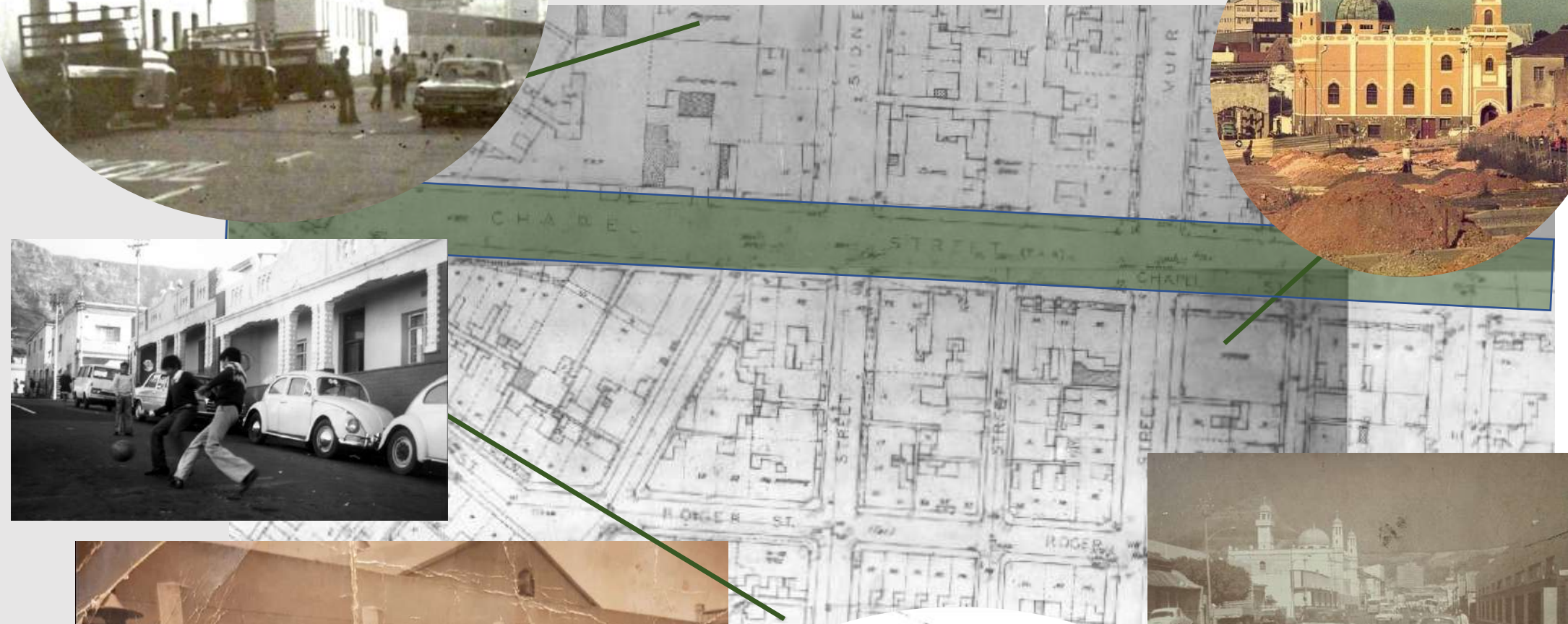
SOCIO-HISTORICAL STUDY

CHAPEL STREET District Six/Woodstock



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Property description and historical delineation

Chapel street comprises an entire cross section of District Six and straddles one side of a community that was forcibly removed and another side that was allowed to remain. The interconnection of streets and houses in this grid represents a residential streetscape where memories and social identities of families were associated with specific streets, schools, community centres along Chapel street.

Ensuring that the older connections between residential area and religious centres and educational associations are re-made and re-imagined is a crucial part of addressing some of the arbitrary social and physical destructions of built form that resulted from apartheid removals and demolition.

Social history focus

Chapel street was one of the oldest streets to be developed in the District. Beginning as colonial farmland, and most likely pre-colonial grazing ground. It was increasingly in the 19th century that social character of this portion of land already started to be developed to housing, and businesses. It was specifically between the 1900s to 1980s that this street acquired its characterisation that continues to live on in the minds and memories of people forcibly removed from the western section of Chapel street while the easter edge close to Trafalgar park continued to be lived in by its community.

A sense of place must also be a sense of people

(Richard Rive, 1987, quoted in a District Six Museum, Internal Discussion Document, 2004) (Minty 2006: 426)

The social history of Chapel Street is one that is tied to the memories inside homes but is also connected to the social life that took place in and around public buildings and streets. Representing the memories of the people who used and lived in Chapel Street and its surrounding area in the 20th century is key to understanding its meaning and importance. As Pinnock notes:

"The history of a city is the story of its neighbourhoods. Each has a zeitgeist, an identifiable personality. They all look and feel distinct from one another and have persistence over generations. Explaining zeitgeist is difficult because it comprises many things: the type of buildings; the width of streets; the presence or absence of gates and walls; greenery or lack of it; street lighting at night; how people dress; who is hanging around; the friendliness, indifference or fear of people; the smell of cooking; rubbish or garden flowers; and the type of cars.

The most important undergirding of neighbourhood zeitgeist is the degree of social efficacy. Organised communities have higher levels of formal and informal solidarity. There is consensus on important norms and values, often cohesion and social interaction among neighbours, formal and informal surveillance, and preparedness to intervene in altercations, question strangers and admonish children for unacceptable behaviour. These areas generally look and feel different. District Six was such an area and has come to represent a time when things were better" (Pinnock 2016: 7-8).

Remaining in memory

The City of Cape Town's Cultural Heritage Strategy (Attwell et al 2018) argues that it is important to acknowledge the achievements of individuals and groups during the City's history and seeks to recognise and protect places, narratives and traditions associated with such people and events. While much of the built form of large sections of Chapel Street may have been destroyed, the narratives and associations of District Six have crucially remained through the memories of ex-residents.

Shaping urban design and planning through memory

Preserving and integrating the remnants of built form and memory within future planning and design is crucial to the acknowledgement of the sense of loss, destruction and devastation for the people of District Six who were forcibly removed. Planning and design should continue to incorporate the 'sense of place' that has been informed by these intangible memories and continued cultural practices on the site. Some of the main components for the 'sense of place' of Chapel Street are outlined in overview in this report. **How a site is 'remembered' or 'memorialised' needs to be community led, involving ongoing engagement through the design process.**

As outlined in the 2003 Heritage Impact Assessment of District Six by Lucien Le Grange, the employment and translation of memory is key to urban design development. It requires the:

- Conserving and celebrating previous and remaining institutions i.e. even if buildings have been destroyed their memory needs to be conserved and celebrated.
- Incorporating memory in street/place names
- Identifying and celebrating public places.(Pg. 6)

As such accessing the memories of ex-residents has meant a multi-pronged approach beyond academic papers, towards newspaper articles and websites. Absolutely key to bringing in the voices and stories has been the incredible archive and platform that exists on Facebook dedicated to District Six Memories, run by Martin Greshoff. The voices and stories, photographs and even documents that run this report are given living and breathing life because so many residents and ex-residents have shared on that page. This study is absolutely indebted to the sights, sounds, smells, stories, people and memories that social media page holds. This study could never be truly representative of everyone's memories and stories making the importance of community involvement in memorialisation work and projects absolutely crucial. (District Six Facebook page https://www.facebook.com/groups/rememberD6)

District Six Brief Historical Timeline

1840s in the post emancipation period the area that would later become known as District Six on the farmstead Zonnebloem saw building and settlement begin. A diverse community of freed slaves, merchants, artisans, labourers and immigrants began to settle on this area closely connected to edge of the port town.

1867 the area acquired its familiar name of District Six when a new municipal act divided Cape Town into six districts. Before that it was officially called District Twelve or more colloquially as **Kanaladorp**, derived either from the many canals found in the area or the Malay word kanala, meaning 'to help one another'.

1890s in a period of population growth and commercial expansion, 3000 people would make their homes in this area as Cape Town's housing spilled out over the boundary canals and the city's colonial grid layout. The affordable rents and close proximity to places of work in the city and at the docks made District Six a convenient and attractive place to live for its varied population. New immigrants from Europe and West Indies swelled the ranks of the cosmopolitan population of former slaves, working class people, traders, shopkeepers and landlords.

1901 The first forced removals in the area of 'African people': they were removed to the first location established in Cape Town at Uitvlugt farm (later called Ndabeni).

1940s plans were formed by the Cape Town municipality to demolish houses under slum clearance.

1966 the declaration of District Six as a white area under the Group Areas Act when extensive demolition began which was met with intense resistance by the residents.

mid 1970s The last residents of District Six were forced to leave.

By the early 1980s 60 000 people had been removed from the city's core to its distant periphery.

1984 the destruction of District Six was complete. Aside from a few buildings the landscape was stripped and cleared.

1994 after the first democratic elections claims for restitution were made by families, which had been forced out of District Six. Under the Restitution of Land Rights Act, those who experienced forced removals after 1913 were entitled to claim for land and/or compensation from the state. In the case of District Six, a claim was put forward whereby the community would return wholesale, instead of through individual claim.

2004 the first 24 families moved into their new homes in District Six.

This report comprises a high level over-view of the social history of places and associations in Chapel Street that has shaped the 'sense of place' for the site.

CHAPEL STREET AS CONNECTOR

Each street in District Six had its own character, sense of place making and belonging. Ex-residents identify individual streets being associated with particular households, families, businesses, individuals and public buildings.

Each street was also influenced by the gradient of street, the view of the mountain, sea or city and the texture of its roads and built form. Every street was also a connector to another street, business, or place to get to and so was never isolated but rather part of a wider web of connectivity.

Situated along Chapel street are the junction of some of the most iconic residential streets in the memory of District Six. The social history of Chapel Street is a story of the public institutions and converging residential streets and their character.

For instance, many ex-residents of District Six might have had family members living in different streets; perhaps living in Russel street with their parents, visiting their grandparents in another street, attending church at St. Philips and school at Zonnebloem Primary school.

All of these spaces were interconnected by walking and playing in the Rutger Street park along the way, visiting a corner shop for samoosas, meeting a friend who attended a different school. The walk between places was embroidered with meaning, connections to people and associations as each person navigated their own personal place making and connection to space.

As Richard Abrahams remembers of "District Six, the place I called Home…in the Morning I would take a walk up Russell Street where I spent most of my childhood with my grandmother. I walked to Zonnebloem school. I walked past the Searle Street Swimming Baths to say hello to the residents in Chapel Street and have a chat with the locals at Moola's shop in Gray Street. All my neighbours in Gray Street have passed on or moved. I visited Adams wife who still stays in the house next to the shop, she remembered my mother and sisters. Omar, Adam and Habieda have all passed. Only have wonderful memories of a place I once called home!" (District Six Facebook page https://www.facebook.com/groups/rememberD6)

Ismail Abdullah notes that he attended Chapel Street Primary School, lived in Selkirk Street opposite the mechanical workshop at the 'CCC' and then attended Salaah prayers at the Muir Street Mosque. All of these sites are situated along the line of Chapel Street as connector.

THE SECTION OF CHAPEL THAT WAS DESTROYED

The section of Chapel that was demolished under Apartheid group areas forced removals was characterized by residential housing, schools and various local businesses. The only building that remained was the Zeenatul Islam Mosque which now sits in isolation of its former community that surrounded and established it. The first land claim housing development has been established along Chapel, other parts were long ago taken over by buildings belonging to the Cape Peninsula University of Technology and other high rise expensive housing developments.

Right: Photograph of Chapel Street with the Mosque in the centre. Unknown author
Far Right: 2023 Google view of the demolished section of Chapel Street

WHAT THE FREEWAY DIVIDED

There are effectively multiple layers of complex dispossession along Chapel Street. While the eastern section of residential houses seem to mostly remain and many of its institutions, it is not a simple separation.

As was noted in the Contextual Analysis of Chapel Street:

"The imposition of the flyover permanently altered and indeed severed the two sections of the street, but the greatest single impact on Chapel Street was the demolition of District Six that saw all but the Zeenatul Islam Mosque razed to the ground in the western extent, while the houses and buildings of the eastern portion were retained" (Jakupa et al November 2022: 39).

"The Group Area Act (GAA) acted most obviously on the portions of District Six west of the freeway overpass, which resulted in the demolition of almost all built fabric there, but impacts were experienced east of that boundary, despite the endurance of family and communities there… Beginning with the Foreshore scheme initiated in the 1940s, urban renewal projects and Eastern Boulevard had a devastating impact on the cohesion of the wider District Six community. This was compounded by the impacts in 1966 of the Group Area Acts which declared District Six south of the freeway as a White Group Area" (Ibid: 28).

It is important to note that while one side of the freeway 'remained', it did not do so intact. District Six functioned as a cross connector of schooling, religious and cultural institutions that were not inhibited even by a freeway overpass. Families and social connections linked to residential houses and formal public spaces were connected across the entire district. The loss of one side of Chapel Street was still a significant loss to the relationship of those connections to the side that remained.

Ex-residents respond to the different reasons the eastern portion of Chapel Street remaining more or less intact (all quotes from District Six Facebook Page https://www.facebook.com/groups/rememberD6)

Austen Jackson:
"One of the reasons why the houses around St Philip's Chapel Street were never demolished was because of the costs incurred by the Border war in Namibia. The demolitions and removals in District Six was a huge cost on the Afrikaner State. It was a part of the State's budget that was diverted away to the military by the time the demolitions reached the area around Roger, Chapel and Francis Streets. This is information that is referenced in different academic papers at UCT and UWC".

Jeroem Isaacs:
"I would like clear up an issue regarding Francis Street, Chapel Street and Osborne Street. It was never part of Woodstock, although some people like to refer to it as being Woodstock. It is Cape Town and the only reason why the houses were not demolished like the rest of D6, is because of the Freeway or Flyover that cut through D6. I was born in Francis Street and served on a committee who fought the landlord of the houses in the 3 roads mentioned. It is and was always Cape Town as the postal code is 8001".

Ishmael Davids

"The Eastern Boulavard cut through D6 and divided our community. But it prevented or at least stopped the demolishing. The area was exactly as the original D6. I believe it now has heritage status meaning the fronts of the houses must remain the same. We stayed in Gray Str house still exist, but we moved to Wynberg. My father worked at Diep River City Tramways and he was brilliant to purchase our home in Wynberg. I trust the small area left of D6 remains vibrant. I have seen flats going up in this area especially the field where we used to play as kids on Roger Str bordering Gray Str. But all my childhood memories are there".

Above: Photograph on Facebook by Kaltoena Mohamed Jacobs which included his father Achmat Mohamed and two of his aunts in the bridal party. Note in the background the driver of a bridal horse and carriage wearing a toering or toeding conical straw hat (associated in the 18th and 19th century with people of Indonesian descent at the Cape).

The Zeenatul Isam Mosque and the 'CCC'

There are very few images of the area along Chapel Street prior to the flyover being built. This beautiful image shared by Ismael Gabie on Facebook shows how Chapel Street looked before the freeway overpass was built. Fatiema Morris nee Emeran is pictured, and it is noteworthy that the street was the place to situate a photograph dressed up for a special occasion as a bridesmaid, on her way to cut rampies.

Gabie notes that this photographed is positioned towards **Rutger Street** with 'Karras shop on the corner on the right side', and opposite it the **'CCC'**, which is presumably the Cape Town City Council municipal garage cleaning branch which some residents in District Six worked for, the refuse trucks parked and were repaired there. The street behind Fatiema looks residential in character.

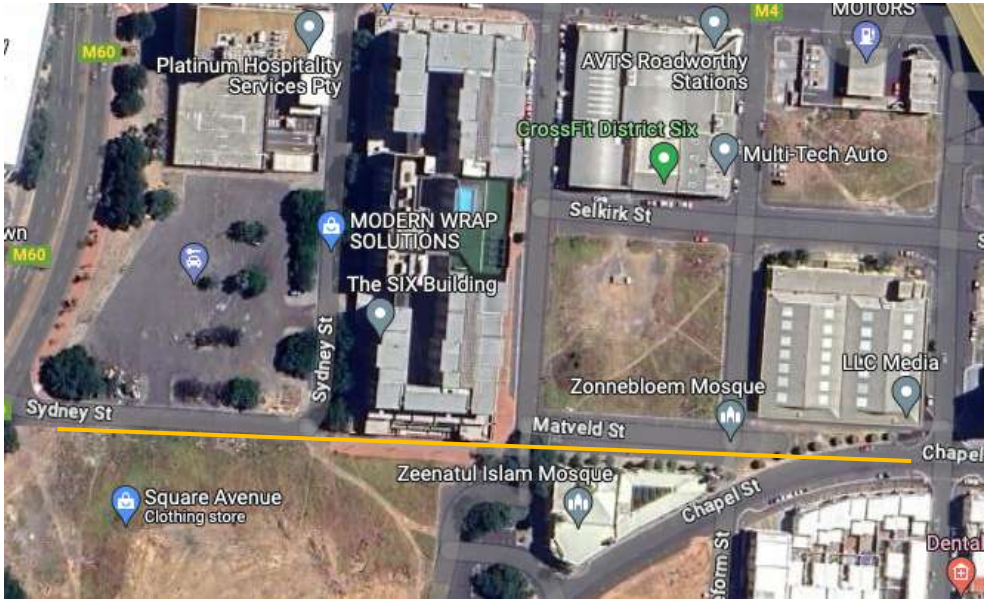
Situated opposite the Zeenatul Islam Masjid, colloquially known as the 'Muir Street Mosque', it seems that even photographs of bridal parties were positioned outside the CCC as can be seen in the photograph to the right

Another later photograph, dating probably to the latter half of the 20th century also shows a horse and cart in front of the CCC and the dilapidation of this building.

