AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL, ARCHIVAL, ORAL & SPATIAL HISTORY

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Harvest scene and family group, Anon. c.1700 (National Library of South Africa).

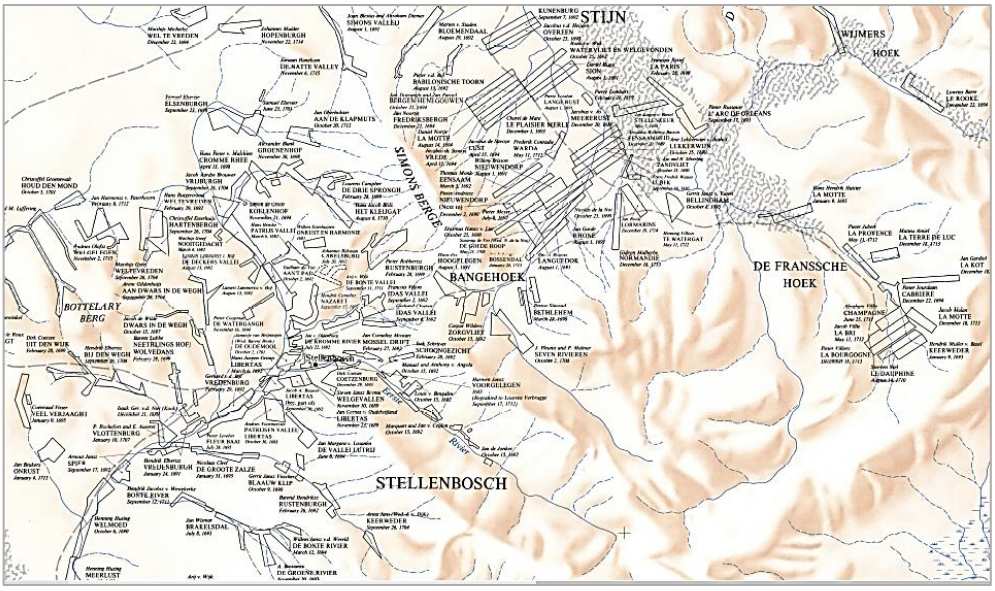
Harvest scene, Ravenscroft c.1880 (Cape Archives R289).

Compiled for Phase 3 of the

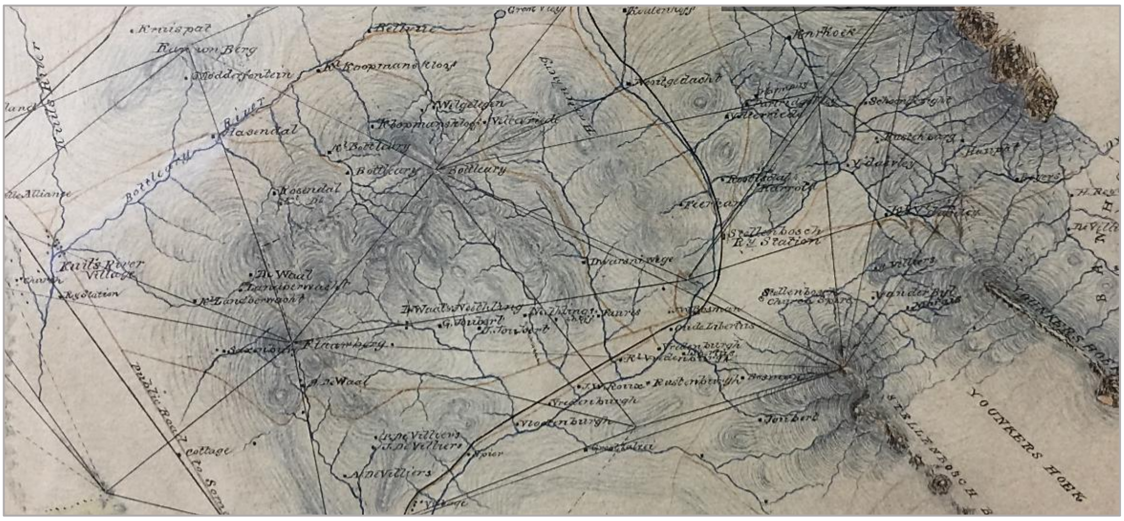
Stellenbosch Heritage Survey & Management Plan

Cape Winelands Professional Practices in Assocation

Notional map of the distribution of Khoekhoen 'tribes' in the mid-17th century
(Valentijn, F. 1726. *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*. Dordrecht: J. van Braam).



Early freehold land grants to individuals, 1657-1750 (Guelke 1987).



The Stellenbosch district, surveyed and measured by R. Wilson, 1877 (CA M1/564).

CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

This Phase 3 study is an amplification of the Phase 2a Project Report, *Appendix 2 Phase 2a: Palaeontology & Archaeology Framework, January 2017*. It revises and updates the first document, provides a more detailed background to the social and spatial development of the study area and identifies some key types of heritage sites and resources.

Research material includes:

- archival maps and survey compilations;
- archival photographs;
- completed and ongoing heritage surveys;
- academic dissertations and theses;
- secondary (published and online) sources;
- local websites, museums and displays;
- consultation with members of the team and local heritage bodies, and
- feedback from members of the public.

The views and opinions expressed in this report are those of the author alone and should not be taken to represent those of the Cape Winelands Professional Practices in Association or the Stellenbosch Local Municipality.

A note on terminology. Some terms describing a person or group's ethnicity / identity are derogatory and offensive, some were previously acceptable but now are not. I have attempted to avoid them in this report, but if one is used, it is in reference to a particular historic event and for the sake of clarity.

See Section 6 for acronyms, a glossary and definition of terms in the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) (no.25 of 1999).

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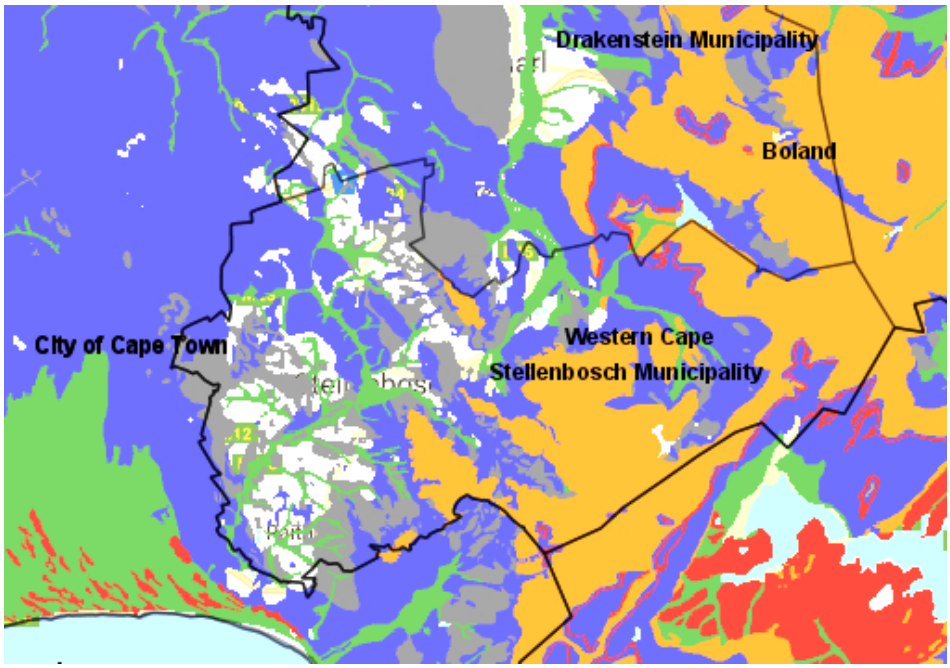
2. PALAEONTOLOGY & ARCHAEOLOGY

2.1 PALAEONTOLOGY

In the NHRA, **palaeontology** is defined as "any fossilised remains or fossil trace of animals or plants which lived in the geological past, other than fossil fuels or fossiliferous rock intended for industrial use, and any site which contains such fossilised remains or trace". The difference between palaeontology and archaeology is that archaeology is the study of the human past, whereas palaeontology covers a much wider range of fossils.

All fossils are protected by the NHRA and a permit is required by anyone wishing to excavate, remove or export them even if that person owns the land on which the fossils are found. Although most permits are issued to professional palaeontologists, they can be issued to anyone who is interested, as long as there is an agreement between the permit holder and a museum or university regarding where the material will be stored and how it will be recorded and catalogued. In cases where fossils are accidentally disturbed by mining, engineering or agricultural activities, the finds must be reported to a cultural institution such as a museum or university department, or SAHRA. All private collections of fossils must be registered. A list of professional palaeontologists who are available for contract work and who are members of the Palaeontological Society of South Africa can be obtained from SAHRA.



The palaeo-sensitivity map for the study area (SAHRIS).

Colour	Sensitivity	Required Action
RED	VERY HIGH	field assessment and protocol for finds is required
ORANGE / YELLOW	HIGH	desktop study is required and based on the outcome of the desktop study, a field assessment is likely
GREEN	MODERATE	desktop study is required
BLUE	LOW	no palaeontological studies are required however a protocol for finds is required
GREY	INSIGNIFICANT / ZERO	no palaeontological studies are required
WHITE / CLEAR	UNKNOWN	these areas will require a minimum of a desktop study; as more information comes to light, SAHRA will continue to populate the map.

As can be seen from the SAHRIS palaeo-sensitivity map, the sensitive areas in the Stellenbosch municipal district are confined to the high mountains and are unlikely to be impacted by development.

2.2. ARCHAEOLOGY

In the NHRA, **archaeology** is defined as "material remains resulting from human activity which are in a state of disuse and are in or on land and which are older than 100 years, including artefacts, human and hominid remains and artificial features and structures". Archaeological sites are places where people lived and left evidence of their presence in the form of artefacts, food remains and other traces such as rock paintings or engravings, burials, fireplaces and structures. The NHRA protects all archaeological sites and in the Western Cape a permit is needed from HWC in order to excavate, destroy, alter or remove archaeological material. There are *Minimum Standards* and *Guidelines* related to archaeological excavation, reporting and curation of archaeological material and artefacts.

Archaeology, as traditionally practiced in the Western Cape, broadly comprises **prehistoric archaeology** of stone-age sites (hunter-gatherers and early herders), **contact archaeology** (hunter-gatherers and later herders) and **historical archaeology** (settlement and colonization to present). Today it is recognized that there is no real break between the sub-disciplines as the subjects of study include sites of contact / conflict between hunter-gatherers and pastoralists, sites of contact / conflict between indigenes and colonists (and their slaves and servants), sites of early interaction (cultural exchange / entanglement) during colonial settlement and subsequent displacement of indigenes, sites of permanent settlement (villages and farms), sites of segregation (refugia and missions) and industrial sites. **Industrial archaeology** focuses on the development of technology (road, rail, power, water, and machines of extraction, processing and manufacturing) and industrial labour practices (compounds and townships). **Maritime archaeologists** study shipwrecks and other underwater archaeological remains (beneath the sea and inland waters), as well as sites associated with seafarers, campsites and coastal inhabitants.

Rock art is very rare in this region (or inaccessible / undiscovered). LSA rock paintings occur in the Wemmershoek area and on the farm Môrelig (Kaplan 2003), for example.

Burial sites mostly occur within the LSA and historical archaeology periods. The Genealogical Society of SA has recorded many Judao-Christian formal cemeteries and family burial grounds but has not included Muslim cemeteries, nor informal farm burials or accidental discoveries made during development or survey work. These sites have to be sourced and mapped from available reports. Burials are protected and must be graded in terms of the provisions of section 36 of the NHRA. All grave/burial sites are automatically assigned a high local significance rating in terms of archaeology (Grade IIIA). The management of burial grounds and graves can be delegated to both provincial and local authorities in terms of section 36 of the NHRA. Heritage Western Cape is responsible for those in the Stellenbosch municipal district. HWC, SAHRA and Iziko Museums are currently drafting *Guidelines on the Excavation and Treatment of Human Remains*.

As well as burial grounds for members of the property-owners' family (usually but not always fenced or walled and sometimes but not always containing vaults and grave markers), most farmers allocated a place for farm workers to bury their dead. These are seldom marked at all but may be known or have significance in oral histories.

Archaeologists recorded a large, informal burial ground, comprising at least 83 burials, located in a small pine forest on the Farm Simonsvlei, about 50m west of the Klapmuts road (Kaplan 2006). The oldest (datable) grave is dated 1930, while the youngest is dated 2004. Some of the graves bear

crosses, and many of them have head- and footstones, indicating Christian-style burials. Many of the older graves are covered by thick bush and succulent vegetation and are difficult to see. Many have clearly not been visited for many years. Some of the older graves are, however, well maintained and there are objects such as glass bottles, plastic pots, and marine shells, indicating recent visits to the site.

About a dozen graves were located among a patch of burnt lands alongside a gravel farm road close to the historic Lanquedoc Village (Kaplan 2005). The graves appear to be formally arranged in rows and comprise raised mounds of earth packed with rounded river cobbles. Modern domestic items such as small broken glass jars, and broken bottles, were noted on some of the grave mounds, indicating at least recent visits and maintenance and care of the site. Several pieces of marine shell, including a large trough shell (*Lutraria lutraria*) and a limpet fragment, were also noted.

3. PRECOLONIAL PERIOD (pre 1650)

3.1 THE STONE AGES

The gravels and sediments of the Stellenbosch area are associated with Earlier Stone Age artefacts and they are widely found in the plough zone of vineyards in the Western Cape. These finds are evidence of Earlier Stone Age occupation, but the significance is on a landscape scale rather than related to individual sites.

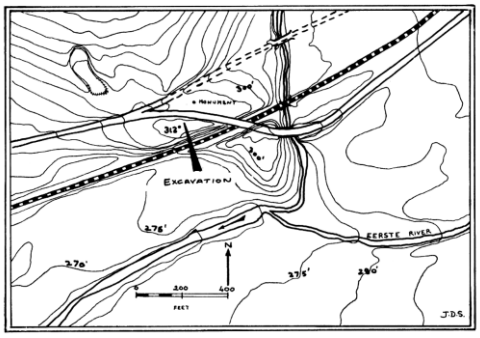
The presence of hand axes, commonly found along eroded river banks and in ploughed fields, attest to the human occupation of the Western Cape since the Early Stone Age. Stone Age artefacts, particularly pertaining to the Early Stone Age (ESA, as early as 900,000-700,000 years ago), are long known to occur in the Stellenbosch area and surrounds. For instance, ESA artefacts have been located in the Veldwagtersrivier catchment and many were also found on the eastern side of Onder Papegaaiberg (Orton 2014).

Hunter-gatherers continued to occupy the landscape throughout the Middle Stone Age (c. 500,000 to between 50-25,000 years ago) and into the Later Stone Age (from 30,000 years ago to the start of the Colonial Period in 1652). LSA archaeological material is not often encountered in this area, but a significant site was discovered on the farm Solms-Delta between Simondium and Franschhoek. This site yielded a large number of artefacts, including stone tools and pottery that date within the last 2000 years (Orton 2005). Hunter-gatherer groups in the area were either assimilated and/or were displaced by groups practising a nomadic pastoralist subsistence strategy, the Khoekhoen herders. Historical documents confirm that the Khoekhoe herders were therefore the predominant inhabitants in the Stellenbosch district at the time that the first Europeans arrived. The inland region was 'discovered' by Europeans while on expeditions to barter for cattle with the Khoekhoe.

Almost all archaeological traces of hunters and herders alike have disappeared, in part due to centuries of intensive farming and development on their sites. According to Kaplan (2006), large parts of the Franschoek/Drakenstein/Dwars River Valley rural landscape, together with Klapmuts, Muldersvlei, Klipheuwel and Durbanville, constitutes a severely degraded pre-colonial cultural landscape, which is no longer considered to be archaeologically sensitive, vulnerable or threatened. However, some of their traditions have been passed down by their descendants, who still live here.

3.2 EARLY STONE AGE

The important ESA site of Bosman's Crossing was discovered in a clay borrow pit by Louis Peringuey in 1899 (Peringuey 1911; Seddon 1966). That fact that human history in Africa could possibly have been as long as that in Europe was unthinkable to most people at the time, as Hilary and Janette Deacon pointed out in their book, *Human Beginnings in Southern Africa* (1999).



Bosman's Crossing (Seddon 1966).

Boulders marking the site (photograph JD 2017.

The site is memorialised as an Archaeological Reserve (declared in 1962) and marked by a large sandstone boulder near the Adam Tas Bridge. The area is now a Grade II Provincial Heritage site under the management of Heritage Western Cape (*Bosmans Crossing PHS (1962; SAHRA. Archaeological Reserve, Stellenbosch. 9/2/084/0067). Dgm 7036/1958*). The metal National Monument plaque was stolen, and a robust replacement is proposed by Dr Janette Deacon, such as an incised stone slab with the following inscription:

STELLENBOSCH ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESERVE

IN A ROAD-MAKER'S BORROW-PIT HERE IN 1899 LOUIS PERINGUEY MADE THE FIRST DISCOVERY OF 'STELLENBOSCH' STONE IMPLEMENTS AND THEREBY PROVED THE GREAT ANTIQUITY OF HUMANS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Louis Peringuey wrote in his report on *The Stone Ages of South Africa* in 1911: "At the foot of a steep hill called Papegaaiberg runs a small rivulet – a tributary of the Eerste River. The spur of the hill abuts on that rivulet and is intersected on one side by a cart road and by the railway cutting on the other. The space thus left has been used for a good many years as a brick field from which a thickness of 20 feet of material or more has been removed. I found there, in the vertical wall ... two superposed layers of fractured, water worn boulders, spalls, nuclei, etc. They had been deposited on the granite foundation ... which terminates abruptly on the bank of the Eerste River."

Louis Albert Péringuey was born in Bordeaux, France, on 9 October 1855. He qualified as an entomologist specialising in Coleoptera (beetles) and came to Cape Town as a consultant to investigate diseases in South African vineyards. His interest in entomology and archaeology led him to become Director of the South African Museum (now Iziko) in Cape Town in 1906 and he worked there until his sudden death on 2 February 1924. He wrote many scientific papers describing new insect taxa and Stone Age sites in South Africa. His collections are divided between the Iziko South African Museum, Transvaal Museum, Museo Civico di Storia Naturale di Genova and the collections of the German Entomological Institute.

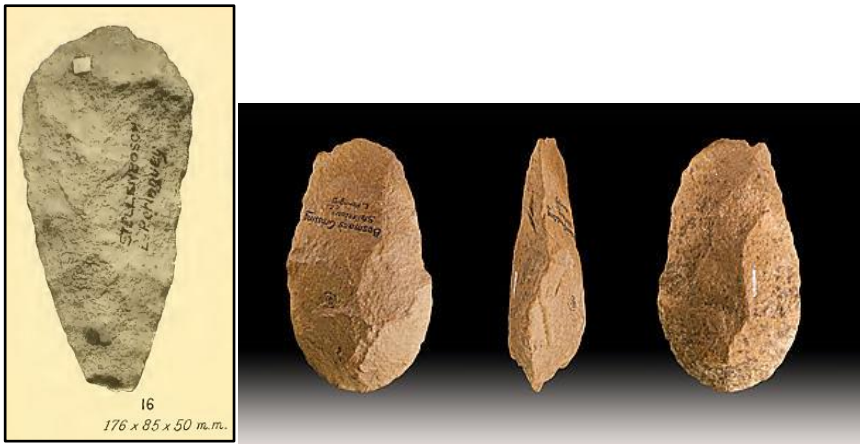
A century of research by archaeologists has confirmed Peringuey's observation that the stone implements found around Stellenbosch are indeed very old. They are included in the period known as the **Earlier Stone Age** (known as the Lower Palaeolithic in Europe) which covers the time between about **1.2 million and 250,000 years ago**. Handaxes and cleavers, the most characteristic of the Earlier Stone Age implements, are found in many vineyards in the valleys of the Eerste, Berg, Breede and Olifants Rivers in the south-western Cape, and in similar situations throughout Africa, southern Europe, the Near East and India.

Handaxes were multi-purpose cutting tools used for skinning and cutting up meat, breaking bones to remove the marrow, digging up roots, wood-working and other tasks. All stone implements in South Africa belong to the state and are protected by the National Heritage Resources Act (Act 25 of 1999). They may not be removed from their place of origin, or sold, without a permit. In the Western Cape, applications for permits must be made to the provincial heritage resources authority, Heritage Western Cape, in the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport.

In acknowledgement of Peringuey's work, this site at Bosman's Crossing was declared a National Monument in 1961. When the National Heritage Resources Act replaced the National Monuments Act in 2000, all former national monuments became Provincial Heritage Sites. The Stellenbosch Archaeological Reserve is now a Provincial Heritage Site. The original bronze plaque erected by the former Historical Monuments Commission was stolen and has been replaced with this notice through the generous initiative of [*sponsors names*].

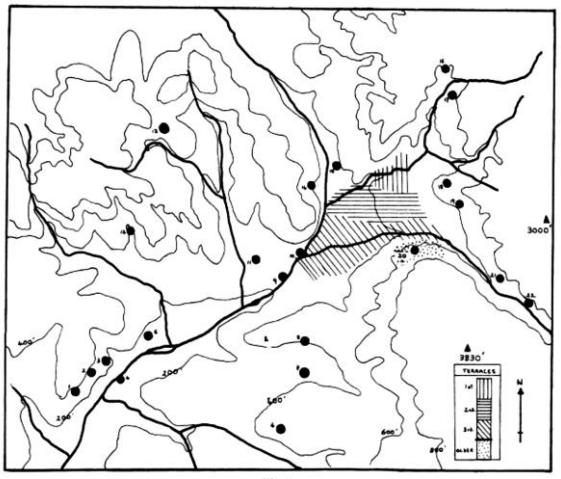
Péringuey was responsible for describing and illustrating particularly the bifacially flaked handaxes (known as *bouchers*), and in 1926 at the Annual General Meeting of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, it was resolved to name the industry described by Péringuey as the "Stellenbosch Culture", after the type locality. This term was later replaced by the term Acheulian (after a site in France) to conform to international usage. Today the ESA is divided into periods. The Olduwan period, which is as much as 1.7 million years old, is associated with the oldest and most simple human-made artefacts. This was followed by the Acheulian Tradition, a more developed stone artefact industry, characterised by the presence of specific types of stone tools such as handaxes, choppers and cleavers. Subsequent research by archaeologists has confirmed Péringuey's observation that the Acheulian industrial complex which occurs in the vicinity of Stellenbosch, and forms an important component of the ESA, dates to between about 1.5 million and 500,000 years ago.

Handaxes and cleavers, the most characteristic large cutting tools of the ESA, are found in the valleys of the Eerste, Berg and Breede Rivers in the south-western Cape (Webley 2016). Almost all Acheulian assemblages in southern Africa come from disturbed open-air contexts. Kaplan noted tools scattered in fields and beside roads in the area in 2015 (i.e. Distillery, Adam Tas and Vredenburg roads).



Examples of the type of handaxes recovered by Péringuey (1911) from Bosman's Crossing.

In his 1967 review of the ESA from Stellenbosch, Seddon listed a total of 22 known ESA sites in and around Stellenbosch, although conceding that the "only place where numerous artefacts are to be found in situ is opposite the monument already mentioned; at the Bosman's Crossing site". They were: Gleneagles Hotel (2), Olives Farm Lynedoch, Spier, Vlottenburg winery, Louishoogte site, Blaauklip vegetable garden and golf course, Vredenburg, Bosman's Crossing, General Box Factory, Suikerbosrand, Altavona, Blake's Quarry, Smits' Quarry, Schoongezicht, Rustenberg, Lorraine, Rozendal, Coetzenburg, Glen Conner and Old Nectar. See map below.



Distribution of known ESA sites (Seddon 1967).

Goodwin and Van Riet Lowe (1929) reported that ESA implements were found in a deep erosion gulley on Pontac Hill, Pomona estate, on the lower slopes of the Simonsberg in the Drakenstein Valley. Kaplan (1998) comments that Acheulian artefacts have been recorded and mapped in the Veldwagtersrivier catchment, and on the slopes of the Papegaaiberg. Kaplan (1998) found large numbers of Acheulian artefacts on the farm Krommerivier. The range of artefacts included large cleavers, choppers, cores, flakes and cobbles, with a few handaxes. The artefacts were mainly made of sandstone, with a few of quartzite and darker ironstone. Vos (1999) collected several ESA artefacts from the vineyards of Spier before the craft village was established: cleavers, borers,

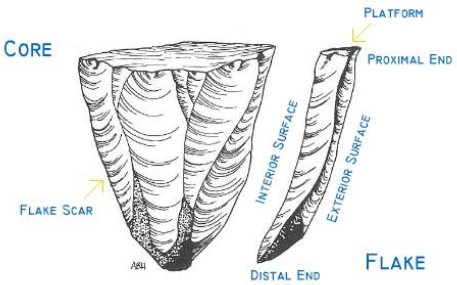
pointed hand axes, cores and flakes. Kaplan (1999 and 2000) noted some ESA artefacts in ploughed fields in Franschhoek, at La Cotte, in orchards at Mooiwater (Beaucoup de l'Eau) and in orchards at Domaine de la Cabriere.

Kaplan (2005) found a large number of ESA artefacts on the Boschendal property, but in a variety of highly disturbed contexts. The finds included large flakes, flaked/split cobbles, large chunks, worked and pitted river cobbles, large irregular and prepared cores, as well as several incomplete and complete handaxes, cleavers, and choppers. He specifically mentions finding stone artefacts "among piles of rocks from cleared fields and packed in rows in the vineyards". He found ESA artefacts "in orchards and vineyards and fields in the area surrounding the Rhodes Cottage Homestead, alongside some of the gravel roads in the area and among piles of river cobbles and rocks cleared from farm lands, and near several dams in this area". Finally, he reported finding ESA artefacts "on the higher gravel slopes of the Simonsberg Mountains in the proposed Founders Estate, and in some of the lands north and east of the Goede Hoop Farm, and near a small stream/river. Artefacts were also found near an old gravel quarry above Goede Hoop Farm".

3.3 MIDDLE STONE AGE

The Middle Stone Age in Southern Africa (250 000-21 000 years ago) is dominated by flake-based formal tools rather than the core-based formal tools of the Acheulian (a pebble that is struck with another rock or similar material to produce a cutting edge or edges). A flake tool is created by striking a flake from a prepared stone core and then flaking off small particles of stone to create scrapers or burins, or by breaking off a large flake piece and using that as a tool itself. These tools could be extremely sharp and were easily repaired.

A core with flakes removed to produce an ESA tool.



Flakes from a prepared core to produce MSA & LSA tools.

MSA stone flake artefacts from Stellenbosch.

(http://stone-age-stellenbosch.blogspot.co.za/ *Thursday, 11 February 2016*)

In general, tools made from larger flakes, particularly from the earlier MSA, could easily be confused with ESA artefacts, while in later times (particularly during the Howieson's Poort phase of the MSA) some small MSA flakes overlap in size with the LSA. For these reasons, it is often not possible to

identify isolated flakes, although certain types, notably triangular flakes, long blades and those with faceted platforms, are very characteristic of the MSA period (Orton 2005).

A cave site at Wemmershoek Dam had a deep deposit banked behind tumbled boulders that contained a large number of artefacts. These are predominantly MSA in origin, consisting mainly of flakes, cores and chunks with a few blades also being present. The assemblage, which was not excavated at the time it was identified in 1993, probably belongs to an early phase of the MSA sequence.

ESA and MSA tools were found scattered on the surface of the farm Solms-Delta situated near the confluence of the Dwars and Berg rivers. Similarly, they are found in fields and orchards in Franschhoek. Large flakes and cores, some with bifacial flaking, were found on Klapmutskop. While these particular artefacts were not in a formal archaeological context, their presence even on the surface gives testimony to the presence of our human ancestors on this landscape for millennia.

3.4 LATE STONE AGE

The people occupying the Western Cape before 2000 years ago were all hunter-gatherers, but after that time large-scale organisational and subsistence changes began, with the gradual introduction of pottery-making and domesticated sheep to the local economy. Presently it is considered likely that sheep were introduced to Southern Africa through diffusion and trade rather than by a migrating people, as was often thought in the past, and that pottery was present slightly earlier than sheep (Orton 2005).

Small groups of hunter-gatherers followed the seasonal round in this landscape, collecting plants and catching wild birds and animals. They found shelter in caves and rock formations and constructed windbreaks and waterproof *skerms* (screens) in more open areas. Their stone tool assemblages are characterised by the simultaneous occurrence of three particular retouched stone tool types: segments, backed bladelets and backed scrapers.

Hunter-gatherer groups in the Western Cape were either assimilated into or displaced by groups practising a pastoralist subsistence strategy after about 2000 years ago. The lifestyle of traditional pastoralist societies in Africa is defined by their need to find pasture and water for their livestock. They were nomadic, moving their stock around seasonal pastures. The early historical records focus on coastal areas because that is where European ships came to get fresh provisions, and at first they did not understand why the Khoekhoen were sometimes absent. The Cape Peninsula provided summer grazing and the Saldanha Bay region was used in winter. The Peninsula has some rain in summer, so there is year-round pasture available. By using coastal resources between October and January the stock-keepers left interior pastures to regenerate until winter.

The Khoekhoen kept large herds of fat-tailed sheep, long-horned cattle and goats. Oxen were used as pack animals and for riding. This created broad trails where narrow paths had previously existed. Being constantly on the move affects the social relationships between groups and within the group. While most of the active population may move around with herds for most of the year, some such as old people or women with very young children may have stayed in one place with a milk cow and lived off *veldkos*. In general, food obtained by hunting and gathering provided the greater part of their diet. Domestic animals provided milk and were only slaughtered for special or ritual purposes (Boonzaaier et al 1996).

