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Memory, Slavery, Nation:

An Analysis of Representations of Slavery in Post-apartheid Cultural and Memory Production

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities

University of the Witwatersrand

In fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By

Nicola Marthe Cloete

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Abstract
The continuing role of South Africa's past in the reconstruction of present-day identities is an area of study and investigation that crosses political, social, cultural and racial boundaries. It is also a field which, despite the post-apartheid political period and South Africa's change to a democratic dispensation, has not necessarily provided neat categories, instances or guidelines into which identity-formation can fit. As a result, studies abound which attempt to track, respond to, reflect on and reposition how this history of slavery, colonialism and apartheid may be viewed in relation to present-day society and socio-political circumstances.

This dissertation considers how and why representations of slavery emerge in discussions of what constitutes a national discourse of race and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa. I argue that these resurgences of interest in slavery are tied to the symbolic work that the multiple memories of slavery are able to do in the post-apartheid period.

The study is broadly situated in a globally emerging interest in historic formations of slavery packaged in popular culture, and the current increase in human rights politics dealing with re-emerging and new forms of slavery. As a result, this study adopts an interdisciplinary approach to both the content and methodological focus of how representations of slavery re-emerge in post-apartheid South Africa; providing a consideration of the phenomena of power in relation to discursive and cultural constructions of slavery, memory, identity and nation-building.
Each of the areas considered (wine farms, museum and memorial practices and walking tours), suggest that the memory of slavery is able to function in relation to the immediate needs of those proposing and implementing the remembering and remembrance.

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Chapter One:

A place shaped by slavery

> *Fetch me a bag of names. Scatter them all over this island. I want those names to grow and flower so that I may remember them. This place has a way of making names go dull. Their edges go too and lately I have been afraid of knots and tangles. Plant my name there, next to my mother's and my father's. Take special care with my father's. His is the most fragile here. And be sure that it is my mother's real name. They have always wanted to call her Cape of Good Hope but her name is unknown to them. Good. Plant it deep so it can have roots that can take over a world before they realise what has happened* (Christiansë 2006: 346).

In many ways the words of Yvette Christiansë's character Sila van den Kaap from the novel *Unconfessed* has prompted this research.

Sila's story – contained in a few simple lines in the archive which Christiansë located and carefully constructed, filling in a life history that although imagined, offers an opportunity to confront the realities of slave life for a woman whose body, psyche and history are irretrievably altered by enslavement. The literary imagination that we encounter in Christiansë's novel maps for Sila a life that exceeds the limitations of the archival record of her existence. It offers her a voice, one that refuses to sketch a life filled with comfortable allusions to a slave society through which we might believe the lie of benign slavery. Hers is a voice that speaks directly – of the everyday humiliations, physical violences, psychological traumas and unspeakable horrors that slavery at the Cape involved. It also speaks in rich and impenetrably elegant ways of the interior life and intimacies that the enslaved *did* have and that were never acknowledged or seen by colonial society at the Cape, let alone recorded in colonial archives.

Sila's story has remained with me in many ways throughout this research process. Sila van den Kaap was a slave woman brought from the Mozambican coast to the Cape Colony and

eventually imprisoned on Robben Island for the murder of her son. Christiansë came across her story in the Western Cape Archives and Records Service and crafted a fictional account of her life. Having read Christiansë's evocative account *Unconfessed* (2007), I began to take seriously what it may mean to think about the ongoing legacies of slavery in South Africa today. For how could the abundance that Christiansë imagines in this life and the deep psychic wounds it suffers and bears not be similar for all of those who were enslaved in the Cape Colony? And how, then, could traces of this be so systematically absent from any record? And why would we imagine this kind of violence would not leave any long lasting psychic and material legacies in the country?

This fictional prompt raised so many questions about the gaps and silences in the history of slavery in South Africa that it seemed paradoxical to then encounter hints of a slave past in present day South Africa in small, often historically vacuous ways in the 21st century. Sila's call to identify and acknowledge the names and therefore the lives of those who have been enslaved evolved during this research process as first an attempt to trace why representations of slavery have (re)emerged in the post-apartheid period and second how they are often connected to ideas of national discourse of race and reconciliation. What Sila refers to as the ability of this place to 'make names go dull', I read as the flattening out of the ongoing legacies of slavery in South Africa until recently, with the increase of 'knots and tangles' now surfacing the complexity of this legacy for further analysis.

Sila's appeal to ensure that care is taken with her parents' fragile names, that their real names be used, and that we are aware of which parts of the past are unknown and which have been systematically erased through the process of colonisation and enslavement, I have used as inspiration for thinking through the implications of methodological choices in this research,

detailed later in this chapter. I have become aware of the individual and collective memories of slavery – sometimes including individual lives of the enslaved, although often these lives have been collapsed within the archive – and have held these up for contemplation and analysis alongside and sometimes instead of the historic record provided in historiography and official accounts of 300 hundred years of slavery in the Cape Colony. I have also observed, spoken to and listened for accounts of the memory of slavery during my research process and have found that an extensive network of sites, acts and processes of memory exists in the Western Cape and Cape Town in particular. Sila's closing words in the quotation above, about deep roots taking over a world before anyone realises it has happened, reverberate through my experience of these networks – that in post-apartheid South Africa the roots of slavery and its memory run deep and that, increasingly, these roots are displacing comfortable associations we have with the past and the present, calling attention to whose experience is included in how we think, talk and represent ideas of national discourse.
The dissertation then considers how and why representations of slavery emerge in discussions of what constitutes a national discourse of race and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa. I argue throughout this thesis that there are a number of answers to that question. In this introduction to the research I begin with a discussion of what three academic and literary authors, Yvette Christiansë, Meg Samuelson and Christina Sharpe offer as possible responses to that question. In so doing, I sketch a contextual map of how these ideas propose arguments about the resurgence of interest in slavery as intimately connected to revisiting and acknowledging the ghostly spectre of what processes of enslavement have produced and meant.

Thinking through and with Yvette Christiansë's novel provides one avenue of responses that focus on what I term the refusal to support the comfortable imaginings of slavery.

Unconfessed refuses a comfortable association with past experiences. It constructs the enslaved as able to speak for themselves – an important narrative and literary strategy and one that partly informed the shape my research process took. The novel creates a compelling voice for the protagonist, Sila van den Kaap which registers the experience of slavery both on the body and the psyche of a slave woman and asks readers to consider its value.

In her account of select works of Hartman and Christiansë, Meg Samuelson (2008) suggests that there is something of the afterlife of slavery in the present. She contends that the recasting of the historical past in fictional form has value and affords alternative possibilities for understanding slavery. Her work on Christiansë's and Hartman's texts illustrates each author's rejection of the 'redemptive narratives' that in Samuelson's term, 'promise to suture the wounds of slavery' (2009: 40). Regarding the proceses of rememberance that these works undertake, Samuelson also invokes Mahon's ideas about Foucault's work on geneaology: that the dredging up of what has been forgotten is achieved by the emancipation of subjected historical knowledges (2009: 45).

Christina Sharpe (2010) has argued that transatlantic slavery and the middle passage were a rupture from and suspension of the known world that initiated enormous and ongoing psychic, temporal and bodily breaches. In her work, *Monstrous Intimacies,* she attempts to account for the long psychic and material reach of those passages, 'their acknowledged and disavowed effects, their projection onto and erasure from particular bodies, and the reformulation, reproduction, and recirculation of their intimate spaces of trauma, violence, pleasure, shame and containment' (2010: 4). Sharpe's work begins with a consideration of how slavery constitutes subjectivities by the everyday horrors that are not considered to be horrors (2010: 3). For her, 'monstrous intimacies' are defined as 'a set of known and

unknown performances and inhabited horrors, desires and positions produced, reproduced, circulated and transmitted, that are breathed in like air and often unacknowledged to be monstrous' (ibid.). For Sharpe, there has been an incomplete movement from slavery to freedom and as such she considers the 'ways we are immured in and inured to its force, to explore slavery's inherited and reproduced spaces of shame, confinement, intimacy, desire, violence and terror' (2010: 4) and how we come to occupy and then survive them post-slavery.

Resurgences

The study is broadly situated in a globally emerging interest in historic formations of slavery packaged in popular culture, and the current increase in human rights politics dealing with re-emerging and new forms of slavery. As a result, this study adopts an interdisciplinary approach to both the content and methodological focus of how representations of slavery re-emerge in post-apartheid South Africa; providing a consideration of the phenomena of power in relation to discursive and cultural constructions of slavery, memory, identity and nation-building.

Throughout this dissertation I argue that representations of slavery emerge in discussions of what constitutes national discourse of race and reconciliation as part of a larger nation-building project in post-apartheid South Africa. This project has been necessary in relation to previous racial segregation within the country, and now attempts to build notions of national unity through the promotion and acceptance of diversity. I argue that these resurgences of interest in slavery are tied to the work slavery and memory are able to do symbolically at this time. In each area I have looked at (wine farms, museum and memorial practices and walking tours), the memory of slavery is able to function in relation to the immediate needs of those

proposing and implementing the remembering and remembrance. At Solms-Delta, for example, representations of slave history provide economic and other opportunities for those most closely identified as descendants of slaves (and those who identify with slave-owning classes). The memory of slavery also allows people access to revive discussions about atrocities in South Africa's history that precede the apartheid period, and demand adequate representations of them in the public sphere and in institutions such as memorials and museums. Finally, such representations allow people access to narrate their own experience in relation to that history and to advocate for its inclusion in how broader narratives of South Africa's history and the subsequent construction of national discourse of race and reconciliation take place.

The continuing role of South Africa's past in the reconstruction of present-day identities is an area of study and investigation that crosses political, social, cultural and racial boundaries. It is also a field which, despite the post-apartheid[1] political period and South Africa's change to a democratic dispensation, has not necessarily provided neat categories, instances or guidelines into which identity-formation can fit. As a result, studies abound which attempt to track, respond to, reflect on and reposition how this history of slavery, colonialism and apartheid may be viewed in relation to present-day society and socio-political circumstances.

Slavery and the slave trade have arguably become more visible in the public sphere, globally and in South Africa, since the last part of the 20th century. The ways in which they are discussed, represented or mobilised vary across contexts and continents. In the context of South Africa and, more specifically, the Western Cape Province, I suggest that the public visibility of slavery has largely been tied to notions of memory, nation and identity. There are

[1] This study will attempt to resist the popular notion of 'writing in the moment' in relation to South African historical and political developments. It recognises that cultural production and products do not always align with political developments, and hence terminology such as 'post-apartheid', 'Rainbow Nation', etc. are used with careful consideration.

of course resonances with global practices in these trends but the specifics of the Western Cape and South African contexts require further attention.

The institution of slavery in the Cape Colony laid the foundations for many of the early social and economic relations of South Africa, which informed the later apartheid history of the country (Worden 1985: 4-5). Baderoon argues that because the Cape was colonised two centuries before the northern-part of South Africa, at a time in which slavery 'shaped all social and economic relations, it is hard to overstate the importance of the institution of slavery' (2014: 7).

I suggest that the regional focus of slavery and slave history in South Africa may have contributed to rendering slave society in the rest of the country less noticeable (see Chapter Two). As such, I suggest that the recent visibility of slave history and memory at the regional level may lead to a greater national discernability of this part of South Africa's past. The local Western Cape examples I analyse in this thesis suggest that slavery is significant for more than just 'Coloured' identity politics and has a bearing on an understanding and reformulation of race relations in post-apartheid South Africa (see Chapter Two). The examples further suggest that slavery is pertinent to more than just specific museum and memorial practices, and raises questions about the inclusion of seemingly marginal pasts into broader cultural and heritage museological practices (see Chapter Four). Still other representations of slavery as part of tourism initiatives raise questions about economic and labour benefits and inclusion (see Chapters Five and Six); I contend that there is a historical and moral importance to engaging with representations of slavery in post-apartheid South Africa.

In relation to slavery and its memorialisation in South Africa, I propose that the public memorials and museums no longer function with an overt or explicit connection to grief and mourning. In addition, there is a strong suggestion from communities who self-identify as 'descendants of slavery' that different emotions and elements should be evoked by the memorials – ones that acknowledge a living heritage and a constructive contribution to

society. Competing with the amnesia surrounding slavery in South Africa, these memorials must address the suppression of a slave past for political and economic advantage by descendants of slaves and the political systems in power (Ward & Worden 1998).

Slavery and identity

Discussions of 'Coloured' identity (Erasmus 2001, Adhikari 2005, 2009) have tended to foreground the recent historical period of apartheid as vital in understanding and potentially reconsidering the limits and substance of this identity. The post-apartheid period has also resulted in the reflection of 'Coloured' beyond the borders of apartheid, and has generated sustained discussions about the inclusion of 'Coloured' as a set of identities that precedes the formal apartheid classificatory systems that have connections to slave, Khoe and Creole ancestry (Ruiters 2009, Baderoon 2014). The archival material necessary for these particular studies has been perhaps more obvious, particularly in relation to the study of slavery in South Africa's past and the resultant connections to the 'Coloured' populations. Historical studies of slavery in South Africa, particularly in the Cape (Ross 1983, Shell 1994, Worden & Crais 1994, Worden & Bickford Smith 1996, Bank 1997, Scully 1997, Mason 2003, Loos 2004, Mountain 2004, Van der Ross 2005, Dooling 2007, Schoeman 2007) have skilfully documented the histories of enslavement and its role in the 19th-century Cape Colony. These texts span the last 30-odd years and whilst largely located in the discipline of history, in recent years the field has grown to include other disciplinary perspectives on slavery at the Cape and its impact on South Africa at large (Gqola 2005, 2010, Baderoon 2009, 2014). Chapter Four offers a detailed discussion of the contribution of the growing body of historiography of slavery in the Cape, including Shell's work, which details the social, familial and economic aspects of slave society from the arrival of the Dutch East India Company in the Cape in 1652 and the development of slavery into the 19th-century (Shell 1994: xxix). Worden & Crais trace reasons why slavery in the Cape was inconspicuous in most general histories of South Africa written in the first part of the 20th century (Worden & Crais 1994: 2). These texts and others written in the 1980s and 1990s (Ross 1983, Bank 1991, Scully 1997, Bickford-Smith 1995, Newton-King 1999) have focused attention on the

multiple roles of slavery and slave societies in the formation of the Cape. Community research programmes, started as a result of the historical study of slavery at the University of the Western Cape and the University of Cape Town, have made considerations of slavery visible to a broader population outside the traditional confines of the academy. They have also encouraged local communities to participate in their own oral history projects, allowing them to record familial and community stories of slavery. The Western Cape Oral History project[2] is one example of such an initiative and is an attempt to promote and develop oral and public histories in the Western Cape. The publication of *Slaves at the Cape: A Guidebook for Beginner Researchers* (2000, 2005) provided much needed support for amateur and community researchers who could use the guide both as a source of information about Cape slavery and also as a support for conducting their own research.

Historical studies are certainly not the only ways in which slavery has been considered in the construction of 'Coloured' identities in South Africa. Many recent studies have considered the role of cultural, aesthetic and socio-political approaches to slavery in the country. In this regard this project is located in a research context that is particularly interested in paying attention to how the study and representation of slavery may impact on current ways in which 'Coloured' identity is thought about and reproduced, but also in how slavery moves away from only being thought of only in relation to 'Colouredness'. More recent work in scholarly, cultural and artistic fields has begun connecting the slave past to an understanding of the South African present. Zoë Wicomb's work, for example, shifts the way in which the legacy of slavery is considered. In her discussion of the place of shame in 'Coloured' identity, she describes the subjective cultural constructions and political behaviour of 'Coloureds' in South Africa, arguing that shame has been inherent in various processes of recognition and disavowal of what 'Coloured' identity has come to represent in South Africa. In reference to history, memory and shame,

Wicomb notes,

[2] See The Western Cape Oral History Project website for further information.

> The failure or inability to represent our history in popular forms and consequently the total erasure of slavery from the folk memory presumably has its roots in shame: shame for the miscegenation, and shame, as colonial racism became institutionalised, for being black, so that with the help of our European names we have lost all knowledge of our Xhosa, Indonesian, East African, or Khoi origins. (1998: 100)

In recognising the links between shame and memory in the history of the 'Coloured' identity and what has been lost as result, Wicomb's work connects the study of identity politics to the legacy of slavery in fascinating ways. Hendricks (2005) similarly argues that 'Colouredness' is a complex, historically-located identity that stems from the processes of slavery, genocide, rape and perceived miscegenation. She suggests that the identity construction has been cloaked in the perceived shame of 'illegitimacy' and lack of authenticity that has to a large extent psychologically disempowered the bearers of the identity, and that most of the history of this community, which is steeped in oppression and struggles for liberation, has been erased and/or silenced by successive regimes and the group members themselves.

Outside of academic circles, discussion of 'Colouredness' continues to provoke controversy in popular culture and national politics and media. In March 2010, Jimmy Manyi, then Director General of Labour for the African National Congress-led government, was interviewed on a news broadcast show, *Robinson Regstreeks*[3]. Manyi was responding to criticism from the union Solidarity about the proposed amendments to the Employment Equity Act, which would have seen around one million 'Coloured' people lose their jobs in the Western Cape had amendments to the act become law. He stated that there was 'over-concentration' of 'Coloured' people in the Western Cape and suggested that they move to the rest of South Africa. According to the Western Cape demographics of the time, 29.1% of the population was black, 54.8% was 'Coloured', 0.5% was Indian and 15.6% was white.

[3] Robinson Regstreeks is an in-depth actuality television news programme produced for and aired on *Kyknet* – an Afrikaans language channel. An excerpt of the interview can be found at the following web address: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oBqCD_498hY

In February 2011 in her weekly column "Bitch's Brew" in the tabloid newspaper *The Sunday World,* celebrity tabloid journalist, Kuli Roberts, listed what she saw as both 'positive' and 'negative' aspects of 'Coloured' women, thus reinforcing popular stereotypes associated with 'Colouredness'. Her comments included: 'Coloured girls are the future [because] you will always be assured of a large family as many of these girls breed as if Allan Boesak sent them on a mission to increase the coloured race' and 'They have no front teeth and eat fish like they are trying to deplete the ocean and they love to fight in public and most are very violent' (Roberts *Sunday World* 27th February 2011).

Robert's statements recall phenotypical and behavioural stereotypes commonly used to ridicule and dismiss 'Coloured' identity during the apartheid period. Responses to her comments sparked debates in popular, political, academic and entertainment contexts and illustrated the ongoing and urgent need for debates about race and racism necessary in post-apartheid South Africa, in some ways belying assumptions that the country had overcome its racism through discourses of 'national unity' and ideas of 'rainbow nationalism' in which difference and diversity were now welcomed and celebrated.

The question of why these debates about 'Coloured' identity have sparked such controversy for most of the country in recent years is an important one. Stereotypes and negative images have long pervaded the discourse of 'Colouredness' in South Africa. The recent commentary is therefore not new. But the urgency and extent of various responses, representations and political debates suggest that there is something about 'Colouredness' that continues to intrigue and trigger responses from South Africans at large. In order to understand where these images and ideas about 'Colouredness' come from, I believe we need to look beyond

the apartheid racial classification, and particularly at the historical relationship between 'Colouredness' and slavery.

Interdisciplinary approaches to slavery in South Africa

The developing field of slavery studies has further grown with contributions from authors such as Yvette Abrahams (1996, 2000), Pumla Dineo Gqola (2001, 2005, 2007, 2010) Gabeba Baderoon (2009, 2014) Heléne Strauss (2009) and Jessica Murray (2010). Their work has shifted the contemporary focus on the place of slave pasts in current South African society. Gqola (2010), Baderoon (2014) and Nuttall and Coetzee (1998) have argued that slave memory is evident in various sites in post-apartheid South Africa; Gqola's full length study traces the processes through which 'South Africa's slave past moves from the obscured to the well recognised' (2010: 5) arguing that there is significance in understanding 'the specific manifestations of such a consciousness of the past and the uses to which collective memory is put' (ibid.). Gqola's methodological approach suggests that exploring lives such as those of the enslaved within the academic context, 'requires a multilayered approach to the fragments that survived…also necessitat[ing] tracing some of the inheritances that remain in our societies from theirs, even if such traces reside in 'modes that do not necessarily give up the stories' ' (Nzegwu 2000: n.p., as cited in Gqola 2010: 4). As such, the research questions Gqola articulates (2010: 6-7) echo these multidisciplinary concerns. On the one hand Gqola describes her interest in 'how the languaging of historic slavery in at once intimate and overtly political ways functions in the post-apartheid imagination' (2010: 6); she is simultaneously concerned with 'the extent to which any memorising of slavery needs to be an engagement with the multiple shifts which accompanied enforced, and self-proclaimed, identities under and following on from conditions of enshacklement' (ibid.). Theoretically, Gqola's work draws on the following memory studies and an interdisciplinary approach

located in the intersection of ‘sociological and interdisciplinary explorations of radicalised identities in South Africa; the processes of memory and narratives of nation; and interdisciplinary research on the clustering of race and gender identities historically’ (2010: 7) and their contribution to an analysis of South African identities. Similar patterns exist on a global scale where the traditional studies of slavery are being extended and a generational subject position to the legacy of slavery is problematised (Tillet 2012).

Baderoon (2014) offers an insightful argument about how South African images of Muslims function in part as a ‘sense-making mechanism that has generated a sense of belonging for white settlers, and disarticulated the relation of indigenous Africans to the land’ (156). In particular her discussion of how the picturesque portrayal of enslaved Muslims has the effect of erasing the violence of slavery, ‘producing the effect of an invisibility *through* visibility, in which slave bodies become an instrument of absence’ (ibid.) illustrates a study of slavery in the Cape that sits outside of the historiographical tradition.

Ideas raised by Nora (1989), Araujo (2009, 2010) Araujo, Candida and Lovejoy (2011) and Gqola (2010) further suggest ways in which the work of memory is to remake the place of history and historians and to see them as less bounded by disciplinary approaches. They suggest the necessity of the work of memory in society, particularly in relation to a slave past. These continuities might inform the process and politics of memory. Trends that emerge suggest that whilst the institution of slavery happened in the past and was the focus of many historical debates, its legacy and impact is still being felt today and as a result the fields and disciplines that now see it as a valid area of enquiry for the contemporary moment continue to grow. For my own concerns, the ‘hows’ and ‘whys’ of why people write about slavery continue to grow and change in South Africa based on people’s present needs, suggesting that one motivation to memorialise is in an attempt to access and capture elements of that history

and preserve the ideas sparked by writing in more public realms. Cobley notes that there is also an increasing economic and political pressure to develop the field of heritage studies, 'that ultimate commodification of history in pursuit of the tourist dollar' (2001: 6) which results in a 'reconfigured social history' evidenced in the shifting meanings attributed to the memorialisation of South Africa's slave past.

The politics of memory, identity and heritage

The conceptual framework of this study is comprised of the intersection of memory politics, the politics of representation within a cultural studies context and how, when combined, these areas offer a useful lens through which to consider the impact of the sites of slave memory. In the following section I frame some of the histories, theories and debates that inform the concept of memory politics and highlight the discussions that pertain to public memory and memorialisation and the impact this may have on ideas of memory and social heritage.

Young's work offers a definition of 'collected memory' which provides a useful basis for thinking about and reading particular texts. He defines it as 'the many discrete memories that are gathered into common memorial spaces and assigned common meaning'(1993: xi). I propose that Young's notion of collected memory is useful if used as a particular strategy of memory *construction*. Young notes, 'If societies remember, it is only insofar as their institutions and rituals organize, shape, even inspire their constituents' memories'(1993: xi). His premise offers a new set of considerations for the construction of memories of slavery in South Africa that assume multiple forms. As a result, in this thesis I consider what the construction of new museums, the overhaul of existing museums and the guided tours associated with them contribute to a reading of the 'collected memory' of slavery in contemporary South Africa.

Radstone and Schwartz (2010) suggest that what drives investment in the study of memory is the conviction that 'memory has become the site of, or the sign for, many intersecting issues: the temporal imaginings of past, present and future; subjectivity and identification; the passage from the inner life to the outer world; even the politics of being in the world and of recognition' (2010: 2). They recognise memory as an active pursuit that is forging its past(s) to serve its present's interests.

Cultural Studies

Johnson (1986: 38) identifies some of the 'main features of (the) cultural studies tradition [as]: its openness and theoretical versatility, its reflexive even self-conscious mood, and, especially, the importance of critique...critique in the fullest sense: not criticism merely, nor even polemic, but procedures by which other traditions are approached for what they may yield and for what they inhibit...From this point of view cultural studies is a process, a kind of alchemy for producing useful knowledge'. The cultural studies framework allows for the consideration of multiple theories and intellectual traditions. It also highlights the consideration that popular cultural forms are not divorced from the analysis of power and social possibilities (Johnson 1986). Cultural studies has resulted in a reconsideration of the constitution of the 'text' (as evidenced later in the discussion on representation in South Africa), allowing the range of what we consider to be a narrative or text to be constantly expanding. Johnson suggests that the notion of the text 'as something we can isolate, fix, pin down and scrutinise – depends upon the extensive circulation of cultural products which have been divorced from the immediate conditions of their production and have a moment of suspension, so to speak, before they are consumed' (1986: 52). The consideration of various cultural objects or forms as texts also requires us to consider the production context of these

texts. This in turn requires that we reflect on the conditions and means of production, particularly the cultural or subjective aspects of the texts: 'Context determines the meaning, transformations or salience of a particular subjective form as much as the form itself. Context includes the cultural features…but also the contexts of immediate situations…and the historical context or conjecture' (Johnson 1986: 67).

He further cautions against simply being locked into the narrow disciplinary methods of text-based studies and proposes that:

> The 'text' is no longer studied for its own sake, not even for the social effects it may be thought to produce, but rather for the subjective or cultural forms that it realises and makes available. The text is only a *means* in cultural study; strictly, perhaps, it is a raw material from which certain forms (e.g. narrative, ideological problematic, mode of address, subject position etc.) may be abstracted. It may also form *part* of a larger discursive field or *combination* of forms occurring in social spaces with some regularity. But the ultimate object of cultural studies is not, in my view, the text, but *the social life of subjective forms* at each moment of their circulation, including their textual embodiments. (1986: 62)

Johnson's argument as a whole offers a particular meta-cognitive insight into the academic pursuit of cultural studies and suggests possibilities for consideration when reviewing the field and consideration of best practice. He suggests that there are three main models of cultural studies research: production-based studies, text-based studies, and studies of lived cultures. Ultimately Johnson argues that what may be most useful or 'transformative' is a reconsideration of each moment in relation to the others, which allows a borrowing of objects and methods of study developed in relation to one moment into the next. These interconnections between models are useful when examining representations individually and in relation to each other. This project therefore considers the discursive constructions offered by the various texts about slavery through the use of primary sources such as walking tours, museums, wine farms, publicity materials, marketing strategies, newspaper articles and websites. The construction of these texts and their multiple contexts, in Johnson's terms will

be an important consideration. Secondary literature focusing on representation, feminist perspectives on identity construction and memory as an aesthetic and historical practice will be used to support the theorisation pertaining to their emergence and existence.

Ostendorf (1992) further suggests that within the broader context of multiculturalism (which cultural studies benefits from), cultural pluralism is motivated by the central ideal of tolerating difference. He suggests that here the 'coexistence of several cultures is accepted along the lines of racial descent, at some time there is assimilation and mixing in the social, economic and political spheres [and] Cultural pluralism would acknowledge difference, but in a basically cooperative, tolerant spirit which is guided by a belief in basic civil rights' (1992: 7). This description can be usefully applied to the South African post-apartheid context and informs a reading of cultural production in this setting.

W.J.T. Mitchell (1994) argues that there has been a 'pictorial turn' (also referred to as the visual turn) in contemporary culture and theory in which images, pictures and the realm of the visual have been recognised as important and valuable an area of study as that of language. The study of visual culture has explored the centrality of vision and the visual in producing meanings and establishing and maintaining aesthetic values. Rogoff suggests that

> visual culture opens up an entire world of intertextuality in which images, sounds and spatial delineations are read on to and through one another, lending ever-accruing layers of meanings and of subjective responses to each encounter we might have with film, TV, advertising, art works, buildings or urban environments. (1998: 14)

This visual turn allows a thoughtfulness about the representations of slavery that allows their interpretation and meaning construction to extend and displace whatever intention was present in their respective creations, and allows the possibility of a trans-disciplinary reading.

Rogoff proposes:

> we do not revert to ascribing meaning exclusively to an author, nor to the conditions and historical specificities of its making, nor to the politics of an authorizing community, [in order to] simultaneously evacuate the object of study from the disciplinary and other forms of knowledge territorialization. (1998: 15)

The approaches offered by cultural studies and visual culture, broadly speaking then, focus on understanding the ways in which meaning is made, distributed and produced through different structures within a particular culture (Johnson 1986, Mirzoeff 1998, Sardar 2004). This focus allows a consideration of texts to include a wide range of objects, such as written language, music, films, photographs, fashion and other meaningful cultural artefacts. Cultural studies methodologies are thus organised around their objects of enquiry rather than around a single theoretical precept (Schwoch & White, 2006: 9). Falkof (2013) provides a stimulating cultural studies approach to interpreting South African cultural phenomena in her readings of whiteness, anxiety and paranoia as contemporary concerns in post-apartheid South Africa linked to colonial formations of race and gender. This study and method contribute to the ways in which cultural studies scholarship are being extended in South Africa.

Representation, memory and discourses of nation in South Africa

As mentioned earlier, each of the sites under consideration is read in terms of its representation and as such the sites become part of an exploration of how slavery is represented and memorialised as part of South Africa's past. In addition, these memorialisations are considered in light of South Africa's current social, political, cultural and economic situations, what they enable and how they contribute to a set of contemporary meanings. This recollection of a past and interrogation of a present can be viewed simultaneously through a discussion of memory, which forms part of the framework of this study, where each representation will also be viewed as an act of memory. In this regard, this project is interested in exploring how these sites are framed within cultural contexts; the implication for considerations of memorialisation; the nature of these representations; and

their relationship to memory. In particular, I provide a discussion of the areas of memory politics, theories pertaining to nation and nationalism and cultural studies and the political impact of these theories.

Feminist perspectives in memory politics

A series of assumptions about gender and the practice of memory must be interrogated in order to understand the positioning of feminism in relation to memory and to disrupt some of the assumptions traditional conceptualisations of memory carry. In the introduction to 'Feminism and Cultural Memory', a special edition of *Signs*, editors Marianne Hirsch and Valerie Smith pose particular questions about feminist theories of empathy, intersubjectivity, space, solidarity, the body and bodily memory, and representation in relation to memory (2002: 2). They note:

> Feminist readings of autobiography and memoir, and feminist practices of oral history, have struggled to define the gendered manifestations of those literary genres and have thus analyzed gender differentiations in acts of personal and cultural memory. Preoccupations with the gendered politics of decolonization, exile, migration, and immigration have given rise to questions about the archive and about the transmission of memory across spatial and generational boundaries. (2002: 3)

They point to the multiple and ongoing ways in which feminist studies have intersected with 'cultural and collective memory, national memory, counter memory, nostalgia, memorialization, legal memory and testimony and the memory and 'postmemory' of the Holocaust' (2002: 3), arguing that concepts of gender and 'cultural memory' remain complex, contested and used in multiple ways. Similarly, this research will highlight some of the diverse ways 'gender' and cultural memory' are traced in texts that are concerned with the memory of slavery in South Africa. A further positioning within an African feminist perspective allows the particularities of this context to become apparent, and is useful in terms of framing this inquiry. Gqola suggests the relevance of this framework in considering the role of slave women in South Africa allows us to think of the 'historical presence through

both individual slave women and the traces left behind by slave (women) communities' (2007: 32). Furthermore, she makes the point that the

> African feminist/womanist imperative requires the examination of 'unconventional' locations in addition to combing the state/museum archives, newspaper archives, court records and other narratives which may not immediately appear to hold such contents. Such 'unconventional' locations can function as valuable sources of contestatory meanings and other significances that centre the lives of African/Asian women. (2007: 32)

This project recognises the value of these 'unconventional' locations when attempting to reconstruct the vestiges of gendered slave experiences. It extends the sites of knowledge about slavery and contributes to a genealogy of representation. Particularly in relation to Solms-Delta wine estate, it foregrounds an alternative set of experiences and offers them as relevant and meaningful; not only in understanding the past, but as central to how those in the present community on the estate and its surrounds construct meaning for their lives and identities. The various themed tours and wine tastings offer an unusual location to investigate representations of slavery, history and the implications of these for the cultural discourse generated by and encompassing the estate itself. This research thus considers the connections between this set of representations and the broader South African cultural context when it comes to slave representations.

This project also uses ideas from social memory as a theoretical lens through which to understand some of the reasons behind the visibility of slavery in the public sphere in post-apartheid South Africa.

Social memory studies is a description offered by Olick and Robbins (1998), who characterise social memory, also commonly referred to as collective memory, as follows:

> Scholars have viewed social memory narrowly as a subfield of the sociology of knowledge and broadly as the "connective structure of societies". They have seen it as involving particular sets of practices like commemoration and monument building and

> general forms like tradition, myth, or identity. They have approached it from sociology, history, literary criticism, anthropology, art history, and political science, among other disciplines. They have studied it in simple and complex societies, from above and below, across the geographical spectrum. Social memory studies…is nevertheless, or perhaps as a result, a nonparadigmatic, transdisciplinary, centerless enterprise (Olick et al 2011)

The ways in which social, or collective memory functions, are explored in this context – in the organisation of 'stories' of memory within the sites as well as in those who produce or actively engage in the sites. The ways in which memory is invoked, paying particular attention to when this occurs and the broader illustrative moments of memory at work (in media coverage, public debates, publicity material, commemorations and festivals) will suggest that a network of ideas about slavery circulate in ongoing ways in the Western Cape and that these, ultimately, are tied to 'Colouredness' or 'Coloured identity' while simultaneously being extended beyond this debate. This project is also located within the ongoing attempts throughout the African continent to theorise and place slavery's 'missing stories'. It will also consider the various representations and examples of memorialisation that have emerged, which exist alongside the traditional historical conceptions of the archive. The study proposes that a cultural studies analysis of memorialising slavery and representations of slavery in present-day popular culture offers a new perspective on the influence of slave narratives on representational practice and discourse in relation to a re-shaping of racial identity-formation in contemporary South Africa. In formulating a response, this thesis engages with the scholarship on slavery in South Africa. Therefore, a consideration of memory politics and the process of memorialisation in museum practices is necessary, as it informs and helps to frame the socio-political and theoretical context in which the study is situated.

The projects considers what is foregrounded in these representations of slavery; what the effect of these forms of representation are and why these choices about representing slavery

are taking place in post-apartheid South Africa. They suggest that the framework of memory contributes something unique to a discussion of slavery and nation. The study will further respond to three specific research questions. Firstly, how are representations of slavery linked to documenting histories of slavery within South Africa? Secondly, collective memory studies and politics are intersecting with societies processing their collective trauma. Are there indications that the emerging memories of slavery in South Africa carry the potential to help the country come to terms with its slave past? Finally, how is memory mobilised and by whom? The specific sites, the Slave Lodge and the Memorial to the Enslaved (see Chapter Four), the Transcending History Slave walking tour and the Slave Heritage Walks of Cape Town (see Chapter Five) and Solms-Delta wine estate (see Chapter Six), provided the primary source material for this study and are analysed according to the theoretical and methodological frameworks further detailed below.

Feminist Methodologies

While I am interested in questions of gendered experiences in the study of slavery, this project is not overtly an enquiry into gender and representation of slavery. Instead I focus on the ways in which a feminist methodology enables a specific approach to the data collection, reading and analysis. In this regard, feminist methodologies surface the embedded power relations at play in all research, as well as in society, and require the researcher not only to be aware of them, but to find ways to counter them in the production of knowledge. Increasingly, applying a gender-specific lens to the study of slavery has allowed for the inclusion of those outside the traditional spheres of research, as Gqola points out in her reflection on conventional studies of slavery:

> [T]he delegation of recognisable slave traces to court archives made … knowledge [of slave women's experiences] the exclusive domain of academics with time, permission and resources to unearth them. The renaming of those sites which would bear testimony to our slave past served to erase this historical juncture. (2007: 38)

The renaming of public sites affords a broader vision through which to contemplate the impact of slavery on South African society.

Design

My research consequently draws on an interdisciplinary methodology, grounded in feminist theory within the humanities and social science, which at its core interrogates the relationship between research 'subjects' and my role as researcher. I also used bricolage as an approach to qualitative inquiry to encompass the multi-methodological tactics employed in this research. According to Rogers (2012), bricolage research 'can be considered a critical, multi-perspectival, multi-theoretical and multi-methodological approach to inquiry' (2012: 1). He notes that the term and its metaphoric explanation[4] are usually used within the domain of qualitative research wherein they denotes 'methodological practices explicitly based on notions of eclectism, emergent design, flexibility and plurality' (2012: 2) and that the approach enables researchers to embrace a multiplicity of epistemological and political dimensions through their inquiry.

