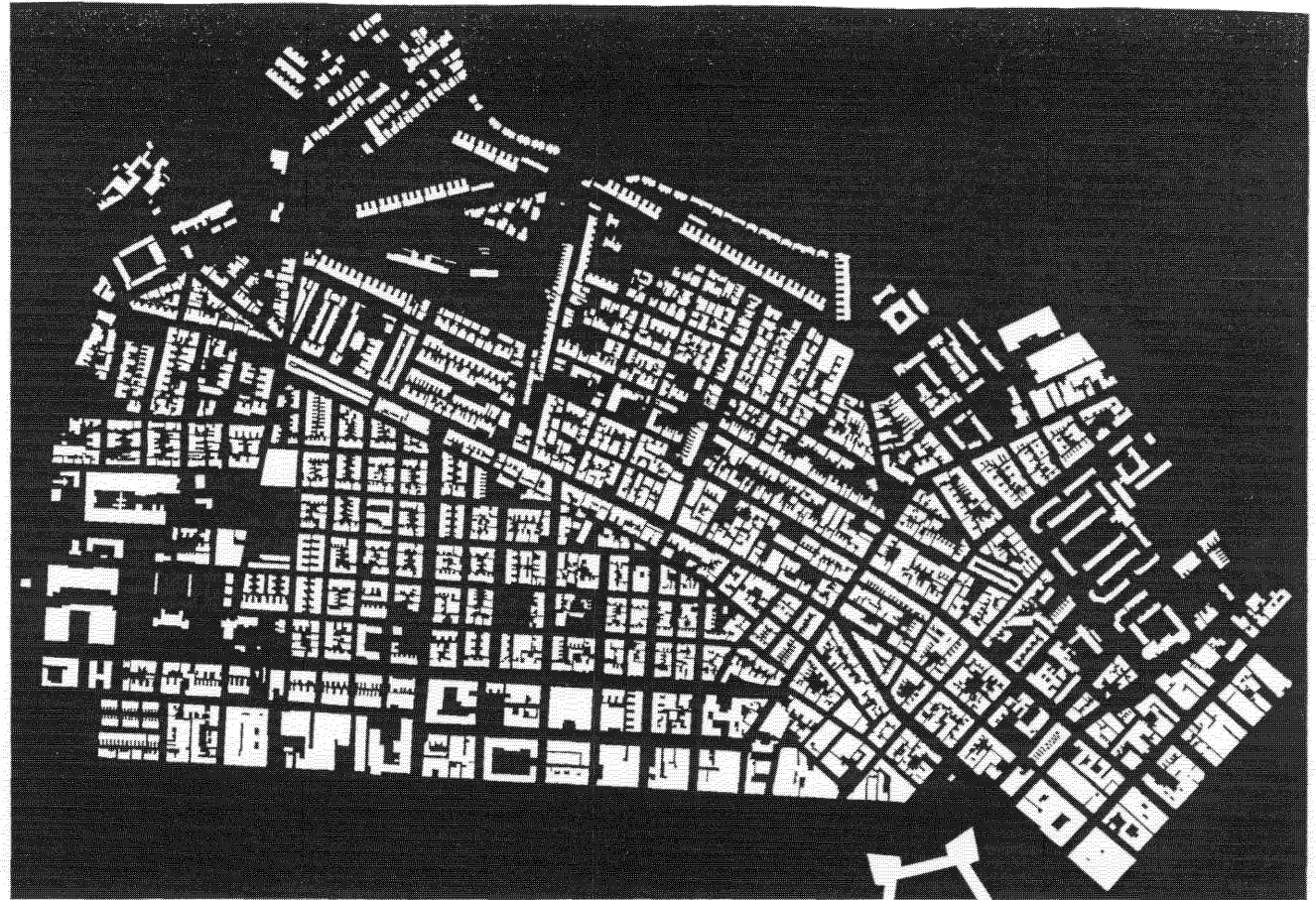


Figure 34: ACO Map of Block A.



District Six circa 1960, Figure Ground Drawing

3.5 Recommendations

The following recommendations are proposed for consideration in the redevelopment of the area:

- in general, proactive/ preliminary decisions should be made about identifying and assessing relative significance of heritage sites, and priorities agreed for commissioning archaeological components of HIAs in the District Six Redevelopment Area;
- general principles and procedures for archaeology should be embedded in the forthcoming Development Plan;
- a system of ongoing monitoring and reassessment of priorities and needs should be set up;
- for the Pilot Project, it should be ascertained whether impact is already authorized in principle. In which case, decisions should be made about:
 - the level of archaeological potential;
 - whether pre-development archaeology is required;

- whether clearing and construction is to be monitored;
- the likely terms of reference, and,
- possible time frames, and,
- if so decided, archaeological work should be commissioned immediately, considering that the availability of archaeologists at short notice is seriously limited.

For further recommendations, see Appendix 4 in which the recent monitoring of the Pilot Project site has been recorded. This initial exercise will inform later detailed archaeological work. The cost of archaeological work in District Six in general is dependent on the level of research required, the size and condition of the site, and the expertise of the team appointed. A full proposal and quotation for the archaeology of the various precincts can only be sought once decisions have been made in terms of significance and potential impact, as well as in terms of approval in principle received from the authorities.

4.0 CRITERIA FOR ASSESSING SIGNIFICANCE

In dealing with an overall evaluation of the heritage of District Six and in order to formulate a statement of significance, appropriate assessment criteria need to be developed. The following criteria developed by Kerr (2000) are useful to employ in understanding the heritage significance of District Six in terms of its experiential or contextual qualities, the remaining physical evidence or intrinsic value of the site and most importantly its associational links.

4.1 Contextual Significance

Contextual significance speaks about the experiential qualities of a place. Such qualities relate to those that give a place its historical character, a sense of orientation and a sense of connectedness with the past. Contextual significance includes physical or visual properties such as the orientation of a place and its setting, views, focal points, form, scale and materials. It also includes the non-visual qualities of a place (such as the smells and sounds affecting the experience of a place). Typically the degree of significance of the experiential qualities of a place is determined by:

- the intensity of coherence of the landscape;
- the level of interpretive qualities;
- the relationship with its setting, which reinforces both of the above;
- the vivid or dramatic qualities of the landscape, and,
- the disruptive versus the evocative qualities of contrasting elements.

Despite the fact that most of the buildings and streets of District Six have largely been destroyed, a sense of place still remains. In an ironic way the vacant scarred landscape that remains today exaggerates this sense of place, at least at a macro scale. The existing site of District Six has contextual significance because of:

- the coherence of the landscape at a macro scale, made up of the slopes of Devil's Peak to the south and the harbour/ sea to the north;
- the coherence of the macro landscape that reinforces the special setting of the District Six site. Located on the lower slopes of Devil's Peak, the morphology of the place is informed as much by the contours as it was by the street pattern and urban block grain in the past;
- the dramatic qualities of the larger site situated between mountain and sea, affording dramatic views of Table Mountain, Lions Head, Signal Hill, the City Bowl and the harbour/ sea.

In addition to the physical properties discussed above, the non-visual qualities of District Six further contribute to the experience of the place and the criteria of contextual significance. In a context where much of the historical physical fabric has been destroyed, non-visual qualities have continued to fuel the memories of the former inhabitants of District Six. These qualities are powerful elements that underscore the contextual significance of the site.

The sounds of foghorns, ship's horns and the 'noonday gun' associated with the area continue to evoke memories of the former District Six. These aural qualities persist today, reinforced by the context, topography and micro-climate (e.g. the south-easter wind, the mist and fog from the sea) of the area. At a different level, the 'sounds' of the successful David Kramer/ Taliep Petersen musical, "District Six", also speak to this contextual significance. Similarly smells, such as the salted scent of the sea, have and continue to contribute to the experience of District Six as a place.

4.2 Intrinsic Significance

The term 'intrinsic significance', as used within heritage discourses, relates to the physical fabric of a place. It is concerned with the capacity for physical evidence to contribute to an understanding of a past period, a style, belief, philosophy, technique and use. This physical evidence could include street layouts, urban blocks, buildings, structures, archaeological deposits and ruins. Typically the extent of significance of this physical evidence is determined by age, scarcity or rarity value, intactness (the state of preservation, the presence of in-situ evidence or original features), representational value (typical, important or outstanding examples), and, evidence of historical layering (different meanings and roles over time).