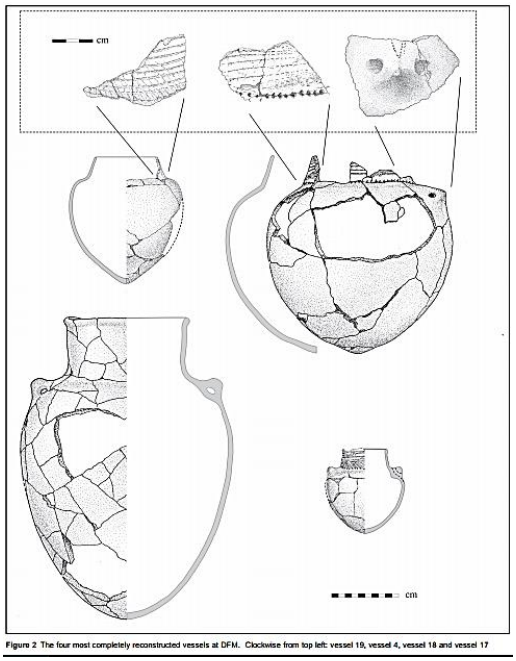
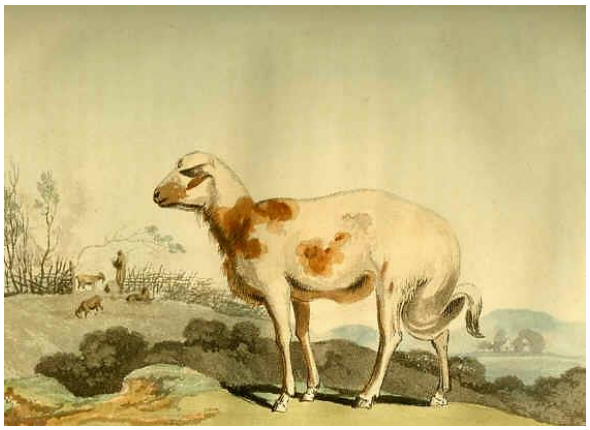


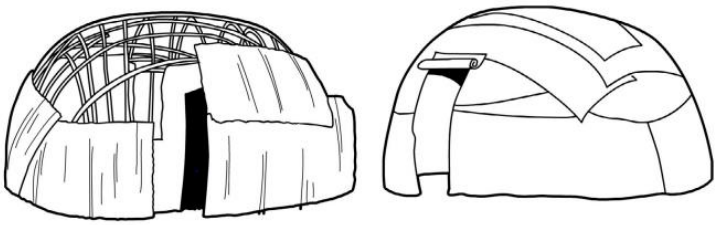
Figure 2 The four most completely reconstructed vessels at DFM. Clockwise from top left: vessel 19, vessel 4, vessel 18 and vessel 17

Khoekhoen cooking pots (Stewart 2005).



A fat-tailed sheep (Barrow c.1790).

Unlike the San, who lived in small bands generally fewer than 50 persons in number, the Cape herders lived in groups of often well over 100 persons. A number of Cape herder kraals in the district were recorded by the VOC. There was one between the Simonsberg and Paarl and one east of the Dwars Valley at Oliphantshoek (present day Franschhoek). An encampment consisted primarily of members of the same patrilineal clan with some dependants or servants (such as impoverished people and San), under a headman. Kraals consisted of semi-permanent houses and protection for livestock. A circle of *matjieshuise* enclosed the small livestock while the cattle were herded closely around. The round hut, or *matjieshuis*, made of a frame of green branches bent over and tied together and covered by reed mats, was the basic housing structure, quick to erect and dismantle.



Branches are collected by the men and heated over a fire, then the bark is removed and they are planted in a circle and bent into the dome shape. When the branches cool down, they stay fixed in the dome shape. The women collect the grass and dry it out in the sun before weaving it into mats, which are attached to the frame structure using grass ropes (www.e-classroom.co.za).

A herder economy allows for higher population concentrations than hunting and gathering, and encompasses particular ideas about ownership of private property and rights to land. The chief of a number of linked clans had authority over rights to their land, but did not own the land or the resources on it. He merely gave permission to use it and outsiders paid tribute for temporary usufruct. He had no rights to permanently dispose of or sell the land. Private possession of property, except domestic animals, was an alien concept. Traditionally, however, young men enjoyed raiding or counter-raiding other groups to steal valuable cattle.

Many place names retain a link to KhoeSan occupation and land use, for instance peaks and passes named after *Bosjesmen* or *Hottentots* and farm names ending in *kraal*. There are only a handful of

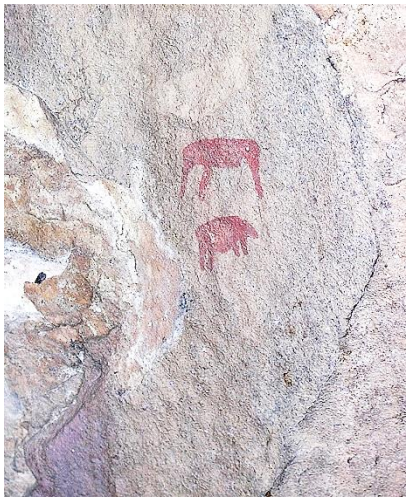
archaeologically significant LSA sites in the study area, though the full extent of reported occurrences is still to be ascertained and assessed. Over the extensive tracts of arable land, the sites have long since been destroyed through centuries of farming. In more recent decades development has also resulted in the destruction of large numbers of sites.

Archaeological remains dating to the Later Stone Age and Contact periods were discovered on Solms-Delta Farm, and were the focus of an archaeological excavation carried out by the Archaeological Contracts Office (now ACO Associates cc). There is evidence that hunter-gatherers used this open site some 6 000 years before the farm was granted to the settlers. The site yielded large numbers of mid-Holocene period artefacts and a handful of younger items, including pottery, that date within the last 2000 years (Orton 2005; Orton et al. 2005). Trenches on the werf exposed a dense scatter of LSA microlithic stone tools together with the waste material from knapping them. The area of high artefact concentration lies between the manor house and the old wine cellar on the highest point of the berm immediately above the wide river terrace. The few sherds of prehistoric pottery that have been found at Solms-Delta indicate that although people camped there during the last 2000 years it is impossible to determine when exactly this might have been.

Khoekhoen kraals were assemblies of *matjieshuise*, portable architecture that sat lightly on the ground and left no trace behind (Pistorius & Harris 2006). But the people modified the ecosystem and the landscape form. The paths they cleared through dense bush formed established routes. They set fire to hillsides and dense bush to encourage new growth, clearing fields. Their herds cropped back the grasslands and water meadows each year, keeping them clear. The herders have left evidence of their presence in the shards of their unique pottery, associated with stone and bone tools, which can still be found. Stellenbosch Museum archaeologist Hennie Vos noticed several fragments in the dust of a road on the farm Meerust in 2004.

3.4.1 Rock Art

Five rock art sites are known from the area around the Wemmershoek Dam, Franschhoek. Three of these sites were described by Manhire and Yates (1994) as containing paintings in the fine line tradition similar to rock art recorded in the Cederberg, as well as cruder finger dots believed to be a later tradition. No images were published in 1994. The exact location and significance of the artefactual remains of the sites is still to be reviewed.



Rock paintings in the Wemmershoek area. Images courtesy of T. Randle.

4. HISTORICAL THEMES & COMPONENTS

4.1 CONTACT PERIOD / EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD (1650 to 1700)

In summary, for the new settlers the fifty-year period before 1700 was a time of learning how to live on the land and to construct buildings with whatever means were available. The VOC supplied them with tools, muskets, powder and ammunition, provisions for a few months, wood to build shelters and a team of oxen to break the soil. They were able to exploit the game and timber from the forests and vleis, but the poor soils forced them into working long backbreaking hours to increase the productivity of a fixed quantity of land. A demand for labour was created and this was met by the VOC's importation of slaves. Slaves were the central and vital component of the 18th century colonial economy. Khoekhoen descendants were incorporated into the farm labour pool, as a result of loss of independent economic means and through coercion, with little more freedom of choice than slaves. Some managed to retain an independent life by keeping beyond the reach of VOC guns and horses, but were increasingly pushed into marginal environments.

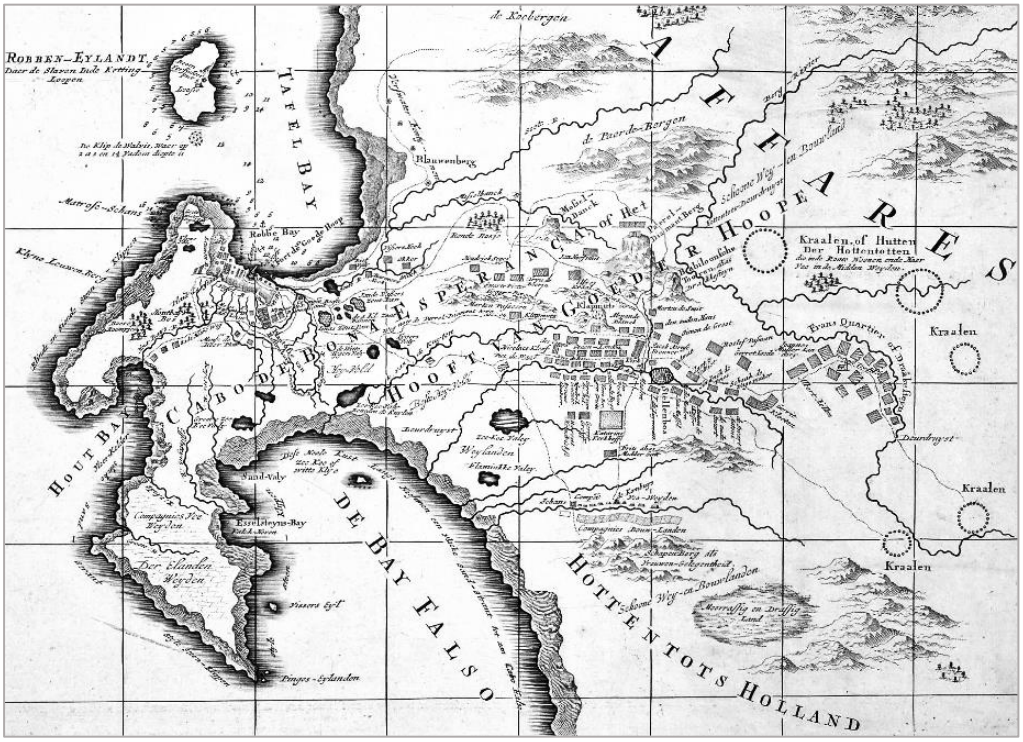
4.1.1 Inhabitants and immigrants

The Berg River Valley formed the traditional border between the Peninsular Khoekhoen (the Gorachoqua and the Goringhaiqua) and the Cochoqua. The Peninsulars used the pastures between the Hottentots Holland Mountains and the Cape Peninsula and possibly as far north as Malmesbury. The Chariguriqua appear to have occupied the lower Berg River and points around the Piketberg and the Cochoqua the land from Saldanha Bay and the Vredenburg Peninsula across to Porterville. The Caledon plains were occupied by the Chainoqua, a large and powerful group who later brought stock to trade with the colony.

Map from Valentyn's *Travels* (1971) compiled from various sources c.1720.

The Drakenstein region was 'discovered' by Europeans while on expeditions to barter for cattle with the Khoekhoen. San hunter-gatherer resources had been impacted by the introduction of domestic livestock (sheep, goats and cattle) about 2000 years previously and San groups had mostly moved away from areas suitable for pasturing herds of sheep and cattle. In the beginning, relations between the Khoekhoen and the small VOC settlement were cordial, but they deteriorated rapidly

once the Khoekhoen realised that not only was the Dutch East India Company occupation permanent, but that it also excluded trade between them and the British. The loss of grazing pastures became a constant source of friction between Khoekhoen and the VOC. Van Riebeeck noted that the Khoekhoen leaders complained, and he conceded that: "we had been appropriating more and more of their land which had been theirs all these centuries and on which they had been accustomed to let their cattle graze" (Boonzaaier et al 1996).



Cape Colony c.1700 (UCT Digital Archive).

The **first Khoe-Dutch war** (1659-60) took place around the fort in Table Bay and into the Boland and Saldanha regions. The VOC used military force to break Khoekhoen resistance to the occupation of their land. In 1672 the VOC signed two treaties with two groups of the Khoekhoen, the Goringhaiqua and the Gorachouqua, to defuse rising tensions over loss of land. In terms of the agreement, the two Khoe groups apparently consented to surrender large tracts of land stretching from Table Bay in the south and Saldanha in the north and across to the Hottentots Holland in the east. It was agreed that the Khoekhoen would retain the cattle they had seized during the war. To avert any doubt as to who now controlled the land, Company soldiers were quickly sent to occupy the Hottentots Holland area. The **second Khoe-Dutch war** (1673-77) was a response to VOC expansion into other areas as well.

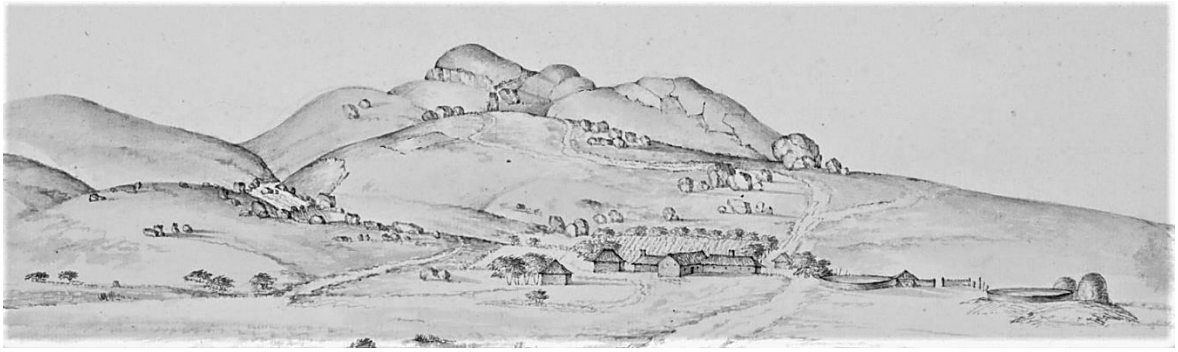
The Khoekhoe's position was clear: they did their utmost to frustrate the Dutch and drive them away, back to where they had come from. But it was all in vain. The Dutch had come to stay (Brink 2005). The mutual distrust, and the growing dependence on alcohol and tobacco on the part of the Khoekhoe and on livestock on the part of the Dutch, had developed into a hopeless situation, a deadlock that only worsened as more free-burghers settled at the Cape (Gosselink *et al.* 2017: 59).

Of greatest importance to the herders were VOC actions concerning land: the allocations to the first free-burghers (1657) and the marking out of farms in Stellenbosch (1679) and Paarl (1687). Simon van der Stel allocated land grants in the Stellenbosch area on a 'first come first served' basis and placed no legal limits on the size of the land claimed by colonists as long as it was cultivated within three years. He abandoned any semblance of alliances with the Khoekhoen and appointed himself as the person who had the right to approve the appointment of their chiefs. Ironically, the immigrant

white landless Company servants who decided to stay at the Cape now become landowners and livestock owners.

The collapse of the Khoekhoe economy brought to an end their status as independent livestock owners in the Cape district. By the time that the smallpox epidemic hit the Cape herders in 1713 they were already in serious decline, robbed of the best pastures and involved in a series of internal conflicts and wars. From then on the groups broke up and people drifted to the mission stations or into the employ of the settlers as stockmen. The local Khoekhoen had ingrained knowledge of the local climate and geography, which made them valuable farmhands, but they could not be legally enslaved and could as a last resort move away and attempt to follow independent lives. In the 1730s both the Khoekhoen and the San intensified guerrilla attacks against settler farmers in the Piketberg area, on the northern frontier of permanent land grants.

In 1701, the total immigrant population in the Cape Colony – free persons (inclusive of free-blacks), *knechten* (hired European workers), and slaves - was 2225 people. In 1700 there were 268 free-burghers resident at the Cape, 164 at Stellenbosch and 130 at Drakenstein (Robertson 2015: 25). Estimates for 1717 put the population at 744 officials, about 2000 free burghers and over 2700 slaves.



Drakenstein farm, E.V. Stade 1710 (HaNA_4.TOPO_15.90).

Grain was the primary crop demanded by the VOC but the settlers also planted fruit trees and vines and grew vegetables. It was however livestock farming that soon became the cornerstone of the emergent economy. It has been suggested that the first areas to be cleared of the indigenous vegetation were on the fertile alluvial areas along the banks of the streams and rivers where wheat, barley, rye and vegetables could be grown and the first vines could be planted. The palmiet beds were burned and channels were dug to provide flood irrigation to the plots and orchards. Tracks and roads became more defined. The farmers continued with the Khoekhoen pattern of burning to create more pasturage for sheep and cattle on the foot slopes of the mountain (and this practice lasted into the 1920s). The settlers also introduced exotic European trees to provide timber and crops like acorns for their pigs, and shade for their houses and tracks in the summer heat (Houston 1981).

4.1.2 Slaves

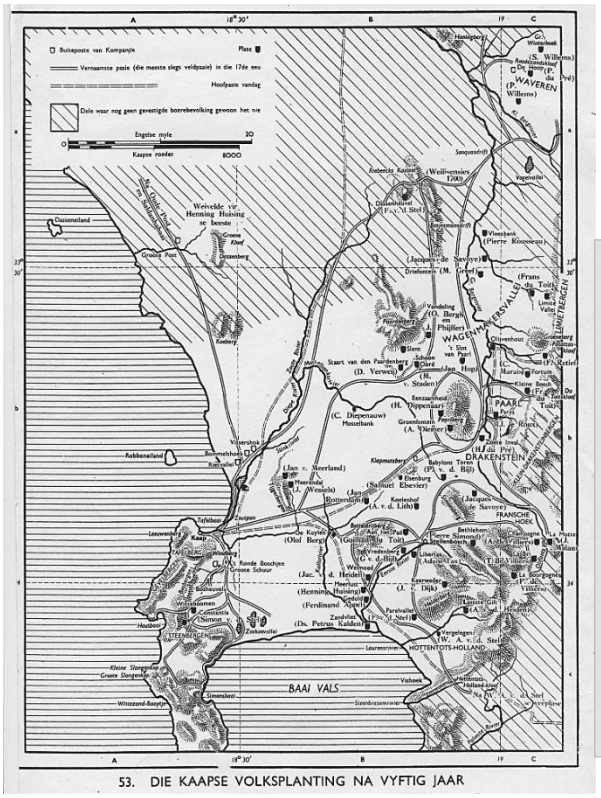
From a total of 891 in 1701, the number of privately owned slaves in the VOC Cape grew steadily to 14,747 in 1793, the last year of VOC records. The Cape remained dependent on imported slaves from Africa and Asia, shipped from throughout the VOC trading routes (such as Mozambique and Madagascar, India and Ceylon, central and eastern Indonesia). Some were locally-born (*van de Kaap)*, as the child of an enslaved mother was legally a slave whoever the father was. Slaves were not evenly distributed in the Cape colony. A few worked on large cattle and sheep farms to the north

and east, usually alongside KhoeSan shepherds and herdsmen, but the vast majority lived and worked in Cape Town and the arable hinterland: the vine and cereal cultivating regions. Almost all arable farmers owned some slaves, from two to twenty depending on the size of their property. Their tasks covered the whole range of farming work, but some acquired specialised skills, such as vine-dressing, and these slaves fetched high prices at auctions. Domestic work was often carried out by slave women, who were also responsible for the care of both their own children and those of their owners, also as wet-nurses. Women also worked in the fields, especially during harvest seasons (Gosselink *et al.* 2017: 121 ff).

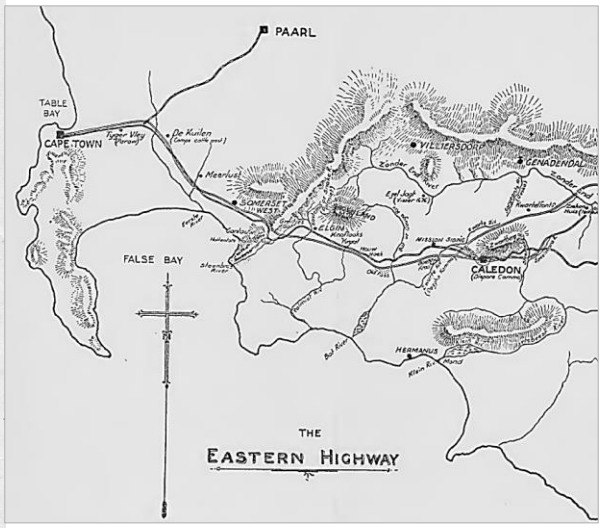
As slaves were expensive, wealthier farmers with larger tracts of land were in a better position to buy them. The potential also existed for this group to exploit economies of scale and use slaves profitably. If European labour had been used instead of slaves, it is possible that smaller land areas would have been cultivated and more labour-saving technologies would have been implemented. However, after the settlers were released from Company service by Van Riebeeck, they could depart from intensive European farming practices and establish large farms on the available land, based partially on the use of slave labour (Du Plessis et al. 2014). The poorer farmers who could not afford to hire or buy slaves relied on their family members and the help of the Khoekhoen to manage their stock and at harvest time.

4.1.3 Early routes and passes

Anna Boeseken's map, below, shows the extent of settlement in about 1700. (Note that the Company post at Klapmuts is marked in the wrong place, on modern Klapmuts instead of the southern flank of the hill.) Mossop's map of the Eastern Highway reminds us that the major communication and transport routes to the Stellenbosch area approached from the north-west as the sandy Cape Flats were impassable to wagons at that time.



Die Kaapse volksplanting na vyftig jaar (Boeseken 1948).



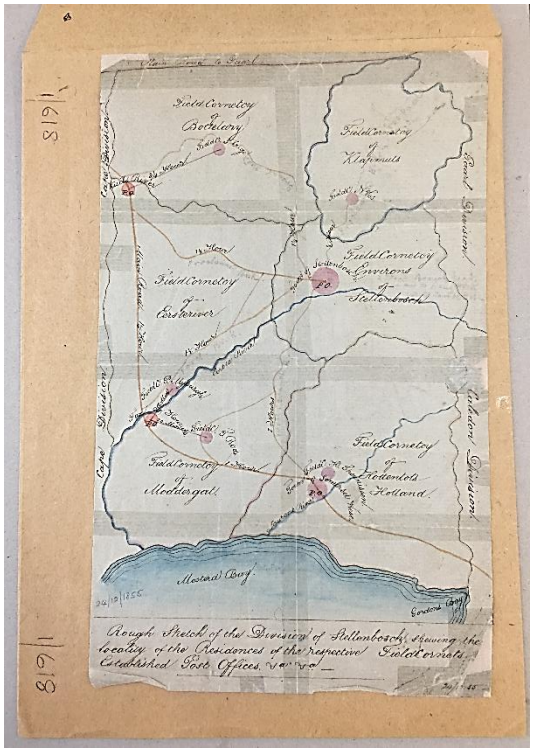
The Eastern Highway (Mossop 1927).

Much of the fabric of early passes has been obliterated by subsequent roads, but the three passes at the upper end of **Franschhoek** are still there, even if obscured by vegetation. The Olifants Pad, also used by the KhoeSan, went straight up the side of the mountain from Keerweder and was only suitable for four- or two-legged pedestrians. In 1952 it was noted that the place where the elephants used to take their mud or dust baths - their 'rolplek' - was still visible on the farm (Joubert 1952).

Much later (1818) a local farmer cut a basic road, Cat's Pad, which was steep and rough and not suitable for a fully-laden wagon. The new Franschhoek Pass (Major Holloway, Royal Engineers, 1825) was wide enough to allow two wagons to pass. (Supplies were delivered to the construction crew by Mr Hugo's goat cart, and apparently the animals went up and down by themselves. The cart was, and may still be, in the Huguenot Museum.) After a veld fire in 1999, archaeologists from UCT mapped the village in which the pass builders lived in stone-walled cottages clinging to the steep slopes of the Du Toit's River (Malan 1999). There was a tollhouse and/or inn on the Catspad and Holloway passes, and some other small structures on the far side of the river. It is said that 150 soldiers of the Royal Africa Corps worked on the road for a while, ostensibly to keep them out of trouble while waiting shipment for Sierra Leone. The first stone-arched bridge in South Africa was built by Holloway over Jan Joubert's Gat in 1825 (NM 1979). In the 1930s the pass was reconstructed as part of the Depression public works projects, and it was improved in the 1960s (Ross 2002). The original road built by Jan Cats was later restored, and in 2003 the *Cats se Pad* Trail was opened, and today it forms an integral part of the Mont Rochelle Nature Reserve and the ecotourism centre of the Fransche Hoek Estate. The rugged far side of the Franschhoek Pass is called Purgatory.

Helshoogte, no doubt also an old foot trail, was in use from 1687 by the first settlers on this portion of the Berg River, shortly before the arrival of the French Huguenots. (The origin of its name is unclear but it may relate to the steep gullies or 'hels' on both sides of the Helshoogte Ridge.) The original road ran through Ida's Valley and various farms. It also passed through Banghoek Valley, a scary place of dense forest, leopards, steep ravines and other dangers, on its way to Franschhoek. The route was greatly improved in 1854 (leaving Ida's Valley as a cul-de-sac) and was used until it was replaced by the new road in 1972. The road now mainly carries traffic to a number of farms, which makes it an ideal cycling route. A prominent cycling event, Die Burger Cycle Tour, is hosted by the town of Stellenbosch and uses Helshoogte Pass.

Good communication systems required good roads. A plan dated 1855 maps the post offices and linking roads between them, and notes the time it took to travel between points. The Field Cornets were presumably responsible for monitoring the system and post was delivered to their farms.

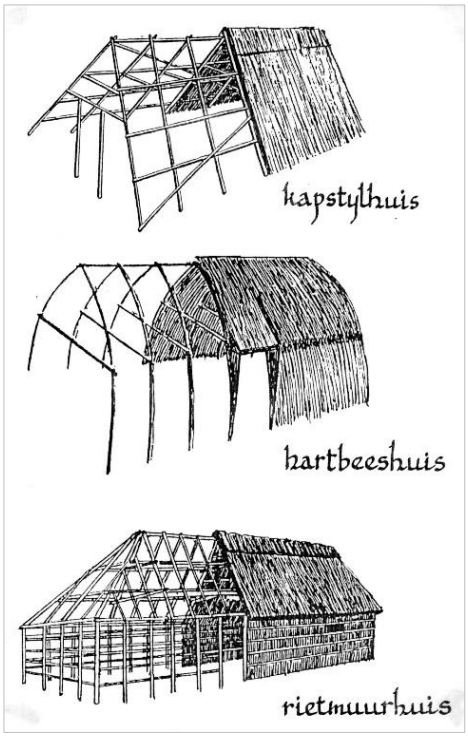


"Rough sketch of the Division of Stellenbosch shewing the locality of the Residences of the respective Field Cornets, Established Post Offices, etc. etc." (CA M1/618.)

4.1.4 Impermanent, semi-permanent and permanent vernacular architectural developments

First-generation settlers brought with them the traditions and 'building competence' of their original homes. The early settlers were mostly German and Dutch, with a party of French arriving in 1688. Labour was supplied by KhoeSan descendants and African and Asian slaves. Natural resources differed from those in Europe and Asia. For instance, timber was in short supply at the Cape and hardwood trees were especially scarce, and there was little fuel for firing bricks and tiles. The areas with large trees on the Peninsula were rapidly logged out and the Stellenbosch forests followed. It was only those builders with access to Company resources who were able to source good, long timber, hard bricks, etc.

Early reports, drawings and paintings show that the Khoekhoen built traditional *matjieshuise* on the free-burgher farms, where they could live in family groups. Other types of reed-walled buildings were constructed on farms throughout the 18th century. For the earliest types of colonial buildings, we can draw analogies with research in other areas, such as the semi-arid west coast, even if that region is less richly endowed and less developed than the Stellenbosch district. There, impermanent architecture was widespread (Malan & Webley 2010). Early explorers, pastoralists and fishermen adopted the *matjieshuis* system of the Khoekhoen. Woven mats were attached to a framework of saplings and could be dismantled and loaded onto riding oxen or wagons when a move was necessary. In time, oval and square mat houses were constructed by settlers in Namaqualand and elsewhere. Wattle-and-daub and reed-walled structures with thatched hipped roofs, and *kapstylhuise*, were still being built in the Sandveld and Clanwilliam districts in the 1980s, and a few can still be found in remote areas.



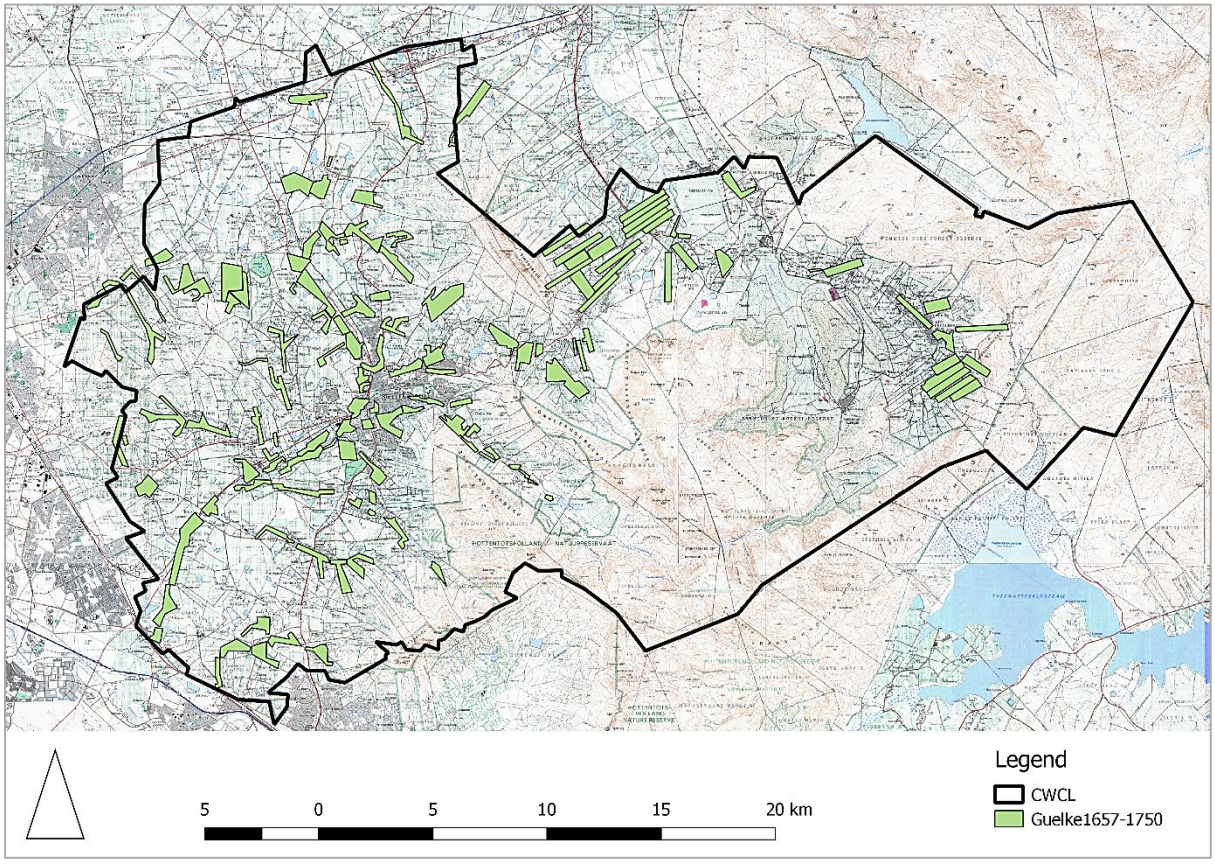
Left: Adam Kok's *matjieshuis* at Klaarwater, Burchell 1811.
Right: James Walton's typology of reed-and-sapling houses (see Malan & Webley 2010).