Above: This image was shared by Attaqua Ethel Williams Herandien of Chapel Street, probably after the destruction of District Six (Facebook)

Ironically the site of City Council Municipal Garage cleaning depot is one of the few remaining remnants of original Chapel Street on the western end by the Mosque. The presence of what used to be known as the 'CCC' in fact marks the line and orientation of what was the original Chapel Street that carried on past Stukeris street with the Mosque on the left-hand side. The original Chapel carried on to Muir streets on both side (one side is now called Matveld and has largely been demolished of developed with modern industrial and high-rise residential buildings, through Lesar, Sidney, Tyne and reaching Tennant Street).

Above and Below: 2023 Google map view of the Zeeenatul Islam Mosque in relation to the CCC which shows the original orientation of how Chapel Street used to run straight to Tennant Street (shown in yellow line below)



Above: The corner of Chapel and Reform Streets, just before the Mosque. Painting by Davids based on a photo taken by Ismail Gabie, with the well-known Cape Fruit Supply noted to be on the corner (Facebook).

The back area of the Mosque and open ground opposite it could be a key site to remember the original Chapel Street orientation and some of the history of the buildings and institutions that were demolished in this area.

Unlike the section of Chapel that runs towards Searle street that still has fine grained residential houses remaining along the street face, this section of Chapel has lost its residential character with larger developments. The Mosque now stands isolated in-between large monolithic developments within the landscape, where it used to be completely integrated between residential houses and buildings.

Looking up Reform Street just before the Mosque used to have houses and iconic local landmarks on the street with a mix of building styles, heights and character:

Above: 2023 google map view of what used to be the corner of Reform and Chapel Street now with a totally different character.

Below: Chapel Street looking towards the Mosque just before Sidney street. Photograph by Bart Steyn © District Six Museum. Chicha Allies Shop was noted to be on the corner.

Above: 2023 google view from what was the old Chapel Street just before Sidney. The Mosque is no longer held by residential houses and streets leading up to it.
Below: the destruction of the houses and buildings on the blocks between Chapel and Lesar, Chapel and upper Sidney, in 1978 photograph shared on Facebook by Humanities Rylands High.

Above: "Muir St Mosque" along Chapel Street by David Strachan © District Six Museum
As ex-residents have commented of this image: "Antie Gairo stayed in the first step house on the left, she was a dress maker and made all my dresses as a child" (Jean Kevany). These are not just photographs of buildings that used to stand, but a social web of connections and memories to life experiences and knowledge for ex-residents.

As an icon of Chapel Street and one of the few remaining cultural and religious buildings along this section of the street, it is important to acknowledge that the Zeenatul Islam Mosque was deeply connected to the residential houses that surrounded it, in fact, it was an integral part of its establishment and development and its association with Muir Street, not only in name.

Above: Gregoire Boonzaier's(1909 -2005) painting of "Malay Mosque, Chapel St, Cape Town". Oil on canvas. 1971. Note the fine-grained residential character of Chapel Street surrounding the Mosque.

THE ZEENATUL ISLAM MOSQUE ('MUIR STREET MOSQUE')

This mosque is known as the Zeenatul (or Zainatul) Islam Mosque. It was established in 1919, rebuilt in 1937, and became functional in 1938. Neighboring mosques performed services in Afrikaans, but the Muir Street Mosque primarily used Urdu until the 1940s due to the influence of immigrants from India (District Six Museum Mapping Project). In fact, it was Indian immigrants living in District Six who were key in the establishment of the Mosque.

During the late 1800's and the early part of the 20th century, immigrants from the Indian Subcontinent came to the Cape and settled in the lower part of District 6 at the foot of Table Mountain (https://zeenatulislam.com/)

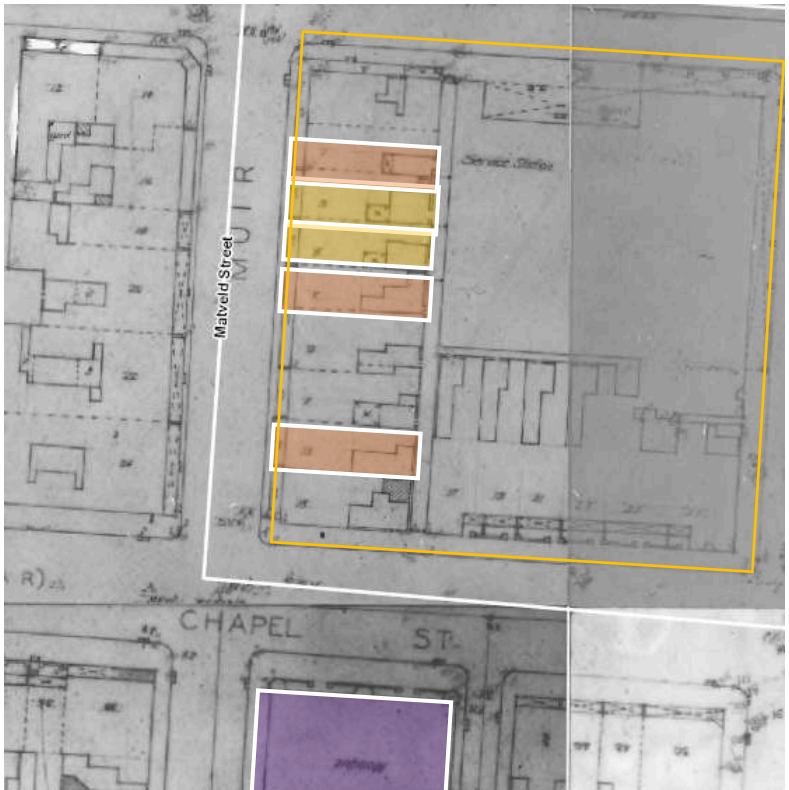
As is noted in a history article centred on the Mosque (written by Meneer Fuad Majiet (Archie):

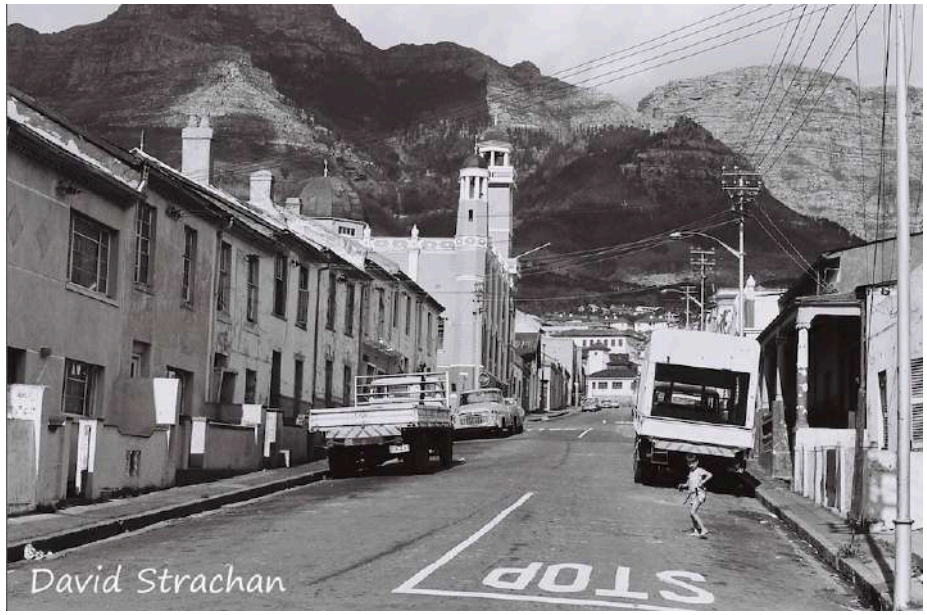
> "In 1905 Adam Ebrahim, a staunch Muslim and "Founding Father" sent for a fellow Tankarian, Ebrahim Hafferjee to lead take charge of the religious affairs of his countrymen. Hence, No.3 Muir Street became the first salah Khana, fifteen years before the first Masjid opened its doors. Ebrahim Hafferjee lived at No.3 Muir Street and so did Essa Allie, Cape Fruit, and many others". In 1919 several of these 'founding fathers' travelled across South Africa to collect funds to build a Masjid and school. With a collected sum of £1200.0.0. were able to buy "the property which they converted into a Masjid. The interior walls of the two houses in Chapel Street were demolished into a flat-roofed open-plan hall. The administrators applied to the Council to erect a free-standing Minaret on the corner of Muir and Chapel streets.

Integral to the Masjids development was the Indian immigrant community living in Muir Street and its neighboring streets:

> "Houses such as numbers 1, 3, 5, 7, and 13 Muir Street; numbers 7, 9, and 15 Sydney Street and numbers 4, 6, 8, 10, and 12 Selkirk Street functioned as refugee havens for the new arrivals. These addresses appear as contactable reference addresses on numerous Immigration Permit applications. There were several other houses and tenement buildings close to the market where the Kanamia immigrants found boarding and lodging.
> At numbers 3 and 5 Muir Street, in particular, practically every new arrival from (abroad), some penniless, were fed, clothed, and accommodated by the "landlord" of the house. At 3 Muir Street, the first Salah Khana was established in 1906 at the insistence of Adam Ebrahim."

Above left: A painter illustrated the first Mosque building to have looked something like this. Artist unknown.
Above right: a photograph (undated) showing the rebuilt Masijd situated on the corner of Chapel and Muir Street (source unknown from the history of the Zeenatul Islam Mosque)





Left: 3 and 5 Muir Street are highlighted in yellow on this diagram. No.1, 7 and 13 in orange and the Mosque in purple. This section of Muir Street has been renamed Matveld and remains as an open piece of land but this site is very culturally significant to District Six. **Above top:** 2023 Google view of the Mosque in relation to the old Muir and Reform Street block that ran along Chapel Street. **Above bottom:** Lower Muir street showing the houses at 1, 3, 5, 7, 13 leading up towards the Mosque. Photograph by David Strachan shared by Martin Greshoff on Facebook.

Immigrants as founding members of the Masijd

> "It was perfectly normal for the new arrivals to sleep 10 to a room. All these houses had one toilet and perhaps a bathroom. The rooms were not big and all had plank flooring boards. Each house had a small kitchen and a small yard, part of which served as a storeroom. Here the new arrivals got a jump-start in life. They were assisted to find employment as stevedores at Cape Town Docks, as rail-coach cleaners and bedding boys; sweepers at the Post Office and window washers in the Cape Town Business District. Most of them took to the Sir Lowry Road Early Morning Market where they worked for established traders as hawkers and labourers. Others hired two-wheel hawker carts and started their own transport business. It was hard work. They took any manual job to earn a living. Several were employed as bus painters, cleaners, and mechanic assistants at the City Tramways in Sir Lowry Road. The abattoirs that were situated close to where Buchannan stands today employed several as slaughterers and skinners…
>
> Some opened corner shops in District 6, Woodstock, Salt River, and the Southern and Northern Suburbs where they traded as General Dealers. The spice shop owners imported products such as dholl, ghee, rice, millet, and condiments from Durban, Beira, and India because of the local demand for such goods and products. In 1906, Parsie Mancherjee was one of the biggest spice dealers in Cape Town. He had his shop on the corner of Selkirk and Reform streets".

Some of the names of the Indian immigrants who were founders of the Mosque:

Adam Ebrahim
Omarjee Ebrahim
Ismail Vallie
Adam Ismail Alias Mohamed Omar
Ahmed Ismail
Wallie Adam (Vallie Adam Maljee)
Ismail Moosa

There were several phases of changes to the Mosque:

By the 4th of March 1923, the building of the mosque was completed on the corner of Chapel and Muir Streets (https://zeenatulislam.com/).

In **1935**, "the Kanamia Moslem League initiated the idea to demolish the first Masjid and to replace it with a new Masjid. In 1936, the Kanamia Moslem League, under the chair of Ahmad Ismail (Piccadilly) launched an ambitious fundraising campaign"

By 1938 the new Masijd was completed as a three-story building.

1963 The Cape Town Tabiligh Jamaat were founded at the mosque.

"In **2010**, Zeenatul Islam Masjid had undergone several renovations, as well as upgraded facilities to cater for a growing community. These facilities included; a modern wudu facility, toilets, showers, modern Salaah facilities for ladies, classrooms for madrassa, facilities for the Tabligh Jamaat, Imaam's office, caretaker area, and a Janaaza room".

Also associated with the history of the Mosque and the area were the various Imams who served the Mosque through time as residents associate their learning of Islamic faith with the individuals who guided them:
Imaam Haffeejee
Hafiz Ahmed Kajee
Hafiz Umar Zardaad
Sheikh Abdulrahman al Iraqi (Saydie/Sayrie)
Imaam Mogammad Talaabodien (Imaam Talap)
Sheikh Salieg Abarder
Sheikh Abubakr Najjaar

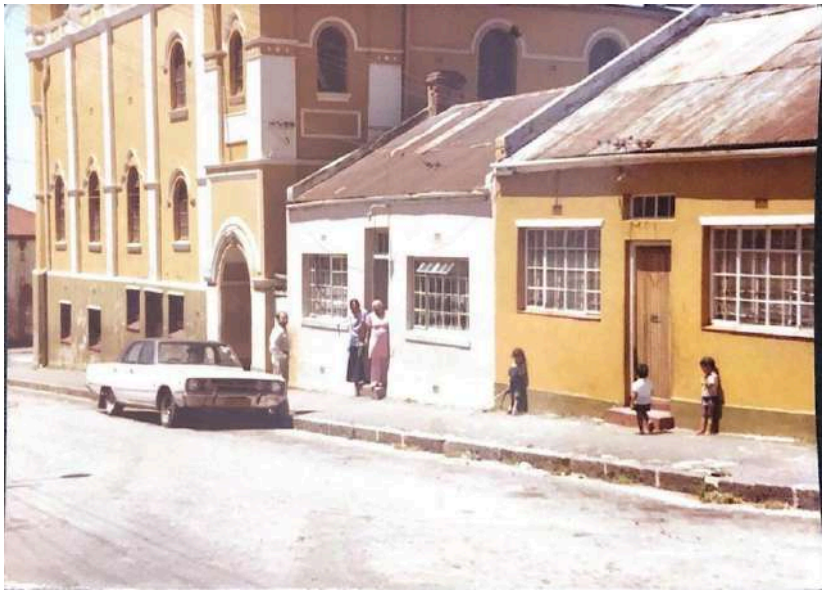
Prof. Najma Moosa, the first Black female Dean of a South African Law Faculty, who grew up in Salt River with family connections in District Six relates the importance of the Muir Street Mosque and the Imam to her marriage:

> "In addition to being Indian Muslims and in contradistinction to the dominant Shafi'l legal tradition of the Cape Muslims, we follow the Hanafi branch of the Sunni school of Islamic law. District Six was the base of the Kanams and the older generations had built a Hanafi mosque in Muir Street. This was the mosque where my marriage ceremony took place. The then Sheikh of the mosque, Abubakr Najaar, gave me my first warning that all was not well with the practice of Islamic laws of marriage when he ordered me to demand a large dower (as opposed to a dowry) from my husband.
> While dower is intended to act as a form of economic security for the wife in the event of death and divorce, partly to offset imbalances in the Islamic law of succession and marriage, most wives, to their detriment, normally only ask a nominal sum as a token of dower. It was here too that my older siblings received their Islamic education" (Moosa 2000: 98)

Below: Wedding of Mariam(left) and Zubeida Moosa Essa who lived at 22 Muir Street. Lunch for the brides and entourage was noted to take place at 24 Muir Street. Sisters were married in the Muir Street mosque by Sh. Abu Bakr Najjaar on Sunday 16 May 1965. Photograph shared by Humanities Rylands High on Facebook, image courtesy of Hussain Mohamed.

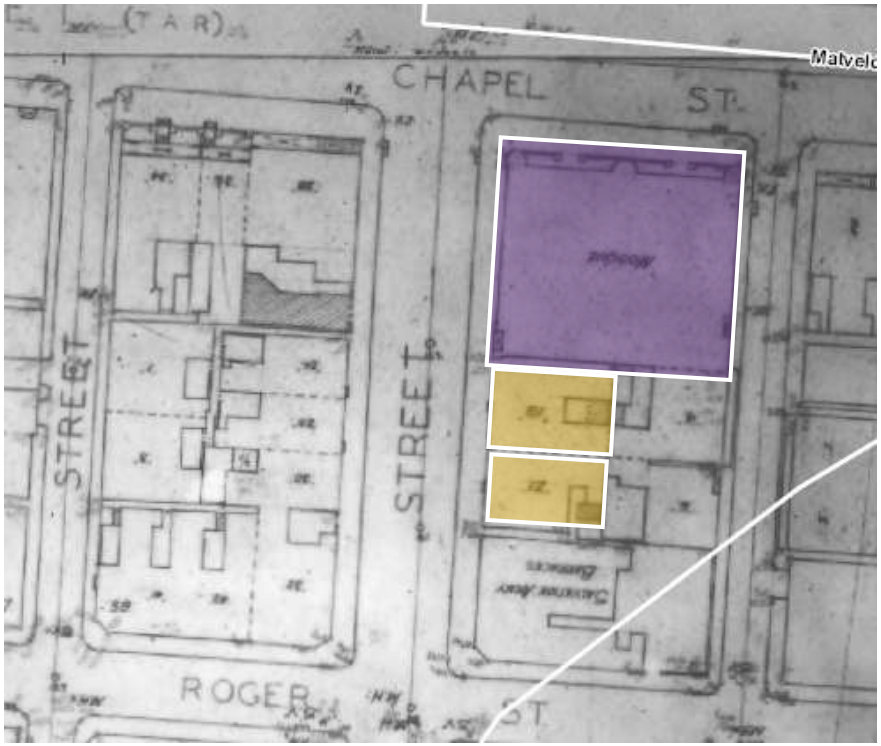
Muir Street was hugely important to the ceremonial life of weddings associated with the Mosque, as can be seen with these photographs of street decorations at 22 and 24 Muir Street (diagonally opposite the Mosque highlighted in purple on the map with the houses in yellow). Photographs shared by Hussain Mohamed dating to the 1950s (facebook).