Roger summarises a number of influential approaches to bricolage research, citing the work of Denzin and Lincoln (1999), who identified five types of bricoleurs (interpretative, methodological, theoretical, political and narrative) who use a combination of 'multiple methodological practices, empirical materials, perspectives and observers as strategies in individual studies to add rigour, breadth, complexity, richness and depth to an inquiry' (Rogers 2012: 4). For Denzin and Lincoln, interpretative bricoleurs 'reflexively piece together their research,' examining both the object of inquiry and 'how their own positioning affects their research process' (ibid.). They combine multiple research tools and 'engage in fluid, eclectic and creative approaches to inquiry' that respect 'the complexity of the meaning-making process by allowing the contextual contingencies to dictate which data-

[4] The metaphor of the bricoleur is useful in conveying and understanding the methodological approach in research: 'The etymological foundation of bricolage comes from a traditional French expression that denotes crafts-people who creatively use materials left over from other projects to create new artifacts. To fashion their bricolage projects, bricoleurs use only the materials "at-hand" (Levi-Strauss 1966)' (Rogers 2012: 1).

gathering and analytical methods to use' (ibid.: 5). Theoretical bricoleurs, on the other hand, work through and between multiple theoretical paradigms, 'performing multiple readings on an artefact, text or phenomenon' (ibid.). Political bricoleurs are aware of how knowledge and power are connected and as such "develop counter-hegemonic forms of inquiry that rally against 'oppresive social constructs and injustices, producing knowledge that benefits those who are disenfranchised' " (ibid.: 6). Finally, narrative bricoleurs work from the critical position that an inquiry is itself a representation (or narrative) shaped by ideologies and discourses, and 'attempt to trouble and avoid univocal research representatons' (ibid.: 7).

The other influential approach to bricolage that Rogers includes is that of Kincheloe (2005) who aims to 'criticalize' bricolage inquiry in three specific ways. These include (1) moving away from positivist and monological research approaches that he suggests reinforces oppressive, marginalising and violent social structures; (2) embracing research pursuits that appreciate the complexity of the lived world and; (3) moving towards emancipatory research approaches based on critical theories, and 'interdisciplinary/postmodernist/poststructuralist epistemological rationalities' (Kincheloe 2005a, 2005c cited in Rogers 2012: 7-8).

Rogers' discussion of Kincheloe's ideas highlight the critical constructivist position that recognises that all knowledge is crafted in a contextual space and is thus temporally and culturally situated (Rogers 2012:10). In order to respect the complexity of this position, Rogers shows how Kincheloe suggests the adoption of what he calls symbiotic hermeneutics – a process that is designed to help bricoleurs explore how contexts and relationships constitute phenomena by allowing them to find 'ways that phenomena are interconnected with other phenomena, and socially constructed in a dialogue between culture, institutions and historical contexts' (ibid.). As Rogers demonstrates, 'bricolage addresses the plurality and complex political dimensions of knowledge work' (2012: 14) and as such has been a critical position in this project.

The combination of feminist research methodologies, cultural studies approaches and a theoretical reading of memory studies provides this dissertation with its bricolage. Each of these methods and their attendant concerns have been chosen to best suit the complexity of the representational examples as well as a reading of their relationships with each other and the meaning-making process. Below I detail some individual features of feminist methodological perspectives and the consideration of representation within a cultural studies framework.

Throughout this research process I have adopted a critical feminist perspective. Ackerly and True describe this perspective as one that 'uses critical enquiry and reflection on social injustice by way of gender analysis, to *transform,* and not simply explain, the social order' (2010: 2). Furthermore they suggest that the perspective encourages opening new lines of inquiry versus simply addressing what may be seen as gaps within already existing disciplinary terrains. Importantly, this perspective is informed by 'critical, post-colonial, post-structural theories and neo-Marxist political economy' (ibid.). In many ways investigating slave memory in sites of cultural production as an avenue of inquiry provides alternative approaches to understanding questions of belonging and participation in the production of national discourses of race and reconciliation in the post-apartheid context.

Feminist research ethics

According to Ackerly and True, the use of a feminist methodology reflects the researcher's 'commitment to using a whole constellation of methods reflectively and critically with the end aim being the production of data that serve feminist aims of social justice' (Ackerly & True, 2010: 6). My research is in keeping with this perspective and is concerned with a feminist research ethic which Ackerly and True suggest encompasses four key elements including (1) attentiveness to power, (2) attentiveness to boundaries, intersections and normalisation, (3) attentiveness to relationships among all stakeholders and (4) self-reflection at each stage of the process (2010: 21). These considerations informed the types of questions contained in the interview protocol, which included specific questions about representation,

gender and identity dynamics and political redress (see Appendix F). The nature of the sites and the subjects made it necessary to interview some individuals formally and others informally at the sites themselves (see Appendix F). Having visited each of the research sites more than once, a number of my observations were also the result of extensive observation of how visitors and professionals interacted at the sites (as each of the sites are open to the public and run as working memorials, museums or tours, there were always a number of people present at the sites). The formal and informal ways in which data were collected for this thesis therefore underpinned how I approached the subsequent analysis. Throughout this process my multiple postions as researcher also required ongoing critical reflection. In terms of an attentiveness to power and an attentiveness to relationships between all stakeholders, during the formal interview process I asked participants if there was any additional information they wanted to share as well as asking them if they had any questions for me about the project or my research into slavery. In conducting interviews with professionals associated with the sites I visited, I was also cognisant of what impact my persona may have had on the interview process. As a woman from Johannesburg who self-identifies as 'Coloured' and who spoke in English during the formal interviews to 'Coloured' and 'White' men and women who gave their responses in both Afrikaans and English in the interviews, I became aware of the regional, racial and language expectations and assumptions that prevailed in the interview situations. Often inferences were made and questions posed about my own personal connection to the study; did I know where my surname came from? Had I traced my family tree? Did I know if there were any known slave connections and ancestors? These questions held little initial interest for me as part of my research process, but of which I remained ambiguously aware, as having shaped how participants responded to my questions and my presence at the sites.

As far as an attentiveness to boundaries, intersections and normalisation are concerned, this has been an ongoing point of reflection during this research process - and has included the way in which I developed relationships with participants (having returned to sites more than once I was able to build a relationship that provided alternative strategies to that of the traditional informer/informant roles). At the same time I was also continuously aware of the

fact that many of the participants interviewed worked in professional tourism industries so I needed to be attuned to the financial dynamics that underpinned their work and their interaction with visitors and researchers. As a result of this context I remained aware throughout this research process and dissertation that the nature of promotion of particular products (wine farm tours, walking tours, merchandise etc.) that make up aspects of my study profiles certain institutions in particular ways.

I also made traditional use of the fieldwork journal as well as a process in which I reflected on each of the stages of conducting this research. Some of this is directly referenced in the dissertation, while other sections directly benefit from some of the insights gained through this reflective process I did not use the documentation process for specific inclusion in the project, as with some ethnographic methods, but rather as a form of self-reflection. As Ackerly and True note '[b]y requiring the practice of this reflection, a feminist research ethic guides the asking of important questions about context, changes, interrelatedness, relationships of power, boundaries and embedded epistemology in ways that empower the researcher to break new ground' (2010: 25).

What feminist methodology is not

Ackerly and True encourage researchers to remember what a feminist methodology is not. They suggest:

> a feminist methodology is *not* a series of particular methods or guidelines for research, like a protocol, but a commitment to using a whole constellation of methods reflectively and critically, with the end aim being the production of data that serve feminist aims of social justice. Thus, a feminist methodology is a way of using and reflecting on methods, and not a particular research design. Rigorous feminist methodologies lead decisions made during the research. (2010: 6)

Finally, Ackerly and True further argue that whilst critical self-reflection is not unique to critical feminism, 'the scope of these reflections sets most feminist contributions apart from most mainstream social science disciplines of politics…often, but not always explicitly stated, a feminist research ethic (in the sense of a practice and a set of ethical commitments)

guides the researcher through systematic reflection throughout the process, from research question to publication' (2010: 7). Thus, '[a] feminist research ethic is a commitment to inquiry about *how* we inquire' (Ackerly & True 2010: 22) (my emphasis). Throughout this research process I have attempted to make my own positionality and research interests explicit during the fieldwork and interview process. Equally important is making this positionality visible in the ways in which the analysis is presented, and as such the selection, understanding and use of theoretical literature is informed by this location, evidenced in Chapter Two. Feminist studies (Spivak 1988, Hill Collins 1991, Scott 1991) have redefined what counts as knowledge and sought new ways to frame research questions. As a result they have reconsidered the relationships between subjects and objects of study, allowing for discussions of intersectionality and positionality. These are all pertinent to the objectives of my study, which aims ultimately to question how and to what extent slavery in post-apartheid South Africa is represented and what the change in political terms effects for memorialisation practice.

The place of memory in recent South African history and politics continues to be a topic of debate and carries particular relevance for individuals and communities. As a discourse its relevance encompasses both the private and the public, and it promotes the inclusive production of representations and recollections of a shared past that was long depicted as separate. Ana Lucia Araujo describes memory and its work in the following terms: 'In this new context, memory no longer functions simply as a way to transmit the past but rather as a way of making the present a place or a moment of rupture, a process that very often involves the search for an identity that has been denied, lost or suppressed' (2009: 2). In similar ways an investigation into South Africa's recent past reveals how memory has been used to forge new national identities, to fashion cohesive communities, to propose a rhetoric of healing

through remembering, and much more. Memory is a tool that has been utilised across multiple sectors of South Africa. Increasingly studies in history, literature, politics, culture, sociology, psychology and gender have mobilised the study of memory in their interrogation of material. Nuttall and Coetzee (1998), Samuelson (2007) and Stanley (2008) each consider the place of memory and memory politics in discerning aspects of post-apartheid South Africa.

This focus on memory further suggests that the relationship between slavery and memory in memorial projects in post-apartheid South Africa can help us to explain larger questions about the ongoing political impact of race, nation, identity and their long histories within the geographical, social and cultural landscape.

The sites studied in this regard are framed through ideas of memory, which often intersect and overlap. Each of the sites contributes a series of ideas about memorial practice about slavery in the Western Cape. When viewed together, I argue, they provide a reflection on ways in which the memory of slavery is used to do other work outside of memorialisation, and how they contribute to what constitutes the national discourses of race and reconciliation.

The multiple ways in which the sites operate inform the ways in which collective memory functions, and also demonstrate that multiple approaches are necessary to read and understand their significance. The sites offer the opportunity for important work on memory about slavery and the multiple ways in which it is used in the post-apartheid period.

The case studies that form the basis of this project include the integration and analysis of walking tours, museums, monuments, wine farms, and selected publicity material. The three

specific case studies analysed are the Slave Lodge and the Memorial to the Enslaved in Church Square both in Cape Town (see Chapter Four), select slave walking tours offered in the city of Cape Town (see Chapter Five) and Solms-Delta wine estate in Franschhoek (see Chapter Six); all are located in the Western Cape and were started, conceived and built or overhauled in the post-apartheid period. All the case studies selected represent slavery in the Cape as central to their work and are actively conceptualised in terms of memorialisation.

Each case study also exposes, either explicitly or implicitly, the connections between slavery and the Cape. As such, consideration of these case studies allows for an analysis of certain emerging trends in the memorialisation of slavery in post-apartheid South Africa. The walking tours are slave route walking tours in the city of Cape Town that acknowledge and affirm the socio-economic and cultural contribution of slaves to the Western Cape and South Africa. The Slave Lodge is a museum dedicated to documenting the history of slavery in Cape Town, and uses the building itself as an artefact of a slave past. The Memorial to the Enslaved is situated in Church Square and comprises a number of granite blocks meant to commemorate the history of slavery in the city of Cape Town. The wine estate, Solms-Delta, located in Franschhoek, has a museum (Museum van de Caab) that focuses on the history of the farm, including a large section dedicated to the history of slavery on the property and in the area. The estate itself has included the slave heritage in its wine, cuisine, marketing and museum practices.

In each of the chapters that analyse the examples of representations of slave memory, I consider the ways in which slavery is evoked. In Chapter Four, slavery is invoked as promoting a collective remembrance of the past and its atrocities, although as I point out, this is largely a one-sided remembering that continues to exclude certain communities. In so doing, it reinscribes one set of problematic narratives about South Africa's slave past and its

relevance to the discursive construction of race and reconciliation in the post-apartheid nation. Chapter Five sees slavery referenced as an unavoidable heritage that, when made visible, provides opportunities to participate in economic, business and heritage discourses that provide profitable prospects. In Chapter Six remembrance takes the form of using slave history to frame contentious economic and labour practices as progressive in current socio-economic and political contexts.

A note on terminology and naming practices

In thinking about how to identify and name the traditional practices of slavery in this context it is important to acknowledge that naming is not a simple, unbiased project. Instead it carries political and ideological imperatives which are often hidden or naturalised in the process. Referring to 'enslaved people' instead of 'slaves' puts the emphasis on the concept of the enslaved as people rather than as property (see Linenthal, 2006: 215).

Zimitri Erasmus notes in her introduction to the collection, *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place*, 'There is no such thing as the Black 'race'. Blackness, whiteness and colouredness exist, but they are cultural, historical and political identities. To talk about 'race mixture', miscegenation, 'inter-racial' sex and 'mixed descent' is to use terms and habits of thought inherited from the very 'race science' that was used to justify oppressions, brutality and the marginalisation of so-called 'bastard peoples' '(2001: editor's note). In similar ways I maintain that recognition of the use of these terms comes with an understanding that there are limitations in relation to 'fixing' an identity to a particular term, especially when the groups they are denoting are not homogenous. As such I write the term 'Coloured' in quotation marks to visually communicate that the term or its meaning are not taken for granted.

Slavery remains intimately connected and concealed in the history of ‘Coloured’ identity in South Africa. Whilst discussions of slavery were largely absent in the official construction of ‘Coloured’, as a racial classification in colonial and apartheid South Africa the identity was imbued with negative stereotypes, constructed as lacking and portrayed as the result of miscegenation, and caught between white and black binaries. In the post-apartheid context, alternative representations of ‘Colouredness’ have begun to emerge and the historical legacies of slavery have gained increased visibility in relation to this racial and cultural set of identities; something which is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Chapter Two

Slavery and 'Coloured' identity: Reviewing the historical relationship

This chapter offers a review of the literature that traces the historical relationship between slavery and 'Coloured' identity. It does this in order to provide contextual information about why slave memory and history appear to have been systematically abandoned or strategically forgotten in apartheid South Africa (see Ward & Worden 1998) and to consider the stage at which memories of slavery appear more readily remembered in the post-apartheid period. This, I suggest, is tied to the persistence of apartheid race categories in the discourses of racialisation and non-racialism in the post-apartheid context and subsequently how forms of belonging and participation in the production of national discourses are navigated.

This discussion contextualises the overall claim this thesis makes - that the history and legacy of slavery is relevant in post-apartheid South Africa, as I illustrate how the memory of slavery was traditionally seen to be germane only to a marginal group of South Africans (the group most closely assoiciated with slave descendency: 'Coloured'). I argue throughout this thesis that the ways in which slave memory is used at the three different representational sites – Solms-Delta, The Slave Lodge and the Memorial to the Enslaved - and in the slave walking tours, challenges this perception, as they demonstrate that these forms of memory have purchase for a larger collective, and not only for 'Colouredness'.

The literature referred to is arranged thematically into three broad categories. There are of course ways in which ideas and positions overlap, but for the purposes of this chapter, it has been useful to think of the literature as framing three approaches to 'Coloured' identity that propose a specific reading of the relationship between slavery and 'Colouredness'. The first framework I suggest reflects on 'Coloured' within representational politics; here the focus on

slavery (in terms of history and memory) provides alternative strategies for considering race and other categories of identity and, significantly, provides opportunities to revisit the visibility and impact of traditional representations of the relationship between 'Coloured' and slavery. The second framework sees 'Coloured' as a socio-historical category premised on aspects of agency, in which slavery is one element of identity formation. The third framework considers 'Coloured' as a political identity that results from political organisation and identity. It includes a consideration of the external factors that presumably contributed to the development of 'Coloured', particularly the mineral revolution of the 19th century in pre-industrial Cape Town, and figures the emancipation of slaves as one of the important historical events that shape identity-formation.

This discussion is prefaced by a consideration of 'Coloured' as part of a larger understanding of race and its constitution in post-apartheid South Africa.

With this as the background I propose the post-apartheid literature reviewed below achieves a number of important objectives: it foregrounds slavery as significant to South Africa's formation; it suggests that there were a number of important contributions and legacies the enslaved peoples made in more than just cultural terms; it posits that the study and understanding of the memory of slavery can and does do important work beyond simply providing us with alternative histories. These objectives go a long way to extending the articulation of what constitutes a national discourse in post-apartheid South Africa in relation to racial and cultural identity-formations and the links they have with nation-building.

In Chapter One I offered an explanation for naming choices and definitions used in this work. I stated the need to acknowledge the place of cultural, historical and political identities whilst

resisting the impulse to read their markers as essential or static or to forget that these race-based naming practices have been inherited from systems of imperial, colonial and apartheid oppressions. In this chapter, particularly, I am reminded of Zimitri Erasmus' position on traditions of naming; in her introduction to the collection, *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place*, Erasmus explains that 'To talk about 'race mixture', miscegenation, 'inter-racial' sex and 'mixed descent' is to use terms and habits of thought inherited from the very 'race science' that was used to justify oppressions, brutality and the marginalization of so-called 'bastard peoples' '(2001: 13). In similar ways then, this chapter begins with the recognition that using these terms comes with an understanding that there are limitations in relation to restricting an identity to a particular term, especially when the groups they are denoting are not homogenous or that the terms themselves are not used in consistent or unproblematic ways.

This chapter deals with slavery's historical legacies of harm[5] in identity politics of 'Colouredness', and therefore requires that particular attention be paid to how terms are used and what ongoing work they do in perpetuating these legacies of harm (see Mare 2014).

The choice to identify all racial categories in inverted commas is an attempt to signify this process of thought and to indicate an ongoing consideration of what role racial categories play in the post-apartheid South African context[6].

[5] I am grateful to Cynthia Kros and David Wilkins, colleagues in the Wits School of Arts for this particular formulation of the inheritances of slavery as a form of harm which is still with us in specific ways of thinking and being.

[6] Adhikari (2006) addresses the problematic practice and history of naming and definitions by 'using the term *Coloured* to refer to those people who refer to themselves as Coloured' (xv). He also refers to his choice to use the capital C by quoting Paul Stober who expressed his sentiment as follows, 'As a distinct ethnic group with over three million members, we deserve a capital letter' (ibid.).

At the outset of this chapter I also want to draw on the work of Mignolo (2011), who argues for the democratisation of epistemology; this has impacted acutely on my recognition that the ways in which I argue we should think about 'Colouredness' and slavery are related to and undoubtedly informed by my own contextual positioning and approach, which I outline further below. According to South African apartheid categories still operating today I have officially been categorised as 'Coloured' and I self-identify as such.

Shu-mei and Lionnet articulate Mignolo's formulation that it is imperative to recognise the intimate connections between biography ('I am'), geography ('where'), and knowledge ('I think') (2011: 29). This conception is based on the ideas of Sanitago Castor-Gómez, Rodolfo Kusch, Sylvia Winter and Malik Bennabi. Mignolo suggests that 'being where one thinks [has] become a fundamental concern of those who have been relegated to a second or third place in the global epistemic order' (Mignolo: 161):

> 'I am where I think' sets the stage for epistemic affirmations that have been disavowed. At the same time, it creates a shift in the geography of reasoning. For if the affirmation 'I am where I think' is pronounced from the perspective of the epistemic disavowed, it implies 'and you too', addressed to the epistemology of the zero point. In other words, 'we are all where we think', but only the European system of knowledge was built on the belief that the basic premise is 'I think, therefore I am', which was a translation into secular terms of the theological foundation of knowledge (in which we already encounter the privilege of the soul over the body). (ibid.)

This intimate connection of biography, geography and knowledge provides a location for my role and experience as researcher and the relevance of this experience in formulating some of the observations in this thesis. This recognition of an epistemic position is also in keeping with feminist methodologies which surface the embedded power relations at play in all research, as well as in society, requiring of the researcher to not only be aware of them, but, as discussed above, find ways to counter them (see Ackerly & True 2010).

Mignolo (2011) further proposes that the geopolitics of knowledge are important if we are to understand the pretensions to universality of Western thought and as such I offer an exposition of my own biography and geography and consider how they have informed what and how I think about the centrality of slavery to 'Colouredness' and the broader experience of racialised identities as the result of colonial thinking and systematic oppression.

In many ways, like Erasmus (2001), I have understood from an early age the deeply entrenched negative associations of 'Coloured' identity and have only recently come to understand the fundamental relationship this has to the experience of slavery and imperialism and colonialism in South African apartheid history. Understanding myself and my experience as 'Coloured' in Johannesburg during the 1980s and 1990s in South Africa is to recognise that mine was and is an experience that is part of what Adhikari refers to as the elite or petit bourgeoisie of the various 'Coloured' communities (2006). Marked in many ways as distinct from Cape 'Coloured' communities, my childhood made it clear that the politics of respectability (Higginbottom 1994, Erasmus 2001) were at play. Absent in this experience was an acknowledgement or articulation by anyone that systematic state oppression governed my understanding of race and, therefore, life, through various examples of belonging and not belonging. There was barely a recognition that apartheid existed outside of an ongoing racism - towards everyone - that was so naturalised it would take me years to see it, let alone formulate a response against it.

I have subsequently come to research notions of 'Colouredness', therefore, not as an objective 'outsider' or even less as a committed 'insider' in identity terms. Rather, theoretical enquiry has offered me a set of tools to think about my experience. My memories and recollection of how my experiences of race, identity and gender were shaped during apartheid

can be read here as an example of cultural memory as described by Hirsch and Smith (2002). Borrowing from Paul Connerton's notion of 'an act of transfer' they view cultural memory as 'an act in the present by which individuals and groups constitute their identities by recalling a shared past on the basis of a common, and therefore often contested, norms, conventions and practices' (2002: 5). My memories of my experience of 'Colouredness' in the last decade of apartheid are very much transactions informed, as Hirsch and Smith suggest, by 'complex dynamics between past and present, individual and collective, public and private, recall and forgetting, power and powerlessness, history and myth, trauma and nostalgia, conscious and unconscious fears or desires'(ibid.). These ongoing intersections between individual and collective memory are significant for my own location and approach to the geopolitics of knowledge and are discussed in terms of how memory is related to the production of national discourse, in Chapter Three.

During the course of this research I have found numerous ways in which historical evidence stands in stark contrast to the myths about racial categorisation I was raised on and exposed to throughout my life; theoretical framings offer plausible and affirmative alternatives, and ways in which I can articulate and lay claim to my specific experience; personal accounts illustrate that my life is not unlike many others who look like me, which has offered untold solace and moments of confrontation. Ultimately, this has provided me with an understanding that the legacies of oppression in South Africa matter for everyone, and they begin with the experience of slavery – an experience many people still do not acknowledge in a country continually attempting to sanitise and expunge the meaning of this experience from its memory and construction. Erasmus identifies this complex process as one of entanglement - living with everything one is (2001: 25).

The geopolitics of knowledge thus provide the backdrop for reading the memory of slavery as relevant to more than just 'Colouredness', as I illustrate in this and other chapters. But first, a contextualisation of 'Colouredness' within the broader context of race and notions of 'blackness' and the complexities of this discussion in apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa.

MacDonald suggests that South Africa's races originated in political experiences as well as cultural similarities and that the white supremacist state made communities of 'whites' and 'blacks' by conferring citizenship on the one and denying it to the other (2006a: 3). His work examines the theoretical foundations of race as a construct for reifying collective identity and as such he documents how disparate racial groups were constituted through these political experiences of belonging and exclusion (Cooper 2008: 131). MacDonald begins his analysis with the acknowledgement that race is no longer recognised as a 'biogenetic reality'(2006a: 1) and examines instead how we read race as an identity devised by humans as part of their agency and not as a matter of 'natural' biological determinism. MacDonald shows that, in the face of denaturalised understandings of race, we now see race as a cultural formation, although this itself is not entirely unproblematic.

MacDonald demonstrates how the apartheid state posited racial identities as paramount and how, as a result, it defined and classified all people on this basis and arranged society accordingly: 'races were deemed integral categories and were declared to impress distinctive essences on their bearers'(2006a: 92). As I will illustrate later in this chapter – the notion of essentialism and its limitations were negatively formulated in the case of 'Colouredness' and its misinterpreted relationship with slavery. Many of these misinterpretations informed the

discourse of racialisation in apartheid South Africa and have been slow to be overcome in the post-apartheid period.

MacDonald's deliberation about why race still matters in the problematic formulation of non-racial, post-apartheid South Africa, and what work conceptions of the races do, is formulated in three wide-ranging approaches. The first is related to what race is and how it has been conceived in the context of South Africa. The second is related to the relationship between race and the state in making, undermining and sustaining capitalism in South Africa. The third approach looks at the changes of meaning of race in democratic South Africa.

According to MacDonald under the influence of the African National Congress (ANC) the anti-apartheid movement called for and made non-racialism the official ideology of South Africa. He suggests that depending on the context non-racialism means 'rejecting racism, rejecting racialism or rejecting both', and that in recent usage 'it also affirms liberal democratic ideals' (2006: 106). MacDonald outlines the development of the ANC's sense of non-racialism over many years. The most recent articulation he suggests the party used, entailed negating the negation of racism and racialism (2006a: 106). In this understanding non-racialism is defined largely by what it is not – it is not racism and it is not racialism. MacDonald argues that it thus creates a double negation at its heart. He further shows how in the South African usage apartheid was both racist and racialist – the former in that it systematically installed and privileged whites over blacks and the latter in that it defined political participation racially (2006a: 107). He proposes that this is one reason why the ''non' in non-racialism may reject racist domination and racialist political organisation or racist domination but not racialist political organisation' – a position he notes allowed the ANC government room to choose which aspects it would reject on the basis of non-racialism

(2006a: 108). Consequently MacDonald shows, non-racialism as the negation of the negation is an ideal consisting of three objectives: 'overcoming racism, eradicating official racialism and propounding universal citizenship'(ibid.).

Finally I want to consider MacDonald's position on how racially organised politics characteristic of the apartheid period were compatible with non-racialism - a position that post-apartheid, democtratic South Africa adopted.

There are three ways MacDonald suggests the ANC proposed to make these two positions compatible. The first saw African nationalism as inclusive, democratic and predicated on the rejection of privilege of any group. The second approach involved the dissociation of culture from race – on the basis that South Africans were produced by the very interaction of various cultures. Finally, the ANC proposed that understanding the origin of the concept of nation – envisaged as a political construct formed through common citizenship – would make racially organised politics more compatible with the ideals of non-racialism (2006a: 112). As MacDonald concludes, the ANC's democratic, non-racial nationalism thus advanced several key assurances, namely that '[a]ll citizens would have the same political rights; that race would not be recognised by the state; universal guarantees for all citizens that would render specific protections for minorities unnecessary; and non-racialism would prevail, mostly because race would cease to matter formally' (ibid.). With the emergence of Black Consciousness (BC) in the 1970s and 1980s with its own formulation of racial consciousness, the ANC emphasised non-racialism to contrast itself with BC (2006: 115).

Ultimately MacDonald demonstrates that with the inclusion of BC activists into the ANC in the aftermath of the Soweto rebellion of 1976, the ideas of racial empowerment and the construction of black elites in the post-apartheid period (the implicit objectives of BC)

became the answer to the needs of the ANC in government. MacDonald, citing Biko, notes ‘the quintessence of black consciousness…is the realisation by the blacks that, in order to feature well in this game of power politics, they have to use the concept of group power and to build a strong foundation for this’(2006a: 123). MacDonald concludes that ‘the ensuing politics, which affirms specifically racial interests as it declaims race and which deracialises the interests of blacks while racialising those of whites is very useful for a government making racialist appeals while professing the ideology of non-racialism. It explains that blacks, even when acting racially have progressed beyond race’ (ibid.).

The ongoing racialist appeal with the simultaneous principles of non-racialism reverberates throughout post-apartheid conceptualisations and experiences of race (Durrheim, Mtose and Brown 2011), not least of which is the continued occupation by ‘Colouredness’ of ambiguous positions. Often echoed in the complaint by some ‘Coloured’ people that ‘during apartheid we were not white enough, and now we are not black enough’, this suggests, as Jorritsma notes, an internalisation of the apartheid classificatory system that saw ‘ ‘coloured’ people as belonging to a race category that is between black and white, and /or neither black nor white’ (2011: 6). Adhikari has suggested that the post-apartheid period in South Africa has seen what he terms a resurgence of ‘Colouredism’, ‘with many people who had rejected the identity reembracing it [because of a] fear of African majority rule, perceptions that Coloureds were being marginalized, a desire to counter pervasive negative stereotyping of Coloured people, and attempts at capitalizing on the newly democratic environment in pursuit of political agendas’ (2006: 176). He cites these reasons as contributing to the ‘Coloured’ assertiveness in the new South Africa and I suggest add to the ambiguity and multiplicity of thinking about ‘Colouredness’ as maintaining racialist appeal in a non-racial society.

Ramphalile (2011) has argued that the dislocatory experience of South Africa's first democratic elections introduced an opportunity for the production of alternative discourses of race. He considers the racialised subjectivities of the 'patriotic black' subject and the 'liberal/antipatriotic' white subject in this context setting and suggests that the dialogic and binary nature of their constitution and their oppositional nature threatens the realisation of the ideals of non-racialism espoused in post-apartheid South Africa.

Thus the ongoing discourse of racialisation in post-apartheid as MacDonald, Adhikari and Ramphalile individually argue, sustains the unofficial role of race in South Africa, despite its principles of non-racialism. In this context, 'new' positionalities are reinscribed for 'blackness' and 'whiteness' and 'colouredness' although these positionalities remain locked within hierarchical thinking. Adhikari's argument is that one of the fundamental reasons why 'Coloured' identity needs to be studied and expressed in new forms is that 'the discrediting of racist ideologies and the abolition of apartheid have undermined the racial basis on which the identity operated from the time of its late-nineteenth century genesis'(2006: 182). The ideology of non-racialism in post-apartheid South Africa thus requires alternative ways of conceptualising 'Colouredness' – away from problematic racially-based claims – in order for 'Colouredness' to access and participate in the production of a national discourse that is organised around principles such as reconciliation, multiculturalism and democracy.

'Coloured' within the politics of representation[7]

In this first literature framework I suggest the reflections on 'Coloured' are contained within representational politics; where the focus on slavery (in terms of history and memory) provides alternative strategies for considering race[8] and other social identities. Significantly, this provides opportunities to revisit the visibility and impact of traditional representations of the relationship between 'Colouredness' and slavery.

Sociologist Zimitri Erasmus edited one of the seminal post-apartheid texts on 'Coloured' identity. The collection *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place* (2001) offers a multidisciplinary conceptual discussion of 'Coloured' identities. In Erasmus' introduction to the collection she offers a navigation of the conceptual terrain by identifying four key elements of how 'Coloured' identities have been thought about. It is worth noting them here as they form the basis for Erasmus' later argument about reconceptualising 'Coloured' identities. They also offer an opportunity for comparison with some of the issues Adhikari raises about 'Coloured' identities.

The first point Erasmus identifies is the ongoing conceptualisation of 'Coloured' identities in official and popular discourses; the second is about how racial discourses in South Africa made it impossible to consider 'Colouredness' as an identity in its own right; the third is about how 'Colouredness' is usually understood as a 'residual, in-between, or 'lesser' identity characterised as 'lacking', supplementary, excessive, inferior or simply non-

[7] In cultural studies, 'representation' refers to the production and circulation of meaning through language as a system of representation. In politics, representation often describes 'the activity of making citizens' voices, opinions and perspectives 'present' in the public policy making processes' (see http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/political-representation/). In this chapter the politics of representation makes reference to how representation shapes our collective perceptions and reproduces forms of symbolic power.

[8] Race is used here with the acknowledgement that is it socially constructed (and not something that exists as a material fact of life), with social imperatives altering the categories and meanings of race over time.

existent"; and the final refers to the 'marginalisation and trivialisation of 'Coloured' identities in relation to processes of building a national identity in post-apartheid South Africa'(2001: 15-16).

Erasmus' conceptual terrain provides an important location for the history and memory of slavery to re-configure and re-visit the meanings ascribed to the traditional relationship with 'Colouredness'.

For Erasmus et al. (2001) 'coloured identities are not based on 'race mixture' but on cultural creativity, creolised formations shaped by South Africa's history of colonialism, slavery, segregation and apartheid' (ibid.: 14). Erasmus goes on to suggest that 'in the context of post-apartheid South Africa we need to acknowledge the fluidity and the openness of identity - but not at the cost of imagining a rainbow-land where our relations with one another are not shaped by the past, by new configurations of 'race' or by emerging class and/or regional and broader politics on the continent' (ibid.: 15).

I have argued elsewhere (Cloete 2011) for the inclusion of hybridity as a supportive post-colonial theory in combination with Edward Glissant's understanding of creolisation as 'a process of infinite cultural transformation' (Glissant 1992: 142, cited by Erasmus 2001: 22). Zimitri Erasmus describes creolisation as involving 'the construction of an identity out of elements of ruling as well as subaltern cultures' (2001: 16). Together, hybridity and creolisation offer a way of thinking about 'Colouredness' that is not based simply on negative preoccupations. Rather it suggests that 'Colouredness' is a complex cultural formation with various contributing factors. Erasmus highlights that:

> the making of coloured subjectivities [should be explored] in a way which scrutinises established boundaries of black and white, African and European, progressive and reactionary…[arguing] that coloured identities are not based on 'race mixture' but on cultural creativity, creolised formations shaped by South Africa's history of

> colonialism, slavery, segregation and apartheid…[stressing] the ambiguity and ceaseless fluidity of coloured identity formations while remaining conscious of the conditions under which they are produced. (2001: 14)

The recognition of these complex cultural factors provides a necessary recognition and invocation of the work that memories of slavery can do in the post-apartheid context.

Another influential example of representational politics that locates 'Colouredness' in slavery is Gqola's *What is Slavery to Me?* (2010). The book examines how the South African imagination was conceived of and constructed during the time of transition from apartheid to post-apartheid, the ways in which slavery was evoked and remembered as part of that transition. Gqola begins with a brief mention of the complexities that informed this transitional space of post-apartheid. In particular, she thinks about the role of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) as a mnemonic exercise (2010: 3) and how it would help contribute to Nuttall and Coetzee's idea of the memory industry in South Africa (ibid.)[9]. Gqola's examination of slave memory in South Africa makes use of discourses of memory begun in the TRC's interrogations, during the transition period (2010: 4). While noting that the majority of memory studies at the time focused on apartheid, Gqola is interested in examining how 'slave memory and the uses of evoked slave pasts [are mobilised] for post-apartheid negotiations of identity' (2010: 4). Whilst foregrounding slave memory, Gqola's work traces the intimate and nuanced connections to 'Colouredness' in representational examples such as art, cooking and television and in so doing provides alternate strategies for considering the relationship between 'Colouredness' and slavery, arguing that slave memory extends beyond this collective to multiple sections of South African society.

[9] See Chapter Three for a detailed discussion of memory and the production of a national discourse.

The positions articulated above offer valuable suggestions that making slavery and slave history visible provides alternatives to race-based claims for articulating 'Coloured' identities and build on arguments that foreground self-definition and agency in identity-construction and analysis.

The section below opens with an assertion that the inclusion of literature such as this is based on its focused reading of 'Coloured' self-definition as fundamental to its intellectual concerns. Much more research exists that foregrounds racist ideologies about the histories and understandings of 'Coloured' identity (Venter 1974), and for a number of reasons those texts are not included here.[10] Rather, the literature that is included in this section asserts that 'Coloured' identity is a product of its bearers (Adhikari 2005: xiii) and sees this as vital to an understanding of its place in South African history.

'Coloured' as social and historical category

The work of historian Mohammed Adhikari has offered an invaluable contribution to the ways in which the history of 'Coloured' identity has been thought about in the last 30 years. His 2005 study is the first full-length systematic summary and analysis of 'Coloured' identity in South Africa and offers insight into the social and historical background of 'Coloured' identity, cementing his earlier ideas about how 'Coloured' identity is defined (1989). This is vital in building a body of scholarship about 'Colouredness' in the South African context that extends the ways in which the social, cultural and racial identities of 'Colouredness' are thought about.

[10] It is not the purpose of this chapter to rehearse the arguments that dismiss and limit 'Coloured' identities as inherently lacking and socially problematic. It takes as its basis that such literature such as that takes 'Coloured' identity for granted, 'as something inherent that needs no explanation because it is the automatic product of miscegenation' (Adhikari, 2005: xi).