In the case of District Six, despite the extent of the destruction of the physical fabric of the area, the criteria of 'intrinsic significance' remain important. The residual physical fabric consisting of streets and buildings (churches, mosques, schools and limited houses) have intrinsic significance because of:

- their age (e.g. the fabric of remaining streets such as, Aspelung St., Lesar St., Tyne St., etc., and, buildings such as St. Marks Church, Moravian Chapel, Chapel Street School, St. Phillips's Church, the Muir Street Mosque, the Zonnebloem Estate Manor House, etc.);
- their scarcity (given the extent of destruction of the historical District Six fabric and buildings);
- their relative intactness (while some of the buildings have been altered, many of them retain original features, e.g. St. Phillip's Church, Trafalgar High School);
- the very fact that they are representative of late 19th and early 20th century religious buildings and terrace housing, and,
- the evidence of historical layering (the correspondence of street and block layouts with earlier farm/ small holding subdivisions; the earlier streams (e.g. east of Horstley Street) where washing activity took place).

In addition other resources in the District Six area exist and include amongst others, Trafalgar Park and the remains of the lines of the old French Battery, the playing fields associated with the Zonnebloem Estate and a range of archaeological sites (see Section 3.0).

4.3 Associational Importance

Associational links are typically made with people, past events, uses and activities. In the case of District Six, where much of the historical physical fabric has been destroyed, associational links related to past events and people are of particular importance. In this case the significance or importance exist in the nature of the association. The degree of significance of this association is determined by:

- the significance of person/ s (authors, political leaders, educational leadership, musicians, artists, etc.), community groups (Political Groupings, Civic Organizations, Campaigns (e.g. the Hands Off District Six Campaign), Cultural Organizations, Cultural Organizations, Eoan Group, etc.) or events (political marches/ rallies, carnival events, the implementation of the Group Areas Act);
- the intimacy of the association (the closeness of the association individuals, families and community groups have with remaining buildings, streets, etc.);
- the duration of the association (the continuing memory of the destruction of District Six which has endured almost for forty years; the ongoing memory of individuals and the displaced greater District Six community);
- the evocative setting of the area (between mountain and sea) and the memorable qualities of the place, now destroyed, and,
- the community facilities (of places of worship: churches and mosques; schools, etc.) in its different locations that remain scattered throughout the area contain strong associational significance. The regular use of such facilities continues to reflect the duration and intimate association that the displaced community has with the area.

4.3.1 Memory and Place

Integrally related to this criteria of associational value or linkage is of course the 'facility' of memory. In the case of District Six, it has been, at least in part, the memory of the *place* (as different from the memory of events, people, etc.) that has fueled the struggle for reclaiming the area since the early 1980's (le Grange 2001). The public memory of District Six was, and still remains, a tangibly powerful element that contributes to the cultural significance of the area. The value of this memory of the past is a function of both the place (and its recalled intrinsic values) and more importantly a result of a sense of identity and continuity that it continues to confer on the displaced community (see Fig. 35). This is so despite the many years that have passed since the first destruction of the area and the early forced removals occurred (Rasool and Prosalendis, 2001).

In this regard the District Six Museum in Buitenkant Street has over the past ten years played a major role in contributing to this issue of associational significance. Since the Museum formally opened its doors in 1994, it has served the purpose of being a receptacle for recording, translating and exhibiting the memory of District Six (see Fig. 36). Amongst others, it has presented a number of exhibitions about District Six as place, including the *Streets Exhibition*, *The Last Days of District Six: Photographs* by Jan Greshoff and the *Digging Deeper Exhibition* in 2000.

It can be said that in different ways this preoccupation of a displaced community with the past relates to nostalgia, a reminiscence of past associations and values. For many of those people who were removed to the alien and wind blown townships on the Cape Flats, the stability of community life, the familiarity and identity of District Six is an ongoing association. It is an association that has allowed them to survive the traumatic conditions of residing in the townships. These remembered and perceived virtues of a former urban life that are recalled in the District Six Museum exhibitions and in other cultural work (plays, novels, poems and songs) are however celebrated to underline a sense of history, a shared system of beliefs and to inspire hope. They are not remembered because of a nostalgia to return to live in an authentically recreated past or a possible historically reconstructed physical space. This association with social justice, community struggle, social values, place and setting is perhaps best summarized in the District Six Museum center piece that hangs in the main exhibition gallery, and which reads:

*"Remember Dimbaza. remember Botshabelo/ Onverwacht,
South End, East Bank, Sophiatown, Makuleke, Cato Manor.
Remember District Six. Remember the racism
which took away our homes, and our livelihood
and which sought to steal away our humanity.
Remember also our will to live, to hold fast to that
which marks us as human beings:
Our generosity, our love of justice and our care for each other.
Remember Tramway Road, Modderdam, Simonstown.*

*In remembering we do not want to recreate District Six
But to work with its memory: of hurts inflicted and received,
Of loss, achievements and shames,
We wish to remember so that we can all,
Together and by ourselves, rebuild a city
Which belongs to all of us,
In which all of us can live, not as races but as people".*

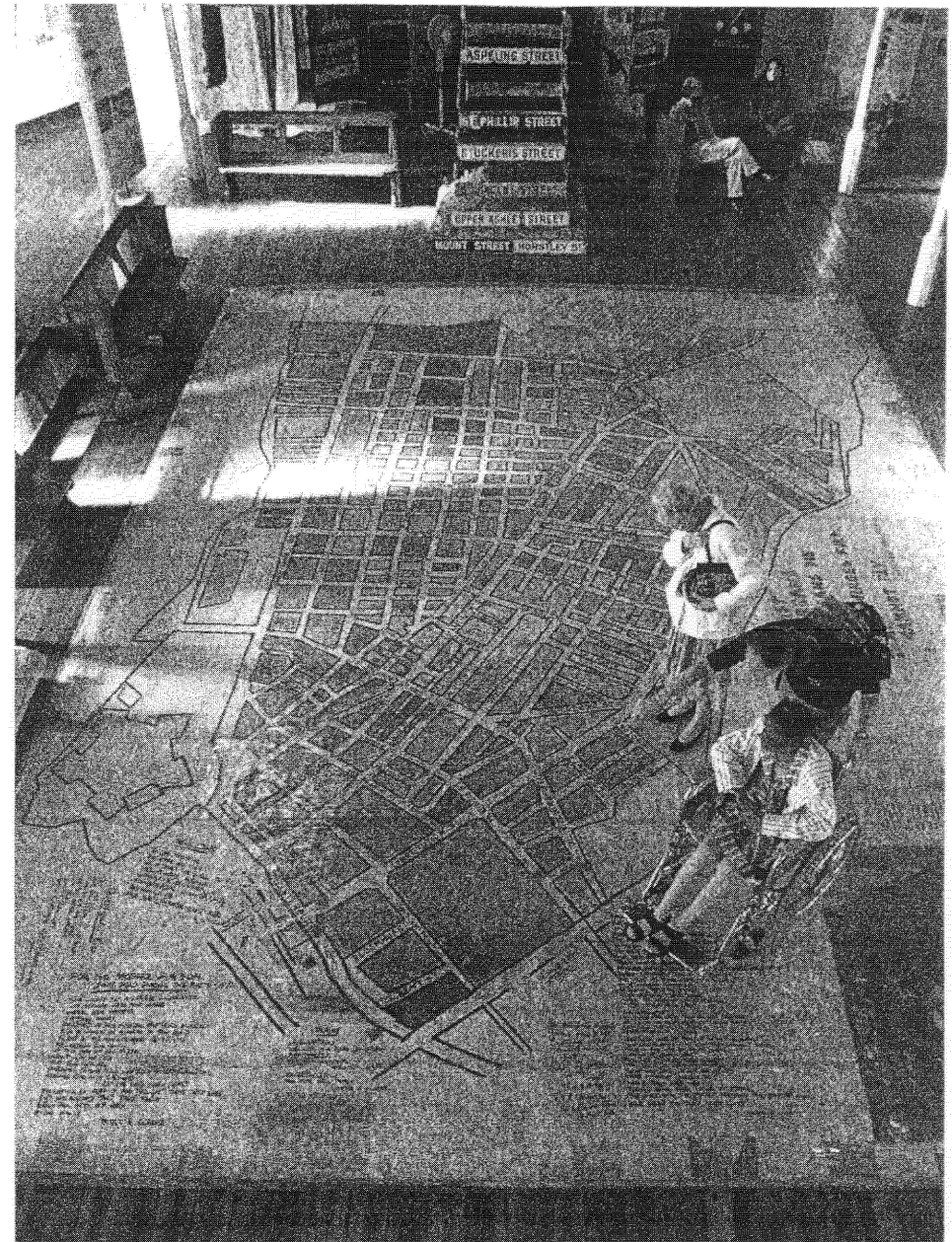


Figure 35: Photograph of Floor Map of District Six, District Six Museum, 2003 (Lucien le Grange)

