STELLENBOSCH RURAL SURVEY & INVENTORY

PHASE 2a

PALAEONTOLOGY & ARCHAEOLOGY FRAMEWORK



La Cotte, Franschhoek, 2007.

Antonia Malan January 2017 A.Malan: Palaeontology & Archaeology Framework Phase2a (ver 24 January 2017)

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1. INTRODUCTION

This phase of the project aims to construct historic period maps that reflect major changes in the cultural landscapes; these period maps typically correlate to changes in land ownership or major physical changes to the landscapes. For each period, it is critical to identify specific structures or landscape features that were *constructed or removed*. Identifying the significant characteristics and features in a landscape and understanding them in relation to each other and to significant historic events, trends, and persons allows us to read the landscape as a cultural resource (CWPPA 2016).

This specialist study provides a statement of the Archaeological and Paleontological significance, as well as much about the historical development of the study area. Specific information towards populating the Inventory Report is sourced.

Historical research material includes:

- archival maps and survey compilations;
- archival photographs;
- completed and existing heritage surveys;
- secondary (published) sources;
- consultation of resource material and local museums; and
- consultation with local heritage bodies.

1.1 ISSUES OF MAPPING AND GRADING FOR ARCHAEOLOGY

The ephemeral nature of the early archaeological remains does not often allow for precise mapping or identification as discrete (let alone gradable) sites. All that can be done in these cases is to find and list the available reports and observations for ESA, MSA and LSA artefacts and place a dot on the map or within a polygon of the cadastral boundary of the property.

Compiling the evidence is not straightforward. The advent of SAHRIS has been a great advance in this regard, but it is still not comprehensive. It was based on the long-standing archaeological management system linked to the standardised archaeology permitting and reporting process. It is only since c.2000 that the built environment has been regulated in a similar manner. Furthermore, HWC (the provincial authority) is still in the process of setting up an equivalent accessible data information system (HIMS).

Archaeologists, moreover, have always been reluctant to map sites and site distributions as experience has shown that where no research has been carried out it appears to developers, planners and the local authorities that there are no archaeological sites in the blank areas. Thus the maps only show *known* sites, but not the *unknown* sites. This is a result of the nature of archaeological residues, which are below the surface or obscured by overbuilding and vegetation.

Archaeological and Palaeontological sites are most often buried or, at least, it is not known what material may be found below the surface. The assessment of the significance of such sites is dependent upon the ability of a practitioner to recognise and interpret the surface clues but grading may often remain tentative until such time as excavation, collection, analysis and/or dating can be completed.

Assigning significance to archaeological sites requires close consultation with the APM Committee at HWC. For example, in the Stellenbosch Municipal area MSA and LSA artefacts do not strictly constitute *sites* and yet their occurrence as scatters is relatively rare and therefore significant. The

more research that is conducted on a site, the more likely it becomes that higher significance will be assigned to the site. Furthermore, archaeological and palaeontological residues represent only a fraction of the evidence that was once available. So much is lost over time that rarity becomes a significant criterion in grading. Small and insignificant sites may carry high scientific and cultural significance. Sites graded as having Medium/Low 'Local' Significance may contribute immensely to our understanding even beyond the local level.

HWC. 2016. Guide to Grading of Archaeological and Palaeontological Resources. Heritage Western Cape.

Grading I	Description of Resource Heritage resources with qualities so exceptional that they are of special national significance. Current examples: Langebaanweg (West Coast Fossil Park), Cradle of Humankind	Examples of Possible Management Strategies May be declared as a National Heritage Site managed by SAHRA. Specific mitigation and scientific investigation can be permitted in certain circumstances with sufficient motivation.	Heritage Significance Highest Significance
II	Heritage resources with special qualities which make them significant, but do not fulfil the criteria for Grade I status. Current examples: Blombos, Paternoster Midden.	May be declared as a Provincial Heritage Site managed by HWC. Specific mitigation and scientific investigation can be permitted in certain circumstances with sufficient motivation.	Exceptionally High Significance
111		Heritage resources that contribute to the environmental quality or cultural significance of a larger area and fulfils one of the criteria set out in section 3(3) of the Act but that does not fulfil the criteria for Grade II status. Grade III sites may be formally protected by placement on the Heritage Register.	
IIIA	Such a resource must be an excellent example of its kind or must be sufficiently rare. Current examples: Varschedrift; Peers Cave; Brobartia Road Midden at Bettys Bay	Resource must be retained. Specific mitigation and scientific investigation can be permitted in certain circumstances with sufficient motivation.	High Significance
IIIB	Such a resource might have similar significances to those of a Grade III A resource, but to a lesser degree.	Resource must be retained where possible where not possible it must be fully investigated and/or mitigated.	Medium Significance
IIIC	Such a resource is of contributing significance.	Resource must be satisfactorily studied before impact. If the recording already	Low Significance

1.2 GRADED SITES WITH SIGNIFICANT ARCHAEOLOGY-RELATED HERITAGE REPORTS

The NHRA (1999) resulted in increasing numbers of archaeological investigations into building fabric and general archaeological surveys. While this produced pockets of new knowledge, the surviving stock of material remains has shrunk. From the archaeological point of view, moreover, the assessment system has generated a disjuncture between the academic and commercial sectors. Scores of heritage impact assessments of development proposals are written and filed away (referred to as 'grey literature'), but the eventual outcomes are seldom recorded and the records are seldom analysed as a body of information.

See also HWC Minimum Standards policy for Archaeology and Palaeontology Reports.

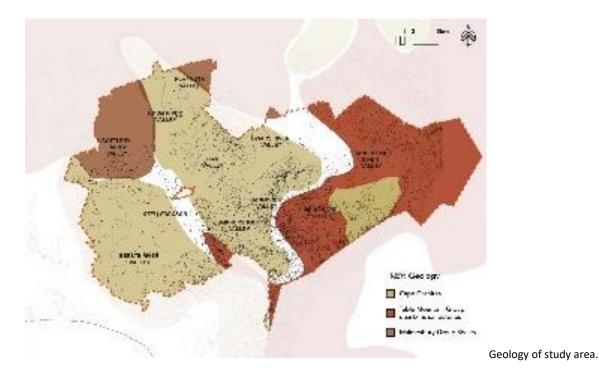
2. PALAEONTOLOGY

In the NHRA, palaeontology is defined as "any fossilised remains or fossil trace of animals or plants which lived in the geological past, other than fossil fuels or fossiliferous rock intended for industrial use, and any site which contains such fossilised remains or trace" (HWC 2016).

Cape fossils range from microscopic pollens and spores, leaves and petrified wood, trace fossils preserving the behaviour of extinct animals (e.g. trackways, burrows) and the shells of invertebrates to the isolated teeth and bones, or even intact skeletons of vertebrates such as fish, reptiles and mammals. Fossils have a heritage significance beyond their conventional scientific importance. They are part of the physical strata forming the landscape and inform the appreciation of its space-time depth and its biota, living and extinct. Important fossil collections from the Western Cape include those at the Geology Department of Stellenbosch University.

Mining (e.g. for road and building materials) and other development (e.g. road construction) may adversely affect fossil heritage, but these activities have often played a positive role in providing access to fresh fossiliferous bedrock. There is widespread confusion concerning the contrasting nature, distribution and vulnerability of palaeontological *versus* archaeological heritage resources in the minds of the general public, developers and conservation managers alike. Many proposed developments involving excavation into bedrock represent welcome research opportunities for palaeontologists, *provided* that they are given the chance to study and collect fossils *in situ* while fresh sediments are still exposed. Many opportunities for constructive collaboration between palaeontologists and road-builders, miners and developers in the province are currently being lost.

Cape granites, Table Mountain sandstones and Malmesbury shales in the Stellenbosch area have not produced fossils (Almond & Pether 2008). There is therefore a low possibility of finds.



See HWC Fossil Finds Policy.

3. ARCHAEOLOGY

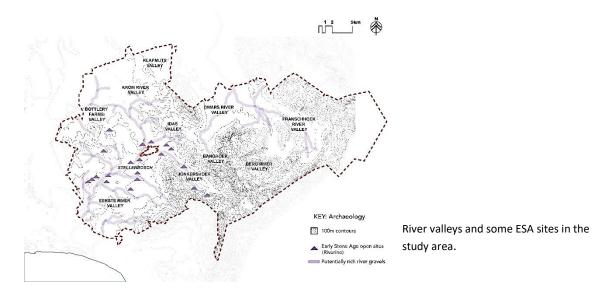
In the NHRA, archaeology is defined as "material remains resulting from human activity which are in a state of disuse and are in or on land and which are older than 100 years, including artefacts, human and hominid remains and artificial features and structures", as well as rock art.

Archaeology, as traditionally practiced in the Western Cape, broadly comprised prehistoric archaeology of stone-age sites (hunter-gatherers and early herders), contact archaeology (remnant hunter-gatherers and later herders) and historical archaeology (settlement and colonization to present). Today it is recognized that there is no real break between the sub-disciplines as the subjects of study include sites of contact / conflict between hunter-gatherers and pastoralists, sites of contact / conflict between indigenes and colonists (and their slaves and servants), sites of early interaction (cultural exchange / entanglement) during colonial settlement and subsequent displacement of indigenes, sites of permanent settlement (villages and farms), sites of segregation (refugia and missions) and industrial sites. Industrial archaeology focuses on the development of technology (road, rail, power, water, and machines of extraction, processing and manufacturing) and industrial labour practices (compounds and townships).

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

Burial sites occur within the LSA and historical archaeology periods. The Genealogical Society of SA has recorded many Judao-Christian formal cemeteries and family burial grounds but has *not* included Muslim cemeteries, nor informal farm burials or accidental discoveries during development or survey work. These sites have to be sourced and mapped from available reports. Burials must be graded in terms of the provisions of section 36 of the NHRA. The management of burial grounds and graves can be delegated to both provincial and local authorities in terms of section 36 of the NHRA.