Adhikari argues that, contrary to popular assumptions about the identity that view it as nebulous, 'Coloured' identity in fact remained relatively stable from its inception in the late 19th century up to the end of apartheid. He goes on to suggest that it is only in the post-apartheid period that the social identity of 'Colouredness' undergoes a noticeable degree of change and fragmentation. This had a profound impact on the re-emergence of slave memory. Viewing 'Coloured' identity as more than a racial category is an important approach to understanding the purchase the identity marker has in contemporary South African society. Race-based reasoning sees 'Colouredness' in essentialist terms as the result of racial mixing, the product of miscegenation. Social and cultural approaches foreground questions of agency in identity-formation and include a range of contributing factors which are informed by the history of colonialism and segregation in South Africa. I offer an assessment of Adhikari's ideas in this and other texts (1992, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2009) as they locate specific trends in how slavery and 'Colouredness' were viewed - namely as an important but brief factors in the shaping of 'Coloured' identity, helpful when considering the bigger picture of conceptualising and reading 'Colouredness' in South Africa in the post-apartheid period.

Adhikari asserts the importance of thinking about 'Colouredness' as an identity constituted socially and historically. This is significant as it moves away from race-based claims and classifications that continue to be problematic and limiting for addressing myths and racist stereotypes associated with 'Colouredness'.

Adhikari further notes that his focus is on material in which 'Coloured' identity involves the processes of self-definition, and as such he draws on the work of authors who would have been classified as 'Coloured' but who actively ascribe their own sets of meanings to the term. These meanings arguably get to grips with some, if not all of the three ideas which Adhikari

identifies as underpinning 'Coloured' identity in the late 19th and 20th centuries. Adhikari argues these elements allowed a certain continuity and consistency in how 'Coloured' identity was conceptualised before and during the apartheid period.

The central claim Adhikari makes in *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough* (2005) is that there have been four principle constituents of 'Coloured' identity which have ensured its continued political salience (Adhikari 2006b: 148).

These factors are

> (i)The Coloured people's assimilationism, which spurred hopes of a future acceptance into the dominant society; (ii) their intermediate status in the racial hierarchy, which generated fears that they might lose their position of relative privilege and be relegated to the status of Africans; (iii) the negative connotations with which Coloured identity was imbued, especially the shame attached to their supposed racial hybridity; (iv) and finally, the marginality of the Coloured people, which caused them a great deal of frustration. (Adhikari 2005: xii)

These factors also present a pivotal historical account of 'Coloured' identity.

Erasmus' argument about 'Colouredness' is that it is marked by fluidity and forms of creolisation – suggesting a dynamic that continually shifts and is quite responsive to its changing environment during colonialism, apartheid and post-apartheid. Adhikari, on the other hand, argues for a more stable understanding of 'Colouredness' that he suggests altered little during the colonial and apartheid period, but was forced to undergo a period of instability in the post-apartheid period. Both authors' positions usefully develop the scholarship about 'Colouredness' in South Africa. Although their differences in reading the formation of the identity and the factors that contributed to it must be noted, for my purposes it is beneficial to see the range of ideas about 'Colouredness' and slavery be articulated in scholarship – which suggests that there is a growing scholarly and popular interest in this identity – a valuable development that allows the interrogation of earlier problematic readings and understandings of 'Colouredness'.

In analysing Adhikari's argument it is necessary to consider why it is important that we view 'Coloured' identity as being constituted by sustained and consistent narratives. Adhikari (2006) reminds us that racial identities in South Africa became increasingly entrenched during the latter half of the 20th century as a result of apartheid policies that institutionalised these identities to unprecedented degrees (2006: 142). This he interprets as giving rise to racial stereotyping becoming entrenched in public discourse and popular culture in ways not seen before (ibid.). Significantly, this illustrates that the manner in which 'Coloured' identity is constituted is part of larger discursive formations of race-based identities in South Africa and, as such, the memory of slavery has relevance to a broad constituency. The instances of racism referred to in Chapter One – against people who are identified, or who self-identify, as 'Coloured' – provide an illustration of the ongoing legacies of race-based thinking. And the question of how employment equity is interpreted, in relation to who is considered 'black' - as illustrated in the case of the Western Cape and the preponderance of negative stereotypes about 'Colouredness' that inhabit some parts of the popular media - suggests that there remains an ongoing concern about 'Colouredness' and its apparent ambiguity in post-apartheid South Africa.

Adhikari states that in popular thinking 'Colouredness is not treated as a social identity but tends to be reified into a cluster of innate qualities that spontaneously and inexorably are assumed to manifest themselves in the offspring of black-white sexual intercourse'[11] (2006: 152). To then consider the stable elements of 'Coloured' identity based on historical experience and social situations of 'Coloured' communities regulated under white

[11] In Adhikari's (2006) article "'God Made the White Man, God Made the Black Man…':Popular Racial Stereotyping of Coloured People in Apartheid South Africa" there is an accounting of the racial stereotypes associated with 'Coloured' people. Adhikari develops an argument that suggests that humour and jokes reveal insight about societies and communities' values, aspirations, fears and hatreds and that '…jokes, especially the most enduring and popular ones, are authentic reflections of the perceptions, attitudes and mores of the societies in which they circulate, and are often more reliable indicators of popular thinking than the conventional sources used by historians and social analysts' (2006: 163).

domination, (Adhikari, 2005: xii) offers a progressive approach to theorising and analysing 'Coloured' identity. In focusing on the role 'Coloured' people 'themselves played in the making of their identity and by exploring the ways in which ambiguities and contradictions within their group identity shaped their consciousness...[Adhikari] seeks to elucidate the complexities in Coloured social experience hitherto neglected by historians and social scientists' (2005: xiv).

In explaining the history of 'Coloured' identity, Adhikari offers a brief synopsis entitled 'From Slavery to Khoisan revivalism' (2005: 2). He reminds readers of the distinct space the term 'Coloured' occupies in the South African context - 'alluding to a phenotypically varied social group of highly diverse cultural and geographic origins' (ibid.) and then goes on to sketch a generally accepted description of the 'origins' pertaining to that phenotypically varied group:

> The Coloured people were descended largely from the Cape slaves, the indigenous Khoisan population and other black people who had been assimilated to Cape colonial society by the late nineteenth century. Since they were also partly descended from European settlers, Coloureds are popularly regarded as being of 'mixed race' and have held an intermediate status in the South African racial hierarchy, distinct from the historically dominant white minority and the numerically preponderant African population. (Adhikari 2005: 2)

Adhikari's argument sets out to provide a historical perspective on 'Coloured' identity - a necessary recognition that literature and schools of thought have developed to deliberate about 'Coloured' identity, challenging some of the assumptions that see 'Coloured' as without a historical location or tradition.

Despite his notable achievements in providing a perspective on 'Coloured' identity as a social and historical experience, Adhikari has relatively little to say about the ways in which slavery

contributed to these identity-formations. Instead he offers a brief account of the lack of visibility of slavery in terms of 'Coloured' identification.

Adhikari (2005: 28) does however discuss the relationship between 'Coloured' people and their Khoisan progenitors, and notes that there has not been a corresponding identification with a slave heritage. He indicates that there are two basic reasons for this. The first is related to ways in which slave society at the Cape developed; largely due to the 'atomised pattern of slaveholding, the extreme ethnic diversity of the slave population and the high death rates among importees' (2005: 29). Adhikari suggests that those who were enslaved were not able to 'transmit a coherent body of learnt behavioural and communal experience from one generation to the next' (ibid.) The conscious identification with a slave past therefore did not survive much beyond the lives of the free slaves themselves.

The second reason Adhikari identifies for the invisibility of the relationship between slavery and 'Colouredness' is related to the legal status of slavery at the Cape. He notes that because slaves were defined in terms of their legal status, their descendants were able to escape the stigma of slave ancestry fairly easily after Emancipation (2005: 29). But he adds that in popular consciousness, there remains 'vague connotations of a servile past [which] have been attached to Coloured identity through, for example, the annual reminder of the coon carnival and the use of the preparative label *Gam*[12] to describe working-class Coloured people' (ibid.).

This framework premises agency as fundamental to identity-formation for 'Colouredness' and recognises that the acknowledgement of a slave past is one element of this exercise of

[12]A derogatory Afrikaans slang term used particularly in 'Cape Coloured' communities to describe working-class 'Coloured' people.

agency. These developments in the historical tradition informed the broader context which saw a return to an interest in memories of slavery for some identifying as 'Coloured'.

'Coloured' as political identity

The discussion below addresses some seminal historiographies and how they inform an understanding of the historic relationship between slavery and 'Colouredness'. 'Coloured' is viewed as a product of segregation: and that this segregation was influenced by external factors, particularly the mineral revolution of the 19th century in pre-industrial Cape Town, pre-figuring the emancipation of slaves as one of the important historical events of the time. According to Worden, the historiography of the Cape would only come to include slavery in the late 1980s (1992: 5). He suggests that before the late 1970s the focus was on the conflicts of the frontier regions of the colony and not on the slave-based settler society behind the frontier conflict and its racial ordering. Using revisionist South African historiography, Worden outlines how the focus moved from the frontier to the mineral revolution, where it was argued that the origins of segregation and apartheid lay – themes that Worden shows were obviously central to historians. He also explains that the return to examining the context in which these developments took place saw renewed interest in the pre-industrial Cape and as such, a more detailed study of its slave society has taken place. Worden notes that,

> Although none of these writers claimed that Cape slavery and its aftermath can fully explain the peculiarly distorted trajectory of modern South Africa, nonetheless it is now clear that the structures of race and class that emerged at the time of slave emancipation at the Cape did provide an important background to later developments in the colony. (1992: 5)

The return of slavery to historiography in South Africa provided an opportunity to include further discussions of 'Coloured' identity and the range of external factors that influenced its formation and development.

Robert Ross's *Cape of Torments* (1983), however, raised a criticism about the contemporary, urban focus of 'Coloured' politics, the implication being that this 'modernist' concentration tended to ignore and deny a connection to any slave past and its traditions. For Ross the political movements of the time were 'centered around the educated and upwardly mobile, who tended to distance themselves from the mass rural labourers, and from their slave past' (1983: 119).

Ross provides an example of a brief period in Western Cape politics when a more rural and politically militant attempt at a mass movement developed among rural labourers in the early 1930s. He notes that two militants from the ANC, Bransby Ndobe and Elliot Tonjeni, both communist party members for a short time, were able to organise meetings in many of the small towns and villages of the countryside with a focus on the areas surrounding Worcester. These meetings included a short period of intense conflict and raised concerns about working conditions and wages, and significantly, the competition that locally brewed beer was providing for Cape wine (1983: 119). This movement apparently had many adherents among 'black Africans' in the locations in Worcester as well as the 'Coloured' labourers who were their main target, and saw the inclusion of Afrikaans in the Cape Town radical newspaper '*Umsebenzi*' for the benefit of the Western Cape labourers. Ross states that this organisation and its work were short –lived: '…meetings were broken up by white vigilantes, with several people being killed. Ndobe and Tonjeni were banned from the Western Cape, among the first victims of the judicial tactic later to become a major weapon of the South African government' (1983: 121).

Ross employs this example to suggest that rural political organisation was more informed by and prepared to acknowledge the history of slavery and asserts that these forms of

acknowledgement were conspicuously absent in the later iterations of so-called 'Coloured' politics:

> During the campaign a variation of the ANC song 'Mayibuye' was composed in Afrikaans. It began with the line "Onse bruin mense, seuns van slawe" [we brown people, sons of slaves]. This is one of the rare examples of the admission among 'Coloureds' of their slave past. (1983: 121)

In a subsequent review of Ross's work, Bickford-Smith (1995) highlights Ross' assertion that the possibilities for 'Coloured' culture were limited during this time and furthermore, that 'no form of consciousness could have arisen to create some form of 'Coloured nationalism' ' (1995: 18).

Ross ultimately concludes that 'No 'Coloured' group was anything but a legal category, imposed by the oppressors from above' (1983: 199-120). Bickford-Smith's later discussion of his argument suggests that being 'Coloured' was thus 'having a social status thrust upon you and was presumably a meaningless appendage in terms of one's real social identity' (1995: 18).

In considering the relationship between slavery, emancipation and 'Coloured' identity, Bickford-Smith (1995) considered some of the existing theories by Ross's (1983) and Adhikari (1992), as well as writings by Gavin Lewis (1987) and Ian Goldin (1987), reviewing them to map they ways in which people have thought about slavery and 'Colouredness'.

He showed that Lewis and Goldin explored the phenomenon of 'Coloured' political organisation and identity in the late 19th century and that their views about the nature of 'Coloured' identity were in line with those of Ross. He further suggested that both argued that 'Coloured' identity was, at least initially, imposed by 'whites', but allowed for the fact, that, once imposed, the identity was taken up by people: 'this was an identity that some

people so described (by the early 20th century only a petit-bourgeois/artisanal elite) adopted or used' (1995: 18). Bickford-Smith proposes that this was for reasons of political or economic expediency and/or to differentiate themselves from an African identity and 'all that that might mean in terms of lower status and greater adverse discrimination' (1995: 18). Significantly, both Lewis and Goldin saw the mineral revolution as coinciding with the emergence of 'Coloured' identity, and did not foreground the history of slavery at the Cape as a significant factor in explaining the emergence of this identity (ibid.) Both authors, Bickford-Smith asserts, argued that 'Coloured' identities were constructed (or manipulated) by 'white' regimes and remained only political or work-place identities (1995: 19). However, as Bickford-Smith highlights, Adhikari has argued that slavery was central to the creation of the 'Coloured' identity; for Adhikari this was because

> slavery at the Cape brought people of diverse origins together into similar positions of servitude. Assimilations to master-class culture overcame their ethnic and linguistic differences, and subjected them to a common status in a society where status and power 'coincided' with colour, and where the status of slaves came to be close to that of Khoisan and Bastards during the course of the eighteenth century. (ibid.)
> Bickford-Smith explains that 'Coloured ethnicity, like any ethnicity, was only one of several coexistent identities available to its possessor, where one identity will have moments of greater salience than others. Social identities are processes subject to change. Coloured ethnicity has a history, and much of this still has to be written' (1995: 23).

These positions about the relationship between slavery and 'Coloured' are broadly tied to ideas of political organisation and identity. In considering the range of literature that explores the relationship between slavery and 'Coloured' identity both historically and in more recent times, a number of reasons emerge for the fluctuating inclusion of the history and memory of slavery in the category 'Coloured'. It is clear, though, that the onset of democracy provided opportunities for memories of slavery to be more readily asserted, both in historiography and representational politics.

This remembrance appears to have taken place within and outside of ‘Colouredness’ and, as I discuss in the next chapter, the purchase of these memories in the formation of a national discourse in post-apartheid South Africa was widespread.

Chapter Three

Memory and the production of national discourse

As discussed in the previous chapter, the memory of slavery has been more readily accessed in the post-apartheid period, with varied strategies available for thinking about and representing the relationship between 'Coloured' identity and slavery.

In post-apartheid South Africa, the identity project involved in nation-building is premised on ideas of non-racialism, multiculturalism and diversity – ensuring that discussions of slavery and 'Colouredness' continue to have a place and play a role in how different national identities are understood.

This chapter's focus builds on this suggestion and concentrates on the theories of memory that link practices of memory-making to the production of discourses of nationhood in specific ways.

The review of literature in this chapter is thus informed by the theoretical impetus that traces how memory is used in the production of a national discourse on race and reconciliation in the post-apartheid South African context. The first half of the chapter concerns itself with a discussion of key memory theories I have identified that are pertinent to how memory-work is constructed and represented at the sites this thesis analyses. These theories include the work of Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory) (1989), collective memory as defined by Maurice Halbwachs (1992) and cultural memory as articulated by Jan Assman (1995) and Marianne Hirsch and Valerie Smith (2002).

These theories form part of the field of scholarship identified as memory theory or memory politics (see Hodgkin & Radstone 2003, Radstone & Schwartz 2010) and have provided

either a theoretical or methodological guide for a reading of the various representational sites analysed later in the thesis.

In the latter part of the chapter, the discussions focus on the ways in which memory-making in post-apartheid South Africa has been produced and informed by the TRC's shaping of national discourses of reconciliation chiefly along racial lines.
As indicated in Chapter One, in this dissertation I argue that the ways in which the memories of slavery are used complicates the national discourse of race and reconciliation prevalent in the post-apartheid period in South Africa; the implication being that there are memories that were overlooked in major memory-making moments such as the TRC in the early post-apartheid period. The examples of representational activity considered in the latter part of this dissertation map the different ways in which slave memory contributes to new or revised constructions of national discourses of race and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa.

The three representational sites considered in this thesis - The Slave Lodge and the Memorial to the Enslaved, The Slave Walking Tours in Cape Town, and Solms-Delta wine estate - are firmly anchored in the particular apporaches to memory theory specified by Nora, Halbwachs, Assman, and Hirsch and Smith. These theories offer opportunities to consider how the memories of slavery overlap and intersect. Hodgkin and Radstone (2003: 1) note that our understanding of the past has strategic, political and ethical consequences and that contests over the meaning of the past of necessity, then, are also contests over the meaning of the present and over ways of taking the past forward; as such this conflict is also about who or what is entitled to speak for or represent that present. For Radstone and Schwarz (2010) the study of memory is attractive and compelling because of a conviction that memory has become a site or sign of a number of intersecting issues: 'the temporal imaginings of the past,

present and future; subjectivity and identification; the passage from the inner life to the outer world; even the politics of being in the world and of recognition' (2010: 2).

The use of memory-making in the production of a national discourse of race and reconciliation in post-apartheid South African thus raises simultaneous questions of power and authority in thinking about what versions of history and memory have come to be identified as 'true' in this context.

In this regard David Glassberg (1996: 9) observed that the initial scholarship on memory was seen as different from traditional work done by history, as a result of approach and not necessarily subject matter (see Walkowitz & Knauer 2009). He argued that the studies sought primarily to understand the interrelationships between different versions of history in the public. Furthermore, he added that the research in this area explored multiple ways in which the memory of a society was 'created, institutionalized, disseminated, and understood' (1996: 7). Glassberg's discussion points out that the distinction between traditional investigations into history, literature and art history and memory studies is in approach. Importantly, he highlighted the question central to much early scholarship on memory, namely, 'how do particular accounts of the past get established and disseminated as the public ones? How do these public histories change over time?' (1996: 11). With this, Glassberg showed, came the necessary recognition of the relationships between representations of a society's past and its political culture in terms of which histories are institutionalised and circulated as public as well as the political implications of these decisions. In citing Pierre Nora (1989), Glassberg notes:

> forms of public history such as the museum, archives, and marked historical sites replaced oral tradition and places held in memory at about the same time as the emergence of the modern nation state in the eighteenth century created discontinuity

> with previous regimes, and geographical mobility imposed by modern capitalism undermined rooted knowledge of particular locales. (1996:21)

He extends his argument further with the consideration of a post-nationalist era 'when disillusion with the nation-state and modernity has produced an explosion of interest in local and family history' (1996: 11). In similar ways, this thesis explores the relationship of history and memory (and the relationship of history *to* memory) in the specific practices of memory employed in the construction of the representational sites under consideration, and the manner in which they challenge our reading of the place of slave memory in what constitutes a national discourse about race and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa.

The challenge that slave memory poses in this social landscape is echoed in Olick's (2003) position that within the recent scholarship on memory there is consensus in the recognition that memory is an active practice, that it is never unitary, and operates as a process of meaning construction. His interest in the fundamental connection between memory and nation, as having a 'peculiar synergy' (2003: 2), includes a critique of one problem he identifies within this diverse landscape of scholarship - namely that there exists a spilt between 'parochialism and generalism in the analysis of the memory-nation nexus' (2003: 4-5).

I remained aware of the split focus as I concentrated on the specific examples of memory-work in the dissertation, as well as their relation with the broader place and claims for inclusion in re-thinking the ways in which memory functioned in the production of national discourse of race and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa. Olick's work is also fundamentally shaped by the influence of seminal works by Nora and Halbwachs, and I return to each of these texts as the basis of my own enquiry.

Each of the representational sites read can thus be approached through various different theories of memory, individually and collectively. Below I detail the individual theories that

have most informed my approach to the case studies and suggest that multiple strategies of memory are employed in the production of a national discourse of race and reconcilation in post-apartheid South Africa. But first, a brief note about national discourse.

Nationalism as discursive formation

Craig Calhoun (1997) defines nationalism as a discursive formation, 'a way of speaking that shapes our consciousness but that is still problematic enough to keep generating questions, propelling us into further talk and producing debates over how to think about it' (Özkirimli, 2010: 187). Calhoun offers ten defining features of the rhetoric of nation (Calhoun 1997:4-5 as cited in Özkirimli, 2010: 187) whilst noting that nations cannot be defined 'objectively'. His suggestion is rather that nations are constituted largely by the claims themselves, 'by the way of talking and thinking and acting that rely on those sorts of claims to produce collective identity, to mobilize people for collective projects, and to evaluate peoples and practices' (Calhoun 1997:5 as cited in Özkirimli, 2010: 188).

In this dissertation I am interested in examining the various ways in which memory is put to work in service of the collective project of producing national discourses - namely the discourse of race and reconciliation in the post-apartheid period. As such, Calhoun's reasoning that nationalisms are constituted by various discursive formations offers a valuable approach for thinking about the rhetoric of race and reconciliation and how it employed selective forms of remembering and forgetting to produce a specific national discourse and form of nationalism.

In similar ways, McEachern (2002) explores the post-apartheid situation, and examines how the idea of 'newness' (pertaining to the *new* South Africa) both emerged as a discourse of and

also, I would add, *produced,* the nation. McEachern suggests that this was a discourse which constructed the nation as a sovereign identity, ' 'conceived' in the struggle against apartheid and its negotiated settlement, and 'born' in the first democratic elections and the constitution of 1996' (2002: xii). She further proposes that certain discursive processes emerged in a multitude of sites and were deployed by people throughout the country: 'narrating people and their encompassing collective identity became both a process of imagining the nation and a political issue of representation' (ibid.) McEachern also tells us that the state was responsible for the creation of a 'temporal discourse' for the 'new' South Africa and that this was most explicitly and coherently performed in the official public arena where state rhetorics of nation and identity were articulated in political speeches, Parliament, official celebrations, public proclamations of the constitution and on a number of other official occasions (2002: xv).

I would argue that memory, too, is useful in this official discursive production as it provides a basis for my claims in this dissertation that slave memory interrupts the national discourse of race and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa. My consideration of national discursive formations in this thesis is thus limited to the idea of 'race and reconciliation' as a central feature of the discursive landscape constructed by the TRC and the function of memory (and forgetting) in producing the necessary reconciliation between races in order to achieve the vision of 'national unity'.

***Lieux de mémoire* (Sites of memory)**

Pierre Nora's own intellectual project has largely focused on an exposition of embodied national memory in France, with scholarly criticism directed against his work *Les Français d'Algérie* (The French of Algeria) (1961) for its bias against French Algerians – a prejudicial position apparently common in French intellectuals at the time. His focus on the relationship

between history and memory, then, should be read in this broader context – that sees memory-work in relation to larger ideological projects tied to the establishment and re-enforcement of the nation.

Nora (1989) describes *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory) as made up of the functional, symbolic and material elements of memory. He argues that they constitute each other; that when taken together they make up the *lieux de mémoire* and that individually they are part of history. Nora offers a reading of memory in terms of three developments - archive memory, duty memory and distance memory. Archive memory for Nora describes the quality of modern memory, reliant on the materiality of the trace, where the objective is the meticulous reconstitution through recording of events, 'delegating to the archive the responsibility of remembering' (1989: 13). Nora describes duty memory as the obligation to remember as an individual task – suggesting that 'the less memory is experienced collectively, the more it will require individuals to undertake to become themselves memory-individuals' (ibid.). Distance memory, for Nora, then explains the relatively new sense that 'history deals with an unknowable past and can at best illuminate the discontinuities between past and present' (1989: 16) – a departure from previous types of history that asserted that the past was knowable (ibid.).

These sites of memory Nora then describes as the place 'where memory crystallises and secretes itself' (1989: 7) because the real environments of the memory (*milieux de mémoire*) no longer exist. Nora's detailed itemisation of the differences between history and memory provides a blueprint of sorts for a reading of the ways in which Solms-Delta (see Chapter Six) can be thought of as a site of memory, although the elements he names are by no means an easyfit when we think about Solms-Delta in its entirety, as there are ways in which the

wine estate cannot be read as a straightforward site of memory. However, I offer a deliberate engagement with each of the categories below and suggest that there are some elements Nora proposes that figure quite strongly while in other instances the categories appear inadequate to detail the complex reality of memory-work at the estate.

For Nora, *lieux de mémoire* are always open to interpretation. As such, I argue that Solms-Delta and its openness to reading as a project foregrounding memory can be thought of in 'Noraian' terms.

Nora details at least eight distinctions between memory and history; these salient elements of memory are also the foundational elements of *lieux de mémoire*. He suggests firstly that whilst memory is 'life' and alive in that it is active (born of societies and founded in their names), history is 'death' – a reconstruction of what is no more. The second difference between memory and history for Nora is the fact that memory is in permanent evolution whereas history is always incomplete.

Solms-Delta's treatment of the fact of slavery on the farm in the past is active, ongoing and evolving. The ways in which it operates in the museum narrative, the cuisine choice in the restaurant, the shifts in the labour relationship, are all informed by and open to interpretation to the memory of slavery on the farm.

Nora suggests that another difference between the two is that memory is open to remembering and forgetting, while history is closed for and by analysis. The fourth distinction between history and memory for Nora is related to memory's ability to be manipulated and appropriated where he sees history as belonging to everyone and no one.

The fifth division between the two is the impression for Nora that memory is often long dormant with periods of revival where history is a reconstruction. The sixth discrepancy between memory and history is related to ideas of the memory existing in the eternal present whereas history is considered as a representation of the past. The seventh dissimilarity between the two Nora sees as operating between memory as sacred and history as secular. Finally, Nora suggests that memory is plural in nature, but belonging to individuals: history he argues belongs to everyone and no one. These distinctions are further considered in the case of Solms-Delta, which is read as an example of representational activity of memory-work and as a site of memory.

Collective memory

Maurice Halbwachs' profound contribution to the understanding of social memory is the idea that *all r*emembering takes place in group settings and is a matter of social interaction. His ideas were influential in Nora's conceptual work as well as laying the theoretical foundations for a comprehensive approach to the study of the social sciences, 'providing an integrated perspective from which to conceptualize the historical, social and individual components of human behaviour' (Apfelbaum 2010: 77).

Halbwachs argues that the individual is able to recall by relying on the framework of social memory, but that we most frequently distort the past in the very act of reconstructing it (1992: 182). He adds that

> [t]here are surely many facts and many details of certain facts that the individual would forget if others did not keep their memory alive for him. But, on the other hand, society can live only if there is sufficient unity of outlooks among the individuals and groups comprising it. (ibid.)

In his work Halbwachs also articulates the reasons why collective or social memory is often rearranged by societies in accordance with maintaining various conditions of equilibrium – this, he argues, is based on the need for people to endorse themselves in limited groups (e.g. families or religious groups) as opposed to the social need for unity. Consequently Halbwachs concludes, societies tend to erase from their memory all that might separate individuals or that might distance groups from each other (Halbwachs 1992: 182-183).

In viewing the examples of representational activity illustrated by the Slave Lodge's permanent exhibition and the Memorial to the Enslaved (see Chapter Four) through the lens of Halbwachs' collective memory, I suggest that the formation of slave memory at both sites is constituted through various forms of social interaction and that for these same reasons, the range of interpretations of slave memory are illustrative of the broader social landscape that still privileges certain forms of national discourse in terms of reconciliation and race.

Apfelbaum shows how Halbwachs' consideration of the relationship between individual and collective memory highlights the ways in which the two are dialectically related – suggesting that our individual experiences are continuously evaluated and shaped by our confrontations with collective memory, which in turn confers legitimacy on our memory. Apfelbaum notes:

> what is important in one group may well be unimportant in another, so that individual memory must, to a certain extent adjust to the sometimes contradictory demands of the various groups to which the subject is affiliated. Memory is, consequently, flexible and multilayered, a shifting terrain in which recollections' relative importance and position depend on changing group affiliations. (2010: 85-86)

The third body of memory scholarship I engage with is in relation to slave walking tours (see Chapter Five) and the figuring of slave memory in specific embodied ways – cultural memory provides insight for some of my observations.

Cultural Memory

The term ‘cultural memory’ is used throughout this thesis to locate the ways in which the representations under consideration might be organised and referred to in relation to the discussion of memories about slavery within particular communities and contexts. Jan Assman’s use of the term positions ‘cultural memory’ as: ‘compris[ing] that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose ‘cultivation’ serves to stabilize and convey that society’s self-image’ (Assam & Czaplicka 1995: 132).

I also borrow from feminist work and definitions of the term ‘cultural memory’ which Hirsch and Smith (2002) identify as mediated and the result of fragmentary personal and collective experiences. They recognise that even as these memories are transmitted, they are being shaped and articulated: ‘[a]cts of memory are thus acts of performance, representation and interpretation’ (2002: 5). When applied to the relationship between memories of slavery and ‘Coloured’ identity, cultural memory in Assman and Czaplicka’s terms allows for an analysis of the numerous forms of representation that surface some of the negative, problematic stereotypes often associated with ‘Colouredness’ as a result of its connection to slavery and ideas of miscegenation. Cultural memory provides an opportunity to see which ideas were cultivated in order to stabilise and convey certain ‘self-images’ that were used to reinforce racist ideologies throughout the colonial and apartheid period.

Hirsch and Smith (2002) further argue that the consideration of gender in relation to cultural memory provides a means by which cultural memory can be located within a specific context and the gender dimension of differential power relations within cultural memory can be used to scrutinise contested claims to power. Whilst it is important to consider who is included and excluded from certain forms of remembering and forgetting (recognising that women are often the ones left out), my reading of the gendered dimension of the relationships between

‘Coloured’ identity, slavery, memory and nation-building are tied to ideas of the public and private and the individual and the collective.

The consideration of slave walking tours in Cape Town, in particular, provides a theoretical basis for interrogating how narrative accounts and representations of slavery construct aspects of cultural memory, and what these fragmentary, subjective performances and interpretations and the play between the individual and the collective contribute to memory politics in post-apartheid South Africa.

The memory scholarship I have highlighted above - sites of memory, collective memory and cultural memory - illustrate Radstone and Schwarz’s position that memory is defined less by its loss than by its overdetermined presence (2010: 4). They explain that memory is in many ways an existing site of conflict in which many contradictory forces converge and in which ‘the interactions between memory and forgetting are contingent as much as they are systemic…the politics of memory is always overdetermined and unstable, the consequence of incessant human intervention’ (ibid.).

In the next part of the chapter, I then discuss the ways in which memory-making in post-apartheid South Africa is produced and informed by the TRC’s shaping of national discourses of race and reconciliation.

Memory and the production of a national discourse of race and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa

It is important to keep in mind that collective memory within patriarchal societies is gendered in so far as it predominantly emphasises male experiences and silences female memories[13]. Ronit Lentin (1997) has argued that official discourses of memories of catastrophe often exclude the unofficial secret memories of women who, by the act of remembering, often turn private memories of victimisation into articulated acts of resistance. She suggests that the importance of memory in constructing official history is not in claiming objectivity but rather in helping to tell the past in light of the present in order to shape the future (1997: 14).

In describing post-apartheid South Africa more than ten years into democracy, Gqola (2007) has eloquently identified how the discourses of gender in the South African public sphere are very conservative, in that they speak of women's empowerment in ways that are *not* transformative. Consequently Gqola suggests these discourses exist comfortably alongside overwhelming evidence that South African women are *not* empowered (2007: 15).
Both positions about gender bear remembering when considering discourses of race and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa. A critical perspective on memory in the post-apartheid period is provided by Nuttall and Coetzee (1996) in their edited collection *Negotiating the Past : The Making of Memory in South Africa* which investigates how memory was being negotiated in the period after the first democratic elections were held in South Africa and in the wake of the TRC. Their collection made a significant contribution to the ongoing debate about how memory is created and inscribed in South Africa's memory landscape.

[13] Raymond Suttner (2007) notes that existing historiography has from an early stage tended to dismiss or downplay the involvement of women in political struggle, for entering as mothers or as supportive of men or for performing conventional female roles. Suttner argues that women were present in the ANC-led underground struggle against apartheid and that their presence was suffused with ambiguities – suggesting that there is no easy route to characterising their roles.

I include a number of arguments rasied by contributions from this collection as central to understanding how memory was used to produce the national discourse of race and reconciliation.

The TRC is usually read as a major anchor for how memory has been constructed and used in the post-apartheid period in South Africa. In many ways to forget is seen as necessary in order to become reconciled (Robins 1996). As Grunebaum has argued, through the proces of the TRC a public language of memory developed which informed collective modes of meaning-making about and after apartheid (2011: 2).

Njabulo Ndebele examines the impact of the TRC, which saw the testimonies offered at the hearings as the recall of memory - in that the events remembered did in fact happen (1996: 19). He sees time as offering the recall of memory the power of reflection associated with narrative, in that both appear to have something reflective about them. Ndebele hopes that 'it is this reflective capacity, experienced as a shared social consciousness, that will be the lasting legacy of these stories [recall of memory] of the TRC' (1996: 20). In terms of memory-work, Ndebele further suggests that the TRC testimonies provided a 'ritualistic lifting [of] the veil and the validation of what was actually seen' (1996: 20). This was achieved through an acknowledging the past; the testimonies of individual experience became central to the development of a new national consciousness; 'these stories may very well be some of the first steps in the rewriting of South African history on the basis of validated new experience' (1996: 20). Ndebele proposes that the stories/narratives/memory work seem ready to supply a major by-product, namely the restoration of narrative in which we will see the significant example of people reinventing themselves through narrative (1996: 27).

Adding to the debate about the place and impact of the TRC, Ingrid de Kock (1996) describes the process of political transformation in South Africa as underpinned by compromise. She identifies the fact that

> …the past had to meet the present through settlement, not revolution, it needed an accompanying rhetoric about how to process the future: and that process was divined as the act of nation-building…memory and representation were thus of necessity put to work early for reconstruction purposes. (1996: 58)

De Kock suggests that the TRC was one of the most controversial institutional containers designed to sustain this reconstruction, noting that work done by the commission was to 'bring the disappeared stories back into symbolic currency, but *within* the framework of the settlement' (1996: 58, my emphasis). De Kock questions whether the structures employed by the TRC unwittingly encourage cultural and social amnesia and identifies three rhetorics that emerged in the ensuing debate (1996: 59). The first is the amnesiac rhetoric (echoed in sentiments such as 'forgive and forget', 'life must go on' and making a 'clean break'). The second rhetoric is that of 'national catharsis' which sees the promotion of confession, 'or some version of 'reliving' that will purge the perpetrators and restore the dignity of the victims' (1996: 59). The third rhetoric, de Kock suggests, is more repressed and includes a vocabulary that has a demand 'for 'reckoning' to resolve the relation between grief and anger…usually insisting that cases be heard within the existing legal system, to block amnesty applicants' attempts to evade the legal consequences of criminal acts by applying for amnesty' (1996: 60). De Kock surmises that for most South Africans, a combination of all three rhetorics exist in 'turbulent interaction, underpinned by degrees of guilt, pain, anger and confusion' (1996: 60), and argues that appropriate resources (such as educators and psychologists) need to be out in place to conduct the reparative discursive work that is limited if only seen as the responsibility of government.

A continuation of the sentiment of discursive construction of reconciliation is raised by Steven Robins (1996) who asks the important question at the time: 'Will the new nation state be the sole author of the official script of public memory, or will collective memory continue to lie elsewhere, in embodied memories, in the privacy of homes and within remembered spaces of violence?' (121). For Robins the embodied violence of oppressive ideological regimes such as colonialism, Nazism and apartheid is often reorganised into 'totalling nationalist rhetoric that does symbolic violence to the personal and embodied memories of these traumatic experiences' (1996: 122). Robins suggests that it is through processes of 'reworking' and 'rescripting' individual testimonies of violence that embodied personal memories of trauma are often erased and rewritten in the name of nationalism. The presentation of 'personal memory as nationalist narrative' (1996: 123) echoes Halbwachs' ideas about social memory formation and importantly makes clear the strategic ways in which certain memories (considered less central) are forgotten in service of national agendas.

Robins concludes that despite the TRC hearings' role in complicating sanitised heroic resistance narratives, they were, along with the media, simultaneously responsible for manufacturing 'a new nationalism from painful personal memories and shattered and mutilated bodies' (1996: 138).

Proposals such as Robins', Ndebele's and de Kock's, that explore the various ways in which certain memories were excluded from the TRC process and the ways in which some were promoted for the development of a 'shared' national discourse, are illustrative of complex memory-making processes in the early period of post-apartheid South Africa.

For Heidi Grunebaum (2011) this memory-making process is necessary for formation of the post-apartheid nation in collective terms; she argues that the

> re-founding of the nation *cannot* be rooted in everyday experience [because] it is in the time-space of the everyday and within the social and economic realms of human activity and interaction that the *possibility* of nation building, founded on a common *sense* of the past and a common experience of the present, that the shared civic lexicon of history comes apart. (2011: 33)

In this argument we see the experience of the everyday providing direct challenges to the formation of national discourse based on ideas of race and reconciliation, and it is in a similar vein that I argue the memory of slavery as experienced at the three sites of representational activity offers additonal challenges to ideas of the race and reconciliation, and what memories that process is based on.