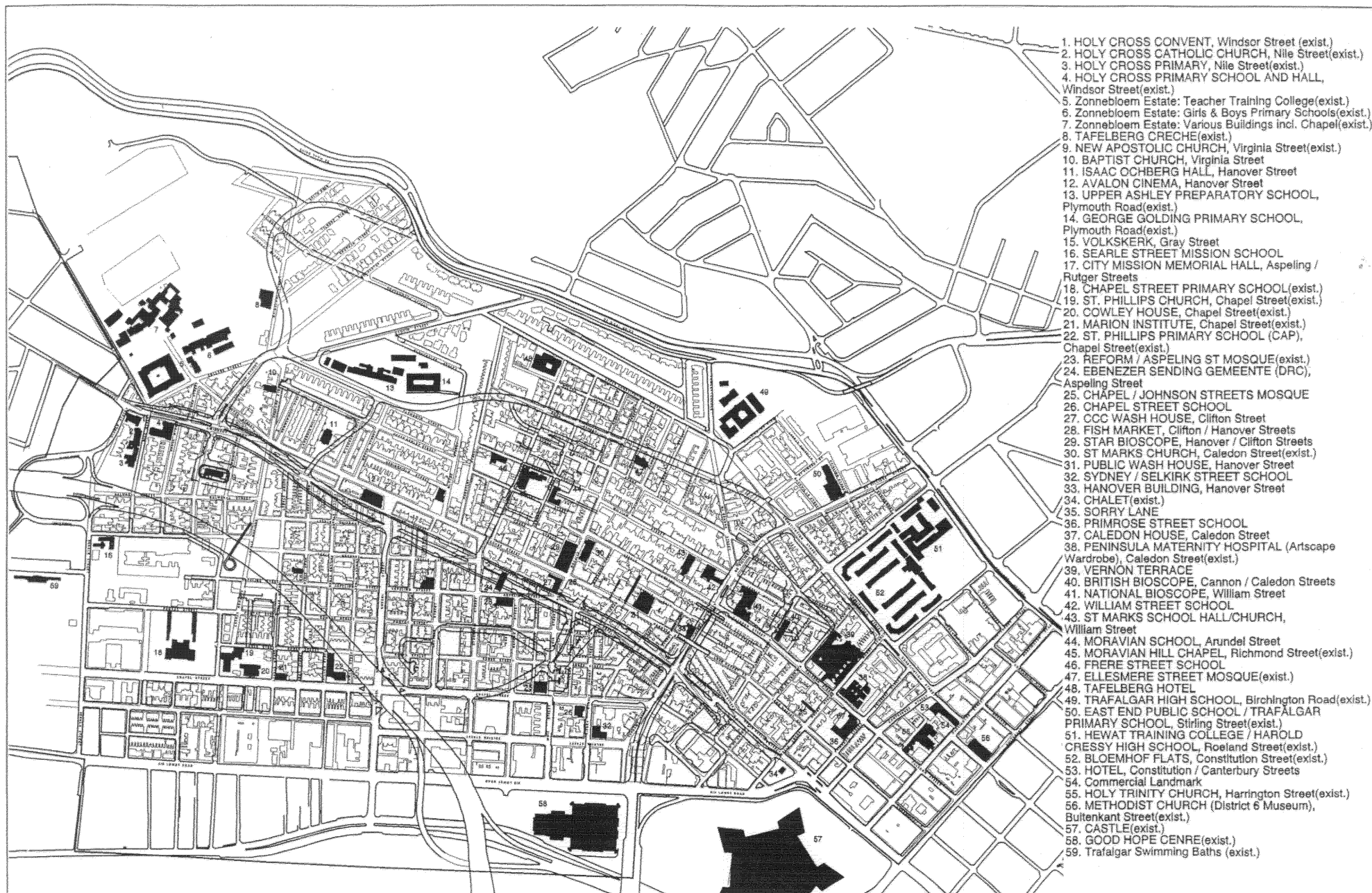


Figure 36: District Six, 'Memory' Map.

5.0 STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

District Six is a place of great symbolic value and is associated with ideas, beliefs and events that are of eminent significance. This significance is reflected in District Six both in terms of the tangible fabric (the vacant landscape, the isolated remaining buildings, etc.) as well as intangible values (of associations, memories, sounds, smells, etc.) that it holds.

5.1 Cultural Significance

Cultural significance is informed by a number of associations that are made up of inter-connected social, historical, political, cultural, religious and spiritual values that have meaning for past and present generations. It is also constituted by the place itself, its setting, fabric and its uses, or the remnants of such fabric and uses. Cultural significance is furthermore informed by heritage worthiness that can serve as a dynamic reference point, as a positive instrument for growth and redevelopment. In the redevelopment of the overall area of District Six the following historical, social, cultural, political and symbolic values inform the cultural significance of the area.

5.2 Historical Value

Prior to the implementation of the Group Areas Act, District Six enjoyed the status of being an important historical quarter within Cape Town, parts of which were settled upon as early as the 18th century. Today, this historical significance remains despite the area now being a wasteland within the city bowl area – its very destruction has become part of the city's history.

While certain former landmarks (i.e. churches, mosques and schools, remnants of the urban block and road grid system, etc.) still remain, much of the cultural and historical value of District Six is associated with the collective memory of the community of Cape Town. This historical significance is derived from the following aspects:

- historically District Six, as an old quarter within the city of Cape Town, enjoyed a particular significance in as much as it represented a distinct urban fabric, fine grain and scale of the historical development of the city;
- ironically, District Six has with its destruction (between 1970- 1984) also assumed historic significance in as much as it represents a pattern of destruction associated with Apartheid segregationist and 'urban renewal' schemes (NHRA, Section 3 (3)(a)).
- before its final destruction in the early 1980's, District Six formed an important part of the evidence of the evolution of the cultural landscape and settlement pattern of 19th century Cape Town. At the time of the declaration of the Group Areas Act (1966) and the subsequent destruction of District Six, the area exhibited a richness, density and diversity of cultural life. Today the remnants of this settlement pattern and its past cultural significance (in terms of historical road grid pattern, places of worship, schools, etc.) bear witness to this historical and cultural value;
- District Six is of historical importance, as a now destroyed residential precinct within the city of Cape Town, in as much as it has historically been associated with events (political and social), social developments (education, religious institutions, etc.) and cultural developments (music, carnival, etc.) which have had a significant role within the lives and evolution of a section of the community of Cape Town (this political, cultural and social history is manifested in the work of the District Six Museum over the past 10 years);
- as one of the earliest places of refuge for slaves within the Cape Town, District Six is linked to the history of slavery within the Western Cape and in South Africa, and,

- historically District Six has had strong associations with organizations, groups and individuals whose activities have been significant within the history of political movements in Cape Town and in South Africa.

5.3 Social, Cultural and Symbolic Value

The existing area of District Six has a strong association with a particular community of Cape Town for social and cultural reasons. It is also symbolic of the various other incidents of the forced removal of many urban communities within Cape Town and in the rest of South Africa. This social, cultural and symbolic value of District Six has been acquired by it being:

- a site within the heart of Cape Town from which 60 000 people were removed, and which still continues to contribute to this community's 'sense of place' within the city;
- a site in which various political organizations were born, thereby being part of the political history and tradition of Cape Town, and the country as a whole;
- a site of cultural activity (of popular music, opera, drama, urban carnivals, etc.) of Cape Town's working people, which continues to remain a reference point in the minds and memory of many of Cape Town's inhabitants, and,
- an urban site of forced removals that has over the past 35 years become symbolic of other areas of forced removal in South African cities (e.g. South-End, Port Elizabeth; North-End, East London; Cato-Manor, Durban; Fordsburg, Johannesburg);

5.4 Summary Statement of Significance

District Six is of cultural significance because of the historical, social, cultural, religious, symbolic, and urban values that are associated with it. The significance of District Six is derived from its historical use as an important urban quarter within Cape Town. District Six has acquired a symbolic status because of the people and events that have been associated with it over the past 150 years.

District Six has acquired further significance from its physical setting and the physical elements that made up its fabric before being destroyed, some of which still remain in parts of the area. Its value as a symbol of urban forced removals in Cape Town and other cities within South Africa over the past forty years adds further to its significance. The area has in the past, and still does today, continue to contribute to the broader cultural landscape of the city of Cape Town.