The photograph below was taken on an unknown Cape farm around 1900, and shows the A-frame *kapstylhuis* form still in use alongside a plastered mud-brick building and a stone-built structure.

A Cape sheep farm with A-frame sheds (Ravenscroft CA R277).

4.1.5 Early freehold land grants

Leonard Guelke (1987) mapped the farms recorded in the first two volumes of freehold grants in the Deeds Office, 1657 to 1750. The owners needed access to a permanent fresh water source. In order to achieve this, the first farms are laid out as long narrow strips along rivers, or when land became scarcer, strips intersecting rivers. Well-connected people received larger grants.

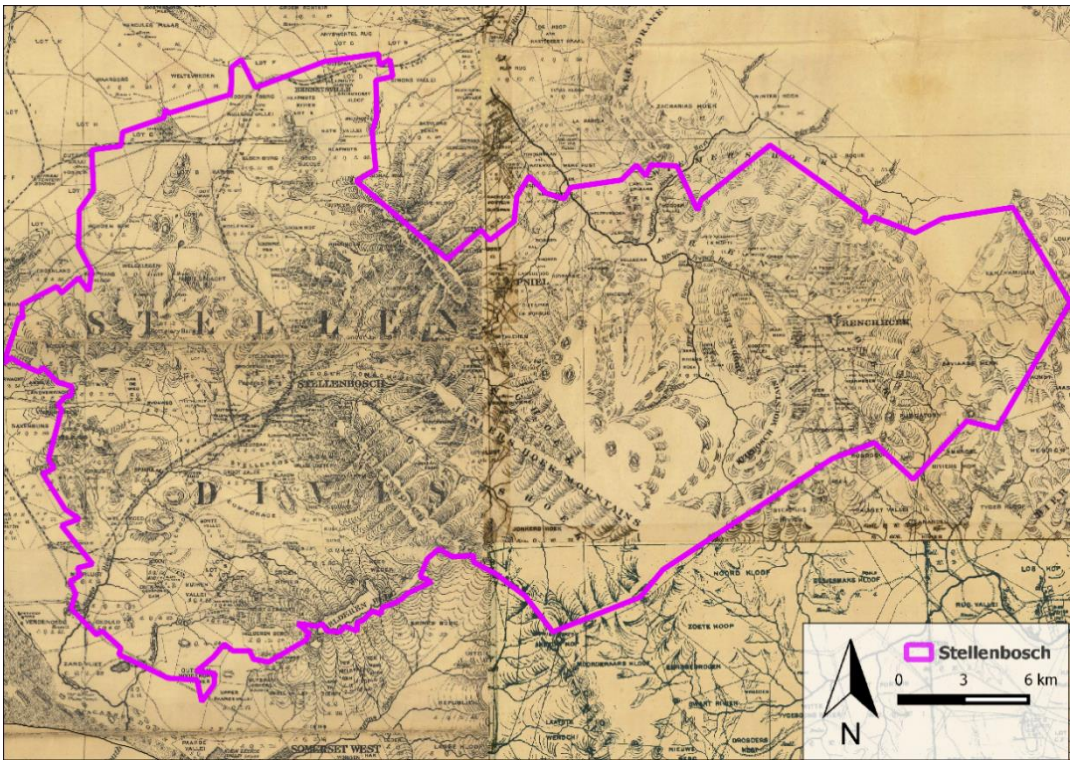


Detail from Guelke's map (1987) of early freehold land grants at the Cape superimposed on current topocadastral map. Further details, see *Bewaarders* and *Erfgrond* booklets. See also French farms in *Ons Drakensteinse Erfgrond*.

Visiting VOC Commissioner, Hendrik van Rheede tot Drakenstein, was concerned at the haphazard system of land grants that was being used, and decreed in 1685 that an ordered system should be instituted. He suggested that 60-morgen rectangular plots should be set out at right angles to the rivers. These can clearly be seen along the Berg River. One of the consequences of this system was that vast areas of land remained in VOC hands. This government land, although often more cultivatable than the grants, was only used for rough grazing.

Note that grants were of three main types of land: a building lot (*erf*) in town or village; garden land (*tuinland*) on the outskirts of settlements (such as the market-gardens of Table Valley) and in well-watered valleys (such as Kapteinskloof, Piketberg); and agricultural farm land (*plaats*). Survey diagrams of farms sometimes indicate various land-uses on the property, such as pastures or grain fields or gardens/orchards. Survey diagrams also mark natural features, water courses and springs, wagon roads (i.e. rights of way) and sometimes buildings (see Klapmuts below).

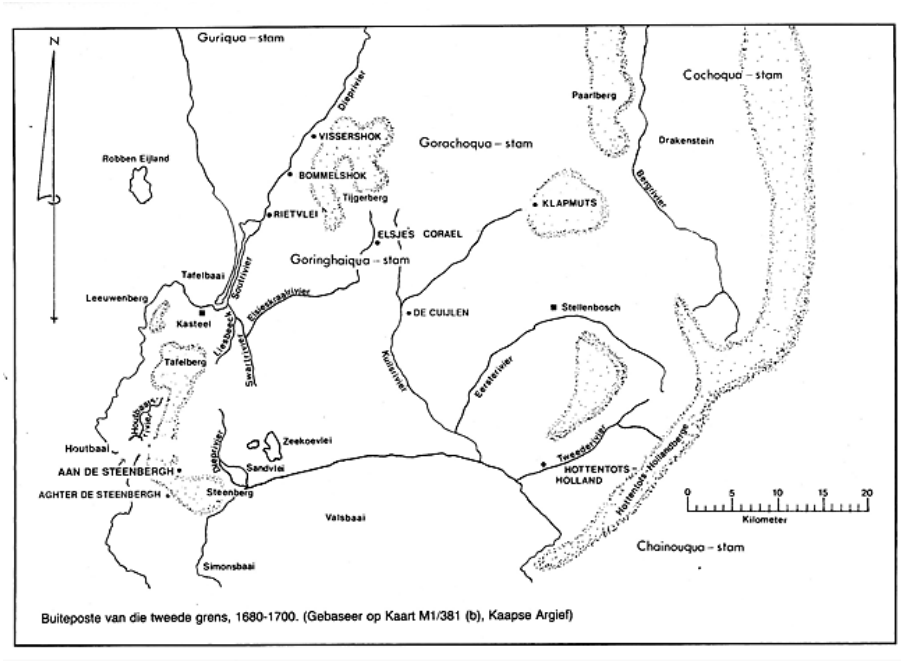
In 1813 perpetual quitrents were introduced by the British government. The resulting flurry of land grants allocated during this period attests to how the open land surrounding freehold grants came to be more formally carved up. The so called 'open land' surrounding freehold properties had actually been informally used throughout the 18th century by farmers and as Company and public outspans, and as the 18th century had worn on it was increasingly utilized as rental or quitrent property. By the early 19th century increasing numbers of these quitrents became permanent leaseholds that could be purchased and transferred the same as freehold property.



Quitrent grants (SQ). Detail from South Western Districts: Sheets 1 & 13 Cape and Malmesbury (1880).

4.1.6 Buiteposte

The Company post at De Kuilen was first mentioned in 1676. It was used as a half-way house on journeys between Hottentots-Holland and the Cape. By 1685 there was a barn in which there was also a post-holder's room, and a sheep kraal, and by 1713 a stone bridge had been built over the river. The property was later purchased by Olof Bergh.



Buiteposte van die tweede grens, 1680-1700. (Gebaseer op Kaart M1/381 (b), Kaapse Argief)

Buiteposte (Sleigh 1993: 145).

The only Company *buitepost* in the study area was Klapmuts (Clapmuts), established in 1657 on the grazing grounds of the Koina (see Sleigh's comments in Brommer 2009). The Khoekhoen were forced off the Bottelary pastures and by 1683 permanent structures and kraals had been built. The post was located on the southern flank of the Klapmuts hill at a strategic location to oversee the grain and grazing lands in the area and to monitor the route between Table Bay and the Drakenstein. A sheep kraal for 2000 animals was constructed, and a long granary building.

4.1.7 Elite properties

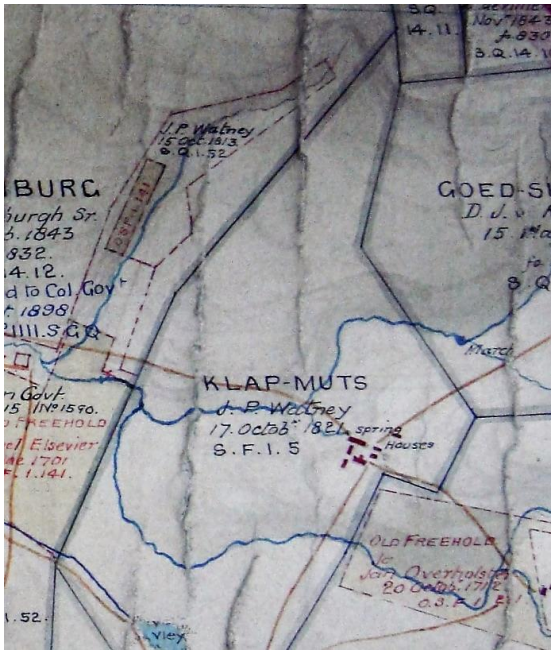
There seems to be a pattern of privatisation of well-positioned Company outposts, where the land adjacent was granted to members of the governing (i.e. Van der Stel) clique. In 1698 Simon van der Stel's Second-in-Command, Elsevier, received 110 morgen next to the Klapmuts outpost, where he established Elsenburg. Klapmuts itself remained in Company hands throughout the 18th century before becoming the residence of an ambitious British government employee, William Duckitt, in 1795 and passing into private ownership in 1821.

Clapmuts, 2017 (MF).

Klapmuts werf (now De Clapmuts) is architecturally interesting but little researched. The first buildings were made of timber but were soon replaced by more permanent stonework. There was a series of alterations and additions during the 18th century, and a major make-over after 1770. A drawn plan attributed to Thibault was apparently not carried out but it seems that no fabric analysis to test the possibility has been done on the existing building itself. The U-plan dwelling later became a "rare pastiche of earliest Cape Georgian elements", according to Lewcock (1963). But Fransen (2004: 206) believes the work should be attributed to Pigott Watney's time (1821), partly on the basis that the expense may explain his insolvency. See Anglo-Cape Style, below. The house gable was added by the new owner, Cloete, in 1823. Today, the cellar gable (1830) has gone and the outbuildings are altered.

Note the layout of the werf in 1821, which matches the description by Otto Mentzel as comprising a 'scattered' arrangement of homestead with stables, coach-houses and barns (Fitchett 1996:436; Smuts 1979:105). Mentzel was writing of a period before 1740, which was before the Cape-Dutch Style era with its carefully aligned buildings on the werfs. By the time of Brink's survey (CA M4/208) 1902) the Klapmuts werf appears to have become more ordered.

DO Survey diagram 104/1821 Clapmuts Farm 39.



Detail from Brink's Divisional Plan, 1902 (CA M4/208).


De Clapmuts werf layout, 20th century (MF).

Another strategically located property was Meerlust, granted to Henning Hüsing in 1693 near the Company's drift across the Eerste River on the road to Hottentots Holland, and next to his earlier grant of Welmoed (1690). Hüsing was a very successful colonist and favoured government meat *pachter*, but it is said that when his licence was given to cronies of the Van de Stels he decided to join the faction of free-burghers led by his nephew Adam Tas who opposed the governing Van der Stel family. Tas's property, Libertas, is another well-situated farm, where the road crosses the Eerste River to and from Stellenbosch.

By 1700 Willem Adriaan van der Stel owned Vergelegen, and his brother Francois owned Paardevallei and Paarelvallei just to the west. Vergelegen was established on 400 morgen near the Company outpost that commanded the route to Hottentots Holland and access to grazing and the Khoekhoen groups with their livestock in the Overberg. Numerous private cattle posts belonged to W.A. van der Stel. Thus Hüsing may also have felt strategically out-manoeuvred by the Van der Stel brothers.

(The Tas clique should not be regarded as egalitarians. A petition was drafted by Tas and signed by 14 other farmers (not all farmers were willing to sign), demanding codes that entrenched distinctions and privileges between white farmers and any person of colour: free-blacks, slaves, Khoekhoen, and those who were intermarried with settlers. See Robertson 2015: 60-61).

4.1.8 Free-black families and property owners

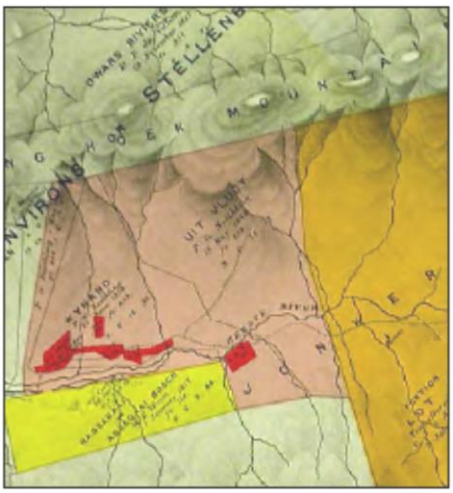
If slaves were manumitted or freed, they became known as 'free-blacks' in the VOC records.

In 1700 Lourens Campher and Andrie Voormeester lived with their free-black wives in Stellenbosch, and Guilliam Frisnet, Christoffel Snyman and Barend Jansz van Zwolle were settled in Drakenstein. But the use of European names and patrilineal descent (children take the father's name) makes it difficult to track mixed ancestry, particularly in the outlying districts. In 1773, for example, there was not a single person in Stellenbosch, Drakenstein or Swellendam districts whose spouse could be identified as a slave descendant by name. In contrast, in the Cape and the Cape district in 1773 there were at least 26 cases where the wife of an immigrant or burgher was recorded as being 'van de Caab' or from an Asian region. Can the absence of free-black families in these districts be ascribed to the absence of mixed marriages? There were relatively few slaves in the rural areas who managed to obtain their freedom (Robertson 2015: 37).

A minority of free-blacks were able to amass significant wealth and enter the ranks of the slave-owners. For some reason (not yet explained) it was only the first group of free-blacks from Angola, Guinea and Bengal who became farmers and livestock breeders in the 17th century (Robertson 2015: 53). It is possible that free-blacks before 1700 were not regarded as a separate group from the free-burghers. For example, court records refer to Louis van Bengale as a free-burgher in 1681, a burgher in 1684 and again as a free-burgher in 1687. The status of a free-black depended largely on the individual and not on race or ethnicity. Antony and Manuel of Angola employed a white servant in the Stellenbosch district (Robertson 2015: 59-60).

The Jonkershoek Valley is strongly associated with a short-lived free-black farm ownership in the Stellenbosch district (Clift 2011). During 1692, five farms were granted. At the head of the valley was the farm Schoongezicht (now Lanzerac) which was granted to Isak Schrijver in February 1692. His immediate neighbours were Anthony and Manuel van Angola and Louis van Bengal, and further down the valley were Marquart and Jan van Ceylon and Jan de Jonker.

Jan de Jonker, whose farm was the most remote in the valley, cultivated a string of fields along the north side of the river, totalling about 29 morgen. The strange scattered pattern of the parts of the grant suggest that he was utilizing land already modified by Khoekhoen pastoralists. He was granted the land in 1683 and within a few years he had planted 3000 vines and put irrigation in place. He also had fields of wheat, ten cows and a herd of 150 sheep. He built a small house and must have had outbuildings for his produce. The valley was a wild place with many antelope and predators such as leopards, and so he had kraals for his herds and hedges around his fields. He died in 1698 and the land passed to his neighbour, the free-black Jan of Ceylon, who owned it until 1701. Though the buildings may have been of frail construction, the essence of the werf must have been in place by this time and irrigation systems well established (Pistorius & Harris 2006).



Composite map showing historical growth of properties in Jonkershoek. The 1692 grants are in red (Pistorius & Harris 2006).

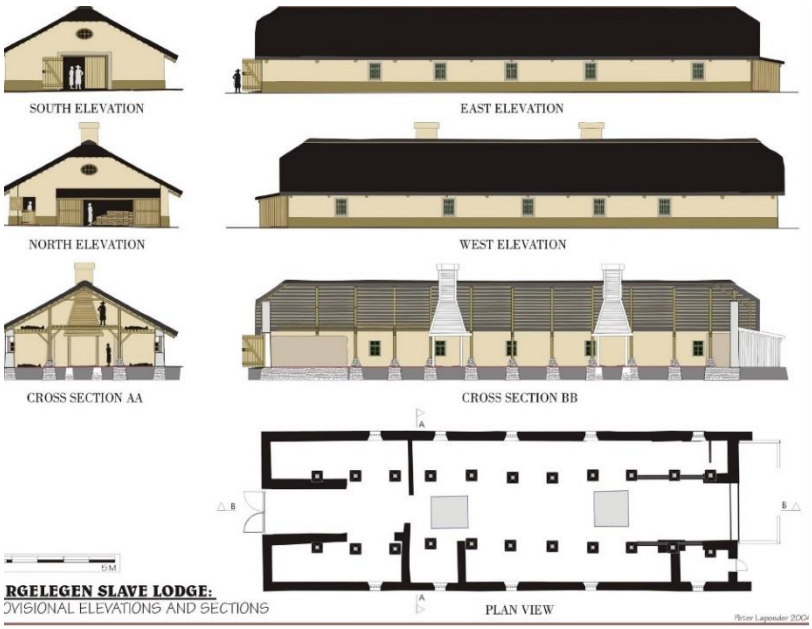
4.1.9 Early buildings

"The cultural importation of solid and static building structures introduced a new technology of shelter, based on a European paradigm of permanent settlement" (Graaff 2008).

Archaeological research (Markell 1993) and architectural history (Fitchett 1996) at Vergelegen has demonstrated that some of the earliest buildings were designed on European principles though partly adapted to the restraints of available building materials and skills. The original main dwelling house built for Willem Adriaan van der Stel has not been archaeologically excavated, but

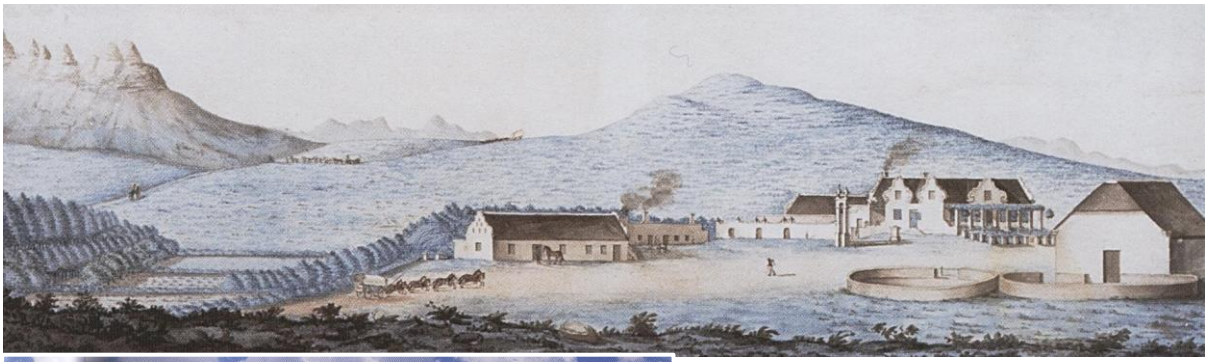
foundations of three of the outbuildings showed evidence of three-aisled barn layout for the slave lodge, stable / mill and wine cellar. In Europe, this type of building often included a dwelling portion with interior floor hearth (*loshuis*, *hallehuis*), as was found in the slave lodge. This style did not last into the later (post-1740) Cape Dutch period and these findings are rare and extremely significant.

17th century 'pioneers' did ***not*** build Cape Dutch houses, as depicted in this picture of the first Huguenots.



The slave lodge at Vergelegen (reconstruction by Peter Laponder).

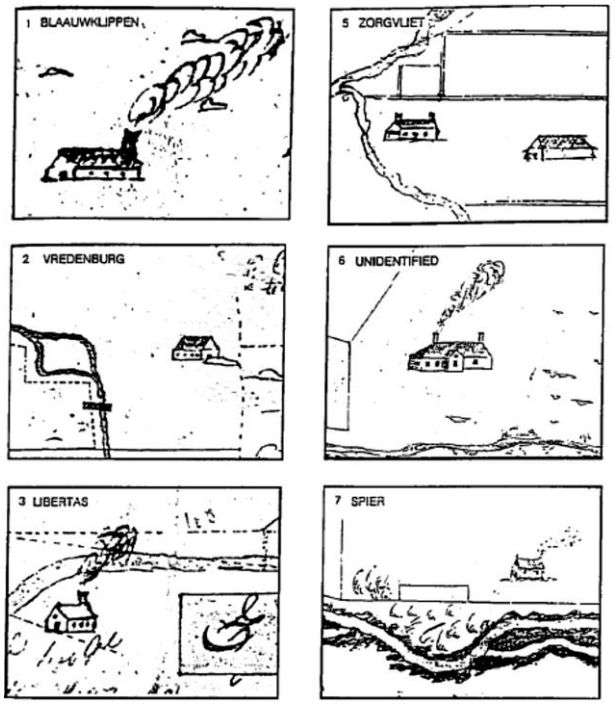
A few years after Markell's discovery, Vos (1995) studied the large barn at Meerlust in detail and demonstrated that it was also built on the same format as the outbuildings at Vergelegen. It was a three-aisled structure, originally functioning as granary. There was a large walled threshing floor outside one end. His fabric analysis provided tangible corroboration of Markell's interpretation of the masonry pillars that would have been constructed on the foundations she found at Vergelegen. This was a local adaptation in response to the lack of suitable trees at the Cape.



Above: Meerlust by J.C. Frederici 1798.
Left: Three-aisled barn at Meeerlust (Brooke Simons & Proust 2003).

Apart from the examples of elite structures, above, we can derive some understanding about the more modest early buildings of the district from Van Stade's drawings (1710), Mulder's survey diagrams, James Walton's research, and archaeological investigations into surviving fabric in the Stellenbosch district, predominantly by Hennie Vos[1]. In the absence of timber and fired bricks, the emerging Cape-style house was a squat, thick-walled structure of one room depth, with walls of stone and clay, and roofed with thatch. The other source of evidence for early house layouts is household inventories (Malan 1993). For instance, the room-by-room inventories show that early houses were varied in layout, were seldom symmetrical, and that *afdakke* were integral to the main house with an inter-leading door, and not lean-tos added afterwards (and see diagrams below).

Drakenstein: E. van Stade, 1710.



Detail from Mulder's survey diagrams (Vos 1994).

Excavations at Solms-Delta exposed the foundations and some floors of a building that may have been built in the 1690s. In 2005 archaeologists uncovered the ruins of what is believed to be the original farm dwelling. The excavations exposed a U-shaped structure built in three phases. The first

[1] Unfortunately, Vos's privately-commissioned reports are not publicly available and for some reason the statutory reports are not all uploaded onto the SAHRIS site. One of his better-known studies is that of Schreuder House in Stellenbosch where archaeological evidence for the earliest building form challenged the interpretation of the conservation architects (Vos 1983, 1988). Vos's MA thesis (1993) is a detailed exposition of early building developments in Stellenbosch itself but also with reference to rural examples that are now engulfed by the settlement.

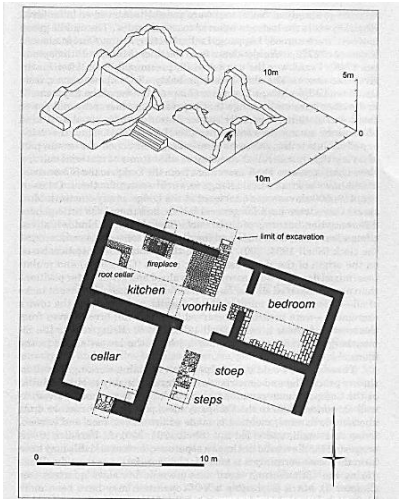
phase was a simple dwelling consisting of a kitchen and living area, most likely built by the farm's first owners, Hans Silverbag and Callus Louw, who were two German hunters.

Most often the early farm infrastructure, such as workers' homes and kraals, has long been replaced, rebuilt or demolished. On the farm of Bethlehem, on the Berg River, remains of animal enclosures (marked *bokkenhok* on the grant survey diagram 5/1696) were still present in 2011 (Clift 2011). The so-called 'secondary werf' contains elements that can be attributed to the entire range of occupation of the farm: late 17th / early 18th century *bokkenhok*, later 18th century workers' cottage, 19th century workers' cottages and animal enclosures, and early 20th century workers' cottages and animal stalls/sties.

Reed-walled buildings at Oudekraalfontein, Hopefield in 1979 (Walton 1995).

4.1.9.1 The silver mine

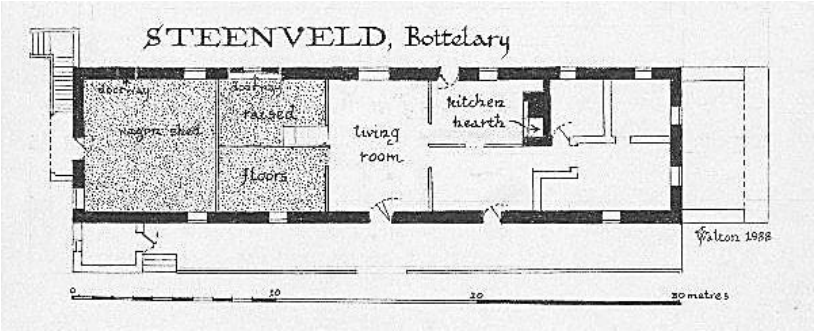
The old VOC-period silver mine complex on the Simonsberg above Pniel is considered an extremely important industrial site, as it provides evidence for possibly the earliest (1740s) European mining operation in South Africa (Lucas 2004). The mining project, albeit a relatively short-lived scam, left a substantial imprint on the landscape. This took the form of several shafts and a plethora of buildings, roads and possibly a mill. The archaeological footprints of a number of these have survived, while other may still lie hidden in the dense thickets of the Simonsberg. The ruins and shafts are very well known to the Pniel community who visit regularly and identify closely with the sites as local heritage resources. One of the dwellings was almost certainly built by Martin Melck, who was a contractor to the project. It is a three-roomed structure with a projecting store room or cellar at a lower level.



Muller's house, Silvermine (Lucas 2004).

4.1.9.2 The multipurpose longhouse

The longhouse is the simplest of structures that could be extended and adapted for many uses. For this reason none remain unaltered. It is a narrow rectangular building in which living quarters and barn, wagon house or stable, smithy, or any other function is incorporated under one roof. They could be built along the contour, or at right-angles stepping down gentle slopes. The cooking hearth could be set on an open floor, or under an internal chimney, or the hearth and chimney could be attached to a straight end gable. Internal walls, doors and windows were placed where required. A wagon door could lead in through one gable end.



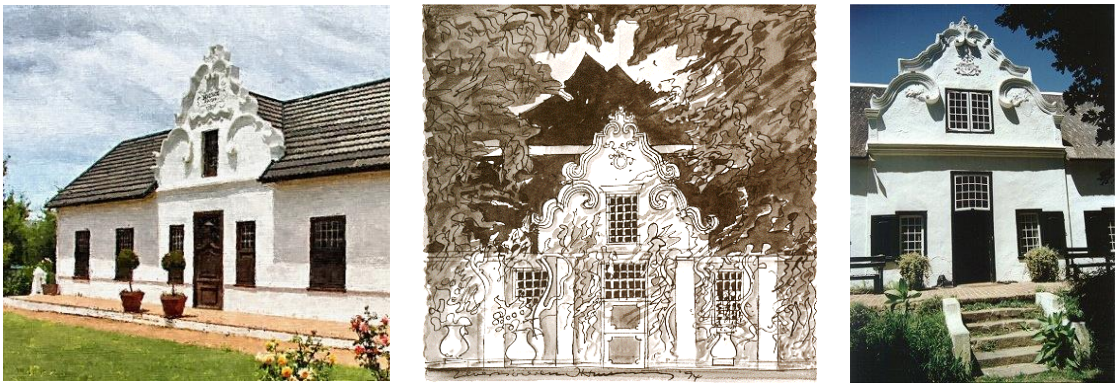
Bottelary longhouse (Walton Collection: digital.lib.sun.ac.za/247.A.1.E.5.1 (26)).

4.1.10 Symmetry, the Cape gable and an orderly werf

Once it became desirable, the unique structure, form and style of the iconic Cape farmhouse complex developed quickly (the concave convex gable proliferated in just 40 years). See Cape Dutch style below. Classical principles were employed in the location, planting, layout, form and decoration of the settlements, such as order, hierarchy, symmetry and axiality (Berman 2004). Some dwelling houses were built anew on the farm werf and others were created out of an older longhouse (such as La Cotte (Malan & van Graan 2004)). Farm werfs were carefully designed, for instance with the homestead at the head of a forecourt, often splayed in layout to appear more impressive to the approaching visitor. There was a tendency towards werf enclosure, in which buildings were linked by stretches of werf walls, a space-organising device denoting the extent of 'home' in the open landscape (Fransen 2004: 21).

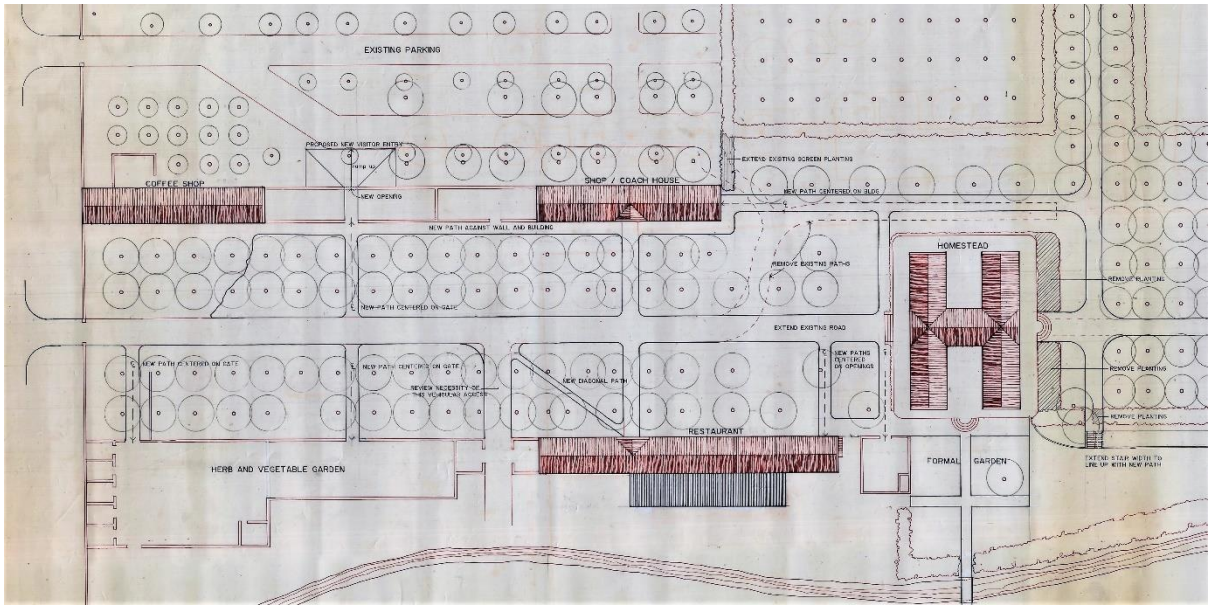
Deceased estate records at the Cape included inventories of possessions in the home and on the farm. The lists of things were often taken down building-by-building and room-by-room. From these lists we can recreate the physical layout and form of dwellings and farms. Research has shown that symmetrical houses (i.e. with a matching room either side of a central *voorhuis*) only appear in the records after 1740 and only in any numbers after 1750 (Brink 2008). A survey of surviving dated gables (carried out in the 1990s) confirmed that the earliest are dated 1756 (Klipheuwel and Joostenberg) and 1757 (Languedoc). An inventory of 'Langedok' taken in 1749 (MOOC8/7.59) lists the rooms in the dwelling as: inner room on right; room on right; *voorhuis*; room on left; and kitchen – in other words, pre-symmetry.