Finally then, I consider Coombes (2003), who shows that the visual and material manifestations of new public histories are 'both produced by and effectively inform changing definitions of 'community' and 'nation' during periods of political transition where such concepts become crucial stakes in the resolution or management of social conflict and /or renewal' (2003: 1).

Coombes, too, is committed to an investigation of the post-apartheid period that is based on an understanding that

> all memory is unavoidably both borne out of individual subjective experience and shaped by collective consciousness and shared social processes so that any understanding of the representation of remembrances and of the past more generally must necessarily take into account both contexts. (2004: 8)

The various theories of memory included in this chapter reveal the complex ways in which individual and collective remembering takes place. This theoretical backdrop provides the basis for the analysis that follows, of the representational activity of slave memory.

They have also has been used to think through some of the relations of memory to the production of national discourse in the post-apartheid South African context, namely the

discourse of race and reconciliation in producing an alternative vision for the South African nation – made possible largely by the memory-work of the TRC.

The next chapter considers how the centrality of slave memory is not necessarily a guarantee that alternative conceptions of national discourse of race and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa will be achieved.

Chapter Four

The Slave Lodge and the Memorial to the Enslaved

> *I too had heard that silence throughout my life, growing up in Ghana, West Africa: Ghana, where, arguably between the end of the fifteenth and the middle of the nineteenth century, much of the trans-Atlantic slave trade activities took place…The fact that the slave trade was never discussed, could have been the result of either the unplanned byproduct of some collective amnesia; itself an outcome of pain and shame, or of a willful conspiracy of silence that is only challenged by the strength and solidarity of the forts and castles themselves…we Africans seem to have perfected the development and maintenance of collective amnesia about the past: good or bad… (Ama Ata Aidoo 2001: 29-30)*

> *In contrast to the Atlantic Slave trade, colonization and apartheid have been conceived in relation to history, politics and culture. Often, they have been used to mask slavery as such, which remains the great unspoken subject. (Achille Mbembe 2001: 21)*

Despite a resurgence of interest in slavery, historically and in terms of the visibility of cultural representations, there remains a prolonged silence about its impact and function in the present. In the collection *Facing Up to the Past* (2001), a number of authors have explored the reasons for what Ata-Aidoo refers to as the collective amnesia of Africans about the transatlantic slave trade in West Africa. Her eloquent prose about hearing the echoing silence related to slavery whilst growing up is repeated in other accounts about slavery we encounter in the ways in which South Africa's slave past is remembered or forgotten, as evidenced in Mark Solms' recounting of slave history (see Chapter Six). Whilst the markers of that past remain - the slave castles in Ghana for Ata-Aidoo, the archaeological evidence at Solms-Delta, and the architecture of the Slave Lodge - Ata-Aidoo's suggestion about the slave castles in Ghana is that these remains were never directly discussed: whether this was a result of wilful silences or of an ongoing collective amnesia remains debatable.

There is, however, something about the shrouding of slavery and its representation in silence that requires further reflection. Memorialising atrocities and contested histories such as slavery is what Horton and Horton term the tough stuff of [American] history, both in that

they remain contested in culture, and in the ways in which people memories of the past and the lessons they draw from them influence American politics and culture today (Horton & Horton, 2006).

I suggest in this chapter that there is a similar case to be made when thinking about the muteness surrounding certain representations of slavery in South Africa. I argue that Linenthal's concept of 'fishbone stories' or indigestible narratives (2006) is a useful tool when thinking about the collective memory experience invoked in the memorialisation practices that take place in the Slave Lodge's permanent exhibition, *Representing Slavery*, and in the Memorial to the Enslaved on Church Square.

Linenthal, in describing the place of slave history in the United States, argues that all nations have indigestible narratives or 'fishbone stories' and that there are a number of strategic stances towards them within the collective conscious. The first strategy is to deny them through processes of erasure: 'deny its presence, minimise its seriousness, ignore its enduring scars' (2006: 214). This, I will illustrate, often takes place in presenting slavery only through the genre of historiography. The second strategy is to transform the indigestible narrative into something benign, 'through a minefield of monumental memory…to the 'faithful slave'/'black mammy'/ 'servants' etc.' (ibid.). I suggest that we see aspects of this strategy evident in the post-apartheid national discourse of race and reconciliation, which, when it does recognise a slave past and slave memory, does so almost entirely in relation to producing reconciliation amongst the different races. Linenthal suggests that the enduring hunger for redemptive narratives smooths any rough edges in these indigestible stories, insisting that other, more positive stories about slavery be told in the service of 'balance' suggesting that '…it takes work and a willingness to trouble our stories to make these lives

count, to integrate, to complicate, to put flesh and blood on the stick figure stories still told too often at too many American sites' (ibid.).

I propose that the rough edges are missing from the memorialisation practices in both the Slave Lodge's permanent exhibition and the Memorial to the Enslaved in Church Square even though these rough edges are necessary to understand the ongoing legacies of labour, and the memorialisation and social identities prevalent in the Western Cape.

Thus Mbembe's argument, read in conjunction with this position, suggests that the silences surrounding the slave trade and slavery on the African continent may also be the result of the ways in which colonisation and apartheid in the South African context have been conceived of in relation to recent history, politics and culture. These more recent forms of oppression are still very much a part of living memory for most citizens and form the bedrock of redemptive narratives of reconciliation between the races in the post-apartheid nation. These examples of memorialisation of slavery at the Slave Lodge and the Memorial to the Enslaved arguably function to promote a palatable narrative of race and reconciliation in the post-apartheid nation – one that minimises the atrocities and centrality of slavery in South African history.

Whilst the specific examples of representations of slavery have a regional focus on the Western Cape, there remains a national relevance.

Background

Cape Town is not unlike other cities built by the labour of enslaved people. The largest city in the Western Cape Province, Cape Town was established as a refreshment station between the west and east for the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) (Dutch East India Company). In the past, the colonial historiography of the region was prone to highlight the Dutch Colonial Settlement which began in 1652[14] (although evidence of Khoisan settlements and Portuguese traders exists from as early as 1300)[15]; more recent history has acknowledged the brutality of the displacement of the indigenous Khoi and San inhabitants and the various claims by European travellers passing the Cape en route to India from as early as 1620 (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen & Worden, 1998: 12-83, Field, Meyer & Swanson 2007: 4).

The city has developed from its colonial outpost status (largely founded on settler populations appropriating Khoe herding and grazing lands, and the major dislocations of local societies) to a modern city where much of the colonial influences and its legacy of racial, social and economic injustice remain. Its architecture, languages and cultures and geography evidence this and make the study of the city a complex one. What has been less eagerly acknowledged is the fundamental role slavery played in more than just the construction of buildings in the city. The social history of Cape Town that has recently received concerted attention has begun to shift some of this amnesia (see Worden 2012)

> Chattel slavery formed the backbone of the labour force on the Dutch Cape. Initially the use of slaves followed the pattern of Dutch Batavia, where slaves from elsewhere in the East Indies and India were used as domestic servants in the households of both Chinese and Company residents…Jan Van Riebeeck soon appealed for further supplies of slaves to do the dirtiest and heaviest

[14] According to Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen & Worden, 'the 1652 occupation was a pre-emptive move to exclude the English with whom the Dutch were at open war, just as the 1620 claims by the English had aimed at excluding the Dutch. Van Riebeeck carefully checked that there were no English vessels in Table Bay before laying claim to its shore' (1998:15).

[15] http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/cape-town-timeline-1300-1997?page=1

> work…The first shipload of 228 slaves arrived from the Guinea Coast in1658, and shortly afterwards the chance capture of the Portuguese slaver bound for Brazil brought 174 Angolans, mainly children, to the Cape…The precedent for slave labour was thus established. (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen & Worden, 1998: 26-27)

During the 17th century, enslaved people made up the largest population in Cape Town (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen & Worden 1998: 60), with the majority of the enslaved people working outside of the town on wine and wheat farms. As these authors are quick to point out, the increase in the population of enslaved peoples was also met with increased security as authorities became increasingly suspicious of the perceived dangers this population of enslaved peoples posed and 'passed a barrage of regulations in an attempt to control them: these were brought together in a major 'slave code' in 1754' (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen & Worden, 1998: 63). This code eerily resembled some of the later laws that would restrict black South Africans during the apartheid years:

> Slaves found in the town or on the mountain were required to show 'passes' signed by their owners. Slaves of more than three masters were not permitted to gather together in groups, an evident attempt to curb plots. No slave was allowed to carry arms. They were not permitted in the streets of the town after 9p.m., an hour earlier than other inhabitants. They could be arrested if they did not carry lanterns in the evening – an attempt to prevent plotting in dark corners. (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen & Worden 1998: 63)

Like too many other sites of slavery, the memory and history of this past remains submerged in the experience of the everyday. Recent developments in the heritage industry and the ongoing rich historical research about the Cape has meant that the ways in which slavery is thought about, represented and acknowledged in the everyday and the public sphere are changing. These attempts to excavate the past and make them visible in the present provide vital opportunities to include slavery in the narratives of the city and the country at large. It is essential to recognise that slavery has a long and critically influential history in South Africa, even if it has not been acknowledged enough in historical and political terms.

I maintain in this chapter that there are different modes of memory-making that focus on slavery in South Africa. The first is the form of the museum that foregrounds, in more traditional ways, the history of slavery at the site of the Slave Lodge. The second form of memory I engage with is that of the memorial. As a piece of public art, the Memorial to the Enslaved articulates another mode of memory-making about slavery in the city. The third form of memory-making I identify and discuss are written histories in the form of historiographies of slavery in South Africa. Each of these separate modes of memory-making position certain approaches to the past of slavery in South Africa.

There are of course alternative narratives to the centrality and importance of slavery that respond to the silences of the archives pertaining to slavery at the Cape. The attempts to recuperate elements from these silences are evocatively illustrated in the works of Pumla Gqola (2010) and Gabeba Baderoon (2014). These authors skilfully trace the work and lives of enslaved people outside of the archival and historical text and advocate for the richness of these sources as alternatives to understanding the significance and pivotal role enslaved peoples and their history plays in understanding South Africa today.

'Fishbone Stories'

In the epilogue to the book *Slavery and Public History* (Horton & Horton 2006) Edward T. Linenthal offers his reflections on both the history of slavery within the context of the United States and this society's efforts and need to memorialise their slave past. He raises the question about how nations deal with their historical sites of shame (2006: xiii) and suggests that the responses reveal something about the sites or subjects in question as well as something about the 'nature, values, and culture of a nation and its people' (ibid.).

As we have seen Linenthal argues that every nation has its own set of indigestible narratives - its 'fishbone stories' (2006: 213) and offers some examples from Australia's resistance to remembering the violent relations with Aboriginal people and the Japanese refusal to confront that county's atrocities in China and in the Pacific War (ibid.) He uses these instances as demonstrations of the multitude of resistances and challenges these indigestible parts of history offer nations in how they imagine the present. Linenthal's reflection on the essays presented in Horton and Horton's collection suggests that there is an ongoing historical and moral importance to engaging with America's indigestible narratives, in particular of slavery (2006: 214). This active engagement is necessary in light of the ongoing strategic stances that are adapted to these fishbone stories that have become 'stuck' in our collective consciousness.

Linenthal also illustrates that these strategies include erasure through denial; achieved via processes of marginalisation, suppression, concealment and masking and transformation into something harmless through the production of 'minefields of monumental memory' (ibid.).

As I suggest later, the challenge for historiography of slavery in South Africa can be thought about in relation to the strategy of erasure through denial in considering how it has concealed parts of the past. In addition, the ways in which monuments and memorial practice treat slavery in the post-apartheid national discourse of race and reconciliation in South Africa figure slavery largely as transformed into the story of reconciliation.

Linenthal explains further that the enduring hunger for redemptive narratives smooths any rough edges in these indigestible stories, insisting that other, more positive stories about slavery be told in the service of 'balance'. He challenges readers with this compelling

question, ‘what stories are we prepared to tell, and what stories are we willing to hear, without transforming them into preferred narratives that make no demands on our comforting illusions about the relationship between slavery and freedom in the life of the nation?’ (2006: 216). In posing Linenthal’s question in my reading of the representational strategies utilised at the Slave Lodge and the Memorial to the Enslaved, I suggest that the story of slavery in South Africa cannot be heard without being recast into the narrative of post-apartheid, an act that does little to shift the misconceptions about the centrality of slavery to the nation.

Collective memory theories

A further description of theories of collective memory is necessary to locate the ways in which processes of remembering slavery are produced in the post-apartheid South African context. Maurice Halbwachs (1992) suggests that memory is always selective and that human memory can only function in the collective. Individual memory is constructed within social structures and institutions and is divided along three lines: autobiographical, collective and historical. As indicated earlier (see Chapter Three) viewing the examples of representational activity illustrated by the Slave Lodge’s permanent exhibition and the Memorial to the Enslaved through the lens of Halbwachs’ collective memory suggests that how slave memory is formulated at both sites is constituted through various forms of social interaction. For these same reasons the range of interpretations of slave memory is illustrative of the broader social landscape that still privileges certain forms of national discourse in terms of race and reconciliation.

The two sites provide a form of state-sanctioned discourse about the importance and visibility of slave history while simultaneously providing quite a circumscribed discursive narrative about what *kinds* of importance or visibility slave memory is able to have. The sites narrate

aspects of collective memory about slavery to which people are meant to respond, presumably in a similar vein – all of which adds to the production of a palatable narrative of slavery.

For Halbwachs, emphasis is placed on the determining role that language plays in his social interactive constructivist view of memory and identity. As Apfelbaum points out, language serves as the vehicle connecting collective memory to individual memory, but it is itself limited in what it can express to the extent that it is socially constructed, 'shaped by the collectivity, its norms and representations' (2010: 88).

For these reasons, I consider the language of memory available in the two examples and suggest that it largely reinscribes limited instances of national discourse of race and reconciliation.

Historiographies of slavery in South Africa

The types of memory-making I identify and discuss below are written histories in the form of historiographies of slavery in South Africa which illustrate the broad approaches and ways of thinking about slavery that existed during the late apartheid period. The discussion suggests the historiography of slavery in South Africa has arguably undergone two shifts in recent years. The first shift sees the ways in which slavery and its role in South African society, initially minimised in the historiography of the country, move to being acknowledged and included in the official historical account of the country's past.

The second shift sees the multiplication of ways in which slavery is acknowledged and addressed. It implies that there are multiple possible interpretations of slavery and its

significance for the country and that these all have a place in the historiography of the period. Some of these multiplicities are detailed below and they include the narrativisation of slavery (of everyday lives, of individuals); the integrating of slavery into the broader historical and social fabric; the production of a 'new' history (one in which slavery was more widespread in our history than first accounted for); the importance of gender relations and family structures as elements of understanding slavery and slave societies. This second shift also includes the advances in this area that have paved the way for a consideration of slavery in terms of memory politics.

Both shifts are discussed and suggest that the developments offer productive readings of slavery in the understanding of the history of enslaved peoples in South Africa. This is noteworthy in terms of the way in which cetain memorial practices, discussed later in this chapter, are now being conceived.

Historiographies about the country have tended to focus on British imperialism, settler and colonial groups, Afrikaner nationalism and a liberal or revisionist approach (Visser 2004). Revisionist approaches, along with the emergence of social history, saw the increased presence of a Black Nationalist historiographical tradition emerging during and after the years of apartheid. Writings about South Africa's slave history appear in this later period. In post-apartheid South Africa, this revisionist form of public history is gaining popularity and predominance. Cobley (2001) suggested that this form focused on the promotion of the redemptive value of memory and of personal testimony on the one hand, and on the identification and dedication of new, inclusive, national monuments on the other. He noted, '[t]he Truth and Reconciliation Commission, established in 1996, was an example of the first aspect of the new public history; the debate over the future of Robben Island after 1992 was

an example of the second' (Cobley 2001: 6). The texts considered sample some of the key thinkers who contributed to the field of the history of slavery in South Africa in the 20th century, and in so doing informed the context for us to re-think the place of slavery in South Africa's past and its significance in the present.

According to contemporary reports (such as those cited by Ross 1983, Worden & Crais 1994, Banks 1997) the first large group of enslaved peoples is documented in the Cape Colony in the 1650s. Ross (1983) argues that these people who were enslaved were mostly derived from five areas: the Indonesian archipelago, Bengal, South India and Sri Lanka, Madagascar, and the East African coast. In his text, *Cape of Torments,* Ross attempts to write in the descriptive mode rather than the purely analytic in order to 'tell the stories of particular individuals, with names, as often as I could recover them, and in this way to expound the hidden structures of life at the Cape' (1983: 3). As such, Ross's writing of history is also an attempt to excavate individual elements of the lives of the enslaved. In discussing uprisings by those who were enslaved, he notes that 'there [was] no sense of slave community in South Africa, except in Cape Town – and it was thus predictable that it was precisely in the city that political militancy of a communal type became possible during the cause of the nineteenth century' (1983: 5). Ross provides a commentary which looks at archived court documents which reveal limited aspects of the lives of those who were enslaved. 'So, by chance of evidence, we know much more about the violent acts (whoever may have been the victims) of the Cape slaves, and relatively little about the patterns of daily life…all the same, distorted as it may be, out of the evidence come pictures of the slaves' lives from which it is possible to reconstruct parts of the life-experiences of very many of the oppressed at the Cape' (1983: 10).

Whilst 1994 saw the beginning of the political period of democracy in South Africa, a change which also heightened awareness about the production of alternative histories in both the academic and non-academic arenas, which had been developing since the 1980s[16]. In 1994 the collection *Breaking the Chains: Slavery and its Legacy in the Nineteenth-Century Cape Colony*, edited by Nigel Worden and Clifton Crais, was published. In their introduction they suggest that due to the relatively small scale of the slavery at the Cape in comparison to other slave societies during similar periods, it is often overlooked or ignored in thinking about the history of slavery in South Africa

> There was also little of the grand drama at the Cape that drives the narratives of standard histories of slavery and emancipation in many other regions. Until very recently the conventional wisdom has been that in the fair cape, with its production of the more genteel crops of wheat and wine, slavery was somehow 'mild'. (1994: 2)

Their book made visible the Cape's 19th century history of slavery and emancipation, but, equally importantly, it suggested ways in which an analysis of this era could lead to a rethinking of some of the most important developments in the history of South Africa. The book also recognised that 'the history of labour in South Africa – whether slave or free – cannot be divorced from broader discussions of culture, ideology, and polity (1994: 3).

Worden and Crais note that work available at the end of the 1980s focused on slavery at the Cape during the period of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) (1994: 6). The features of the political economy of the Cape as a result of the strict VOC control and direction of this 'supplier settlement' defined the ways in which the system of labour extracted from enslaved people was analysed:

> Work over the past decade has revealed much about the economic role of slavery in the rural economy of the colony, the forms of overt and covert resistance which took place by the bonded, and the extent to which slavery provided an impetus for the rise of racial

[16] See the Wits History Workshop project http://www.wits.ac.za/academic/humanities/socialsciences/historyworkshop/8324/home.html

> and class identities in the Dutch settlement…From the mid 1980s historians of Cape slavery had begun moving from an earlier concern with political economy and resistance to an engagement with questions of culture and society. (1994: 7-8)

Themes raised in their collection include the interconnections of economic, political and ideological factors in the discussion and analysis of slavery marking a new direction in terms of the field of studies of slavery in South Africa.

During that watershed year of democracy, two articles by Fred Morton appeared in an anthology entitled *Slavery in South Africa: Captive Labor on the Dutch Frontier.* They detail slavery in South Africa and its relationship to historiography. Morton suggested 'slavery is of central importance to South African history. Rather than an institution limited to the coastal Cape periphery, slavery spread throughout South Africa, was adapted to fluctuating human and physical environments, and deeply affected the human landscape' (1994: 5). In his analysis Morton points out that despite the then recent trends about slavery in South Africa, the institution was widely practiced and not simply confined to the Cape Colony. The ways in which historians wrote about and understood the institution of slavery were therefore far more wide-reaching for the history of the county. Later texts would build on this thesis and explore the extent and impact of slavery and emancipation in South Africa.

Andrew Bank (1997) suggested that the racially structured historiography in South Africa can be traced back to the 1920s and 1930s, detailing how early Cape liberals 'campaigned politically for the emancipation of Cape slaves and Khoikhoi and a frontier policy based on negotiation and treaties with independent African societies like the Xhosa' (1997: 261). He attempted to trace the ways in which the different sides of the debate (the liberals and conservatives) drew on history to justify their positions. The legacy of this structure was to inform much of historiography of South Africa (see also Visser 2004).

The introduction of a gendered perspective in South African history during the 1980s and 1990s informed the writing of slave history, too (Shell 1994). Pamela Scully's *Liberating the Family?* (1997) argues that the ending of slavery in the Cape Colony initiated an era of extreme debate about cultural categories and sensibilities. She suggests that 'British slave emancipation reconfigured the relations between men and women, and the individual and society' (1997: 2). As a result, the freedom emancipation implied, that enslaved people would be free to live as they pleased, claims regarding 'the legitimacy of specific family, labour, gender, and sexual relations became central to the struggle of various colonial groups to shape post emancipation society' (ibid.). Scully's focus was, to a large extent, on analysing the significance of lived experiences of the enslaved populations in the Cape Colony (1997: 9).

Writing in the 21st century continues the development of social histories which inform the writing of slavery in South Africa. In Mason's 2003 account of slavery in the Cape of Good Hope, his approach to writing stories and contributing to the historiography of slavery in that region is to recognise the multiple stories, sources, meanings and interpretations available for an audience reading his text. His aim is therefore to present these possibilities as explicitly as he can and to illustrate their meaning to the audience. His work includes discussion of the influence of geography, demography, gender and familial structures and argues that the social lives of people must inform how this history is told. The 21st century also saw increased economic inequality for large parts of the South African population. Having been successful in attaining political democracy, the calls for social and economic democracy in the country are reflected in the content and tone of current histories. In recognising this shift, historians and authors are attempting to reflect socio-political conditions and to reflect the histories of

sections of the populations who have limited representation in the construction of the country's supposedly inclusive national histories.

R.E. van der Ross, in his 2005 text, attempts to offer a more accessible history of slavery at the Cape to non-academic audiences. His book ranges in topics and disciplinary focus and reads as a layman's introduction to slavery in South Africa, signalling the broadening of social history trends.

Wayne Dooling, in *Slavery, Emancipation and Colonial Rule in South Africa* (2007) begins his account of post-apartheid South Africa on the wine farms of the Western Cape and the history they promote to tourists as absent of any indication or trace of the slave labour and culture largely responsible for the establishment of these estates (2007: 2). He explores the colonial conquests and the lives of the landed classes in the Cape Colony, and the study integrates the telling of the story of slavery with the telling of the story of the Cape gentry in order to explore more fully the power relations and their impact during the colonial period. In a similar methodological approach, Karel Schoeman explores Cape slavery with this caution: '…the world of Cape slavery was neither monolithic nor static, in spite of the happy assumption of so many writers on the subject that examples may be plucked arbitrarily and at random from any point between 1652 and 1795, or even 1834' (2007: 6).

These works consider the development of subsidiary fields such as heritage studies and the strong links with slavery, suggesting that the impact of the institution continues to spread and as it does, so will the areas of analysis.

At the start of the 21st century, the discussion of slavery also begins to move beyond the scope of traditional historiography. Texts such as Jackie Loos' *Echoes of Slavery* (2004) and

Pumla Gqola's *What is slavery to me?* (2010) offer interpretations of the historical past of slavery from different theoretical and interdisciplinary perspectives. The legacy and impact of slavery has begun to be considered in alternative ways and this is in large part due to the successes of the historiography of slavery and the shifts and developments it has undergone. The links between historiography and interdisciplinary analysis of slavery include scholarship about memory politics – all of which provide opportunities and frameworks for thinking through the recurrence and visibility of slavery in alternative ways and spaces in public spaces and memorial and museums.

Memorialising Slavery

The role of memorialisation in relation to human suffering and persecution offers valuable insights. This memorialisation is often attached to the site of the museum.

According to the International Committee of Memorial Museums for the Remembrance of Victims of Public Crime (IC-MEMO), the purpose of memorial museums is to embrace the classical museum function to preserve, document and research, but also to serve as places of remembrance as they are often located at 'the original sites or at places chosen by survivors of such crimes for the purposes of commemoration' (IC-MEMO 2001).

Unlike traditional historical museums, which 'display exhibits illustrating historical developments and conditions within their regional spheres of competence, or traditional memorials which are traditionally dedicated to outstanding people at places of biographical significance and events occurring at historical scenes', 'new' memorial museums focus on the commemoration of the victims of crime (ICOM 2004: 34). This focus also implies that

these museums also adopt critical positions in relation to the ideological perspectives and state organisation that gave rise to people being persecuted:

> [H]istoric site museums and memorial museums for public crimes against humanity can be defined as follows: These institutions function as museums with a stock of original historical objects, which generally includes buildings, and work in all the classical fields of museum work (collecting, preserving, exhibiting, doing research, providing education). Their purpose is to commemorate the victims of state and socially determined, ideologically motivated crimes. They are frequently located at the original historic sites, or at places chosen by the victims of such crimes for the purpose of commemoration. They are conceived as memorials admonishing visitors to safeguard basic human rights. As these institutions cooperate with victims and other contemporary witnesses, their work also takes on a psychosocial character. Their endeavours to convey information about historical events are morally grounded and aim to establish a definite relationship to the present, without abandoning a historical perspective. (ICOM 2004: 35)

This description of the role of memorial museums is significant in arguing for the vital role museums play in relation to catastrophes, wars etc. The developments appear to have surfaced after the world wars – and as such it is useful to think about whether this idea holds and has merit in looking back to earlier atrocities like slavery.

Worthy (2004) provides a reminder of the intense contestation of remembrance that exists in the construction of memorials and 'the need to delineate the interests, desires and successes of the various groups which formed part of the memorial-making process' (2004: 600). In his work about the debates and controversies surrounding the construction of Auckland's memorial to the Great War, Worthy considers the role the local communities played in the construction of the memorial and the ways in which they set about appropriating it. He coins the term 'communities of remembrance' and suggests that the various groups who participate in memorial-making processes do so from different perspectives and with varying needs. In detailing how memorials act as physical prompts to remember and are often treated as archives of memory, he identifies both the public elements of collective remembrance and the more private dynamics of individual remembrance in the face of collective loss.

Paul Williams' *Memorial Museums* (2007) demonstrates an important argument about the expansion in memorial practices that are situated in the field of heritage and museum studies. In reviewing a number of memorial sites and in offering commentary and perspective on some of the controversy over memorialisation, Williams shows that the recent expectations of structures 'commemorating mass death and suffering, including the experiences and conflicted memories of ordinary citizens who fought, worked and grieved' (Williams, 2007:1) have shifted from earlier World War memorials.

The Slave Lodge Museum is dedicated to documenting the history of slavery in Cape Town, and uses the building itself as an artefact of a slave past. The museum markets itself as 'focus[ing] [on] the exhibits [of] family roots, ancestry and the peopling of South Africa...[with an] aim to increase awareness on issues such as human rights, equality, peace and justice. We plan to transform the Lodge from a site of human wrongs to a one of human rights, to pay tribute to those who have been forgotten, denied and stigmatised' (Iziko website)[17].

Both the Slave Lodge and the Memorial to the Enslaved in Church Square are supported by the City of Cape Town and heritage agencies in promoting histories of slavery. This is an important aspect in considering the larger questions of how slavery features in broader productions of national discourses of race and reconciliation. The examples of representational activity are also located at sites pertinent to slave history in the city and have a relational element that is significant: their physical proximity to each other affords an opportunity to consider the manner in which their representational strategies impact on one

[17] Iziko: Musuems of South Africa is an agency of the South African Department of Arts & Culture

another and how they jointly add to the production of memorial practices of slavery in the city of Cape Town.

Finally, both examples are recent additions to the representational landscape of the memories of enslavement in the city, with the Slave Lodge's recent renaming[18] and the conceptualisation and installation of their permanent exhibition along with the commission of the memorial on Church Square. The timing of these additions of slave memory is linked to the post-apartheid 'moment' and the possibilities it offers for alternative voices and positions to be added to the memorial topography. As a form of memory-making, the museum and the permanent exhibition that focuses on the history of slavery in South Africa offer one form of representing slavery.

The Slave Lodge Museum



Figure 4.1 Slave Lodge exterior (all figures are author's own photographs)

[18] In 1998 'the South African Cultural Museum, close to Parliament and surrounded by monuments, would attract attention which led to its renaming as the Slave Lodge. The plaque in front of the building which marks the historic location of the slave tree would become more visible. This part of Cape Town would also be the site of Gabeba Abrahams' archaeological dig in April 2000, a collaboration between academics and public institutions which welcomed, and at times, invited the participation of the public' (Gqola, 2010: 5). On Heritage Day (September 24) 1998, the South African Cultural History Museum was formally renamed the Slave Lodge.

The Slave Lodge is located on the corner of Adderley and Wale Streets in the city centre of Cape Town. The Slave Lodge Museum was renamed in 1998 to reflect its original use and acknowledge the slave past that had been buried for almost 300 years. Slaves owned by the VOC were housed in the lodge from 1679-1810. They worked as general labourers in all the Company's facilities (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen & Worden, 1998: 60). Living conditions were atrocious. In 2000 the museum and its affiliated sites were amalgamated into the Iziko Museums of Cape Town. The first permanent exhibition on slavery in South Africa would only open in 2006, almost 327 years after the building was first erected to serve as a slave lodge of the Dutch East India Company. Some estimates have the population of slaves, convicts, and the mentally ill numbering up to 9000 during the period between1679 and 1811[19].



Figure 4.2 Old Supreme Court Plaque located in the entrance hall of the Slave Lodge Museum

[19] The building served a variety of purposes in its history after its closure as a slave lodge, with modifications in 1810 when it started to serve as government offices. The site functioned as government offices for the British, including the Governor's Advisory Council and the Upper House of the first parliament. South Africa's first library and first post office were also housed at the site. Between 1815 and 1914 it also served as the Cape Supreme Court. More information can be found at the following web address: www.iziko.org.za/static/page/the-history-of-the-building

The building was restored in 1960 and was used as the site of the South African Cultural History Museum 'which was a 'white affairs museum' displaying mainly objects and artefacts associated with ('white') culture' (Eichmann 2006: 1). The upper galleries of the Iziko Slave Lodge still house many of these artefacts and remain open to the public. The majority of the exhibition in these galleries is made up of objects from ceramics, silverware and Egyptology collections and the museum is clear to note in its various promotional materials that these exhibitions are *not* related to the history of slavery in South Africa[20].

Remembering Slavery - Permanent exhibition

Two permanent exhibitions at the Lodge are then dedicated to the history of slavery in South Africa. The first is entitled *Remembering Slavery.* Eichmann (2006) has eloquently elaborated on the ways in which slavery came to be represented at the Slave Lodge, tracing the processes that shaped and contributed to the construction of this meaning. She shows how the context of popular discourses around the memory of slavery and associated controversies impacted on the making of the exhibition and demonstrates the ways in which they were incorporated into the 'final product' - the permanent exhibition *Remembering Slavery*. Below I detail the nature of this exhibition and how it operates in promoting 'preferred narratives' about slavery that contain no 'rough edges' about the atrocities of slavery and that this ultimately confines the work that visitors are encouraged to do in understanding how slavery is remembered. Slavery is thus only able to function within the redemptive narrative paradigm of a nation saved by human rights.

[20] In their description of the permanent exhibitions in the Slave Lodge details are provided about the ceramics and silverware collections with one brief statement about future plans for the upper galleries and their artefacts - that they will be transformed to draw links to national heritage and history. Recent additions, in 2014, have been made to the upper galley and include temporary exhibitions more resonant with the post-apartheid context, the Singing Freedom Exhibition being the most recent addition (www.iziko.org.za/static/landing/exhibitions).

The second permanent exhibition is entitled *Slave Origins - Cultural Echoes.* This exhibition focuses on cultural objects and artefacts that relate to but are not from the colonial period of slavery at the Cape (see Appendix A). The objects include puppets, furniture, weapons and fashion objects and are ostensibly meant to 'reveal in a general sense the rich diversity of cultural backgrounds of the slaves transported to the Cape during the 17th and 18th centuries'[21]. Whilst I do not investigate the second exhibition in as much detail as the first, it is important to indicate that the content of the exhibition offers an additional construct to the ways in which we understand the significance of slavery - that is that the enslaved peoples contributed 'culturally' to the landscape of the country. This offers a fascinating reading when considered in relation to the remaining artefacts from South African Cultural History museum: I suggest there is still an implication that one set of artefacts are related to culture and the other set are related to civilisation - a troubling narrative to still see amidst the post-apartheid nation's concern for inclusive museum practices that challenge some of the problematic ideological assumptions that plagued museums during the colonial period. Here again is an example of the smooth edges Linenthal refers to - in this case, slavery is reduced to a series of cultural objects that are still positioned in relation to colonial ideologies and artefacts.

History of exhibition development

Eichmann's extensive study on the Slave Lodge museum offers a comprehensive analysis of the conceptual debates surrounding the establishment of a permanent exhibition that focused on slavery. She argues that museum staff had to grapple with various questions about *how* to represent slavery (2006). The description offered by Eichmann shows the development of events and exhibitions between 1994 and 2005 that led up to the eventual opening of the

[21] www.iziko.org.za/calendar/event/slave-orgins-cultural-echoes

permanent exhibition *Remembering Slavery*. She recounts how various forums and debates held at the then South African Cultural History Museum were meant to generate content for the conceptual development of the museum's transformation into a space dedicated to remembering and representing slave history - at the site, specifically, and at the Cape more broadly. These included some temporary exhibitions about Khoisan culture, the production of a booklet on the early history of the Slave Lodge and a number of problematic interventions such as the display of the Old Slave Tree (with the emphasis curiously placed on the tree itself instead of its association with slavery) and a display of pictures of slaves accompanied by their registration certificates and two artefacts attributed to slaves. The caption for this display was largely bureaucratic and from the perspective of British authorities (Eichmann 2006). These initial limited and problematic interventions were followed by the official re-naming of the building to the Slave Lodge Museum, a number of public celebrations associated with slave heritage and the prominent excavations at the Slave Lodge led by Iziko historical archaeologist Gabeba Abrahams. These events coincided with the establishment of the UNESCO Slave Route Project, which had identified the Slave Lodge 'as the focal point of the South African chapter of the Slave Route' (Eichmann 2006: 44).

Goodnow (2006) suggests that there are several ways in which museums can be studied, and that a particular choice of method will obviously yield a particular outcome. My discussion entails a consideration of the museum as scripted space in which the political and social contexts in which museums function, along with issues of representation and access are important (Goodnow 2006: 30).

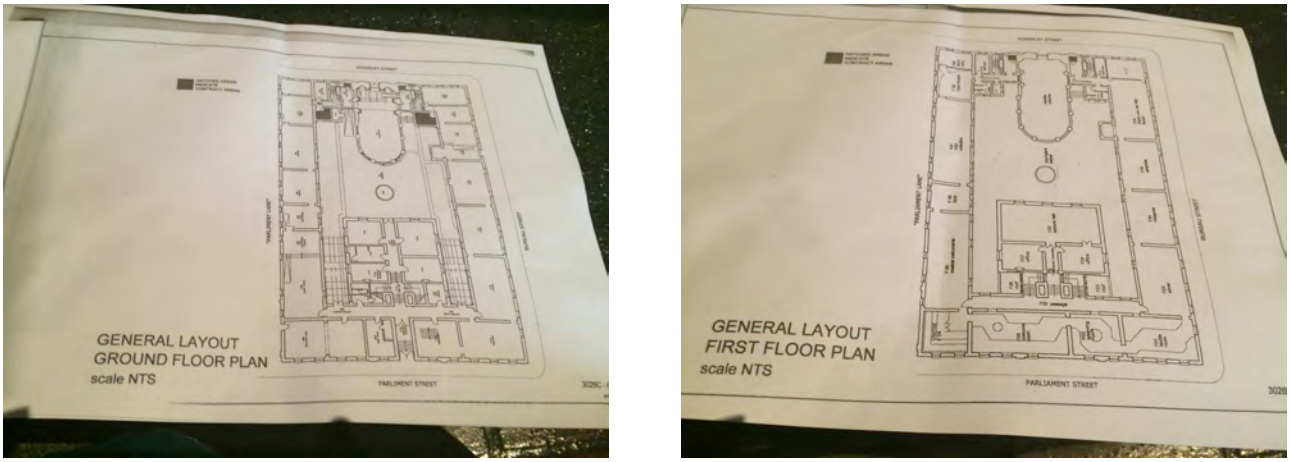

Figure 4.3 Slave Lodge Floor Plans

The exhibition consists of nine galleries (see Figure 4.3) that each offer a narrative of slavery at the Cape.