As well as burial grounds for members of the property-owners' family (usually but not always fenced or walled and sometimes but not always containing grave markers), most farmers allocated a place for farm workers to bury their dead. These are seldom marked at all but may be known or have significance in oral histories. Kaplan (2006) noted that an informal farm labourer cemetery comprising at least 80 burials was situated on the Farm Simonsvlei alongside the Klapmuts Road.



See HWC Guidelines on the treatment of human remains.

4. PERIODS & THEMES

Winter and Oberholzer (2014) developed themes which characterize the study area (see CWPPA 2016: 13):

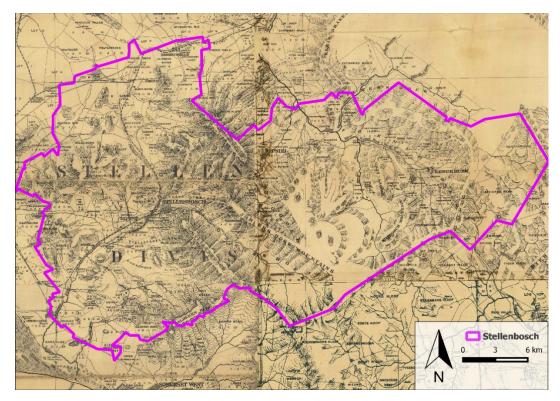
- Pre-colonial hunter-gatherer and herder occupation.
- Early contact and contestation between colonial settlers and indigenous groups, particularly along the Berg River.
- Early colonial settlement during the 17th and 18th centuries and its strong associations with Dutch and French Huguenot settlers.
- History of slavery and farm labour, particularly with regard to farms werfs and agricultural production until the mid-19th century and farm labour from this period.
- Role of water in the evolution of place and pattern of settlement along the Eerste and Berg Rivers.
- Cultivation and agricultural production spanning 300 years, particularly with regard to the history of wine and fruit farming.
- Patterns of planting in the form of windbreaks, clumps of trees around farmsteads, treelined avenues and streets.
- Significant role of food and wine processing.
- Formalisation of the Afrikaans language.
- Education and the large number of secondary and tertiary institutions in Stellenbosch.
- Recreation and tourism with numerous hiking trails and tourism routes.
- High scenic beauty comprising a wide variety of topographical conditions from mountain backdrops, to granite outcrops, to river valleys and the network of scenic routes and mountain passes.
- Religion and the large number of religious institutions reflecting a wide range of religious practices and denominations and which establish a landmark presence and the role of the church in the establishment of many of its 'kerkdorpe', and mission towns, e.g. Pniel.
- Town and village formation and evolution including their origins as either a drosty, church or mission settlement or speculative venture, distinctive historical townscapes and streetscape qualities of Franschhoek, Stellenbosch, and their relationships with their natural, agricultural and valley settings.
- Routes and transport and the role of the early wagon routes and railway system in the development of the area.
- Displacement and the significant role that Group Area removals and apartheid planning has played in the spatial fragmentation of settlement patterns.
- Struggle and contestation and the role of towns such as Paarl in political resistance movement against apartheid and, in particular, the Nelson Mandela Prison House at Drakenstein Prison which is associated with Mandela's last years of imprisonment and is a declared national heritage site.
- Distinctive regional landscape patterns which are in sharp contrast to other landscape pattern such as Swartland and Overberg.
- Regional architecture, in particular the development of the Cape farm werf and townscape tradition reflecting a layering of early vernacular, Cape Dutch, Georgian, Victorian, Cape Revival and Art Deco styles, a range of building types such as simple cottages, grand farmsteads, villas, churches, civic buildings, educational buildings and military defences, the use of architectural elements such as the front gable, verandas and loft windows, and also the use of materials such as thatch, stone and corrugated iron.
- Civic functions and administration and the role of Stellenbosch as major civic and administration centre.

See also Postlethwayt (2016).

Tracey Randle (2016) has suggested that some of these themes should be considered:

- Seasonal grazing patterns of indigenous Khoekhoen groups and itinerant San.
- Colonial exploration, trading and hunting and use of the landscape (contact with indigenous groups).
- Conflict zones between colonial and indigenous inhabitants.
- The establishment of early colonial agrarian subsistence farming and settlement (linking to how indigenous groups were denied access to resources, spaces and places).
- Early slave and 'Free Black' society as some of the first property owners in the Stellenbosch region (including early 'mixed' marriages).
- Spaces of rebellion and identity formation in an early Dutch Cape.
- The role of open grazing land used by company, colonist, indigenous inhabitants and slaves.
- The disintegration and marginalization of Khoi and San societies.
- Landscapes of labour tied to wealth: slaves and indentured Khoi.
- Landscapes of social connection, networking, capitalism, religion and politics, boom and depression.
- Early workers villages and settlements, branching out around mission station villages.
- Places of migrant labour.
- Landscapes that saw the development of capitalism and labour go hand in hand with associated racialization of relationships of production and access and ownership to space and place.
- Places and spaces of ideological and actual land reform.
- Areas which witnessed the first wine tourism develop in the country, and later heritage and cultural tourism.

The following sections attempt to pin tangible sites to these suggestions.



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

5. PRECOLONIAL PERIOD (pre 1650)

5.1 THE STONE AGES

The gravels and colluvia of the Stellenbosch area are associated with Earlier Stone Age artefacts and such artefacts are found in the plough zone of vineyards widely in the Western Cape. This has been known since the beginning of the last century. These are significant in showing the intermontane valleys were occupied in Earlier Stone Age times but the significance is on a landscape scale rather than related to individual occurrences.

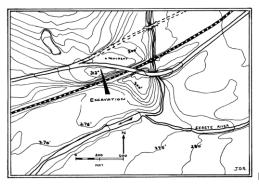
The presence of hand axes, commonly found along eroded river banks and in ploughed fields, attest to the human occupation of the Western Cape since the Early Stone Age. Stone Age artefacts, particularly pertaining to the Early Stone Age (ESA, as early as 900,000-700,000 years ago), are long known to occur in the Stellenbosch area and surrounds (Goodwin & Van Riet Lowe 1929). ESA artefacts have also been located in the Veldwagtersrivier catchment (H. Deacon cited in Kaplan 1998) and many were also found by Kaplan (1998) on the eastern side of Onder Papegaaiberg (Orton 2014).

Hunter-gatherers continued to occupy the landscape throughout the Middle Stone Age (c. 500,000 to between 50-25,000 years ago) and into the Later Stone Age (from 30,000 years ago to the start of the Colonial Period in 1652). More recent archaeological material is relatively infrequently encountered in this area but a significant Holocene Later Stone Age site was discovered on the farm Solms-Delta between Simondium and Franschhoek. This site yielded large numbers of mid-Holocene aged artefacts and a handful of younger items, including pottery, that date within the last 2000 years (Orton 2005). Hunter-gatherer groups in the area were either assimilated and/ or were displaced by groups practising a nomadic pastoralist subsistence strategy. Historical documents confirm that the Khoekhoe herders were the predominant inhabitants in the Cape at the time that the first Europeans started frequenting the Cape. The inland region was 'discovered' by Europeans while on expeditions to barter for cattle with the Khoekhoe.

According to Kaplan (2006) large parts of the Franschoek/Drakenstein/Dwars River Valley rural landscape, together with Klapmuts, Muldersvlei, Klipheuwel and Durbanville, constitutes a severely degraded pre-colonial cultural landscape, which is no longer considered to be archaeologically sensitive, vulnerable or threatened.

5.2 EARLY STONE AGE

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

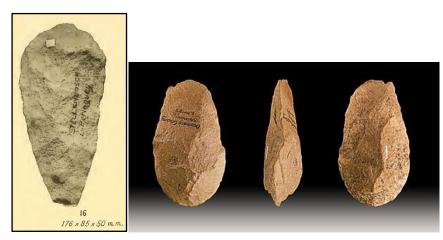


Bosman's Crossing (Seddon 1966).

It is memorialised in an archaeological reserve marked by a large sandstone boulder near the Adam Tas Bridge. The Historical Monuments Commission that declared the site in 1962 was later taken over by the National Monuments Council (Deacon 2011). It is now a Grade II Provincial Heritage site under the management of Heritage Western Cape. (*Bosmans Crossing PHS (1962; SAHRA. Archaeological Reserve, Stellenbosch. 9/2/084/0067 plaque stolen). Dgm 7036/1958.)*

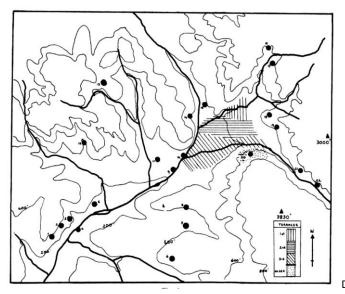
The gravels of the Eerste River, which flows through Stellenbosch and south to the border of the Helderberg Municipality, contain Early Stone Age (ESA) material which was first identified by Dr Louis Péringuey in 1899 and subsequently described by him in 1911. Péringuey was responsible for describing and illustrating particularly the bifacially flaked handaxes (known as *bouchers*), and in 1926 at the Annual General Meeting of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, it was resolved to name the industry described by Péringuey as the "Stellenbosch Culture", after the type locality. This term was later replaced by the term Acheulian after a site in France to conform to international usage.

Today the ESA is divided into the Olduwan period, which is up to 1.7 million years old. This industry is associated with the oldest and most simple human-made artefacts. This was followed by the Acheulean Tradition, a more developed stone artefact industry, characterised by the presence of specific types of stone tools such as handaxes, choppers and cleavers. Subsequent research by archaeologists has confirmed Péringuey's observation that the Acheulian industrial complex which occurs in the vicinity of Stellenbosch, and forms an important component of the ESA, dates to between about 1.5 million and 500,000 years ago. Handaxes and cleavers, the most characteristic large cutting tools of the ESA, are found in many vineyards in the valleys of the Eerste, Berg and Breede Rivers in the south-western Cape (Webley 2016). Almost all Acheulian assemblages in southern Africa come from disturbed open-air contexts, such as those along the river banks of the Eerste Rivier. Kaplan noted tools scattered in fields and beside roads in the area in 2015 (i.e. Distillery, Adam Tas and Vredenburg roads).