An intimate knowledge of gable styles and motifs has allowed architectural historians to identify certain builders or craftsmen, or property-owning families, being associated with groups of buildings. For instance, Jacob Roux is believed to have used a late-flowering holbol style in c.1790 at Hazendal, Zevenrivieren, Vredenburg/Vlottenburg and Ida's Valley (Fransen 2004: 216).



Gables of Hazendal (painterfactory.com), Zevenrivieren (Hannes Meiring) and Ida's Valley (Willem Malherbe).

The farmhouse ensembles in the Dwars River Valley display a full range of werf types from the relatively unstructured (Bethlehem) to the semi-structured, such as Goede Hoop with its off-axis stable block, Meerust's linear type werf, the highly structured Rhone with its splayed werf and Boschendal with its street-type werf (Mouton 2015). The range of gable styles is also wide, from the simple dormer gable of Goede Hoop to the curvilinear gables of Lekkerwyn and Meerust, and the neo-classical gables of Rhone and Boschendal.

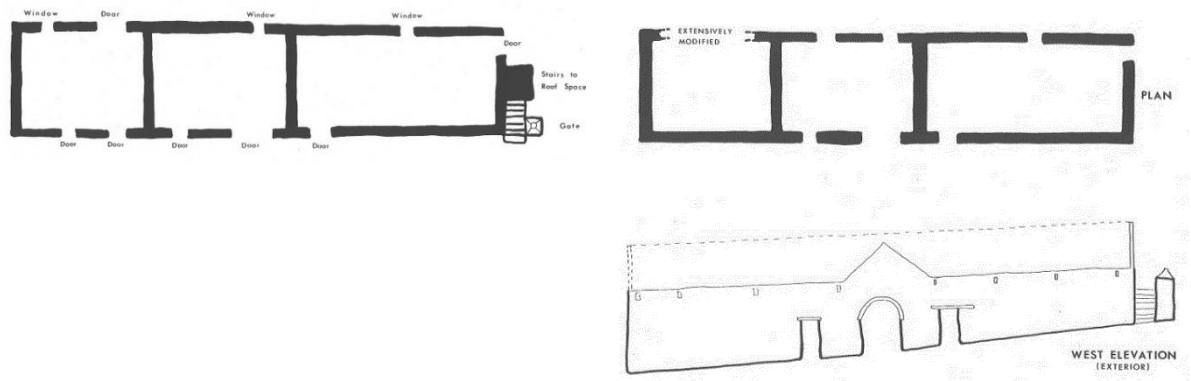


Plan of the Boschendal Werf, Ian Ford 1996 (UCT Digital Collections).

4.2 COLONIAL EXPANSION PERIOD (18th century to early 19th century)

This was a period of great agricultural prosperity and expansion, especially in the wine industry (Smuts 2012). It was during this time that most of the larger, grander historical farm werfs were established, either newly built or altered/rebuilt to reflect the status and prosperity of the land owners. Slave quarters and wine cellars and mills were constructed. Old longhouses, stables and barns were adapted and reused, and sometimes made symmetrical and given a central gable. Archaeologically excavated examples include Morgenhof (Hall et al 1988) and Goede Hoop (Lucas 2004). Grazing land and pastures remained on the slopes in mountainous areas while agriculture and vineyards expanded along the better-watered valley floors. (Slave bells are often associated with this

period, though many were actually erected well into the 20th century during the Cape Revival era, in a "tasteless spirit of nostalgia". See below.)



Morgenhof (Onrust) longhouse (Hall et al. 1988): before (left) and after (right) symmetrification.

It should be noted, however, that the longhouse format continued to be constructed and used in less fashion-conscious areas well into the 19th century. The best known survivals today are those of Verlorenvlei and some Piketberg farms. An example in the study area is Driefontein, where the site was excavated before the Skuifraam Dam was built (ACO 1996; Patrick & Clift 2006). This valley was used for stock farming by people on the margins of the more wealthy areas in the Franschhoek valley until it was purchased in 1903 for a dam site and subsequently forested by the La Motte plantation and associated settlement. (See below, Institutional Period.) The linear building incorporated a cellar, dwelling and wagon shed, plus stables / byre. There were some other longhouses nearby.

(Patrick & Clift 2006)

The Goede Hoop homestead, werf and associated structures as a complex have been demonstrated by Lucas (2004) and Vos (2004) to be of high archaeological sensitivity. The complex contains a more or less complete archaeological sequence from the earliest period of the farm's existence until the present day. Lucas located what he believes to be the buried remains of one of the earliest structures situated between the slave lodge (annex) and the 1821 homestead. Furthermore, artefactual material is plentiful both within and outside the existing werf wall. Vos believes that the stable block at Goede Hoop was originally built as early as 1725-30 and used as a barn / cellar. The walls are of stone c.630 mm wide and the building is approximately 36 x 7 metres in extent.

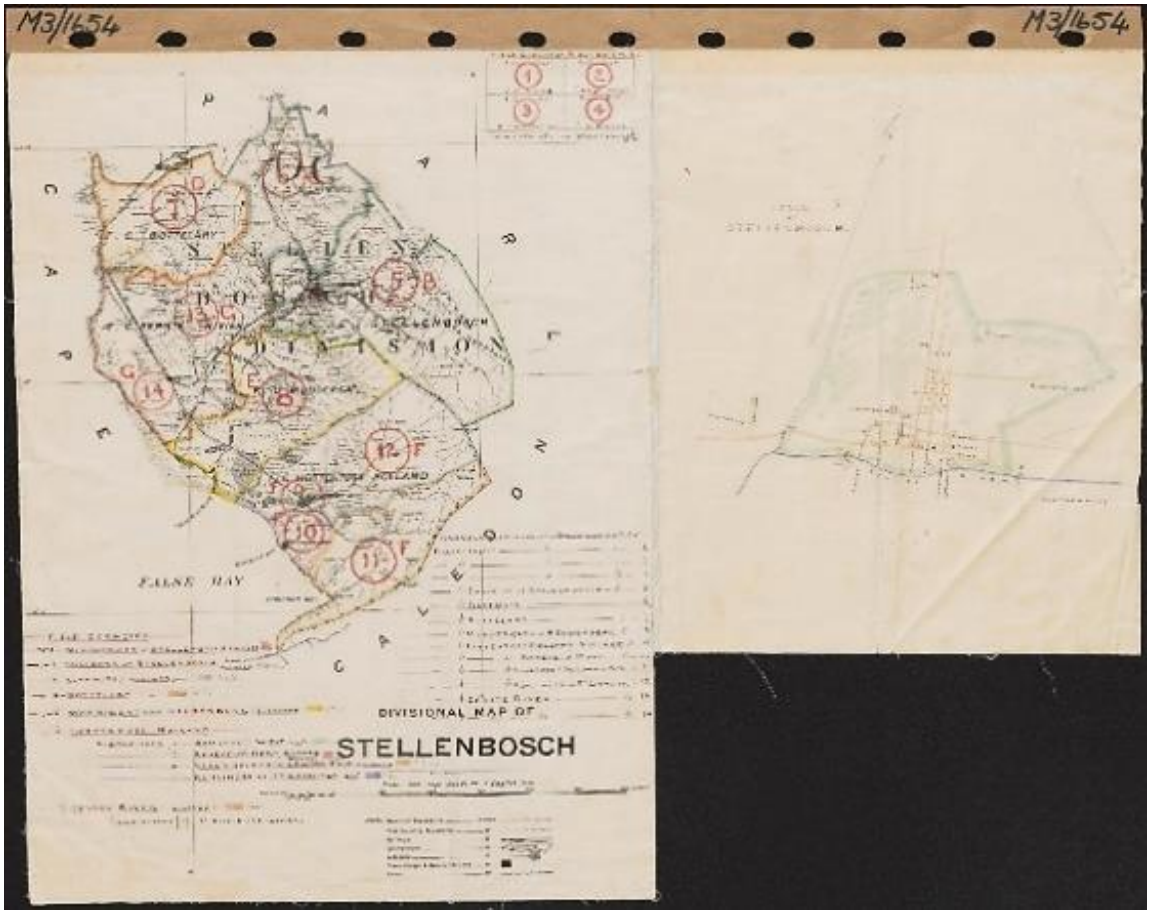
Ida's Valley, which had three farmsteads by 1682, is another example of the patterns and processes of colonial adaptation and development that formed the 20th century Cape Winelands landscape. Ida's Valley, Rustenburg and Schoongezicht are justifiably celebrated as superb examples of their type and period. Dwellings and farmsteads of the 19th and 20th centuries (Schoongezicht cottage, Glenbawn, Glenelly, Kelsey, and the cluster of smallholdings known as the 'Wedges') reflect ongoing changes in agricultural practice. There are very few extant vernacular workers' houses in the valley as workers on the biggest farms were rehoused in modern, serviced villages at the height of the

apartheid era, some say to avoid possible criticism by overseas importers (Pistorius & Todeschini 2005).

4.2.1 Networks: family, land and primary resources

An oral history project in the Piketberg region revealed a strong pattern of patriarchal (sometimes headed by a widow) family dynasties linked to particular regions (VASSA 2015). This section explores the potential for identifying and mapping a similar pattern in the study area. The premise is simple: the original colonisation process hinged on networks. This resulted in certain successful individuals and their families acquiring most of the land in an area, which they maintained through patriarchal authority and mechanisms to spread risk, based on access to a range of resources and ecosystems, intermarriage among cousins, and government perks such as licences and veldcornetcies, etc. The role of women was critical in accruing property and power, as Martin Hall (1994) pointed out.

Thus, we can recognise the broad meat-*pachter* and grain-farming domains of the Swartland and Groenekloof (Van Reenens, Melcks) and, across the Berg River, the Sandveld fishing-farming domain (Smits, Kotzes, Van Zyls). Tracey Randle has explored a similar tight-knit clan system in the Dwars River and Franschhoek area (De Villiers). The tangled family webs are illustrated by compound names such as Abraham Bosman de Villiers (Harris 2000). Jonkershoek Valley is a special case. The early history of the farms in this valley is tightly bound together through the acquisition of the farms by Anna Hoeks, the widow of Isaak Schrijver. By 1714, she had acquired all five. The link continues through into the late 18th century through the marriage of her grand-daughter, Anna Hasselaar, to Christoffel Groenewald.



Stellenbosch wards, 1890 (CA M3/1654).

Veldcornets were responsible for a ward (*wyk*) and reported to the local Drostdy officials, *heemraaden*. They were usually the most respected farmer in the area. Their job was to raise commandos, deal with disputes, report illegal activities, monitor census returns, etc. In 1850 the wards in the Stellenbosch district were Bottelary, Eersterivier, Hottentots-Holland, Klapmuts, Moddergat and Stellenbosch. The Stellenbosch farms and families in 1850 are listed in *Bewaarders* (2012) and there are also maps of the farm boundaries in each ward. Thus we find these family names: Bosman (Bottelary), De Villiers (Drakenstein), Joubert (Drakenstein, Klapmuts), Myburgh (Eersterivier), Roux (in most *wyke*), and Van der Byl (Eersterivier, Modergat). The original farms in each ward were: Welgelegen (Bottelary), Welmoed (Eersterivier), Parel Vallei (Hottentots-Holland), Nooitgedag (Klapmuts), Blouklip (Moddergat) and Libertas, Rustenburg, Voorgelegen and Coetzenburg, Vredenburf, Welgevallen, Idasvallei, Klein Gustrow, Weltevrede (#2), Wynand, Mostertsdrif, Schoongezicht, and Weltevrede (#1) (Stellenbosch).

The parallel economic network to that of family is control of a range of resources: productive agricultural land, pastures on mountain slopes, *veeposte*, *visposte*, etc. Intensive agriculture, as practiced in Europe, was not feasible. Colonial farmers learned strategies from the people who they displaced from the land. For instance, KhoeSan in the Western Cape (and that included people in the Cederberg) visited the coast in order to collect high protein fish and shellfish at certain times of the year (so-called 'seasonal migration').

Cape farmers also needed *visposte*. Preserved fish (dried or pickled) was the staple protein for slaves and any surplus could be sold. But instead of moving round the landscape themselves, the settlers occupied or purchased properties for each purpose. The nearest coast to Stellenbosch is False Bay, and here the Helderberg farmers such as the Van der Stels, Morkels and Theunissens had *visposte* (Rhoda 2006). Adam Tas also sent his men to fish there from Libertas (Fouché 1914: 35). Stellenbosch and Franschhoek farmers established fishing posts around Saldanha Bay, where their cattle were also sent to seasonal *veeposte*.

Three wetlands near the False Bay Coast: Buffels-, Zeekoe- and Paardevlei (detail from Brink 1902 CA M4/208).

There is a particularly large water body that is clearly marked just to the east of Eerste River on the early 18th century sequence of historical maps of the area, such as *Zee-Koe Valey* near today's Faure

(lying just outside the border of the study area). This would have not only provided drinking water but also attracted game and wild birds. Hunting was at first regulated by the Company, but settlers soon took advantage of the seemingly endless supply of wild life.

4.2.2 Infrastructure

4.2.2.1 Wind water and steam power for milling, tanning, woodworking, etc.

At first, milling was a Company monopoly. Grain for bread was a key resource. At all times, however, a rotary hand mill (*gatskuur*) supplied household needs. Farmers and bakers later operated large private and commercial mills. Walton (1974) has described the surviving mills of the Cape, but they are only a small sample of what once existed. Among others he refers to the ones in Stellenbosch itself, Elsenburg water mill and the mill stream (which he dates to c.1761 (p.38)), La Motte, Franschhoek (reputed to have been built in 1721 (p.44)), a mill at Simon's Valley (?Simonsvlei) (p.45), mills at La Cotte, Plasir de Merle and Goede Hoop (Pniel) c.1840. The deceased estate inventories sometimes list hand mills, and rarely water mills, such as the *moole huijs* containing a *water moole met sijn toebehooren* at Langedok/Rhone in 1749. (Where there was neither enough water nor wind, horse-mills were used, powered by horses or donkeys, but I know of none surviving in the Stellenbosch district.)

Water mills required quite extensive water capture and management in order to drive the wheels. These reservoirs, channels and chutes are part and parcel of a mill site and may extend far beyond the farm werf. La Cotte, Franschhoek, has the remnants of its original water leading but though rebuilt it is sadly dilapidated again. (See Walton 1974: 42 for a map of the Stellenbosch *meulsloot* that supplied four mills.) Water mills also ran tanning, wood sawing and other manufacturing processes.

There are the remains of a possible mill outside Pniel. Lucas (2004) suggested it was a crushing plant where the 1740s the silver mine ore was brought for processing. Others, such as Vos, doubt that it can be directly associated with the abortive silver mine. It is a substantial structure hidden in dense invasive vegetation. Built from stone and calcrete mortar the building is of three floors, the lowest of which contains several large mountings of an industrial nature. The openings are arched and finished with well fired brick (and I remember it as having early 19th century pinkish mortar). No woodwork or joinery has survived, but beam rests and socket are visible in the masonry.

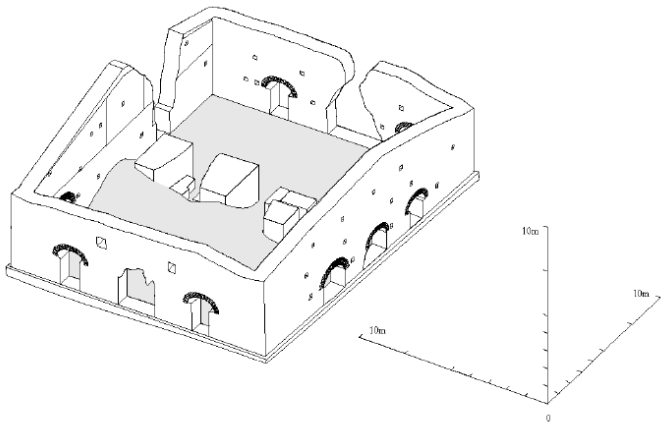


Figure 2.5. Isometric view of Structure 1 (Site 1)

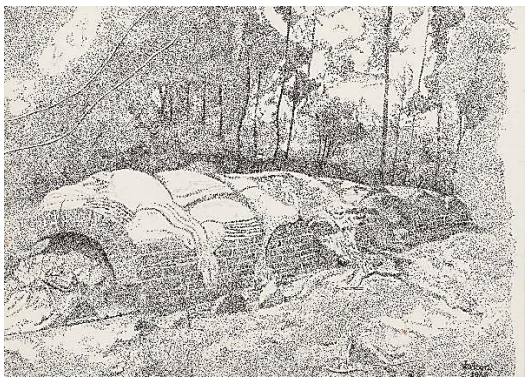
The ruined mill at Pniel (Lucas 2004).

There is also a farm at Pniel with the suggestive name of Papier Molen. According to Vos (2004): "The name is obscure, but may suggest a mill for grinding bark and wood to a pulp, for the manufacturing of paper. I am speculating that after the Silvermine fiasco, the large 'mill' was

converted into a paper mill, which gave rise to the name. Ultimately, Papier Molen landed up in the hands of the Directors of Pieil Institute, and out of which Pniel developed". The old farmhouse today is a museum.

4.2.2.2 Small-scale production: brandy and grappa stills, stookhuise, lime kilns

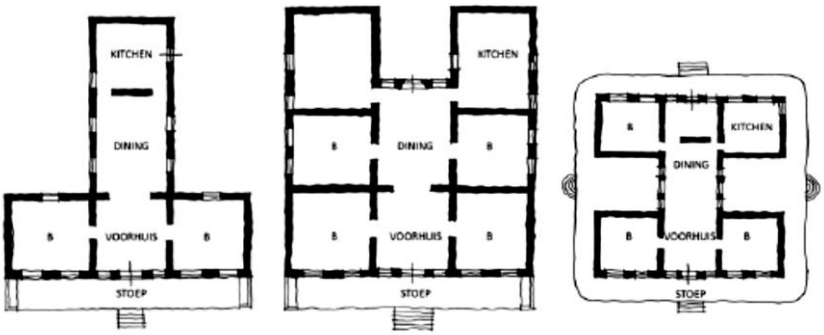
Sites of brandy stills and lime kilns have been identified. Later, grappa was distilled too. While other spirits are made from choice ingredients (brandy from wine), grappa starts out as pomace, the grape seeds and skins that are the detritus of winemaking.



Lime kiln, Nietgegund / Stellenkloof; Brandy still and condenser, Brandy Museum, Stellenbosch (Walton: US Digital Collections).

4.3 CAPE DUTCH STYLE (1740-1820)

The dominance and developments of the Cape Dutch style is linked to the rise of a group of families labelled the 'Cape gentry' and their subsequent aspirations to keep at the forefront of the economy and fashion. It was only possible through the accumulation of wealth towards the late 18th century that social stratification fully emerged (Dooling 2006) and the architectural results are illustrated by the examples below. It should also be remembered that the mere fact that a building has survived is a skewing factor in our understanding of Cape vernacular architecture. If it is valued and its owner has money, it is more likely to be maintained and therefore to survive.



T, U and H plans (Mouton 2015: 25.

The style has been widely described and debated (though the Wikipedia entry is very poor indeed). In summary (adapted from Kruger Roos 1997), some of the characteristics are:

- Within a similar pattern of architectural expression (such as symmetry, gables, thatched roofs, window and door types and whitewashed walls) each building has a unique quality, bound to it immediate context and enhanced by the setting.
- Early houses were single storey, thatched with a central gable in the Baroque, Rococo or neo-Classical style.

- Double storey town houses with parapeted flat roofs (sometimes with neo-Classical pediments) were also built.
- Because of the shortage of long timber, buildings remained only one room deep.
- The buildings generally confirm to standard T, H or U plan forms. The U-shaped plan was common on the Peninsula, while T and H forms were built in the Boland, Stellenbosch and Drakenstein.
- Facades were symmetrical, with the central front door flanked by windows half the width of the other windows. (Unless there was a passage behind the front door, in which case the side windows were not necessary to let in light.)
- The front door opened directly into a *voorhuis*, which was sometimes separated from the room behind (*galdery*) by an ornate screen.
- Earlier buildings had casement windows, while sash windows with a fixed upper and sliding lower sash were later standard. Windows were flush with the outside wall, with small panes and solid exterior shutters.

This period can be divided into stylistic groups based on the gables: Baroque, Neo-Classical, etc. There are Baroque gables at Libertas, Zeven Rivieren, Morgenster, Hazendal and Neo-Classical gables at Old Nectar, Neethlingshof, Libertas Parva, Weltevreden, Natte Valleij and La Dauphine.

Elsenburg is associated primarily with Samuel Elsevier in the late 17th century and Martin Melck from c.1760. In about 1915 the house was razed by fire and converted into offices. Crude alterations have since taken place (including Baker removing the front door) and additions and demolition of outbuildings in the 1960s. In 1993 an extensive 'restoration' of the main house took place. Unfortunately, and as was common at the time, archaeologists were only called in late in the project and after most of the site had been disturbed or obscured with new construction. Nonetheless, excavations produced a valuable artefact and faunal collection associated with the pre-Melck occupation period (c.1740s). The 3000 ceramic sherds were analysed and catalogued by Jane Klose, and the assemblage is a 'type site' (comparative benchmark) for South African archaeologists (Klose 2007; Schrire 2014).

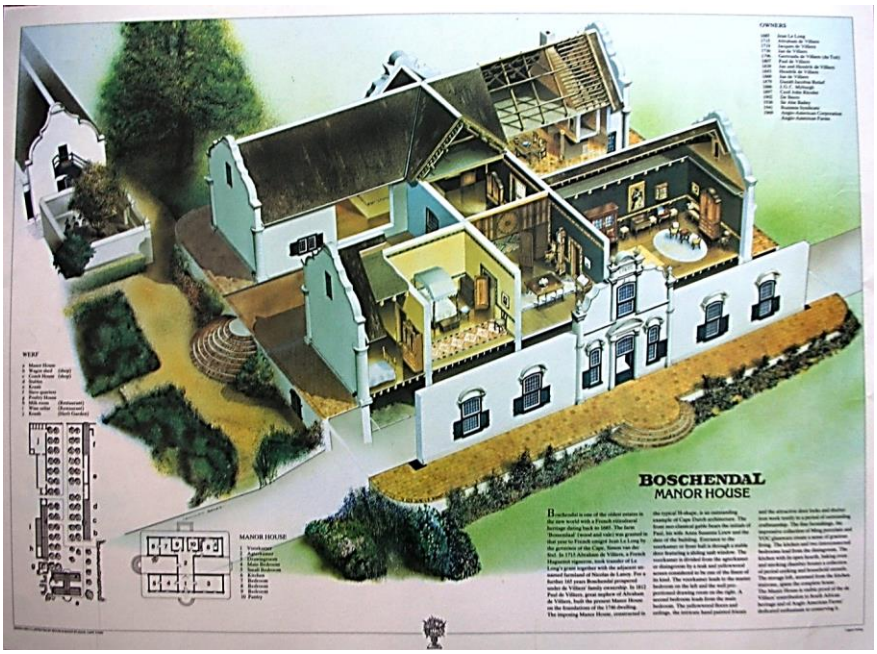
It is interesting to note that Melck built with particularly large bricks (one of the bricks excavated at Elsenburg has dimensions of 305x155x70mm) and these are a valuable chronological marker for historical archaeologists and architectural historians (ACO 1993). He was active as a builder and contractor from the 1740s (see Pniel silver mine settlement) to the 1780s (Lutheran Church complex, Strand Street) and owned several properties. Melck employed some 120 slaves. Not only were there two slave houses to accommodate this large workforce, but also extensive workshops and a slave school at Elsenburg.

The U-shape of Elsenburg is very rare elsewhere outside Cape Town. Where it does occur, interestingly, is when it is used for official buildings such as *drostdye* (Graaff-Reinet, Uitenhage) or parsonages (Tulbagh, Paarl, George), almost certainly because it looks more 'classical' and presentable from all sides than an H-shape with its untidy 'gaps' at the sides (Fransen 2004).

An unusual neo-Classical style of farm house for this period is Uitkyk (in his description Fransen (2004) quotes the results of a recent restoration). It may have been built as a double storey in 1788 but the plan and openings in the lower facade are those of a Cape farmhouse It looks like its urban contemporaries (such as Grosvenor House in Stellenbosch, which was extended upwards from a single story building). Brandwacht is another double-storeyed H-shaped house, but this was done in the late 19th century.

The only TT shaped house in the Stellenbosch district is Koopmanskloof (Bottelary), built in 1801, and it also has rare stepped end-gables.

Boschendal, built by Paul de Villiers in 1812, typifies the late Cape Dutch period, during the Transitional years (1795-1802) and even after the Second British Occupation to around 1815. A continued preference for gabled, thatched, H-shaped houses is seen by some researchers to be a symbol of resistance by the rural Cape elite to the anglicisation of the Cape Town region.



A cut-away picture of Boschendal (Gabriël Fagan Architects).

Another 19th century development is the double-deep Cape house that has two rows of rooms and a spine wall built up to the roof ridge to take the extra weight. This category is poorly researched. Because a thatched roof requires a steep angle to be water-proof, it ends up much taller than usual to span the increased depth. In turn, this results in an extra-impressive front gable, such as at Old Nectar.

Many Drakenstein farmers had large families, and schools are known to have existed on the farms, such as La Motte in 1781, and Le Plesis Marl of Jacob Marais (who had 14 children) in 1787. In the deceased estate inventories (that include Coelenhof, Welgelegen and La Motte) schoolrooms are listed next to the coach house, slave quarters or barn and seem to have doubled-up as the teacher's accommodation. He was often a young single man and paid much the same as a *knegt* (foreman, overseer).

Walled burial ground at Meeerlust, Stellenbosch (Chris Snelling 2014).

Farms of this period had family graveyards. For instance, Welmoed had a walled cemetery, containing the tombs of Pieter Gerard and Pieter Voltelen van der Byl, which was subdivided off and is now part of the so-called Topshell Park development on the R310. It was restored in 1998 (ACO 2012). The enclosed graveyard at Meerlust contains plaster-moulded vaults.

Most of the wine cellars in the region still standing today were built during the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first three decades of the nineteenth century. During this period wine cellars were embellished with gables as decorative as those on the houses. Most wine cellars of this period were long rectangular thatched structures with a large door at one end and a second, possibly smaller one beneath the central dormer gable. After 1816 the simple rectangular and square window and door openings of the cellar gave way to segmental or semi-circular heads.

Horses were relatively valuable possessions throughout the 18th century, and, after the farmhouse and the wine cellar, the next most important buildings were slave quarters and stables (Walton 1989). A room for the grooms (added security) and a wagon shed were often under the same roof as the horses. During the British colonial period, a stable of carriage, riding, hunting and race horses was greatly admired. Jackal coursing was first introduced to the Cape Colony in the 1820s by Lord Charles Somerset who, as well as being an avid fox hunter, sought a more effective method of managing jackal populations because shooting proved ineffective.

4.3.1 Timber, tree plantings, gateways and avenues, ornamental gardens

Oaks were planted in their thousands by the VOC as the indigenous forests were felled (Aikman 2005). Although the timber from Cape oaks proved to be poor, they were planted by the free burghers to provide shade and for their generous crop of acorns, which were fed to pigs. An oak was often planted to mark a corner boundary. Besides being planted out in big groups, they were used to form avenues and geometrical planting patterns around the farmsteads. They were often planted symmetrically around the central feature of the complex, the entrance to the manor house. Oaks were planted as close as one metre apart on either side of water furrows and streams to provide shade for the precious water that was used in flood irrigation systems.


An avenue of cork oaks (MF 2017).

The grey poplar is found all over Europe. It was also introduced by the VOC and settlers planted it along the rivers and streams and wherever there was a damp patch of ground. It was a valuable source of timber for roof construction. Rafters and beams in many historic buildings are of poplar because of its lightness. The Spanish reed *(Arundo donax)* is also still used in thatch roof construction and was introduced by the VOC.

The stone pine was also introduced by the VOC in the first years at the Cape and was widely planted to provide firewood from windfalls and for nuts, used in Cape cuisine. They were used extensively in avenue and roadside plantings and to provide a shade canopy for farmsteads. Lombardy poplars

were used as windbreaks after WWII, and London planes, black alder and beefwood trees were planted extensively from the 1970s as windbreaks and avenues.

The camphor tree is a magnificent evergreen shade and ornamental tree from Southeast Asia. It therefore has a strong association with the VOC and with the descendants of people brought to the Cape from areas where it grows. The flowering gum and Jacaranda are ornamental trees for gardens and avenues.

The cluster pine originates from France and the Iberian Peninsula and was seen by the VOC as a potentially valuable source of timber for ship's masts. Its dominance of the Cape landscape only began at the end of the 19th century as a source of wood for the production of fruit boxes and wood wool. The black wattle was introduced for the tanning industry. The tall Monterey pine was extensively used for commercial plantations but is being replaced by beefwood and poplars.

Governor Sir Lowry Cole introduced the Tasmanian blue gum to Cape as early as 1836. Because of their size a number of them have become landmarks. The trees at the Groot Drakenstein station are a good example. From the 1890s when fruit farming supplanted viticulture, apiarists planted blocks of sugar gums. They were also used for avenue planting and as a windbreak tree.


Palm trees at the Klapmuts Hotel (MF 2017).

The presence of one or more tall palm trees can be used as a reliable marker of the site of a 19th century building, even if nothing else remains on the site. The Pickstone family planted them to mark the births of children. It is noticeable how many huge mature (often exotic) trees and shrubs can still be found around farm houses and villas.