The first narrative is installed in the foyer of the Slave Lodge and provides an overview of the exhibition detailing the history of slavery in South Africa in nine panels with the theme of human rights abuses underpinning the narrative (see Figure 4.4).

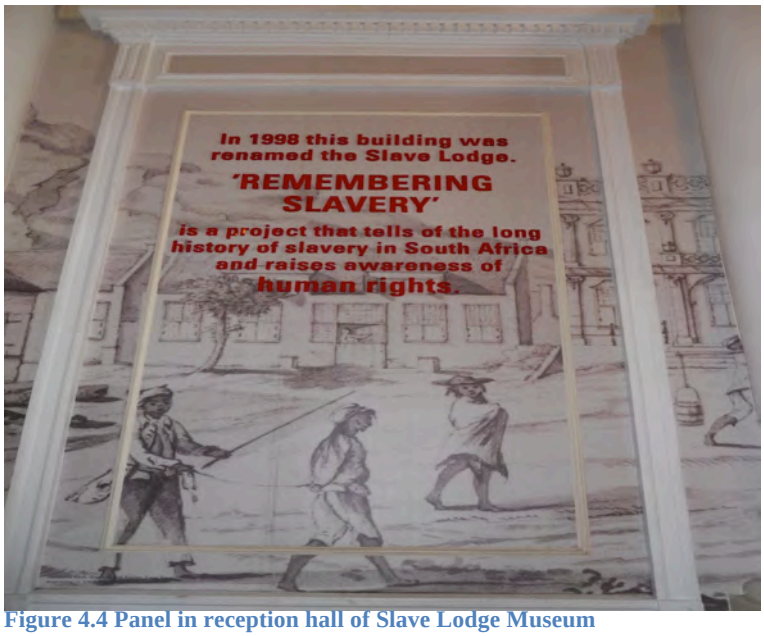

Figure 4.4 Panel in reception hall of Slave Lodge Museum

The auditorium contains a video playing on a loop in a darkened room. Two video screens are fixed to the wall and there are nine wooden benches for visitors to sit on – encouraging the visitor to watch the video. The video, entitled 'From Human Wrongs to Human Rights', is a re-enactment of a slave sale, and contains emotional scenes of black bodies as slaves and

white bodies representing authority. The history of the building is also presented as ‘a living heritage site’ about memory and reflection. The video directs visitors to consider that the current building resembles its government functions and not its use as a slave lodge – and alerts them to the fact that in 2000, archaeological excavations began on site and with this, according to the narrative, the transformation of the building into place of ‘healing and justice’ took place.

The first gallery, ‘Slavery and the Slave Lodge’, also contains a mixed media installation and the representation here relates to the Slave Lodge in terms of its past, present and future. A number of panels present information about the architecture and layout of the building, with some photographs and copies of etchings from the archive, as well as examples of artefacts – slave shackles / artefacts from the archaeological dig - used to support the narrative of the life of the site (see Figure 4.5).

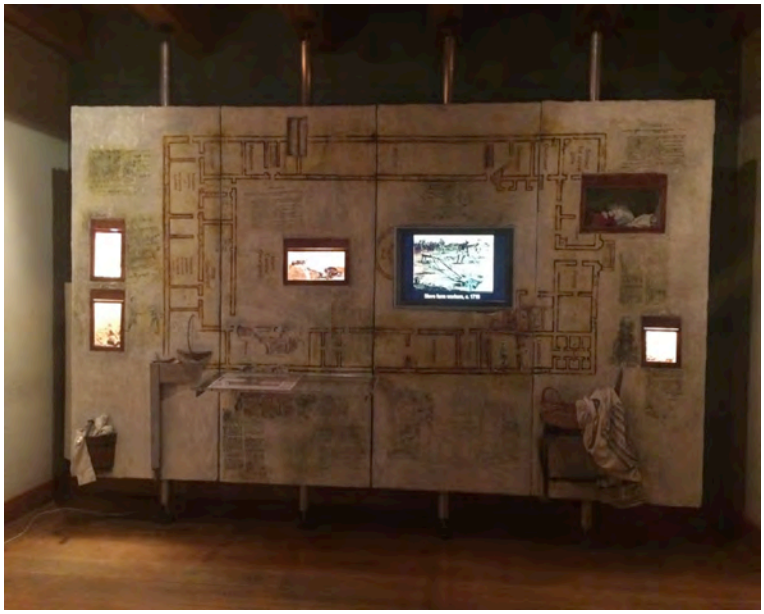

Figure 4.5 Multimedia Installation in Gallery One

The second gallery, ‘Slave voyages: Memorial’, comprises the reconstruction of the interior of the bowels of the ship. The installation is based on the plans of the slave ship, *Meermin.* The panels in this gallery include information about how slaves came to the Cape; there is information provided about various slave ships and places where slaves came from. There is also detail about mutinies on ships, for example the mutiny on the Minerva. In this gallery is a panel that shows a plan of an unnamed slave ship details how tightly ships were packed.

The information presented includes personal accounts of residents of Cape Town describing slaves. There is a copy of a register noting slave deaths. The gallery includes a sound installation - an evocative poem entitled ‘Slave Dream’ (by Ndlovu) with a soundscape by Erasmus (see Figure 4.6).



Figure 4. 6 Installation in Gallery Two

In an enclave between Galleries Two and Three is the ‘Column of Memory/On being renamed’. It contains a selection of names of slaves reminiscent of the slave memorial in Church Square. Symbolising the memory of slave existence, it includes excerpts from the poem *Slave Dream,* which is wrapped around a pillar of light. The names appear in black font on a white background with the light reflecting inside the pillar as sections are rotated (see Figure 4.7)

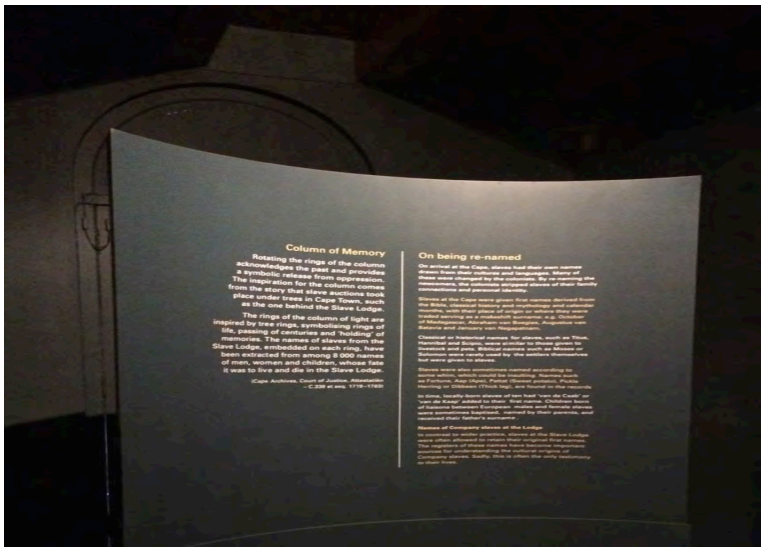

Figure 4.7 Information panel for 'Column of Memory'

Gallery Three, 'Map of Origins', contains information about the origins of slaves and their arrival at the Cape and is visually illustrated by maps. The focus in this gallery is a large multimedia map, which includes information about slave trade routes. There are also information panels that describe the lack of documented information pertaining to the individual life of those enslaved. Other panels offer information about slave runaways, hierarchies of slave societies and how slaves were sold, along with languages and traditions of slavery (see Figure 4.8).

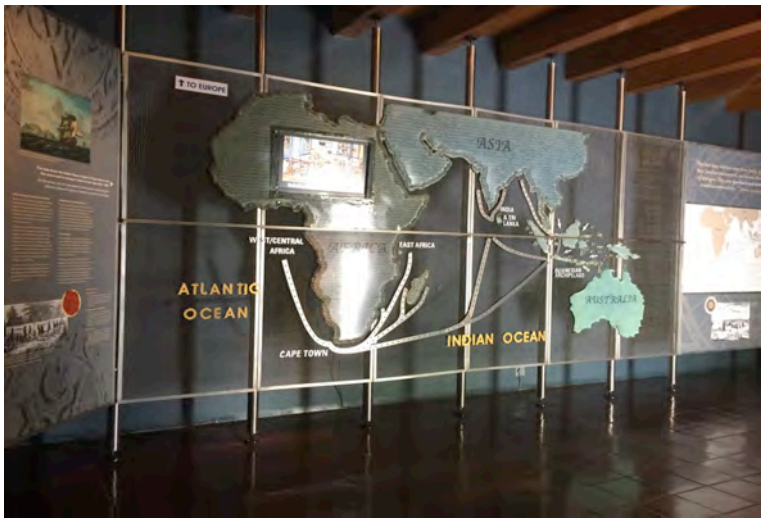

Figure 4.8 'Map of Origins' - Gallery Three

Gallery Four, ‘Inside the Slave Lodge’, contains an installation that is meant to create a sense of what the Slave Lodge was once like. According to the information panel about the gallery, ‘the audio accompaniment and projected images evoke the presences of slaves by giving vivid descriptions of the trauma of everyday life in the Slave Lodge’. A model of the Slave Lodge (c.1800) is on display in the centre of the gallery (see Figure 4.9).



Figure 4.9 Model of the Slave Lodge – Gallery Four

The museum floor plans identify seven more galleries on the ground floor which are meant to be organised as follows: Gallery Five: ‘Archaeological artefacts’, Gallery Six: ‘Excavation’, Galleries Seven and Eight: ‘Life in bondage’, Galleries Nine and Ten: ‘Social lives, new relationships’ and Gallery Eleven: ‘Abolition, emancipation and beyond’. They also identify that the future permanent exhibition will be ‘on Slavery, Family, Roots and the Peopling of South Africa. It will also aim to increase the awareness of human rights, equality, peace and justice’ (Slave Lodge floor plan). Not all of these planned galleries have been materialised and as of 2014, the two remaining gallery spaces on the ground floor contained the *Cultural Echoes* permanent exhibition and a gallery that contains information about abolition and William Wilberforce which appears to be a semi-permanent feature. This last gallery space also has other temporary exhibition information alongside the details of abolition. What is,

however, clearly presented is the narrative of overcoming slavery setting this in the broader narrative about overcoming human rights abuses and, as such, presenting slavery as similar to other forms of oppression that South Africa as a nation has been able to overcome – it has been made to fit neatly into a trajectory that ends with a nation reconciled.

As the exhibition narrative is contained within a traditional museum space, it is also useful to consider trends in museological practice and the relationship with memorialising slavery.

Studying museums

Museums have played a central role in our construction and understanding of public cultures (Clifford 1988, Coombes 2004, Karp, et al 2006, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006). As such the ways in which we analyse them and understand their contributions to knowledge-production must reflect the ways in which museums have been used to encode and create particular forms of social behaviour, and to codify aspects of human productivity. Carohn Cornell's "Whatever became of Cape Slavery in Western Cape Museums" (1999) examines the ways in which slave history has been written out of certain Western Cape museums and as a result, South African history more broadly speaking. In her evaluation of four sites, the old South African Cultural History Museum (now the Slave Lodge), the Bo-Kaap Museum, Groot Constantia and Vergelegen, Cornell argues that museums must become more familiar with displaying the past as contested. She demonstrates how each of the museums could display the conflict and contested nature of the past instead of supporting a singular narrative. It is interesting to note that many of the suggestions proposed by Cornell at the end of the 1990s have subsequently informed the transformation of museum practice with particular reference to slavery, both at the sites she initially examined as well as in other museums which have subsequently been formed.

The development towards making museums more welcoming, interactive public spaces where voices and views previously silenced are incorporated has occurred at both international and local levels (Karp and Levine 1993, Clifford 1997). This is not always an easy task, as Cornell and others (e.g. Hanley 1996) have observed. For Cornell, '[m]useums are faced with a difficult task: they need to attract and challenge but not alienate visitors, both those who have been or felt excluded in the past, and those who expect a familiar and reassuring view of the past to pass onto their children' (1999: 261).

The narratives contained in the exhibition then offer an account that locates slavery as part of the story of the South African nation and does not foreground slavery as a portrayal of labour. The barbed edges that Linenthal reminds us of about slavery - its atrocities, violence, gross sexual exploitation, psychic trauma - are evacuated in the positioning of slavery within the discourse of nation. Instead we see the co-option of a range of experiences related to the oppression and enslavement of people into the narrative of liberation that has dominated the post-apartheid landscape in terms of race and reconciliation.

The Memorial to the Enslaved

On September 24th, 2008, the Mayor of Cape Town, Helen Zille, unveiled a memorial on Church Square that had been commissioned by the City of Cape Town to 'finally acknowledge the contribution made by slaves to the culture and heritage of our city and to remember their suffering'[22]. The memorial is located in Church Square, a short walk around the corner from the Slave Lodge entrance. The proximity of this building to the site of the memorial constructs an interesting relationship between memorialising practices - the relational space itself is often highlighted in the Slave Walking Tours (see Chapter Five).

[22] (Eichmann n.d.: http://www.family-history.co.za/commemorating_slavery.php).

The memorial was a collaborative work made by artists Gavin Young and Wilma Cruise and comprises 11 granite blocks of varying height (between 30 and 80 centimetres high) that are distributed as a grid on Church Square (see Figure 4.10).



Figure 4.10 Granite blocks that make up the Memorial to the Enslaved on Church Square

A description on Cruise's website states that the cube-like blocks

> …repose as silent reminders of Cape Town's slave history. The cubes index people, local and imported, who laboured until full emancipation in 1838. Solid in their opaque mirrored surfaces, they reflect a changing sky, fragments of the surrounding buildings and some glimpses of passers-by. In this fleeting moment of self-recognition, we see ourselves as living recipients of a history of dehumanised slave labour…The prime aesthetic and ethical approach of the artists is that slavery as phenomenon in world history, cannot be represented by figurative means. The artists assert the power of the abstract cipher, together with encrypted text, is the most appropriate memorial to our slave past.[23]

[23] For more information see http://www.wilmacruise.com 2008



Figure 4.11 One of the granite blocks with the engraved names of those who were enslaved in the Cape

Two of the blocks are placed on a raised plinth in the southwest corner of the square and are engraved with some of the names of hundreds of slaves who were brought to the Cape from 1658 onwards. According to the artists responsible for the work, the 'forgotten names' are meant to aid in our remembering of slaves and their suffering and 'their contribution to the building of the South African nation'[24]. The nine remaining blocks are gathered together in a closer configuration nearer the Slave Lodge and the old Slave Tree plaque across the street, where it is presumed slaves were sold. These blocks are engraved with words that are meant to evoke the slave period in South Africa between 1652 and 1834-8: 'resistance and rebellion, suffering on the slave ships during the 'middle passage', provenance of slaves, religion, slave life, manumission, punishment, and the slave lodge'[25]. These words run up the sides and over

[24] For further information see http://www.gavinyoung.com
[25] For additional information see http://www.gavinyoung.com

the top of the blocks and are presumably meant to draw attention to the historical significance of the site and the locations/buildings/markers that occupy it:

> The memorial is characterised by silence - silence in the face of the abomination that was slavery. This is evoked by the reflective surface of the stones and their solemn arrangement on Church Square. Their weighty presence elicits the memory of the slaves that were sold, tortured and suffered at Church Square.[26]



Figure 4.12 Granite blocks with engraved words relating to slavery

However, it is noteworthy that the granite blocks themselves resemble tombstones in their physical construction, with the words engraved illustrative of traditions of lapidary.



Figure 4.13 Engraved granite block

[26] For more information see http://www.gavinyoung.com

Ironically, these granite blocks are also made of the same material redolent of tombstones that occupy graveyards in South Africa and as such when similar sentiments were raised by critics of the memorial - who described the memorial is comprised of 'black boxes' - impenetrable and unyielding - it was not surprising that some saw the memorial as an unsatisfactory way to memorialise the history and memory of slavery in the city. James Young (1994) highlights the dialogic quality of the memorial space, citing the value of the public dimension of the memorial. Young elaborates on this relationship in identifying how in the absence of the tombstone (in the context of many Holocaust victims) the monument can function as a substitute site of mourning and remembrance (1994: 15). Criticism of the Memorial to the Enslaved suggests that the nature of the memorial limits its ability to function in these ways.

Worthy's ideas of communities of remembrance are pertinent to certain areas of analysis of the Memorial to the Enslaved. He argues that remembrance narratives are not automatic or predetermined; rather communities of remembrance construct a choice of discourse, selecting one from many possible alternatives (2004: 612). He further suggests that publics require instructions or directions about how to read memorials and that these scripts are necessary to continue these discursive constructions of meaning in relation to memorials and memorial sites. Linenthal suggests '[we maintain] the conviction that somehow places speak, and places where extreme events were carried out (or began) speak even more importantly - more problematically, that our memories of such events will be as powerful, as enduringly constructive, as the enduringly destructive event itself" (2006: 222). What then do we make of the locational relationship between the Slave Lodge and the Memorial to the Enslaved and the ways in which their representational strategies to memorialise slavery impact on one another and the idea of the indigestible narrative of the atrocity of slavery at the Cape? If we

examine the nature of the words engraved on the granite plinths that comprise the Memorial to the Enslaved, it is striking that none of the words selected directly reference the violence, oppression and brutality of the slave period. Instead, they recall what I term the 'softer' elements of slavery - the by-products which are often co-opted into discourses of 'multiculturalism', exchange and cultural diversity that elide the violent histories of the period and the region (see Figures 4.14 and 4.15).



Figure 4.14 Granite plinth with words describing some of the work done by the enslaved peoples in the Cape



Figure 4.15 Granite plinth with words describing cultural contributions enslaved people are believed to have made to South African history

In this way, the real violent and bloodthirsty nature and cost of slavery remains concealed from view - even as the memory of slavery is invoked in public and visible ways. The suppression of the murderous extent of violence of enslavement in the Cape reinforces Linenthal's position about the indigestibility of slavery.

In addition, these word choices deny the significance of slavery in the broader national narrative of nation that is largely founded on discourses of overcoming oppression and race and reconciliation. The selection of words implies that slavery in the Cape was largely productive in its contribution to the cultural and historical landscape of the city and the country - it denies the reality of the violence and brutality of enslavement.

In the permanent exhibition, *Remembering Slavery*, some of the more heinous elements of slavery are masked by the focus of the exhibition narrative. Whilst the reality of slavery as a brutal and violent economic and cultural system is less easily avoided in the exhibition, arguably this narrative is put to the service of the broader reconciliation account which sees slavery as a narrative device that does little to trouble the story that South Africa is a 'nation saved by human rights'. The indigestible narrative of slavery as a separate and earlier system with its own harsh and lasting impacts on the life of the nation remains impossible and is ultimately transformed into the more palatable narrative of how slavery produces 'cultural diversity'.

In considering what discourses surround the Memorial to the Enslaved it is also important to ask what the visual cues of the memorial point to in terms of a public or collective reading? Do the discourses construct the memorial as a collective one? What, for example, happens on the appropriate days of remembrance? The first of December as Emancipation day? The twenty fourth of September as Heritage Day? Does the simplicity of the Memorial to the Enslaved allow different types of remembrance? Or do the narrative details and inscription prescribe a certain type of remembrance?

The politics of forgetting

Does reconciliation require the active suppression of past injustices? What then of memorials made to slavery in the period of reconciliation? What might they be able to depict? Only the sense and none of the details? Durba Ghosh (2009) discusses how postmodern museology worries that those 'national cultural projects which celebrate diversity are simply turning multiculturalism into a management technique, substituting exhibit for policy, and masking persistent inequalities, racism, and cultural chauvinism behind entertaining spectacles' (2009: 5). Both the Memorial to the Enslaved and the permanent exhibition at the Slave Lodge do attempt to support processes of restoration in relation to the memories of slavery. Both surface the historic fact of slavery at the Cape and in so doing attempt to remap and reconstruct the place that history has in the city. They also raise a discussion about the function and place of the memories of slavery and their 'official' discursive circulations. In addition, the existence of both sites (recently established and reconfigured in the present form to represent slave history) does indeed indicate an 'expansion of what counts as worthy of inclusion in the South African historic / memory landscape' (Linenthal 2006: 216).

The presentation of this 'indigestible' narrative of slavery in a 'palatable' form, as part of a larger narrative of race and reconciliation does, however, suggest that the sanctioned forms that add to national discourses limit the possibilites of slave memory to function in specific ways.

For Edward Ball (cited by Linenthal), and, certainly, I argue in the post-apartheid context,

> [r]econciliation is not about being nice. It's not about pretending that things were other than they really were. This kind of reconciliation, based upon misrepresentation and the softening of the realities, is not true reconciliation and will not last. Reconciliation is about being able to look the tragedy of…history in the eye. It's about coming to terms with the violence and the suffering, chaos and anger and fear in our heritage and saying: 'We accept this, and together we will transcend it'. (2006: 224)

In the next chapter I consider how the ‘unofficial’ strategies of memory-work interpret the city of Cape Town - and how individuals map memories of slavery and argue for the recuperation of meaning and sites of slavery outside of the officially sanctioned national discourse of race and reconciliation.

Chapter Five

Slave walking tours: Thinking about slave heritage in Cape Town

Marschall (2005) demonstrates that there are two emerging trends in the field of cultural and heritage studies in post-apartheid South Africa. The first is related to the notion that the promotion of tourism is able to address a range of social needs in South Africa – including development, employment and income generation. The second trend is tied to the notion of heritage – needing to identify, celebrate, evaluate, reassess and commodify it (103). As a result of this she suggests that the commodification of memory within the heritage industry in the South African context is related to the intersecting needs of tourism and identity-formation and reflects the complex intertwining of socio-economic and sociopolitical agendas, 'simultaneously serv[ing] to (re)define identity at community and national level, thus contributing to nation-building' (ibid.) Marschall reviews a number of post-apartheid heritage projects and commemorative monuments and highlights the relationship between heritage, cultural tourism and identity-formation. Her focus on the challenges that exist in commodifying memories and heritage are particular interest as a backdrop for this chapter as it frames some of my own concerns about how slave history and memories of slavery come to be commodified in cultural tourism initiaves in Cape Town.

This chapter describes the ways in which slave walking tours in the city of Cape Town map sites of slavery through an analysis of cultural memory (Assman 1995) and memorial cartographies (Jonker & Till 2009). These narratives employ personal interpretations about the ongoing relevance and legacy of slavery that are formulated in relation to the sites on the tour. I suggest that the memory of slavery is used by individuals (either in the form of the guides, or visitors in the case of self-guided tours) to (re)position the narrative of slavery

(often interpreted in very personal ways) as central to and *not* peripheral to the discursive (re)construction of post-apartheid nationhood.

This analysis is premised on the idea that the history and memory of slavery is increasingly visible and promoted in the fields of heritage and cultural tourism in the Western Cape. Marschall (citing Hewison) reminds us that cultural heritage has become a product that is preserved, framed and marketed to 'consumers' in competition with other such products (2005: 104). As such, a closer consideration of tourism and tourist activities is first necessary, to understand the nuances of how slavery is discursively constructed and embodied. I consider how select slave tours in the city of Cape Town contribute discursively to ideas about the post-apartheid nation and the in/exclusion of the memory of slavery. As Jonker and Till suggest,

> the spectral traces of Cape Town's urban slave heritage…emerged as if to haunt the memorial foundations of the new nation. For while much effort in building a post-apartheid South Africa has focused on memorializing loss, rewriting historical narratives, transforming public memory and claiming a distinctive ancient African heritage (Coombes, 2003; Nuttall and Coetzee, 1998; Rassool et al., 2002), these 'usable pasts' (Cohn, 1983) and claims to African heritage have continued to marginalize Cape Town's violent inheritances of slavery and colonialism. (2009: 305)[27]

In Western Cape tourism, 'Colouredness' is often constructed in relation to the 'exotic' inheritances of slavery, with specific focus on the figure of the Malay slave (Baderoon 2014). In some instances this is limited and stereotypical, whilst in others, a more complex and multifaceted view is taken. In the city of Cape Town, commercial tourism in particular has attempted to refashion the image and place of 'Coloured' identity and attempts have been made to include the legacy of slavery as integral to this.

In an example of the increased visibility of South Africa's slave past, tourism to slave heritage sites is increasing in the Western Cape. As a result of the creation of the UNESCO

[27] The 'usable past' Jonker and Till refer to echoes sentiments raised by Linenthal (2006) concerning the palatability of certain narratives in constructing national discourses of reconciliation (see Chapter Four).

Slave Route Project (see Chapter Four), certain sites in the region are being positioned as part of this project, conserving slave sites around the world. In relation to memorial sites and places, the route project

> aims to inform new generations of the painful past of slavery and to establish memorial tourism activities relating to the slave route. Initiated in April 1995 in Ghana, the slave route project is designed to encourage member states to inventory, protect and promote these memorial sites and places and to include them in national and regional tourism itineraries[28].

An increase in tourism to certain sites in Cape Town as a result of this route might suggest a willingness to re-examine the role of slavery in South Africa's history and to reflect on populations of slave descendants living in the City and further afield. The heritage of slavery is thus an important part of how heritage tourism is conceptualised in the city. Marschall explains that, as most heritage projects are usually still initiated and driven by government, as representative of the people, it is important to note that political objectives such as nation-building and forging new identities also compete with economic and heritage objectives in the landscape of cultural and heritage tourism (2005: 108).

Memorial cartography

Jonker and Till's (2009) work on mapping and excavating spectral traces of the human remains that emerged from Prestwich Place provide an important reference for the development of the idea of *memorial cartography*. They described the remains as embodying a past that exceeded national narrations of public memory and simultaneously presented this past as an object of urgent concern for both private capital and activists - thus disturbing the memorial foundations of post-apartheid South Africa (2009: 305).

It is this disruption of the memorial foundations I suggest also provides opportunities for reconfiguring the relationship and contribution of slave memory to formations of national discourse for South Africa in the various iterations of post-apartheid. Jonker and Till discuss how the work of constitutional transition and transformation (through the legal reforms of the early 1990s) formulated a historical narrative of the nation that often neglected certain

[28] See the UNESCO Slave Route website http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/dialogue/the-slave-route/

dimensions of Cape Town's complex past, particularly the colonial history and institution of slavery (2009: 305).

The authors pose a valuable question in relation to memory-work in South Africa; they ask 'if spectral traces throw contemporary mappings of the city into disarray, what might a different mapping of the city look like, one that is sensitive to the past injustices that continue to haunt the postcolonial city?' (2009: 306). As Harley (2001) concludes, maps are never value-free images; rather in the selectivity of their content and in their signs and styles of representation, maps 'are a way of conceiving, articulating, and structuring the human world which is biased towards, promoted by, and exerts influence upon particular sets of social relations' (53).

I suggest that the slave walking tours provide one possible set of answers about the result of alternative mapping strategies that become possible and equally important, *visible*, by focusing on the memory and history of slavery.

Jonker and Till propose reading Cape Town in terms of memorial cartography. They suggest that their 'commemorative mapping plots the echoes that other pasts and places have with contemporary debates, recognising that these resonances form an affective network granting thick meaning to an inhabitant's experience of place' (2009: 306). They suggest further that such forms of mapping can allow sites of displacement to have disruptive potential in 'establishing zones of social belonging, allowing the excluded to re-imagine how they might inhabit the urban spaces from which they and their ancestors were displaced (2009: 307).

Memorial cartographies are thus viewed and used as creative representational strategies for terrains not visible on Cartesian mappings (Jonker & Till 2009). Drawing on the work of Paul Ricoeur (2004: 5) that sees the work of re-imagination as a 'backward looking memorial gesture', Jonker and Till articulate a conception of memorial cartographies that 'provides alternative forms of representing the significance of the past in the present, mobilises critical spatial and historical imaginaries and ultimately call into question the inevitably of the

present' (2009: 308). They suggest that the value of this re-imagining in the form of memorial cartographies is its ability to exceed nostalgia by making a political gesture of creative memory-work (ibid.). Methodologically, this mapping concerns 'movements and moments of displacement and dispossession…remaining sensitive to contemporary insufficiencies of transitional justice and public memory' (ibid.) that materially translates to a consideration of documentary, archival, oral and archaeological evidence about those buried at Prestwich Place[29].

The memorial cartography of the Prestwich Place (along with District Six[30]) that the authors generate 'inscribes both the historical time-spaces of colonial and capitalist urbanization, their zones of creative destruction, as well as time-spaces of social memories, their inclusions and exclusions' (2009: 313). Jonker and Till add that sites such as these are 'landmarks of a cartography of incomplete political transformation. Occupying central and prominent spaces in the city, these places recall the haunting presence of the past and as such anchor our memorial cartography of the city' (2009: 316). In this tradition, I consider the sites and locations that map the city of Cape Town based on an orientation of slave memory.

Cultural memory

For Assman and Czaplicka (1995), cultural memory refers to the 'compris[ing] [of] that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose 'cultivation' serves to stabilize and convey that society's self-image'(Assam, 1995: 132). In

[29] Prestwich Place Memorial is an ossuary, memorial garden and visitors' centre that commemorates the remains from unmarked graves (most likely of slaves and others executed by the Dutch in the 17th and 18th centuries at Gallows Hill) found in the area. According to Xolelwa Kashe-Katiya, Deputy Director of the Archival Platform, 'In 2003, construction activities in the area uncovered human bones and as required by the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) Act, construction was halted and Archaeologists from the University of Cape Town (UCT) were contracted to investigate. Exhumations of the human remains began, even though the public consultation process that is required by the SAHRA Act had not yet been finalised. This led to a new form of conflict that was amongst academics, civil society groups, developers and government officials' (See http://www.archivalplatform.org/blog/entry/prestwich_place/).

[30] According to the District Six Museum, 'District Six was named the Sixth Municipal District of Cape Town in 1867. Originally established as a mixed community of freed slaves, merchants, artisans, labourers and immigrants… On 11 February 1966 it was declared a white area under the Group Areas Act of 1950, and by 1982, the life of the community was over. More than 60 000 people were forcibly removed to barren outlying areas aptly known as the Cape Flats, and their houses in District Six were flattened by bulldozers'.[sic] (See http://www.districtsix.co.za/).

the case of the walking tours that focus on slavery, I suggest that cultural memory offers an informative set of tools to organise and read the stabilisation and conveying of a regional set of ideas or, to use Assman and Czaplicka's term, 'self-image', about the significance of slavery to the city's history. Here, the traditional narratives about the relationship between slavery and 'Colouredness' are reconfigured from marginalisation and trivialisation (Erasmus 2001) to be read as more central to the discursive construction of the post-apartheid nation.

The use of cultural memory to consider slave-walking tours in Cape Town thus allows for the subjective fragmentary interpretations and performances of the narratives framed by the sites and spaces to be read as an important part of the changes in the memory landscape of post-apartheid South Africa.

Witz, Rasool and Minkley (2001) have argued that tourism in South Africa is not simply a business. Instead, they suggest, it is about packaging images that represent the society and its past. Heritage tourism, as echoed by Marschall, is a highly political phenomenon, which can be used to exclude certain histories. It can also be used to emphasise particular points of view and build nationalism and patriotism. Undoubtedly, heritage has multiple roles to play in this context and the promotion of this heritage to locals and visitors is often located through the medium of tourism.

John Urry's (2002) theoretical and historical analysis of the 'tourist gaze' argues that publicly and privately funded initiatives construct, using available visual communication technologies, 'gazes' (static, associated with photography) and 'glances' (mobile, as if through a vehicle window) that potential or actual tourists will wish to experience. These gazes and glances will have been at least partly previewed in advance by tourists through, for instance, their

earlier representation in paintings, photographs, postcards, guidebooks, travel books, brochures, films, television programmes and Internet websites.

According to Urry, tourists will then re-view such gazes and glances, when the destination is actually visited. Urry is useful in terms of understanding the various factors that influence the construction of so-called 'touristic images'. He suggests that what tourists expect to see (in terms of their gazes and glances) informs, to a certain degree, the types of images that are then produced. I am interested in how the form of the walking tour (which is a highly individually mediated experience) corresponds to the ideas that Urry suggests.

In relation to heritage tourism, expectations about the images tourists expect to see about South Africa's past are easily framed by gazes and glances that exist about apartheid oppression and racial classification. I suggest later in this chapter that the inclusion of slavery and the ways in which cultural memory is used to communicate this past reconfigures aspects of touristic gazes and glances along with altering aspects of the place of slavery in national discourses about race and reconciliation in South Africa.

The power and the reach of tourism and touristic images in relation to cultural and political matters can also be understood in the context of Cape Town and its reinforcement of these racialised categories and tropes, along with the ways in which memories and legacies of slavery are reinscribed. Baderoon (2014: 153) argues, for example, that the figure of the picturesque Muslim 'evokes not only what is to be remembered, but what to be forgotten - in fact reliance on the picturesque or 'kitsch' portrayal of Muslims, involving sentimental and reassuring tropes, *requires* the forgetting of certain histories'.

Vivian Bickford-Smith (2009), in his research about the historical ways in which the city of Cape Town has been marketed to potential tourists, points out that 'touristic' images of

'Coloured' people have been in circulation since the 19th century. According to Bickford-Smith, Arthur Elliot, one of Cape Town's most prolific photographers at the time, captured images of 'Cape Malays' (who are identified as Muslim Capetonians, mainly of slave descent), particularly through depictions of Malay weddings and the Malay Quarter (the geographical location where the community lived, now called the Bo-Kaap). Bickford-Smith further notes that Elliot's depictions built on European interest in these so-called 'exotic' Capetonians. Furthermore, Cape Town's equivalent use of anthropological exoticism as a marketing device focused on depictions of 'Coloured' Capetonians, in this period also seen in particular in depictions of female Adderley Street flower-sellers. These images continue to be in circulation today. In thinking about the alternating presence and absence of 'Coloured' people in the image of the Cape Malay community, he also considers the question of how Cape Town was promoted after 1994, the year of the first democratic elections in South Africa. For the most part, he suggests, the city followed what Ward terms the international 'blueprint' for selling modern cities, which includes the

> promotion of resort, business, sport, adventure, environmental, medical and 'pink' tourism through brochures and websites. There were also a number of community and individual initiatives primarily aimed at commemorating apartheid and earlier experiences of oppression. These include efforts to memorialize District Six as well as slavery by the likes of the First of December / Emancipation day organization, which lay wreathes at the old slave tree in Spin Street (where slaves had been sold). (2009: 1774)

Bickford-Smith shows how, together with the efforts of Cape Town academics, this helped to ensure that sites associated with slavery in the city, and slavery exhibitions in local museums, became part of the city's new attractions. In building heritage tourism opportunities in the city, the history of slavery therefore re-emerged in the narratives in circulation. New museums (such as the Slave Lodge (see Chapter Four) and the Bo-Kaap museum) and memorials (like Prestwich Place) also meant an increased popular interest. Often community engagement was part of the debates about the development of these sites.

Building on Urry's earlier argument, Hollinshead's discussion of heritage tourism suggests that tourism also engages with discursive constructions of images and identities of people through collaborative performance:

> We learn that the images and identities of people and places are not constant and immutable entities, but are rather flexible and alterable things very much defined through discourse, and naturalized though repeated collaborative performance. In the current setting, therefore, the held discourse and practice of 'national' and 'international' tourism industry not only reflects cultural, social and environmental reality, it also shapes those things. (Hollinshead, 2007: 292)

Thus through this long tradition of portraying 'Colouredness', the images mobilised in this regard are often repeated, naturalised and are treated as inevitable when considering and constructing images in our imagination and in reality regarding the City of Cape Town and the supposed relevance of slavery to these conceptions.

For Jonker and Till (2009) the city of Cape Town and the Western Cape province have distinct political and social histories; they argue that the social relations as a result are characterised by 'regionally specific and persistent legacies of indigenous genocide, colonialism, slavery, racial segregation and displacement, apartheid and post-apartheid racial and social tensions' (305). As I have discussed in Chapter Two, the use of the term 'Coloured' is tied to this complex past, although as Jonker and Till suggest, the term is sometimes (often?) used to silence and obsfucate slave ancestry (Adhikari 2005, cited in Jonker & Till 2009: 305).

Cape Town Tourism - Traditional narratives intact

Cape Town Tourism is the City of Cape Town's official regional tourism organisation, which is responsible for destination marketing, visitor and industry services. It claims to deal with approximately 3 million enquiries per year through its network of Visitor Information Centres located throughout the city.

I conducted a survey of the print and online material available[31], with a concentrated focus on the promotion of 'cultural or heritage experiences' in order to understand what possibilities the officially sanctioned tourist agencies provide for mapping the city differently. This survey also included the discussion of aspects of the city's history. This analysis concentrated on what kind of discursive representations existed about 'Colouredness' and if the ideas of slave history and slave heritage were prominent features in the promotional material.