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

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



Distribution of known ESA sites (Seddon 1967).

Goodwin and Van Riet Lowe (1929) reported that Early Stone Age implements were found in a deep erosion gulley from Pontac Hill, Pomona estate, on the lower slopes of the Simonsberg in the Drakenstein Valley. Kaplan (1998) comments that Acheulian artefacts have been recorded and mapped in the Veldwagtersrivier catchment, and on the slopes of the Papegaaiberg. Kaplan (1998) found large numbers of Acheulian artefacts on the farm Krommerivier 175. The range of artefacts included large cleavers, choppers, cores, flakes and cobbles with a few handaxes. The artefacts were mainly made of sandstone, with a few of quartzite and darker ironstone. Vos (1999) collected several ESA artefacts from the vineyards of Spier before the craft village was established: cleavers, borers, pointed hand axes, cores and flakes.

In Franschhoek, Kaplan (1999 and 2000) noted some ESA artefacts in ploughed fields at La Cotte, in orchards at Mooiwater (Beaucoup de l'Eau) and in orchards at Domaine de la Cabriere, but they were of low archaeological significance.

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

5.3 MIDDLE STONE AGE

The Middle Stone Age in Southern Africa (250 000- 21 000 years ago) is dominated by flake based formal tools rather than the core based formal tools of the Acheulean. In general, many larger flakes, particularly from the earlier parts of the MSA, could easily be confused with ESA artefacts, while later, and particularly during the Howieson's Poort phase of the MSA when smaller flakes were more commonly made, some overlap in flake size occurs with the LSA. For these reasons, it is often not

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

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



MSA artefacts from Stellenbosch.

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

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

5.4 LATE STONE AGE

The people occupying the Western Cape before 2000 years ago were all hunter-gatherers but after this time large scale organisational and subsistence changes began occurring with the gradual introduction of pottery and sheep to the local economy. Due to the seemingly low visibility of herder sites, these changes are not yet fully understood. Presently it is considered likely that sheep were introduced through diffusion and trade rather than by a migrating people as was often thought in the past, and that pottery was present slightly earlier than sheep (Orton 2005).

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

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

has some rain in summer, so there is year-round pasture available. By using coastal resources between October and January they left interior pastures to regenerate until winter.

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

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

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

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

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

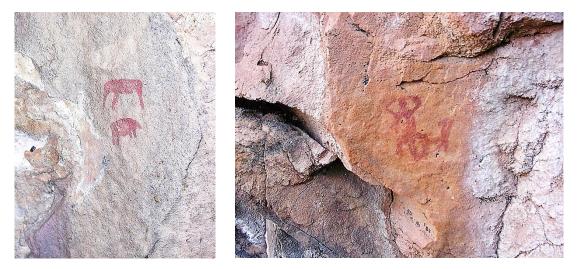
There are only a handful of archaeologically significant LSA sites in the study area, though the full extent of reported occurrences is still to be ascertained and assessed. Over the extensive tracts of arable land, the sites have long since been destroyed through centuries of farming. In more recent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



Archaeological remains dating to the Later Stone Age and Contact periods were discovered on Solms-Delta Farm, and were the focus of an archaeological excavation carried out by the Archaeological Contracts Office (now ACO Associates). This is evidence that hunter-gatherers used this open site some 6 000 years before the farm was granted to the settlers. The site yielded large numbers of mid-Holocene aged artefacts and a handful of younger items, including pottery, that date within the last 2000 years (Orton 2005; Orton et al 2005). Trenches on the werf exposed a dense scatter of LSA microlithic stone tools together with the waste material from knapping them. The area of high artefact concentration lies between the manor house and the old wine cellar on the highest point of the berm immediately above the wide river terrace (at 33° 51' 49.2" S 18° 59' 24.1" E). The few sherds of prehistoric pottery that have been found at Delta indicate that people did camp there during the last 2000 years but it is impossible to determine when exactly this might have been.

5.4.1 Rock Art

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

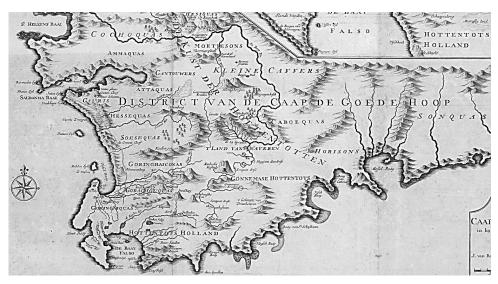


Rock paintings in the Wemmershoek area. Images courtesy of T. Randle.

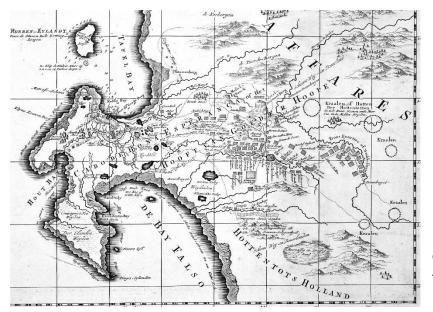
6. HISTORICAL THEMES & COMPONENTS

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

The Drakenstein region was 'discovered' by Europeans while on expeditions to barter for cattle with the Khoekhoen. San hunter-gatherer resources had been impacted by the introduction of domestic livestock about 2000 years previously and San groups had mostly moved away from areas suitable for pasturing herds of sheep and cattle. The Berg River Valley formed the traditional border between the Peninsular Khoekhoen (the Gorachoqua and the Goringhaiqua) and the Cochoqua. The Peninsulars used the pastures between the Hottentots Holland Mountains and the Cape Peninsula and possibly as far north as Malmesbury. The Chariguriqua appear to have occupied the lower Berg River and points around the Piketberg and the Cochoqua the land from Saldanha Bay and the Vredenburg Peninsula across to Porterville. In the 1730s both the Khoekhoen and the San intensified guerrilla attacks against settler farmers in the Piketberg area, on the northern frontier of permanent land grants. The Caledon plains were occupied by the Chainoqua, a large and powerful group who later brought stock to trade with the colony.



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



Cape Colony c.1700 (UCT Digital Archive).

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

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

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

In 1701, the total immigrant population in the Cape Colony – free persons (inclusive of free-blacks), *knechten* (hired European workers), and slaves - was 2225 people. Estimates for 1717 put the population at 744 officials, about 2000 free burghers and over 2700 slaves. By the time that the smallpox epidemic hit the Cape herders in 1713 they were already in serious decline, robbed of the best pastures and involved in a series of internal conflicts and wars. From then on the groups broke up and the remnant people drifted to the mission stations or into the employ of the settlers as stockmen.While the local Khoekhoen had entrenched knowledge of the local climate and geography (which made them valuable farmhands), they could not be enslaved and could as a last resort move away.

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

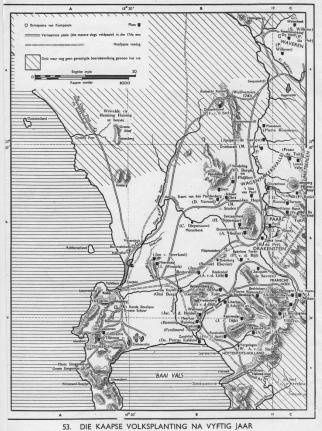
In summary, for the settlers the fifty-year period before 1700 was a time of learning how to live on the land and to construct buildings with whatever means were available. The VOC supplied them with tools, muskets, powder and ammunition, provisions for a few months, wood to build shelters and a team of oxen to break the soil. They were able to exploit the game and timber from the forests

and vleis, but the poor soils forced them into working long backbreaking hours to increase the productivity of a fixed quantity of land. A demand for labour was created and this was met by the VOC's importation of slaves. Slaves were the central component of the 18th century colonial economy.

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

6.1.1 Early routes and passes

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



Die Kaapse volksplanting na vyftig jaar (Boeseken 1948).

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

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

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

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

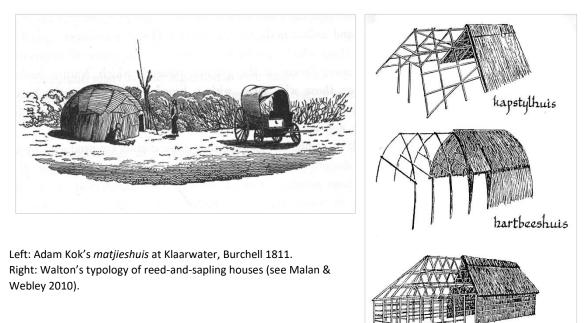


Rough sketch of the Division of Stellenbosch shewing the locality of the Residences of the respective Field Cornets, Established Post Offices, etc. etc.' (CA M1/618.)