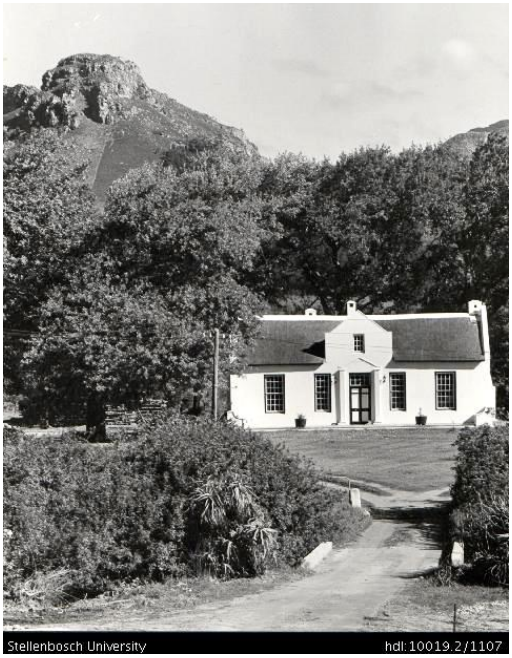
4.4 ANGLO-CAPE STYLE (1820-1860)

The 1830s to 1860s were boom times for wine producers, mainly due to British preferential tariffs, and a lot of money was spent on modernising buildings or erecting new ones. They imported timber elements (window frames, floor and ceiling boards) and Welsh slate roof tiles, but roofs were still being thatched (sometimes with British-looking hipped ends). The introduction of corrugated-iron roofing in about 1850 marks the end of this period.

Many wine merchants from Cape Town started purchasing wine estates in the Drakenstein and Stellenbosch region in order to capitalize on the boom in the market by being able to control both the production and the sale of wine. Having access to international markets, and the means of cutting out the middle man between production of product and point of sale, it is no wonder that many would have jumped at the opportunity to capitalize on both endeavors.

Anglo-Cape style (adapted from Kruger Roos 1997) can be summarised as:

- Roofs with lower pitches with plaster, slate or corrugated iron covering, often concealed behind parapets.
- Gutters were introduced.
- Covered verandahs and balconies began to be used.
- Windows were tall and narrow in proportion, and recessed into the façade; both sashes were sliding and the panes of glass were large with slim, deep glazing bars.
- Internal folding shutters and louvred external shutters (usually teak) were used.
- Narrow entrance lobby or passage in new houses or introduced to older houses, and the central front door sometimes changed to a window flanked by two doors.



Left: Tall sash windows and vertically-divided front door, typical features of British period Cape houses, at La Bri Franschhoek (A. Pretorius 1972). Above: De Clapmuts is one of the earliest occurrences of pronounced English influence on Cape farm architecture (c.1821) (Elliott photograph in Smuts 1979: 142).

Cape Georgian farmhouse: Goede Sukses (Marklew) (MF 2017).

An example of early attempts to fully adopt a British architectural style (often referred to as Cape Georgian) can be found at Marklew Family Wines (Goede Sukses). The house is a symmetrical double-storey with a low-pitched slate roof, double-door entrance and tall sash windows, and inside is a long narrow passage the length of the house and a staircase leading out of it. Privacy, separation between the served and the servants, and specialised room functions (e.g. drawing room and dining

room with fireplaces) were introduced. The local builders may have got the details a little wrong, but the overall effect is very convincing.

4.5 EMANCIPATION PERIOD (mid to late 1800s)

The banning of the British slave trade in 1808, shortly after Britain took possession of the Colony for the second time, delivered the first big shock to slavery at the Cape. It coincided with a boom in the wine industry. Large numbers of slaves were sold from Cape Town to the countryside. An aging body of slaves was forced to meet the needs of increased wine production. It is no accident that the first significant slave uprising in the Colony occurred in 1808. Inspired by local as well as international developments during the 'age of revolution', slaves from the Swartland marched on Cape Town. A bloodier event took place in 1825 when a number of slaves and KhoeSan servants in the Worcester district rose in rebellion under the charismatic leadership of Galant. During the 1820s and 1830s, moreover, scores of slaves made use of British legislation to 'ameliorate' slavery under a senior official known as the Slave Protector. Some of these complaints were upheld, thus pitting slave-owners against slaves and adding to white colonists' heightened fears of insurrection (Gosselink *et al.* 2017 121-129). When the boom ended with a suspension of preferential duties on Cape wines in 1825, the rural slave economy was effectively bankrupted.

After slavery was abolished in 1834 and slaves were emancipated in 1838, large numbers of slaves deserted their former owners. Many resettled in farm villages or in mission settlements that had accommodated KhoeSan descendant and free-black communities. Other places were newly established, such as Pniel. Most slaves, however, remained tied to farm and domestic labour. Accommodation on farms and in villages was increasingly segregated and physically separated. In the 18th and early 19th century, housing for slaves was usually provided in buildings that formed part of the farm werf (Winter 2000). Prior to emancipation slaves lived in the houses of their owners or in slave quarters closely related to the dwelling house, as at Boschendal, Rhone and Goede Hoop for example. After emancipation, housing for farm workers was often provided in isolated or small groups of cottages, usually surrounded by trees. Lucas (2004) has provided a detailed account of the social and economic consequences of emancipation, not least of which was that, for the first time, workers on the farms and in the houses of the landowners could enjoy family life. For example, domestic servants no longer stayed in the house at night.

A tangible consequence of Emancipation was that two entirely new forms of settlement occurred at the Cape, the mission village and the cottages cluster (usually linear in form).

Pniël traces its history back to 1843 when two local farmers, Pieter Isaac de Villiers and Paul Retief, donated land to the recently freed slaves of the Groot Drakenstein area with the intention that they should use it to build a self-supporting mission station. This first piece of land (42ha) was part of the farm De Goede Hoop. Shortly after the farmers also bought the neighbouring farm Papiermolen and incorporated it into the settlement. The land was subdivided into 99 erven on which the former slaves could build houses and start vegetable and fruit gardens. In order to further assist the community the farmers of the area in 1843 created the nondenominational Apostolic Trust to fund the building of a church and school for the community. The land belonged to the church and the inhabitants had occupational rights to their portion. Pniel comprises two distinct areas, the East End and the Kloof.

Landowners who wished to be free of reliance on workers from Pniel built their own groups of cottages to house ex-slave farm workers and their families. Women often did domestic work at the houses of the landowners. The linear layout of these groups of cottages became a distinctive and

characteristic settlement pattern throughout the Western Cape. They were generally sited some distance away from the werf along the edge of a farm track often shaded by oaks and with a water supply from a furrow for their small garden plots. The typical cottage of the mid-19th century was in the Cape vernacular; a narrow two bay house with a large projecting hearth and chimney at one end, under a thatch roof.


Cottage on La Motte, Franschhoek (MF 2017).

Raithby was originally a missionary community for emancipated slaves established by Barnabas Shaw following the abolition of slavery at the Cape in 1834. Shaw used a donation of one hundred pounds made by a Mrs Brackenbury of Raithby Hall in Yorkshire to buy three morgen of ground and a house for the mission station which resulted in the name, Raithby. The church was built in 1861. The land was subsequently rented to about 800 freed slaves so that they could work on the surrounding farms and use their spare time to cultivate their own plots. Many of the descendants of the freed slaves still occupy the Raithby cottages.

Convict / prison labour has a particularly debatable history in South Africa (sahistory.org.za). Historically, South Africa operated on the understanding that prisons were places of punishment which was mainly executed through forced prison labour. The exploitation of convict labour at the Cape during the Colonial era is closely connected with the work of John Montagu, Colonial Secretary for the Cape 1843-53, and the development of road infrastructure by Michell and Bain. By the late 1800s, the idea of imprisonment shifted with the aim to rehabilitate prisoners. Central to this concept was the idea that rehabilitation could be usefully achieved through the labour of prisoners. This was often supported by an ideology that labour was a means of introducing 'civilisation' to Africans. With the abolition of slavery in 1834, convicts played a crucial role in providing much-needed cheap labour. The enforcement of laws regulating the movement of indigenous people later provided sufficient prisoners to contribute to the labour demand. The farmers paid the government a certain amount per convict. The farmers also built prison outstations on their farms where the prisoners were housed and fed at their own expense.

4.5.1 Outspans and Commonage, wire fencing and wind pumps

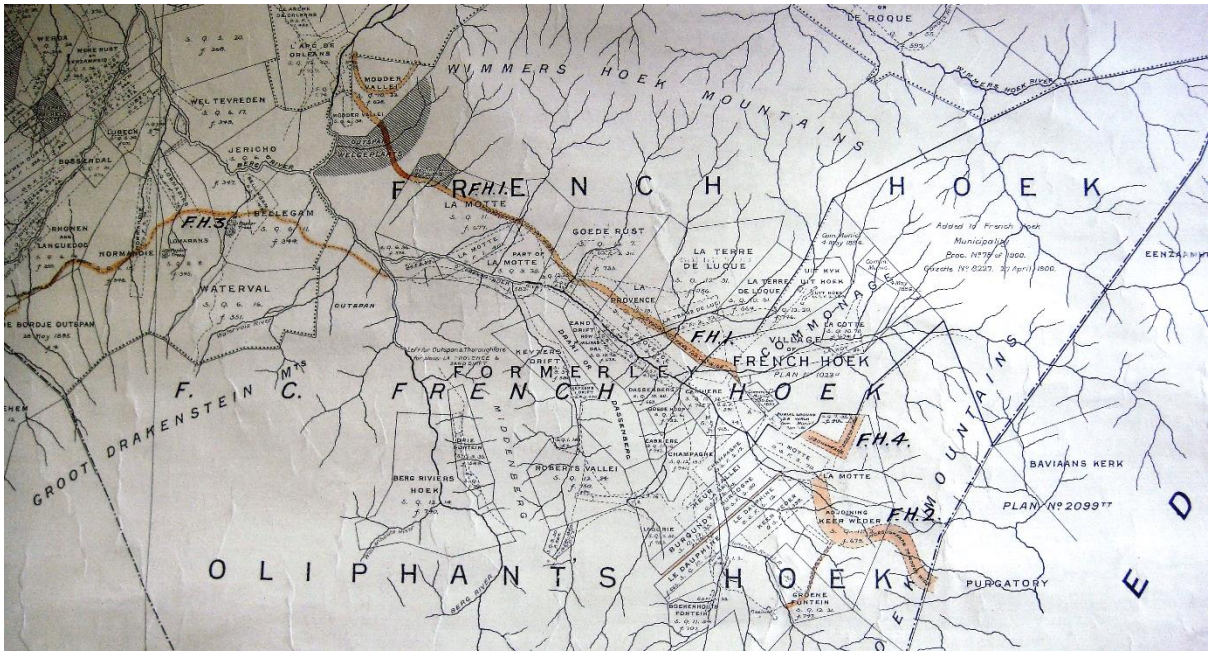
Farmers became increasingly desperate to regain access to and control over the labour force. Ordinance 50 (1828) allowed "every free inhabitant in the Colony" (including Khoekhoen) freedom of movement, but anti-vagrancy legislation quickly aimed at curbing it in reality. In 1851 an Ordinance "to prevent the practice of settling or squatting upon Government Lands" was enacted, but then scrapped because of the threat of Western Cape workers joining rebels on the eastern frontier (Boonzaaier et al 1996: 117;James & Simons 1989: 39). The effect of enclosing of

boundaries, reduction in communal trekveld and restrictions on freedom of movement was most harshly felt by those who did not own land but still managed to eke out a semi-independent existence (Penn 2013).

The surveys of 1860-90 show the few outspans and doordrifts that still survived after the big disposal of Crown land earlier in the 19th century. State land was further privatised at the end of the century. The outspan at Franschhoek remained intact until 1897 when a substantial portion was subdivided and sold.

Outspans were for travellers and drovers on the roads. The ox wagons travelled at between four and six kilometres per hour on the level. The traveller needed regular outspans with shade, water and grazing. These were usually provided 10 to 15 km apart. In the early 19th century the faster horse-drawn carts and coaches stated to replace the ox wagons and saddle horses. There was a call for better roads and a lesser demand for outspans. Outspans also accommodated animals in towns and villages, for example on market days or for churchgoers.

Livestock were seasonally driven from Franschhoek, via Paarl, to the West Coast and back. 'Berg Rivers Hoek' had been used by the inhabitants of Franschhoek since at least 1694 for the grazing of their cattle. Grazing on the coastal plains played an essential part in maintaining the heath of the herd as the interior pastures of Franschhoek were reportedly deficient in certain nutrients during the winter months. The practice continued all the way through to the twentieth century.



The drovers' route can be traced going north from Franschhoek to Paarl to Malmesbury to Moreesburg on the 1880 Paarl Divisional Map. This annotated version shows the first portion of that route marked in brown (CA M4/165).

Historically, Commonage provided a place for town residents to keep their transport animals, milking cows, animals for slaughter and butcher's stock. Stock being moved between grazing lands could depasture on the commonage (Anderson & Pienaar 2003). Commonage regulations made detailed provision for these different uses. The nature and content of the rights of commonage users to 'traditional' commonage were afforded in different ways to white settlers when villages were established during the early to mid-1800s and residential sites in such areas were allocated and transferred in ownership. The initial practice was to afford persons to whom sites were transferred a right of access to depasture a set number of stock on the commonage in terms of a condition

contained in the title deed of a village erf. If the erf was transferred, the new owner of the erf acquired the right or 'servitude'. As the village grew it became necessary to limit access to the commonage.

During the early 1900s it became standard practice to regulate access to the commonage of a village in terms of municipal by-laws. In the former Cape Province, such regulations were promulgated in terms of the Cape Municipal Ordinance 10 of 1912. Holders of servitude rights and other inhabitants were therefore only permitted access to the commonage in terms of the regulations. With technological change (such as motor vehicles and refrigerators) and increased wealth, white inhabitants became less and less dependent on the commonage, which was increasingly leased out to commercial farmers at market rentals to generate income for municipalities. These significant tracts of 'traditional' commonage land were therefore no longer made available as 'commonage', since the public character of the land is extinguished once access is afforded through market-related rental. Racial discrimination was formally and informally regulated and implemented by local authorities from before the turn of the 19th century and resulted in the benefits of the town not being shared with the residents of the 'location' (black residential area).

Access to commonage, free-flowing water and natural mountain slopes is held as an extremely significant right for Cape communities. This is where old traditions are performed, family and communal gatherings take place, and freedom and solace may be found. Eating wild plant and animal foods on a regular basis is important to the corporal and spiritual health of KhoeSan descendants. Burials may also have taken place beyond the boundaries of farms. Initiation sites are another category of heritage resource that requires privacy and solitude. As many of these places have been kept secret from property-owners and authorities, they are extremely vulnerable to inadvertent damage or destruction. One of the central issues for negotiated agreement between the Dwars River farm owners and the local communities, was that of public access across property boundaries to these resources and onto old commonage. It has come to our attention that some new owners are not complying with these rights.

Other developments that affected the landscape during this period included wind pumps to raise water and the construction of water storage dams. (We are not sure how vital the role of wind pumps was in the Stellenbosch district – it was dramatic in drier areas.) Herding practices and pastures were substantially transformed with the introduction of wire fencing and fenced paddocks, and fewer herdsmen were needed to watch the animals. Most of the fence-wire and wind pumps were imported from the States before local manufacturers were established. Records of wooden wind pumps start from 1869 and the first import was in 1874. The first all-steel wind pump needed to be manually greased. The Atlas Works in Cape Town advertised the 'Gearing Windmill' in 1910. Self-lubricating geared wind engines were developed from the 1920s.

4.5.2 What happened to the slaves, free-blacks and Khoekhoen?

Within the social structure of the Colony, there were two main groups who were neither slave nor free, neither burgher nor Khoekhoen. These were the Bastaards and the free-blacks (Ross 2004). Because of the 'free' (i.e. not enslaved) status enjoyed by the Khoekhoen during the 17th century, the children of slave men and Khoekhoen women were free at birth. They became known as 'Baster-Hottentots'. An increase in their numbers resulted in farmers requesting in 1721 that such children be bonded to farms, but this request was denied by the Council of Policy. In 1775, however, the Governor stipulated that children in the Stellenbosch district would be bonded to farms for a period of 25 years. In contrast, the descendants of Europeans who had children with Khoekhoen women, although illegitimate, were occasionally baptised and were allowed to move elsewhere ('baptised'

Basters). They were the core of the later Reheboth Basters and the Griquas. These groups also assimilated some Europeans in the 19th and 20th centuries (Robertson 2015: 74).

By 1806, even in the largely arable Stellenbosch and Drakenstein districts, over 30 percent of the labour force was of Khoekhoen descent. The physio-socio-cultural mixture between slave, Khoekhoen and European tested to the utmost the colonial administration's compulsion to box and label everybody. From 1838, after slaves were emancipated, free-blacks, ex-slaves, and all those of KhoeSan descent alike were increasingly lumped together and described as 'Coloured'.

After the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, the British administration tried to find out where everybody was and what they were doing so that the courts could protect their rights, but also to control people's movements in order to retain their labour (e.g. the 1809 Caledon Code and the Masters and Servants acts of 1841 and 1856). 'Hottentot Registers' for the Stellenbosch District started in 1813. Slave Registers of privately owned slaves run from 1816 to 1834. A system of registered 'apprenticeship' of children to relations or respectable persons, and adults (and later, juvenile delinquents) to an employer, was developed. These, and the mission and forestry settlement records, can tell us where individuals and families resided in the 19th and early 20th century.

The records of the Cape convict system are also rich sources of information about Khoekhoen men in particular. Many of the men serving life sentences of hard labour, working on building the roads and mountain passes of the Cape, were Khoekkhoen descendants. Each man entering the system had his appearance, race, place of origin and crime recorded, such as theft of food or livestock, or desertion of soldiers from the Eastern Frontier. During their prison term they would be exposed to compulsory literacy classes and religious instruction as well as learning construction skills. The army, prison, mission stations and farms were important factors responsible for transforming the lives and culture of the Khoekhoen in the 19th century (Penn 2013).

Herman Giliomee (2016: 225) points out in his autobiography that official commemorative volumes that celebrated the history of Stellenbosch, such as Victoria College in 1918 and the town's 250th anniversary in 1929, devote no more than a page or two to Coloured residents. *Stellenbosch Three Centuries* (1979) contains sixteen pages on the White schools and barely one on the Coloured schools. He also points out that the emergence of an exclusive, race-conscious White group known as Afrikaners was not inevitable. Stellenbosch had an Afrikaans-speaking community that transcended skin colour but had become historically supressed. As well as establishing a separate identity, Afrikaners appropriated virtually all the credit for the development of Afrikaans as a literary and scientific language. In compensation, Giliomee (2007) published a history focused on the central neighbourhood known as Die Vlakte – *Nog altyd hier gewees: Die storie van 'n Stellenbosse gemeenskap*.

Significant memorial sites include places of learning and religion, and homes. In the early 1830s slave-owners decided that their slave children could no longer attend the same school as others. A slave school was set up. Later, people flocked to the various *sending-gestigte*: Meeuwe Jan Bakker's school at 157 Dorp Street, Erasmus Smit's school behind Bletterman House, the Methodist school on the site of the Town Hall, and the Rhenish school and church on the Braak. On Emancipation Day in 1838 the rain drizzled as former slaves streamed to the Rhenish Mission Society church. Former slaves were living in houses in Herte Street in the 1840s. By the 1850s houses started going up in the area east of Victoria Street, between Bird and Ryneveld streets (Die Vlakte). On some farms a paternalistic employment relationship continued with a degree of goodwill, but on others the *dopstelsel* perpetuated a form of continued enslavement (Giliomee 2016:229-232).

The Coloured vote was sought after in the constituencies of Stellenbosch and Paarl in parliamentary elections between 1915 and 1929 (Giliomee 2016: 232ff). Lively meetings took place in the Temperance Hall behind the present-day Town Hall, where the SAP and NP candidates addressed their audiences. Food baskets were sent to Coloured families before elections, and property stands in Ida's Valley were dished out judiciously. Donations to church-building funds were made, such as in Kylemore and to the Volkskerk van Afrika. However, there was no intention of accepting Coloured people as part of the Afrikaner community.

The permanence of unequal relations between Afrikaans-speaking groups is exemplified by the story of the 'Battle of Andringa Street'. A group of Stellenbosch students came to blows with Coloured residents in 1940, assaulting people and ransacking their houses. It started when two Stellenbosch students had provoked a fight during the enforced midday pause for prayer in Cape Town, and late on Saturday night a long queue formed at Senitzsky's café in Andringa Street to read the subsequent report in the *Cape Argus*. A white student slapped an older Coloured man, and children in the queue were beaten up. A large numbers of students went on the rampage and invaded Die Vlakte and caused extensive damage to property and homes over the weekend. According to Giliomee (2016), the context of the White youth anger was the post-1938 centenary celebrations of the Great Trek, radical political attitudes towards Nazi Germany vs the Allies in WWII, and 'uppity' Coloured leaders. It was not condemned as a serious case of racial violence by the authorities, but seen as 'student fun' that got out of hand.

4.5.3 The railway line from Cape Town to Paarl: Bennetsville / Klapmuts

There are several railway stations associated with the railway line from Cape Town to Paarl, inaugurated in 1863, within the study area, such as Lynedoch, Vlottenburg, Stellenbosch, Du Toit, Koelenhof, Muldersvlei and Klapmuts. The widening of the road (R45) from Paarl was diverted to protect the 1860s railway bridge just south of the Old Paarl Road (R101) (Baumann 2011). As far as we can ascertain, the railway infrastructure and its socio-economic impact has not been studied as a whole

The development of **Klapmuts** hamlet did not begin until after the railway line was built. An 1873 map indicates that the new hamlet constituted a grid system of roads parallel with the railway line, with the Klapmuts station as focal point of the plan. The names 'Bennetsville' and 'Klapmuts' seemed to have been used interchangeably during this period. The Klapmuts Hotel was built by the Ward family in the late 1890s, and became a favourite watering hole for travellers (ACO 2007).

The ACO investigated some derelict graves in 2011 and discovered among them the headstone for Andrew John Ward (died 1935) and possibly that of his life partner Rachel Jacoba Bailey. Ward, a Scotsman, appears to have formed a close relationship Bailey, with whom he fathered a number of children. As with many South African families, racist attitudes of the times played havoc with the lives of the Wards. It was possibly racial discrimination which led to his burial outside the "white" cemeteries of the day (i.e. Paarl or Stellenbosch).

Apart from the Klapmuts Hotel and a few typical 1930s houses, there are very few buildings of architectural significance in Klapmuts. The character of the settlement was that of a poor and generally disenfranchised community: farm labourers, the unemployed, and those trying to eke out a living from rail construction and associated odd jobs. A lock-up and convict station were established near the Klapmuts station at the turn of the century. Convicts were a source of free labour in both rural areas and towns. The quartering of workers for the railway line, its locality in the

winelands (with its infamous *dop* system), and the establishment of a convict outpost was a formula for attracting displaced and disadvantaged people.

4.6 CAPE VICTORIAN / EDWARDIAN STYLES (1860-1920)

Victorian architecture (to c.1900) was "an exuberant style with much decoration". Edwardian (to c.1915) architecture is generally less ornate than high or late Victorian architecture, apart from a subset – used for major buildings – known as Edwardian Baroque. New, machine-made prefabricated materials such as corrugated iron, cast iron and standard Oregon pine woodwork could be ordered through catalogues in order to provide turrets, balustrades, cornices, architraves and plaster mouldings. A pillared and broekie-laced veranda is the most recognisable feature. For the less wealthy, wooden pillars, stoep surroundings and bargeboards were made by local artisans. This high Victorian style became frowned-upon during subsequent Cape Revival periods and most of the removable elements have been stripped from the facades of farmhouses and other buildings.

A major intervention was the introduction of corrugated-iron roofing from around 1860, usually when the thatch needed to be replaced. As the roof pitch could be changed to less of an acute angle, eaves were raised with ventilators inserted in the upper brickwork, and gables removed or clipped. This dramatically altered the appearance of buildings.

Corrugated-iron roof with raised eaves on an outbuilding at La Cotte, Franschhoek (AM 2007).

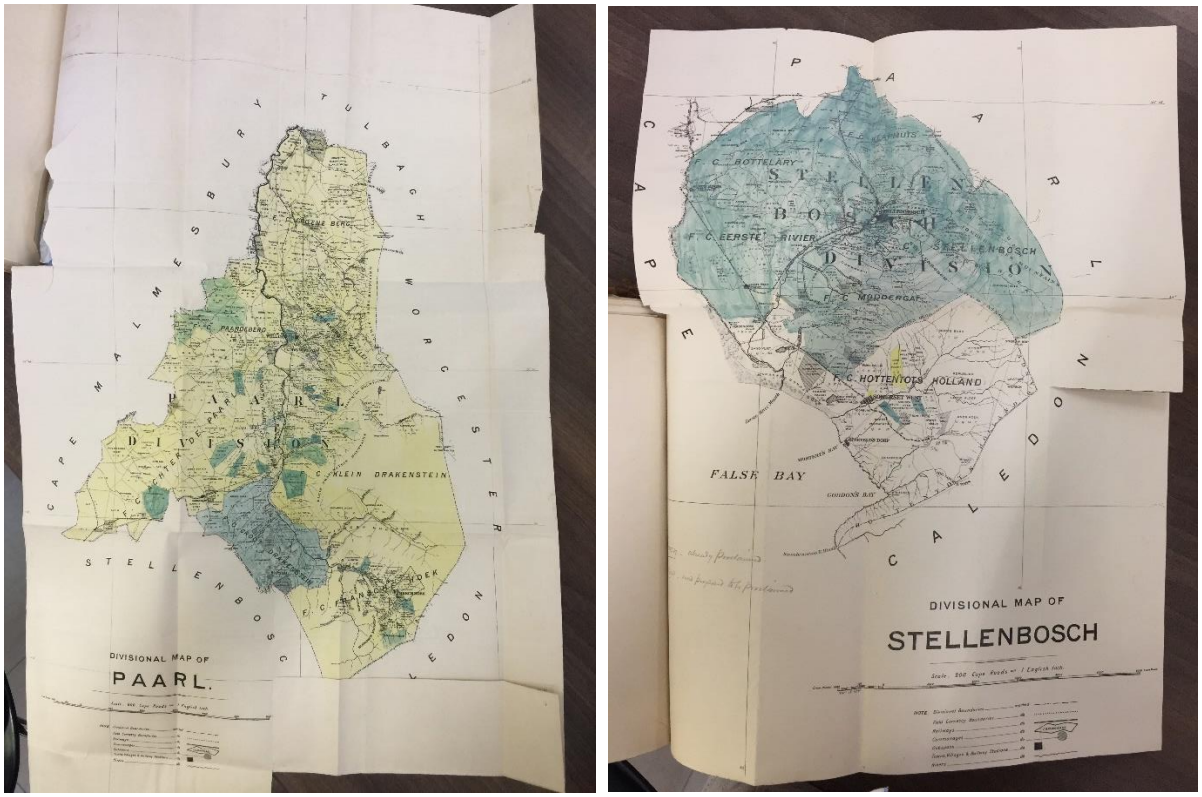
Victorian and Edwardian houses, villas and terraces remain in some dorps. Most surviving historic buildings on urban subdivisions in Franschhoek (which was proclaimed in 1881) were built between about 1890 and 1940. Historic Franschhoek was thus a town of the Victorian and Edwardian periods and even later.

Left: Franschhoek (Ravenscroft R345). Right: Vredenburg (Vlottenburg) with added Victoriana (Elliott in Smuts 1979: 145).

Late Victorian / Edwardian: Red House, 68 Kahler Street, Ida's Valley, and Caledon Villa, Neethling Street, Stellenbosch (SHF).

4.7 INSTITUTIONAL PERIOD (1880s to 1980s)

During the 18th and 19th centuries, the region was well known for its mixed farming; grain fields, grazing lands and vineyards but with an increasing emphasis on wine production. Up until about the 1860s wine was one of the most important sources of income for the Cape Colony and the Drakenstein became a major wine production area (Smuts 2012). In the late 19th century the wine industry at the Cape collapsed as a result of Phylloxera, a fatal infection. By the 1890s, 80% of the vineyards of Drakenstein had been destroyed despite all sorts of attempts to control the disease (Van Zyl 1987). It was only later that the 'winelands' returned, and under centralised control. KWV estimated that a total of 12 500 hectares of vineyards in 1900 had become 95 000 in 1937, and most wine was exported to Britain (Du Toit 2016: 22).



Phylloxera cases proclaimed in the Paarl and Stellenbosch Districts by 1892 (CA AGR 61 223 & 224).

4.7.1 Rhodes Fruit Farms

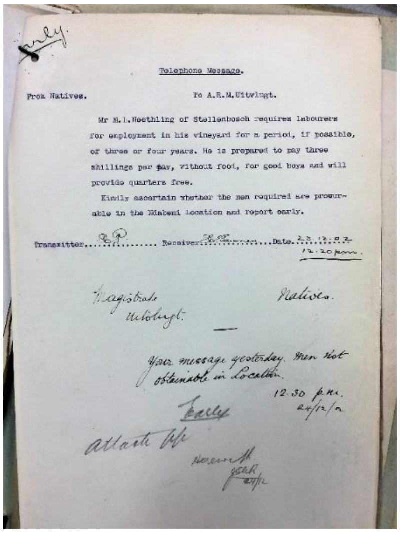
The Drakenstein Valley was chosen as a viable area for a demonstration project for a scheme introduced by C.J. Rhodes to develop the deciduous fruit export industry (Aucamp 1992). Under the instruction of Rhodes, twenty-nine farms were bought up in the valley and in 1902 were consolidated under Rhodes Fruit Farms (RFF), which from the 1960s until recently was owned by Anglo American Farms. The historic homesteads such as Boschendal, Good Hope and Rhone became RFF managerial residences.

The powerful institutional memory associated with RFF is very much evident in the landscape in terms of its settlement and farming patterns, architecture, social institutions and labour economy. They created wind-protected orchards of plums, pears, citrus, apricots and peaches screened by windbreaks of pines and gums. They planted blocks and avenues of eucalyptus to provide nectar for bees and they erected new buildings to process the produce and to house their staff. In the late 20th century the farms produced greatly reduced quantities of pears and plums while the production of wine was substantially expanded. Areas that have traditionally been used for fruit farming are now under vines.

The institution associated with Rhodes Fruit Farms lasted more than a century. It led to a number of significant changes: improvements to the road and railway network; the restoration/rebuilding of a number of historical farm werfs, most notably the work designed by Sir Herbert Baker; an increased demand for farm labour and the construction of labourer's villages such as the Baker-designed village of Lanquedoc and Kylemore; the establishment of pine forests; an increase in cultivation from vineyards to orchards; the development of a range of agro-cultural activities, such as a saw-mill and fruit cannery; and the establishment of a number of social institutions to serve a newly emerging community, such as St Georges Anglican Church (c 1906) and Drakenstein Games Club. These elements include the formalised road system, *leiwater* or *sluite* and dams. The early forestry initiatives near Franschhoek have been seen to have answered the needs for packaging material for this expanding industry. Men and boys were recruited from distant mission villages such as Wupperthal in the Cederberg to work in the Drakenstein area.