The religious leaders of the Mosque were also closely connected in living in the surrounding residential area. Religious practice and social connection played out across many of the surrounding streets and houses in the area.



Above: This Photograph shared by Hussain Mohamed shows the residential houses situated next to the Masijd at 17 and 19 Muir Street, the home of Mr Omarjee Natha. At 21 Muir Street lived the Imaam of the Masijd, Sh. Abubakr Najaar who officiated from 1960 to his death in 1993.

Mogamat Kammie Kamedien, notes that the childhood memories of Muir street are tied to "Kannemiya weddings, Boeka plate/ platter neighbourly exchanges, Eid traditions, Kanalla culture (borrowing and sharing), Sunday morning koesisters brekvis custom…" (Facebook)



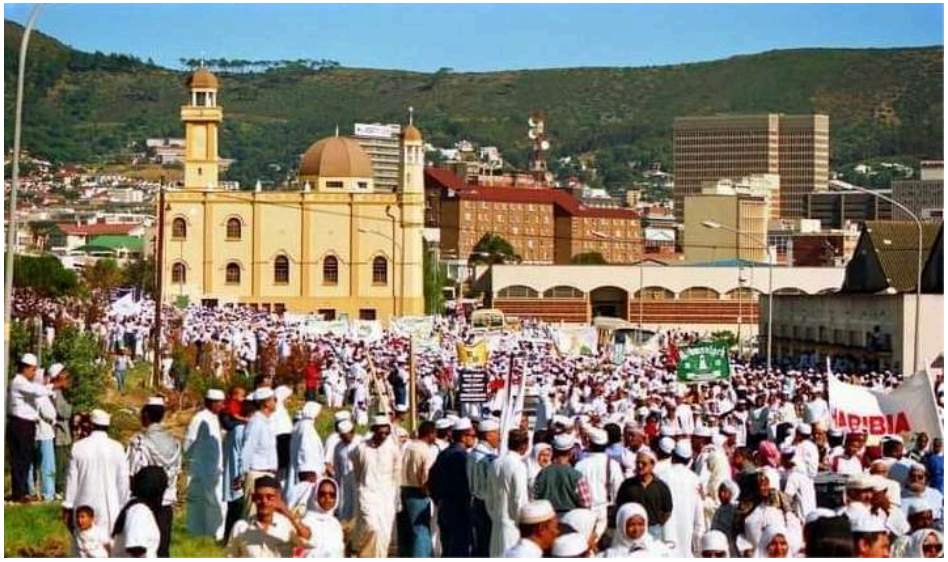
Above: Map showing the house 19 and 21 Muir Street next to the Mosque.
Below: Young boys from the Muir Street mosque greeting Sh. Abubakr Najaar on an Eid morning at the residence of Hajie Salie who lived opposite the Mosque. Photograph shared by Hussain Mohamed, Facebook.

A history of gathering and processions

When the tricentenary celebrations of Sheik Yusuf was held in April 1994, a large procession of people gathered outside the Zeenatul Islam Mosque as can be seen in the photograph below. The Mosque continued to have important symbolic meaning in a new democracy.

As Mogamat Kammie Kamedien sums of the significance of the day and the Mosque:

> "These three D6 neighbouring masaajids serving as the everpresent sentinel outposts and being an oasis for those in transit to the City Bow of one of the oldest suburbs emptied from its old residents during the pre 1994 era…Almost an unimaginable site to behold, with all its original inhabitants of the 1970s and 1980s scattered across the sandy Cape flats, but the tricentenary commemorations affording the former city bowl dwellers to return temporarily to walk on hallowed ground again for the duration of the 300 years celebratory programme – giving a silver lining of possibilities at the dawn of democracy in 1994". (shared via Facebook)



Above: Photograph of Sheik Yusuf tricentenary celebrations held on Saturday 2 April 1994. Shared by Hussain Mohamed on Facebook. The City of Cape Town Garage (CCC) can be seen on the right of the image.

MUIR STREET:

Chapel was always interconnected to the streets and places that surrounded it, and especially to Muir street and its residents. The senses of sound, smell and taste were crucial to the texture of these two streets and their identity.

Above: Photograph of 24 and 22 Muir Street shared by Humanities Rylands Highschool (Facebook)

Ex-residents remember Sunday afternoons as the day to play street cricket further down in Muir Street. As can be seen from this photograph above games of soccer similarly took place just below Chapel, below the Mosque. Many people also remember having fond memories of 'hanging out' at the small Hindu babbie

shop on the corner of Chapel and Muir Street, known to belong to Ramon Bhai, situated opposite the mosque. Fruit and transport were noted to be the speciality businesses of the Kanamia community living in the area, with the Essop family owning the 'Banana shop' situated along Chapel Street.

Zahieda Adam noted of one of the houses in the photograph on the right was run as a boarding house for her cousins from Carnarvon and Calvinia in the December holidays, and those that came to study at Harold Cressy, and a "junction for all the weddings in the back hall" (Facebook)

There was a very strong sense of tight-knit community in this area around Muir and Chapel street, one in which even took policing into their own hands: "In the early 1940s a group of scruffy youths would stand at the door of the Star [Bioscope], extracting a penny 'tax' from every patron. One night the Globe group, mostly Asians from the Muir Street area, decided they had had enough. They gathered together their fathers' workers and barrow boys, armed them with sticks and implements from a nearby stable, and thrashed the cinema skollies" (Pinnock 2016: 11).

Both foods and people were associated with streets as a form of cultural placemaking and belonging through the senses of taste and fragrance. As Zahieda Adam also noted **"Muir street was the main street to people going to work, going to the market, going to buy samosas from Antie Nora, going to buy atchaar from Fatim Masie, slantjies from Amina Natha, daltjies from my mother, TiMirrie and the Dalvie Babbie shop on the corner".**

Chapel and Muir street were also sonic spaces linked to the Mosque where every day the call to prayer or salah. Shamiel Adams remembers the 'Muir Street mosques bilal' who "walked every day, for every waktu [dusk], for over 30 years…Botea Giemie". Abduraghman Essa similarly recounts the following of this faithful Bilal:

"I was born 26 Muir Street opposite the Kannemieyah Masjied and my mama told me that the Bilal who used to walk I think from Gray Street to the Masjied all those years still on the old Kaparengs come rain or sunshine and I saw this Bilal in my youth…we knew him as Pang…"

Ismail Mahomed on the call to prayer comments of the Zeenutul Islam or Muir Street Mosque in 2020:

> "for a hundred and one years, it's melodious Azaan has called the faithful to prayer and for over a hundred years they have responded to its call…For years after the destruction of District six, the mosque stood in the barren veld in the foreground of Table Mountain. For years, the voice of muezzin of the mosque continued to resonate in that barren veld as he sang his melodious anthem; and for years its five daily congregational prayers would be read albeit by just a few men. Then last year during the month of Ramadan and in the year which signalled the centenary of the mosque a singular voice complained to the Metro Council that the call to prayer, which had resonated from its minarets, should be silenced…."

The Muir Street Mosque Committee responded to this complaint with the following symbolic power of the call to prayer at the Zeenatul Islam Mosque: "This continued through District Six's establishment in Cape Town as a vibrant community and continued through the forced removals. The call to prayer still exists today and the masjid (mosque) has become part of the social fabric of the greater Cape Town area, together with the churches that remain and were also resistant to the apartheid government" (https://www.news24.com/news24/one-grumble-in-100-years-city-to-probe-mosque-noise-complaint-after-ramadaan-20190513) .

The call to prayer of the Muir Street Mosque represents more than its continued religious practice or the sonic sounds of Chapel and Muir streets; it comes to signify as survival in the face of destruction and forced removals, a part of the resistance to Apartheid, and inherent to the social fabric of the identity of Cape Town itself.

Other associations with Muir Street related to residents, schools and community facilities.

One of the most iconic learning centres associated with the Muir Street Mosque, was the MUIR STREET PRIMARY SCHOOL

Left: Photograph of Muir Street Primary School taken after renovations in 1935 (Cover photo of the Muir Street Primary School Group on Facebook). Originally the school was bordered by Muur, Pontac, Aspeling and Lesar Street

Below: Map showing the position of the Muir Street Mosque (purple) in relation to the Muir Street Primary School (yellow) and the Hyman Lieberman Institute (orange).

Situated on what is now the new corner of Chapel street and New Hanover Street, the 'Muir Street Moslem School' was an iconic part of the area as was its neighbour on the other side of the road: the Hyman Liberman Institute which provided a hall and library to the community of District Six

Originally referred to as Muir Street Moslem School, this primary school was started in 1930 and closed in 1978 due to forced removals and demolition. As Mogamat Kammie Kamedien explains, it was founded by the Cape Randerian Society (an Indian Islamic Relief fund) originally for the children of immigrant Indian families. A teacher at the school, Mr Cassim Banoo, was from the Rander community. In 1926 the site of the school was a single story cooldrink factory.

As is noted in the following article: http://www.vocfm.co.za/former-learners-from-muir-street-muslim-primary-reunite-and-vow-to-reclaim-land/?fbclid=IwAR3H0mmXIcZ057rNuq2NytaouAdaFQDGuXWgL8PAbd_c8CmOCun-nEuPJMY

The fund " saw the urgent need for an Indian school in District Six, after many residents emigrated with their families from India. At that time, there was only one Muslim school in the area Rahmaniyah primary, which provided Islamic education and the department of education's curriculum was over crowded. The Rander MiaBhai Benefit Society bought the properties which consisted of three houses, for £700 total in 1920. The properties were situated in Pontac, Aspeling and Lesar Streets in District Six.

…[In] 1920 the chairperson of the society, Mohamed Halim, submitted an application for an Indian Muslim school in Muir Street. The application was approved, and a few days later, the chairperson received the following correspondence, from the department of education.

"It would be in my opinion, be a mistake to recognise this school as an Indian school. We have no need of introducing further racial elements into the schooling system. It is recommended that the official name of the school be Cape Town Muir Street (Moslem) Coloured School," said the department of education inspector H.Z Van der Merwe.

At a reunion of ex-learners held in 2018 Rashied Martin spoke of the importance of the school "Muir Street was the place where you learned your madrassa. There was a bucket and a scoop where you would take your wudu which was called abdas. The school formed your Islamic identity. Social status was not an issue and we were not bothered from which side of Hanover street you came from," (facebook). During carnival time, some groups would get dressed into their outfits at the Muir Street School (Jeppie 1990: 30).

Above Muir Street Primary School photo of the St. 5 class of 1969 with Fuad Majiet seated with his class. Shared by Sirdique de Hertleigh on Facebook who also shared the image below of younger pupils.

There seems to have been some close connection between the Muir Street Mosque and the Primary School as the school used or leased the basement of the Mosque as classrooms for Sub A and Sub B classes (some said they stayed there until Std. 2). Many ex- pupils also remember attending madrassa at the school in the afternoon by Sheikh Adam Peerbhai. Peerbhai would later be known as an author of religious pamphlets for children (Jeppie 2007).

The rest of the school was in the main building at the top of Muir Street. Other teachers are fondly remembered as being Juffrou Zohra Noor and Juffrou Sasman.

As was noted by former teacher Fuad Majiet, "In 1966 the government took over the school and introduced "coloured education" which he described as watered-down education for black learners. However, the school, which initially operated on the standard education department syllabus, evaded the law and managed to continue educating pupils on the "non coloured" syllabus" (https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/cape-argus/20180308/282016147836060)

This shows how even small schools in District Six participated in resistance to the Apartheid state and racialised or segregated education.

When the school was closed down and the learners were forced to go to schools all over the Cape Flats, yet many kept their teachers and their passion for learning close to heart.

Some well-known residents who were said to attend this Muir Street School were:

Riyaadh Najaar

Retired principal of Spine Road High School and a sporting legend.

Above: photo of Riyaadh Najaar by Misha Jordaan from article: https://www.news24.com/you/news/local/how-this-inspiring-cape-town-principal-helped-schools-go-from-failure-to-flourishing-20230213

Najaar was a teacher at Sprine Road Primary in Mitchell's Plein for 34 years, starting teaching there in 1984 and taking over the reins as principal 25 years ago. Najaar has a crucial connection to District Six. "Mr Najaar's mother Shariefa, 88, was a teacher in the Strand and his late father, Sheikh Abubaker Najaar, was imam at Muir Street

Mosque, in District Six for 38 years. The area was declared a “white” area, under the 1950 Group Areas Act by the apartheid government, forcing the Najaar family, with four children, to move to Crawford…. He attended Muir Street Primary School and matriculated from Harold Cressy High School in 1972, before completing a teacher’s qualification at Hewat Teacher Training College, in Athlone. He notes that his teachers left a deep impression on him which he rose to emulate. Under his stewardship Spine Road Highschool became one of the top schools in the area. In 2014 and 2017 the school had a 100% pass rate, most of them university passes. He had to come out of retirement when the Department of Education asked him to help other highschools. First he took the reins at Windsor High, then Princeton High, then Livingstone High and most recently at Alexander Sinton. His high school teachers inspired his activism which was “nurtured and informed by Mr Williams, his Standard 6 and 7 history teacher at Harold Cressy.

“He taught us the true history how we were oppressed and what the master plan was with apartheid,” he recalls.

Mr Najaar was a member of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), the Teachers’ League of South Africa (TLSA), chairman of the South African Black Students Association (SABSA) and a founder of the Western Cape Teachers’ Union in the 1980s. He played rugby for Harold Cressy High School, Western Province Senior Schools, Hewat Teacher Training College, Watsonia, Primrose and Violets rugby clubs. He represented SARU in 1987. He was named sportsman of the year for the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) and City and Suburban Rugby Union in 1987.
https://www.plainsman.co.za/news/spine-road-highs-backbone-to-retire

Right: Ballet dancer Johaar Mosaval with children, District Six, 1950s. Image from South African History Online.

Johaar Mosaval (1928 – 2023)

South Africa’s world-famous ballet dancer who became the senior principal dancer for the Royal Ballet in London. It is noted he attended Muir Street Primary School.

“Johaar Mosaval was the first black South African to become a senior principal dancer at the Royal Ballet, the highest rank in the profession at one of the world’s most prestigious classical ballet centres..

Born to Cassiem and Galila Mosaval on 8 January 1928, the famous dancer comes from humble beginnings. “Money was very hard up,” he said. “My mother and father never paid a cent for me to become a dancer, because there was no money available.”

The eldest of ten children, his mother was a seamstress and his father came from a family of builders and ballroom dancers. The Mosaval family lived in District Six straight opposite the Seven Steps… “Whenever [my mother] wanted to get rid of me, she would send me up to the seven steps to go and play up there,” he said with a smile.

He excelled as an athlete, swimmer and gymnast. He also often appeared in popular pantomimes at the Cape Town City Hall. He started ballet classes and was soon introduced to Dulcie Howes, one of the pioneers and doyennes of ballet in South Africa. She offered him the opportunity to train at the University of Cape Town Ballet School, which he began at the age of 19. With the financial assistance of friends and fundraising by the Muslim Progressive Society, he managed to scrape enough money together to travel to London [to study at the Sadler’s Wells Theatre Ballet School, later to become the Royal Ballet School)].

[Mosaval] shared a stage with the likes of prima ballerina's Margot Fonteyn, Elaine Fifield and Doreen Wells. He danced Jasper Sir Arthur Sullivan's *Pineapple Poll* ballet, which premiered in 1951 at Sadler's Wells Theatre. He also played Bootface in *The Lady and the Fool* and Puck in *The Dream*. He became revered for his wide range of style and flawless technique and was chosen to dance in Benjamin Britten's Opera Gloriana, the first performance presented at the Royal Opera House, London, in 1953, during the celebrations of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. He describes the experience as the highlight of his life".
https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2018-05-03-celebrating-the-life-of-ballet-star-johaar-mosaval-at-90/ Leila Dougan

The Hyman Liberman Institute

At the top of Muir Street (currently positioned right on the upper corner of Chapel Street and New Hanover) was the Hyman Liberman Institute, directly opposite Muir Street Primary School.

The Hyman Liberman Institute was founded as a Community Centre around 1934, largely as a result of a bequest to the City Council by the late Mr. Hyman Liberman for the purpose of providing a reading room for the poorer inhabitants of the City. It housed a nursery school, a library and reading room and was the centre of a variety of organizations, clubs and other activities

(https://atom.lib.uct.ac.za/index.php/hyman-liberman-institute-2)

Above: The Hyman Lieberman Institute and Library in Muir Street. Shared by Derick Williams (Facebook)
Below: An earlier photograph of the Hyman Liberman Institute. Image from the District Six Museum.

A library of possibilities

Above: A view down Muir Steet (at the junction of Aspeling and Vogelgezang) with the Hyman Liberman Institute and Library on the right with the Zeenatul Islam Mosque further down. Photograph by H Scheub circa 1970s

Nazeema Mohamed remembers "I used to bunk madrassa and go and read books in the library. Our madrassa was across the road…I loved that library. My mother used to take us every Thursday to borrow books. I remember there was a creche and a gym for boxing as well".

Shariefa Jassiem similarly traces her love of reading from going to the Hyman Liberman library opposite the school and "got myself 2 books, sat on the steps outside the library, read my books and ran back to get 2 new books when the bell went because my older siblings will fetch me then".