6.1.2 Impermanent, semi-permanent and permanent vernacular architectural developments

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

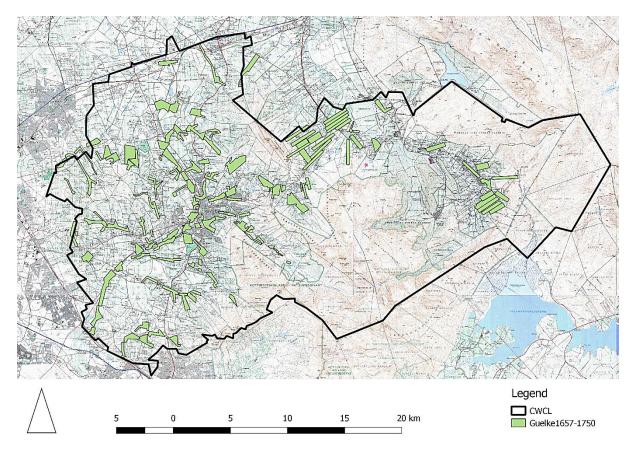
Early reports, drawings and paintings show that the Khoekhoen built traditional *matjieshuise* on the free-burgher farms, where they could live in family groups. Other types of reed-walled buildings were constructed on farms throughout the 18th century. For the earliest types of colonial buildings, we can draw analogies with research in other areas such as the semi-arid west coast, even if they are less richly endowed and less developed than the Stellenbosch district. There, impermanent architecture was widespread (Malan & Webley 2010). Early explorers, pastoralists and fishermen adopted the *matjieshuis* system of the Khoekhoen. Woven mats were attached to a framework of saplings and could be dismantled and loaded onto riding oxen or wagons when a move to new pastures was necessary. In time, oval and square mat houses were constructed by settlers in Namaqualand and elsewhere. Wattle-and-daub and reed-walled structures with thatched hipped roofs, and *kapstylhuise*, were still being built in the Sandveld and Clanwilliam districts in the 1980s and a few can still be found in remote areas. The cultural importation of solid and static building structures introduced a new technology of shelter, based on a European paradigm of permanent settlement (Graaff 2008).



6.1.3 Early freehold land grants

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

rietmuurhuis

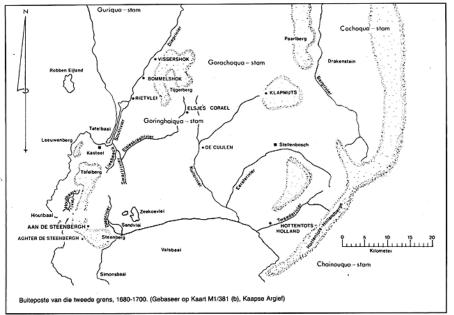


Detail from Guelke's map (1987) of early freehold land grants at the Cape superimposed on current topocadastral map. Further details, see *Bewaarders* and *Erfgrond* booklets. See also French farms in *Ons Drakensteinse Erfgrond*.

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

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

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



Buiteposte (Sleigh 1993: 145).

6.1.4 Buiteposte

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

The only Company *buitepost* in the study area was Klapmuts (Clapmuts), established in 1657 on the grazing grounds of the Koina (see Sleigh's comments in Brommer 2009). The Khoekhoen were forced off the Bottelary pastures from 1676 and by 1683 permanent structures and kraals had been built. The post was located on the southern flank of the Klapmuts hill at a strategic location to oversee the grain and grazing lands in the area and to monitor the route between Table Bay and the Drakenstein / Paarl. A sheep kraal for 2000 animals was constructed, and a long granary building.

6.1.5 Elite properties

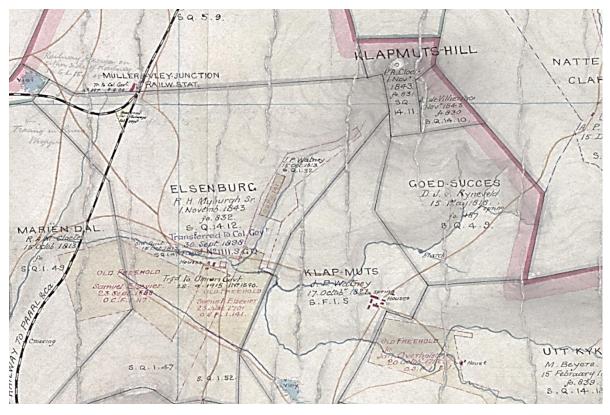
There seems to be a pattern of privatisation of well-positioned Company outposts, where the land adjacent was granted to members of the governing (i.e. van der Stel) clique. Elsevier, Simon van der Stel's Secunde, received 110 morgen in 1698 next to the Klapmuts post, where he established Elsenburg.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

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

Freehold Pro. 22ed Nitky FE 8

DO Survey diagram 104/1821 Clapmuts Farm 39.

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



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

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

Tas's property, Libertas is another well-situated farm, where the road crosses the Eerste River to and from Stellenbosch. By 1700 Willem Adriaan van der Stel owned Vergelegen, and his brother Francois owned Paardevallei and Paarelvallei just to the west. Vergelegen was established on 400 morgen near the Company outpost that commanded the route to Hottentots Holland and access to grazing and the Khoekhoen groups with their livestock in the Overberg. Numerous private cattle posts belonged to W.A. van der Stel. Thus Husing may also have felt strategically out-manoeuvred by the Van der Stel brothers.

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

6.1.6 Free-black property owners

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

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



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

6.1.7 Early buildings

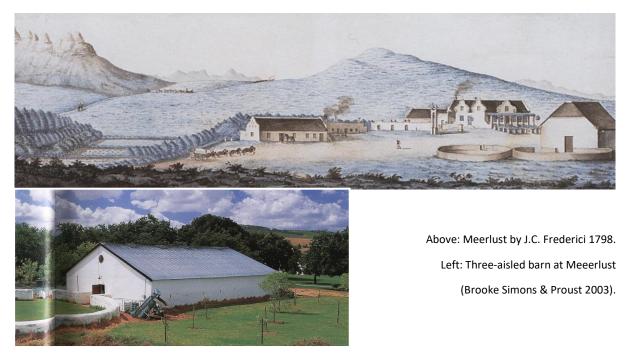
Archaeological research (Markell 1993) and architectural history (Fitchett 1996) at Vergelegen has demonstrated that some of the earliest buildings were designed on European principles though

partly adapted to the restraints of available building materials and skills. The original main dwelling house has not been archaeologically excavated, but foundations of three of the outbuildings showed evidence of three-aisled barns: slave lodge, stable / mill and wine cellar. In Europe, this type of building often included a dwelling portion with interior floor hearth (*loshuis, hallehuis*). This style did not last into the later (post-1740) Cape Dutch period and these findings are extremely significant.



The slave lodge at Vergelegen (Peter Laponder).

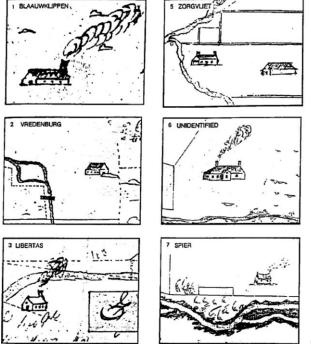
A few years after Markell's discovery, Vos (1995) studied the large barn at Meerlust in detail and demonstrated that it was also built on the same format as the outbuildings at Vergelegen. It was a three-aisled structure, originally functioning as granary. There was a large walled threshing floor at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



Apart from these examples of elite structures, we can derive some understanding about the more modest early buildings of the district from Van Stade's drawings (1710), Mulder's survey diagrams, James Walton's research, and archaeological investigations into surviving fabric in the Stellenbosch district, predominantly by Hennie Vos. The other source is household inventories (Malan 1993). For instance, the room-by-room inventories show that early houses were varied in layout, were seldom symmetrical, and that *afdakke* were integral to the main house with an inter-leading door, and not lean-tos added afterwards (and see diagrams below).

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





Drakenstein: E. van Stade, 1710.

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



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

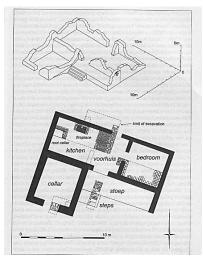
Excavations at Solms-Delta exposed the foundations and some floors of a building that may have been built in the 1690s. In 2005 archaeologists uncovered the ruins of what is believed to be the original farm dwelling. The excavations exposed a U-shaped structure built in three phases. The first phase was a simple dwelling consisting of a kitchen and living area, most likely built by the farm's first owners, Hans Silverbag and Callus Louw, who were two German hunters.

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

6.1.7.1 The silver mine

The old VOC silver mine complex on the Simonsberg above Pneil is considered an extremely important industrial site, as it provides evidence for possibly the earliest (c. 1748) European mining operation in South Africa (Lucas 2004). The mining project, albeit a relatively short-lived scam, left a substantial imprint on the landscape. This took the form of several shafts and a plethora of buildings, roads and possibly a mill. The archaeological footprints of a number of these have survived, while other may still lie hidden in the dense thickets of the Simonsberg. The ruins and shafts are very well known to the Pniel community who visit regularly and identify closely with the sites as local heritage.

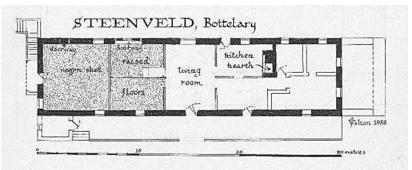
One of the dwellings was almost certainly built by Martin Melck, who was a contractor to the project. It is a three-roomed structure with a projecting store room or cellar.



Muller's house, Silvermine (Lucas 2004).

6.1.7.2 The multipurpose longhouse

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



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

6.1.8 Symmetry, the Cape gable and an orderly werf

Once it became desirable, the unique structure and form of the Cape farmhouse complex developed quickly (the concave convex gable proliferated in just 40 years). Classical principles were employed in the location, planting, layout, form and decoration of the settlements, such as order, hierarchy, symmetry and axiality (Berman 2004). Some dwelling houses were built anew on the werf and others were created out of an older longhouse (such as La Cotte (Malan & van Graan 2004)). See Cape Dutch style below.

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



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

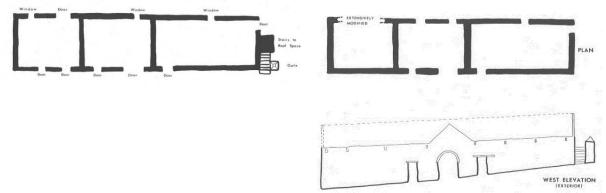
An intimate knowledge of gable styles and motifs has allowed architectural historians to identify certain builders or craftsmen or property-owning families being associated with groups of buildings. For instance, Jacob Roux is believed to have used a late-flowering holbol style in c.1790 at Hazendal,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

Farm werfs were carefully designed, for instance with the homestead at the head of a forecourt, often splayed in layout to appear more impressive to the approaching visitor. There was a tendency towards werf enclosure, in which buildings are linked by stretches of werf walls, a space-organising device denoting the extent of 'home' in the open landscape (Fransen 2004: 21).