Titlestad (2007/8) collected a number of images relating to the development of the Rhodes Fruit Farm. There are photographs of the RFF General Store (converted into Engineer's house) and the RFF Offices and Cannery at Groot Drakenstein dating to around 1930, as well as a number of images of the construction of the new pack house which was completed in 1931. An image of the RFF clubhouse at Groot Drakenstein dates to 1934. Buildings continued to be erected by RFF and by Anglo-American Farms who acquired the Boschendal complex in 1969. These were mostly barrack-like labourers' cottages which dot the landscape in clusters, the neo-Classically inspired 'native' township and the industrial winery buildings at Rhone. (See also ACO (2005) AIA Boschendal, Excelsior & Bethlehem.)

The exact date of the cottages on Boschendal is unknown but some display Cape Revival / Cape Georgian characteristics dating to the mid-20th century. Based on aerial photographs, it seems they were constructed between 1949 and 1953. They share some stylistic qualities with the design of the Thembalethu black hostel which is located on the opposite eastern side of the Dwars River (Winter & Baumann 2013). By the 1940s hundreds of Black migrant workers had been brought into the Western Cape and also needed accommodation on farms and, in the case of Goede Hoop, they were housed on the farm, but separately. Correspondence in the Archives tracks requests for 'Native' farm labour. The Thembalethu hostel was constructed post 1976, more than a decade later (see unsigned drawings dated 1976 for proposed 'Bantu Dormitories', Boschendal Collection).



Telephone Message.

From Natives. To A.R.M.Uitvlugt.

Mr M.L.Neethling of Stellenbosch requires labourers for employment in his vineyard for a period, if possible, of three or four years. He is prepared to pay three shillings per day, without food, for good boys and will provide quarters free.

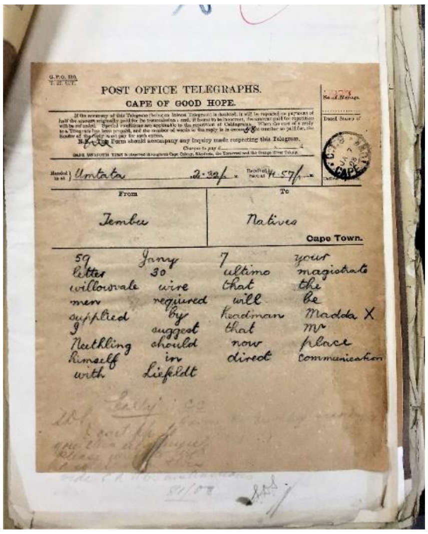
Kindly ascertain whether the men required are procurable in the Ndabeni Location and report early.

Transmitter.............. Receiver.............. Date 23.12.02 12.20 p.m.

Magistrate Uitvlugt. Natives.

Your message yesterday. Men not obtainable in Location.

12.30 p.m.



POST OFFICE TELEGRAPHS.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Handed in at Umtata 2.32 p. Received here at 4.57 p.

From: Tembu To: Natives Cape Town.

59 Jany 7 your letter 30 ultimo magistrate willowvale wire that the men required will be supplied by headman Madda X I suggest that Mr Neethling should now place himself in direct communication with Liefeldt

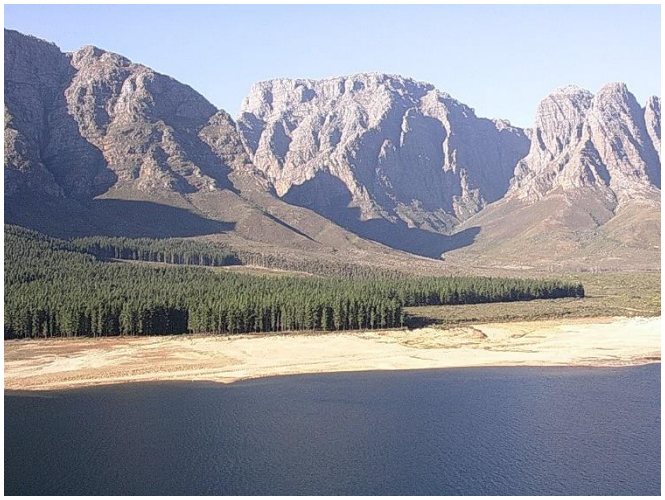
Correspondence in the files of Native Affairs regarding a request for migrant farm workers by Mr Neethling of Stellenbosch, 1902 (CA NA 572 A1225).

4.7.2 Forestry

A huge demand for timber resulted from the discovery of diamonds and gold in the north, for railway sleepers, mines and buildings. The Cape Colonial Government appointed Joseph Storr-Lister as Superintendent of Plantations in 1875. The first commercial plantations were laid out in 1876. Government nurseries and forestry stations were established and vast tracts of Crown and municipal land were planted with eucalyptus and pines. Fynbos-covered mountain slopes and land considered being of marginal agricultural value was turned into plantations. Farmers were encouraged to establish private plantations. The practice at the turn of the century was to sow the seeds of the cluster pine *(Pinus pinaster)* on the mountain slopes. An unexpected consequence of the afforestation programme was the rapid invasion of the mountainsides by pines and gums. The wind-borne seeds of the cluster pine and the gums carried by the summer southeasters rapidly invaded the fynbos-covered upper slopes of the Simonsberg and Drakenstein mountains and today enormous energy has to be invested in eradicating them. Other alien trees were also introduced as a source of tannin for the leather industry and to stabilise sandy areas. These too have become invasive, notably various acacias and hakeas.

As early as 1903 parts of the farm Driefontein formed part of a forestry reserve known as the Franschhoek Plantation. After World War I the Government of the Union of South Africa started buying up insolvent farms and redeveloping them as plantations. In 1917 the South African government initiated a job-creation policy in the Franschhoek Valley that resulted in a forestry industry in the La Motte and Wemmershoek region as well as Robertsvlei and Maasdorp later in the 1960s. Driefontein became part of the La Motte Plantation in 1923. Complete with housing settlements and sawmills, these forestry stations became settled with small communities of people that still remember what life was like on those stations at the time.

In 1944, the South African All Bound Box Company, established in Parow in 1937, opened a factory in Stellenbosch with the intention of capitalising on the growing demand for fruit boxes in the Stellenbosch region. Before it could complete its factory, the company was bought by Anglo American and renamed General Box Company. Portion 11 of Farm 183 was transferred to the company on 7 August 1945.


Plantations, Wemmershoek (courtesy T.Randle).

The remains of the Driefontein village, an early 20th century forester's settlement near Robertsvallei, were remarkably well preserved. The village represents a discrete cultural episode associated with a move from agriculture to large scale State forestry development, prompted by the changing economic climate at the Cape after the Great War of 1914. Driefontein (1795) is the oldest of three farms (Skuifraam (c.1811) and Bergriviershoek (c1849)) situated along this stretch of the Berg River that was historically used for stock farming. The transfer deed of Driefontein notes that the inhabitants of Franschhoek were accustomed to grazing their cattle there since the establishment of the settlement in 1694. These sites represent an important part of the occupation of the Franschhoek valley from late 18th until the middle of the 20th century. The archaeologists strongly recommended that the developer of these sites construct an interpretive display at the entrance to the Berg River Dam which will stand as a lasting memorial to the people who lived and worked in this valley.

The shortage of timber during WW2 prompted afforestation of the upper slopes of Jonkershoek which are such a feature of the valley today. The principal plantations, today owned by SAFCOL, are on the slopes north of the werf and extend eastwards up the valley as far as the intake house.

Meerlust Bosbou originates from portions of the Pickstone farm, Meerlust, sold to the government to help the war effort in 1944. The forestry station is no longer used as such and is now run by the Department of Public Works. Hostels were occupied by migrant labourers from the Eastern Cape who worked on the forestry station before the wooden worker's village was built. Thirty-five residential units were developed on the property, initially as housing for employees of SAFCOL. Timber houses were surrounded with enough ground to provide food for families. Livestock was kept within the confines of their gardens and breeding stock was shared within the community. Extended families now occupy that garden space in back yards. There are remnants of their communal cooking stations. People on Meerlust have access to fallow land on which a small variety of plants are available for medicinal use. A community hall was available on site and Friday night dancing and music playing was a regular event which no longer takes place. The Forest Station was closed in 2002 and all staff members were retrenched. A condition that formed part of the retrenchment package allowed employees to remain living in their homes at Meerlust rent free, until such time as their tenancy rights were up-graded to that of ownership.

As Schulz (2008) has acknowledged in her Meerlust study, links between economic and traditional social behaviour have been tightly interwoven to form a cultural identity that requires both protection and nurturing in terms of future socio-economic planning in the area. "Over the years the community has been allowed to strengthen without the disruption of forced removals imposed by

implementation of the Group Areas Act. This social environment should be regarded as special and unique, especially as all other so-called Coloured communities in the Western Cape were in one way or another affected by these laws" (Schulz 2008: 13).

Meerlust Bosbou (2017 Google Maps).

4.7.3 The railway line from Paarl to Franschhoek

The railway line from Paarl to Franschhhoek came in 1904. Refrigeration cars on trains were set aside by the Railway Department for the conveyancing of fruit for export and for sending fruit up-country. Station buildings and houses were built by the Railways for employees. In the early 1930s the train from Paarl to Franschhoek stayed overnight at Franschhoek before undertaking its return journey. A concern was raised by Kaplan (2004) regarding the historical corrugated iron railway houses and associated buildings that occur alongside the railway line beside the R45 at Klein Drakenstein and Simondium. One corrugated iron railway house and associated outbuildings are at Klein Drakenstein station. A further nine are at Simondium. They occupy a `sense of place' in the history of South African railway system and have potentially important conservation and cultural-historical value. (It is not known if there are any inside the study area.)

Industrial archaeologist David Worth made a study of the Groot Drakenstein and Simondium buildings in the Franschoek/Paarl area that occur alongside the existing railway and the R45 (Kaplan 2006). The wood and iron railway cottages were probably built in 1903, when the line from Paarl to Franschoek was laid out. They were built by the old South African Railway Services (SARS) mainly to accommodate railway staff and their families. The line was used for carrying both goods and passengers, with fruit, wine and livestock providing much of the goods traffic (Worth 2004).

Without the railway RFF would not have been able to expand their operations to the extent that they did over the next 60 years. Road transport and containerisation eventually made the railway obsolete and it was closed down in the mid-1980s. The Simondium-Franschhoek line is currently not used and is in bad condition, but a study recommended that it is kept open as a servitude as reinstatement would otherwise be impossible (Kaplan 2005). It nevertheless remains a major feature of the Groot Drakenstein landscape and some attempts have been made to revive it as a tourist facility running between Paarl and Franschhoek.

Tractors and trucks were not in general use on farms until after WW1. All work in the orchards and between the orchards and the central pack-house was done with teams of horses and mules. The first motor car would only arrive in Groot Drakenstein in 1912. Motor transport became increasingly common from the turn of century, but it was not until after WW1 that cars and lorries became more common and paraffin powered tractors were introduced. After WW2 as a result of tank technology, tracked vehicles became available and areas that had previously been too steep or too stony to plough could be exploited. A range of new motorised farm vehicles began to appear and farmers could begin to reduce the number of animals and labourers. As a consequence of the reduction in the number of animals artificial fertilisers had to be used increasingly on the farms.

4.7.4 Settlements for workers

Rhodes became aware of the vital need to attract and retain farm labour in the face of immense demand from the gold and diamond mining industries, and in 1898 commissioned Herbert Baker to design an 'orderly village' for the farm workers. The village of **Lanquedoc** (1902) was designed by Baker and is highly representative of a planned labourers' village influenced by the Arts and Crafts Movement and the concept of the 'garden village' (Baumann & Winter 2006; Titlestad 2008).

Languedoc, Cape Archives (Lucas 2004).

In addition to the traditional English style St Giles Church, over 100 houses, a school and a house for the pastor were built. The result was the village of Lanquedoc, which today still stands under its long avenue of oaks. This settlement, because of its size, is a kind of hybrid between the mission station and of the farm cluster. Each cottage included half a morgen of garden for flowers and vegetables and the keeping of two horses, two cows and two pigs. A hundred morgen of commonage was provided for grazing of livestock. No alcoholic drink was allowed as Rhodes apparently opposed the infamous *dop* system. Pickstone engaged the Reverend Reinecke of Ceres "to scout all through the Lower Karoo and the districts of Ceres, Worcester, Tulbagh, Swellendam and other areas for farm workers, who would bring their families with them to live at Languedoc, being charged 10 shillings a month for their cottages".

It was during this early 20th century period that the cottages located parallel to the approach road to Boschendal werf were constructed. Notwithstanding the fact that these cottages do not reflect the same detailing and design quality as the Lanquedoc cottages, they are characteristic and representative of this early RFF period. The intimate grouping of these four simple family cottages and their physical proximity to the Boschendal werf is in strong contrast to Lanquedoc village in terms of scale and the spatial separation of the village from the historical precinct by the Dwars

River. This differentiation in attitudes to RFF workers' housing is most likely a reflection of employee status and the nature of employee-RFF relations.

The 'Rhodes' cottages situated on Erf 6156, Stellenbosch, in a linear werf on the old wagon road to the Strand, were declared a National Monument in 1977. Originally there were three elaborated U-shape cottages (each divided into eight L-shaped units). The c.1900 Cape Revival-style buildings (designed by Bakery & Masey Architects and erected by H.C. Poole) housed workers on the farm Vredenburg / Libertas. One was demolished just before the declaration. The survivor became the well-known Volkskombuis and is now undergoing further transformation for tourism.

In 1902 James Rattray and Rhenish missionary Jacob Weber acquired a portion of the Blaauwklippen farm outside Stellenbosch. The land was divided into plots and sold to 'Coloured' families, and most of the associated debt was paid off within twenty years. It is named **Jamestown** after Rattray but was also known as Webersvallei. Street names are based on strawberry varieties, after the main crop grown there since 1902. Other crops grown there include beans, lettuce, potatoes and tomatoes. Despite Weber's role in the establishment of Jamestown, it is not a mission station per se. A small church was inaugurated in Jamestown in 1923, which initially also served as a school for the area. Jamestown was designated a Coloured area under apartheid segregation laws, and the majority of the residents were not subjected to forced removals. The photograph below was taken in 2014 by Gary Arendse and shows the property of one of the last remaining families of Jamestown who still make use of the agricultural land in the town (Arendse 2014: 113).

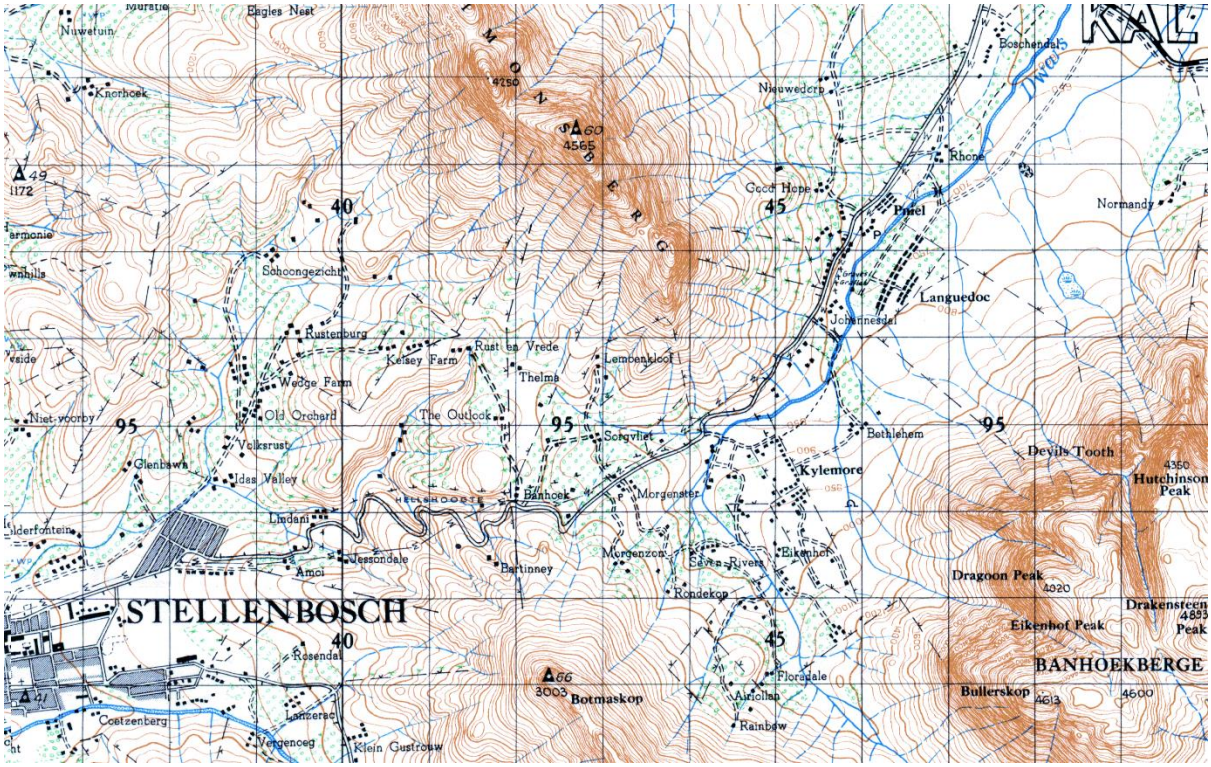

Jamestown (Arendse 2014).

Jamestown, on the 'urban edge' of Stellenbosch, underwent a rapid urban transformation. Arendse (2014) concludes his study as follows:

- there are consequences as a result of urban sprawl, urban transformation and gentrification, which have most significantly altered the nature of the rural/urban fringe;
- even though developers, local authorities and urban planners favour development which has a social component in the name of the upliftment of degraded and underdeveloped areas, reception of this is not always experienced as positive by existing residents and communities;
- The sudden influx of developments in and around Jamestown changed the dynamics of the town as it went from a 'closed town', where 'everyone knows everyone', to an 'open town', where there is a perceived influx of strangers and a significant increase in crime;

- with the development of an upmarket shopping mall, La Clemence retirement village, *Aan de Weber* private estate, the Techno Park business park and De Zalze Golf and Wine estate, Jamestown has become seen as the perfect place to settle for the elite;
- property prices together with the property tax rose significantly over a short period of time, making it nearly impossible for many long-standing residents to afford their own properties.

In time a number of other settlements, besides Pniël and Languedoc, grew in the Dwars River valley. **Johannesdal** and **Kylemore** (1898) were both formed after groups of Pniël inhabitants bought land outside of Pniël. Here residents enjoyed freehold title to larger plots and smallholdings, outside the control of the church. In 1885 Carel Cyster purchased a piece of land from J.J. Haupth and established a nursery. He and his family lived there for almost 80 years. They also had a family graveyard where Cyster and his family were buried. Many Johannesdal residents went on to become fruit and produce dealers with their own lorries. Kylemore, laid out in a grid pattern, was provided with a system of wells and two churches.



Map dated 1935 showing Helshoogte road and farms along the Dwars River, and the settlements of Kylemore, Languedoc and Pniel (3318 DD Stellenbosch 1:50 000).

By the turn of the 20th century, townships were being extruded on the margins of towns. A residential area**, Le Roux Dorp**, organically began to take shape about a kilometre outside of the municipal boundaries of Franschhoek (Rust 2003/4). In 1900 parts of the farms La Provence and La Terra du Luc, owned by two members of the Le Roux family, were proclaimed a residential area acquiring the name Le Roux Dorp. The area became the home of a mixed Coloured and White working class population, but predominantly Coloured, while Franschhoek was mixed but predominantly White. Under the Apartheid Group Areas Act, Le Roux Dorp would later be turned into a Coloured location and be renamed Groendorp and later Groendal. Franschhoek finally became a Whites-only town when the 60 Coloured families were all removed from residential areas to Le Roux Dorp. Africans, then called Bantu under Apartheid, who were working and residing in the town of Franschhoek were moved to a large dormitory location, **Mbekweni**. The Coloured Labour

Preference policy of the 1950s and hated 'pass laws' resulted in Africans being completely endorsed out of Franschhoek (Montgomery 2010).

4.7.5 'Company' housing for workers

Industrialisation of the wine industry, forestry and other businesses and the advent of railway infrastructure, brought with it the need to house local and migrant workers.

Segregated settlements for Black South Africans arose in the 19th century. Black Capetonians were removed to Uitvlugt (renamed Ndabeni in 1902) after an outbreak of plague in 1901. It lay a mile from Maitland station, allowing for easy transport, and soon housed 7000 people. Langa was formed in 1927 following Black migration to Cape Town after WW1. The majority of the Black population in Stellenbosch was spread out on farms prior to the 1920s. In 1911 one census indicated just 29 Blacks in Stellenbosch. By 1920 the population was still very small and limited to just a few hundred spread out over a fairly large distance, but increasing. At that time Blacks made up just between two and three percent of the total population of Stellenbosch. However, by 1918 an informal settlement began to form around modern day Adam Tas Road on Libertas Farm and subsequently the SFW complex. It was referred to as Mon Repos (after the homestead there) or Platteklip Location, or more often by the derogatory name, Kaffir Location (Rock 2011: 14-18). The farmers in this area were wary of the Black settlement expanding and wanted to use the land they were on for farming. So they looked to the municipality to move the individuals residing there. By 1925, seven 'huts' had been established. The area where these huts had been built was in the Du Toit Station area, sometimes referred to as Du Toitville (Rock 2011: 16-20).

As well as cottages along roads and railways, nodal settlements on major farms and in dorps emerged as clusters of cottages / hostels in recognisable styles and forms. Free-standing cottages are usually divided into two dwellings, with an external chimney. Long buildings are newly built as accommodation or adapted from an older outbuilding. Forestry housing favours timber construction. Farm shops and small retail stores served these communities. Unoccupied cottages on farms now often have the roofs removed to prevent squatting, though we found several abandoned clusters that are still occupied (but sometimes without services). In other cases, barracks and cottages have been converted into tourist accommodation.

Free-standing cottages and rows of rooms in Devon Valley (MF 2017).

External chimney at Slaley (MF).

Internal chimneys, Cabriere Street, Franschhoek (FT).

Timber-built barracks on a plantation (MF).

Left: Kaya Mandi house, 1940s-style. Right: Railway housing, Klapmuts (MF).

Unusual design in Kaya Mandi (MF).

Clusters of buildings in poor condition, on Le Franschhoek and La Provence (Die Vlei) (FT).

Workers' barracks and cottages converted into tourist accommodation (FT and MF).

4.7.6 Educational and cultural institutions

Rhenish Girls High, established in 1860, was the first girls' school in the country and lessons were given in German and English. Bloemhof Girls High, a prominent Afrikaans girls' school, was established in 1874. A gymnasium, known as het Stellenbossche Gymnasium, was established in 1866. In 1874 some higher classes became Victoria College and then in 1918 the University of Stellenbosch (see below). The Elsenburg Agricultural Training Institute was established in 1898 as the first agricultural college of its kind in South Africa. There was an influx of staff and service providers to serve the new institutions.

Luckhoff Secondary School, Banghoek Road, Stellenbosch, now belongs to the University of Stellenbosch (see Die Vlakte project).

Lückhoff High School was established in 1935, as the first secondary school for Stellenbosch town's Coloured population. Secondary education for Coloured people in South Africa started receiving attention in 1919 with the primary objective of training more Coloured teachers. The school was temporarily housed in a rented two-storey building in Andringa Street and another in Muller Street until a new school building was opened on Banghoek Road in 1935. Significantly, the school accommodated learners from outside Stellenbosch and not just those who hailed from Die Vlakte or, later, Idas Valley. Pupils came from the surrounding communities of Vlottenburg, Jamestown, Pniel and Kylemore and later from as far away as Bredasdorp, De Aar, Malmesbury, Worcester and even South West Africa (Namibia). In 1969 Lückhoff High School was officially relocated to Ida's Valley after Die Vlakte was proclaimed a White residential area in 1964.

Farm schools were established throughout the area for farmworkers' children. The farmers' sons could go on to attend Elsenburg College of Agriculture.

Students at Elsenburg c.1915 (CA E7850).

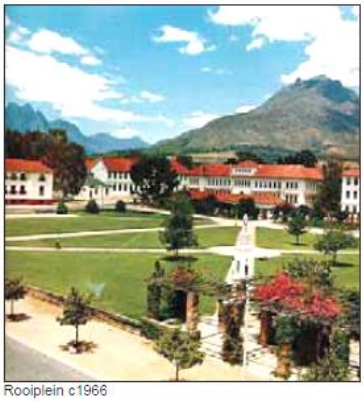
The first French Protestant arrived at the Cape in 1685 but most came in 1688. It was the British who first painted them as heroic pioneers, during what could be termed a Huguenot Revival. A memorial was planned in Franschhoek in 1824 and the Sticht Simondium school opened in 1851. The Afrikaner movement later developed an 'invented tradition' for Huguenots during their promotion of national identity – their legacy was apparently "nobility of spirit" - and organised a Bicentenary in 1885. The Huguenot Monument in Franschhoek was inaugurated in 1948, the year the National Party came to power. In 1953 the Huguenot Society of SA was founded and in 1968 the Huguenot Museum was rehoused in a part-reconstruction and part-facsimile of Saasveld House, Cape Town. The SA Huguenot Society remains active today and is currently "re-framing the Huguenot story" for members and visitors.

Dr Marthinus Jordaan op soek na Jordaan-voorsate se grafte in die Hugenote begraafplaas net noord van Franschhoek, 1988 (Hugenotefees 300).

4.7.7 Stellenbosch University

In 1879, the town of Stellenbosch celebrated its 200th anniversary and in commemoration resolved to erect a suitable college building to house the existing Arts Department. In the jubilee year of Queen Victoria, 1887, it became Victoria College of Stellenbosch. The study of agricultural chemistry was added, with Agriculture moving to Elsenburg. An Education Department for teacher training came in 1911. Substantial endowments from Wernher and Beit resulted in three charters being granted for higher education at Cape Town, Stellenbosch and Pretoria. With financial support from Jan Marais of Coetzenburg, an independent Stellenbosch University was enacted in 1918. At that stage, there were about 500 students and 40 teaching staff, and an unknown number of support staff and servants.


Rooiplein c1920s


Rooiplein c1966


Rooiplein c1982

Rooiplein (Scurr et al. 2013), with a statue of Jan Marais in the centre image, and before it was compromised by the J.S. Gericke Library complex.

The erection of monumental buildings to house important educational institutions, such as the Victoria College 1881, the Theological Seminary and Conservatoire for Music, both erected in 1905, and Bloemhof School 1907, were probably the most important changes to Stellenbosch since the devastating fire of 1875 (Du Plessis 2017). The University's educational and social experience is closely associated with being a largely residential University with strong cultural roots and traditions (Scurr et al. 2013). A sense of place was created by adapting similar scaled and sized buildings for different uses. Spacious Victorian and Edwardian villas accommodated senior lecturers and managers. A rapid rise in the population after WWII demanded a new type of accommodation and this led to expanded suburbs and the erection of many blocks of flats. Student enrolment grew from 1800 to 9000 while the number of motor cars soared from 1800 to over 20000. At the start of 2013, the student body was 28 000 with lecturing staff numbering 939, and further personnel in 50 research and service divisions.

The university continues to have a significant effect on the town, economically, socially and spatially. The Stellenbosch University Campus Master Plan (2010) aimed to maintain a balance between new development and historical heritage. Many of the sites and structures that make up the present-day Stellenbosch University central campus actually pre-date the University itself. A sensitive approach to sympathetic and justifiable neighbourliness between historical and contemporary buildings, while maintaining the unique Stellenbosch character, has produced a number of valuable contributions (Du Plessis 2017). One of the overall objectives of the master plan is cooperation with the local municipality and communities. A Heritage Survey and Inventory of Stellenbosch University Campus (Scurr et al. 2013) was approved by HWC in 2014 and the master plan is being reviewed and updated.

4.8 CAPE (DUTCH) REVIVAL & MODERN MATERIALS (1880-1940s)

The Cape Revival style was a reintroduction of the decorative elements of old Cape Dutch farm houses (Van Graan 2011). Architecturally associated with Sir Herbert Baker and the 1910 Unionists (e.g. Masey and Fairbridge), the style was adopted for municipal and commercial building design, for instance Franschhoek Town Hall (1935) and new station (1915).

Pickstone set up offices at Lekkerwijn where Rhodes, Kipling and others were visitors. Rhodes commissioned Baker to build him a simple cottage (at Boschendal). Baker elements such as barley-sugar chimneys, arts and crafts woodwork, tall 'Dutch' gables and Dutch-style wall tiles were introduced into homesteads at Meerrust, Lekkerwijn and Zandvliet/Delta, etc. Baker also designed two churches in the area and a village for workers at Languedoc. (See also the row of workers' cottages at Vredenburg on Old Strand Road – of which one survived on the Volkskombuis site.) There are some Cape Revival style houses in Jamestown (Fransen 2004: 235).

Mass-produced materials (e.g. precast concrete) and Modernist ideals in the early 20th century resulted in stripped down simplicity and elimination of decoration (Fick 2016). A parallel tendency for a return to craftsmanship and decoration developed alongside and was expressed in styles such as Arts & Crafts and Art Deco. International 'Eclecticism' contrasts with nostalgic revivals or purist approaches, in which a single piece of work incorporates a mixture of elements from previous historical styles to create something new and original.

Modest (often asymmetrical) villas and farmhouses, in what can only be described as the 1930s-40s style, are to be found throughout the study area. They are characterised by hipped roofs, pillared and balustraded integral stoeps (sometimes 90-degrees), projecting gables, and teak joinery.

13 Academie Street, Franschhoek (FT).

House in Bottelary (FT).

4.8.1 The South African (Anglo-Boer) War (1899-1902)

A British fort was built on the mountainside just above the farm Boekenhoutskloof in Franschhoek after it was discovered that farmers were crossing over to the interior. The area is still known as Fort's Neck (Malherbe & Malan 2001). The soldiers stationed there often commandeered the newly-baked farm bread of Mrs Lötter on their way to the post, so a bread oven was built some distance away in the veld in the hope of providing for the household and farm staff. The oven remained undetected by the British until the end of the war. There are more forts in the mountains, one upstream from the Jan Joubertsgat bridge and another on 'die plaat' to the south of Middagkrans.