As Richard Abrahams noted "**The Liberman Library was a blessing to many residents…Thank God for books it opened my mind to a world of possibilities"**

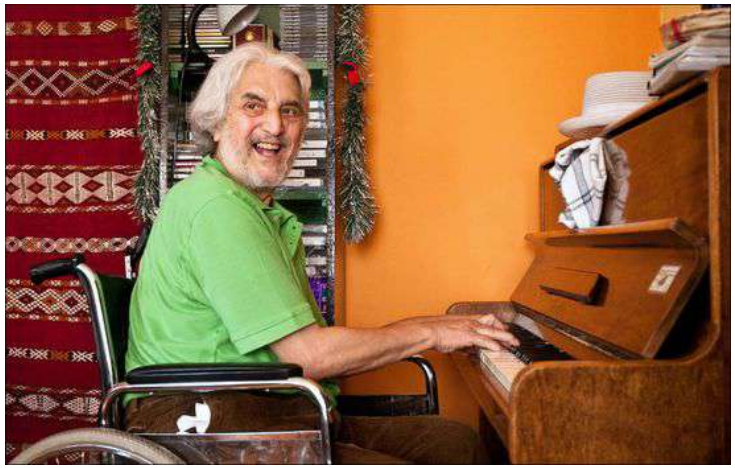
Mogamat Kammie Kamedien similarly explains of the importance of knowledge through books: "My first library membership card was issued by the Hyman Liberman…was one of the longest waiting periods to join the life long reading the community – the collective Iqrah jamaah of life-long learning with roots set by the teachers of the historic mission aided school" (Muir Street Primary). For some this was the first library they were read a story to at the age of 4 or 5.

Madiegah Price remembers " I can still picture the wooden floors of the library, smell and feel the countless books which I borrowed and read there…"

Left: At the top of Muir Street (currently positioned right on the upper corner of Chapel Street and New Hanover) was the Hyman Liberman Institute, directly opposite Muir Street Primary School

Vincent Kolbe (1933 – 2010)

Librarian, Jazz Pianist and Activist



Above: Vincent Kolbe by John Edward Mason: "*V*incent, at home, doing what he most loved to do -- making music with friends and being the life of the party. Plumstead, Cape Town, January 2010."

When Vincent was 8 or 9 years old he moved in with his grandmother who lived in District Six. He spent all of his childhood and youth there until the age of 22, but he continued to work in the area at the Hyman Liberman Institute as a librarian.

Kolbe noted that at the Liberman he himself a community center, where he himself "spent my childhood learning boxing, learning table tennis, getting to know the library and all…" (Kolbe Interview with Colin Millar 1998). No doubt that it was these formative years and experiences that inspired him to become a librarian, and ended up working at the Liberman Institute Library. "I was sent by City Council because I worked all my life for the City Council as a librarian, to go and open up the

Bonteheuwel library in the new Coloured township of Bonteheuwel. And that gave me a new whole new dislocation, and a whole new focus, away from Table Mountain into a township environment coming from a very cosmopolitan District Six environment which was rich with immigrant communities of Indians, Jews and Portuguese and… you know and Christian and Muslim"(Ibid).

Kolbe "fought for public libraries in the coloured townships of the Cape Flats to remain open during the worst days of the "unrest" in the '70s and '80s. He saw libraries as a crucial line of defence against the spiritually and intellectually stifling regime.

He allowed his libraries in Bonteheuwel and Kensington to be used for political debates and strategizing sessions by young political activists, and for the exchange of "subversive" ideas and philosophies.

He had an extensive network of contacts in the UK and US who smuggled in banned literature, audio and video material (for example BBC broadcasts of what was happening in South Africa). He would keep all this stuff in a sports equipment bag which he left under the library check-out desk for those who wanted it. When the police raided, as they frequently did, he would claim he knew nothing about the bag, who it belonged to or how it came to be there. The authorities used the unrest as a pretext to try to close the libraries and Kolbe fought a constant battle to keep them open. During the '50s, Kolbe saw the National Party's destruction of the liberal, open library system he loved so much.

Libraries were segregated and he was forced to decatalogue thousands of books (The Grapes of Wrath by John Steinbeck, Anna Sewell's Black Beauty among them) which were pulped or burnt at municipal incinerators.

Kolbe fought attempts by the Nats to reduce funding for libraries in coloured areas and was a fierce and outspoken critic of the government's ethnic book buying policy, which decreed that serious literature was wasted on township readers.
Although he never got a degree Kolbe, a founding member of the District Six museum, had an encyclopaedic knowledge of local history. In 2002, he was awarded an honorary MA by UCT" (Chris Barron https://www.timeslive.co.za/sunday-times/lifestyle/2010-09-19-obituary-vincent-kolbe-pianist-librarian-and-activist/).

Other librarians noted to have worked there was one of the brothers of George Hallett, a local photographer who made a name internationally. As well as someone known as 'Bunny Castle'.

'The Liberman' was so much more than a library, ex-residents of District Six comment how crucial the institute and library was to the cultural and social life of the district

Above: Mr Adams boxing club at the Liberman Institute in Muir Street. Photo shared by Faeeza Daniels. Circa ate 40s or early 50s(Facebook)

Aside from the Library, the Liberman Hall served many uses for the residents of District Six. Many Muslim wedding receptions took place in the Hall, conveniently located in the same street as the Mosque. A creche was also run from the Hall, with Gadija Martin as one of the teachers. Many attended the nursery school at the Liberman before going to SubA, perhaps.

Izmar Essop explains "I belonged to the St. John's First aid and we had our meetings and first aid classes here. Also my rugby team then known as Roslands had their weekly meetings here on a Friday night". Both Roslyns Rugby and Cricket Clubs held their meetings there on Fridays in season and catch a ride in a local bakkie to matches.

Many kids were taught boxing, played table tennis, and attended the 5th Cape Town scout group at the Lieberman between the 1940s and 1960s. The Liberman was even believed to produce a South African table tennis champion – Clive Brooks. There were also a weightlifting club, art classes and fencing classes on offer and the artist Vladimir Trechikoff was noted by Alexander Abrahams to frequent the Liberman regularly when he first arrived in the country.

Many remember the bazaars organised by a nearby church in Aspeling Street that were held on the hall on Saturday mornings with toffee apples and as Sereenah Jurama recalls with joy "those sweet baskets that were made of colouring paper that was the best time". Similarly every year the Ragmaaniyah Institute held their bazaars in the same hall. Yusuf Lee remembers the functions of the Islamic school run by Boete Bruima were always held in this hall, and they would walk from here with the 'abebeyah brigadier' to the parade grounds.

The Hyman Liberman Institute provided a place of dynamic learning, of care, sporting development, creative opportunity, access to knowledge, a meeting place for various religious institutions, a space of festivity and celebration, a site to mark important life events, a processional gathering space. In many ways it is emblematic of a micro cosmos of the whole of District Six.

Above: The semi demolished ruins of the Salvation Army Barracks in the 1970s, which used to be situated on the same block as the Mosque. Photograph shared by Wendy Lydall (facebook)

Other sites in Muir and Chapel Streets

Residents remembered that DULLAH OMAR, South African anti-Apartheid activist, lawyer, and a minister in the South African cabinet from 1994 – 2004, stayed in Muir Street, his family were banana vendors an used to own the 'Piesang stoor'.

Samoosas from Sies Nora in Muir street was considered a 'Samoosa Institution' by Yusuf Jakoet and Aunty Amiena Natha sold peanuts next to the Muir Street Mosque.

Right: The Salvation Army Barracks (orange) in relation to the Mosque in Muir Street (purple)

THE SALVATION ARMY BAND

Chapel Street and Muir Street were places for walking, of connecting one space to another. Graham Manchest says he would "Sunday morning walk up Muir Street from Roger Street for your weekly shower at the Baths"

These are processional streets as recalled by Zahieda Adam:

"On a Sunday morning the Salvation Army band would walk down Chapel Street, with so much dignity, as they were of all race groups. Later the Habibia Scottish band would pass Muir Street in their kilts, red fezzes and bagpipes. They were a Muslim band. The Africans had a church next to the garage of our house. They would be singing hymns from seven in the morning till ten. Later the Indians would blast their Indian music right through till lunch time" (Greshoff 2021: 19).

"The work of The Salvation Army in South Africa began with the arrival of Majors Francis and Rose Simmonds and Lieutenant Alice Teager in Cape Town harbour on Saturday 24 February 1883. They wasted little time in getting going with their mission, with the earliest meetings held on Sunday 4 March in the Volunteers Engineers Drill Hall in Loop Street. In Major Francis Simmonds' pocket during that first meeting was a miniature cornet, an instrument that led to the first Salvation Army brass band in South Africa and the beginning of a great tradition that has nurtured some of the country's best known musicians."

This is primarily what ex-residents remember of the Salvation Army was the marching band in District Six and many musicians in the area learnt how to play in the band. Fatima Janodien Isaacs remembers how "the Salvation Army band playing in Caledon Street on a Sunday afternoon and all the kids running after the band getting sweets hand outside" (facebook).
(https://www.salvationarmy.org.za/the-salvation-army-to-celebrate-130-years-in-south-africa/)

Right: The Salvation Army Barracks (orange) in relation to the Mosque in Muir Street (purple)

Similarly Jennifer Sims from Zonnebloem remembers how they would play in Trafalgar park at the bandstand (most likely walking along Chapel street from Muir Street):

"We used to come here every Sunday and have Sunday school classes. The Salvation Army Band would always practice and perform at that very same stage. It was a great place to be in" (https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/cape-argus/20160926/281539405438920)

The Salvation Army offered Sunday School, and also took children in the area away at holiday time to places like Genadendal. Others remember eating the soup and bread they gave out to children.

Above: The Habibia Scottish Brigade shared by Asa Fortune (Facebook).
It was common practice in the 60s and 70s for the Habibia Muslim Pipe Brigade and the St Johns Ambulance /First Aid Services to have joint parades. Some of the members of the brigade were also members of St Johns. This Band continues still to this day, called the 'Habibia Siddique Muslim Pipe Band' (facebook).

SYDNEY STREET

The Sydney (also spelt as Sidney) street intersection with Chapel was another important street of interconnection due to the schools that were situated there

On the maps below the Chapel street church is marked as ‘Methodist Church’ and presumably it had a small school attached to it. The Central Methodist Mission (CMM), Cape Town began at the beginning of the 19th century:

“early meetings and services were held in adapted buildings: a hayloft above the stable in Plein Street and a disused wine store in Barrack Street. In 1822 a church a mission house was erected (also in Barrack Street) at a cost of £600. Dr. John Phillip conducted the official opening and the building served as both a school and a church…

Thomas Hodgson returned to Cape Town in 1836. He set about seeking to reach the many slaves and ex-slaves who never attended church, by preaching on the Grand Parade. His preaching met with a violent response and Hodgson started raising funds for the erection of a church where he could preach without disturbance.

As a result of his efforts, the Sidney Street Church was opened in 1837 and, although it grew rapidly, it tragically marked the beginning of the racial separation of Methodists in Cape Town. The church in Burg Street became a predominantly White church and Sidney Street became a predominantly Coloured church…

Above Three religious and schooling institutions in very close range to Chapel Street. The Zeenatul Islam Mosque is in purple, the Sidney street Primary School in yellow which seems to have been associated with the Methodist Church and School on the corner of Chapel and Sidney.

Left: 2023 aerial view of the approximate positions of the school buildings, church in relation to the outer corner of the Mosque.

The Sidney Street church was sold in 1882 and in 1883 a large wine store was purchased on the corner of Buitenkant and Albertus Streets and converted into a place of worship for the congregation.

Buitenkant Street Methodist Church (as it was known) served the people of District Six and was a thriving congregation until District Six was declared a White Group Area in 1966. Thousands of people were forcibly removed from their homes, including most members of the Buitenkant Street congregation" (This building would become the District Six Museum. **Is this Sidney Street Methodist Church along Chapel street a remnant of that earlier ex-slaves of urban Cape Town?**

Regina Kevany remembers there being a "stone church attended by black people just before Sidney Street"(facebook). Swanson and Harries note from oral history interviews that "In the 1950s Ms N.N attended the only school for African children in District Six. This was the junior primary school at the Methodist Church Hall in Chapel Street:

"School was quite a social place, because we had the opportunity of meeting other black children lived spread out amongst the coloured and other families in District Six, and as most grown-ups worked outside District Six, our parents mostly met one another through the friends we made at school. Some children came from farther afield – from Bo-Kaap and Woodstock, because there was only one school for black children in central Cape Town, and it only went up to Standard Two (Grade Four]…

During the early 1950s, separate education was provided for 'natives' and coloureds and unless someone 'changed' their identity they stayed with their group. Because most of our parents did not want us to lose our identity, we were all sent to the Methodist School in Chapel Street" (Swanson and Harries 2001: 70)

As Swanson and Harries note, "many African families lived in District Six. At the time of the removals in the 1960s, over seventy families were living in the area of Cross, Hanover, Horstley, Constitution, and Reform Streets. Mrs N.N. was born at the local Peninsula Maternity Home and grew up in Cross Street. Her family of six rented one room in a double-storey building owned by a Muslim landlord…the building was occupied by African tenants, one family to each room…

Information from: https://cmm.org.za/a-brief-history/

This artwork by Lionel Davis to the right acknowledges the often silent narratives of District Six:

'Chapel Street African Methodist Church, District Six' (1994) which is part of the District Six Memory Map in the Museum. As Davis explains: "For me, with the erasure of District Six, and for many of the former residents of the community, remembering the past was often flawed with amnesia about who lived there. My concern was that there was a large group of people living in District Six that were not classified as coloured – many of them were classified as black – either Xhosa, Zulu or Tsonga speaking people, and many were migrant workers. I remember that the Methodist Church had a strong presence in District Six and many of these churches had separate racial identities". https://wammuseum.org/artwork/chapel-street-african-methodist-church-district-six/

SYDNEY STREET SCHOOL

A proposed purchase of a property for the Sydney Street Primary School on the corner of Sydney and Seilkirk Streets was only made from 1917 – 1923. Functioning as a Primary School it was closed in 1978 due to forced removals and demolition of the area.

Shariefa Jassiem notes it was one of the very few English medium schools in District Six. Ven Heyningen notes there were subtle distinctions between the schools in the area:

"Sydney Street Primary School was a cut above Aspeling Street Primary, George Golding Primary or Chapel Street Primary. "Only the children from rich families, who spoke English, attended that school," Yusuf Lalkhen recalled: "Too fancy for any of us" ..Yusuf was sent to Muir Street Primary because it was Afrikaans-speaking. It was important for the oppressed to speak the language of the oppressor, his father believed" (Van Heyningen 33).

Above: a Photograph of the Std. 4 class of Sydney Street Primary School with Mr Scholtz as teacher shared by Margo Hendricks Mellem (facebook)

Above: Photo of Sydney Street Primary School in the backgrond posted by Ivan Franz, dated to late 1960s or early 70s. Shared by Martin Greshoff (Fsacebook)

Shariefa Davids remembers attending 'slamsekool' in the afternoons at Sydney Street Primary, which like many other schools in the District showed the cross over and integration of religious instruction at formal education centres.

Roy Stoffels who attended Sydney Street Primary notes the school building had three floors; on the third floor a classroom next to the school hall had murals of most of the boer war generals. For many the school building remains so clearly visible in memory, if not in reality, as Gary Scullard remembers "the quad, grey and white walls, the red mansard roof with sash windows, the hall, the stage, toilets, shiny

polished wooden floors, staff staircase with polished wooden bannisters, the kitchen, Mr Rileys quarters, the sick bay, Mis Dixons wooden brush handle, wow!" (Facebook).

As Margo Hendricks Mellem notes, the school assembly used to be held on the top floor, where the children would sing from a little red book with hymns.

Others remember the school being next to Nicholson's cooldrink factory which was also situated on the same block, facing Chapel Street as can be seen in the map below. Similarly the Messaris Chip factory was nearby (apparently on the corner of Muir and Sir Lowry Road) and the 'Banana warehouses' was in the same street as Sydney Primary.

Above: the block between Chapel along Sydney (Sidney here) and Selkirk Street showing the three storied Sydney Primary and playground in yellow in relation to the cooldrink factory in red

All the children who attended Sydney Street Primary, like Muir Street Primary, had to leave the school and area and attend schools wherever their parents had to move to. Denise Theys explains, the "Oriental Plaza was built opposite the school after the school was demolished, now a block of flats and there is parking now where the school was" (Facebook).

Of the Oriental Plaza, Deborah Hart notes, "Ironically, the only sign of new development on District Six land by mid-1979 was the appearance of an Oriental shopping plaza which was built as a token gesture to the dispossessed Indian businessmen from District Six. Traders were coaxed into this complex with grants of free initial rent in a desperate bid to legitimize its existence. Dependent as they had been upon the custom of the dense District-Six population, dealers were forced to rely upon a trickle of outside patronage. Because of the manifold difficulties faced by the plaza in attracting custom, it has been unanimously dismissed as yet another example of official blundering" (Hart 620).

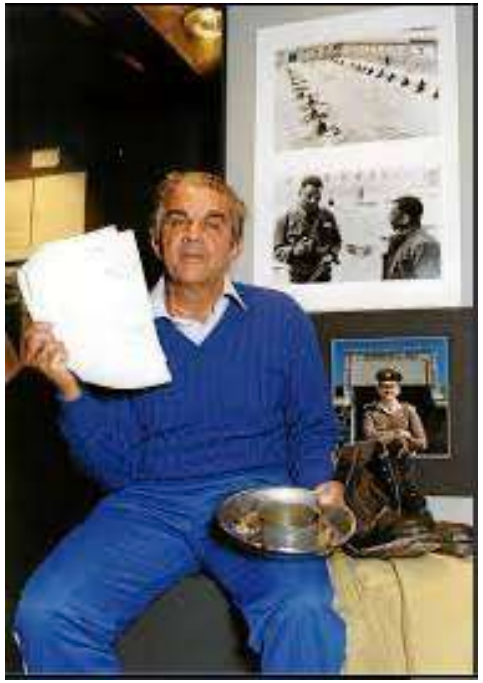
One of the most well-known political activists to attend the school was Eddie Daniels.