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

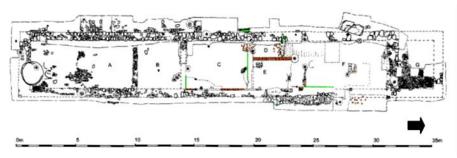
6.2 COLONIAL EXPANSION PERIOD (18th century to early 19th century)

A period of great agricultural prosperity and expansion, especially in the wine industry (Smuts 2012). It was during this period that most of the larger, grander historical farm werfs were established, either newly built or altered/rebuilt to reflect the status and prosperity of the land owners. Slave quarters and wine cellars and mills were built. Old longhouses, stables and barns were adapted and reused, and sometimes made symmetrical and given a central gable. Archaeologically excavated examples include Morgenhof (Hall et al 1988) and Goede Hoop (Lucas 2004). Grazing land and pastures remained on the slopes in mountainous areas while agriculture and vineyards expanded along the better watered valley floors. (Slave bells are often associated with this period, though many were only erected well into the 20th century during the Cape Revival era, in a tasteless spirit of nostalgia. See below.)



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

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



(Patrick & Clift 2006)

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

Ida's Valley, which had three farmsteads by 1682, is another example of the patterns and processes of colonial adaptation and development that formed the 20th century Cape Winelands landscape. Ida's Valley, Rustenburg and Schoongezicht are justifiably celebrated as superb examples of their type and period. Dwellings and farmsteads of the 19th and 20th centuries (Schoongezicht cottage, Glenbawn, Glenelly, Kelsey, and the cluster of smallholdings known as the 'Wedges') reflect ongoing changes in agricultural practice. There are very few extant vernacular workers' houses in the valley as workers on the biggest farms were rehoused in modern, serviced villages at the height of the apartheid era to avoid possible criticism by overseas importers (Pistorius & Todeschini 2005).

6.2.1 Networks: family, land and primary resources

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

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

through into the late 18th century through the marriage of her grand-daughter, Anna Hasselaar, to Christoffel Groenewald.

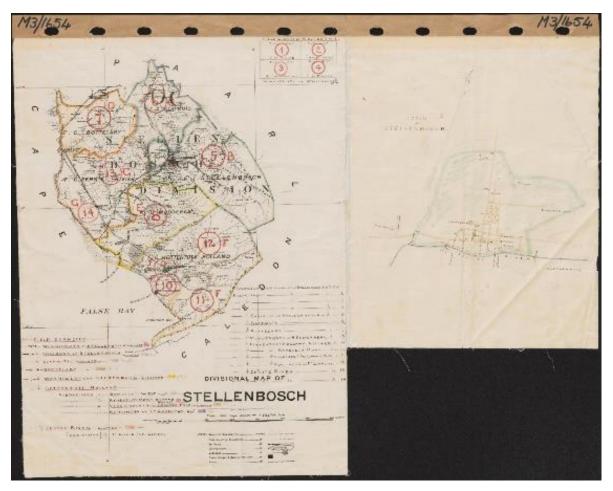
The parallel economic network is control of a range of resources: productive agricultural land, pastures on mountain slopes, *veeposte*, *visposte*, etc. Intensive agriculture, as practiced in Europe, was not possible. Colonial farmers learned from the people who they displaced from the land. For instance, KhoeSan in the Western Cape (and that included people in the Cederberg) visited the coast in order to collect high protein fish and shellfish at certain times of the year (so-called 'seasonal migration'). Cape farmers also needed *visposte*. Preserved fish (dried or pickled) was the staple protein for slaves and any surplus could be sold. But instead of moving round the landscape themselves, the settlers occupied or purchased properties for each purpose. The nearest coast to Stellenbosch is False Bay, and here the Helderberg farmers such as the Van der Stels, Morkels and Theunissens had *visposte* (Rhoda 2006). Adam Tas also sent his men to fish there from Libertas (Fouché 1914: 35). Other farmers established fishing posts around Saldanha Bay, where their cattle were also taken to seasonal *veeposte*.

There is a particularly large water body that is clearly marked just to the east of Eerste River on the early 18th century sequence of historical maps of the area (see page 13). *Zee-Koe Valey* near today's Faure, lies just outside the border of the study area. This would have not only provided drinking water but also attracted game and wild birds. Hunting was at first regulated by the Company, but settlers soon took advantage of the seemingly endless supply of wild life. (It seems that a gated settlement is in the process of being constructed on this wetland.)



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

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



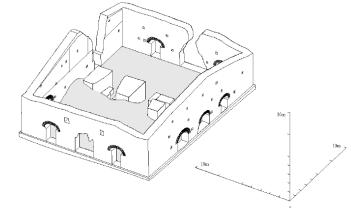
Stellenbosch wards, 1890 (CA M3/1654).

6.2.2 Infrastructure

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

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

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



The ruined mill at Pniel (Lucas 2004).

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

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

(NB Why was the adjoining farm called Papiermolen?)

6.2.2.2 Small-scale production. brandy stills, stookhuise, lime kilns

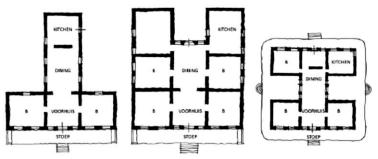
Sites still to be identified.



Lime kiln at Nietgegund (Stellenkloof), Walton (US Digital Collections).

6.3 CAPE DUTCH STYLE (1740-1820)

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



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

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

- Within a similar pattern of architectural expression (such as symmetry, gables, thatched roofs, window and door types and whitewashed walls) each building has a unique quality, bound to it immediate context and enhanced by the setting.
- Early houses were single storey, thatched with a central gable in the Baroque, Rococo or neo-Classical style.
- Double storey town houses with parapeted flat roofs (sometimes with neo-Classical pediments) were also built.
- Because of the shortage of long timber, buildings remained only one room deep.
- The buildings generally confirm to standard T, H or U plan forms. The U-shaped plan was common on the Peninsula, while T and H forms were built in the Boland, Stellenbosch and Drakenstein.
- Facades were symmetrical, with the central front door flanked by windows half the width of the other windows. (Unless there was a passage behind the front door, in which case the side windows were not necessary to let in light.)
- The front door opened directly into a *voorhuis*, which was sometimes separated from the room behind (*galdery*) by an ornate screen.
- Earlier buildings had casement windows, while sash windows with a fixed upper and sliding lower sash were later standard. Windows were flush with the outside wall, with small panes and solid exterior shutters.

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

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

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

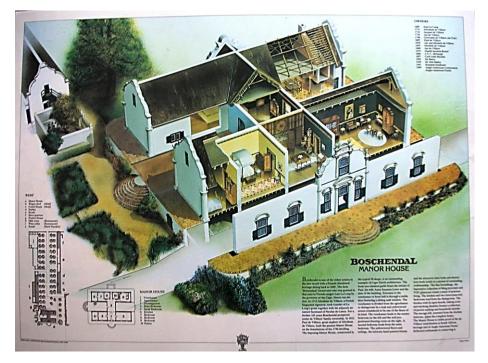
slave houses to accommodate this large workforce, but also extensive workshops and a slave school at Elsenburg.

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

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

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

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



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

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

accommodation. He was often a young single man and paid much the same as a *knegt* (foreman, overseer).

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



Meeerlust, Stellenbosch District (Chris Snelling 2014).

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

6.3.1 Timber, tree plantings, avenues, ornamental gardens

Oaks were planted in their thousands by the VOC as the indigenous forests were felled (Aikman 2005). Although the timber from Cape oaks proved to be poor, they were planted by the free burghers to provide shade and for their generous crop of acorns, which were fed to pigs. An oak was often planted to mark a corner boundary. Besides being planted out in big groups, they were used to form avenues and geometrical planting patterns around the farmsteads. They were often planted symmetrically around the central feature of the complex, the entrance to the manor house. Oaks were planted as close as 1m apart on either side of water furrows and streams to provide shade for the precious water that was used in flood irrigation systems.

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.4 ANGLO-CAPE STYLE (1820-1860)

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

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

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

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

An example of early attempts to fully adopt a British architectural style (often referred to as Cape Georgian) can be found at Warwick (previously Goede Sukses) and De Clapmuts. The house at Warwick is a symmetrical double-storey with a low-pitched slate roof, double-door entrance, tall sash windows and inside is a long narrow passage the length of the house and a staircase leading out of it. Privacy, separation between the served and the servants, and specialised room functions (e.g. drawing room and dining room with fireplaces) were introduced. The local builders may have got the details a little wrong, but the overall effect is very convincing.





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

6.5 EMANCIPATION PERIOD (mid to late 1800s)

After slavery was abolished in 1834 and slaves were emancipated in 1838, many people were resettled in farm villages or in mission settlements that had accommodated KhoeSan descendant and free-black communities. Others were newly established, such as Pniel. Most slaves, however, remained tied to farm and domestic labour. Accommodation on farms and in villages was increasingly segregated and physically separated. For example, domestic servants no longer stayed in the house at night. Lucas (2004) has provided a detailed account of the social and economic consequences of emancipation, not least of which was for the first time workers on the farms and in the houses of the landowners could enjoy family life. Prior to emancipation slaves lived in the houses of their owners or in slave quarters forming part of the werf and closely related to the dwelling house, as at Rhone and Goede Hoop for example. The physical consequence of emancipation was that two entirely new forms of settlement occurred at the Cape, the mission village and the cottages cluster (usually linear in form).