In keeping with the tradition Bickford-Smith identified (and also as a result of the demographic profile of the Western Cape), images of 'Coloured' people were prevalent in the print and online material. In particular, images of 'Cape Malays' were often featured. Baderoon's *Regarding Muslims from Slavery to Post-Apartheid* (2014) demonstrates the ways in which popular culture has remained fascinated with Muslims in South Africa, evidenced in the profusion of images of 'Cape Malays' (1). Few of the narrative descriptions on offer relate to 'Colouredness' other than noting it as a unique feature of the city of Cape Town.

The material available is extensive, but for the purposes of this discussion the focus is on a few salient aspects of the discursive construction of 'Colouredness' as a traditionally identified site of intersection with slave history/memory. Three major themes emerged in relation to 'Colouredness' in Cape Town. They were: the history of the city, the culture of the city and the cuisine of the city. All positioned 'Coloured' as an important part of their descriptions. In describing the 'history' of the city, the following introduction is offered:

> Cape Town has a history of many intertwining threads and layers both shady and bright, from the city's cosmopolitan trade roots under Dutch, and then British rule,

[31] see http://www.capetown.travel

> followed by the troubled history of the apartheid years. (City of Cape Town website – Historic Cape Town section)

Note that whilst the VOC is referenced, slavery is conspicuously absent. Other relevant historical references in the page-long description offer two aspects immediately relatable and relevant to the slave history in Cape Town:

> The Slave Lodge and Church Square are a poignant reminder of the slave economy that established the Cape settlement…Bo-Kaap offers a colourful trip into the Malay history of the early Muslim settlers, at the Bo-Kaap Museum. Stroll through the trendy 19th century streets of De Waterkant, or remember the shady past of slavery at Prestwich Memorial. (City of Cape Town website – Historic Cape Town section)

What is significant in the first narrative is the use of historical facts, which are positioned in such a way that the history of the colonial period of the country appears straightforward and uncontested. The references to colonial powers appear neutral at best, marginally complimentary at worst. The choice of words to describe the various periods has 'cosmopolitan' framing colonial eras and 'dubious' to describe apartheid. This reinforcement of binary positions about the past does little to suggest that there are multiple histories in the city of Cape Town or that these histories are constantly being negotiated. Slavery, whilst included in terms of the city's history, it is still marginalised and presented in nostalgic terms, firmly located in the past. An approach that favoured memory would locate this history firmly in the present.

In relation to depictions of culture, the following is available from City of Cape Town Tourism:

> Cape Town is a city bursting at the seams with colour, creativity and humour. You only need walk past the flower sellers of Adderley Street to get a taste of the zest for life that permeates the city. The Cape Minstrel Carnival, affectionately known as Cape Town's answer to Mardi Gras, is another wonderful example of the City's creative spirit: on January 2 every year more than 13 000 brightly dressed minstrels dance through the city centre singing traditional songs and playing banjos.

> …take a taxi across town to Bo-Kaap, once known as the Malay Quarter, a charming area of multi-colored Malay houses and friendly faces. Meander along the cobbled streets and sample local treats such as *sosaties* and *samoosas.*
>
> …if music is more your style enjoy traditional *Ghoema* music or take a Jazz safari into the townships with Coffeebeans Routes and share a meal in the home of one of our talented musicians. (City of Cape Town website – Historic Cape Town section)

These three examples offer very specific constructions of cultural aspects of 'Colouredness' as pertaining to a Cape Malay heritage. Clichéd descriptions of 'colourfulness', 'humour' and 'creativity' do little to shift representations of 'Colouredness' beyond the stereotypes that have come to be associated with these identities (see Chapter Two). References to the flower sellers and the minstrel shows are prominent features of these descriptions as they were for travel writers at the beginning of the 19th century.

Finally, in relation to the representation of cuisine and 'Colouredness', the City of Cape Town tourism website states:

> Cape Town's diverse multi-cultural ancestry has enjoyed the influence of many cooking traditions – Italian, Malay, Chinese, Japanese, Moroccan, French, Portuguese, Congolese, Greek, Brazilian, Thai and Korean. The Cape Malay cuisine of today has developed from recipes introduced by Middle Eastern slaves brought to the Cape by the Dutch East India Company…Cape Malay fare is a signature Cape culinary style.
>
> It is said that the secret to the distinctive flavour of Cape Malay cuisine is a careful blend of spices incorporated into an array of tasty traditional dishes. The Cape Malay influence can be traced back to South Africa's early days, when the Dutch East India Company needed a provisions station to supply ships bound for Malaysia…Labourers were needed for the enterprise [of farming fresh vegetables and meat] so the Dutch ships fetched slaves from Sumatra, and these slaves later became known as Cape Malays. They brought with them their unique culture, traditions, recipes and spices. (City of Cape Town website – Historic Cape Town section)

In discussing the food traditions typically associated with 'Cape Malays', the narratives offered make explicit reference to the slave trade that resulted in the 'importation' of various Indo-Asian peoples to the city. In this rare explicit reference to some of the processes of slavery, the encounter is arguably framed as productive, resulting in 'multi-cultural ancestry',

‘a distinctive flavour’ and a ‘signature Cape culinary style’ - all factors to be celebrated. There is also the tendency to homogenise the Cape Malay community and their traditions, despite the numerous people, classes and ethnicities this term refers to. Baderoon (2014) demonstrates the various ways in which in the South African context, ‘disembodied versions of ‘Cape Malay’ and indigenous Khoisan food, disarticulated from the people who made them, were used to craft a national cuisine’ (56). Her analysis suggests that as a result of these processes, cuisine plays a complicated role as representational marker and can challenge these types of limited and narrow representations evoked by descriptions such as the ones offered by the City of Cape Town Tourism, which reinscribes slavery as peripheral and relegated to the lives of ‘Cape Malays’ or ‘Coloureds’.

What remains equally perplexing about this material are the representations it omits – none of the celebrated ‘Coloured’ political leaders, artists, businessmen etc. are included in the narratives promoted about the City of Cape Town. It may easily appear to an outside or uninformed reader or tourist that ‘Colouredness’ only operates in these terms and that, significantly, slave heritage is limited to the ‘Cape Malay’ cultural, historical and food traditions described above. The sanitisation of slavery in the City of Cape Town is equally problematic in the narratives on offer and does little to quell suggestions that ‘slavery was mild’ in the Cape and that it is far less relevant in discussions of South African democracy and race relations today.

Unlike the earlier discussions of the creolised histories of ‘Colouredness’ that are now beginning to be promoted (see Chapter Two), the descriptions offered here still portray ‘Colouredness’ and slave heritage in a limited manner. The discursive deconstructions of the forms and occasions of cultural representation, such as these storylines and the accompanying images, are laden with power.

Within the context of heritage tourism, it is essential to be aware of the marketing communication channels through which populations and places are conveyed, and these must be read as networks of power relations to be scrutinised. As a result of her own frustrations with the limited representations of slavery in tourism initiatives in Cape Town, one tour operator decided an alternative approach to 'Colouredness' and slave heritage was necessary in how to narrate the story of the city. The *Transcending History Tour* takes as its starting point that slavery is central and not peripheral to the story of Cape Town.

Transcending History Walking Tour

The *Transcending History Tour* began in 2008 and is run by Lucy Campbell in the city of Cape Town. Developed in large part as a series of personal responses to the lack of visibility of slave history in Cape Town, the tour's core function, according to Campbell, 'is to conduct and host walking tours to cultural slave heritage sites within and outside of the City of Cape Town. These tours include the enactment of the life of slaves at the Cape during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries with reference to present day Living Heritage sites' (Transcending History: Cape Slavery and Tourism blog on the archivalplatform.org).

Campbell notes the following in her introduction to the tour and the City of Cape Town:

> The story of slave mother Anna de Koningh previous owner of one of the largest wine estates Groot Constantia was where I started work in museums, 1998. This narrative later became the birth mother of the slave stories that live on in my tours — stories that have never been truthfully told and celebrated in the places of our slave heritage. My family, like many other classified 'coloured' families in and around the Cape, did not mention any slave ancestry that we may share. And not forgetting that I first met a 'black' person in my teens. It was better to disengage with one's history, a "slave-shame" that it bore, and therefore to forget who we really are…She stayed with me as I followed the history of her life, reading and retelling her story. I felt her presence there as a historical representation of my presence today…my historical footprints. Her story became the waves of slave stories that informed my tours thereafter. (Lucy Campbell interview transcript)

In this narrative, which forms part of the promotional material Campbell writes, which is hosted on the website Archival Platform[32], Campbell employs personal storytelling techniques to construct her history as connected to that of slavery and race relations in South Africa. She foregrounds the individual story of a slave woman who was later freed in her description of the history of Cape Town. In contrast to City of Cape Town Tourism (which is disconcertingly silent on the topic of slave labour and history on the popular wine farms), Campbell articulates this past and claims it as part of her own narrative accounts. She further challenges the silences that exist around slave history and heritage in the Cape, suggesting that because of it, various negative aspects of her history as a 'Coloured' person resulted. The embodied descriptions Campbell offers are also in stark contrast to the *tone* of the descriptions offered by City of Cape Town Tourism.

Speaking for my own experiences on the tour, individual identity and understanding were central to how Campbell orientated the visitor. A number of assumptions were made about my own identity, based on my physical appearance, family name and the language I spoke. Campbell also seemed comfortable in aligning my presumed political interest in the tour with hers with very little information and prompting. My role as researcher and later interviewer were thus marked in this way - by an overwhelming sense that personal identity interests, as opposed to research interests, drove my interest in the subject– all of which is typical of the slippages I encountered in conducting this research. Expectations about a presumed personal connection I had to slavery as a result of how I self-identify were ongoing.

A number of relatively well-known slaves sites in the city centre are part of the Transcending History tour. These include the Slave Lodge, the Memorial to the Enslaved on Church

[32] For more information see http://www.archivalplatform.org

Square, the Slave Tree, the Slave Lodge Matron's House, the Silk Factory on Spin Street and the VOC hospital. There are of course a number of slave related sites that are not included in the tour, but the strengths of Campbell's tours are the interpretative, personal narratives that leave visitors with the indelible impression that the legacy and memory of slavery is very much a concern of the present.

Campbell's narration offers a view of slavery as central to her understanding of the city and her relationship to it, and articulates a landscape that is not the prevalent way of viewing the city.

Her mapping of slave sites of the city is also, overtly, a political gesture and locates identity and race politics in post-apartheid South Africa as firmly inherited from the history of slavery in the region. Campbell has also chosen to centrally locate the life and history of a slave woman – providing ongoing opportunities to make visible and think about the specific context and the gender dimensions of differential power relations evident in slave history, and arguably still underpinning the ways in which belonging and participation are shaped in the post-apartheid context. Campbell's tours also scrutinise the contested claims to power certain narratives of the formation of the new South African nation contain.

In describing the legacy of slavery for 'Colouredness', Campbell states:

> The challenges in our communities are a regular topic of newspaper and television reports and continue to provide absorbing conversation around issues such as racism, unemployment, drug abuse, crime, illiteracy, and job creation. The absence of knowing who I am and where I come from is entrenched in my everyday life.
> *(*Transcending History: Cape Slavery and Tourism blog on the archivalplatform.org*)*

These personal narrative elements Campbell provides offer alternative discursive constructions of 'Colouredness' and slave heritage in the city of Cape Town. The linking of slave heritage to 'Colouredness' is more explicit in the Transcending History Tour material and focuses on the need to educate visitors about this relationship instead of simply viewing it for tourism and leisure. For Campbell, it would seem, revisiting the slave past is necessary

to understand and counter the adverse effects that were the result of the misperceptions of that legacy for ‘Coloured’ people specifically and South Africans more generally.

The final example of the visiblity of slave memory I consider is a self guided tour produced by the city of Cape Town, ‘Slave Heritage Walks’.

Slave Heritage Walks of Cape Town

The City of Cape Town Heritage department has produced a number of heritage pamphlets and resources that are geared towards offering advice on what heritage areas are and how to care for them. They also provide interpretative information on the heritage of an area for educational and tourism purposes. One of these is the Slave Heritage Walks of Cape Town (see Appendix C). Comprising four walking routes, the guide includes interpretative details, maps, images, directions and historical narratives that aim to ‘trace the history of slavery in Cape Town from where they lived, the sufferings they endured and profound contributions they made to the building of Cape Town and the unique culture of the Western Cape’. With over 60 sites related to the history of slavery in the City, this full colour pamphlet offers an extensive range of opportunities to consider the role slavery has played in the making of Cape Town. Four routes are included in the pamphlet that spans a large cross-section of the city in terms of distance and history. Each route offers a specific focus of slave history inside the city limits and all include architectural sites that are meant to offer the visitor examples of the traces the labour of the enslaved and slave history have left on the city itself. Almost all sites are physical and the descriptions offered by the heritage pamphlet draw our attention to the tangible nature of the forced contributions the enslaved made to Cape Town.

It is important to think of the topographies these routes suggest and how they inform a reading of the ways in which the enslaved and others interacted in the city and how this is reconstructed in historical narratives. One way in which memory theories may be employed in a reading of these tours is through the idea of embodied memory and, as outlined above, memorial cartography (Jonker & Till 2009). Jonker and Till suggest that memorial cartographies offer various alternatives to how place and landscape may be represented 'through juxtapositions and interpretations of the historical and the contemporary; the political and the poetic, the factual and the fictional, the discursive and the sensual' (2009: 306-307).

What is evident in this tour construction is that slavery is made visible in relation to the public sites included. The narratives are largely historically informed and attempt a largely objective tone – presumably providing opportunites for individual interpretation. The self-guided tour also marks the city's slave history in ways similar to what Jonker and Till term sites of displacement (2009: 307). By identifying sites built by the labour of the enslaved, sites where violent and traumatic acts of slave society took place, and where ongoing practices inherited from slave and emancipation times (such as street vending and flower selling on Adderly Street), the tour narrative both disrupts established ways of viewing the city and remembering slave history and provides another example of the possibilites of memorial cartography.

Both of the slave walking tour examples, then, present topographies of the city of Cape Town from the vantage point of slave memory and history as central to a reading and understanding of the city. If we return to Urry's ideas of tourist gazes and glances for a moment, we may consider how these alternative cartographies align with expected 'touristic images' and as a result, the possibility of altering the types of images produced. The highly individually

mediated experience of the walking tour is open to levels of interpretation which have the potential to alter the range of touristic images produced in relation to slave history in the city of Cape Town and its tourist platforms.

The Slave Heritage Walks of Cape Town include the following information about slavery at the Cape:

> While few first-hand accounts of the lives of slaves have been handed down to us, significant elements of their varied cultures, along with physical evidence of their labour, ordeals and achievements are to be found infused into the culture and historical fabric of Cape Town and its environs. Indeed, when South Africa is referred to with pride today as the 'rainbow nation' it is good to remember that many of the people of the rainbow nation are descendants of slaves and thus share a common inheritance of displacement, bondage and exploitation.

And subsequently the following is provided in terms of 'Tracing Roots':

> The nearly two centuries of slavery at the Cape has often been referred to as the unwritten chapter in South African history. Many Capetonians, particularly of slave and indigenous ancestry, are striving to have this aspect of our history recognised and thus create a better understanding of how slavery influenced the development of South African society.

In presenting historical information of slavery as related to the development of all of South African society, there is an inference that the constitution of national discourse of race and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa needs to be more cognisant of this history. The different examples of slave walking tours also indicate the degree of interpretation concerning relevance of slave memory; with official tourist narratives (in the form of the City of Cape Town Tourism agency) remaining limited and problematic for perpetuating the position that views slavery as largely relevant to 'Coloured' identity and therefore peripheral to a broader interpretation of the city of Cape Town. There are, however, other forms of representational activity in heritage tourism emerging that challenge traditional views and offer multiple avenues of interpretation for the relevance and centrality of slave memory. The examples of the Transcending History Walking Tour and the Slave Heritage Walks of Cape

Town understand the repositioning of slavery as relevant to everyone and as a result, position this memory as central and not peripheral - both in the city landscape and for those who occupy it.

Jonker and Till conclude in their discussion that the emergence of burials at Prestwich Place reminded the living inhabitants of the city of the historical relationships between the colonial settlement and its subjects. Importantly, they add that this legacy persists in contemporary ideas of '(not) inhabiting and (not) belonging' (2009: 323). I would suggest that the slave walking tours offer similar illustrations of ongoing legacies of slavery with the hope that increased visibility of the contribution and inheritances of this past may produce alternatives for belonging and inhabiting. For if heritage can be, and is, used as a vehicle for nation-building and the construction of new identities, the inclusion of slave histories and memories serves to extend the constitution of those processes. The simultaneous concerns about the commodification of that heritage remain ongoing and need further consideration.

In the following chaper, I then consider Solms-Delta as an example of representational activity which figures slave memory in such a way that through its restoration, other types of restoration become possible. This process of rebuilding also provides the basis for a revision of what history and memory is included in national discourses of race and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa, and illustrates questions about tourism and commodification related to slave history in significant ways.

Chapter Six

Solms-Delta - Analysing the social politics of wine production

> *Slaves, Khoikhoi, and later freed people who worked on the farms are surprisingly invisible, their stories largely untold. The story of our wine industry is not only that of gracious wine estates and landed gentry, nor is it just the story of European settlers and fine winemaking. It is also the story of the workers who toiled in the vineyards.* (Viall, James & Gerwel 2011: 11)

> *…Profound political changes have powerful reverberations in the everyday lives of ordinary people. These political shifts often necessitate multiple and varied reinterpretations of history to engage with a changed present. That is, representations of the past reverberate within the vernacular realms of popular culture and daily life".* (Walkowitz & Knauer 2004:14)

This chapter analyses Solms-Delta as an example of representational activity/politics in which the memory of slavery is positioned in such a way that a series of restorative processes are developed. These processes are meant to address the social inequality of the past (as a result of colonial and later apartheid oppression), experienced by those who are part of the Solms-Delta community. I suggest here that the visibility of memories of slavery interrupts claims often taken for granted about how it is possible to think, talk and represent ideas of belonging to the post-apartheid nation.

In 2002, when neuroscientist Professor Mark Solms returned to South Africa, with his purchase of the Delta farm just outside of Franschhoek, one of his express intentions was to address 'the pressing social and economic problems facing South Africa today'[33]. Ten years later those regional conditions had not been significantly resolved - highlighted by the strikes in the agriculture and farming sector in the Western Cape in 2012. In considering the social politics of wine production, these conditions provide an important context, which I briefly explore before returning to the discussion of the Solms-Delta estate.

In November of that year, strikes broke out in the Western Cape farming town of De Doorns. Farmworkers went on a unprotected strike and demanded that wages be increased from the

[33] Solms-Delta website http://www.solms-delta.co.za/

minimum of R69 to R150 per day. De Doorns, in the Hex River Valley, had witnessed violent clashes in 2009 as Zimbabweans were forced to flee their homes. Viall, James and Gerwel (2011) suggest that while xenophobia has been blamed for the attacks, a consideration of labour issues is also necessary in order to understand the more complete story. With population numbers growing as a result of migrants from other parts of Southern Africa moving to the area in search of work, the area saw an increase in numbers of seasonal workers. Viall, James and Gerwel point out that squatter camps have sprang up and the competition for jobs has increased: 'Permanent workers on farms, who are often provided with housing, are in a far better position than the growing pool of seasonal labour, which has less legal protection. Migrant and refugee labour, from both within and outside of South Africa, has swelled the population numbers of small rural towns' (2011: 15, 165).

The strikes were linked to xenophobia, which must be viewed as part of a complex series of relationships, behaviours and practices in recent South African history. This lens also informs how labour practices can be considered in this context.

Certainly, labour concerns were central to the strikes in late 2012 and early 2013 when farmworkers across the region participated in industrial action[34]. Strikes in the De Doorns area were not the only ones to take place in the Western Cape.

[34] The casualisation and feminisation of farm work has not gone unnoticed in recent research conducted on agricultural practice in the region: 'there are more women in agriculture than ever before…[w]e operate in the context that farm workers have a specific history, rooted in colonialism, and the majority of farm workers are descendants of the original slaves. When it comes to power relations, legislation has changed, but the social dynamics which exist haven't - it is very evident that the roots of agriculture manifest in a particular way' (Viall, James & Gerwel 2011: 14).

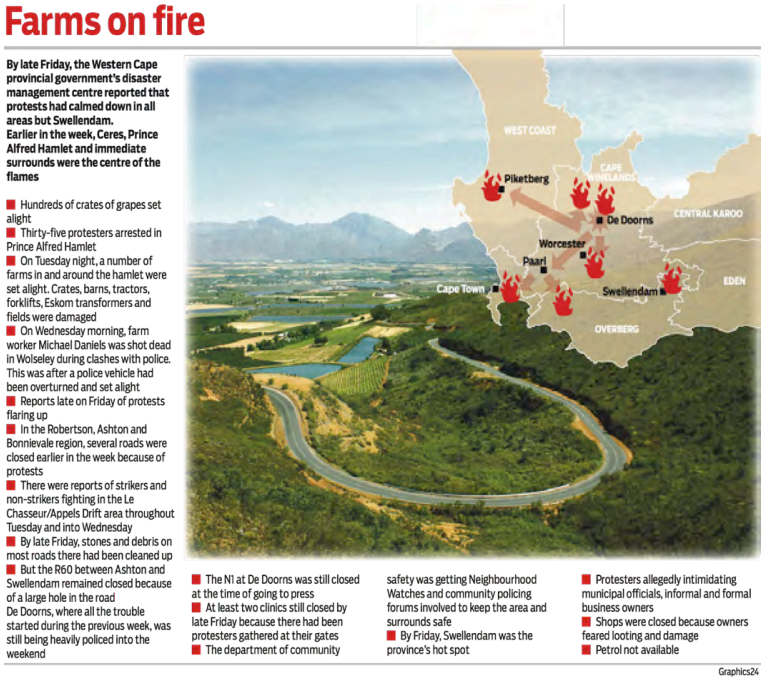

Figure 6.1 Graphic illustrating where protests were taking place *Source http://www.citypress.co.za/multimedia/cape-farms-burn/*

But in this region, which received much media attention, strikes were characterised by violent clashes between striking workers (along with other members of the public) and the police, farm-owners and, in certain instances, members of special security forces that had been brought into the area by farm-owners to protect their properties, livelihoods and families[35]. *The Mail and Guardian* included coverage of police action relating to the strikes, 'De Doorns: Police Action breeds hostility' (18 January 2013), in which some De Doorns residents claimed they had nothing to do with the recent strikes but were being brutalised by police.

Across the region debates raged in media and party political settings about the reasons the strikes occurred, and, seemingly more important at the time (according to certain media reports), who was behind them.

[35] In A *Cape Times* article entitled 'Farmers spending Millions on Security', details were provided about the independent security forces which were brought in to certain areas, the scale of the intervention and the support offered by Agri SA. See also *The Cape Argus* (3rd December 2012).

Questions were raised as to whether striking workers in fact included permanent labourers, or whether seasonal and migrant workers were behind the protests and unrest. *The Times* ran an article entitled 'Third Force Fuelling Wage Riots' (5th December 2012) which focused on illegal practices of loan sharks who allegedly held labourers to ransom, and the possible connections between these illegal practices and the strikes in the Western Cape. Other reports indicate a strong political undertone to the strikes and alleged that people were being bussed in by the ANC in the DA-run province to certain areas to cause political agitation (see *Sunday Argus* article, 9th December 2012 – Appendix D).

What remained fairly consistent across the region in the approximately two-week long strike was the call to improve daily wages and to improve living and working conditions for farmworkers in the region. The supposedly regional dispute over terms of labour would capture national media attention and would ultimately turn into a consideration of larger political, historic, labour and economic legacies in the region.

Solms raised similar sentiments when describing what he saw as the historically problematic relationship that informed the farm strikes in the region in 2012:

> …look we can't fix this until we know what's broken, we've got to understand what's happened collectively. And its not a finger pointing exercise, what's happened has happened, there's no doing away with it. So if that could be the outcome…because I think that the attitudes of the farmworkers to their employers and vice versa, the attitudes of the farm-owners to their employees is steeped in that history, it's dripping with that history. The very idea that you resent having to pay somebody more than R69 a day - I don't think that is very far removed from slavery. And it's almost like they should be grateful to be allowed to live on my farm and work for me. The fact that I've got to pay them R69 a day, it's almost a token salary. And vice versa when it comes to the workers' experience, they know that they're not doing this by choice. They're not selling their labour at the price that they think its worth, that they even want to be labourers if they had a choice in the matter, you know. (Solms interview transcript)

These sets of complex concerns and realities continue to be part of the legacy of some of the farming practices in the region, which are closely tied to the history of the vineyards in South Africa. These legacies, as Viall, James, and Gerwel (2011) and others (Adhikari 1992, Marincowitz 1985, Van Der Waal 2014) have pointed out above, are intricately tied to the practice of slavery.

Solms' attempt to reconsider the ways in which wine was produced on the farm, and his interest in revitalising the historic estate[36] and 'rehabilitating' the legacy of his European forebears inevitably led to a consideration of the ways in which this history had adversely affected groups of the population who are most closely identified as the descendants of the enslaved, some of whom still live and work on farms in the region[37]. This process required an openness to the different versions of history that had been silenced on the farm and in the country and a willingness to address the past atrocities of slavery and the ongoing socio-political and economic impact it has had, not only on the farm, but also more broadly on the people in the region.

This recognition - that the stories of the winelands are more than just the story of 'landed gentry and 'gracious wine estates' – is, surprisingly, still a rare occurrence on many wine farms in the region[38], as evidenced by the 2012 strikes in the region which highlighted some discourses of slavery that remain part of labour practices and conceptions of farm work in the Western Cape[39]. I suggest that the occurrence of these representations of slavery point to the

[36] See the 'About' section of the Solms-Delta website in which Solms explains his reasoning for wanting to do something different on the land which at some stage had belonged to his family.

[37] In an August 2013 interview on Talk Radio 702, Solms referred to the reasoning behind the model on the estate – that it was a matter of self-interest to ensure that workers had a stake in the agricultural future of the land and that by addressing the past, farmers, farm owners and farm workers could manage the risk together. (See 702 Redi Thlabi Podcast Wednesday 28th August 2013).

[38] See Worden (2009) 'The changing Politics of Slave Heritage in the Western Cape, South Africa'; Cornell (1999)'Whatever became of cape slavery in Western Cape Museums'; Randle (2004) 'Grappling with Grapes: Wine tourism of the Western Cape' (2004) (unpublished thesis).

[39] Van der Waal cites Ewert and Du Toit's (2005) description of the extremely exploitative relations between owners and workers in the wine industry during the slave era, which have remained paternalistic into recent times (2014: 3).

ways in which those who utilise memories of slavery do so in order to promote particular kinds of work in altering narratives of the past and the present in the region. In the strikes, discourses also circulated which surfaced problematic sentiments from farm owners about land, labour and access to both, reminiscent of early colonial attitudes in which farmworkers were continually positioned as 'disruptive, dangerous and ungrateful'. In one example from the print media coverage 'Farm workers expose the lie of the land' (Cape Times, 3rd December 2012, see Appendix D), the discussion of the legacies of slavery in labour relations are foregrounded with the suggestion that the farm strikes could be the first step in changing the inheritance of the historical injustices that have largely been the legacy of the practices of enslavement at the Cape.

On Solms-Delta wine estate, then, there is particular attention paid to the developing of a social history and politics of wine. It provides an important, functioning, complex and contradictory example to consider amongst the ways in which the memory of slavery is becoming more visible in the post-apartheid South African context, and the work memories of slavery are able to do in other contexts.

From statements made and opinions offered during interviews conducted with Solms and those who work with him on the farm, it is clear that they consider memory-work and memorialisation as significant and integral to its industry as a functioning wine farm. The ways in which commercial imperatives, labour practices, acts and sites of memory (Nora 1989, Young 1993, Field, Meyer & Swanson 2007), social responsibility and politics combine, make the estate rich for critical reflection. With my first field trip to the site in November 2009 and the last one in March 2013, this analysis is bracketed in terms of this period in the life of the estate and its people.

When evaluating various sites in 2010 in the Western Cape that explicitly referenced and engaged with the history of slavery in South Africa, Solms-Delta was one of few actively marketed and discussed in different contexts and media. This rather active presence meant that the farm would often come up in both research searches and informal conversations with people about slavery in the Western Cape. This in itself made the site different from others, as it appeared to have an active currency in people's ideas and thoughts about the history of slavery in South Africa in 2010. People at the farm were also actively participating in the production of new material about slave history and slave memory, which meant that the site and those involved in it were key to my research concerns.

My own experience of conducting research and fieldwork at the site also greatly informed the prominence of the farm and its people in my dissertation. The openness to contributing to research projects such as mine, the willingness to participate in interviews, to accompany me on various tours, the eagerness to provide me access to existing research and to discuss future plans for developing aspects of the museum and other cultural heritage aspects of the farm meant that the amountof research material I was able to collect and document increased. The farm was also occupied with what it saw as memory-work and as such my own interest in memory politics and theories seemed an important area of investigation. It is against this backdrop that I have thought about how the farm deals with the complexities and contradictions of commercial imperatives, labour practices and social and political responsibilities, and how these are intimately tied to ideas of the politics of memory, and how these are linked to notions of class, race and gender and other intersections and processes of identity-formation.

Theoretical framings

This chapter then examines how an acknowledgement of an unjust past, including the importance of labour of the enslaved in establishing the farm, has allowed Solms-Delta in its current manifestation to reposition itself in relation to other wine farms in the region. Using Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire* or sites of memory[40], I suggest that the recognition of the interchange between memory and history provides insight into both the micro and macro ways in which the labour of the enslaved appears at the site. The instance of memorialisation of practices of enslavement at the farm has larger implications for representations of slavery at the farm. The inclusion of the memories of slavery also illustrates how certain interest groups and individuals have advocated for the inclusion of the history of slavery and its legacies into the personal, historical and heritage narratives of the farm, its people and the broader region and demonstrated thereby at the very least the social welfare benefits of this inclusion. This incorporation promotes an alternative narrative of the history of oppression in the region and the country. As a result, this form of memory-work has implied the need for a revised narrative of the South African nation – different from those often associated with race and reconcilation post-1994 – a narrative that calls for a longer view of oppression and an alternative consideration of how we construct views of nationhood (Nuttall and Coetzee 1998). This re-writing of the past and its significance to the present foregrounds slavery as integral to its articulation.

[40] For a discussion of Nora's ideas and context see Chapter Three.

Considering memory and place

Hoelscher and Alderman (2004) have suggested that the conjoining of memory and place produce much of the context for modern identities and their simultaneous contestation. Through a discussion of Said (1995/1978) and Nora (1989), they argue that interpreting memory as a social activity requires an understanding of the various ways in which memory is spatially constituted.

For Nora (1989) the 'sites of memory' - or *lieux de mémoire* – are constituted materially, symbolically and functionally (19). Memory in this way is 'attached to 'sites' that are concrete and physical…as well as to 'sites' that are non-material…and as such encompass geographical places…and public displays and commemorations' (Hoelscher & Alderman, 2004: 349).

Nora's suggestion that *lieux de mémoire* exist because real environments of memory are no longer in existence (1989: 7) implies that those involved in the production of memory have particular work to do – as memory represents ongoing deliberate acts of 'commemorative vigilance' (12). For Nora these acts are produced in response to an anxiety about the purpose and actions of history. In the case of reading Solms-Delta, the site of memory is tied specifically to the history of slavery on the farm. Here the way in which memory is considered 'multiple and yet specific; collective, plural and yet individual' (1989: 9) is significant because it allows the representation of slave labour and practice on the farm to take multiple forms. Examples include the more traditional forms of inclusion in narratives presented in the Museum van de Caab (evidenced in the narrative account of slave labour and the memorial plaques to the 200 slaves who had worked on Solms-Delta- see Figure 6.4); in the recognition of a slave past as consequential to the decision to adopt alternative economic

and profit-sharing models as part of the farm's new constitution; in the choice to provide wines with particular names (such as *Lekkerwijn, Alles sal Regkom*[41] etc.) that recognise particular histories, legacies and languages of historical inhabitants who are often viewed as a group most closely associated with the descendants of slaves. The expansion of social development projects on the estate are also associated with this past (Jackson 2014) and I suggest that this is part of an ongoing attempt to acknowledge the current social needs, on the one hand, and to commemorate the past atrocities that led to the need for these legacy projects, on the other.

In this way the push and pull tensions between history and memory that Nora refers to (1989: 12) begin to produce the *lieux de mémoire* of slavery: '[i]ndeed, it is this very push and pull that produces *lieux de mémoire* - moments of history torn away from the movement of history, then returned; no longer quite life, not yet death, like shells on the shore when the sea of living memory has receded' (1989: 12). The capture of aspects of slave history through its commemoration at Solms-Delta wine estate is suggestive of the dislocation of these moments of history from the movement of history, which seeks to contain the past to the past.

In terms of the Solms-Delta wine estate, I suggest that Nora's sites of memory are an apt description of the memory-work at play. Those involved in developing and promoting the social politics surrounding wine production on Solms-Delta attempt to locate the history of the geographical and historical landscape through archaeological, archival and oral testimony methods with the proposition that the narrative of this individual farm is similar to many other farms in the region[42]. The suggestion of the recognition of the importance of geography

[41] Afrikaans names for Solms-Delta wines meaning 'good wine' and 'everything will turn out fine' respectively.

[42] In 2012 when I interviewed Solms, he offered the following comment about the similarities of farms in the region: 'Um, the idea behind that was that because its one of the old Cape farms and because its fairly a typical

and history relates to the performative aspects of how communities engage with the memory of the site – is reminiscent of Young (1993) who suggests that one of the functions of memorials (as an example of memory-work) is the transformation of an otherwise benign site into part of its content. His description includes the point that monuments become points of reference amid other parts of the landscape: 'one node among others in a topographical matrix that orients the rememberer and creates meaning in both the land and our recollections' (1993: 7). I propose that the memory-work of Solms-Delta as *lieux de mémoire* acts in similar ways to Young's conception of the memorial.

Nora's assertion that sites of memory are created by 'a play of history and memory - an interaction of two factors that results in their reciprocal overdetermination' (1989: 9) provides us with a framework for thinking about the relationship between these two concepts[43]. Nora cautions a reading of sites of memory without the explicit and apparent will to remember - this is what sets *lieux de mémoire* apart from other forms of memory or acts of commemoration.

What then do we make of Solms-Delta's will to remember? And how might this help us formulate the site in terms of *lieux de mémoire* - the coexistence of the material, symbolic and functional elements that contain in their interplay the will to remember? I propose some answers to this question in the extended discussion of Solms-Delta below.

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place the idea was that if you tell the story of this place you pretty much telling the story, in a manner of speaking, of the whole country but certainly you're telling the story of the winelands generally and so that's the idea behind it' (Solms interview transcript).

[43] For Gqola (2010) 'the relationship of historiography to memory is one of containment: history is always part of memory whilst history delineates a certain kind of knowledge system within the terrain of memory. Put differently, whereas memory is a shadow always hovering and governing our relationship to the present and the future, history is the art of recording and analysing this consciousness of the past (Anthony 1999)' (7-8).

As with Nora's conception, it is significant for my reading of Solms-Delta that sites of memory have the capacity for metamorphosis - in terms both of their meaning and the 'unpredictable proliferation of their ramifications' (1989: 19). Thus when considering the meanings of reading the Museum van de Caab and the choices Solms-Delta has implemented in relation to the question of land reform, there is the implication that the significance of slavery constantly shifts.

Solms-Delta - A socio-political and economic reconstruction of the past

In 2011 a Human Rights Watch Report entitled *Ripe With Abuse: Human Rights Conditions in South Africa's Fruit and Wine Industries* was released. It detailed how the farmworkers in South Africa were amongst the most vulnerable people in society[44]. The findings of the report indicated that steps taken to date by both the government and private sector had been insufficient in bringing the overall conditions in the Western Cape agricultural sector in line with the basic standards outlined in South African law and industry codes of conduct (2011: 6). A number of key recommendations were set forth for the Department of Labour, Rural Development and Land Reform as well as national government and municipalities that cover rural areas and farmers' associations, and industry and ethical trade bodies (2011: 26).

The Human Rights Watch study also found that in a small number of cases, there were farms that fully complied with the requirements of South African law, and on a handful of farms, 'farmworkers and farm owners described full compliance with the law as well as a variety of positive practices by employers that went beyond the minimum that is legally required'

[44] The report cited the following:,'working long hours in harsh weather conditions, often without access to toilets or drinking water, they are exposed to toxic pesticides that are sprayed on crops. For this physically gruelling work, they earn among the lowest wages in South Africa, and are often denied benefts to which they are legally entitled. Many farmworkers confront obstacles to union formation, which remains at negligble levels in the Western Cape agricultural sector. Farmworkers and others who live on farms often have insecure land tenure rights, rendering them and their families vulnerable to evictions or displacement – in some cases, from the land on which they were born' (Human Rights Watch 2011: 4).

(2011: 12). I argue that Solms-Delta is one such farm where examples of a range of positive practices can be found.

The discussion of land reform is important as part of a restorative process implemented at Solms-Delta. This restitution began with memory-restoration but also included land and economic restoration to address the legacies of slavery and other forms of oppression that took place on the farm and in the region.