Eddie Daniels (1928 – 2017)

Political Activist

Born in District Six and raised in the Lavender Hill area, Eddie Daniels attended Sydney Street School as a child. "Daniels had to leave school after Standard 6 and worked in a shoe factory after failing to get a job on a cargo ship. His political awakening started when he attended the meetings and marches of the anti-apartheid Torch Commando in the early 1950s and heard the famous Battle of Britain flying ace Sailor Malan likening the National Party government to the Nazis…

Right: image of Eddie Daniels TimesLive



He joined the Liberal Party led by Alan Paton. He was attracted by its uncompromising opposition to the apartheid government, and the fact that it was non-racial and militant. It soon became obvious to him it was not militant enough.

In 1961, disillusioned with marches and protest meetings, he became a founding member of the National Committee of Liberation, afterwards known as the African Resistance Movement (ARM), which was established to blow up government installations such as electricity pylons and radio masts.
It launched its first operation in September 1961, three months before the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe, went into action. He collected and stored explosives and detonators and helped prepare timing devices and charges in a workshop in Cape Town. He was involved in an abortive attempt to blow up the radio mast on top of Constantiaberg. Three days later the security police found the charges that ARM members had attached to it. He was arrested in 1964 after the security police raided the flat of ARM leader Adrian Leftwich and found a notebook with members' names in it…

Daniels was told he would get the death penalty but could save himself by becoming a witness for the state and giving evidence against his colleagues. He refused. Leftwich did not. He testified against Daniels, which helped put him away for 15 years.

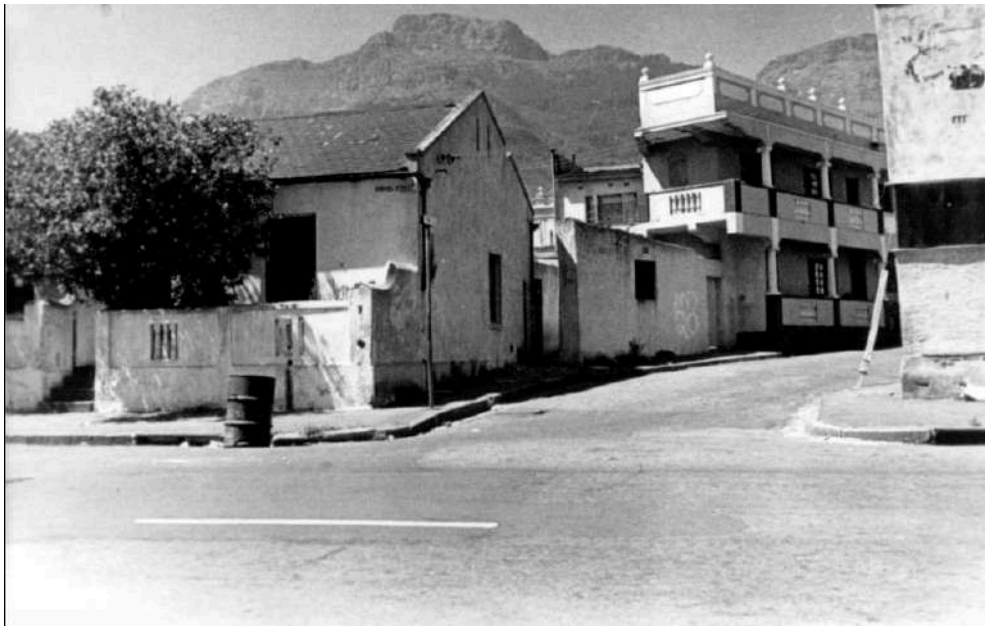
He and Nelson Mandela became close friends on the island. Before his release in 1979, the quiet, unassuming Daniels devised a daring plan to rescue Mandela and Walter Sisulu in a helicopter. He got the idea while watching helicopters fly over the island with supplies for passing oil tankers in large baskets attached to their underbellies. He chose New Year's Day in 1981 for the so-called "Daniels Plan" because, being a public holiday, there would be fewer guards around and they would be less alert. [However the plan was never able to be carried out].

While on Robben Island he completed his matric and a BA degree in sociology and economics through Unisa, interrupted by a six-month spell of solitary confinement with his study rights revoked. He then completed a BCom in business economics, industrial psychology and economics…In 1983 his banning orders were lifted. He and a white woman he'd fallen in love with while working on the diamond mines were secretly married. It was against the law and he knew he would be arrested again if the police found out about it. They had to wait until the Mixed Marriages Act was repealed in 1990 before they could get married legally".

https://www.timeslive.co.za/sunday-times/opinion-and-analysis/2017-12-02-eddie-daniels--saboteur-with-a-plan-to---spring-mandela--from-jail---1928-2017/

His memoirs under the title *There and Back: Robben Island 1964-1979*, were published by Mayibuye Books, University of the Western Cape, 1998.
https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/edward-eddie-john-daniels

TYNE & CHAPEL STREET



Above: the junction of Chapel and Tyne Streets showing the character of the residential houses situated. The District Six Museum.

Just opposite the block that held Sydney Street Primary was the entrance to Tyne Street, remembered fondly by many ex-residents especially as a place of parading through the streets during Carnival time as was told by Linda Fortune who lived in Tyne Street:

"Many remember District Six's carnival processions, the lengths of satin material hung from the top of electric poles on New Year's Eve: 'the shiny satin made our street look so pretty. Walking up Tyne Street from the Chapel Street end, looking straight ahead, you could see the different coloured streamers stretching from one end of the street to the other . .Now and then a gentle breeze would make the streamers flutter to remind people that it was New Year in District Six' (Fortune, 1996: 7).

DESTRUCTION AND LOSS

Linda Fortune remembers both the festivities of Tyne and Chapel street, but also the devastation of its destruction and loss (1996: 122-124):

"Our first encounter with a bulldozer was terrifying. Suddenly one morning this big monstrosity rumbles and roars down Tyne street and comes to an abrupt halt in Chapel Street.

Most of the neighbours and their children were running behind it, while other grown-ups had gathered outside their homes to see what the noise was all about…

"Can you people now see what's happening here? I told you the world is coming to an end!" one old lady shouted.

"No!" a man shouted back from across the street. "The world is not coming to an end, we here in District Six are coming to an end!"

The driver of the bulldozer shouted at the people to make way for him as he had a job to do. "I was sent to demolish the cooldrink factory," he tried to explain. "Isn't this it?" he asked, pointing at the old building near the Sidney Street corner. "Now please, get out of the way! People who get in the way will get hurt!" Slowly the people moved away…

As the bulldozer rammed it, the building started falling apart bit by bit. First one wall, then the next. Then part of the roof tumbled in. The bulldozer just kept going like a huge wall tank. My youngest sister Patsy had covered her ears because the noise of bricks and timber and iron being torn apart was unbearable.

"No, go away!" she screamed. "Stop, Stop!" But her small child's pleas were lost in the sounds of destruction. Most people stood as if they had received an electric shock. Speechless they gazed at the destruction in front of them…

Boeta Bruima had his arms around Motje Awa. She was sobbing softly, tears running down her wrinkled brown cheeks. He didn't try to console her, he just shook his head from side to side.

After a while we could hardly see. Clouds of dust rose from the rubble…"

Above: the destruction of the residential houses around the Zeenatul Islam Mosque in the 1970s, photograph by H Scheub.
Below: Photograph shared by Wendy Lyall of a demolished section of Chapel Street looking up towards Muir Street with the Liberman Institute on the left. 1981.

Above: 1993 photograph by Barney Barnard showing the outline of the old streetgrid on a flatted and destroyed district six, in stark contrast to the newly built Cape Peninsula University of Technology.

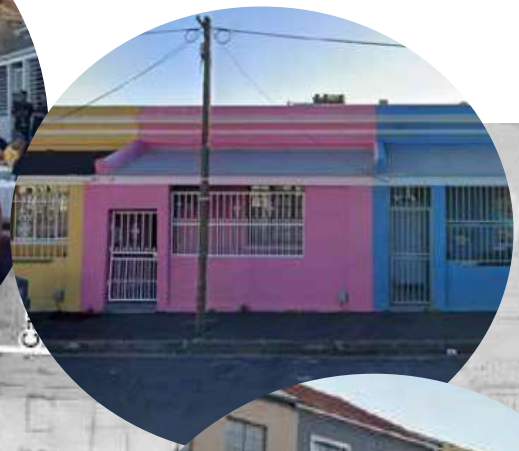
“Removal of around 2 000 families and the destruction of houses began in 1968.The Group Areas Act was to undermine and ultimately smash social cohesion in District Six and many other areas. In ploughing up networks of knowledge, relationships, shared experiences and history, the scaffolding of a culture was systematically dismantled” (Pinnock 2016: 12)

“Individual people or singular families, rather than whole neighbourhoods, we removed to the Cape Flats. Extended families were not considered and only nuclear family dwellings were provided. Informal childcare and surveillance evaporated” (Ibid: 13).

All buildings from Nelson Mandela Boulevard along the section of Chapel that ran towards Tennant Street were demolished, except for the Zeenatul Islam Mosque and the City of Cape Town (CCC) Garage. The freeway stands as dividing sentry to a world of complete removal and destruction on one side and one in which social, religious and educational institutions remained knitted within residential houses and businesses of the community that surrounded them.

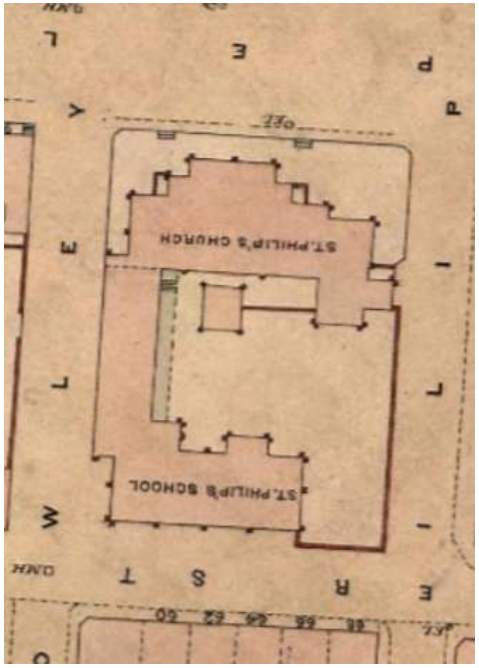
“By 1982, the entire area had been razed to the ground and the street grid eradicated. The majority of the people in District Six were forcibly removed to council housing in areas at a distance from the city centre into the Cape Flats (the largest mass of these areas being over 25 km away from the city centre). District Six was not the only area subjected to forced removals—there were in total 42 areas of forced removals, the people of which were systematically moved to the Cape Flats. The implementation of the Group Areas Act would have the disastrous effect on the city as a whole of establishing and entrenching a range of inequalities”. (Minty 2006: 427)

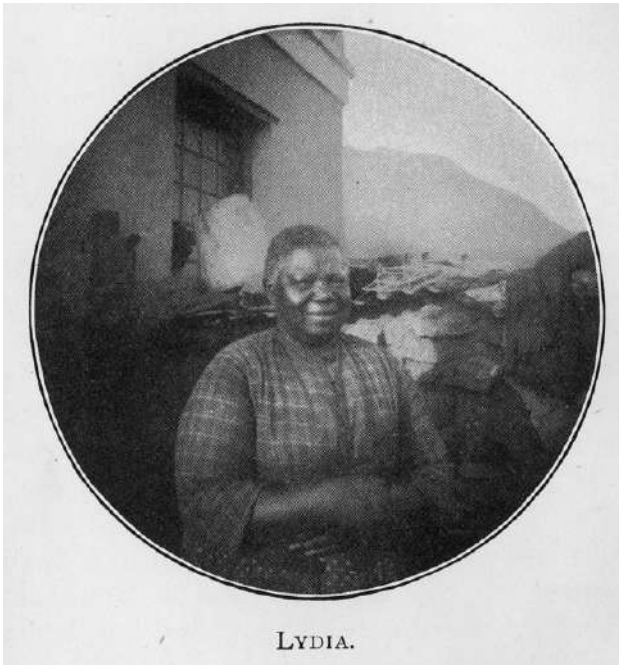
THE SECTION OF CHAPEL STREET THAT REMAINED



The section of Chapel that remained intact despite Apartheid group areas continues to be characterized by residential housing, schools, social and health institutions, and various local businesses. These buildings remain integrated within its community, some of whom have resided in the area for generations. Issues of gentrification though large businesses and residential development blocks are a threat to its historic character.

St. Philips Mission Chapel /Community Arts Project/Lydia Williams Memory Centre





Dating to 1885 as the work of the architect George Murray Alexander as an Anglican Mission Chapel.

"Amongst the new churches built during this time [1880s], the arrival of the complex plan covered by equally complex roofs was seen. There also developed the fashion for using Table Mountain sandstone (Artefacts)". While some argue that the first St. Philips Chapel built here no longer and was demolished and replaced by the BAKER and MASEY church built in 1898 further down the road. But it seems this is indeed the St. Philips Mission Chapel that gave Chapel street its name, as it appears on the Thom survey dating from 1892 it appears names as St. Philips Church and School with the newly built St. Philips further down the road.

LYDIA WILLIAMS

Associated with this church is the freed slave and educator Lydia Williams, affectionately known as 'Ou Tamelytjie. As Michael Weeder notes, Lydia Williams was an emancipated slave who lived in Cape Town from 1820 to 1910. "The monastic order, the Society of St John the Evangelist (SSJE), had worked in District Six from 1884 on. They had held Lydia in high esteem, sufficient enough to refer to the day on which she commemorated Emancipation Day, December 1, as Lydia's Day. No doubt her grave had once had been marked by a wooden cross with her name on it. But time and the rigour of the changing seasons had weathered away any such sign. Lydia Williams had been buried in council-owned land and because of the increasing need for burial space graves such as Lydia's had been set aside to be re-used. At a parish council meeting in 2002 the congregation of St Philip the Deacon, District Six decided to buy the plot. Their

decision formed part of the process of reclaiming a part of the District's history" (Weeder 2002: 25-26).
"Until her death in 1910 she held a prayer meeting wherein she recounted her experience of slavery which then culminated in a feast that went on long into the rest of the day" [on Emancipation Day on 1 December every year].

According to Weeder, "Lydia was a founder member of the old St Philip Anglican Church on Chapel Street, District 6 and the congregation still celebrates her memory. Fifty years after the abolition of slavery at the Cape her cottage in the Dry Docks area of District Six became the first venue for services of the Cowley Fathers [British Anglican Priests]. The monastic order, the Society of St John the Evangelist (SSJE), had worked in District Six from 1884 on. They had held Lydia in high esteem, sufficient enough to refer to the day on which she commemorated Emancipation Day, December 1, as Lydia's Day. In time the Cowley Fathers included Lydia's Day in the church's calendar as the Feast of the Release of Slaves.

https://camissamuseum.co.za/index.php/7-tributaries/2-african-asian-enslaved-peoples/lydia-williams-masbiekers

"Lydia dedicated herself to counselling the many traumatised freed slaves over the rest of her life. She promoted healing amongst freed slaves and their descendants, working from her one room rented home which was situated on the St Philips Anglican mission estate"
https://dacroutes.cedartower.co.za/site-data/nrlhr/st-phillips-church-freed-slave-lydia-williams#14/-33.9326/18.4068
She died at the age of 90 at her small home and prayer centre, which like everything else in District Six was later demolished. Situated on or near the her cottage was the 'Lydia Primary School' between Chatham and Rochester Roads in the 'Dry Docks' area. The St. Philips Mission Chapel she helped to build was named after her in the early 2000s. From the 1980s the site housed the Community Arts Project which was an important site of cultural and political activism alongside childhood learning in the area. For a period of time it also housed a school.

Community Arts Project (CAP)

Above: Ronald (surname not known), Desiree Kok and Velile Soha at work on District Six mural designed by Sharief White, at Community Arts Project. Circa 1994. University of Cape Town. Libraries. Special Collections BC1195 Community Arts Project.

"Community Arts Project (CAP) was established in Cape Town in the period following the Soweto uprisings (1976). By the late 1980s two CAPs had emerged: the 'art school' (Chapel Street, Woodstock) and the Media Project (Community House, Salt River). The latter constituted as an independent trust (Media Works), before joining again with the mother body to form the Arts & Media Access Centre. CAP/AMAC closed in 2008.

CAP was founded to provide accommodation, facilities, and training to artists, particularly those marginalized by apartheid . The training provided at CAP was meant to serve not only its members, but the larger community as well. The center was founded on the idea of "each one teach one" – after an artist had been trained, they would take what they had learned back to their community to help empower the broader society".
https://atom.lib.uct.ac.za/index.php/community-arts-projects-archive

Above: Joseph Gaylard, visual arts educator at the Community Arts Project, working on a public mural alongside students. Circa 1998. University of Cape Town. Libraries. Special Collections BC1195 Community Arts Project.

As was noted during the Public Space participation process by ex-residents "growing up in District Six in Chapel Street around the corner from the church. CAP- Community Arts project and as children we would come to make use of the space for educational purposes. Something children could create a passion for".

But the roots of this project were not just child focused. As Zayd Minty notes of the development of CAP:

"Cape Town has a long history of community arts practice, the key development of which can be traced to the mid 1970s, reaching its most radical edge in the 1980s. Artists and community structures began organising themselves soon after the Soweto uprising in 1976… The action of young people who were looking for outlets to engage with apartheid where their parents had failed, was a massive inspiration and an opportunity for community activists. A number of nongovernmental organisations, most prominently The Community Arts Project (CAP) and the Community Video Education Trust (CVET), formed themselves in Cape Town. These spaces provided for diverse groupings of people, including artists and youth, to congregate around and engage with each other".