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

Landowners who wished to be free of reliance on workers from Pniel built their own groups of cottages to house ex-slave farm workers and their families. Women often did domestic work at the houses of the landowners. The linear layout of these groups of cottages became a distinctive and characteristic settlement pattern throughout the Western Cape. They were generally sited some distance away from the werf along the edge of a farm track often shaded by oaks and with a water

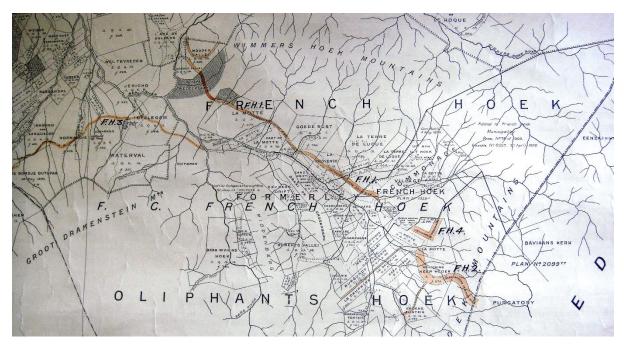
supply from a furrow for their small garden plots. The typical cottage of the mid-19th century was in the Cape vernacular; a narrow two bay house with a large projecting hearth and chimney at one end, under a thatch roof.

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

6.5.1 Outspans and Commonage, wire fencing and wind pumps

Farmers became increasingly desperate to regain access to and control over the labour force. Ordinance 50 (1828) allowed "every free inhabitant in the Colony" (including Khoekhoen) freedom of movement but anti-vagrancy legislation quickly aimed at curbing it in reality. In 1851 an Ordinance "to prevent the practice of settling or squatting upon Government Lands" was scrapped because of the threat of Western Cape workers joining rebels on the eastern frontier (Boonzaaier et al 1996: 117;James & Simons 1989: 39). The effect of enclosing of boundaries, reduction in communal trekveld and restrictions on freedom of movement was most harshly felt by those who did not own land but still managed to eke out a semi-independent existence (Penn 2013).

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



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

Outspans were for travellers and drovers on the roads. The ox wagons travelled at between four and six kilometres per hour on the level. The traveller needed regular outspans with shade, water and

grazing. These were usually provided 10 to 15 km apart. In the early 19th century the faster horsedrawn carts and coaches stated to replace the ox wagons and saddle horses. There was a call for better roads and a lesser demand for outspans. Outspans also accommodated animals in towns and villages, for example on market days or for churchgoers.

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

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

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

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

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

By 1806, even in the largely arable Stellenbosch and Drakenstein districts, over 30 percent of the labour force was of Khoekhoen descent. The physio-socio-cultural mixture between slave, Khoekhoen and European tested to the utmost the colonial administration's compulsion to box and

label everybody. Within the social structure of the Colony, there were two main groups which were neither slave nor free, neither burgher nor Khoekhoen. These were the 'Bastaards' and the freeblacks (Ross 2004). From 1838, after slaves were emancipated, free blacks, ex-slaves, and all those of KhoeSan descent alike were increasingly lumped together and described as 'Coloured'.

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

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

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

There are several railway stations within the study area, such as Lynedoch, Vlottenburg, Stellenbosch, Du Toit, Koelenhof, Muldersvlei and Klapmuts. The Simondium-Franschhoek line is currently not used and is in bad condition, but a study recommends that it is kept open as a servitude as reinstatement would otherwise be impossible (Kaplan 200. (As far as I can ascertain, the railway infrastructure and its socio-economic impact has not been studied as a whole.)

The development of Klapmuts hamlet did not begin until after the inauguration of the railway line (Cape Town to Paarl) in 1863. An 1873 map indicates that the new hamlet constituted a grid system of roads parallel with the railway line, with the Klapmuts station as focal point of the plan. The names 'Bennetsville' and 'Klapmuts' seemed to have been used interchangeably during this period. The Klapmuts Hotel was built by the Ward family in the late 1890s, and became a favourite watering hole for travellers (ACO 2007).

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

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

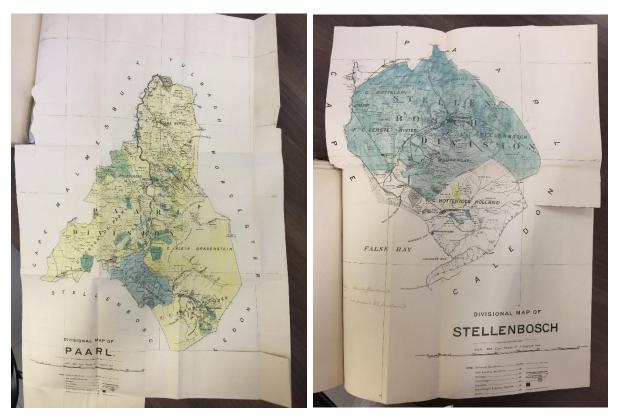
winelands (with its infamous *dop* system), and the establishment of a convict outpost was a formula for attracting displaced and disadvantaged people.

6.5.4 The South African (Anglo-Boer) War

A British fort was built on the mountainside just above the farm Boekenhoutskloof in Franschhoek after it was discovered that farmers were crossing over to the interior. The area is still known as Fort's Neck (Malherbe & Malan 2001). Since the soldiers stationed there would apparently often commandeer the newly-baked farm bread of Mrs Lötter on their way to the post, a bread oven was built some distance away in the veld in the hope of providing for the household and farm staff. The oven remained undetected by the British for the whole time they manned the fort until the end of the war.

6.6 INSTITUTIONAL PERIOD (1880s to 1980s)

During the 18th and 19th centuries, the region was well known for its mixed farming; grain fields, grazing lands and vineyards but with an increasing emphasis on wine production. Up until about the 1860s wine was one of the most important sources of income for the Cape Colony and the Drakenstein became a major wine production area (Smuts 2012). In the late 19th century the wine industry at the Cape collapsed as a result of Phylloxera. By the 1890s, 80% of the vineyards of Drakenstein had been destroyed despite all sorts of attempts to control the disease (Van Zyl 1987).



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

The Drakenstein Valley was chosen as a viable area for a demonstration project for a scheme introduced by C.J. Rhodes to develop the deciduous fruit export industry. Under the instruction of Rhodes, 29 farms were bought up in the valley and in 1902 were consolidated under Rhodes Fruit Farms (RFF), which from the 1960s until recently was owned by Anglo American Farms.

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

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

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

By the 1940s hundreds of Black migrant workers had been brought into the Western Cape and also needed accommodation on farms and, in the case of Goede Hoop, they were housed on the farm, but separately. Correspondence in the Archives tracks requests for 'Native' farm labour.

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

6.6.1 Forestry

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



Plantations, Wemmershoek (courtesy T.Randle).

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

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

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

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

As Schultz (2008) has acknowledged in her Meerlust study, links between economic and traditional social behaviour have been tightly interwoven to form a cultural identity that requires both protection and nurturing in terms of future socio-economic planning in the area. "Over the years the community has been allowed to strengthen without the disruption of forced removals imposed by implementation of the Group Areas Act. This social environment should be regarded as special and unique, especially as all other so called coloured communities in the Western Cape were in one way or another affected by these laws" (Schulz 2008: 13).

6.6.2 The railway line from Paarl to Franschhoek

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

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

The widening of the road R45 MR191 between Paarl and Franschhoek was diverted to protect a 1860s railway bridge (Baumann 2011). (Are there any other original road or rail bridges in the Stellenbosch municipality?)

Without the railway RFF would not have been able to expand their operations to the extent that they did over the next 60 years. Road transport and containerisation eventually made the railway obsolete and it was closed down in the mid-1980s. It nevertheless remains a major feature of the Groot Drakenstein landscape and some attempts have been made to revive it as a tourist facility running between Paarl and Franschhoek.

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

6.6.3 Settlements for workers

Rhodes became aware of the vital need to attract and retain farm labour in the face of immense demand from the gold and diamond mining industries, and in 1898 commissioned Herbert Baker to design an orderly village for the farm workers. In addition to the traditional English style St Giles Church, over 100 houses, a school and a house for the pastor were built. The result was the village of Lanquedoc, which today still stands under its long avenue of oaks. This settlement, because of its size, is a kind of hybrid between the mission station and of the farm cluster. Each cottage included half a morgen of garden for flowers and vegetables and the keeping of two horses, two cows and two pigs. A hundred morgen commonage was provided for grazing of livestock. No drink was allowed as Rhodes apparently opposed the infamous *dop* system. Pickstone engaged the Reverend Reinecke of Ceres "to scout all through the Lower Karoo and the districts of Ceres, Worcester, Tulbagh, Swellendam and other areas for farm workers, who would bring their families with them to live at Languedoc, being charged 10 shillings a month for their cottages".

About a dozen graves were located among a patch of burnt lands alongside a gravel farm road close to the historic Lanquedoc Village (Kaplan 2005). (A GPS reading for the site, set on Map Datum WGS 84, is S 33° 54 191 E 18° 57 697.) The graves appear to be formally arranged in rows and comprise raised mounds of earth packed with rounded river cobbles. Modern domestic items such as small broken glass jars, and broken bottles, were noted on some of the grave mounds, indicating at least recent visits and maintenance and care of the site. Several pieces of marine shell, including a large trough shell (*Lutraria lutraria*) and a limpet fragment, were also noted. All grave/burial sites are assigned a high local significance rating in terms of archaeology.

[NB Did the 1918 Spanish flu epidemic impact the region?]

In 1902 James Rattray and Rhenish missionary Jacob Weber acquired a portion of the Blaauwklippen farm outside Stellenbosch. The land was divided into plots and sold to 'Coloured' families, and most of the associated debt was paid off within twenty years. It is named Jamestown after Rattray but was also known as Webersvallei. Street names are based on strawberry varieties, after the main crop grown there since 1902. Other crops grown there include beans, lettuce, potatoes and

tomatoes. Despite Weber's role in the establishment of Jamestown, it is not a mission station per se. A small church was inaugurated in Jamestown in 1923, which initially also served as a school for the area. Jamestown was designated a coloured area under apartheid segregation laws, and the majority of the residents were not subjected to forced removals.