4.8.2 Union (1910), Native Land Act (1913) and Depression (1920s)

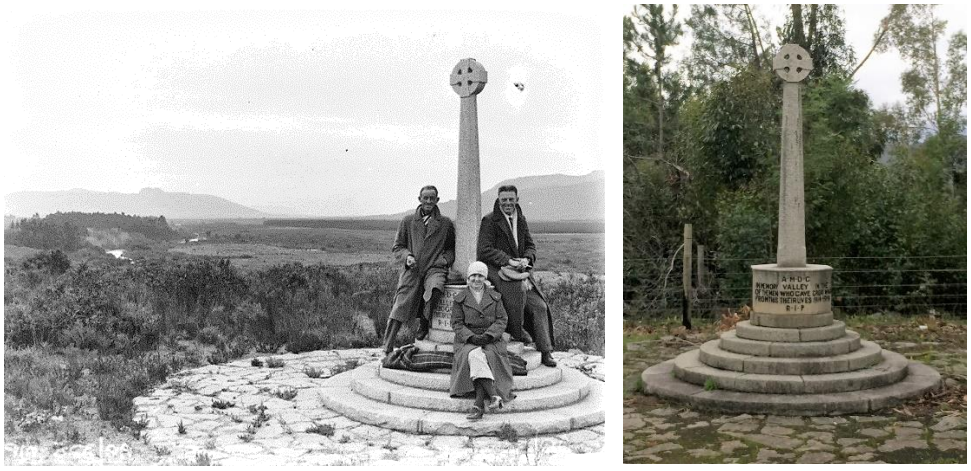
The Cape (Dutch) Revival of the early 20th century is closely associated with efforts to unite the country after the South African War with a vision of common national pride, manifested architecturally by a bucolic sanitisation of rural Cape landed estates. The romantic notions were driven by, among others, Dorothea Fairbridge and Alys Fane Trotter (1900). Herbert Baker's essay 'The origin of old Cape architecture', coupled with Arthur Elliott's photographic record, helped spur public awareness of and appreciation for the style.

Peter Merrington (1998/9) has suggested that: "Perhaps the most abiding architectural contribution to national identity at the time of Union in 1910 was the rediscovery and restoration of Cape Dutch homesteads, and their adaptation into a new architectural idiom for the new state, known as the 'Cape Dutch Revival'. ... [It was] largely elitist … manifested in antiquarianism, in aesthetics and mysticism, and in aristocratic gestures which include, significantly, attitudes to nature, land and landedness. … The homesteads carried a dual symbolism, of Cape Dutch history and English landed nobility, and this dual symbolism was promoted for the purpose of reconciliation in the aftermath of the South African War."

Merrington then adds: "The bitter irony in all this, of course, was the concomitant stripping of black South Africans of their own patrimony by means of the 1913 Native Land Act." On top of that, there was an increased influx of 'poor white', mostly Afrikaans-speaking, people from farms into towns and cities as a result of the Depression years, and they needed to be housed and employed. From the 1880s onwards the Dutch Reformed Church increasingly extended its synodical work regarding the care of the poor (*armesorg*) through the founding of several church institutions, such as agricultural settlements for poor families, houses for orphaned and poor children, as well as other institutions for people with special needs. Large companies and State-controlled entities (such as plantations, railways and police) provided housing for their employees.

4.8.3 The World Wars

The Bleskop WW1 Memorial, on the Franschhoek road, commemorates the sacrifice of ten men from the Valley of Groot Drakenstein, Simondium, Wellington, Plasir De Merle, Pickstone Farms and Erin Vale. According to the Bleskop Facebook Group, it is not known why only these are on the memorial but it is believed that the Gray Family (who owned Plasir De Merle) were very much involved in the memorial and that it was built by J.A. Clift of Paarl sometime in the 1920s. It is also believed that there are strong links with Groot Drakenstein Games Club.



Bleskop War Memorial, then and now.

The impact of WW2 and presence of associated tangible heritage resources is surprisingly under-researched (Du Toit 2016). For instance, technical advances were introduced and profits made by KWV and SFW resulted in the construction of several cellars. Many, if not most, farms in the area were allocated Italian prisoners-of-war (who received weekly wages) and their contributions were varied. The POWs were overseen by members of the Cape Corps, often sons of farm worker families. Several women were left to run farms and businesses when their menfolk went to war. Una van der Spuy used Italian prisoners of war to set up Old Nectar Nurseries. "Over a period of four years Una and the POWs worked together to create from this muddy hill slope Old Nectar's stone walled terraces, lawns, ponds, the wonderful pergola and the shrub and rose gardens. This major earth-moving undertaking was done usineg only the available tools of the day; wheelbarrow, pickaxe, spade and muscle powr" (www.oldnectar.com/history.htm). Much the same happened at Bellingham, where walls, benches, pergolas, ponds and other features were constructed. The wine cellar at Delheim, still completely intact and with original concrete tanks, was completed by Italians in 1944.

Du Toit (1016: 113) also reminds us of the role of women as influential figures in wine-making during this period: "From Marie Furter of Zonnebloem to the two women in the *Duitse* Hoek, Annemarie Canitz and Del Hoheisen, there was no shortage of individual courage in a generally male-dominated industry".


Italianate garden features at Bellingham.

4.8.4 Bell towers and slave bells

While the church bell called the landowners and their families to church, the Cape farm bell called the workers to work or for their *dop*. The notorious *dopstelsel* (tot system) was where workers were paid or part-paid in alcohol rations. Coetzer (2016) firmly puts the so-called slave bells into context: "the fetishizing of slave bell towers - elegant freestanding aesthetic marvels in a context of wilful amnesia with regards to slave history" (Coetzer 2016).

They have a variety of histories. The bell tower at Spier was built by Van der Byl in 1825 "to hang a restored slave bell". Several surviving 'slave' bell towers were erected long after the emancipation of slaves in 1838. In 1938 (the centenary year of slave emancipation) Appleyard commissioned Kendall to design two new slave bell towers for Goede Hoop and Bien Donne, and Pearse to design one for Rhone, and another one was erected at Boschendal. An old slave bell now hangs in a bell tower that was erected on the Werf at Pniel in 1983 to commemorate the emancipation of slaves in 1838. In the late 1970s, a commemorative bell tower was built by Rhodes Fruit Farm and the cracked bell was hung on it. On heritage day, 24 September 2006, the bell was returned by Rhodes Fruit Farms and a ceremony was held on the Werf.

The bell tower at Zevenrivieren. Curiously, the plaque reads: “On this spot H.M. Grenadier Guards Band played Feby. 20th 1931”.

4.9 APARTHEID & COMMERCIALISATON PERIOD (1940s to 1980s)

Commercial enterprises and commercial farming transformed land use and saw the demise of traditional Cape colonial family network farming practices. Mechanisation resulted in “a decline in the ancient, socially inherited attachment of the farmer to his land, his workers, his animals and their communal co-existence” (James & Simons 1989: 76). New linkages were established between the new class of commercial farmers and the growing stratum of intellectuals that Victoria College in Stellenbosch was producing. Driving livestock from Franschhoek to seasonal pastures on the West Coast came to an end. The old pastures, on the middle mountain slopes, were replaced with forestry. Agricultural Boards supported White farmers and regulated production and markets. KWV (1918) and SFW (1935) centralised wine-making and exports (see also Nugent 2012). SAD (1938) did the same for dried fruit. Several Co-Operative cellars were formed in the 1940s. The extensive building and development after the war escorted South African wine cellaring into a new era: cold fermentation, better pumps, and monumental vaults of wines and brandies (Du Toit 2016:129).

The Agricultural Control Boards Hall at the Goodwood showgrounds, 1972 (UCT Digital Collections)

Dairy farming was consolidated into mega-businesses, vineyards and wineries replaced grain crops and orchards, and market gardens were usurped by infill suburban or social housing. Small-scale fruit and vegetable traders continued operated in and around the villages during the 1950s before being restrained by apartheid laws and other obstacles. A Cape wine estate became a prestigious investment (also for tax relief) for local and overseas magnates, and big injections of capital were necessary to sustain agriculture and the rural economy. Buildings and infrastructure were replaced and modernised and properties were subdivided.

Ploughing between old vines in the old-fashioned way, on a farm near Sir Lowry's Pass c.1980 (courtesy R. Malan).

4.9.1 Group Areas and removals

The Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 enabled local municipalities to develop and construct 'locations'. It also made it compulsory for Blacks ('natives') to live there (Giliomee 2016: 1). It even provided a stipulation that individuals could be removed if constantly unemployed or leading "an idle, dissolute or disorderly life". This was the precursor to the Group Areas Act of 1950 which incorporated all racial groups.

Hermann Giliomee (2016) described five pillars of apartheid: republicanism, populism, community, culture and racism. Although racism was just one aspect, it was the one that dominated the way the others were achieved. It also was one of the key reasons that African nationalism and politics developed the way it did. Economic power became increasingly concentrated in the hands of those who classified themselves as White. However, racial purity has long since been demonstrated to be a myth for Cape families, largely through research conducted by the Institute for Historical Research at the University of the Western Cape since 1976.

Hans Heese (Robinson 2015: 17) explained that: "In South Africa a society emerged after 1948 which emphasized, race, culture and ancestry, and where the white population enjoyed political advantage. To prevent any confusion about who was white and who was non-white, laws were enacted to prohibit physical contact between whites and other groups". After the National Party government came to power in 1948, several apartheid laws were passed in quick succession including the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act of 1950. The places ('townships' or 'locations') that were declared Coloured or Native Areas in the Stellenbosch district included Franschhoek North (Groendal), Cloetesville, Ida's Valley, Pniel and Kaya Mandi. Migration from farms also began to build up during the 1970s.

By 1880 the town of **Roubaix Dorp** [Franschhoek] was relatively integrated with descendants of European settlers, slaves and KhoeSan as well as indentured migrants living there. Some were property owners and some were tenants, some lived on the farms. Le Roux Dorp was declared a Coloured Group Area in 1958 and by 1971 the Whites were moved out, 'South African' Africans were sent to Mbekweni location and Coloured and other Africans shared Groendal. Sixty Coloured families were removed from 'White' Franschhoek (Mellet).

"**Die Vlakte (Die Dorp)** [Stellenbosch] was proclaimed a White Group Area in 1964 and 3700 people classified as 'Coloured' were removed. Six schools, four churches, one mosque, once cinema and ten businesses were affected" (Die Vlakte Project). This largely working-class neighbourhood, including

some white families, was bounded by Victoria Street, Bird Street, Banghoek Road and Joubert Street. Prominent coloured families lived in Cape Dutch houses in Ryneveld Street, including the Kannemeyers (now the site of the Arts & Social Sciences Building), a three-generation family of building contractors. Number 97 Ryneveld Street, a gabled house they built in the Cape Dutch style, was razed to the ground (Giliomee 2016:241-242). Many families moved to Ida's Valley. In Cloetesville people had to attempt to literally build a community from the ground up. Any social integration there may have once been between Stellenboschers was damaged for ever.

The Volkskool in Banghoek Road, Stellenbosch (right) was demolished, and the Volkskerk (left) is now used by the Anglican Church.

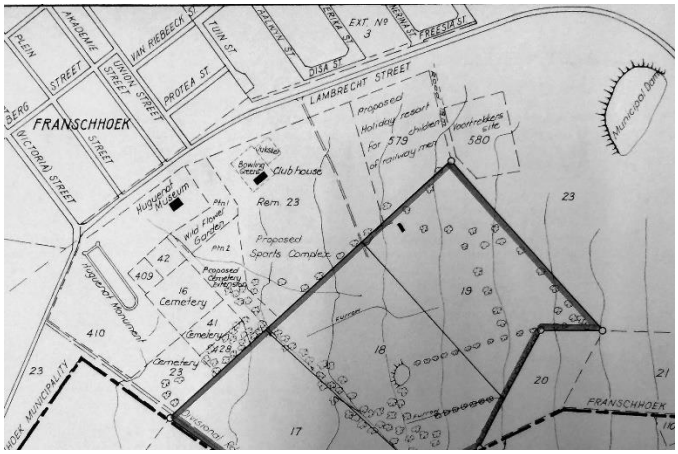
The Gaiety Bioscope, Stellenbosch (Ilze Wolff).

4.9.2 Sports, recreation, hotels and spas, and *kuiering*

The "lure of the wilderness" became strong among middle class South Africans at the end of the 19th century (Van Sittert 2005). The Mountain Club of SA was established in 1891. Climbs and pitches with names such as Rust Never Sleeps and Hallucination are on Dragoon's Buttress, Banghoek. In that area now is the Volstruiskloof kloofing / abseiling adventure. Directly behind Pniel is the 1,000 foot deep canyon called Duiwelskloof. There are many routes in the kloof - Preamble, Bezerker, Duiwels Direct, Lucifer, Dinosaur Revival, Fire Escape, Hell's Angel and Styx. Further round towards Franschhoek is the massive Hutchinson's Buttress overlooking Boschendal. The main wall has two routes - Wanker and Jerker. The Mountain Club hut on the middle slope burned in a veld fire and is now a ruin.

Coach travel and the advent of private cars saw the development of hotel /spa destinations. Keerweder started taking in paying guests for income after the Phylloxera disaster and in 1920 became the first guest house in Franschhoek. Guests from Cape Town were fetched by horse cart from Klapmuts station. They were accommodated in the family bedrooms and some outbuildings converted for the purpose. They ate with the family and had a real glimpse of farm life.

People travelled from Cape Town and other places to picnic at weekends at their favourite spots, but the 'braai plekke' were segregated. 'Vakansie oorde' and youth camps of all types became popular. The development proposal plan of Franschhoek below, dated 1974, shows bowling greens, a jukskei pitch, a site for the Voortrekkers, and a "Proposed holiday resort for children of railway men" (SA Railways & Harbours provided protected employment for 'poor whites').



Franschhoek development plan, 1974 (CA CDC 526).


Family picnicking beside the Eerste River (Die Vlakte Project).

In the 1940s musicians and their families from District Six would come and play dance music on the farms on Saturday nights. The Huguenot Monument and Museum attracted many visitors over the

week-ends. These visitors often came out for a day from Cape Town, enjoying the natural beauty of the area and the “excellent cuisine of the Excelsior hotel and other eating places”. Places like Belle Vue in Franschhoek advertised themselves as “a quiet resting place” to people wishing to take a break from city life. During the 1970s the relative peace and quiet of Franschhoek attracted retired people.

In 1892 the Government had leased some land in the Jonkershoek valley and established a trout hatchery to stock the Eerste River. This became a popular tourist attraction, not least because of the scenic drive it offered to new-fangled motor cars. The whole estate was acquired by Stellenbosch Municipality in 1932 which passed it to the Government in 1934. The stated purpose was for a ''bird sanctuary, game reserve and cultivation of wild flowers''. From this time Jonkershoek became a popular venue for picnicking and hiking. In 1964 Assegaaibosch, across the river, was acquired and developed from its original fishery mandate into a research centre for nature conservation. Douglas Hey is strongly identified with Nature Conservation at Jonkershoek.

4.9.3 Sacred and social places and traditional resources

In 2005, Juanita Pastor-Makhurane surveyed community perceptions and perspectives of the cultural landscape in the Dwars River Valley and the impact of development on these non-renewable resources. Inhabitants of Pniel, Kylemore, Lanquedoc and Simondium were interviewed. The results are as relevant today and in other areas too, as participants in public meetings in Stellenbosch and Franschhoek have attested. For instance, families in Ida’s Valley included the Papegaaiberg in their cultural landscape. A summary of Pastor-Machurane’s findings follows.

The predominant concern expressed in 2005 was the perceived loss of access to natural resources. Many people supplemented their sources of food by utilising the uncultivated natural areas on the mountains on both sides of the valley. People traditionally had access to the river and mountain because of their worker status on farms. They used the resources on the mountain for food and medicinal purposes. The aesthetic qualities and the sense of place contributed to the mountain being a consistent place for relaxation away from work. Some people harvested reeds (*besemriet*) from the mountain to make brooms and this provided them with a livelihood. People collected firewood, acorns and pine cones to sell and supplement their income.

On the Simonsberg mountains there are the remnants of South Africa’s oldest silvermine (Lucas 2004). The Pniel community developed a tradition of using the caves of the mine and have specific names for them. The Goede Hoop estate has specifically high significance for the Pniel community as the land that formed Pniel was originally part of the farm. Possible genealogical links connect the community to the cemetery at Goede Hoop. Also, paths through the farmlands have historically provided access to the Simonsberg for leisure, subsistence and health purposes.

While little material evidence of Khoekhoen settlement can be found (Randle 2005), the cultural tradition of using indigenous plants for medicinal purposes can be attributed to cultural tradition passed down from generation to generation. This gathering of indigenous plants is crucial to the cultural heritage and health of the Dwarsriver Valley communities. Interviews have revealed that herbs such as *buchu, bloublommetjiesalie* and *wildedagga, suikertolle,* and *koppel* are still collected in the Dwars River Valley for medicinal purposed today. People also collected flowers such as protea, koekemakranke (red and yellow) or *hiets* (small bushes with purple or light pink flowers) and *bloukrans*.

The Dwars River has been used traditionally used for various purposes: drinking water, for refrigeration purposes, fishing for freshwater trout, water, swimming pools, washing clothes, picnic places, and for vacation purposes. People made pools in the river. Washing clothes in designated

spots became a family outing for women and children which combined work and leisure activities. Swimming holes were plentiful.

It is believed that there is a servitude on the *Ouwapad* which allows the community to travel along the road through the farms. This historical access to the road, and therefore to access to the farms along the road, has been prevented by new developments. Historically the road was very important to people living apart on farms in the valley as it linked Banhoek, Kylemore, Johannesdal, Lanquedoc and Pniel all the way to Franschhoek. It can be regarded as a symbol of family and community togetherness and played a crucial role in social cohesion.

There was also a *droster* path for escapees from the jail on Bien Donne, following the Dwarsriver as far as possible, then up to the mountain, then from northern part of Lanquedoc on the mountain until they reached the mountain above Rainbow's End, then to Stellenbosch, to Jonkershoek and then perhaps to Elsiesriver.

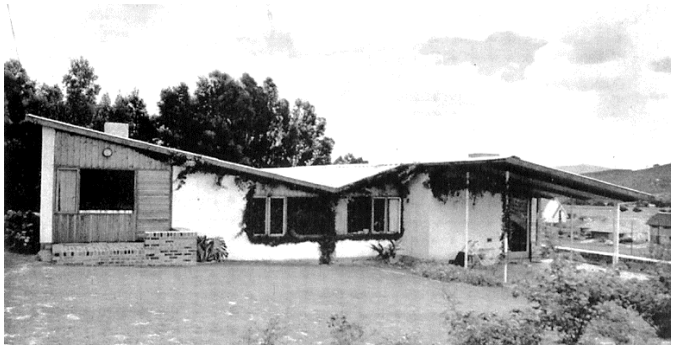
4.9.4 Water management

Perdekloof stream supplied Franschhoek from 1823. Hugo built a stone aqueduct to supply Cabriere, the church, town and school, which was later expropriated by the municipality. La Cotte, on the mountainside, supplied water to developments below. The Wemmershoek River was dammed in 1957 as potable water for Cape Town. The Berg River dam, to supply Cape Town, was completed in 2009.

According to Cloete (2013: 93), significant increases in dam building are evident since 1993. It is mainly land previously covered by fields. The biggest share of these changes does not exceed 2ha in size. These dams are used either as drinking holes for livestock, for irrigation, or in some cases serve as tourist attractions. The increase in tourism has led to an increase in water usage, either for drinking, household or recreational purposes. Dams are found near mountainous areas so that runoff water can be collected.

Diesel pumps, irrigation systems and four-wheel drive tractors made the exploitation of steep slopes viable. Given that the soils and climate on the upper slopes generally produces better quality grapes, it is understandable that vineyards have been creeping up the slopes of mountains over the last decades. Ordered vineyards have replaced pine and gum forest. This trend also seems set to continue. A consequence of this may well be that old vineyards on the valley bottom may become less viable and pressure for alternative uses will grow. The rapid expansion of berry cultivation under plastic tunnels, for example, is notable today.

4.10 BAUHAUS & THE SECOND CAPE REVIVAL (1950-1980s)




Pius Pahl's Huis Trumpelman (1954), and Huis Pauuw (1958) inappropriately renovated in 2013 after this photo was taken.

Pius Pahl (1909-2003), a German Bauhaus architect, emigrated to South Africa with his South African-born wife in 1952. He opened up a practice in Stellenbosch and the result is that Stellenbosch now has the biggest collection of private homes designed in the Bauhaus tradition. Pahl's approach to the vernacular was mainly interpretative as there are few, if any, replicative elements to be found in his houses. He responded to climate and setting and used materials such as white painted walls, brick floors and timber pergolas and focused attention on relationships to view and solar orientation and the development of thresholds between inside and outside (Barker 2012).

Workers' housing, Ida's Valley, designed by Gawie Fagan in 1975 (Barker 2012).

Others, such as Gawie Fagan and Revel Fox, created iconic modernist houses whilst also responding to the local climatic conditions and materiality of Cape vernacular architecture. Fagan's predilection for the stereotomic quality of the Cape vernacular wall results in his use of masonry architecture that acts both as structure and enclosure. Fagan asserts this is necessary in a Mediterranean climate to provide sufficient thermal mass. The most developed approach occurs in houses such as Ida's Valley (1975). Here the barrel vaulted roof structures require support at both edges. Fagan cut limited openings in these supporting walls, leaving a substantial beam and edge to define each space (Barker 2012).

The Ruperts were instrumental in driving the Second Cape Revival. Dr Anton Rupert was deeply involved in environmental conservation and his companies have been prominent in funding the fine arts. The family owned several farms (including L'Ormarins and La Motte), had a wine-making partnership with Rothschilds and partially controlled SFW and Distillers Corporation. Distillers was the first Afrikaans company listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (1945). Since 1964 the Rembrandt Group (later British American Tobacco) helped restore many South African historic properties to their previous grandeur. Various private and government conservation institutions were founded during this period: Simon van der Stel Foundation and offshoots (Franschhoek Conservation Trust 1984), the Monuments Commission and the National Monuments Council (1969).

Historic Homes of South Africa Pty was registered as a public company in 1966 with Dr Anton Rupert the first chairperson of the board (see SHF website). The purpose was to buy, restore and rent out buildings that were worthy of restoration. The object was to gain functionality while restoring and retaining at least the external aspect of the building. Rupert believed that a building must have a use. The secret of the success of HH seems to be in the rental system. All their properties are leased on a commercial basis at market-related prices. There is a waiting list of people, which means that HH may be selective in choosing their tenants. Many tenants then also stay for years. By 1970 HH owned 22 properties in Stellenbosch alone (Smuts 1969: 422).

Libertas Parva (c.1775), now the Rembrandt van Rijn Art Gallery, was restored by Historic Homes in 1969.

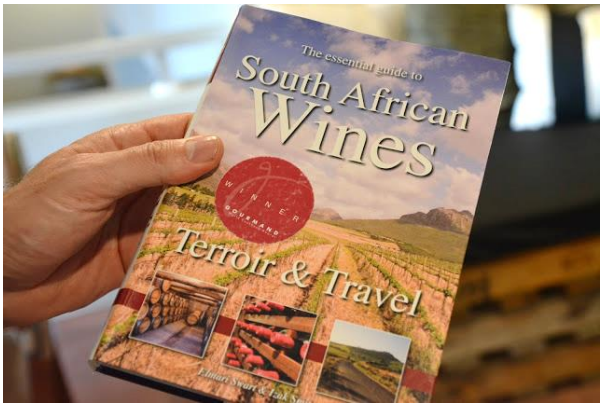
Turkish tobacco is said to have been first cultivated on the farm Champagne in 1905, later becoming a large-scale industry. One story is that seed was brought to Franschhoek by a London greengrocer, Mr Popart, who hid tobacco seed in his socks in Turkey and smuggled it out of that country. He gave it to Danie Roux of Champagne who planted it and, together with Gideon Josua (Jop) Roux, started the tobacco-industry in Franschhoek. It was discontinued in 1915 when it was found to be more economically viable in the Stellenbosch district. Tobacco farming seems to have stopped during the 1980s. According to their websites, the vineyards and guest cottages at Klein Welmoed are built on what was once an old, dilapidated tobacco farm, and the Jordan Estate Restaurant is a renovated curing shed.

Stellenbosch Wine Route celebration and signage, 1971 (www.wine.co.za).

In 1971, the first South African wine route was opened in Stellenbosch, the brainchild of Frans Malan of the Simonsig Estate and Niel Joubert of Spier. Estates such as De Hoop, Mooiplaas, Muratie, Neetlingshof, La Provence and of course Simonsig, Spier and Delheim were among those listed. While the first wine route was established in 1971, a 'Wine of Origin' system that separated the winelands into distinct districts was only introduced in 1973. In 1984, the *Vignerons de Franschhoek* was established with the aim of marketing the wines of the Valley and promoting the French character of the town.

The Stellenbosch wine route was a concept inspired by European example but grounded in the local landscape (Randle 2004). The significance of the mapping out of this "landscape of space into place"

was a real concern for the wine makers of the regions whose freedom to market and export their wine overseas was severely restricted by legal prohibitions established by the KWV in the 1960s. With the defining of distinct wine regions, came the emphasis of difference of place within the winelands of the Western Cape. Each region has a formula for difference based on some combination of breath-taking scenery, quality wines, first class cuisine, and with increasing frequency the heritage of European roots. There is also more recent scientific research into defining and categorising *terroir* units for cultivars in the area (Carey 2005).



Gables, *Terroir & Travel* [left: www.maureenojunga.com; right: www.rebeccawineintuscany.com.]

The Cape gable and a werf wall became a branding icon for wine routes. Among some laudable repairs and renovations to enhance these features, there were others that were misguided. Some farm werfs underwent retro-restoration during the 1970s and 1980s, destroying evidence of layered histories and acquiring spurious Cape Dutch features. An example is Zandberg / Scholtzenhof near Somerset West. Purist architects were sometimes uncomfortable with the hybrid Transitional Period buildings, as they were not sure what to do with their combinations of Cape and British elements, while most 'ugly' Victorian external alterations and additions were removed in order to expose the 'original' facade. This period we have therefore labelled the Second Cape Revival.

4.10.1 Migrancy, townships, hostels

Kaya Mandi was founded in 1941 to house exclusively Black migrant male labourers employed on the farms in the Stellenbosch area. It was originally designed to alleviate the overcrowding specifically associated with the individuals residing in the Du Toit section of Stellenbosch. Additionally, it was to house Black Africans who resided elsewhere within the Stellenbosch municipal area. This principally meant people living in Ida's Valley and Jamestown as well as on the farms spread throughout Stellenbosch. In 1966, the nine largest employers in the Stellenbosch district, including Stellenbosch University, the town administration, several vineyards and a fruit packing company, united to erect 38 ready-made homes, so called hostels. Overall Kaya Mandi is a microcosm of township life in the Western Cape (Rock 2011).

The history of Kaya Mandi may be broken down into four general stages (Rock 2011: 11).

- Circa 1900 to 1941, covers the origins of Kaya Mandi. This period was characterized by the development from an isolated population of farm workers to the first Black 'area' by 1918, followed by the development of the Du Toitville housing scheme in the 1920s and, finally, the build-up to the establishment of Kaya Mandi in the late 1930s to early 1940s.

- From 1941 to 1953. It was during this period that Kaya Mandi was established and expanded. The residents were predominantly families and single male workers brought to specifically to work on the farms or factories of Stellenbosch. It was also during this period that the first superintendent, H.D.R. Blok, ran Kaya Mandi. Throughout the 1940s Kaya Mandi was being developed as a community complete with all necessary social organizations. Family homes, churches, a school, and a sports field were constructed. It was partially because of this aspect that Kaya Mandi was seen as a model location.
- The period from 1953 to 1980 was characterized by an increasing number of restrictions, especially in terms of family housing and the deportation of women back to the 'Bantustans'. An increase in the development of the single quarters and the 1960 pass law riots. Due to the restrictions placed on the population of Kaya Mandi there was very little growth in population during this era.
- The early 1980s marked the start of the trends that have come to define township life in Kaya Mandi. This meant steady increases in population, political reform, violence and the degradation of community life. It also marked the shift from Kaya Mandi being a 'location' to being a 'township'. The biggest area of informal housing is called Nkanini or 'Force'. Nkanini is located on the outskirts of the more formalized areas of Kaya Mandi along the slopes of the Papegaaiberg preserve and is technically off-limits to development.

Kayamandi (Johnny Miller www.millefoto.com).

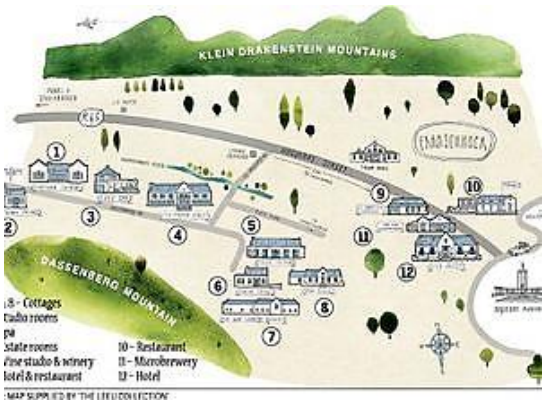
Since 2000 there have been housing projects in Costa Land, Snake Valley, Watergang, and Thubelisha. Additionally, there has been a large influx of charitable organizations that have moved in to help re-energize and redevelop the community and the municipality has taken steps towards development beyond simply building houses. This has resulted in the construction of the Kayamandi Mall, the Kayamandi Economic and Tourism Centre, and the Kayamandi Stadium. The goal is to redevelop the sense of community that was devastated by the massive influxes in the 1980s and 1990s; something that many new residents of Kaya Mandi do not even know existed (Rock 2011: 108).

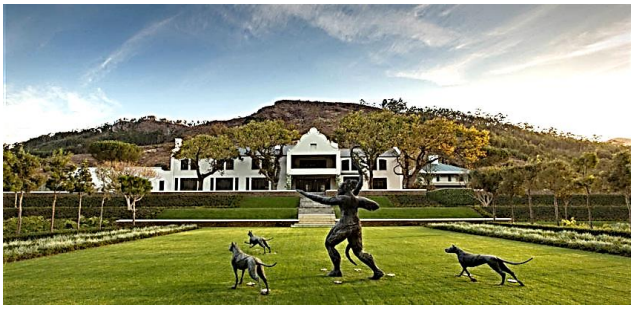
4.11 INVESTMENT, TOURISM AND VENUES (1990s to 2016)

Developers and investors from up-country, Europe and elsewhere discovered iconic Cape farms and villages in the 1990s, including Maingard and Augusta in Franschhoek, Voloshin at Hazendal, the Ords at Waterford, and Cointreau-Huchon at Morgenhof. The transformation of the landscape and built environment of Morgenhof can be used as an example (Malan 2005). Once a family-run mixed farming operation with a series of re-stylings of the werf and buildings through time, it was bought by a Johannesburg (German) businessman who restored the house and invested in an industrial-style (green corrugated metal roofs) wine cellar. The next owners, French brandy- and liqueur-makers, developed an impressive part-underground winery, with above-ground buildings and terracing in Provençal style, while also renovating the Cape-Dutch werf.