These "were some of the many projects which began disseminating information for change through culture, using performance, community media and literature to engage in the anti-apartheid struggle. New strategies were developed and artists on their return began to engage with communities to ensure a vibrant mass struggle. The art in this era had a strong public face: besides its use in mass rallies, it took various forms: 'struggle theatre' was performed in community halls around the country; communities spontaneously began building 'people's parks' in various townships; and freedom concerts took place regularly on university campuses".

Minty sees the roots of this urban protest art to be situated in Cape Town in Tweede Nuwe Jaar Carnival born in District Six which was performed as an "important site of contestation for

working class people" alongside the development of various political and trade union movements in the City by the end of **the 19th century. Projects such as CAP during this period "engage with and attempt to reclaim the city in various ways for its broader population were… drawing extensively on a long tradition in Cape Town of civic cultural action, shaped by the struggle against colonialism and apartheid".** (Minty 2006: 424 - 425).

"CAP was initially housed at 17 Main Road, Mowbray, Cape Town, but moved to the old St Philip's School (now the Lydia Williams Centre for Memory) at 106 Chapel Street, District Six, in 1982. CAP was a non-racial organisation, with members from across the apartheid divide and from various social layers. However, its particular mission was to provide accommodation, facilities and training in the arts for artists and learners marginalised under apartheid, and to develop the cultural voice of Cape Town's oppressed communities.

During the liberation struggle in the 1980s, CAP played a prominent role in shaping the notion of 'culture as resistance' to apartheid and the idea of people's culture. In 1982 CAP participated in the historic Botswana Arts Festival in Gaborone, after which CAP members regarded themselves as cultural workers rather than artists. This new identity was adopted to reflect their involvement with the political and social concerns of communities and their organisations, and their intent to make work that upheld the interests and political aspirations of the oppressed.

After the advent of democracy in 1994, CAP transformed from a training organisation, and home for artists, into a more formally constituted education NGO for unemployed adults and youth.". Info from: https://www.chrflagship.uwc.ac.za/uncontained-opening-the-community-arts-project-archive/

The mural painting done through CAP was seen to be part of the 1990s 'mural movement' in South Africa. Marschall notes that mural painting has its own history and meaning within an urban context: "Murals are always a contestation around public space and who lays claim to or controls that space. In this sense murals of any kind were a threat to the representatives of the Apartheid state (2000: 48).

Below: Mural painted by Community Arts Project student, circa late 1990s. University of Cape Town. Libraries. Special Collections BC1195 Community Arts Project.

Marion Institute/ ECD & Trauma Centre

In the wake of World War I middle-class white women were directing their attention to the "plight of young coloured girls, now widely employed in business and industry. After long hours in offices and factories, now widely driven by overcrowding in their homes onto the streets for recreation. Poorly educated, lacking resources…a club seemed the answer. The fortuitous arrival of Deaconess Julia, an Anglican sister, and a gift of £100 got the Marion Institute off the ground. At 23 Chapel Street in District Six, a night school provided basic education; here too, musical drill, singing and Morris dancing gave exercise after sedentary days in factories" (Bickford-Smith, van Heyningen and Worden 1999: 55 - 56).

Above: The Marion Institute, UCT Macmillan Collection. Libraries Special Collection in Bickford-Smith et all Pg. 56.

"The Marion Institute was established in 1916 under the sponsorship of Ms. Marion Tryst, to serve as a social centre for the underprivileged of District Six (now Zonnebloem), as well as the neighbouring communities of Woodstock and Walmer Estate. Its founding philosophy was rooted in strong Christian principals and was aimed primarily at promoting moral and social development of all ages. This philosophy was initially given practical expression through a lunchtime nutrition program for female factory workers in the area. Later it was expanded to include the establishment, administration and the maintenance of the pre-school and community centres offering a comprehensive range of social and recreational activities"

https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/getting-know-marion-institute-the-marion-institute/?trackingId=pALQxZWrRl2u22S4TtFMNA%3D%3D

The Marion Institute was also associated with starting and running two scouting group in the area:

SCOUT GROUPS

“In the early days of Scouting there were a number of active Scout Groups in the Cape Town City Bowl precincts. Many of the groups moved several times, from one venue to the next as their premises became unavailable or they merged with other groups.

Most of the early scouting groups were linked to orphanages and churches

[For example:

1st Cape Town (St John's Hostel)

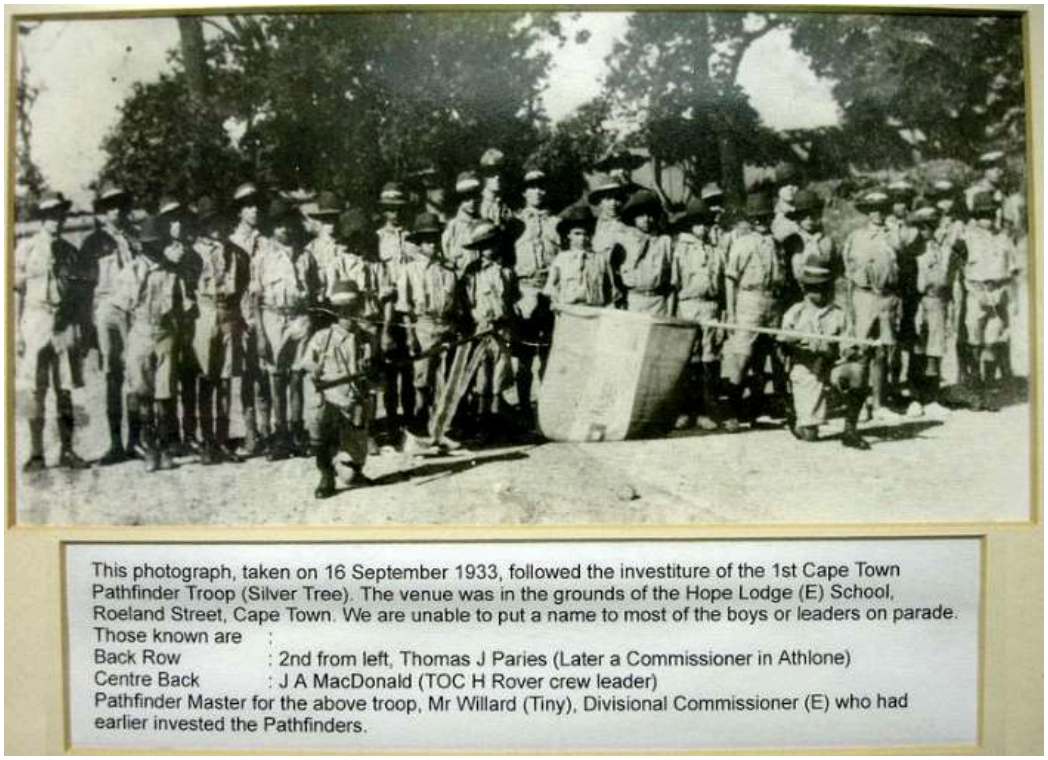
St John's Hostel was founded in 1918 as a refuge for Cape Town's homeless boys. It was situated in Oranjezicht and the boys did their own cooking, washing up and work around the hostel, they were all Scouts.

2nd Cape Town (St Barnabas)

2nd Cape Town was registered on 22 March 1915 and… held their meetings at the St Barnabas church on the corner of Kloof Nek Road and Camp Street. A number of the boys came from the All Saints Home that seems to have been under the care of St Paul's church in Bree Street.

3rd Cape Town - In 1933 the 3rd Cape Town was a Pack attached to the Jewish Orphanage.

5th Cape Town (Nazareth House) - In 1916 this was an orphanage and in the true Scouting spirit, the troop was regularly helped, visited and invited to be included in other troops camps and activities..]



This photograph, taken on 16 September 1933, followed the investiture of the 1st Cape Town Pathfinder Troop (Silver Tree). The venue was in the grounds of the Hope Lodge (E) School, Roeland Street, Cape Town. We are unable to put a name to most of the boys or leaders on parade.
Those known are :
Back Row : 2nd from left, Thomas J Paries (Later a Commissioner in Athlone)
Centre Back : J A MacDonald (TOC H Rover crew leader)
Pathfinder Master for the above troop, Mr Willard (Tiny), Divisional Commissioner (E) who had earlier invested the Pathfinders.

District Six

“Prior to 1977 there were four separate divisions for Coloureds, Africans, Indians and Europeans. District Six fell under the Coloured Division but unfortunately the records for the Coloured division were lost in a fire and from the current archives only the following groups have been identified as active in the City bowl.

In the late 1930's various Coloured Scout Groups were established in Cape Town and the Southern Suburbs. They were well supported prior to the Apartheid

Group Areas Act which forced them to relocate, causing many troops to disband. Considerable difficulty was experienced in re-establishing them in new areas, and many Scouts were lost to the movement.

With the forced removals of people from District Six all the Scout groups in the area eventually closed down. 1st Cape Town Pathfinders (Silver Tree) - The first Coloured Troop was formed at the Silvertree Club for boys. They called themselves the 1st Cape Town Pathfinder Troop (Silver Tree) and were invested on the 16th September 1933 in the grounds of Hope Lodge School in Roeland Street.

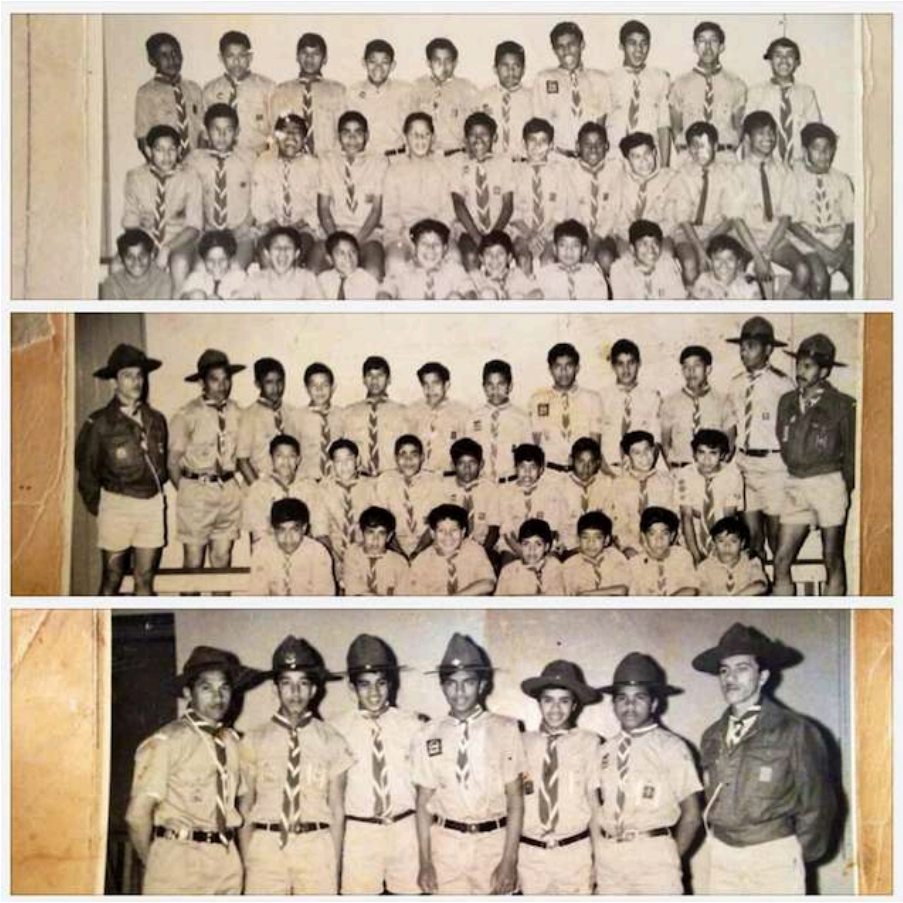
The Pathfinders were under the instruction of Tyler and White. In 1936, John Brett, a teacher at Bishops High School, made his services available to the club. Under his guidance a Sea Scout troop started, which remained the only Coloured Sea Scout troop in the country for many years.

Interest in the club may have waned and by 1937 the Silvertree Club had ceased to exist, but by 1951 it had started up again. In 1956, Tommy Paries, a Sea Scout master became club leader. With the forced removals of people from District Six, attendance at the Silvertree Club declined and so too did Scouting.

2nd Cape Town Pathfinders (Marion Institute) - In 1937 Johannes Losper formed the Marion Institute Pathfinder troop in District 6. He was followed by Mr. Hugo and then James Gallant. Jack Allies was also involved in running both the 2nd and 3rd Cape Town (Marion Institute) Pathfinder groups.

In the late 1950's the 2nd Cape Town relocated to the Bloemhof Community Centre where Clement Felix was the troop scouter from 1960 to 1970.

3rd Cape Town Pathfinders (Marion Institute) – This group, started on 5th July 1937, also ran from the Marion Institute in District Six. It provided the community with an important cultural centre that included a nursery school, sporting facilities and Scouts & Cubs.



Above: 4th Scouts circa 1950s shared by Phaldie Salie (facebook)

Scouting at the Marion was started by Johannes Losper and followed by Mr. Hugo, James Gallant and Jack Allies.

As the people left District Six, attendance at the Marion declined and this led to the closing of the Group.

Top Scout Awards

Surname	Name	Year	Award
Loubser	Victor	1951	King
Van De Sandt	Vernon	1950	King

4th Cape Town [Walmer Estate?]- they produced four Springbok Scouts.

Top Scout Awards

Surname	Name	Year	Award
Toffa	Cassiem	1967	Springbok
Howell	Zaahir	1989	Springbok
Jaffer	Abdul-Aziz	1990	Springbok
Omar	Shu-Aib	1990	Springbok

5th Cape Town Pathfinders (Lieberman Institute) - The Hyman Liberman Institute, commonly known as the Liberman, was situated in Muir Street which was in the heart of District Six. Built in 1934 it provided the community with an important cultural centre that included a nursery school, sporting facilities and Scouts & Clubs.

In 1940 Mr. Gallant established 5th Cape Town Pathfinder Troop (Liberman Institute) and Mr. Garoute the Cub section. Well known Scouter Mr Winston Adams was a member of the 5th Cape Town Cub Pack having joined in 1949 as a 9 years old Cub. With the forced removals the Institute was bulldozed in 1979 and ceased to exist in District 6."

All info from:

https://scoutwiki.scouts.org.za/wiki/Western_Cape_Scout_Groups_-_Cape_Town_City_Bowl

Many have memories of weekend bazaars being held at the Marion. The Marion Institute also ran a nursery school and there seems to also have been some connection between the Marion Institute and St. Anne's Home, perhaps due to a connection with Anglican Church philanthropic efforts.

Nadeem Sheldon notes that a Mrs Cupido was one of the sisters at St. Anne's Home in Chapel Street but she stayed at the Marion Institute opposite, where her husband was also the caretaker.

ST. ANNES HOME/ THE HAVEN

St. Anne's Home seemed to be a place for unmarried mothers to have their babies before being adopted. Shariefa Davids said **"If you talk of children taken away from their mother's that's not married it's at St. Anne's that was was better known as St. Nannies in Chapel Street then the mothers go to the Salvation Army Hospital to give birth, but Peninsula [Maternity Hospital] in Mount Street was the place where so many women gave birth to their babies" (Facebook).**

Established in 1904 by the Anglican Church, St. Anne's Homes aim is to now to provide a "place of hope and healing for vulnerable single parent families who would otherwise be separated through poverty and unemployment" which continues to run in Woodstock. Understandably there are not many memories shared about St. Anne's or the experiences shared on social media platforms, except for remembering the Sisters who worked there.

The following timeline provided by the organization provides an informative history of this Home and its relation to Chapel Street through time:

All info from: https://www.stanneshomes.org.za/history/

1904

The Refuge Of The Good Shepherd: A group of Anglican women, led by Miss M.H. Curry, rented a small house in Chapel street, District Six, "to accommodate any woman or girl in need".It was first called "The Refuge of the Good Shepherd", a House of Refuge – 'an ever-open door' – for any woman or girl of whatever race or creed who might need temporary shelter or more permanent help.

1922

The "Refuge of the Good Shepherd" project grew, and two adjoining houses were acquired and renamed "The Cape Town Diocesan House for Friendless Girls"

1927

Certified To Include Prison Remand Cases: Women with suspended sentences, or detention cases, were given shelter.

1928

Community Chest Established: A mainstay of St Anne's through the difficult years, and still to this day.

1932

"St. Agnes Baby Home": One of the houses in Chapel Street was renovated as a nursery for the children of mothers who had passed through the Home.

1939

107 Chapel Street is built: As a result of working on a very small budget, the houses had fallen into a state of such dilapidation that it was very difficult to carry on satisfactorily. After securing a grant of £12000 through the Central Housing Board, and a beautiful new building was erected on the same site, now 107 Chapel Street.

1942

Renamed St Anne's Home:
A new building was erected at 107 Chapel Street and renamed on 9 April. A few days later the Archbishop dedicated its little chapel and blessed the building.

1959

The Order Of The Holy Paraclete: Sister Ellen, of the Order of the Holy Paraclete, (O.H.P) in Whitby, Yorkshire – arrived at St Anne's and managed the Home 'with happy dedication' for eleven years.

1968

Forced Removals: The first reference to 'forced removal' occurs in the AGM minute. Since 107 Chapel Street was declared an industrial area, a possible new site was found in a Coloured area, Heideveld, and a building sub-committee started negotiations for it, which lasted seven years

1975

Project Abandoned: The strain of running the Home during these uncertain times took its toll and the project was abandoned in 1975, but not before the Prime Minister's office had been approached by St. Anne's committee in an attempt to bring some sense into negotiations.

1970s and 80s

Difficult years: The Nurse Pieterse became the matron and managed to keep the door open and people fed through her gift of making little money go a long way. During this time St. Anne's had struggled to balance the books were repeatedly threatened with the prospect of closure.