6.0 RELATED STUDIES AND POLICY FRAMEWORKS

6.1 MSDF (Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework, Cape Metropolitan Council, 1996)

The MSDF promotes a vision of metropolitan Cape Town as a well-managed, integrated metropolitan region in which urban sprawl is contained and where development is compacted and intensified. The broad urban planning goals and management policies promoted in the MSDF do not make specific reference to areas like District Six. However developmental guidelines such as equality of opportunity, social justice, equity and access, and, sustainable development has relevance. In terms of spatial guidelines, issues such as residential intensification, urban integration and the creation of new quality urban environments need to be seriously considered.

At a more detailed level, the promotion of urban structuring elements such as 'urban nodes' and 'activity corridors/ spines' have relevance for the redevelopment of District Six – particularly in the case of the new Hanover Street and Sir Lowry Road. A density of 100 du/ ha gross is advocated along these activity spines/ corridors. In addition the promotion of a Metropolitan Open Space System (MOSS) has meaning for the redevelopment of District Six in as much as Table Mountain and Devil's Peak (as part of the CPNP), and the city's Urban Edge border on the southern boundary of the study area. In terms of housing the MSDF promotes low-rise high-density housing provision in a well-located area such as District Six.

6.2 Scenic Drive Studies

The southern boundary of District Six is bounded by De Waal Drive, which is considered as a major scenic route in the Cape Peninsula. De Waal Drive links the N2 with the CBD via Mill Street and is a major entry route and gateway into the city. It affords vistas of the City Bowl, Table Bay, Robben Island as well as distant mountains, and also serves as a demarcation of the city's edge (see Fig. 37).

It is recommended that the redevelopment of District reinforce the scenic role of De Waal Drive and that new developments be carried out in a manner that does not impact on views to Table Bay and the CBD. It is also suggested that ways be explored to improve viewing facilities for the local community and tourists along De Waal Drive.

6.3 Muni-SDF (Municipal Spatial Development Framework, City of Cape Town, 1999)

The Municipal Spatial Development Framework recommends that the intensification and provision of publicly assisted housing be provided in District Six. Associated with this recommendation is the

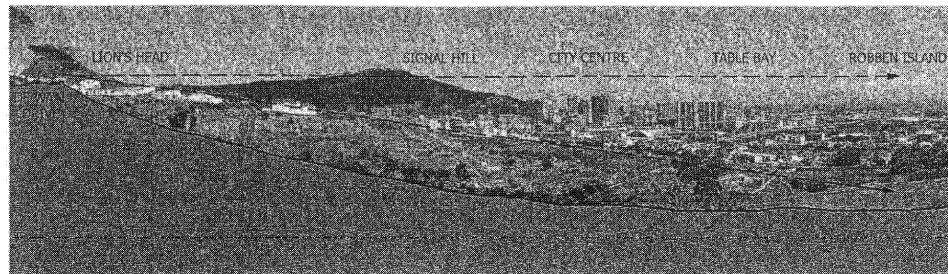


Figure 37: Scenic Drive Implications.

inclusion of a 'public way' (along the former Hanover Street route) and its related economic infrastructure. It further suggests that a 'green link' between the lower reaches of Devils Peak and Table Bay be considered, which incorporates Trafalgar Park, the remains of the French defense lines, the playing fields associated with the Zonnebloem Estate and the municipally owned recreation area north thereof. The vision is that this green link eventually can connect the mountain with the sea, traversing across the Culemborg area by way of the incorporation of a number of public spaces (see Fig. 38).

6.4 District Six: Draft Contextual Framework (March 2003)

Since the circulation of the District Six HIA Draft document, the City of Cape Town has issued the District Six: Draft Contextual Framework. This document sets out the broad physical and policy context that needs to be considered in preparing the future planning of the area. It sketches a background of the restitution and land claims process and outlines the City Council's planning approach to District Six. In addition the document discusses a number of important policies (including a socio-economic framework, an environmental policy strategy and a spatial design framework). Where applicable some of the concerns raised through these policies have been incorporated in this HIA document.

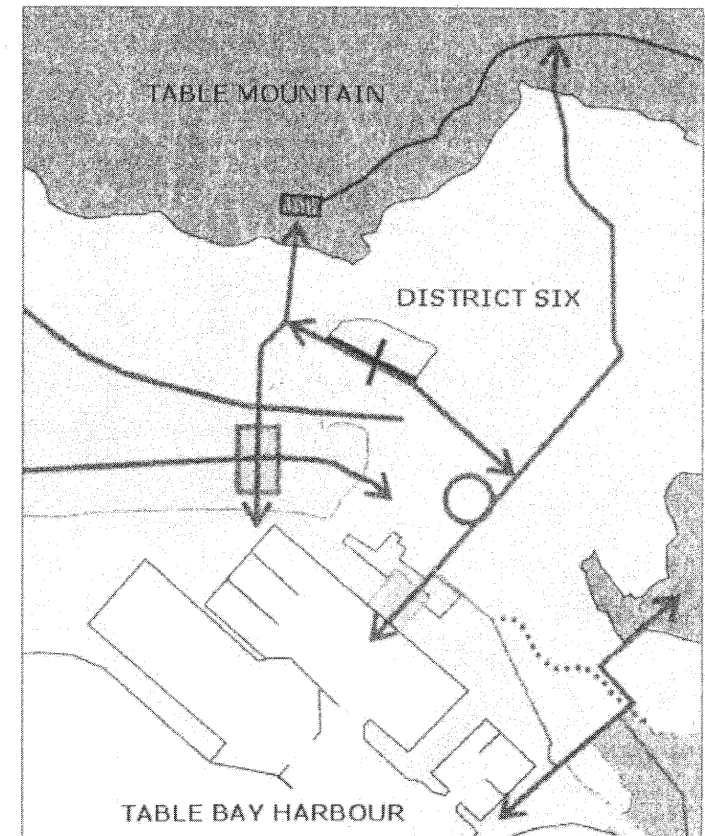


Figure 38: Muni- Spatial Development Framework: Management Zone 1.

7.0 SUMMARY OF HERITAGE LEGISLATION AND RELEVANT STATUTORY CONTROLS

Ironically heritage legislation now applies to all remaining structures in District Six, after the removal of a vibrant community and the destruction of so many buildings and places of historical, social, cultural and architectural worth. At this stage of the area's history, it is however still of use to harness such legislation to protect the remaining fabric and buildings.

7.1 Heritage Legislation

In terms of the Chapter 2, Section 34 of the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA), Act No.25 of 1999, no person may alter or demolish any structure or part of a structure which is older than 60 years without a permit issued by the relevant provincial heritage resources authority (PAWC and/ or SAHRA). In the case of the 'Pilot' Project site, as in the case of the greater District Six area, all historic buildings were demolished between the late 1970's and early 1980's, with the implementation of the Group Areas Act (1966). The question that has to be raised in this instance is thus the extent to which the site area constitutes an archaeological site. In as much as the site was occupied from the mid-1800's, and given the archaeological studies discussed above, there is the likelihood that various sites may contain relevant archaeological material remains. The extent to which such remains may exist on the site and the degree to which they may be deemed conservation worthy would have to be established once the site is cleared and the rubble (from demolished houses and structures) has been removed. It is recommended that during this early phase of work on the various sites, that an archaeologist be appointed to monitor the preliminary site-works.

The NHRA does not define clearly what constitutes an urban archaeological site. Within the broad terms discussed in the NHRA, the entire area of District Six would constitute an archaeological site, and if the provisions of the Act were to be applied without further interpretation, it would technically mean that no development in the area should take place. In order to accommodate the important issue of the repatriation of claimants (former District Six residents) and the development of the area as a whole, a gradation of archaeological significance would have to be entertained. The ACO (UCT) in its 1996 study (*Phase 1 Archaeological Assessment of Open State Land in District Six, page 68*) isolated one most important archaeological site in the area, namely on the corner of Hanover and Tenant Streets. Other sites of lesser importance will in all likelihood be uncovered as the development of the area proceeds.

Approaches as to how archaeological remains (ruins, foundations, foundation walls, granite kerb stones, cobbled streets and gutters, etc.) can be restored and integrated into the new building work will have to be developed by all concerned parties. It would also be important to ensure that archaeological objects (pottery, household objects, etc.) and material retrieved from the Pilot Project site, and indeed the greater District Six area, be lodged with a museum or other public institution that has a collection policy acceptable to the heritage resources authority (PAWC/ SAHRA). Section 35 of the NHRA requires that the protection of archaeological sites and material are the responsibility of a provincial heritage resources authority.