Jamestown, 2013 (Helenonline).

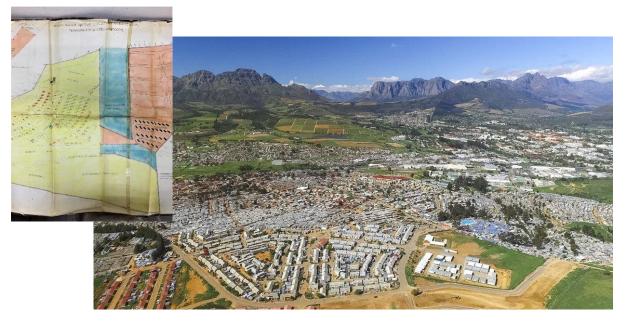
In time a number of other settlements, besides Pniël and Languedoc, grew in the Dwars River valley. Johannesdal and Kylemore (1898) were both formed after groups of Pniël inhabitants bought land outside of Pniël. Here residents enjoyed freehold title to larger plots and smallholdings, outside the control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

A large, informal cemetery comprising at least 83 burials was located in a small pine forest on the Farm Simonsvlei, about 50m west of the Klapmuts road (Kaplan 2006). The site is bound by vineyards on the west, a gravel road to the south and the Klapmuts road to the east. The oldest (datable) grave is dated 1930, while the youngest is dated 2004. Some of the graves bear crosses, and many of them contain head and footstones indicating Christian burials. Many of the older graves are covered by thick bush and succulent vegetation and are difficult to locate. Many have clearly not been visited for many years. Some of the older graves are, however, well maintained and contain grave goods such as glass bottles, plastic pots, and marine shell, indicating recent visits to the site.

By the turn of the 20th century, townships were being extruded on the margins of dorps. A residential area, Le Roux Dorp, organically began to take shape about a kilometre outside of the municipal boundaries of Franschhoek (Rust 2003/4). In 1900 parts of the farms La Provence and La Terre du Luc, owned by two Messieurs le Roux, were proclaimed a residential area acquiring the name Le Roux Dorp. The area became the home of a mixed Coloured and White working class population, but predominantly Coloured, while Franschhoek was mixed but predominantly White. Under the Apartheid Group Areas Act, Le Roux Dorp would later be turned into a Coloured location and be renamed Groendorp and later Groendal. Franschhoek finally became a Whites-only town when the 60 Coloured families were all removed from Franschhoek residential areas to Le Roux Dorp. Africans, then called Bantu under Apartheid, who were working and residing in the town of Franschhoek were moved to a large dormitory location, Mbekweni. The Coloured labour preference policy of the 1950s and hated 'pass laws' resulted in Africans being completely endorsed out of Franschhoek (Montgomery 2010).

Kaya Mandi was founded in 1941 to house exclusively black migrant male labourers employed on the farms in the Stellenbosch area. In 1966, the nine largest employers in the Stellenbosch district

including Stellenbosch University, the town administration, several vineyards and a fruit packing company united to erect 38 ready-made homes, so called hostels. Overall Kaya Mandi is a microcosm of township life in the Western Cape (Rock 2011).



Kayamandi (Johnny Miller www.millefoto.com). Insert: Plan for extensions in 1952 (CA PAA 599 AF105/1/164).

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

6.6.4 Educational and cultural institutions

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

Lückhoff High School was established in 1935, as the first secondary school for Stellenbosch town's 'Coloured' population. Secondary education for 'Coloured' people in South Africa started receiving attention in 1919 with the primary objective of training more 'Coloured' teachers. The school was temporarily housed in a rented two-storey building in Andringa Street and another in Muller Street until a new school building was opened on Banhoek Road in 1935. Significantly, the school accommodated learners from outside Stellenbosch and not just those who hailed from Die Vlakte or,

later, Idas Valley. Pupils came from the surrounding communities of Vlottenburg, Jamestown, Pniel and Kylemore and later from as far away as Bredasdorp, De Aar, Malmesbury, Worcester and even South West Africa (Namibia). In 1969 Lückhoff High School was officially relocated to Ida's Valley after Die Vlakte was proclaimed a White residential area in 1964.



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

Farm schools were established throughout the area for farmworkers' children. [Any for farm owners' children?]

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



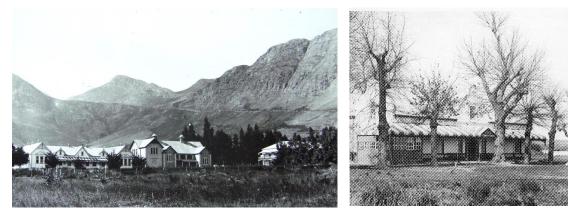
Dr Marthinus Jordaan op soek na Jordaan-voorsate se grafte in die Hugenote begraafplaas net noord van Franschhoek, 1988 (Hugenotefees 300).

6.7 CAPE VICTORIAN STYLE (1860-1920)

An exuberant style with much decoration. New, machine-made prefabricated materials such as corrugated iron, cast iron and standard Oregon pine woodwork could be ordered through catalogues in order to provide turrets, balustrades, cornices, architraves and plaster mouldings. A pillared and broekie-laced veranda is the most recognisable feature. For the less wealthy, wooden pillars, stoep surroundings and bargeboards were made by local artisans. This style became frowned-upon during subsequent periods and most of the removable elements have been stripped from the facades of farmhouses and other buildings.

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

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



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

6.8 CAPE DUTCH REVIVAL & MODERNIST STYLES (1880-1940)

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

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

Mass-produced materials (e.g. precast concrete) and Modernist ideals in the early 20th century resulted in stripped down simplicity and elimination of decoration (Fick 2016). A parallel tendency for a return to craftsmanship and decoration developed alongside and was expressed in styles such as Arts & Crafts and Art Deco. International 'Eclecticism' contrasts with nostalgic revivals or purist

approaches, in which a single piece of work incorporates a mixture of elements from previous historical styles to create something new and original.

6.8.1 The World Wars

There is a WWI memorial on the road to Franschhoek, marked on the map on the farm Weltevreden and signed from the road as Bleskop.(Co-ordinates 33° 52.380'S, 19° 0.250'E.) To quote a blogger: "The memorial is small and simple with an inscription of only a few names. I've tried to find some more information but very little seems to be known about it. I'm also curious about the date – as far as I know WWI ended in 1918 but this memorial shows 1919. The names on the memorial are all English, the men may have been associated to the Anglo American farms in the area, i.e. the Rhodes Fruit Farm."

The impact of WWII and presence of tangible heritage resources is still to be researched. Una van der Spuy used Italian prisoners of war to set up Old Nectar Nurseries. "Over a period of four years Una and the POWs worked together to create from this muddy hill slope Old Nectar's stone walled terraces, lawns, ponds, the wonderful pergola and the shrub and rose gardens. This major earth-moving undertaking was done using only the available tools of the day; wheelbarrow, pickaxe, spade and muscle power" (http://oldnectar.com/history.htm).

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

Commercial enterprises and commercial farming transformed land use and saw the demise of traditional Cape colonial family network farming practices. Mechanisation resulted in "a decline in the ancient, socially inherited attachment of the farmer to his land, his workers, his animals and their communal co-existence" (James & Simons 1989: 76). New linkages were established between the new class of commercial farmers and the growing stratum of intellectuals Victoria College in Stellenbosch was producing. Driving livestock from Franschhoek to seasonal pastures on the West Coast came to an end. The old pastures, on the middle mountain slopes, were replaced with forestry. Agricultural Boards supported White farmers and regulated production and markets. KWV (1918) and SFW (1935) centralised wine-making and exports (see also Nugent 2012). SAD (1938) did the same for dried fruit.



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



Ploughing between old vines in the old-fashioned way, c.1980.

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

6.9.1 Group Areas and removals

After the National Party government came to power in 1948, several apartheid laws were passed in quick succession including the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act of 1950. The places ('townships' or 'locations') that were declared Coloured or Native Areas in the Stellenbosch district included Franschhoek North (Groendal), Cloetesville, Ida's Valley, Pniel and Kaya Mandi. Migration from farms also began to build up during the 1970s.



"Die Vlakte [Stellenbosch] was proclaimed a White Group Area in 1964 and 3700 people classified as 'Coloured' were removed. Six schools, four churches, one mosque, once cinema and ten businesses were affected" (Die Vlakte Project). In Cloetesville people had to attempt to literally build a community from the ground up. By 1880 the town of Roubaix Dorp [Franschhoek] was relatively

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







The Volkskool in Banhoek Road, Stellenbosch was demolished and the Volkskerk is now used by the Church of England.

6.9.2 Bell towers and slave bells

While the church bell called the landowners and their families to church, the Cape farm bell called the people of colour to work or for their *dop*. The *dopstelsel* (tot system) was where workers were paid or part-paid in alcohol rations. The bell tower at Spier was built by Van der Byl in 1825 "to hang a restored slave bell". In 1938 (the centenary year of slave emancipation) Appleyard commissioned Kendall to design two new slave bell towers for Goede Hoop and Bien Donne, and Pearse to design one for Rhone, and another one was erected at Boschendal. An old slave bell now hangs in a bell tower that was erected on the Werf at Pneil in 1983 to commemorate the emancipation of slaves in 1838. In the late 1970s, a commemorative bell tower was built by Rhodes Fruit Farm and the cracked bell was hung on to it. On heritage day, 24 September 2006, the bell was returned by Rhodes Fruit Farms and a ceremony was held on the Werf.

Coetzer (2016) firmly puts them into context: the fetishizing of slave bell towers - elegant freestanding aesthetic marvels in a context of wilful amnesia with regards to slave history (Coetzer 2016).

6.9.3 Sports, recreation, hotels and spas, and kuiering

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

Coach travel and the advent of private cars saw the development of hotel /spa destinations. In 1920 Keerweder became the first guest house in Franschhoek. Guests from Cape Town were fetched by

horse cart from Klapmuts station. The guests were accommodated in the family bedrooms and some outbuildings converted for the purpose. They ate with the family and had a real glimpse of farm life.