1989

The 1989 Report: In January 1989, a social worker was commissioned to investigate the changing needs and the effectiveness of the Home, and to make recommendations for future services. Her study highlighted that the design of the building was 'institutional' and not homely, including the need for a fulltime social worker. The report also recommended broadening the focus to include all destitute women and children – not only those pregnant and unmarried, but also the battered, raped, and abused women. Based on the 1989 Report it decided to sell the building in Chapel Street and purchase a smaller property in the area.

1991

48 Balfour Street: On 5th March 1991, St. Anne's moved to 48 Balfour Street, Woodstock – a more homely building in which the women could be involved in the running of the Home.

RUTGER/ROGER STREET PARK

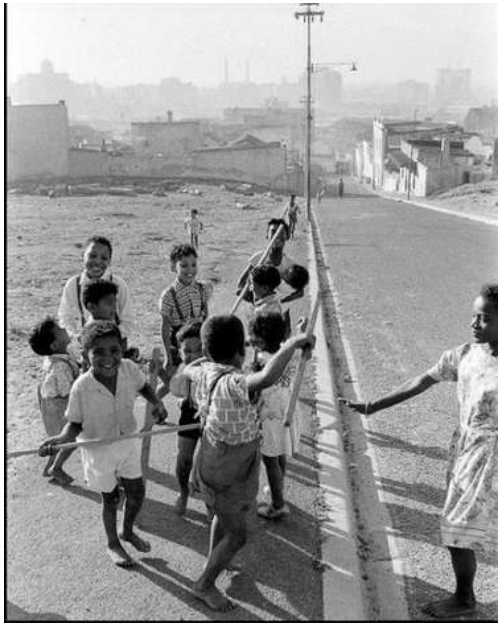
The schools along Chapel street and surrounding area were closely connected to the play park in Rutgers street and to some extent the green space later called 'Nelson Street Park'

Above: Park in Rutger/ Roger Street. Image from the District 6 Museum

As Joan Mansfield remembers "I attended St. Philips school and sometimes we would run to this park during break time. Although I didn't live in D6, I travelled in from Landsdowne to attend school. My parents were both teachers. My uncle Ralph Reines was the VP at St. Phillips and Mr Veldsman was principal. My familu emigrated to Canada in 1966 at the completion of my St.4 year. I have wonderful memories"(Facebook).

Shireen Jane also notes of her family's leisure time in the park: "That was our play park every Sunday with our cousins when our grandparents had all the family over for lunch"(Facebook).

Jennifer Jonathan: "This is where I used to soar like a bird on those swings" (Facebook).



Above left: Photo shared by Martin Greshoff on behalf of Sharief Slamdien of children playing in the park in Rutger Street.
Above Right: Playing on corner of unknown street on an open plot. Photographer unknown. CoCT digital archive.

This big play park on Rutger Street was "one of the very few open areas in the district put aside for children, was always crowded with youngsters impatient to get rid of their excess energy" (Fortune 1996: 118- 19). The majority of public play spaces for children were situated on open plots of land or on the streets around houses.

ST. PHILIPS CHURCH AND SCHOOL

This is the first church to be designed by Herbert Baker with Francis Masey as partner, dating to 1898 (https://artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/bldgframes.php?bldgid=5463).

Also named St Philip The Deacon, referring to St. Philip being one of the seven deacons chosen to assist the Apostles by ministering to the needy members of the Church so the Apostles could be free to preach the Gospels.

Above: Photograph of St. Philips shared by Terence Abrahams (facebook)

Ismael Davids notes that the school hall of the Church was used for bazaars and functions. Riedwaan Jattiem notes that the original St. Philips Church and School was situated further down the road, on the corner of Chapel and St Philips Street. Jattiem provides an interesting possibility for the development of this piece of land as he notes:

"Original Trafalgar High School once stood on this very spot and at the time Mr Harold Cressey was the first Principal of Trafalgar H.S. St. Philips (New) Church was bult after Trafalgar H.S. was demolished and moved to Kuiper Street. The original St. Philips Church & School is/was leased by a Dance group and the original piano/organ was discovered in the Church basement. There are some very old graves at the old Church garden. I attended Lydia E C School that was affiliated with St. Philips (Anglican – Church of England). The School (Lydia) was named after her. Her picture is still hanging on St. Philips rectory. There is a rich history of Miss Lydia Williams (a freed slave from up North) that went on to become a teacher herself" (Facebook).

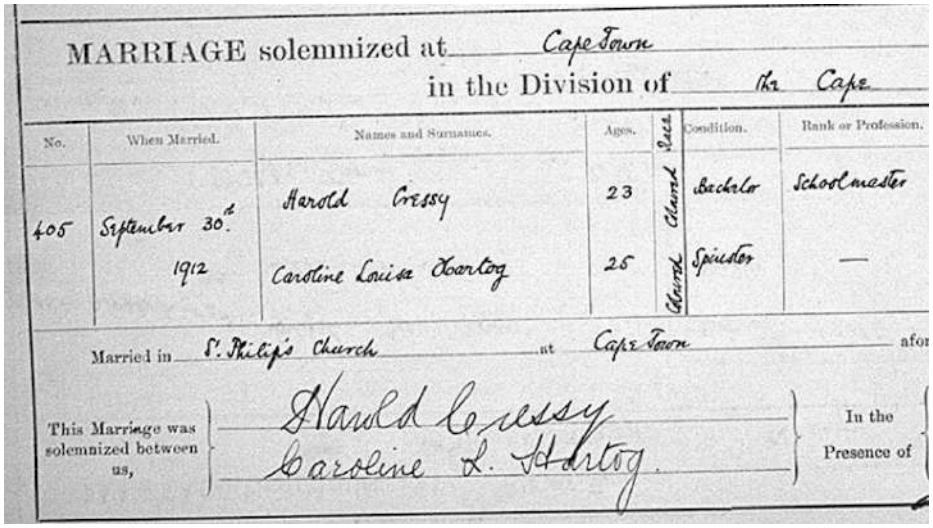
The dates in this summary don't match exactly with the development of Trafalgar High School and the building of the new Church, but there does seem to be a link between a school in Chapel Street and Trafalgar High School.

As is noted in the development of Trafalgar High: "By 1911, education for Coloured was limited to the mission schools, which catered for primary education only. The Cape School Board, with a large Coloured population in its area supported only three significant primary schools, viz, Chapel Street, second class; Albertus Street, third class; Sea Point Tramway, third class. The need for a high school was actively propagated by Dr Abdurahman, President of the African Political Organisation and Harold Cressy, the first Coloured person to obtain a B.A. degree at the University of Cape Town. The Trafalgar A2 Public School then duly opened in January 1912, with Harold Cressy as its first principal. The Trafalgar Public School (late Chapel Street) was an A2 school and started off with a roll of 60 students (28 boys and 32 girls) and a staff of five teachers.

The school gained the unique distinction in 1913 by having the first coloured girl pass the University Junior Certificate Examination (the old School Higher). Miss Rosie Waradea Abdurahman, the eldest daughter of the distinguished president

of the APO, Dr Abdurahman, had been successful in passing the Junior Certificate Examination of the University of Cape Town.

https://trafalgarhighschool.co.za/about-us/
https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/trafalgar-high-school-cape-town-marks-100-years
https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/harold-cressy



MARRIAGE solemnized at Cape Town
in the Division of the Cape

No.	When Married.	Names and Surnames.	Ages.	Condition.	Rank or Profession.
405	September 30th 1912	Harold Cressy	23	Bachelor	Schoolmaster
		Caroline Louisa Hartog	25	Spinster	—

Married in St. Philip's Church at Cape Town

This Marriage was solemnized between us, Harold Cressy / Caroline L. Hartog. In the Presence of

Above: Marriage Certificate of Harold Cressy and Caroline Louisa Hartog at St. Philips Church

HAROLD CRESSY

There is however a direct connection between St. Philips and Harold Cressy as in 1912 he was married to Carolina Hartog at the Church in the same year that he became Principal of “Trafalgar Second Class Public School”. Cressy qualified as a teacher at Zonnebloem College in 1905, and greatly encouraged in his career by Dr. Abdullah Abdurahman. He got married just after he had graduated from UCT with a Bachelor of Arts Degree, the first Coloured person to achieve this distinction. The Cressy’s lived at 15 Tennant Street which was situated just on the corner of Chapel Street and Tennant Street. The highschool along Roeland Street was later named after him in 1953 (which was formerly Hewat Training College, the first tertiary education facility for coloured students).

With Abdurahman's encouragement he and H.Gordan founded the important Teachers' League of South Africa and Cressy was appointed president of the organisation in 1913 as well as editing the groups influential publication, the Educational Journal
https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/harold-cressy
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harold_Cressy_High_School

CHURCH COMMUNITY

There are many memories from ex-residents of the area of attending St. Philips Church, singing in the choir as children and receiving organ lessons. Many children attended Sunday Evening service at the school or went to church services or mass on Tuesday and Thursday mornings during school which was run by St. Philips. The principal of the school was noted to be ‘Mr Veldsman’, fondly called ‘Ou Vella’. Aside from the principal and teachers, many remember the Fathers of the St. Philips such as Father Swartz and Father Binns. Sub A and B was apparently situated in another building situated near the TB Clinic. One of the school buildings called ‘Cowley House’ forms now what is the Trauma Centre for survivors of violence and torture.

Right: Terrance Abrahams shared this image of members of St. Philips Church (Facebook).

Above: Lionel Davis. Sketch for linocut showing the junction of Pontac and Sheppard Street looking towards Roger Street with St. Philips in the background (shared by Martin Greshoff Facebook).

Both Christian and Muslim children attended St. Philips School as well as the Tuesday and Thursday morning mass. As one of the churches in District Six that wasn't destroyed and it kept some of its community around it, people were able to come back to St. Philips even after forced removals. Countless children went through important rites of passage such as baptism, confirmation, or performing the tasks of Alter boys at St. Philips. Many women from its community were involved in the church, and many of the pipe organ players were noted to be women. Memories of high days and festivities include the attendance of Christmas midnight masses and Christmas Choirs.

Many children walked past St. Philips on their way to school with the church providing an urban topography to their lived experiences anchored in movement, even if they were not part of the church or its school.

ART & CULTURAL LIFE

As is noted by Lewis, St. Philips School played a pivotal role in stimulating cultural and intellectual activity in the area in the 1940s and 50s: "The Children's Art Centre and St. Philip's Drama Centre arose out of the concern of the dynamic principal of St. Philip's Primary School, George Veldsman, to give expression to the tremendous fund of creative talent which he observed in the children of the area. Teachers and students gave their services voluntarily when the first evening and Saturday morning art classes were started. With the growth of the number of pupils attending these art classes, the Cape Education Department formally recognized the Art Centre, and teachers were appointed to run the Art School on a regular basis. The limited accommodation and facilities at St. Philip's necessitated a move to a larger venue, and the Art Centre was transferred to premises in Victoria Walk, Woodstock. With rigid application of the Group Areas Act the school was forced to move once more, and is now housed in the grounds of Zonnebloem…

St. Philip's Drama Centre developed into one of the most active dramatic societies in Cape Town and its amateur dramatic players trod the boards not only in the school hall but also the nearby Woodstock Town Hall and the Cape Town City Hall" (Lewis 1990 188-189).

COWLEY HOUSE (THE TRAUMA CENTRE)

Associated with St. Philips Church was the neighbouring Cowley house (currently the Trauma Centre). As is noted in the Heritage significance of the site, “This structure was built in 1898 to house Anglican priests out from Britain and is an intact example with features including pointed windows, door glazing design and quoining. The building was taken over in 1978 by the Western Province Council of Churches after the priests’ departure, to house visiting families of political prisoners incarcerated on Robben Island; the facility is also associated with the End Conscription Campaign. The facility has served as the Trauma Centre for Victims of Violence & Torture since 1993.”

In fact, Cowley House and St. Philips in fact relates to an Anglican Mission to attract Muslim converts to Christianity in the area of District Six. According to Pratt (1998): it was “Bishop Gray envisaged the use of a monastic brotherhood to do the Muslim mission work in Cape Town. In 1871 he wrote to Father R M Benson, founder of the Society of St John the Evangelist (SSJE or Cowley Fathers), at Cowley near Oxford, inquiring if Father Benson could send some Cowley Fathers to give the Muslim mission a new impetus….” (Pg. 128). “An earlier suggestion of 'a mission to the Malays and a mission to the coloured people at the Eastern end of Cape Town" was revived” (129). In 1884 the following was agreed to:

“Father Puller and the Bishop came to agreement over the tasks which the Cowley Fathers would undertake. These were:
I. The 'Malay Mission work'
2. Mission to the ' Kafirs and other fully-coloured people in the Eastern part of the city" It was agreed that the Cowley Fathers could evangelise the Africans not only in St.Philip's District but also in the district of St Mark's (District Six) and Holy Trinity (Caledon Square). This later was extended to include the parish of Papendorp (later Woodstock) where the first ' location' of Cape Town
was being established.
3. The parochial charge of the new mission district which later became St Philip 's Parochial District.
4. The chaplaincy work with the Sisters at St Georges Home.” (130).

“Using money from the Society, St Philip's School Chapel was built at a cost of £2000. It was opened in April 1886 and in July an adjoining school was completed. In September 1886 the Rev W U Watkins arrived in the Cape to work for the Cowley Fathers among the 'Malays'”(131- 132). “In 1904 the Cowley Fathers gave up their parish work in Cape Town and with it the 'Malay Mission work' . Their Mission House in Chapel Street continued to be a power house of prayer in the Diocese but the work agreed to in 1884 was reduced to work among Africans in Cape Town” (142). “The Cowley Fathers' approach to mission was to live among the people and witness to them by loving kindness'. They believed that the African could be converted to English values. Similarly with the Muslim they believed that by simply living among them, English values would rub off and the Muslim, having been 'swiftly converted to English values', could not fail to become a Christian as well” (All above references from Pratt 1998: 143).

Whatever its initial intentions were, Colin Jones the former Dean of St. George’s Cathedral reiterates how interconnected all the institutions became along Chapel Street:

“As children we had our own connections to “the district”, our own streets to which we made our daily treks to school and, on Sundays, to church. These were the streets of extended family and friends – Nile Street, where Uncle

Sammy and Aunty Annie lived, and where after school, we were always assured of a slice of cake…

And then there was Chapel Street. Chapel Street is still there today, mostly unmarked by the ravages that beset the District in the Sixties. A school and church, dedicated to the apostle, St. Philip…with its attached Cowley House, a monastery – turned refuge centre for visiting families of Robben Island prisoners…St. Philip's was the parish of our family's 'hatching, matching and dispatching'. On Sunday mornings and evenings familiar hymns and grand organ fugues swelled and rolled from its doors into Chapel Street, taking with it…goodwill to all and sundry in the district.

Also connected to the church was the Marion Institute…run by Anglican nuns belonging to the order of the Holy Paraclete. They also ran a branch of the Boy Scouts at the Marion…Just as the church nourished our parents' souls, so St. Philip's EC School nurtured their children's minds. George Veldsman was our headmaster. A towering presence, he ruled St. Philips with an iron hand and an extraordinarily cultured mind…he greatly influenced the lives of many of us, instilling an appreciation of the arts, especially music and theatre…He would march the entire school down Chapel Street to the City Hall to sit in on rehearsals of the Cape Town Municipal Orchestra. On Sunday evenings, after Evensong at the church, my brothers and I would retrace this path, running to the City Hall to listen to the concerts from the seats reserved for "non whites" at the back of the hall. Each time I listen to a symphony, I thank George Veldsman and think of Chapel Street" (Jones 2016).

https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/cape-times/20160211/282660391468826 **Above:** The original 'Chapel Street School on the corner of Sydney and Chapel' from Berman 2017. Built c. 1850

CHAPEL STREET PRIMARY SCHOOL

Like Trafalgar Highschool, Chapel Street Primary was established in 1912. It first began as a Wesleyan Mission school and had several changes:

1845 Wesleyan Mission School which provided schooling to 111 mixed learners. This school seems to have been situated on the corner of Sydney and Chapel at the opposite end of Chapel Street and referred to as 'The Chapel Street School". Attwell explains of this school The Chapel Street School had been a mission school where education was provided for free. When it became the East End Public School in 1897 it started charging school fees. The demographic profile of the school which had been largely children of poor "Coloured" workers, gradually became mixed. The number of students outgrew the school and there was a need for larger premises.

1901 On 11th September 1901, the Chairman of the School Committee, Mr JD Cartwright, announced that land had been granted by the City Council in De Villiers Street for the purposes of building a new school. The school was also constructed with municipal funds"(2017: 12).

This school would later become the only school for African children in District Six in the 1950s and 1960s.

1903 East End Public School was established (most likely named after East End Plantation, the first name of Trafalgar Park). The foundation stone was laid on 3 March 1903, the school officially opened on 3 March 1904 when the students moved from Chapel Street to the new building.

This new building, designed by John Parker, was situated on the corner of De Villiers and Stirling Street on the opposite side of District Six. Only half the school situated Chapel/Sydney could move, the "foundation phase" remained at the Chapel/Sydney Street School (old Wesleyan Mission School). As is noted by Attwell on the importance of the interconnections of these schools: "The second educational institution to use the building was the De Villiers Street Hebrew School, which used it from 1913 to 1920. This school focused on the education of the Hebrew congregation living in District Six at the time. The third school to use the building was the De Villiers Street Primary School, known as the Trafalgar Junior School. The junior school portion of the school was housed in the building from 1920 until the 1970's. The De Villiers Street School therefore represents a microcosm of education progress in the working-class areas of District Six and Woodstock, beginning with a mission school in Chapel Street and accommodating the first part of the Trafalgar High School" (2017: 11).

This De Villiers Street school is now owned by the Cape Institute of Technology and is used by their Department of Ophthalmology

1912 A bigger East End Public School is opened along Chapel Street at its current location, first as a 'mixed' school. Still a remaining feature of the school architecturally are the separate entrances for 'Boys' and 'Girls'.