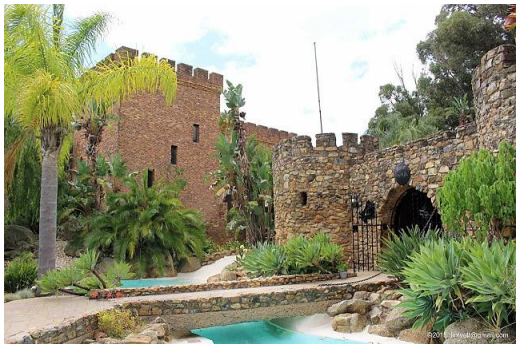
Foreign investment companies have acquired wine farms in the Western Cape in the 21st century, for example Klein Constantia, Mulderbosch and Lanzerac. A *Financial Mail* article reported that: "Big-ticket wine farms that have been sold to prominent offshore investors in the Cape Winelands over the past two to three years include Mont Rochelle in Franschhoek to Virgin Atlantic's Richard Branson and neighbouring Dieu Donné, Klein Dassenberg and Von Ortloff, now amalgamated into Leeu Estates, to Indian billionaire Analjit Singh. Chinese tech entrepreneur William Wu bought a 51% stake in the sprawling Swartland Winery near Malmesbury. However, despite the weak rand, recent sales have gone mostly to SA investors, says André Malan, Seeff agri-agent in the Stellenbosch area. Buyers are typically successful local business entrepreneurs and retirees. While vineyards are still widely regarded as the ultimate trophy asset, demand has also been driven by improved investment prospects on the back of an increase in international demand for SA" (Muller 2016), and a "wine industry commentator told the *Financial Mail* that he would not be surprised to see as much as 50% of the Western Cape winelands under Chinese and Indian ownership within 15 years."

The French Connection: left: Waterford (www.waterfordestate.co.za) and right: Morgenhof (www.morgenhof.com).





Left: A map of Analjit Singh's many properties in the Franschhoek valley. Right: Leeu Estates (www.cazloyd.com/en-gb/property/leeu-estates & www.timeslive.co.za/sundaytimes/stnews/2016/05/01).

Left: The Sentinel once commanded the R44 outside Stellenbosch (Riekse, 2007).
Right: Wine cellar at Fort Simon, Bottelary (H. Lintvelt, 2015).

Tourism and events venues have started to overtake agricultural production as the major sustainable economic base in the area: farms are being used for their aesthetic and recreational properties and production is no longer the main function (Cloete 2013). Farm-owners began to diversify their income by introducing alternative functions/facilities (farm based) to the public. These include weddings, conferences, restaurants, accommodation and health resorts. When a farmer decides to introduce these facilities on the farm, redundant buildings can be restored to accommodate the facilities. In many cases the absence of such buildings necessitates the construction of new buildings specifically for these purposes. Or, in some cases, follies to attract attention.

Over-scaled private dwellings are also being built in picturesque spots and on promontories, ridges and skylines in order to capture sweeping views, such as Jonkershoek and on the Bottelary. However, the selling points of these properties are directly associated with the attractions of the rural landscapes, farms and villages that served the farms. The qualities of these attractions are being further eroded by urban sprawl, some of which is the result of up-country middle class influx into gated communities, and some of which is to absorb property-less people seeking a better life in the Western Cape.

Meanwhile, farm workers are relocated off the farms and their homes have been demolished or converted to guest cottages. Winter (2000) warned that, if farm-workers are accommodated within 'agri-villages', it is probable that workers' houses on many farms in the area will become vacant or illegally occupied. She recommended that "every effort should be made to encourage the adaptive reuse of these houses in order to conserve them". However, the unintended consequence is that the social and historical integrity of what they represent is compromised and authenticity and meaning is lost. For instance, Boschendal's website tells us that: "Guest accommodation is a recent addition to the farm with luxury accommodation ranging from the historical Herbert Baker designed Rhodes Cottage to beautifully restored farm labourer cottages. With emphasis on stylish simplicity the guest cottages are authentic, rural yet contemporary in character" (2017 www.boschendal.com).

4.11.1 Democracy, land claims, restitution, housing and reform

"In Post-Apartheid Stellenbosch, place can still be recognised by skin colour – in Ida's Valley and Cloetesville mainly Coloured people stay, in Stellenbosch central and east Stellenbosch such as Karindal, Jonkershoek White people stay and in Kayamandi exclusively African people stay" (Yang 2015: 19).

In 1991 the Group Areas Act was abolished, ending an official legacy of segregated living that had begun 40 years previously, not that this in any way addressed the *de facto* economic and living separation of people based on the colour of their skin (Montgomery 2010). Apartheid spatial planning has turned out to be remarkably resilient and difficult to reform, and many new housing projects appear to replicate separate development and sub-standard construction.

In 2001 a large tract of municipal commonage in Franschhoek was sold in order to provide capital for the cross-subsidy of 1000 low cost houses in Groendal (also known as Franschhoek North), to settle land claims and to provide previously disadvantaged community members access to agriculture and tourism related business opportunities. The farm Mooiwater in Franschhoek North was acquired by the local authority for the purpose of establishing low-cost housing, in two phases.

The Stellenbosch Small Farm Holdings Trust was formed in 2002 after twelve emerging farmers moved on to 65 hectares of Municipal Commonage, which was land leased from Stellenbosch Municipality by the Spier Estate on the Annandale Road (PLAAS 2011). Some of the farmers had been part of an early land reform project at Spier which had failed. The 65 hectares of land then became known as Farm 502BH. Spier continued supporting the farmers in the initial years by paying the rent and water charges. The co-operative gives small farmers a niche in organic produce and the capacity to market and sell their products directly.

Stellenbosch Small Organic Farmers. "Pictured here is a field of one of the small farmers. In the background are crops grown by commercial farmers who have the bulk access to water and necessary agricultural consumables" (www.menngos.org.za).

In 2005, the Solms family established the Wijn de Caab Trust to benefit the 200 historically disadvantaged residents and employees of the Solms-Delta wine estate. In an unprecedented move, the owners of Solms-Delta and Lubeck both put their farms up as collateral so that a third, adjoining farm could be purchased by the workers. Similarly Graham Beck Wine Estate has a Workers' Forum that consists of representatives from all departments and racial groups, and acts on behalf of the employees in matters such as training, remuneration, participatory management and disciplinary hearings. A Community Forum sees to the workers' social requirements, ranging from education, transport needs, day care and extra mural activities such as choir practice or sports.

The Lyndoch Ecovillage is pioneering approaches to creating socially diverse ecological communities. A mixed community of 15 families from diverse racial and social economic groups has been built around a child-centred learning precinct. It is intended to be a financially and economically viable community requiring no external funding to sustain itself. It is managed by a Home Owners Association.

La Motte, in co-operation with other Rupert family farms, developed a modern village, Dennegeur, for its workers a short distance from La Motte in the town of Franschhoek. Design and construction were based on input from would-be residents (www.la-motte.com/about-us/social-responsibility/dennegeur).

Dennegeur, developing outside Franschhoek.

There is currently an ambitious proposal to develop a new village at Vlottenburg (Jacobs 2017): "This will be a mixed-use development expanding on the existing mixed development that has naturally evolved in the area over the last century and more. It will include commercial components such as a retail centre run along the lines of a farmer's market, shops and restaurants, as well as a hospital, clinic, hotel, expansion of the existing hotel school, a large residential component, sports fields, a new school and expansion of the facilities of the existing school." It is currently outside the approved Vlottenburg Urban Edge. Part of the rationale is that by ensuring that the development is self-contained, incremental urban creep that would otherwise eventually lead to the Vlottenburg Hamlet eventually connecting with the outskirts of Stellenbosch would be avoided, thereby ensuring the sustainability of the intervening viable agricultural land in between.

Several hamlets/projects are proposed for consideration as development nodes (as well as housing for farm employees). The Stellenbosch Municipality SDF (Sustainability Institute 2017), approved in May 2017, includes the following:

Dwars River Valley	Klapmuts	Muldersvlei Crossroads	Vlottenburg
Franschhoek	Koelenhof	Raithby	Wemmershoek
Groot Drakenstein	La Motte	Spier	
Jamestown/De Zalze	Lynedoch	Stellenbosch Town	

4.11.2 Nature conservation and Conservancies

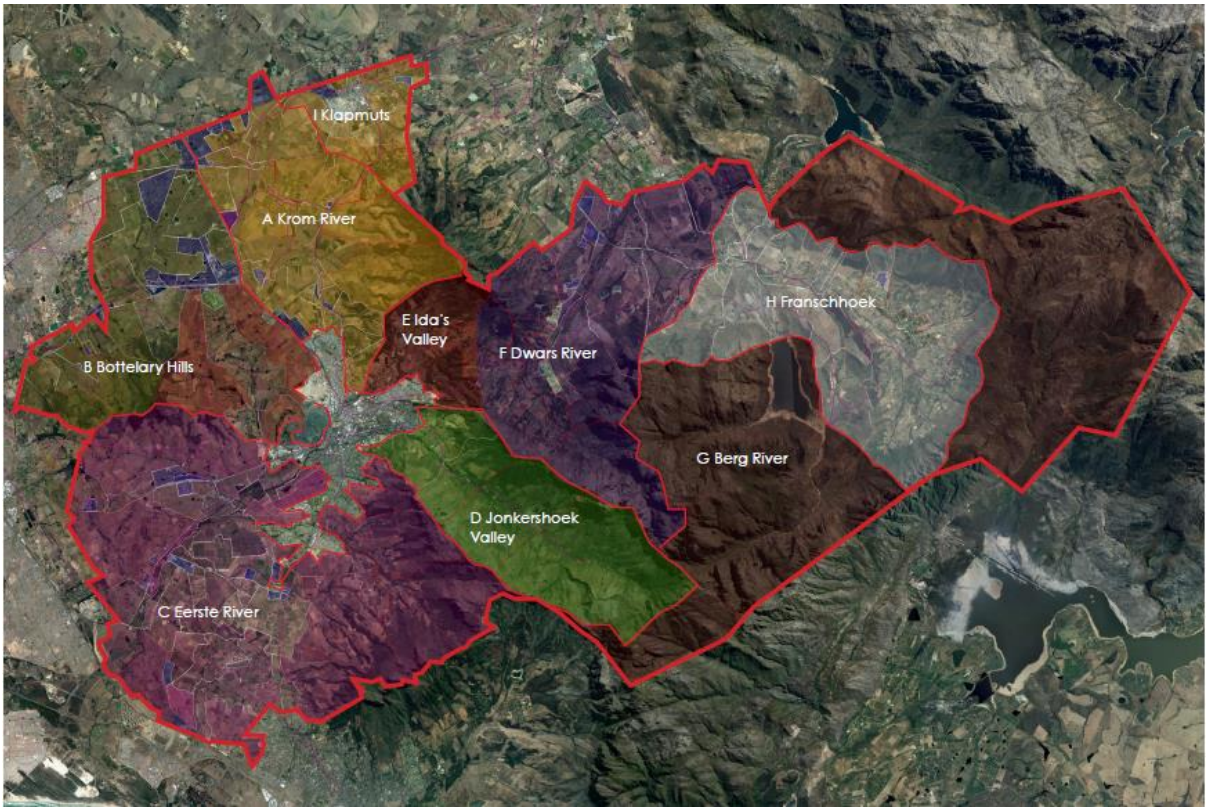
The study area consists of vast tracts of State Forest Nature Reserves, Mountain Catchment Areas, Provincial Reserves, Private Nature Reserves, Local Authority Nature Reserves, and Protected Natural Environments and Conservancies (see CWPPA 2016b Figure 3.6a). These go a long way in protecting the integrity of the natural landscape. It is however a pity that these areas are predominantly located in the higher gradient mountainous landform and not necessarily in the foothills or alluvial plains.

SANParks and Cape Nature have in the past been strongly criticised for neglecting or removing cultural heritage in favour of natural heritage, usually with the intention to 'restore' a so-called pristine environment. A hierarchy of categories of resource zones and associated management policies, running from remote wilderness to confined building nodes, has exacerbated the tendency to demolish offending man-made structures and features that are in the wrong zone. Pre-colonial archaeological sites, however, have usually been seen as an asset in a natural environment. The advent of the NHRA that requires permits to be issued for alternations, additions and demolitions to the built environment has partly changed this scenario.

Bottelary Hills Conservancy (www.bottelaryconservancy.co.za).

Adjoining farmers have formed conservancies to protect or reinstate the natural environment, to avoid the loss or alienation of productive land, and to assist local communities. They are also a tourist draw to eco-sensitive visitors. For example, the Bottelary Conservancy has restored patches of Renosterveld among the vineyards and the Greater Simonsberg Conservancy runs the Simonsberg Environmental Educational Centre. The Banhoek Conservancy provides "well designed, permanently marked off-road tracks for multisport athletes to train on … [and] for mountain bike races. Income derived is used to maintain the tracks, to remove alien vegetation and to protect the environment in the Banhoek valley".

5 LANDSCAPES, TOWNSCAPES, STREETSCAPES AND URBAN EDGES



Landscape Units in the study area.

5.1 LANDSCAPE UNITS

The fundamental components of the study area are many valleys, which are subsets of the two main river basins: the Berg River to the north and east and the Eerste River to the west and south. Both are enclosed to varying degrees by rugged mountains. These valleys are 'worlds' that often feature different vegetation types, settlement patterns and human activities. The landscape units defined in this study are: A Krom River Valley, B Bottelary Hills, C Eerste River Valley, D Jonkershoek Valley, E Ida's Valley, G Berg River Valley, H Franschhoek Valley and I Klapmuts Valley.

Jonkershoek has been identified as a landscape unit of high significance. At its greatest extent in the 19th century Jonkershoek was an enormous farm which spanned both banks of the Eerste River from the Jonkershoekberge to the Stellenboschberge. It extended eastward as far as the headwaters of the Eerste River and included most of the upper catchment area both sides of the river, and westward as far as Old Nectar property, where the edge is a prominent ridge (Pistorius & Harris 2005).

Among the first farmers to settle in the Stellenbosch area was Johann Andriesz, commonly called Jan de Jonker, whose farm was the most remote in the Valley. He died in 1698 and the land passed to his neighbour, the free-black Jan of Ceylon who owned it till 1701. A triangular piece of flat land that belonged to him, known as Lui Jan's Field, is still a distinctive landmark in the valley. It was originally *saaigrond* and is currently a vineyard. The property was bought by Anna Hoeks in 1714; she owned all except one of the grants in the valley. Jonkershoek was farmed in combination with its neighbours, including Lanzerac, throughout the 18th century. Old Nectar was deducted in the 1760s.

In the first years of the 20th century, during the wine farming boom, dramatic improvements were made to the farm lands and buildings. The upper reaches of the valley, with grazing and plentiful wood, were granted to Christiaan Ackerman in 1832. Jonkershoek then came into the hands of the Watermeyer family (1877-1932). In this period there were many changes to the buildings, keeping them up-to-date (bathrooms, Italian roof tiles, decorative dormer windows) and possibly the west farmstead had been built. Meanwhile, in 1892 the Government had leased some land west of the werf and established a trout hatchery to stock the Eerste River.


Lui Jan's Field, Jonkershoek (MF 2017).

The Jonkershoek Valley is also associated with recreation and enjoyment of the spectacular natural environment, with long traditions of public use by locals and visitors alike. The kramat of an un-named Muslim leader is set in a peaceful spot beneath the trees and picnic places are dotted along the river banks.


Kramat, Jonkershoek (MF 2017).

5.2 TOWNSCAPES

Jamestown, or Webersvlei, a town on the 'urban edge' of Stellenbosch that underwent rapid urban transformation since 1994, still retains some of its historic townscape features: a spine street parallel to the Blouklip River and long narrow plots at right-angles. Houses are more densely packed to the south of the road, and the productive land with some dwellings at the top stretches down to the river. But not much agricultural activity is to be seen. Its location offers tempting affordable housing and a tranquil setting for commuters, so the properties start to become unaffordable to local families. The developments on the R44, Aan de Weber gated precinct at the east end of the dorp, and large new houses, completely ignore the character of the townscape.

Google Maps images (2017) show the layout of Jamestown and views to the east (middle) and north (bottom).

5.3 STREETSCAPES

Groendal, Franschhoek, was last surveyed in the 1980s (Todeschini & Japha 1988). The historic portion illustrated below still retains much of its spatial qualities and heritage-worthy elements such as family houses, gardens and fine trees along Keerom Street.

Groendal (Google Maps 2017).


Keerom Street, Groendal (FT 2017).

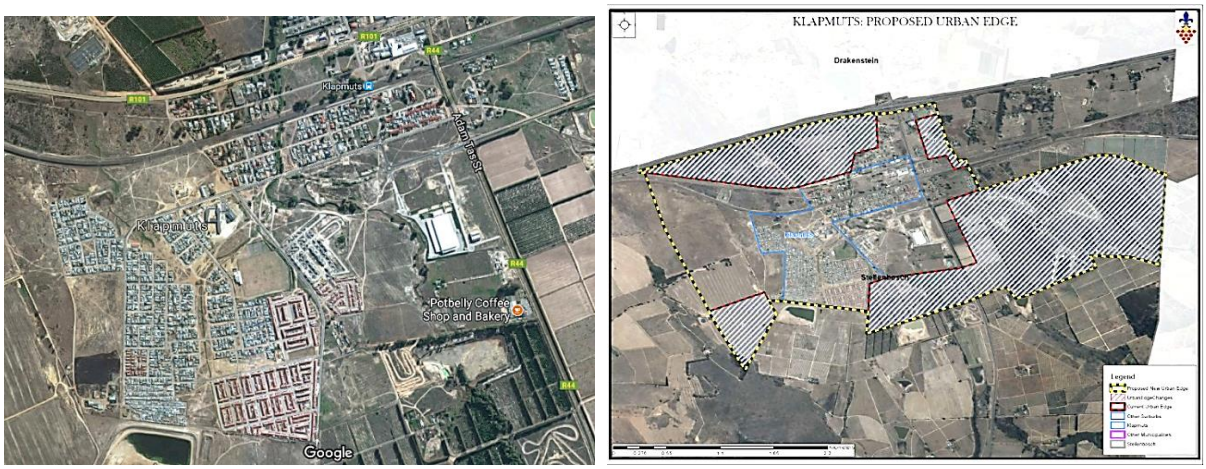
Middelstraat, in Pniel, is a narrow street lined with single-storey dwellings with stoeps. It is not architecturally impressive, but has a consistency and an unusual 'enclosed' character and a strong sense of place. For this reason, it has been assessed as a proposed Grade IIIB heritage resource.


Middelstraat, Pniel (FT 2017).

5.4 URBAN EDGES AND ROAD TRANSPORT

Proposed urban edge changes and new bypass roads in the study area are raising concerns, particularly as such planning decisions must first be informed by and respond to the municipal heritage assessment and survey.

The original hamlet of Klapmuts, on the railway line between Cape Town and Paarl, is overshadowed by the new Klapmuts to the south, which is set to expand further as the urban edge is moved into adjacent productive farmlands. The new town is isolated from established urban areas, and can be regarded as perpetuating 'race and class apartness' planning.



Plans for the expansion of Klapmuts.

A proposed new (western) bypass road, servicing an expanded Kyamandi and passing through Devon Valley and along a ridge, is already receiving objections on several counts. Commenters point out that it will have an adverse visual impact in an area of outstanding beauty, lead to loss of productive agricultural land by initiating urban sprawl, and increase rather than mitigate road traffic pressures. Our current study, which has identified significant landscape units in the area, confirms that there are substantial issues on heritage grounds alone. It has been suggested that the existing but poorly managed rail infrastructure could instead address the needs of travellers if it was upgraded and properly run. Residential densification nodes could be based on the stations, and the line itself is visually neutral.

The landscape context of the proposed Western Bypass (Google Map 2018).

6 ACRONYMS, NHRA DEFINITIONS & GLOSSARY

ACO	Archaeological Contracts Office (UCT), now ACO Associates cc.
ACRM	Agency for Cultural Resource Management.
AIA	Archaeological Impact Assessment.
CA	Western Cape Archives & Records Repository.
CWPPA	Cape Winelands Professional Practices in Association.
ESA	Early Stone Age: period extending approximately between 2 million and 250 000 years ago.
HIA	Heritage Impact Assessment.
HWC	Heritage Western Cape.
KWV	Ko-operatieve Wijnbouwers Vereniging van Zuid Afrika.
LSA	Later Stone Age: period extending over the last approximately 20 000 years.
MSA	Middle Stone Age: period extending approximately between 250 000 and 20 000 years ago.
NHS	National Heritage Site (Grade I).
NM	National Monument (under old legislation); now NHS or PHS.
PHS	Provincial Heritage Site (Grade II).
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resources Agency.
SAHRIS	South African Heritage Resources Information System.
SDF	Spatial Development Framework.
SHF	Stellenbosch Heritage Foundation.
SIG	Stellenbosch Interest Group.
SF	Stellenbosch Freehold (OSF Old Stellenbosch Freehold).
SFW	Stellenbosch Farmers' Winery Group.
SQ	Stellenbosch Quitrent.
UCT	University of Cape Town.
VOC	Dutch East India Company.

Definitions (derived from the NHRA (No.25 of 1999) and HWC Regulations):

''alter'' means any action affecting the structure, appearance or physical properties of a place or object, whether by way of structural or other works, by painting, plastering or other decoration or any other means;

''archaeological'' means (a) material remains resulting from human activity which are in a state of disuse and are in or on land and which are older than 100 years, including artefacts, human and hominid remains and artificial features and structures; (b) rock art, being any form of painting, engraving or other graphic representation on a fixed rock surface or loose rock or stone, which was executed by human agency and which is older than 100 years, including any area within 10m of such representation; (c) wrecks, being any vessel or aircraft, or any part thereof, which was wrecked in South Africa, whether on land, in the internal waters, the territorial waters or in the maritime culture zone of the Republic … and any cargo, debris or artefacts found or associated therewith, which is older than 60 years or which SAHRA considers to be worthy of conservation; (d) features, structures and artefacts associated with military history which are older than 75 years and the sites on which they are found;

"archaeological site" means any place where material remains resulting from human activity have been abandoned and have been in a state of disuse for more than 100 years, including hominid remains, artefacts and refuse, rock art. human remains outside of areas formally declared as cemeteries in the past, artificial features and structures that are no longer standing and any place where features, structures and artefacts associated with military history have been abandoned and in a state of disuse for more than 75 years:

''conservation'', in relation to heritage resources, includes protection, maintenance, preservation and sustainable use of places or objects so as to safeguard their cultural significance;
''cultural significance'' means aesthetic, architectural, historical, scientific, social, spiritual, linguistic or technological value or significance;
''development'' means any physical intervention, excavation, or action, other than those caused by natural forces, which may in the opinion of a heritage authority in any way result in a change to the nature, appearance or physical nature of a place, or influence its stability and future well-being, including (a) construction, alteration, demolition, removal or change of use of a place or a structure at a place; (b) carrying out any works on or over or under a place; (c) subdivision or consolidation of land comprising, a place, including the structures or airspace of a place; (d) constructing or putting up for display signs or hoardings; (e) any change to the natural or existing condition or topography of land; and (f) any removal or destruction of trees, or removal of vegetation or topsoil;
"excavation" means the scientific excavation, recording and retrieval of archaeological deposits and objects through the use of accepted archaeological procedures and methods, and excavate has a corresponding meaning;
''grave'' means a place of interment and includes the contents, headstone or other marker of such a place, and any other structure on or associated with such place;
''heritage agreement'' means an agreement referred to in section 42;
''heritage register'' means a list of heritage resources in a province;
''heritage resource'' means any place or object of cultural significance;
''heritage resources authority'' means the South African Heritage Resources Agency, or a provincial heritage resources authority;
''heritage site'' means a place declared to be a national heritage site by SAHRA or a place declared to be a provincial heritage site by a provincial heritage resources authority;
''improvement'', in relation to heritage resources, includes the repair, restoration and rehabilitation of a place protected in terms of this Act; (xivl) (xx)
''living heritage'' means the intangible aspects of inherited culture, and may include (a) cultural tradition; (b) oral history; (c) performance; (d) ritual; (e) popular memory; (f) skills and techniques; (g) indigenous knowledge systems; and (h) the holistic approach to nature, society and social relationships;
''local authority'' means a municipality as defined in section 10B of the Local Government Transition Act, 1993 (Act No. 209 of 1993);
''management'', in relation to heritage resources, includes the conservation, presentation and improvement of a place protected in terms of this Act;
''meteorite'' means any naturally-occurring object of extra-terrestrial origin;
''national estate'' means the national estate as defined in section 3;
''object'' means any movable property of cultural significance which may be protected in terms of any provisions of this Act, including (a) any archaeological artefact; (b) palaeontological and rare geological specimens; (c) meteorites; and (d) other objects referred to in section 3;
''owner'' includes the owner's authorised agent and any person with a real interest in the property and (a) in the case of a place owned by the State or State-aided institutions, the Minister or any other person or body of persons responsible for the care, management or control of that place; (b) in the case of tribal trust land, the recognised traditional authority;
''palaeontological'' means any fossilised remains or fossil trace of animals or plants which lived in the geological past, other than fossil fuels or fossiliferous rock intended for industrial use, and any site which contains such fossilised remains or trance; (xxxi) (xxxii)
''place'' includes (a) a site, area or region; (b) a building or other structure which may include equipment, furniture, fittings and articles associated with or connected with such building or other structure; (c) a group of buildings or other structures which may include equipment, furniture, fittings and articles associated with or connected with such group of buildings or other structures; (d) an open space, including a public square, street or park; and (e) in relation to the management of a place, includes the immediate surroundings of a place;
"permit holder" means a person who applied to Heritage Western Cape for authorisation in terms of section 48(I) of the Act and to whom a permit has been issued by Heritage Western Cape:
''planning'' means urban and regional planning; and provincial town planning and land use planning legislation;

"practitioner" means a person qualified to undertake the work described in a permit issued by Heritage Western Cape;

''presentation'' includes (a) the exhibition or display of; (b) the provision of access and guidance to; (c) the provision, publication or display of information in relation to; and (d) performances or oral presentations related to, heritage resources protected in terms of this Act;

''provincial heritage resources authority'', insofar as this Act is applicable in a province, means an authority established by the MEC under section 23 (such as Heritage Western Cape);

''public monuments and memorials'' means all monuments and memorials (a) erected on land belonging to any branch of central, provincial or local government, or on land belonging to any organisation funded by or established in terms of the legislation of such a branch of government; or (b) which were paid for by public subscription, government funds, or a public-spirited or military organisation, and are on land belonging to any private individual;

"publication" means a document produced and which is generally available in multiple copies or locations to any member of the public;

''regulations'' means regulations made under this Act;

''site'' means any area of land, including land covered by water, and including any structures or objects thereon;

''State'' includes a province;

''structure'' means any building, works, device or other facility made by people and which is fixed to land, and includes any fixtures, fittings and equipment associated therewith;

''victims of conflict'' means (a) certain persons who died in any area now included in the Republic as a direct result of any war or conflict as specified in the regulations, but excluding victims of conflict covered by the Commonwealth War Graves Act, 1992 (Act No. 8 of 1992); (b) members of the forces of Great Britain and the former British Empire who died in active service in any area now included in the Republic prior to 4 August 1914; (c) persons who, during the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) were removed as prisoners of war from any place now included in the Republic to any place outside South Africa and who died there; and (d) certain categories of persons who died in the ''liberation struggle'' as defined in the regulations, and in areas included in the Republic as well as outside the Republic.

Glossary

Dorp	Village or small town.
Free-black	Person manumitted from slavery (and banished convicts who completed their sentences) or their descendants.
Freehold	Full ownership of land. These grants were relatively few and largely confined to the Cape and Stellenbosch districts as the Company became concerned about retaining control over the land for fiscal and policy reasons. Linked to *erfpacht*, that allowed freeholders to lease adjoining land for 15 years.
Company	Dutch East India Company (also VOC: Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie).
Holocene	The geological period spanning the last approximately 10-12 000 years.
Khoekhoen	People indigenous to South Africa, pastoralists who had domestic stock and made pottery.
KhoeSan	An amalgamation of Khoekhoen and San to refer generally to people indigenous to southern Africa who spoke click-languages. Today their descendants often prefer to be known as First Nation peoples.
Loan tenure	A licence to occupy a place, that served to enable free-burghers to provide provisions to the Company.
Quitrent	The lessee could exploit and develop state land and could sell the improvements (*opstal*) against an annual payment. Perpetual quitrent allowed longer tenure and property could be transmitted to heirs, and eventually in 1934 the annual payments were no longer required though the state retained mineral, road building and other rights.
Saaigrond	Land suitable for cultivation of grain and other crops.
San	People indigenous to South Africa who lived off wild plants, seafood and animals.

Land tenure

Freehold tenure was a form of land grant given to establish new farmers while binding them to the Company's purpose by several obligations. However, they were considered 'free' to decide on how to use the land they were given and how to conduct their lives (Fisher 1984: 72).

Loan tenure (between 1654 and 1714) was a form of gratuitous lease of land to the colonists. It originated in the first years of the Cape settlement when the VOC 'allowed' the inhabitants to use areas of land for the cultivation of domestic produce and for the grazing of animals. No rent was payable since it was offered rent free for 60 years. The main reason was that the immigrant colonists were extremely poor and it was difficult and expensive to start farming successfully, let alone to have to pay for the use of the land (Fisher 1984: 72).

Another form of loan-tenure was introduced in 1714 when the administration thereof became more formalized. It was allocated by a renewal licence of 6 rixdollars every 6 months, and in 1732 this amount was increased to 24 rixdollars per year (Fisher 1984: 73).

As the agricultural economy of the Cape colony grew, so did its geographical extent and the need for land increased. A hybrid form of tenure, *loan-freehold*, was created by the conversion to freehold of that part of a loan farm upon which the occupier had erected his main buildings and other improvements.

In 1732 *quitrent tenure* was introduced. The quitrent grantee was obliged to pay an annual rent, which varied, for a 15 year tenure. The 15 year term was renewed in 1747 and 1762 after which the title became perpetual (Fisher 1984: 79).

Land rights were thus formally recorded and the records were maintained throughout the period.

7 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Tracey Randle suggested the initial outline for this study through her comprehensive Phase 2a Timeline, and provided a considerable amount of the detailed information in this report as well as many useful references. Sincere thanks to her, and the rest of the survey team. Liberal use has been made of the research and publications of colleagues, but not all references are included in the Bibliography. A full set is lodged with the project research documentation. Images and photographs are credited where known (including FT Fabio Todeschini and MF Marike Franklin). I am grateful for comments and additional information received from heritage groups and members of the public.

This report is dedicated to Dr Hans Fransen (1931-2017) whose unparalleled knowledge and generous advice is sorely missed.

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