People travelled from Cape Town and other places to picnic at weekends at their favourite spot, but the 'braai plekke' were segregated. 'Vakansie oorde' and youth camps of all types became popular. In the 1940s musicians and their families from District Six would come and play dance music on the farms on Saturday nights. The Huguenot Monument and Museum attract many visitors over the week-ends. These visitors often came out for a day from Cape Town, enjoying the natural beauty of the area and the "excellent cuisine of the Excelsior hotel and other eating places". Places like 'Belle Vue' in Franschhoek advertised themselves as "a quiet resting place" to people wishing to take a break from city life. During the 1970s the relative peace and quiet of Franschhoek attracted retired people.

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



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

6.9.4 Water management

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

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

According to Cloete (2013: 93), significant increases in dam building are evident since 1993. It is mainly land previously covered by fields. The biggest share of these changes does not exceed 2 ha in size. These dams are used either as drinking holes for livestock, for irrigation, or in some cases serve

as tourist attractions. The increase in tourism has led to an increase in water usage, either for drinking, household or recreational purposes. These dams are found near mountainous areas so that runoff water can be collected.

6.10 THE SECOND CAPE REVIVAL (1970-80s)

In summary: Afrikaner nationalism, brandy and tobacco empires, and the rise of conservation architecture. The Ruperts were instrumental in driving the Second Cape Revival. The family owned several farms (L'Ormarins, La Motte), had a wine-making partnership with Rothschilds and partially controlled SFW and Distillers Corporation. The Rembrandt Group (now BAT) helped restore many South African historic properties to their previous grandeur. Various private and government institutions were founded: Simon van der Stel Foundation and offshoots (Franschhoek Conservation Trust 1984), the Monuments Commission and the National Monuments Council (1969).

Turkish tobacco was first cultivated on the farm Champagne in 1905, later becoming a large-scale industry. The seed was brought to Franschhoek by a London greengrocer, Mr Popart, who hid tobacco seed in his socks in Turkey and smuggled it out of that country. He gave it to Danie Roux of Champagne who planted it and, together with Gideon Josua (Jop) Roux, started the tobacco-industry in Franschhoek. It was discontinued in 1915 when it was found to be more economically viable in the Stellenbosch district. Tobacco farming seems to have stopped during the 1960s. According to their websites, the vineyards and guest cottages at Klein Welmoed are built on what was once an old, dilapidated tobacco farm, and the Jordan Restaurant is a renovated curing shed.

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



Stellenbosch Wine Route sign, 1971 (www.wine.co.za).

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

was a real concern for the wine makers of the regions whose freedom to market and export their wine overseas was severely restricted by legal prohibitions established by the KWV in the 1960s. With the defining of distinct wine regions, came the emphasis of difference of place within the winelands of the Western Cape. Each region has a formula for difference based on some combination of breath-taking scenery, quality wines, first class cuisine, and with increasing frequency the heritage of European roots.

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



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

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

Developers and investors from up-country, Europe and elsewhere discovered iconic Cape farms and villages in the 1990s, including Maingard and Augusta in Franschhoek, Voloshin at Hazendal, the Ords at Waterford, and Cointreau-Huchon at Morgenhof.

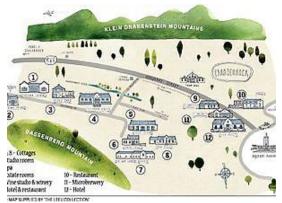
The transformation of the landscape and built environment of Morgenhof is an example (Malan 2005). Once a family run mixed farming operation with a series of re-stylings of the werf and buildings through time, it was bought by a Johannesburg (German) businessman who restored the house and invested in an industrial-style (green corrugated metal roofs) wine cellar. The next owners, French brandy- and liqueur-makers, developed an impressive part-underground winery, with above-ground buildings and terracing in Provencal style, while also renovating the Cape-Dutch werf.

Foreign investment companies have acquired wine farms in the Western Cape in the 21st century — most notably Klein Constantia, Mulderbosch and Lanzerac. A *Financial Mail* article reported that: "Big-ticket wine farms that have been sold to prominent offshore investors in the Cape Winelands over the past two to three years include Mont Rochelle in Franschhoek to Virgin Atlantic's Richard Branson and neighbouring Dieu Donné, Klein Dassenberg and Von Ortloff, now amalgamated into Leeu Estates, to Indian billionaire Analjit Singh. Chinese tech entrepreneur William Wu bought a 51% stake in the sprawling Swartland Winery near Malmesbury. However, despite the weak rand, recent

sales have gone mostly to SA investors, says André Malan, Seeff agri-agent in the Stellenbosch area. Buyers are typically successful local business entrepreneurs and retirees. While vineyards are still widely regarded as the ultimate trophy asset, demand has also been driven by improved investment prospects on the back of an increase in international demand for SA " (Muller 2016). "A wine industry commentator told the *Financial Mail* that he would not be surprised to see as much as 50% of the Western Cape winelands under Chinese and Indian ownership within 15 years."



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





Left: A map of Analjit Singh's many properties in the Franschhoek valley. Right: Leeu Estates

(www.cazloyd.com/en-gb/property/leeu-estates & www.timeslive.co.za/sundaytimes/stnews/2016/05/01).

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



The Sentinel on the R44 outside Stellenbosch (Riekse, 2007).



Wine cellar at Fort Simon, Bottelary (H.Lintvelt, 2015).

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

Meanwhile, farm workers' cottages have been converted to guest cottages. "Guest accommodation is a recent addition to the farm with luxury accommodation ranging from the historical Herbert Baker designed Rhodes Cottage to beautifully restored farm labourer cottages. With emphasis on stylish simplicity the guest cottages are authentic, rural yet contemporary in character" (www.boschendal.com).

6.11.2 Democracy, land claims, restitution, housing and reform

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

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

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



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

In 2005, the Solms family established the Wijn de Caab Trust to benefit the 200 historically disadvantaged residents and employees of the Solms-Delta wine estate. In an unprecedented move, the owners of Solms-Delta and Lubeck both put their farms up as collateral so that a third, adjoining farm could be purchased by the workers. Similarly Graham Beck Wine Estate has a Workers' Forum

that consists of representatives from all departments and racial groups, and acts on behalf of the employees in matters such as training, remuneration, participatory management and disciplinary hearings. A Community Forum sees to the workers' social requirements, ranging from education, transport needs, day care and extra mural activities such as choir practice or sports.

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

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



Denneguer developing outside Franschhoek.

The following hamlets/projects have been proposed for consideration as development nodes (as well as housing for farm employees) by the Sustainability Institute (2009):

- 1. Inner Stellenbosch town
- 2. Kayamandi
- 3. Cloetesville
- 4. Idas Valley
- 5. Lynedoch
- 6. Vlottenburg
- 7. Droe Dyke
- 8. Spier Mixed Income project

- 9. Koelenhof
- 10. Klapmuts
- 11. Raithby
- 12. Mooiberge Crossroads
- 13. Jamestown
- 14. Paradyskloof Mixed Income project
- 15. Dwars River Complex (Pniel, Johannesdal,

Kylemore, Languedoc and Boschendal)

- 16. Outside Franschhoek
- (between road and rail)
- 17. Franschhoek
- 18. La Motte
- 19. Rhodes Fruit Farms Crossroads.

6.11.3 Nature conservation and Conservancies

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

advent of the NHRA that requires permits to be issued for alternations, additions and demolitions to the built environment has changed this scenario.

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



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

7 ACRONYMS & GLOSSARY

ACO ACRM AIA	Archaeological Contracts Office (UCT), now ACO Associates cc. Agency for Cultural Resource Management. Archaeological Impact Assessment.
CWPPA	Cape Winelands Professional Practices in Association.
ESA	Early Stone Age: Period of the Stone Age extending approximately between 2 million and 250 000 years ago.
HIA	Heritage Impact Assessment.
HWC	Heritage Western Cape.
KWV	Ko-operatieve Wijnbouwers Vereniging van Zuid Afrika.
LSA	Later Stone Age: Period of the Stone Age extending over the last approximately 20 000 years.
MSA	Middle Stone Age: Period of the Stone Age extending approximately between 250 000 and 20 000 years ago.
NHS	National Heritage Site (Grade I).
NM	National Monument (under old legislation); now NHS or PHS.

PHS	Provincial Heritage Site (Grade II).
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resources Agency.
SAHRIS	South African Heritage Resources Information System.
SF	Stellenbosch Freehold.
SFW	Stellenbosch Farmers' Winery Group.
SQ	Stellenbosch Quitrent.
UCT	University of Cape Town.
VOC	Dutch East India Company.
Free-black	Person manumitted from slavery (and freed convicts) or their descendants.
Freehold	Full ownership of land. These grants were relatively few and largely confined to the
	Cape and Stellenbosch districts as the Company became concerned about retaining control over the land for fiscal and policy reasons. Linked to <i>erfpacht</i> , that allowed
	freeholders to lease adjoining land for 15 years.
Holocene	The geological period spanning the last approximately 10-12 000 years.
Khoekhoen	People indigenous to South Africa, pastoralists who had domestic stock and made pottery.
KhoeSan	An amalgamation of Khoekhoen and San to refer generally to people indigenous to southern Africa who spoke click-languages.
Loan tenure	A licence to occupy a place, that served to enable free-burghers to provide provisions – especially meat - to the Company.
Quitrent	The lessee could exploit and develop state land and could sell the improvements (<i>opstal</i>) against an annual payment. Perpetual quitrent allowed longer tenure and property could be transmitted to heirs, and eventually in 1934 the annual payments were no longer required though the state retained mineral, road building and other rights.
San	People indigenous to South Africa who lived off wild plants, seafood and animals.

Land tenure

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

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

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

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

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

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

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