In 2005 the current owners of the farm, Mark Solms and Richard Astor[45], established the Wijn de Caab Trust, which 'aims in a small, local way to redress the persistent economic inequalities which still characterise South African society'[46]. Both Solms and Astor would control one third of the current Delta estate and the trust would benefit the estate's 'historically dis-advantaged residents and employees with a one third equity stake in Solms-Delta'[47]. The ownership of Solms-Delta is thus shared equally between the Wijn de Caab Trust and the Solms and Astor families, each of whom effectively own 33.3% of the company. According to Charlotte Van Zyl, Executive Manager of the Delta Trust and Wijn de Caab Trust, the historically disadvantaged residents of the farm are the beneficiaries of the Wijn de Caab Trust and also form the nucleus of the staff at Solms-Delta:

> The original ownership model established in 2007 is based on each shareholder owning a portion of land from which Solms-Delta conducts business and the securing of funds made available to the *Wijn de Caab* Trust for such investment by the other two shareholders who stand surety for the trust's obligations and whose farms serve as collateral for such financing. (personal correspondence)[48]

[45] Solms convinced his long-time friend Richard Astor to buy the neighbouring farm, in order to increase the estate's development capital. Together they both put their farms up as collateral so that a third, adjoing farm could be purchased by the workers.
[46] Museum van de Caab Newspaper, n.d.: 21.
[47] Solms-Delta website http://www.solms-delta.co.za/.
[48] According to the estate's website, 'From the profits, the farm residents enjoy new, refurbished and comfortable homes, and social programmes that have greatly improved their health, education and general quality of life. To make this three-way partnership work, Solms and Astor put their own assets on the line, reasoning that without a realistic wealth-sharing model their own privileges were both indefensible and unsustainable'.

Van Zyl also notes that the Trust plays an important and regular role in how the farm is run:

> On the farm, residents are represented by a *Plaas Komitee* [farm committee] (comprising elected residents) who meet with the farm owners/company management on a regular basis following meetings of their own with the farm residents. Here all matters pertaining to life on the farm are addressed. There is similarly a regular meeting which includes all beneficiaries of the trust who do not live on the farm, where such beneficiaries are represented by elected representatives. Farm residents are also part of the senior management team responsible for day to day management of the business (within the company structure) and are also trustees on the trust itself. (personal correspondence)

As the equity share is not linked to satisfactory economic performance, the model is an important one to consider in relation to other farm-worker equity-sharing schemes operating in South Africa. On initial consideration, this farm-worker equity-sharing scheme (a model initiated by the private sector in the agriculture sector)[49] is considered to offer multiple benefits – often touted as a progressive and economically viable model for land sharing. Ewert and Hamman (1999) detail how the land reform processes in the wine industry were constrained by a number of constitutional, political, policy and fiscal issues. They note that as a result of low industry wages, farmworkers had limited capacity to save in order to amass sufficient capital to acquire land. Furthermore, they note that commercial financial institutions remain reluctant to provide loans for groups that were perceived to be a high financial risk, pointing out that 'these factors, combined with the long lead-in period of four years before the first harvest can be picked, effectively prevent farmworkers from entering the industry as small-scale farmers utilizing their own or borrowed capital' (1999: 450). Despite these real impediments to transformation of the sector, Ewert and Hamman provide details of three different examples of land reform projects that demonstrate alternative ways

[49] According to Consultancy Africa Intelligence (CAI), 'These schemes provide opportunities for farm workers to become beneficiaries of their employer's farm whilst still earning a salary as an employee. Equity schemes therefore establish partnerships between farmers and workers which should advantage both parties involved. Redistribution grants, or land acquisition grants, can be used by workers to buy shares in the farm on which they are employed'(see http://www.consultancyafrica.com/).

in which access to industry for agricultural labourers may be possible (ibid.). Their discussion of case studies Lebanon,[50] Fairview[51] and Uitgezocht[52] suggests:

> access to large farms provides the mechanism whereby farm labourers can gain a foothold in the industry that could, conceivably, result in them acquiring the necessary capital for engaging in independent production. As an intermediate step, equity sharing and resource-sharing agreements allow participation in production without the risks associated with small-scale production. (1999: 453)

Solms-Delta's model might suggest alternatives to the large farm model advocated for above. Ewert and Hamman suggest that some advantages of equity-sharing projects include increased incomes, capital growth, skills transfer, along with the tax base for the community that the farming venture effectively provides (1999: 451).

Disadvantages in the models Ewert and Hamman describe, however, still include employees being effectively tied to the main estate for their financial wellbeing. This seems to be actively challenged in the Solms-Delta model with the equitable distribution of ownership of the company and each shareholder owning a portion of land from which the company conducts its business.

Ewert and Hamman's conclusion, however, offers a more compelling set of questions about the role of government and the private sector in land reform:

> The government, despite its earlier arguments in favour of dramatic land reform, has found that the constitutional, political and economic environment is not conducive to state intervention in landholding patterns. The private sector, on the other hand, has

[50] An equity sharing agreement was reached in 1993 between the state-owned South African Forestry Company limited (Safcol), a private land-owner (De Rust Estate) and the employees and community at Lebanon forest near Grabouw: 'In this model, the owner and Safcol each contributed land on which a total of 80 ha of vines and other fruit were planted over a five year period' (Ewert & Hamman 1999: 450).

[51] In 1997, with the purchase of a 17-ha small-holding adjacent to Fairview Estate, a wine producing and land tenure security venture began,:'the Extension of Security tenure Act (ETSA) attempts to create incentives for facilitating land tenure security for farm dwellers by prioritizing developments that result in tenure security for subsidy allocations (Ewert & Hamman 1999: 451).

[52] A new owner of a wine estate brokered an agreement between the owner of Uitgezocht and his employees, whereby they would work on Uitgezocht during their own time for half the profits realised from the farm. After the first year the workers earned an average of R13,000 each. Inspired by the example of Fairview, they decided to amend the contract and take a portion of their share in kind and not cash…making 2000 cases of their own wine which was forward sold to an importer at favourable terms (Ewert & Hamman 1999: 453).

> found more than enough incentive to embrace land reform and engage farmworkers in a variety of land redistribution projects (Ewert & Hamman, 1999: 453).

In a more recent study, Paula Jackson (2014) summarises some of the main problems of existing land-reform programmes identified in the literature (Lyne & Darroch 2001, Knight & Lyne 2004, Hall 2007, Lahiff 2007). These include the slow pace of implementation, the limited amount of capital available in land reform budgets, the limited land available under the 'willing-buyer-willing seller' model, the expense of the subdivision of land, the failure of agricultural production and the questions of whether the limited land reform that has taken place has benefitted the right people or provided the improved livelihoods for enough people (83-84). Jackson also provides a useful discussion of the identified advantages and the disadvantages of worker equity schemes that builds on the observations offered by Ewert and Hamman and others.

Jackson describes five general advantages of farm-worker equity schemes. The first is that they avoid the need to subdivide land, "an expensive process which often makes production unviable' (2014: 84). The second advantage is that these schemes generally provide an opportunity to improve livelihoods and access to land through ownership structures rather than the purchase of land (ibid.). Thirdly, Jackson notes that these schemes are seen to benefit from the transfer of skills, training and management of the often former 'white' farm owners or managers, which is not the case where poor households with little of no farming experience acquire land (2014: 85). A fourth advantage is that farm-worker equity schemes sometimes lead to increased rates of production 'because workers feel empowered and have an incentive to work more efficiently because they take a share of the profits' (Mather & Adelzadeh 1997: 5, as cited in Jackson 2014: 85). Finally, Jackson describes the advantage of these ventures as being able to attract the financial support from commercial banks and

private investors, 'avoiding the typical problem of limited state funding in land-reform projects and giving farm owners the option of recapitalising their farms' (Knight & Lyne 2004, as cited in Jackson 2014: 85).

Jackson shows that despite these possible benefits, farm-worker equity schemes also have their drawbacks, namely that they fail to produce the empowerment they promise and tend to perpetuate highly unequal relations between white owner-managers and black worker-shareholders (85); the schemes sometimes resemble neopaternalistic initiatives; or are unable to deliver substantial material benefits to workers; and problems exist in effective communication and consultation with workers about how schemes would work and what they entailed, resulting in many workers not feeling empowered and able to contribute to decision-making (ibid.).

Within South Africa a strong and growing movement of co-operatives exists which can be see as an alternative to the farm-worker equity schemes. According to The Co-operative and Policy Alternative Centre (COPAC)[53], cooperatives are essentially member-owned and democratically-controlled institutions. In his report on the state of the South African cooperative sector, Satgar (2007) states that these institutions are not-for-profit in the sense that voting in a cooperative is not based on the number of shares owned but rather on the universal principle of one member, one vote. He adds that whilst cooperatives make a profit, this is subjected to the logic of the member needs.

[53] "The Co-operative and Policy Alternative Center (COPAC) was formed in 1999 as a grass roots development organisation. It began with an ambition to contribute, through a bottom up practice, to reconstruction and development in post-apartheid South Africa. It has thus orientated itself to build capacity amongst poor communities to achieve self reliant, collectively driven, sustainable and participatory development. As a non-governmental organisation it was initially established as an association governed by a constitution with a governing committee. In 2001 it registered as a not-for-profit section 21 company. During this time it expanded its operations, opened an office and strengthened its board. As COPAC pursued its objectives it has worked with progressive social movements, government departments, township communities and has partnered with several non-governmental organisations" (see http://www.copac.org.za/about-us).

Solms-Delta's adoption of a farm-worker equity-sharing scheme must therefore be read in this context; despite the relative success and visibility of this model at Solms-Delta and much media coverage indicating the compelling, productive and transformative nature of the model on the Solms-Delta estate, it remains necessary to offer a contextualisation of the choices implemented on the farm and how they can be read in light of Nora's *lieux de mémoire*.

Jackson's (2014) study describes the development model emerging at Solms-Delta as having grown organically, with

> more the character of a series of philanthropic acts than a formally structured, corporate social responsibility programme. The approach here is incremental rather than a grand development model with an extended timeline. Participation by the beneficiaries is also different: it is based on continuous involvement and empowerment rather than a focus on formal representation…Workers became co-owners and co-managers of the land, although the capacity of workers to participate in decision-making may still be low, leading to forms of neopaternalism. (13)

Jackson's critique of the atypical model employed on Solms-Delta includes a reading of its relative successes in providing an alternative approach to land reform ideas and policies – one that has included welfare initiatives as part of the approach to land-reform. Her work suggests that one of the major weaknesses of the model is that it is reliant on a degree of paternalism (seen through the constitution of the the Wijn de Caab Trust). She does, however, include an important qualification of this critique – the paternalism evident in the model is not necessarily about a lack of empowerment of farm-workers but rather a lack of independent authority (2014: 100).

This model of equity-sharing also brought a great deal of attention to the estate during the 2012 strikes in the wine farming region of the Western Cape. The inclusion of information on the shifts in the labour practices on the farm in the museum suggest its significance in the narrative of the estate and the ways in which it positions and conducts the aspects of its memory-work and the role it plays in challenging the inequalities of the past – although it is

framed in language that downplays the complexities of adopting such a model. In fact, the choice of narrative locates the decision-making process and ultimate adoption of the model in the realm of goodwill (see Figure 6.2 detailing the panel entitled ‘Partnership’).



Figure 6.2 Panel depicting partnership agreement – Wijn de Caab Trust

Addressing ownership of the land was an important part of the development of the estate. According to Solms, he wanted to change the perception that a feudal or paternalistic system could continue. This model was the basis of land ownership and agricultural production that had largely governed South African in the colonial period.

The joint ownership model established meant that other aspects of the farm’s history had to be addressed in order for the model to actually work. In Solms’ own words,

> Look, I’ve been, I’m South African, I lived here most of my life, I spent a period abroad, 14 years abroad, I was educated in the state system here, I actually, high school I went to a state school [disruption] so I speak from that background when I say I don’t think I’m unusual when I say that I knew about slavery but didn’t know about slavery…but I had no idea until I came back to South Africa and until I started, until I came back and started this process of investigating the history of this place, I had no idea how enormous a part it played in the history of the country and then the history in particular of the Cape and I think its massively underreported, under-represented under-assimilated into our understanding of what we are still grappling with today because the more I understood about slavery and the more we understood and you must remember

> that on this farm the process that led to the establishment of that museum involved all of us and we all dug in with the archaeologists...
>
> I think that we collectively recognised that it's left a huge impact still today. I mean to mention the most obvious examples, the nature of the employment contract between farm owners and farm workers, you assume if you parachute in from Mars that these are people working on this farm are people who chose to be here, you know, that they are willingly selling their labour to me and we've agreed a price. But that is not the case at all, the people living on the farms are there because of slavery you know…their families…either their families were dispossessed in the case of the indigenous people of this area or their families were yanked over here against their will from they don't even know where and forced to work here. Now that's not for a week, or generation after generation, after generation so that whole family and group culture, you know these little hamlets on these farms they all just the direct descendants of the slaves and they are still living here and they still work for people like me so the whole mindset is not one of willing buyer, willing seller to use the analogy of land reform.
>
> It's like, you know you have pay me, I know you don't want to. I have to work for you and I don't want to and its like the whole thing is imbued with a kind of fatalism and a kind of despair and a kind of hopelessness and a kind of lack of agency and lack of choice and resentment and bitterness and somewhere deep down somewhere in the farmers there must be some guilt and some fear, somewhere.[54] (Solms interview transcript)

As evidenced in Solms' position, the history of slavery had an ongoing impact on how people found themselves on the land, how they understood their place in relation to that history of oppression and domination and the present and how the power hierarchies of the colonial past were often still embedded in the landscape and the social relations among people. Addressing that past and evoking sites of memory appears to have challenged aspects of that historic relationship.

As a result, those involved in developing the estate and conducting research for what would later become the farm's museum, argued for the necessity of the historical excavation of the landscape and its relationship to the memory of the events that had taken place there. I suggest that the excavation is less about questions pertaining to ownership of the land and more about altering the representations of that ownership; Hoeschler's argument is significant

[54] Solms Interview 2012 (see Appendix F).

here in terms of the decision to focus on slave history. Questions about who is still on the land and the politics of representation in the region need further consideration in light of this history. This led to the archaeological digs that took place on the farm and that are still underway. Much of what was discovered in the ground has been integrated into the narrative of the farm that is on display at Museum van de Caab.

Reading the practices of land reform and equity-sharing through Nora's *lieux de mémoire* is possible if we consider slave memory as an active element of how these choices have been made and implemented. Importantly in Nora's terms, these practices also see the impact of slave memory as part of the eternal present and do not confine the fact and legacy of slavery to the past or history, to take up Nora's distinction.

The second broad area where memory-work is produced on Solms-Delta is in the more traditional space of memorialisation – the museum. Here, too, we see how slave memory is read in terms of *lieux de mémoire* in that it is evolving in the narratives and approaches the museum adopts.

Museum van de Caab – slave narratives within museum and wine-tasting contexts

The estate itself has developed from its wine-production focus to include a range of social development avenues, which have arguably become the farm's major draw card. As discussed in the previous chapter, the question of commodification of heritage and cultural tourism is important to consider in the context of memory and heritage in post-apartheid South Africa – these questions and debates are equally applicable to the area of wine tourism. Solms-Delta combines the experience of wine tourism with a strong focus on social history and heritage in its visitor experience. Describing a different cultural tourism context,

Marschall interprets South Africa's return at the end of apartheid to the international community of nations and its economic policies, which had increasingly become aligned with the principles of the global market economy, as a chance for memories to become a business opportunity (2005: 121). In the context of Solms-Delta, memories as business create a level of ambiguity in terms of commodification of slave histories. Whilst the farm's goals of transformation are progressive, the service of a packaged version of the histories and memories of slavery must be considered in light of a long tradition of exploitation of the lives and labour of the enslaved. Might the use of the history of the enslaved within a commercial business enterprise be potentially problematic? I reflect on this question in light of the exhibition narrative of the Museum van de Caab. The museum received its first public visitors in October 2008 and is billed as detailing the story of the Delta farm. The museum exhibition covers the history of the land and begins with its first inhabitants in the early Stone Age.

The museum project was part of the original plan for the estate and involved a combination of ideas fromthe resident historian Randle and Solms. Based on their mutual response to André Brink's *A Chain of Voices* and the historian's MA thesis, which explored tourism on wine farms in the region, the objectives of the museum were to make visible all of the stories of the landscape of, the farm from the pre-colonial period to the present day. Randle's published work has focused largely on history and heritage concerns in the wine farming regions. Most recently her work on the socio-political impact of transformation projects in the Dwars River Valley (Randle in van der Waal 2014) points to a continuing interest in projects such as this one and the legacies of loss evident in the region in labour and economic practices.

Description of Museum van de Caab

The museum is housed in the original Delta wine cellar[55], built circa 1740, and is comprised of multiple glass display panels, which are arranged against the backdrop of exposed rock and clay brick walls. The cellar itself is not subterranean although certainly the narratives and objects it contains reflect a process of uncovering the archaeological and archival aspects of the farm's history that for many years remained unknown and, in certain areas of historiography of the Cape, unacknowledged.

The museum is spread over two rooms of the old cellar. Room One contains a number of wall-mounted glass exhibition panels, with wooden display cases under each panel. These cases contain objects uncovered in the excavation done on the farm and largely relate to the narrative described on the exhibition panel. The panels and display cases are arranged on the outer walls. The central back wall contains 200 granite plaques (see Figure 6.4) that memorialise the identities of the people who were enslaved on the farm from 1690-1834. In the middle of the first room, a number of wooden tables and chairs are arranged together and this is the area where wine tastings are held[56].

Room Two is spatially configured in the same way as Room One but also includes a work station (including sales desk) and the wine stock for sale - in some ways this area is treated as the museum shop section (see Figure 6.3).

[55] Museum van de Caab Newspaper page 1
[56] In 2014 the wine tasting tours were moved to a new space on the farm.

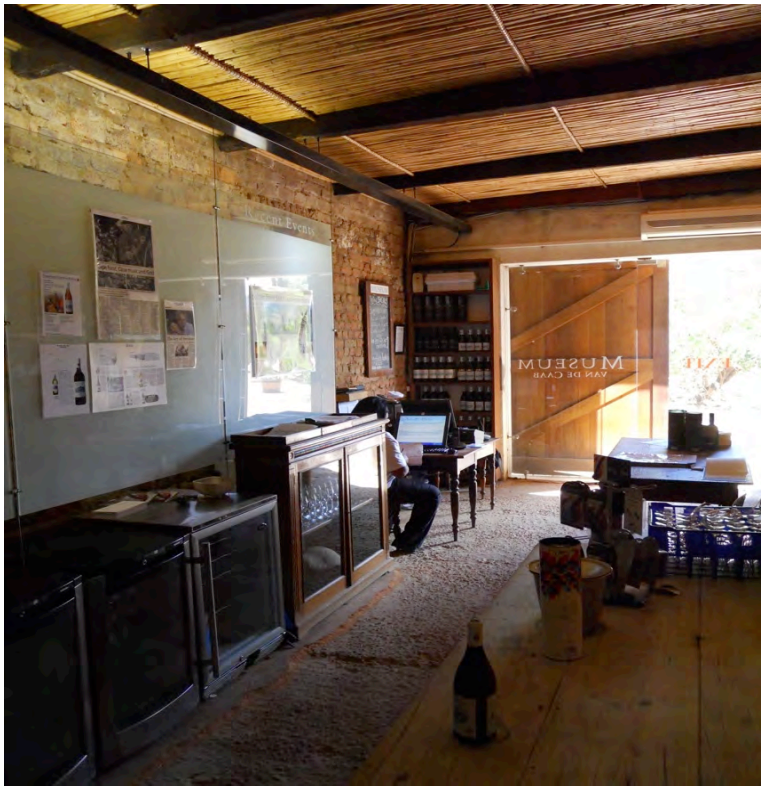


Figure 6.3. Room Two – Museum van de Caab

As the museum is incorporated into the wine estate visitor experience, it prompts a consideration of how sites of memory (particularly those related to slavery and other human rights atrocities) are engaged with by visitors. In particular the traditional studies of slavery now include discussions of 'dark tourism', tourism which involves travelling to places associated with death and suffereing (see Hartmann 2007, Hosley 2008). Dark tourism refers principally to the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites (Sharpley & Stone 2009: 577). Slave sites constitute one type of experience of dark tourism; this expansion of how slavery is encountered may allow for the problematisation of the generational subject position to the legacy of slavery by raising questions about why and how sites are experienced or supplied, 'for example for political purposes, for education, for entertainment or for economic gain' (ibid.).

An evocative example is Saidiya Hartman's book *Lose Your Mother* (2008), which traces the history of the Atlantic slave trade by recounting Hartman's own journey along a slave route

in Ghana. In her personal narrative[57], Hartman describes her struggle as an African-American to claim ancestral heritage to Ghana as a descendent of slavery, or to be able to participate in the performative fantasy of returning to Africa and seeing it as her 'long-lost home'. Throughout the text, Hartman returns to various important sites on the slave route and grapples with their link and significance to a slave past which has informed the ways in which she is meant to understand her identity as an African-American today. She engages with the representations of slavery they offer and the performative rituals they embody. Interestingly, these rituals are presented as constructed, empty and meaningless for most Ghanaian locals, who view them as a nostalgic practice performed for foreign visitors, African-Americans in particular.

In reflecting on Hartman's problematic relationship with the memory of slavery then, the ways in which she frames the sites and monuments she revisits reveals a complex set of relationships that continue to exist in the memory-production of slavery and its role in society at large today. Although she writes from an American context, Hartman's ideas contain perspectives that may be valuable if considered alongside the particularity of a South African context and its changing approaches to memorialisation of slavery in post-apartheid. In her work Hartman troubles the power of memory to find the lost and missing slave stories of the transatlantic slave trade. The certainty that something can be retrieved from the past, from the historical site of trauma and violence, is recast with suspicion. For Hartman, the moment in the dungeon of Elima Castle and its museum recalls only what is *missing* in the legacy of slavery, its representations and her experience. The rest of Hartman's text is focused on resolving what is possible and present on her journey and coming to terms with the legacy of transatlantic slavery for her own research and experience.

[57] The personal narrative account is also important in how Solms-Delta evokes the real, personal stories of those associated with the farm.

In different ways Museum van de Caab offers questions about our relationship with the history of enslavement that has occurred at the site. Unlike the Elima Castle and dungeon in Cape Coast Ghana, that have remained symbolically empty, the old Delta wine cellar has been filled and repurposed. But, significantly, attempts have been made to ensure that the past is not papered over - large sections of the excavation site have been covered with glass flooring to ensure that visitors are met with the history of the site that they are literally standing on when in the *Fyndraai* restaurant which used to be part of the old wine cellar and is now located next to the museum[58]. The exhibition itself is geared towards pairing objects excavated in the various archaeological digs with interpretative attempts at narrating the story of the farm, and this exhibition practice is examined below.

Overview of exhibition

A close reading of the exhibition narrative itself reveals aspects of Nora's *lieux de mémoire* at play in terms of plurality in how slave memory is invoked. The narrative and visual constitution of the exhibition and subsequently the site of Solms-Delta reveals insights into how memory-work is constructed; 'memory is never shaped in a vaccuum and its motives are never neutral' (Young 1993: 2).

Individual lives and experiences are arguably an important feature of the exhibition. The display includes video excerpts of oral histories given by the workers who were currently living at Solms-Delta (Museum van de Caab Newspaper).

The exhibition narrative itself is divided into roughly eleven segments or moments in the history of the farm. Following on from the first inhabitants of the farm (segment i), the

[58] The restaurant was moved to a new building on the premises in 2014.

information is bracketed into the following sections; (ii) ‘Taking Away our Footprints – the San hunters’, (iii) ‘The Real People’ – the Khoekhoe herders, (iv) ‘Cabo de Bona Esperança’ – the European traders, (v) ‘Veldvlugtig en vogel vry’ – the Colonization of the Drakenstein, (vi) Slavery – the hands that built these walls, (vii) Emancipation, (viii) Seeds of Apartheid, (ix) Fruits of Apartheid, (x) Democracy, (xi) Then and Now.

The information used in the narrative of the museum begins its history of the site from an archaeological perspective with the first inhabitants dating back to the Early Stone Age. The panel offers a detailed timeline of the Early, Middle and Later Stone Ages represented at the site. These descriptions appear to locate the farm as central to the story of human development as the first two panels provide an archeological account of the area in broad terms. There is also a presentation of information pertaining to the stone artefacts discovered at the farm (framed as evidence of the Later Stone Age settlement site that was situated close to the current homestead) (see Appendix E).

These archaeological accounts can be read as progressive attempts to establish a history of the site that predates the colonial settlers; a necessary departure from certain trends in South African historiography and museum practice that constructed the establishment of South Africa with the arrival of the European explorers and settlers. Along with this perspective, there also exists a focus on genetic studies with the inclusion of information pertaining to DNA research (see Appendix E).

The choice of disciplinary lens and associated language suggests an endeavour to emphasise a common or shared humanity; with the inference that scientific and biological tools are able

to provide ‘objective’ and unproblematic accounts of the past. Sections such as the one below then serve to promote this view:

> Homo hablis and his later descendent homo erectus, were the first true humans. Both the oldest human fossils and the oldest artefacts belong to these creatures. All were found in Africa, making this continent the **birthplace of humanity**” (emphasis in original). (Museum van de Caab, Panel 1)

In this panel there is also the clear establishment of a direct engagement with a historical practice and broader discourses of biases about representing race and indigenous populations in southern Africa. These are, however, not without their own complexities. The inclusion of the following quote in bold font suggests its relative importance in relation to the information presented on the exhibition panel and the implication of prominence for the reader.

> Due to genetic studies ‘for the first time it is possible to form an impartial view of just how different races might be. The answer is clear. The biological differences among them are small and evidence for the mental superiority of one or the other are so flimsy, confused and full of intellectual dishonesty as to be scarcely worth considering. (Museum van de Caab Panel 1)

This quote is bracketed by what would could be seen as a promotion of a geneticist approach which in this case asserts the view that all human beings are members of the species homo sapiens and, as a result, that the differences historically presented to make geneticist (read racist) arguments about humans and the difference of race, are not tied to biology and therefore historic traditions of racial hierarchies etc. are unfounded. Erasmus (2013) questions the prevalence and resilence of ongoing bio-centric conceptions of ‘race’ and identity to define the human. She suggests that ‘conceptions of race as biological are reanimated in the conflation of genes, ‘populations’, ‘race’, ‘place’ and social identifications. This conflation shifts ‘the political’ from fate – in old human genetics – to choice and hope, from the molar to the molecular, and from the deterministic to the probabilistic’ (2013: 40). As such Erasmus cautions against the use of genetic ancestry tracing as it functions as a biodiscursive tool that ‘authenticates in the past and in current located matrices of hegemonic

discourse, a definitive idea of belonging in or to a particular geopolitical place and to 'a people' ' (2013: 44).

The position adopted in the narrative of Museum van de Caab can, then, on the one hand arguably be read as understandable if we consider that one of the aims of those involved (curators and historians) is to present the 'shared' history and promote an alternative to ways in which apartheid ideology presented the history of South Africa. On the other hand, geneticist approaches remain problematic, as Erasmus (2013) demonstrates for continuing to foreground a biased scientific approach to understanding and locating human history and development (se Tallbear 2007).

Thus the framing and language used in this first panel of the exhibition has further implications when we consider that it is this position that anchors the exhibition within the Museum van de Caab. One reading might suggest that in using more 'scientific' language and approaches there is a suggestion that this provides a more 'neutral' base for thinking about the farm and region's history - one that is removed from the more subjective readings that are offered in later panels. As mentioned earlier, it also appears to promote an inclusive approach to 'whose past is represented' within the exhibition - and this, it appears, has had a positive impact on visitors to the museum. Randle notes similar experiences in describing how different vistors respond to the exhibition,

> …its always interesting because we [are] constantly engaging with groups that come to the museum and whatever their background whether they be Afrikaans from the Transvaal, you know our history is there, we can't change what it is, that's the story of the farm. What's been very interesting, what people always find some connection to, whether good or bad or whether they'll acknowledge it or not is…you know we always talk about it in such separate categories you know, so there are slaves and colonists 'oh, how amazing how separate we are' but actually what I think was so interesting when you look at how preconceived ideas of who were these early colonial settlers and how many of them were descended from freed slaves or married to them. So it kind of also once again in terms of that good vs. bad history when you really looked into who these

> early European colonial settlers were they literally in our valley were slave descendents or married to free slave women so it kind of pushes that boundary of those ideas…of…it was just this black versus white, you know kinda of set in stone and I think what was more interesting for us was realizing once again how complex it is. (Randle interview transcript)

However, this framing could equally be read as part of the redemptive narrative the museum presents of the history of the farm and its inhabitants, in that the opening panels and their archaeological framing present a scientific (read authoritative) account of the ways in which all the people who have inhabited the farm in the past and the present can ultimately be understood as similar, as they are descendants of the same species. Developments in thinking about race in South Africa as evidenced by Erasmus (2001), such as creolisation (see Chapter Two) may offer a more nuanced and complex way to think about the intertwining relationships of South Africans in terms of race and culture. This push for inclusivity and the resultant eradication of meaningful difference raises its own inferences for how we are encouraged to read in terms of the Noraian *lieux de mémoire.*

The archaeological and genetic framing of the exhibition and the 'story of the farm' could result in a perspective of colonial and pre-colonial history that is devoid of accountability: here the exhibition vacillates between offering a sense of those who are accountable and presenting atrocities and oppression as the result of an unknown force. If, as Young (1993: 5) suggests, memorials do our memory-work for us and as a result we become more forgetful, does the remembering done in the museum potentially lead to the forgetting of aspects of the past in which there were people responsible for colonial oppression and slavery and those who suffered as a result of it?

A cynical reading of the implications of these choices in the exhibition might read as follows: we never see one group as responsible for atrocities; we are encouraged to see the victims

and sympathise with them but we are never allowed to identify who the perpetrators really are or to hold them accountable; we would not be mistaken for viewing subsequent white descendants and new owners as operating in the role of 'saviours' for ultimately rectifying the wrongs of the past and as thinking about the various victims of oppression over the centuries as beneficiaries of white salvation which, in the case of the current descendants of farm workers, might be able to help change their destinies around. Jackson's (2014) critique of neo-paternalist attitudes present on the farm is illustrative of some of these concerns. The presentation of slave memory, here - arguably in service of problemtatic interpretations, is part of Nora's *lieux de mémoire* in that it is open to manipulation and appropriation (1989: 9).

The exhibition narrative also includes a narrative of 'early inhabitants' that includes references to 'historic times' (bracketed by the arrival of the permanent Dutch East India Company employees, and the Portuguese travellers somewhat before them) and the 'present day'. In establishing this timeframe it is evident that the museum curators have attempted to provide an encompassing history of the site, as illustrated in the choice of narratives presented. It is therefore not surprising in this context to see the relative prominence afforded to what are presented as non-dominant perspectives and voices from the past. It is, however, the manner in which these voices are presented that I want to suggest leaves a vacuum in terms of historic accountability and that presents colonial oppression more as a form of 'natural disaster' rather than the result of specific human violent and non-violent intervention.

It also presents slave memory in somewhat explicit if not sanitised ways.
Some of the non-dominant perspectives are illustrated in the second panel, through information about San hunters and their relationships with the Khoisan. In one description about Khoisan society the following details are provided:

> Within the Khoisan hierarchy, there were the rich Khoe, the stockless San servants…and the intermediate client who would work as a herdsman for the wealthy Khoekhoen in return for payment in cattle. **So even before the class and race conscious European traders and colonisers set foot on African soil, relationships of hierarchy and servitude already existed within indigenous communities**. (Museum van de Caab, Panel 3)

This inclusion offers the museum visitor the perspective of pre-colonial societies and attempts to depict nuances of these communities of indigenous inhabitants – a necessary and important inclusion. In light of my earlier claim about a lack of accountability in the exhibition narrative, there are instances where accountability for past oppressions is inferred. I suggest that the choice of language used is not as explicit as it could be - given the severity of the subject matter:

> While the San retaliated against the invasion of their land by large-scale attacks on the lives and property of the Trekboers, the Trekboers in turn organised under an efficient military machine called the Commando. It was partly due to this organisation that the bushmen communities were wiped out. Most of the adult men were killed and children were effectively enserfed into farm labour. What the Commando started, the missionaries finished, so that by the turn of the 20th century, those San that had managed to escape geocode or servitude died of disease or starved to death due to the loss of their land and the game that was their livelihood.
> (Museum van de Caab, Panel 3)

As we see, here there is direct mention made of genocide and servitude and the suggestion that those responsible for these atrocities were the Commandos and the missionaries. Strangely, despite this backdrop of violence and its perpetrators and victims, we have the ongoing suggestion of our 'shared humanity'. In describing the relationship between the early trekkers and the Khoisan, parallels are drawn through the use of visual analysis (see Appendix E – Museum van de Caab panel 5).

> The two images above by Charles Bell demonstrate the similarities of lifestyle that existed between the early Trekboers and the Khoisan. Both groups lived a semi-nomadic, self-reliant lifestyle in search of pasture for their valued cattle, and hunting grounds for game to supplant their diet. It is no wonder that the Trekboers and the Khoisan came into conflict with each other over access to these resources - which additionally placed strain on the Khoisan hunter-gatherers who were also dependent on this fragile arid environment. (Museum van de Caab, Panel 5)

The relevance of the ‘shared humanity’ discussion has implications for the construction of the redemption narrative underscoring the exhibition. Memory plays a significant role in this – it is evoked to bring disparate narrtatives and different groups of people together within the exhibition description.

As the purpose of this chapter discussion is to address the relationship established between sites of memory and slavery, in the following section I focus more narrowly on the narrative constructed in the panels about slavery and emancipation and the connections made with apartheid as a result of the chronological order of the panels in the exhibition narrative. This information is then considered in light of the overall narrative – one of the redemptive narrative of the farm – I argue the exhibition presents, operating as part of the symbolic element of Nora’s *lieux de mémoire.*

Slavery in Museum van de Caab

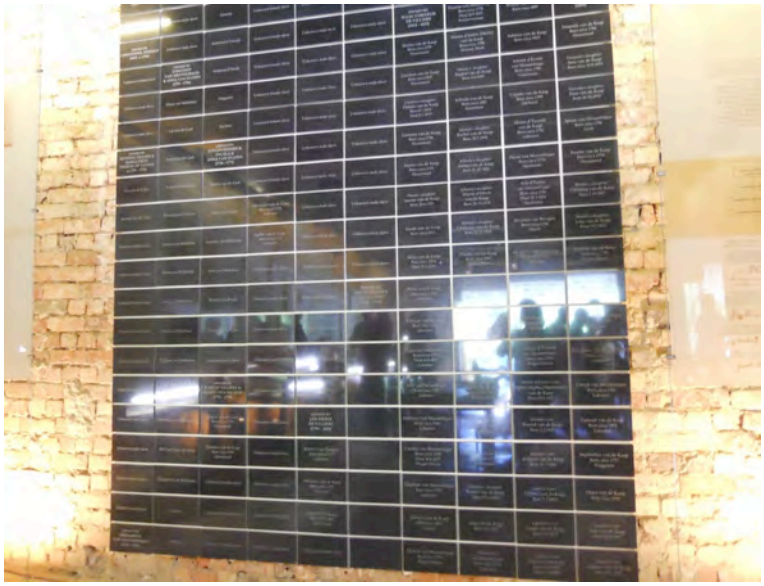


Figure 6.4. Granite plaques

From the outset, the history of the farm as a wine-producing property is shown to include the practice of slavery. The text below is in bold on the panel (see Appendix E - Museum van de Caab, Panel 13) and contains the following information which includes both an indictment of the practice and conditions of slavery and a broader acknowledgement of the vital contribution slaves and their labour made to the farm:

> Over the first two centuries that wine was made on *Delta*, the hands that produced it were bound by shackles of slavery. Over that period approximately 190 slaves lived and worked at *Delta.* They cultivated the land, and built almost all the beautiful buildings that still grace the estate today.(Appendix E- Museum van de Caab, Panel 13)

This opening statement is echoed in the images, maps and text used in the panel, detailing slavery on the farm. Together they evoke a picture of slavery in terms of labour practice, origins and naming traditions of slaves, ownership and the cruelty of the sale of slaves, the ongoing cultural influence of slavery in South Africa and the debilitating health and socio-economic legacies of the '*Dop*'[59] system. The information, however, fails to make explicit who the agents of enslavement were - as a result obfuscating who the perpetrators were and intimating that accountability for the institution of slavery is not necessary as part of the process of restoration of slave memories and history.

So whilst there is also mention made of the labour practices that preceded slave labour, there is never any sense that individual and collective groups of white colonists were responsible for enslavement:

> Khoekhoen worked and lived on *Delta* as supplementary labour to the slaves that tilled the soil, picked and pruned the grapes and cleaned and cooked for the owner of the farm. Before the 1800s most contracts between Khoekhoe labour and colonists were verbal, so there were few records of the agreements that were made. But Drakenstein colonists would have especially relied on Khoekhoe labour in the early years of settlement , as until 1692 no farmers in the region owned any slaves. (Museum van de Caab, Panel 15)

[59] A system providing alcohol (usually measures of wine) to servants and slaves.