In order to advance the development of the area, it is recommended that the District Six Beneficiary Trust acquire a permit from SAHRA /PAWC to proceed with the implementation of the development. In the interests of preserving the few remaining historical sites and buildings of social, cultural and architectural significance they should be declared as National Monuments or given Urban Area Conservation status. This should include all the remaining community buildings listed below and some of the remaining old residential enclaves.

7.2 Existing Zoning Scheme and the Land Use Planning Ordinance (LUPO)

The current zoning of land in District Six is essentially based on the 1979 'Zonnebloem' Master Plan prepared by the planners of the Nationalist Government (see Bezzoli, et al, p.54). It was a plan which assumed the complete clearance of all historical buildings and roads in District Six and that was based on the prevailing racist ideology that envisaged the area being developed as an all 'white' suburb of Cape Town. Predicated on international urban renewal and the town planning philosophies (e.g. the British new town plans such as the Milton Keynes settlement) that were popular at the time, it proposed the implementation of a low-density sub-urban development. Ironically the envisaged character of this plan was in principle no different to areas such as Mitchell's Plain and Atlantis, where part of the displaced community was forced to resettle. Despite subsequent revisions of this Master Plan by the Department of Community Development, the vision remained essentially the same as originally conceived.

Through the protest actions of the Hands Off District Six Campaign and alternative development proposals put forward by the Cape Town Community Land Trust, much of this plan was not implemented¹. Except for the extensive development of the Cape Technikon, the Oriental Bazaar/ Plaza and the construction of a number of roads/ related infrastructure, the full execution was thwarted. In the adoption of the present zoning scheme, the historical pattern and grain of the former urban fabric was rejected. Essentially separate areas are zoned for general and special business (e.g. B2, B3, C2, C3 & C4 use zones) as distinct from residential use (R3, R7 & R9 use zones). Public open space zones and land for community facilities are scattered across the site, occupying left over space and the former alignment of a few of the historic streets, in the absence of any ordering of a coherent public space structure. This zoning is predicated on City of Cape Town's Zoning Scheme Regulations, which in turn is enacted through the Land Use Planning Ordinance, Ordinance 15 of 1985 (LUPO). In terms of this Zoning Scheme property rights are defined and types of development are prescribed.

7.3 Implications for Zoning

The City of Cape Town is currently investigating amendments to the present Zoning Scheme, which is likely to result in a complete amendment of present rights. However, the implications of the current zoning scheme for District Six are that the permitted coverage of sites by buildings (100% for General Business sites and 80% for dwelling units) and the required setback distances from streets and common boundaries does not in principle permit low-rise medium density development. While common boundary building lines could be negotiated depending on the use and character of buildings, proposals for low rise medium density housing are still required to apply for departures for sub-divisions and adjustments to building line setbacks.

Within the present zoning scheme, areas currently zoned for general business within District Six can accommodate residential development in as much as general business zoning does include dwelling houses and flats. In this sense mixed-use development is possible on the selected sites demarcated within the present zoning scheme. However the isolated manner in which such selected 'general business' sites have been demarcated does not provide for the prospect of a true mixed-use developmental environment in the area. The application of such mixed-use development in the present zoning scheme is in principle one of separated 'land-use' zoning and essentially does limit the development of activity corridors and activity nodes. In this sense the existing zoned areas in District Six is inappropriate (see Fig. 39).

¹ Alternative development proposals to the Master Plan for District Six were started on as early as 1985/86 through funding made available by BP South Africa. From this initiative, which was questioned and challenged at the time by community organizations, the HEADSTART planning body was established and the District Six Steering Committee was formed. In 1991 the District Six Steering Committee persuaded the Apartheid national government to expropriate privately owned land and redirect the growth of the Cape Technikon eastwards towards the CBD. The City of Cape Town was to later place a moratorium on the sale as well as long-term lease of land and also drew attention to the inappropriate zoning of the area.

With the completion and adoption of a Development Framework that encourages a fully integrated mixed-use development, the area should be rezoned to include appropriate zones (corridors, nodes, etc.) for development. With the rezoning of such areas it is recommended that the existing zoning be replaced or amended in areas to require mixed residential and business use, possibly as individual packages applying to different areas (e.g. as has been the case in the Cavendish Street development). The extent to which such new policies would be applied across the site is the subject of further study. Equally, the present statutory height restrictions need to be revised. Present height restrictions generally make provision for buildings of 7 floors in height – a condition that would adversely affect issues of low-rise medium density housing provision and scenic drive considerations.

7.4 Other Relevant Statutory Controls

Other existing Statutory Controls also prevail in addition to the heritage legislation and zoning restrictions discussed above. While these controls are linked to the intentions of the Zoning Scheme, their removal should be considered in relation to the more flexible 'Hierarchy of Plans' approach. With the 'Master Plan' planning exercise various restrictive conditions were imposed in terms of the old Townships Ordinance 33 of 1934 (see *Draft Contextual Framework*, March 2003, pp. 21-24). These

include the 'Schedule 8 Conditions' which apply to specific erven and which dictate what form of development may take place. These conditions (e.g. height restrictions, bulk and coverage, building setbacks, land uses and expected vehicular access) need to be reviewed in terms of their appropriateness to the planning and redevelopment of District Six.

In addition to the above mentioned zoning restrictions and Schedule 8 conditions there are other statutory and planning conditions that could obstruct the appropriate development of District Six. As discussed within the Draft Contextual Framework, these include inappropriately located public spaces, roads, road reserves and parking areas. In order to facilitate an improved and more appropriate framework for development in District Six, these statutory and planning conditions will have to be amended in terms of the Municipal Ordinance. In terms of the present procedural framework, LUPO is the only realistic statutory mechanism for the redevelopment of District Six to be advanced with. In order to facilitate the future integrated planning of the area the prevailing legal restrictions and current zoning should ideally be removed. As advocated in the Draft Contextual Framework, a possible process for the removal of these restrictions should be developed in relation to the 'Hierarchy of Plans' approach. With the adoption of the Contextual Framework, the preparation of the Development Framework and the development of Precinct Plans, rezoning applications could be made (see pp. 22-24 *Draft Contextual Framework*, March 2003).

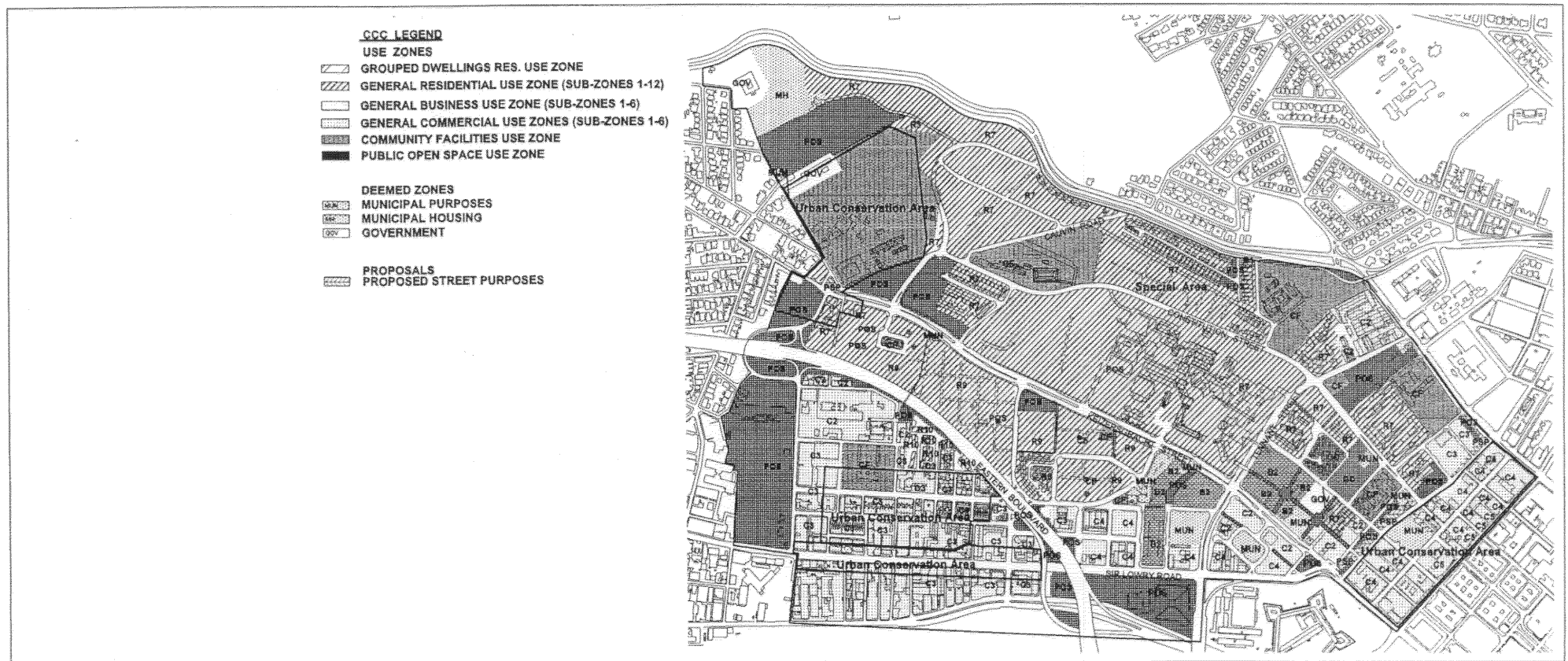


Figure 39: Current Zoning Map (City of Cape Town)

THIS REPORT

This report is intended as a contribution to the final HIA and forthcoming Development Framework. It describes the process of clearing the pilot project site and what was revealed and what was lost, and makes recommendations for future redevelopment planning. A CD with all digital images, and the salvaged artefacts, have been handed over with the final report.