1913 The school amalgamated with William Street Public School to form East End Park School, only for 'coloured' children.

1935 Renamed Chapel Street Primary School

Unlike other schools along Chapel Street, this Primary was one of the few schools that remained open in District Six and wasn't demolished. Anver Karbelkar remembers that before Clicks moved in, Stuttaford Van Lines occupied the neighbouring building along Chapel Street and they were allowed to make use of the field for athletics and sports. And they would have a joint athletics day with Rahmaniyyeh Primary school on that field which is now seems to be a parking lot potentially leased from the school to the business.

Aerial view 2011

Aerial view 2015

RAYMANIYYEH INSTITUTE

Chapel Street was also the connector for many children attending the Rahmaniyyeh Institute, which was situated just behind Chapel Street Primary School. “The Rahmaniyyeh Institute was established in Cape Town, and provided a working model for a Muslim Mission School. This, the first Muslim Mission School came into existence almost 125 years after the first Masjid School had opened its doors. It was expected that those who were to teach at the Islam-oriented school should have the ability to teach, not just professionally but should also follow the Islamic code to effect within the school a characteristic Islamic ethos. Dr Abdullah Abdurahman who played a prominent role in the Institute, appointed Ahmad Gameeldien [Jamil al-Din], the first male to qualify as a teacher at the Zonnebloem College, as principal of the School. Abdullah ibn AI-Hadj Taha Gamieldien , a prolific writer and also a former student of the Zonnebloem College and a graduate of al-Azhar University of Cairo, was entrusted with the task of teaching Arabic at the School. The Rahmaniyeh Institute was the first of fifteen such schools established by the mid-1940s.

https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/history-muslims-south-africa-1903-1923-ebrahim-mahomed-mahida

https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/dr-abdullah-abdurahman

An unnamed woman remembers growing up in the Bo-Kaap but attending Raymaniyyeh for a while as a child and how interconnected both Christianity and Islam was in her upbringing:

“In the beginning, when we were at primary school, the first three years, I was at Rahmania, which is a Muslim school in District Six, because my granny looked after us. Then when we were three children, my mother gave up her job, so back to Bo-Kaap. And then, taken out of Rahmania, out of the Muslim school, put into St. Paul’s School, which is Anglican. So I went to church every Thursday morning and Friday morning. I loved going to church, coming in, and kneeling…I went to Sunday school, every Sunday singing “Away in the Manger” and you know all the Christmas songs, ja. I loved it….And on Monday to Friday, Monday to Thursday, I went to Muslim schools, which I was very good in, ja. I finished the Bible in Arabic, thrice. But I – and, you know, we grew up in the Bo-Kaap, opposite neighbor with Christians, next-door neighbour. We were, you know – it was a mixed community”.

https://www.dialectsarchive.com/south-africa-36

Above: Rahmaniyeh SubA, teacher Mrs Joseph, circa 1966 Shared by Anuar Booley (Facebook)

Above: Hassiem Jabaar shares an image of the teachers of Rahmania (Facebook)

A fire seems to have burnt down part of the old Rahmaninyyeh building in 2019. The new school is situated in what used to be the building of George Golding Primary School which was closed in the 1980s to the community.

Right: Chapel Street Rugby Team circa 1960 shared by Raymond Brown. Sporting clubs were often associated with specific streets in District Six.

Attached to Raymaniyeh Institute “were active nursing divisions of the St. Johns Ambulance Brigade. Young people of District Six joined the cadet sections of the divisions and did examination courses in home nursing and first-aid. They were to be seen accompanying the older members of the divisions on duty at school athletic meetings”(Lewis 1990: 190).

Left Photograph shared by ‘Ebrahim’ on Facebook District Six page, Rahgmania St John Ambulance members :Mrs Gadija Kamish nee Peck in the center, with the Kagee sisters. l. Kulsum, r. Gamiela, front the twins Naslie and Nasline. “They did their training in the Liberman Hall in Muir St. Mrs Kamish say first they did some Judo training…and from 8pm First Aid training. Their uniforms included at first veils, and white tunics, with the boys red fez with a black tozzel and khaki shorts. The men wore a 2 piece uniform also with the fez. They were to be seen at Rugby, and Football games. Performances of the Suid Afrikaans koor in the City Hall, at the Stars and Kallies Rag on the 3rd September, a knifing or two at the Seven steps and at accidents in Hanover street. These nurses also did duties at Woodstock hospital from 7pm to 7am”. (https://www.facebook.com/groups/413316228829595/search/?q=st%20johns%20abulance%20brigade).

THE TB CLINIC (Now City of Cape Town Chapel Street Clinic)

Above: Most likely the TB Clinic at 50 Newmarket Street, c1929 -1941 Fig 3 (Kilpatrick 2002: 136), original source: National Library of South Africa.

The Chapel Street Tuberculosis (TB) Clinic was officially opened on 3 January 1941: "The site selected for the Chapel Street Clinic was a significant factor in the City Health Department's attempt to deal with TB in Cape Town. It was situated near the borders of central Cape Town, the new industrial area of Woodstock and the working-class residential area of District Six. This seemed very practical when the connection between this district's overcrowded slum conditions and TB was emphasised in contemporary press articles…the clinic's proximity to the industrial area of Woodstock was to prove useful in the search for TB suspects among factory workers, especially after 1948, when mass x-ray screening was offered" (Kilpatrick 2002: 77).

The treatment and history of TB in South Africa, and especially Cape Town, was interwoven with factors of economy, but especially race politics. Fear of migrant labourers "importing" TB to the City would lead to mass TB screening of incoming work seekers arriving in the City in the 1950s (Ibid: 43). Ironically, "the growth of TB prevalence in Cape Town was produced by a number of interconnected factors. European colonisation created the foundation of the TB reservoir and white immigration contributed to the rise of TB in the city. Yet, by the turn of the century these factors were not solely responsible for the city's TB problem. Internal migration, in the form of wartime upheavals, the mineral revolution and migrant work seekers, became a more pressing problem in the spread of TB. In addition, the city now had an established local reservoir of infections TB sufferers who spread the disease among its settled communities. TB had become entrenched as a part of the cityscape" (Ibid: 47-48).

Despite early efforts on behalf of the municipality and city council, the TB epidemic grew out of control in the 20th century (Ibid: 31). One of the main drives to combat the disease from the 1930s was concern over "ill-health seriously compromising the of supply of a healthy African labour force" (Ibid: 55).

"Although the Chapel Street Clinic staff were based at the central clinic, they all went out to help run the subsidiary clinics at Wynberg, Langa and Windermere during the 1940s…" (82). Various health reports in this period revealed a "stark picture of the desperate poverty and the lack of social services available for Cape Town's settled African and coloured populations...Cape Town face an unprecedented socio-economic and health crisis, which is evidenced in the increasing TB figures in the early 1940s" (83).

As Kilpatrick argues "the Chapel Street TB Clinic was therefore in operation during the second wave of the TB epidemic in Cape Town, when the total death rate for all forms of TB peaked at 3.91 per 1000 people for the year ending June 1944. However, the burden of this death rate still fell on Cape Town's settled "non-European" population who suffered a death rate of 6.9 per 1000 as compared with 0.73 for "Europeans" during that year" (84).

In 1947 the Cape Argus wrote of the dire conditions the people suffering from TB were living under in a house in District Six, deeply characterising the area in 'slum typology':

"In two back rooms…the scourge of Cape Town's slums, tuberculosis, has been taking a steady toll. During the past two years in a family of husband and wife and 10 children, the husband and six children have died of tuberculosis. Two of the remaining children are now lying in one room in the last stages of the disease. There is no hospital provision for them so they must die there, after they have

spread the infection through the house. In another room a girl dying of tuberculosis had two babies in bed with her. Her mother had to leave them with her while she went out to work. At night in that and the adjoining room 15 people sleep" (88).

Kilpatrick continues, despite extensive public campaigns and education on TB in the newspapers and government the politics of race revealed where real action was missing: "Although it became clear that black people had suffered the brunt of the wartime TB increase, the TB sessions held twice a month in Langa were closed in February 1948, showing a lack of commitment to the health needs of the African population"(91).

In the same year, however a Mass Radiography apparatus was installed in the Chapel Street TB Clinic which "revolutionised the case finding efforts" of this clinic as x-rays had the ability to show early stages of TB for unknown or unsuspected cases (95). The targeted audience was squarely focused on factory labourers with advertisements on media platforms on the speed and efficiency of the process and that workers could attend an 8:30am slot so as not to disrupt the working day. As Kilpatrick notes "the mass screening of employees, however, took on darker dimensions in the 1950s, with the use of TB screening as a measure to turn migrant labourers away from the city…" (97).

The National party victory in 1948 meant that a "curative solution to the TB epidemic that conveniently dovetailed with their policy of separate development and the migrant labour system" (98). Kilpatrick continues that "the policy of repatriating sick African workers from Cape Town to 'homeland' areas, particularly the Transkei, became farm more common from the 1950s onwards…the mass removal of Africans from urban and rural areas to the newly created 'homelands' as the 'great disappearing act" of TB, which removed many TB cases from the official South African statistical register and beyond the purview of white society" (101).

As was noted by Hermans et al (2016): "It was a free service offered to all Capetonians. Employers, trade unions and industrial councils were actively contacted to solicit the attendance of their employees. The screening took place during working hours, appointments were organised for groups of 60 workers at a time, and transport was offered to and from their place of work. Children were not routinely screened. Those with abnormalities on MMR were recalled for evaluation including sputum smear microscopy, tuberculin skin testing (TST) and a large-film chest radiograph. If the person was diagnosed with TB, they would be referred for treatment to their nearest TB clinic. Streptomycin monotherapy became available in 1948 and combination chemotherapy in 1953…A second MMR facility was installed in Langa township in 1967 for the pre-employment screening of newly arriving workers from the rural areas. The facility was burnt down in the civil unrest of 1976, after which it was never fully restored. It was taken out of use in 1986." (Hermans et al 2016)

The 1950s and 60s saw the expansion of TB branches into Athlone, Nyanga, Langa, Wynberg and Windemere. Unfortunately this expansion did not deal with the root cause of the TB problem which only increased during the 1950s : "the inadequate subsistence grants that were provided for TB patients and their dependants so that the TB drugs would not be wated reveals the government, and the Cape Town municipality's reluctance to address the serious root causes of black ill health during this period…Municipal TB clinics were established in the new housing areas and this would eventually, in the next decade, remove the focus from the central Chapel Street TB Clinic to its satellite clinics" (112).

"By the mid-1950s, despite the optimistic belief that TB could be cured with the new anti-TB drugs, the poverty of black TB sufferers made this impossible"(131)… After the mid-1960s the diagnostic yield at the Chapel Street clinic rapidly decreased, coincidental with a large population movement from the central city. Forced removals of the population of the nearby poor residential area of District Six started on 11 February 1966, resulting in approximately 60 000 relocations by 1982…The increasing rates in the early 1980s are unlikely to have been due to the HIV epidemic, which began much later in Cape Town than in developed countries and matured in the mid- to late 1990s." (Hermans, Andrews, Bekker and Wood 2016).

Most of District Six was both forcibly removed and destroyed in built form during this period. And yet this section of Chapel Street remained almost intact, with factories, schools and businesses surrounding it. A renovated Chapel Street Clinic was opened on 11 July 2014. (https://journals.co.za/doi/abs/10.10520/EJC159622).

TRAFALGAR PARK

The biggest 'green' area in District Six was Trafalgar Park. As has been seen from many of the memories of Chapel Street, the street was a processional space for music, bands, weddings, walks to school that very often led towards Trafalgar Park as culmination. Organised games and informal games could often not be held at schools in the area due to limited building size. Sadick Wallace noted that "every Monday rain or shine went for swimming lessons from Std 3 to Std 5 from St. Marks Primary School" (Facebook).

Children could go to Trafalgar Park on their break and play until the bell went. Memories of visiting the park in spring time, rolling in the grass wet with dew, making their uniforms wet (Nasson 1990: 55).

Many sporting activities were also held at the park. Ms Daniels remembers it as a very active area with the tennis courts, swimming pool, and open space to play soccer (Jeppie and Soudien 1990:24)

Many remember the old bandstand where children and families would watch bands play on Sunday afternoons. Van Hunks shared that he "loved the Salvation Army band, the SA Navy and Army bands. We lived not far in Francis Str and rushed after Sunday lunch to the park". Similarly Abieda Samsodien remembered: "We stayed next to the park in Sir Lowry Rd. We grew up in that park, It's like I can see the bands with their brass equipment all so shining you can see your face in it, what amazing memories" (Facebook).

Above: Photograph of 'Trafalgar Baths' and Swimming Pool in Jeppie and Soudien 1990: 24)

Right: Photograph shared by Michael Herman of Trafalgar pool, circa 1946. The men were the Phys Ed class of Wesley Teachers College (Facebook).

RESISTENCE & DEVELOPMENT

This is undeniably a site of grand apartheid, where a freeway overpass is the line chosen between who is allowed to stay and who has to go, between what remains and what is destroyed. It is also a site of resistance by the community throughout the 20th and 21st century through the politicisation evident in the development of educational institutions along Chapel Street and how teachers on the ground level fought the system. With the establishment of 'Hands Off District Six' protest and various civic associations, the fact that the land has remained empty to development is due to this very resistance as well as the return of the land itself to ex-residents.

"The first demolitions began in 1968, only buildings left standing were a few places of worship. In 1970 District six was renamed Zonnebloem. In 1979 the Cape Technikon, a White technical university, was constructed, and that same year a group of people consisting of religious groups and community figures established a community group calling themselves the 'Friends of District Six'. The dominant view of Zonnebloem as 'tainted' land ensured the failure of the Cape Town Municipality to re-develop a large part of the land. In 1987 the 'Hands off District Six (HODS)' alliance was established, aimed at preventing the redevelopment of District Six. In a historic 1988 HODS conference held at at Zonnebloem College, a call was made for the establishment of a memory project or museum to honour the memory of District Six. This call was realised in 1989 through the creation of the District Six Museum Foundation" (African History Online).

It is also perhaps no coincidence that it is along the demolished section of Chapel Street, right next to the Zeenatul Islam Mosque that the first land claim housing development was established and developed. The occupants of these first 24 houses were the first claimants to be moved back to District Six after being forcibly removed by the Apartheid regime (https://www.lucienlegrangearchitects.com/district-six-pilot-project).

Above: The District Six land claims court case between the D6WC and the South African Government, at the Western High Court on 26 November 2018. Twitter.
Below: Chapel Street Development Lucien La Grange

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The Section of the old Chapel Street that was destroyed to be remembered in name and situated in the landscape

The Apartheid state arbitrarily chose what area of District Six was declared Coloured or White by using a freeway overpass, and effectively separated family members who were anchored or connected across an entire district for which a freeway did not separate. The section of Chapel Street that is now Matveld should be remembered or memorialised as being part of the original Chapel Street that ended in Tennant Street.

- Visually represent or incorporation historical photographs or graphic design of the former streetscapes within the new streets i.e. especially in relation to sections of Chapel Street that was destroyed.

- Memorialisation of Chapel Street should run across the entire area, not just the section that 'remained'. Storytelling to be integrated into old and new street sections.

2. Tell the story of the establishment of the Zeenatul Islam Mosque and its immigrant community that established it in the streets

The Zeenatul Islam Mosque was a key religious and cultural site for the eastern section of Chapel Street. The stories of its establishment and founding by an Indian immigrant community and how the Mosque was connected to the social life of the entire area surrounding it is a key foundation stone to District Six and its identity in the past and present.

3. Signage for the religious and schooling institutions and some of the names of key teachers and students

Chapel Street continues to house many schooling and religious institutions, especially in the Western side of the freeway.

- The inclusion of pausing moments for children and elderly to learn/play/discover along the pedestrian route through landscaping and memorialisation
- A commemorative route that highlights achievements of these educational facilities in terms of politicisation and resistance.

The history of these key schooling and religious institutions should be embedded within this public space using innovative use of pavements, signage, memory markers, public art interventions and landscaping that is community led.

4. Use Chapel Street as connector to tell the stories of the sites that lay beyond and behind it

It is a particular form of apartheid ideology to determine the fate of a community by one barrier such a street or freeway that divides a community. Chapel Street's identity was as a site of connection between where people lived, prayed, went to school, and played. Other sides identified in this chain of connection should also be included in Chapel Street to demonstrate how this street functioned.

5. Honour the stories of Muir Street Primary School and the Liberman Institute at the top of Chapel Street, pull up its processional history and memorialisation from Trafalgar all the way to new Hanover Street.

While Muir Street Primary and the Liberman Institute were never along Chapel Street, they are part of its network of connection, and they sit right at the intersection of what is new Chapel and New Hanover Street. The entire Chapel Street from Trafalgar Park to New Hanover as a processional space to tell the story of places and people along the way. Music and the 'sonic senses' to be given careful consideration since so many bands walked the route of Chapel Street.

6. Re-connecting streets to remaining religious institutions and their memory

One of the most damaging, yet insidious effects of the destruction of the residential streets and buildings of District Six was the loss of connection that occurred to how streets and buildings were connected and characterised by each other. Religious institutions such as the Zeenatul Islam Mosque and crucially the African Methodist Church which was destroyed are no longer associated with the streets they used to be part of. It is crucial that their built form and memory be re-integrated not just around the building itself, but back into the associated terrain and streets that they used to be part of.

This can be done within the context of Chapel Street to help connect stories of the religious centres and leaders through signage boards, street paving, tree dedication/storytelling or artistic installation in line with community direction and engagement.

7. Partner with communities to honour the names of important individuals along Chapel Street ie. Harold Cressy, Josaval, Lydia Williams…etc.

Honouring and celebrating the achievements of local legends who were connected to Chapel Street and its various sites is one of the ways to bring remembrance of its individuals back into the space. Schools, religious centres and homes were all connected to the people who lived there.

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