BRIEF

In accordance with the guidelines outlined in the draft HIA document (Le Grange 2003), and confirmed by a letter of notification from the Project Manager to interested and affected parties on 29 March 2003, the consultant archaeologist was informed that site clearing would start on 31 March 2003. There was no time to undertake pre-disturbance testing or mitigation. During a team briefing on site on 1 April 2003, however, the archaeologist was requested to observe and monitor the clearing of the block.

It was understood that at such short notice standard archaeological procedures were not feasible, neither was it guaranteed that a suitably qualified site monitor would be available on a full-time basis. It was agreed that while mechanical excavation should continue to proceed as quickly as possible, a photographic record should be made where feasible, and granite kerbstones and other symbolic artefacts should be salvaged. Existing and on-site project team members would provide the necessary support.

It was proposed that the Pilot Project should be regarded as a learning process, especially for understanding what to expect to find below the surface in the area and how to deal with the archaeological potential of future projects.

METHODOLOGY

The backhoe scooped debris directly into trucks, which deposited their contents on the nearby Horstley Street site (Fig.2). Overburden was removed in 'strips' of about eight metres wide and 'scoops' of up to two metres in depth at a time. Work started from the eastern side of the block, parallel with Rutger Street. Two strips running from south to north were cleared each day and the clearing work lasted for three days.

By the time of my first inspection on Tuesday morning it was clear that there were structural remains and features still *in situ* underneath demolished buildings. The vertical edge on the west side of the strip being excavated provided a rough 'section' through the deposit. These edges were inspected and recorded as far as possible for future reference.

The standard archaeological method of removing material from a site is to peel off layers from the surface downwards over as wide a horizontal area as possible. The layers, and any dug-in features such as later foundations, pits or drains, are removed in the reverse order to which they were deposited, assuming that the uppermost layer is the most recent and the deepest layer the oldest. Careful excavation and recording procedures allow a reconstruction of the sequence of events that left traces in the ground.

The surface of the pilot project site was obscured by thickly matted coarse grass except for an exposed concrete slab. Because the backhoe dug vertically into the ground in front, demolishing remaining fabric from the base upwards and backwards, there was no opportunity to observe or record the horizontal dimension of the site.

The archaeologist and site personnel collected some structural elements and recognisable artefacts that were spotted in the sections or dug out as the backhoe progressed. Their location was recorded according to the strip number.



Fig.2. The backhoe scooped debris directly into a truck; each 'strip', removed from south to north, was about 8 metres wide and up to 2 metres deep. [AM 04/03 Strip 3 N End]

FINDINGS

As predicted in the Archaeology Contracts Office report (ACO 1996), a substantial amount of the old fabric of the block lay sealed beneath a shallow skin of vegetation and rubble. The upper parts of the buildings, etc. had been demolished and reusable items removed, but ground level features often remained. Floor slabs, foundations, rubbish pits and sub-surface elements were still there. Beneath the more recent structures, such as concrete floors, there were also traces of 19th century material.

The features revealed in the sections along the west edges of excavated strips could be closely related to the footprints of buildings and other details in the nineteenth century Thom Municipal Survey (1898) and a pre-demolition aerial photograph (1968) (Figs.3 and 4).

The items salvaged from the site will not be archaeologically accessioned due to the poor contextual information associated with them. They are therefore freely available for use as display, for example in a 'memory box'.

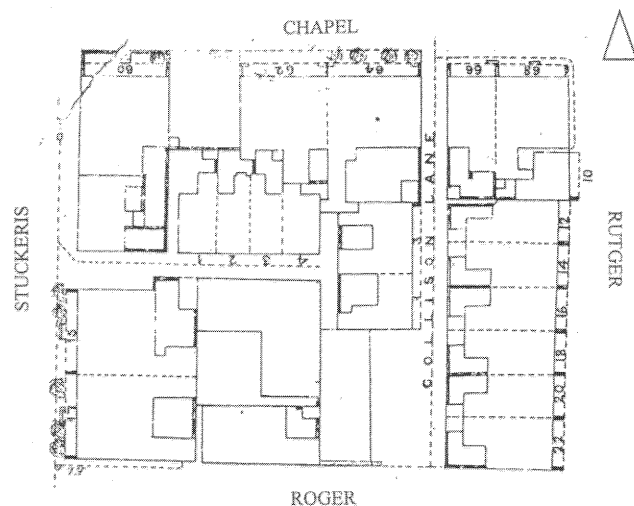


Fig. 3. Walter Thom's Municipal Survey 1898 (Cape Town City Council).

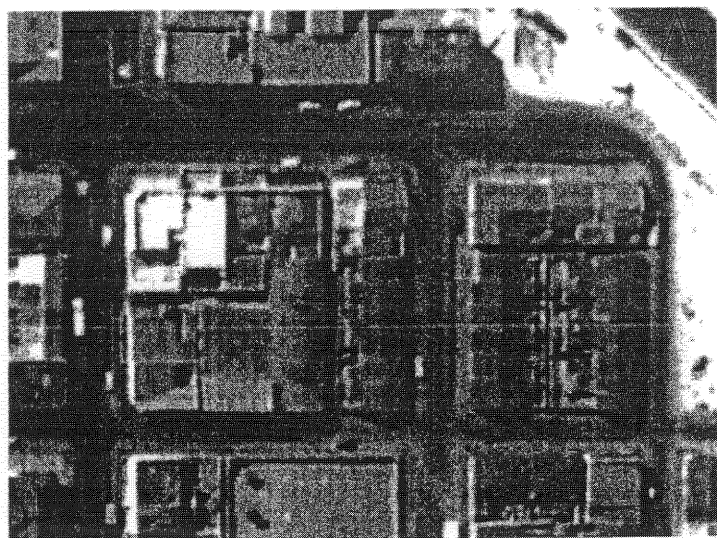


Fig. 4. Aerial photograph 1968 (Trig. Survey Mowbray).

Strip One

Not monitored.

Strip Two



Fig. 5. Line of granite kerbstones along alignment of Collison Lane, black sooty horizon under lane (arrow) in section on left. [AM 0403 Pan 2 Strip 2]

- The most significant findings in Strip Two were the granite kerbstones of Collison Lane (Fig.5). Though no longer in their original positions, they were found abandoned in the rubble along a roughly straight line running from north to south, aligned where the lane used to be.
- The vertical section on the west side of Strip Two clearly showed the edge of Collison Lane running down its length (arrow). At the southern end (nearest camera), the old lane lay about a metre beneath the concrete slab of a later building.
- Below the lane horizon, across the central area of the strip, was a thick black sooty matrix full of rusty iron objects - including many horseshoes (see Strip Three). This deposit was suggestive of blacksmithing activities. These would have taken place before the lane was formally surfaced.

Strip Three

- In places along the section, and corresponding to the 1968 aerial photo, were the remains of vertical walls still in their original positions. There appeared to be a double retaining wall (where modern walling had been built up inside an older wall) about one-third of the length of the strip from the Chapel Street end (Fig.6).
- Red bricks and building rubble and large stones (probably previous foundations) were associated with ceramic drainage pipes, especially in the northern end of the site.

- A handful of ceramic table wares were salvaged, which were manufactured during a period consistent with a mid to late 19th century context, such as 'willow pattern' plate rims, cream-coloured ware, and banded industrial slipware. Others were made in the 20th century. There were also glass objects, such as condiment bottles (Holbrook and 'Pick Me Up'), 19th century 'black' glass wine bottle fragments, and some drinking tumblers. More poignantly, someone had carefully mended the broken finial, possibly from a bedpost. Sheep, pig and cattle bones were collected, residues of meals. Horseshoes and other metal objects associated with the sooty deposit in Strip Two were also found on the eastern edge of Strip Three.

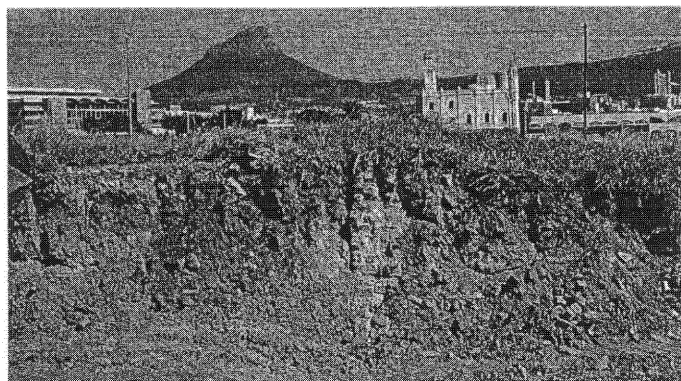


Fig.6. Retaining wall of demolished structures, red brick rubble on the right. [AM 04/03 Strip 3 Section 5]

- A drain shaft had been inserted between the recent buildings, down into the 19th century deposits, and to the north of this shaft there was just rubble (Fig.7).

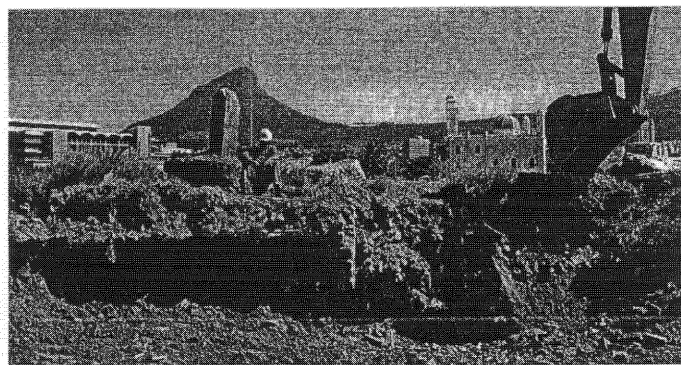


Fig. 7. End wall of demolished building, drain shaft, rubble. [AM 04/03 Strip 3 Section 6]

Strip Four

- At the south end of this strip a concrete floor slab was visible on the surface.
- There was a series of horizontal layers exposed below this slab in the west section (Fig.8).

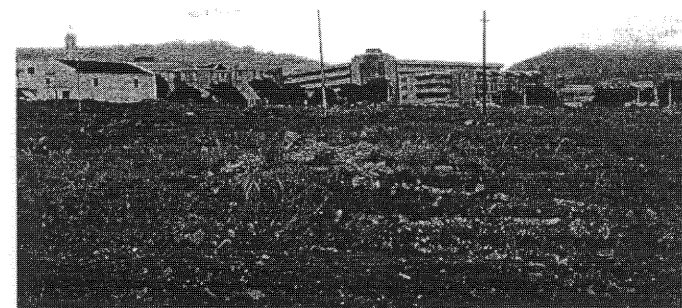


Fig.8. A series of horizontal layers beneath the concrete slab. [AM 04/03 Strip 4 Section 1]

- There were apparently no 19th century artefacts surviving in this strip. We picked up a 'Phillips Milk of Magnesia' bottle, with its distinctive shape and blue colour, a ceramic deodorant stick, a glass medicine phial, and two medicine bottles, which had been made at the Talana bottle factory in 1944 and 1945.
- An internal wall of the flat-roofed building shown on the aerial photo of 1968 showed as a vertical feature in the section. The concrete floor slab horizon passed underneath and continued until two-thirds of the way towards the north (Fig.9).



Fig.9. An internal brick wall built on top of the concrete floor slab that extended two-thirds of the way down the block (see aerial photo of 1968) [AM 04/03 Strip 4 Section 3]

- A vertical drain shaft of red brick and concrete was associated with the central factory building complex, with ceramic pipes bedded into the clay level between the two buildings.
- After the slab ended there was a gap to the right, and then some large rocks (possibly stone foundations) and red brick rubble, with yellow clay beneath.
- The internal lane running from west to east (marked as Taylor's Lane on a noting sheet) is indicated by a grey layer at a lower level than the cement slab (Fig.10).

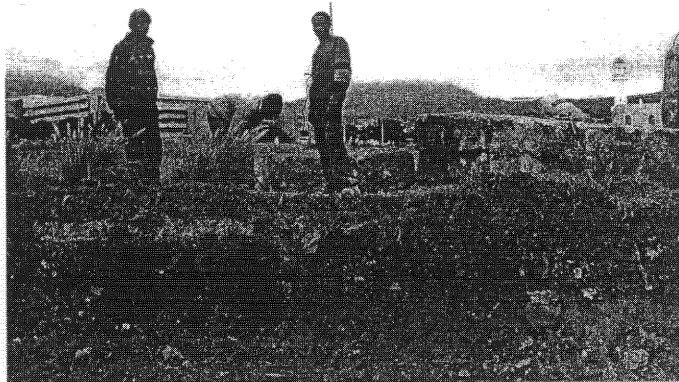


Fig.10. Concrete floor slab, sooty horizon above red brick rubble, and grey level of Taylor's Lane on right. [AM 04/03 Strip 4]

- The photograph of the cut from west to east in Strip 4 shows rubble fill composed of very disturbed debris (Fig.11).

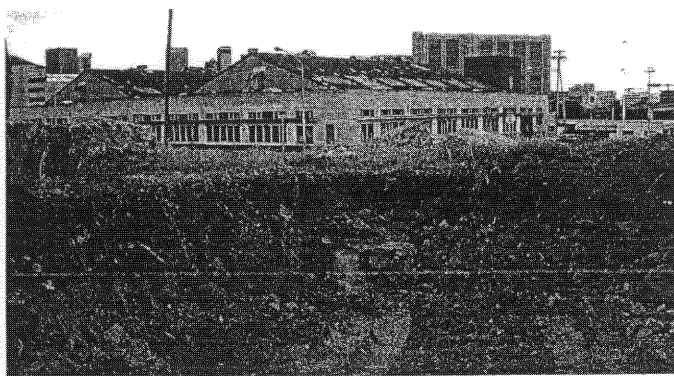


Fig.11. Grey layer of Taylor's Lane still in situ on left, disturbed rubble of bricks, rocks and a concrete lintol across the end of the strip. [AM 04/03 Strip 4]

- At the Chapel Street end there were still remnants of about a metre of vertical wall foundation built across the cut from west to east. This would have been the southeast corner of a building associated with the house facing Chapel Street (Fig.12). Very dense heavy 'grey' bricks were part of this building.
- A selection of bricks were salvaged from this strip.



Fig.12. Corner wall, at north end of erf facing Chapel Street, still in situ below grass. [AM 04/03 Strip 4]

Strip Five

- Not monitored. Some artefacts were salvaged by personnel on the site. There were two printed cups, made in South Africa in the later 20th century, a glass paste jar, a small red-topped essence bottle, a medicine bottle, a 19th century beer bottle and some long blunt-ended 'pins'.

Strip Six

- Not monitored. Some artefacts were salvaged by personnel on the site: a 'Bashew's' bottle and a tin-enamel saucepan decorated with flowers outside.
- A long narrow concrete 'trough' had become embedded in the clay layer. It contained a jumble of rusted iron objects, including horseshoes. This has been salvaged.

CONCLUSIONS

- The Pilot Project confirmed that much of District Six is a potential archaeological site. The high probability of finding preserved material underneath the desolate surface of today's District Six has to be taken into consideration in future planning.
- Old Chapel and Roger Streets have been destroyed during rebuilding and resurfacing. Rutger and Stuckeris Streets probably remain protected below their capping of tarmac (Fig.13).
- The fast and efficient method used for the Pilot Project excavation and salvage process has no archaeological utility, does not allow for making responsible heritage conservation and management decisions, and holds little opportunity for meaningful engagement with interested and affected parties.

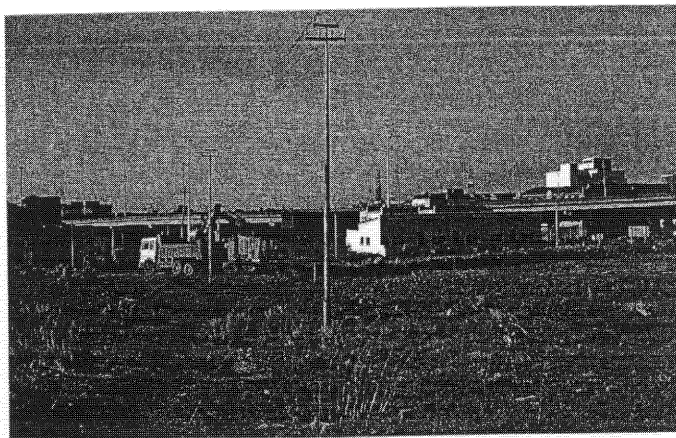


Fig.13. View north down Stuckeris Street as the final load of rubble is removed. [AM 04/04]

RECOMMENDATIONS

- A practical and efficient methodology for clearing of sites for rebuilding needs to be planned by the project management, engineers and archaeologists. A combination of mechanical, labour-intensive hand clearing and professional archaeological excavation techniques can be combined to suit particular circumstances.
- Clear guidelines should be prepared to facilitate maximum value from the planning and excavation process while enabling redevelopments to continue uninterrupted. These guidelines should be designed by and for, and communicated to, all on-site personnel and interested and affected parties.
- Underground services provision may impact sub-surface remains whether along old streets or across blocks. Trenching for this purpose should be planned and carried

out in consultation with the architect and an archaeologist in order to avoid accidental damage to significant sites. New roads, or even the restoration of old roads, may also adversely impact sub-surface remains.

- A plan should be agreed on how to best protect invisible but possibly significant or fragile sub-surface remains from the impact of heavy site machinery, vegetation clearing, unauthorised 'salvage', etc. For example, the archaeologically excavated site on the corner of Stuckeris Street may be vulnerable to activities at the Pilot Project site.
- Preserving and conserving significant historical fabric, features, artefacts, etc. may be considered desirable. It could be decided to leave things *in situ*, in which case they need protection from reconstruction impact, but anything that has intrinsic value should be kept in safe storage. As an interim measure, there may be a suitable yard or enclosure associated with the remaining standing buildings in the area (for instance the Moravian Chapel).

SOURCES

- Archaeology Contracts Office. 1996. Phase 1 Archaeological Assessment of Open State Land in District Six. Report prepared for the Transitional Metropolitan Substructure of Cape Town.
- Archaeology Contracts Office. 1996. Excavations in District Six: a residential property at the corner of Stuckeris and Roger Streets. Report prepared for RESUNACT, UCT.
- Lucien le Grange Architects. 2003. District Six: Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA): draft document.

SAHRA draft Conservation Principles: www.sahra.org.za/principles.htm

11.4 APPENDIX 4: REFERENCES

ARTICLES, BOOKS AND REPORTS

- Archaeology Contracts Office, Department of Archaeology, University of Cape Town, *Excavations in District Six: A residential property at the corner of Stuckers and Roger Streets*, January 1996.
- Archaeology Contracts Office, Department of Archaeology, University of Cape Town, *Phase 1 Archaeological Assessment of Open State Land in District Six*, prepared for the Transitional Metropolitan Substructure of Cape Town, prepared by the, June 1996.
- Bezzoli, M., Kruger, M., Marks, R., *Texture and Memory: The Urbanism of District Six*, The Sustainable Urban and Housing Development Research Unit, Cape Technikon, 1996 (and 2nd Edition published in 2002, edited by Penny Pistorius).
- Bickford-Smith Vivian, van Heyningen Elizabeth, Worden Nigel, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century*, David Philip Publishers, Cape Town, 1998.
- Breytenbach, C, *The Spirit of District Six*, Purnell, Cape Town, 1970.
- Cape Metropolitan Council, *Metropolitan Spatial Development framework: A Guide for Spatial Development in the Cape Metropolitan Functional Region*, Technical Report, April 1996.
- City of Cape Town, Planning and Development Directorate, *Municipal Spatial Development Framework*, Cape Town, August 1999.
- City of Cape Town, *Scenic Drive Network Management Plan: Phase A, Assessment and Evaluation of S1 and S2 Routes*, April 2001.
- City of Cape Town: Planning & Environment, *District Six: Draft Contextual Framework*, Revision March, 2003.
- District Six Museum and Jan Greshoff, *The Last Days of District Six: Photographs by Jan Greshoff*, District Six Museum, 1996.
- Field Sean (editor), *Lost Communities, Living Memories: Remembering Forced Removals in Cape Town*, Centre for Popular Memory, University of Cape Town, 2001.
- Fransen Hans and Cook Mary, *The Old Buildings of the Cape*, Cape Town, Balkema, 1980.
- Fransen Hans, *A Cape Camera: Photographs from the Arthur Elliot Collection*, AD Donker Publishers and Jonathan Ball Publishers, Johannesburg, 1993.
- Hallet George, *Images*, BLAC Publishing House Cape Town, 1979.
- Jeppie Shamiel and Soudien Crain (editors), *The Struggle for District Six: Past and Present* (A Project of the Hands Off District Six Committee), Buchu Books, 1990.
- Kerr, J.S., *Conservation Plan, 5th Edition*, National Trust of Australia, 2000.
- Klose, J. & A. Malan. 2000. 'The ceramic signature of the Cape in the nineteenth century, with particular reference to the Tennant Street site, Cape Town.' *The South African Archaeological Bulletin* 55 (171): 49-59.
- le Grange, Lucien, The Urbanism of District Six, in *The Last Days of District Six: Photographs of District Six*, Jan Greshoff, District Six Museum, 1995.
- le Grange Lucien, District Six: Urban Place and Public Memory, in *Recalling Community in Cape Town*, editors, Rassool and Prosalendis, Sandra, District Six Museum, 2001.
- le Grange Lucien, 'Working Class Housing, Cape Town 1890 -1947: Segregation and Township Formation', *Africa Seminar: Collected Papers, Volume 5*, 1985; Centre for African Studies, UCT, 1988.
- le Grange, Lucien, Architects, (in association with the Town Planning Branch, City Planner's Department), *Woodstock/Salt River: A Guide to Building and Repairs*, October 1993.
- Manuel George, Hatfield Denis and Frank Bruce, *District Six*, Longmans Southern Africa, Cape Town, 1968.
- Malan Antonia, Clift Harriet, Graf Otto, Hall Martin, Klose Jane, Sealy Emma, *Report on Resurrect District Six Project for 1996: The Tennant Street Site, 'Between the Castle and the Stock Pound': Early 19th Century Developments at the corner of Tennant and Hanover Streets*, Cape Town, August 1999.
- Malan, A. & C. Soudien. 2002. 'Managing heritage in District Six: conflicts past and present.' In J. Schofield (ed.), *The Archaeology of Twentieth Century Conflict*. London: Routledge.
- Mageean Andrea, Urban Conservation Policy Development: Character Appraisal and Analysis, in *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, No. 3, November 1998, pp.59-77.
- Rassool, Ciraj and Prosalendis, Sandra (editors) *Recalling Community in Cape Town*, District Six Museum, Cape Town, 2001.
- Rennie, J., *The Buildings of Cape Town, Volume One: Formative Influences and Classification*, Cape Provincial Institute of Architects, Cape Town, 1978.
- Rennie, J., *The Buildings of Cape Town, Volume Two: Catalogue*, Cape Provincial Institute of Architects, Cape Town, 1978.
- Rennie, J., *The Buildings of Cape Town, Volume Three: Catalogue*, Cape Provincial Institute of Architects, Cape Town, 1978.
- SAHRA draft Conservation Principles: www.sahra.org.za/principles.htm.
- Schoeman, C., *District Six: The Spirit of Kanala*, Human and Rousseau, Cape Town, 1993.
- Ström, Karen, *The Development of Working Class Housing in Cape Town, 1839 –1914: A Study of the Evolution of the Cape Town variant of the small 19th Century Terraced House*, Draft PhD unpublished manuscript, January 2003.
- Townsend, Stephen (with the Cape Town City Planner's Conservation Unit), A three-grade classification system of conservation-worthiness for Cape Town, in *Architecture SA*, July/August 1996, pp.36-41.
- Wissema Janse and Small Adam, *District Six*, Fontein Press, 1986.
- Worden Nigel, van Heyningen Elizabeth, Bickford-Smith Vivian, *Cape Town: The Making of a City*, David Philip Publishers, Cape Town, 1998.
- Van Heyningen, E. & A. Malan. 2001. 'Twice Removed: Horstley Street in Cape Town's District Six, 1865-1982.' In A. Mayne & T. Murray (eds), *The Archaeology of Urban Landscapes: Explorations in Slumland*, p. 39-56. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.