Divided into three sections visually, the script begins with a description of slave origins. Here both text and maps are used to indicate that most slaves who ended up on Delta farm originated from lands throughout the Pacific rim of the Indian Ocean. The history of naming traditions of slaves is also included and they highlight the connection to the VOC:

> It was a Dutch convention that individuals were named by a regionally specific typonym, VOC employees were referred to in this way, for example, 'Frederich Both van Gotha' (which became Botha). Similarly, slaves were named after the place from which they came. (Museum van de Caab, Panel 13)

This historical detail is important in anchoring the identity of slaves to a location but also in the potential for an interpretation that does not simply see slaves as dislocated geographically and without a sense of history and place. These pieces of information become moorings for memory-work. These elements are important when attempting a reading through the lens of memory theories which see significant connections between place and a collective sense (memory) about its meaning, as Hoelscher and Alderman (2004) have indicated. It also counters in significant ways the attempts of colonial and apartheid historiography to construct slaves as without history, land, identity – assumptions that would go on to plague slave descendant communities in South Africa for decades (see Wicomb 1998, Adhikari 2006).

The second section of the panel is dedicated to the slave auction and contains an extract from the *New Monthly Magazine* 'Sale of a Negro Family' - which offers an account of a traveller's thoughts, via a letter to his friend, on having witnessed the auction of a slave woman and her three children. The account is accompanied by a painting of the auction in which the slave women and children are in the foreground and surrounded by white onlookers. The narrative commentary of this piece of archival information suggests that the slave trade left almost all slaves orphans and that separation from family, home and country,

while traumatic and harrowing, were commonplace. It highlights the fact that slaves were treated as commodities (however valuable) never as human beings.

The third section of the panel illustrates the ongoing contributions slaves have made to South African society in particular. The first section of text describes the duties of slaves who lived on Delta farm and reminds the visitor that most slaves were 'labourers who were involved in viticultural tasks to maintain and harvest the vines and make wine and hence the proportion of slave men to women on the farm was always higher throughout its ownership during slavery' (Museum van de Caab, Panel 13). This description is followed by an explanation of the slave cultural influence on South Africa today. Here, text and images communicate that slave cultural influence is notable in the development of the Afrikaans language as well as Cape cuisine, which references important elements of Eastern traditional dishes (c.f. Baderoon 2014) (see Appendix E - Museum van de Caab, Panel 13).

The final legacy, which is described in relation to slavery in South Africa, is the '*Dop*' system. This inclusion offers an important context for ways in which slave and other labour was controlled and indicates the practice dates back as far as the middle of the 17th century. It is worth including the text in full here in order to illustrate the connections made between past slave practices and current socio-economic problems in the wine and fruit farming regions:

> The control of slave labour in an agricultural setting was often mediated by the ringing of bells. On large farms a slave bell was rung to call the slaves to work or to summon them from the fields when the working day was ended. As a measure of control, the slave bell did not work alone. On wine farms there was a darker system whose effects are still being felt in the lives of farm workers to the present day. The slave bell also toiled times when slaves would receive their 'dops' (measures of wine). The system providing alcohol on a daily basis to servants and slaves reaches as far back historically as Jan van Ribeeck's command during the mid 17th century. Through this system both slaves and Khoi labourers became attached to their masters' farms not only by law and

> custom, and lack of education, but also by dependence on alcohol. (Museum van de Caab, Panel 13)

It is the explicit naming of these types of practices that the narrative of Museum van de Caab is to be commended for. These inclusions surface current practices on wine and fruit farms and promote a revisiting of the legacies of slavery in order to adequately understand and address the conditions of farm labourers today.

The narrative accounting of slavery on the panel described above is in keeping with global practices that emphasize the inhumanity of slavery alongside the ways in which slave populations made valuable contributions to society under impossible conditions - a move away from representing those enslaved only as victims of oppression.

In the second panel, entitled ‘Slavery – the hands that built these walls’ there are two descriptions of individual slave women. It is worth noting that of the individual stories of people who have lived on the farm over the centuries, the ones we encounter in the most detail and as thus endowed with significance are the stories of the lives of three female slaves: Groote Catrijn, Philida van de Kaap and Candaza van de Caap. African feminist perspectives provide an opportunity to consider the particularities of context to become apparent and useful in terms of reading the impact of these women’s histories and inclusion in the exhibition narrative. According to Gqola, these African feminist frameworks allow us to think of the ‘historical presence through both individual slave women and the traces left behind by slave (women) communities (2007: 32). This framework thus informs my own consideration of the representation of these individual slave women in the narrative of Museum van de Caab.

The narrative of Groote Catrijn is constructed as appreciable in terms of genealogical lines,

> Groote Catrijn's illegitimate son born of this relationship was baptised Christoffel on the 9 March 1669. Throughout his life he identified himself by this father's surname as did his own children. Christoffel was the progenitor of the South African Snyman family and the second owner of the farm, *Delta* (then Zandvliet). (Museum van de Caab, Panel 8)

In the section detailing the colonisation of Drakenstein we are presented with more information that supports a reading of the farm's history in terms of genealogical connections:

> For the de Villiers family that owned many properties in the Drakenstein region, space really was organised along socially connected lives. It was especially in the transferring of property through marriage alliances that wealth became defined. While from the names on the Transfer Deeds it would seem these connections ran through the male line, this is not the case, as what most often links the transfer of Cape property is the connection to women. By the early 19th century it was difficult to find a farm in the Dwars River Valley that did not have some link to the de Villiers ownership. (Museum van de Caab, Panel 10)

In the first section dedicated to slavery, there is a subtitle 'A daily struggle to survive': the section contains the recounting of the story of Candaza van de Caap, a slave woman at Delta Farm. A combination of court record, paintings of slaves being punished and narrative accounts, the description offered focuses on the violence, both physical and psychological, that was inflicted on slaves. The fact that the panel includes Candaza van de Caap's recorded statement to the magistrate and councillors of Stellenbosch is indicative of the attempt by the exhibition curators to include the voices of slaves from as close to their perspectives as possible. The narrative construction offers both the slave and the master's perspectives on the matter and openly encourages the reader to draw their own conclusions about the justice Candaza was denied.

The third narrative offers an interpretation of the life of Philida van de Kaap, another slave woman at Delta. Once again comprising official records, paintings of slave life at the time and a narrative account of events, this description offers a reconstruction of a life based on

information available in the historical archive, which in this instance is the Day Book and Reports of the Assistant Protector of Slaves. The exhibition narrative explains the construction as follows:

> Philida's complaint to the Slave Protector's Office attests to the complex nature of slave and master relationships that existed on farms such as *Delta* during the early 19th Century. Through the piecing together of Philida's story we can explore what life may have been like for a slave living on *Delta* during this period. (Museum van de Caab, Panel 14)

The foregrounding of interpretive elements in this description signals an important aspect of how the representation of slaves is communicated in the exhibition. The combination of fact and its interpretive extension could arguably also promote empathy from visitors who may be more likely to identify with the stories of slaves through these reconstructed personal narratives.

Another element highlighted in the narrative of Philida van de Kaap is the gendered legacy of shame associated with sexuality which is a commonplace stereotype among slave descendent communities, particularly 'Coloured' women (see Chapter Two) (Wicomb 1998, see Erasmus 2001)[60]. The narrative offers the following commentary about the how Philida was treated as a result of her seemingly consensual sexual relationship with her owner's son, Frans Brink: 'As was usually the case, the girl was rebuked for her wantonness, and threatened with dire punishments is she dared to disclose who was responsible for her condition'. (Museum van de Caab, Panel 14).

[60] Erasmus (2001: 13) describes her experience of middle class 'Coloured' identity as made up of notions of respectability and shame. Wicomb (1998:100) suggests shame has been inherent in various processes of recognition and disavowal of what 'Coloured' identity has come to represent in South Africa. For more on the cultural politics of shame as part of larger material and discursive structures of the nation-state see Ahmed (2004).

The cumulative impact of these individual women's narratives provides an important contribution to the exhibition. The visibility of the individual story, the experience of the brutality and trauma of slavery and its ongoing legacies, and the impact these women's lives have on the South African memory landscape make it worth recalling. It also illustrates the importance of the interpretative elements in the overall exhibition.

The final section of the exhibition that foregrounds slavery is focused on the abolition of slavery and the emancipation of slaves. The panel entitled 'Emancipation' offers four significant pieces of information and analysis in terms of the narrative of slavery constructed for the visitor. The first is related to the Abolition of Slavery Act and the fact that emancipation was a prolonged process that still largely benefitted slave owners through the period of apprenticeship. According to the narrative,

> [t]he 'Slave Abolition Act' was designed to placate registered slave owners, as they were to receive compensation for their loss of 'property' in the form of bills of credit in London…More significantly, the Act also made allowance for the continued labour of slaves that before emancipation had been tied to their masters. Now those 'freed' slaves were 'apprenticed' to the very same owners (now 'employers') for four years, to allow a period of adjustment to the wage labour system. The apprenticeship period lasted until 1838 – ensuring that for the majority of the Cape's freed slaves, the difference to their daily lives was slight. (Museum van de Caab, Panel 15)

Secondly, the script offers a reading of this period that suggests that the end of slavery did not mean an easy transition for freed slaves, with the implication that many slaves seem to have disappeared from the historical record after this period where many voices were silenced. The third contribution this panel offers is the first mention of 'Coloured' identity in relation to slavery, with an indication that this term denoted at that stage an amalgamation of different groups of people, something that would be taken up later by apartheid legislation-makers:

> Some Khoekhoe labourers who worked for the wine farmers of this region also moved to the mission stations in the early parts of the 19th century, but many others remained working on the farms alongside the freed slaves. After 1838, freed slaves and Khoe

were grouped together under the label ‘Coloured’. (Museum van de Caab, Panel 15)

The historical and social relationships between ‘Colouredness’ and slavery (as discussed in Chapter Two) suggests that serious consideration remains necessary to understand and trace the ongoing influences slavery has in reinforcing racial stereotypes of ‘Colouredness’ and broader understandings of race in post-apartheid South Africa. Here the visibility of slave memory interrupts claims often taken for granted about how it is possible to think, talk and represent ideas of belonging (in terms of race) to the post-apartheid nation.

Finally, the narrative offers commentary on the ongoing exploitation of ‘freed’ slaves and the continuation of exploitative practices that continued in the region, particularly in relation to race and labour policies:

> But even those freed slave men and women who continued to work on wine farms after the apprenticeship period did not experience true freedom, as they were only partially paid in wages…‘They were forced to work for farmers in return for the use of the land, or more commonly for food, drink, housing or clothing’. (Museum van de Caab, Panel 15)

As illustrated in the media coverage of strikes in the region, many of these conditions and sentiments were raised as factors that influenced why workers went on unprotected strikes in 2012 in the Western Cape; suggesting that little had changed over hundreds of years for the communities most often thought of as descendants of slaves.

The final panel for consideration in this section is entitled ‘Seeds of Apartheid’ and it draws connections for museum visitors from the colonial period and its practices of slavery and other forms of exploitation and oppression with the more notorious period of apartheid in South Africa. The panel is subdivided into a section on segregation and one on eviction.

The description of the laws that informed segregation and eviction of people on land is detailed as follows:

> Every individual's personal experience of apartheid was different, but everyone was subject to the legalities of segregation and racism. In a rural context, people who had worked and lived on farms alongside their 'masters' for hundreds of years, continued to do so under new segregationist laws. The provision of labour still remained essential for the success of the farms run along feudal lines. Farm labourers lived in daily fear of being evicted from their homes on a whim by their employer. (Museum van de Caab, Panel 16)

Here two elements are particularly noteworthy in the narrative constructed, namely that labour conditions remained unchanged and in fact worsened for 'freed' slaves and, secondly, that the emergence and development of social and political identities based on racial and class affiliations began in the period of colonisation and would become entrenched by apartheid legislation in the 1940s. Careful narratives illustrate these points and attempt to offer both factual information and analysis about labour, wealth and power-distribution in the region following the abolition of slavery – as seen in the following extract:

> After the end of the apprenticeship period in 1838, the majority of ex-slaves continued to live in poverty – an indication that their lives were not materially changed by the abolition of slavery. There were few 'black' people in Cape Town that were property owners or merchants, but the bulk of wealth and power lay in 'white' hands. There were no people of colour in central or local government legislatures of the Colony, which meant that 'people of European descent were in the widest sense the ruling class'. (Museum van de Caab, Panel 16)

The development of social and political identities is also referenced as complex and the traces of slavery clearly implicated:

> In the early 20th century, new social and political identities developed, building on those that emerged during slavery. The Afrikaans-speaking freed slaves and their descendants began to be identified as 'Coloured'. This term was eventually adopted by the elite 'of those so described because of discrimination against them by whites, but also because, as 'Coloureds' they wanted to distinguish themselves from Bantu-speaking Africans'. This 'Coloured' category also included the descendants of the indigenous San and Khoe language groups. By the end of the 19th century other indigenous Africans were subject to far more stringent forms of economic and social control in that they were subject to residential segregation and prohibitory liquor laws. 'Coloured' classification became an acceptable way of dissociating oneself from African 'Natives' of 'Kaffirs'. For these Afrikaans-speaking Khoisan and ex-slaves and their descendants, however, colour was only one potential means of self identification. (Museum van de Caab, Panel 16)

The detail provided here evidences the mulitiple ways in which the museum is attempting a restoration of memories of slavery and its very *real* connections to current conditions and situations in South Africa.

Under the 'Fruits of Apartheid' exhibition panel, we are clearly presented with the narratives of people who have experienced apartheid oppression first-hand. The panel is dedicated entirely to illustrative discussions of 'imprisonment':

> We tell the story of Apartheid through the voices of the people who actually experienced it. The people who work on Delta (and their parents and grand-parents) faced first-hand what it was like to live under Apartheid in a rural setting. Their struggles through those darkest of times, their triumphs over extreme adversity, and their hopes for the future, illustrate what many South Africans went through to create the democratic and free country we enjoy today. Their stories are representative, but at the same time unique, as they experienced their own personal Apartheid. We honour their voices in the museum, in memory of the millions of fellow South Africans whose voices were never heard. (Museum van de Caab, Panel 17)

In one of the final descriptions of the panel entitled 'Democracy' the following narrative provides further evidence of the inclusionist approach underpinning the exhibition narrative. It is also in this panel that the redemptive narrative becomes more apparent - the story of South Africa's democracy and long history of oppression rends with the heroic figure of Mandela:

> On 27 April 1994 all citizens of South Africa had the right to vote in the first democratic elections to be held in the country's history. The ANC polled 62,6 per cent of the national vote and after 3 centuries of white minority rule, on 10 May 1994, Nelson Mandela became the President of the new democratic nation. Through all the struggles of South Africa's past, a new future emerged - one based on the voices of all people. The San, Khoekhoen, slaves, colonists and others beyond the borders of the Cape, oppressors and oppressed - all have played a part in the shaping of this nation. We remember them all. (Museum van de Caab, Panel 20)

In the final panel of the permanent exhibition we are presented with information under the heading 'Then and Now'. This panel illustrates visually depictions of the Delta farm in 1905, 1920, 1935 and 2005, with the explicit aim of demonstrating a progressive comparative reading of the farm's history. The description provided about partnership on the farm

presents visitors with specific information about how the farm has recently been conceptualised as more than just a business for economic profit:

> The museum is part of a renewal project at *Delta* which aims not only to remember our history but also to change it. In mid 2005 the current owners of the farm established the Wijn de Caab trust which aims in a small local way to redress the persistent economic inequalities which still characterise South African society. The trust receives 50% of all profits generated by the wines produced on this farm. Its beneficiaries are the historically disadvantaged residents and employees of *Delta,* as well as the wider rural community of the Franschoek valley. Our hope is that future generations descended from the dispossessed indigenous inhabitants and slaves, remembered in this museum, will be empowered to choose vocations on the basis of their interests and abilities rather than fate and necessity. (Museum van de Caab, Panel 21)

This inclusion ties the work of restoring memory to the restoration of financial and social benefits in ways befitting sites of memory. Although the preceding narratives have gone to great lengths to demonstrate the multiple ways in which there have been progressive developments in the farm's history there remain instances in which the narrative takes on a problematic redemptive quality. This needs to be offset by the other positive strategies employed in the museum's deployment of memory, such as the inclusivity and the presentation of various voices within the exhibition narrative.

The multiple ways in which slavery, slave history and identity continue to surface in South Africa's social and political legacy is seen as important in this narrative accounting. Museum van de Caab represents slavery as central to South African history – sobering, harsh, under-acknowledged and in need of continuing response and memorialisation.

Museum van de Caab is thus part of the complex ways in which Solms-Delta is able to be read as a site of memory. The Solms-Delta estate itself is committed to the use of the memory of slavery and other forms of colonial oppression, in order to advance its work of restoration; in social, financial and memory terms, there is evidence of the how the legacies of slavery need to be and are addressed.

Museum van de Caab provides a traditional element of memorialisation of a slave past at the site and presents a range of material that foregrounds the experience of slavery and other forms of colonial oppression as relevant to the post-apartheid context and in need of acknowledgment and interpretation. The changes in labour and ownership arrangements on the farm are another example of how the memory of slavery is used to interrupt and alter how we have come to think about the place and importance of slave history and its legacies in post-apartheid South Africa. As such, the visibility of slave memory interrupts claims often taken for granted about how it is possible to think, talk and represent ideas of belonging to the post-apartheid nation. On Solms-Delta, then (a site of memory), there are new progressive attempts at altering the social politics of wine, and the memory of slavery is quite central to this work.

In the next chapter I consider the transnational dynamics of the international study of memory and the how slavery is becoming visible in debates about contemporary human rights issues – suggesting that slavery is no longer framed simply as a historical issue, but significantly, as a transnational one.

Chapter Seven

Global Strategies of Remembrance in light of human rights discourses

The institution of slavery has become more studied recently and as slavery becomes more of a social phenomenon, it has been increasingly politicised in public discourse[61]. Headlines about modern day slavery have become more commonplace in media coverage locally and internationally[62] and as such the historical practices of slavery are often repositioned in light of this contemporary context.

My own study has been located in a globally emerging interest in historic formations of slavery packaged in popular culture and the current increase in human rights politics dealing with re-emerging and new forms of slavery. In this chapter I detail certain global strategies of remembrance in light of human rights discourses that include a discussion of transnational studies of slavery and transnational studies of memory. Moreover, I situate the findings of this thesis in this broader context, with a focus on the transnational dynamics of contemporary projects such as mine.

Throughout this dissertation I have proposed that representations of slavery emerged in discussions of what constitutes a national discourse of race and reconciliation in the post-apartheid period for a number of reasons. I have shown that these reasons are tied to the work slavery and memory are able to do symbolically in the post-apartheid context. In each of the examples I have considered, the memory of slavery is able to function in relation to the immediate needs of those proposing and implementing the remembering and remembrance.

[61] See for example http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/forced-labour/publications/profits-of-forced-labour-2014/lang--en/index.htm.

[62] See for example http://www.timeslive.co.za/thetimes/2013/10/18/thousands-enslaved-in-sa, http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia-pacific/2013/10/index-nearly-30-million-people-slavery-201310171748274269.html, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/12/world/africa/mauritania-confronts-long-legacy-of-slavery.html?, http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2013-10-22-for-the-sins-of-the-fathers-caribbean-countries-sue-for-slavery-but-what-could-it-mean-for-sa/#.VMOuiMbW-hz.

This project has therefore reflected on the discursive constructions offered by the various texts about slavery through the use of primary sources such as walking tours, museums, wine farms, publicity materials, marketing strategies and websites. The construction of these texts and their multiple contexts in Johnson's (1986) terms is significant. The use of secondary literature focusing on representation, feminist and cultural studies perspectives on identity construction, and memory as an aesthetic and historical practice were also used to support the theorisation pertaining to the emergence and existence of these examples.

The ongoing relationship that sees slavery framed as a matter of human rights abuses has also surfaced throughout this dissertation. In Chapter Six, as part of my discussion of the legacies of slavery as evidenced in ongoing labour practices, I presented the findings of the 2011 Human Rights Watch Report entitled *Ripe With Abuse: Human Rights Conditions in South Africa's Fruit and Wine Industries,* which detailed how farmworkers in South Africa were amongst the most vulnerable people in society. The findings of the report indicated that steps taken to date by both the government and private sector had been insufficient in bringing the overall conditions in the Western Cape agricultural sector in line with the basic standards outlined in South African law and industry codes of conduct (2011: 6).

The connections between slavery and human rights abuses are also prevalent in the narrative of the *Remembering Slavery* permanent exhibition at the Slave Lodge, which is guided in large part by the slogan 'From Human Wrongs to Human Rights' (see Chapter Four). The exhibition foregrounds a human rights agenda, with each of the galleries designed to manifest a human rights message (Eichmann 2012: 73). Eichmann has further proposed that couching slavery within human rights discourses promoted the depiction of slavery as a history which was important to 'South Africans today who place great value on the concepts of freedom and human rights' (2012: 73).

These examples of instances in which slavery is invoked in relation to human rights concerns require a further consideration of global strategies of remembrance and how they surface the politics of power. This chapter also, then, considers how these earlier findings in the dissertation can be read against the larger context of how slavery is framed not simply as a historical issue, but rather as a transnational one. The transnational dynamic is important on a number of levels and covers a number of disciplinary boundaries - slave studies, memory studies and human rights concerns. It also highlights the ways in which slavery is now studied not only as a historical event but rather as a transnational issue that is firmly located in the present.

Transnational studies of slavery

In reflecting on some of the factors that led to the re-emergence of interest in slavery, Araujo (2012) notes that with the end of the Second World War and the unveiling of the horrors of the Holocaust, societies saw the wounds of the slave past also start to emerge. She ties this emergence to the other contextual factors such as the end of colonial rule in Africa and the United States Civil Rights Movement in which racisms and racial inequalities were being fought. Arguing that this new context helped to foster 'cultural assertion and demands for official recognition of the contributions of the populations of African descent to the building of societies in Europe and the Americas, which largely benefitted from slavery and the slave trade' (2012: 2), she proposes that political stakes involved in the phenomenon of the transnational rise of the memory of slavery becoming more visible in the public space are noteworthy (2012: 10).

In a similar vein, the edited collection *Slavery, Memory and Identity* by Hamilton, Hodgson and Quirk (2012) provides a series of debates and perspectives that illustrate the contested nature of public memories of slavery, slave trades and their abolitions and articulates why

there has been a surge in public, political and intellectual interest in slavery and its legacies since the mid-1990s (2012: 2). Hamilton, Hodgson and Quirk's collection explains the ways in which slavery and its legacies found expression in the commemorative contexts of museums, memorials and others sites of memory and in national education systems (2012: 1).

Importantly, they identify a transnational phenomenon having emerged pertaining to slavery and its legacies, noting that while not all countries or regions were affected to the same degree, this renewed interest in and political activism connected with the history of slavery and abolition appeared in many settings across Western Europe, the Caribbean, the Americas, Africa and parts of the Middle East (2012: 2).

In Hamilton, Hodgson and Quirk's consideration of why slavery has (re)emerged as an area of scholarly and popular interest, they suggest that much of the increased activity was articulated in terms of 'breaking the silence' surrounding slavery (2012: 2), with widespread sentiments that slavery tended to be 'reduced to a minor historical problem, rather than a major issue of enduring consequence…[noting] slavery has rarely been accorded the types of public recognition that might have been expected of a key institution practised by most peoples at most times for nearly all of recorded human history' (ibid.). They simultaneously acknowledge that the 'silencing' which various studies of commemorative activities and memories attest to was never complete. In the introduction to this thesis I offer a discussion of the re-emergence of interest in slavery in the South African context which resonates similar concerns.

The authors further suggest that the 20th century saw what they term a commemorative model of engagement with slavery on both national and international levels (2012: 12) and that

> [t]he surge of interest in remembering slavery can be traced to a combination of both subject specific and more general trends. Most scholars in the field have approached slavery as a single issue, and thereby frequently overlooked a number of broader influences and ideas. To understand why slavery (re)emerged as a political and sociological focal point from the mid-1990s, a number of trends, which help to explain both the terms and the timing of many of the key innovations, need to be taken into account. (2012: 3)

These include two broad approaches, the first being the emergence and subsequent dissemination of truth and reconciliation, as well as transitional justice (2012: 3) and the second an enduring connection between slavery and collective identity (2012: 7). The authors suggest that the popularity of truth and reconciliation has helped draw attention to a variety of historical wrongs, including transatlantic slavery and the abuse of indigenous peoples as well as an influence on how various historical wrongs have tended to be conceptualised and discussed (2012: 3). In discussing transitional justice, Hamilton, Hodgson and Quirk suggest that concepts of harm, repair, atonement, forgiveness and apology are often grouped together under the banner of restorative justice. Their description of the task of justice in this context is reminiscent of discourses of reconciliation undertaken by the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission as discussed earlier in this thesis (see Chapter Three):

> This holds that all kinds of wrongdoings can be best understood as violations of individual relationships, rather than as breaches of public order to be corrected by government officials. Within this overall framework, the primary task of justice is not so much to punish offenders as to repair broken relationships, with considerable emphasis being placed on offenders atoning for their past misdeeds, and victims in turn working towards forgiveness for past harms inflicted on them. (2012: 2)

The second approach is traced to what the authors see as an enduring connection between slavery and collective identity (2012: 7), with a central tenet being the role slavery and its legacies have played in shaping how particular groups have defined themselves and their relationships to others (ibid.). Here the ideological and political resonance of slavery as a

relational source of self-definition and external differentiation is viewed as a recurring theme (2012: 8).

Hamilton, Hodgson and Quirk thus propose that the relationship between slavery and collective identity is a fluid process with 'changing attitudes towards slavery and its legacies provid[ing] a means to articulate and disseminate new understandings of community, belonging and identity (2012: 9).

Both factors of commemorative models of engagement with slavery (transitional justice and truth and reconciliation, and the relationship between slavery and collective identity) are embedded features of the analysis this project has undertaken. Specifically, the discussion of national discourses of race and reconciliation are raised in Chapters Three and Four, which individually argue for why representations of slavery emerge in discussions of what constitutes a national discourse of race and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa. The idea of collective identity and slavery in this thesis has been surfaced in relation to collective memory and its constituent social interactions in Chapter Five.

Finally, Hamilton, Hodgson and Quirk argue that the question of audience is significant in the consideration of global representations of slavery and its abolitions since the 19th century (2012: 12). They note that substantial differences can be ascertained between internal and external memorial practices as well as between metropolitan and colonial contexts (ibid.). In thinking about contemporary memorialisation from a transnational perspective, the authors demonstrate the multiple research and methodological approaches that are involved: many sites of enslavement and products of the labour of the enslaved are being allowed to speak for themselves via increasingly sophisticated archaeological tools; oral history and preserving

and ‘unearthing’ slave voices are other prominent contemporary themes; as well as the elusive economic legacies of slavery and the contribution of slave labour (and compensation claims after abolition) to the construction of institutions across Europe and North America (2012: 13).

Another branch of transnational studies of slavery worth noting focuses on the limitations of legal abolition as an organising principle for thinking about the impact of slavery.

Quirk (2011) has explained that slavery in recent times has ceased to be an analytical category and instead has become an evocative concept (2011: 10). His analysis of an anti-slavery project includes the consideration of the proliferation of forms of slavery in contemporary societies and whether or not slavery is being invoked in literal or rhetorical terms (2011: 14). He shows how the use of references to ‘new’, ‘modern’, ‘contemporary’ or ‘twenty-first’ in relation to slavery help to ‘distinguish current problems from inherited images of transatlantic slavery, while working to retain the political and ethical urgency slavery evokes’ (ibid.).

Quirk concludes that the recent emergence of the category of contemporary forms of slavery is best understood as the most recent phase in an evolving response to the limitations of legal abolition (2011: 242). His suggestion is significant - that this has found expression in broader and deeper understandings of anti-slavery obligations, resulting in a landscape in which slavery is now commonly held to come in a variety of different forms that consequently require a variety of different responses. This discourse is shown to intersect with increasing levels of human rights activism, ‘resulting in the emergence of human trafficking and contemporary slavery as mainstream issues, rather than marginal concerns’ (ibid.). The

increasing transnational dynamics of studies of slavery, abolition and their ongoing legacies are augmented by transnational approaches to the study of memory.

Transnational studies of memory

The 'transnational turn' also led to important developments in the discipline of history. With a broad conception, transnational history focuses on the study of the movements and forces that move across national and other defined borders or boundaries. Studies of memory that foreground transnational dynamics are also increasing in this scholarly context. These studies are interested in ways in which interpretive frameworks exceed ideas of bounded nations and groups and highlight shared collective political projects and concerns that memory offers. Alieda Assman's article 'Transnational Memories' (2014) offers an overview of some examples: projects, specific cases and political contexts in which transnational memories are being formed. She suggests that the recent 'transnational turn' provides a challenge to bounded views of national belonging and as such, is forcing the reconceptualisation of national memories in the context of transnational connectedness. Here the transnational is defined as

> …examining units that spill over and seep through national borders, units both greater and smaller than the nation-state…Transnational history does not simply cover more ground; it is not equivalent to world history…Perhaps the core of transnational history is the challenge it poses to the hermeneutic pre-eminence of nations. Without losing sight of the 'potent forces' nations have become, it understands them as 'fragile, constructed, imagined'. Transnational history treats the nation as one among a range of social phenomena to be studied, rather than the frame of the study itself'. (Siegel 2005 cited in Assman 2014: 546)

Assman argues that the general challenge of the 'trans' is to go beyond national identification, investments and interests to explore instead new forms of belonging and cultural identification 'in a world characterised by streams of migration and dispersed and displaced populations with different historical trajectories (2014: 547). A significant element of this transnational focus that Assman describes is that it also provides different

representations of the past: ‘it does not negate the past, but it does foster a rethinking of the national in the light of newly invented spatial and temporal coordinates’ (Pease 2011, cited in Assman 2014: 547).

In this thesis I have argued that memory plays a significant role in the formation of national discourses of race and reconciliation in the post-apartheid South African context. The meaningful inclusion of memories of slavery in these discursive formations of nation challenge the traditional place of the history of slavery in the understanding of the South African nation. As such, the project begins to address the potential Assman identifies for the framework of the transnational, namely that it ‘stimulates new perspectives on the larger political and cultural contexts in which memories are selected, constructed and contested’ (2014: 547). Assman further argues that memory and the global have to be studied together as it has become impossible to understand the trajectories of memory outside of a global frame of reference (Assman & Conrad, cited in Assman 2014: 547).

One example of this global or transnational approach is exemplified for Assman in the work of Levy and Sznaider (2006), who consider the Holocaust in the global age. According to Assman, these authors describe a global scenario,

> in which the constraints of ethnic nationalism and particularism give way to a universal and cosmopolitan memory for post-national citizens of the world. In these studies the agents of this new change are new communication technologies. Change is attributed to technological structures evolving according to the self-propelling progress of modernisation that is going global. (2014: 548)

Assman is quick to note, however, that there is the necessity of acknowledging that real borders do exist and are even re-erected by new memory-communities (2014: 548). Assman also provides a number of specific instances in which transnational memories are being formed, e.g. The International Task Force on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Reseach (ITF) (ibid.). In identifying what she terms obstacles towards transnational

memories, Assman cites Europe's divided memories relating to the traumatic European legacy of the Second World War as one example (2014: 552). She sees the idea of dialogic memory as a potential counter to these obstacles, in that it

> …could produce a new type of nation-state that is not exclusively grounded in pride, but is transnationally sensitive to its neighbours, accepting the dark legacies of an entangled history of violence by including the victims of this own violence into its national memory. Such a sensitive transnational memory could credibly back up the protection of human rights in the present and support the values of a civil society in the future. (2014: 553)

Another important writer on the subject of transnational memory is Rothberg (2014), who proposes a located and multidirectional approach to transnational memory. His proposal is inspired by Adrienne Rich's concept of a 'politics of location', which pays rigorous attention to the local and situates such attention in relation to other scales, such as the regional, the national and the global (2014: 652). He also adds that this located approach must bear in mind the tensions and contradictions that come with the contact of different locations:

> A transnational memory studies oriented by a politics of location and aware of its own locatedness in an uneven world can move between the too-abstract poles of the local and the global and instead uncover the rich terrain in between. (2014: 654)

His optimism is firmly located in the multidirectional approach to memory which Rothberg argues aims to contribute to memory studies in three distinct ways: descriptive, normative and analytic. Rothberg proposes that all acts of memory that enter public space of necessity enter simultaneously into dialogue with practices and traditions of memory, and that this dialogue is productive. The multidirectionality of this memory production is located in how it 'overflows the boundaries of the given identities, including nations, memory groups and other communities…groups emerge in the very articulation of memory; they come into being in a dialogic space, in the contact (and sometimes conflict) between different narratives, images and affective modes' (2014: 654). For Rothberg, then, a multidirectional methodological lens in memory studies has the potential to alert users to the processual and

relational dimensions of remembrance, stating that 'remembrance always performs and evokes more than appears on the surface' (ibid.).

Transnational approaches to memory also attempt to surface the relationship between memory and power, which remains an ongoing question in the field. Rothberg suggests that the theory of articulation[63] may be helpful in this regard. Citing Clifford he proposes that 'the concept of articulation presumes powerful, but contingent, social, cultural, and economic links and alliances, and negotiations and that this combination of constraint and contingency provides a useful framework for thinking about how memory articulates with power' (2014: 655). Rothberg explains that there are no guarantees that come with his multidirectional approach to memory. But rather, that the approach does help to constitute a terrain for practising a politics of location that articulates local concerns with national and transnational scales (2014: 655).

One final transnational approach to memory studies I would like to include here is a consideration of memory as an as an aesthetic and historical practice. The scholarship on memory practice and the Holocaust offers important insight in this regard[64]. James E. Young (1993) discusses the diverse, multiple workings of Holocaust monuments globally and the contribution they make to the work of memory. I propose that much of his argument has a transnational dynamic. His study suggests that each site of memory brings with it a different meaning *in* memory and in so doing, textures our understanding of the role of these places, and in turn, the meaning these places offer to our understanding of history in our present

[63] According to Rothberg, 'acts of remembrance can be understood as processes of articulation in the two senses of that word given to it by Stuart Hall: they are acts of enunciation and they are acts of connection. In Clifford's words, '[a]rticulation denotes real and consequential connections, but relations that are partial and not inevitably determined' '(2014: 654).

[64] See Finkelstein (2000) for a discussion on the Holocaust 'industry' and the significant role memory plays in sustaining it.

circumstances. Young recognises that monuments are in themselves representations of particular pasts and the memories we construct of them, and that they 'can [equally] be approached as aesthetic, artistic creations. They juxtapose, narrate, and remember events according to the taste of their curators, the political needs and interests of their community, the temper of their time' (Young 1993: viii). His critical reading of the memorial process is a valuable one and illustrates how museums can document and memorialise slavery in the South African context as is discussed in Chapter Four.

Young further suggests:

> the 'art of public memory' encompasses not just these memorials' aesthetics contours, or their places in contemporary artistic discourse. It also includes the activity that brought them into being, the constant give and take between memorials and viewers, and finally the responses of viewers to their own world in light of a memorialised past – the consequences of memory'. (1993: ix)

This fluidity allows for a discursive reading of the museums that recognises the processes of production and consumption as equally important as the circulation of the text within a culturally produced context (Johnson 1986). In this regard, this research has proposed that considering how slavery is represented in these museums, memorials and other sites of memory and how this relates to the repositioning of the memory of slavery in a constantly changing cultural discourse is significant for understanding and locating this process in the emerging global trends of memory-work.

This dissertation has argued that representations of slavery in post-apartheid South Africa are tied to a number of present concerns regarding participation belonging to the production of national discourses about race and reconciliation. It has thus considered slavery as framed not only in historical terms. Positioning and analysing slavery as a contemporary transnational issue that highlights memory, identity, and its role in alternative forms of knowledge-production in the post-apartheid context is necessary in order to consider the layered impact

on thinking about South Africa's slave past in the present. In particular ways this approach is in keeping with other intellectual projects on both slavery and memory that focus on a transnational approach. This dissertation, while not specifically transnational in focus, employs many of the methodological approaches that these projects entail and surfaces power, identity, a contemporary focus and a consideration of the multiple layers of understanding what the possible impact is of the visibility of slave memory and history in the post-apartheid period in South Africa.

The consideration of slave memory and representations of slavery in the context of democratic South Africa also forces a reconceptualisation of how national memories are produced and mobilised and how these impulses simultaneously take place in a broader transnational context. The significance of a 'politics of location' has also seen the specifics of the social, cultural and historical context of the Western Cape be foregrounded in this research process – with reflections about that regional specificity in light of wider discussions about nation and the production of a national discourse being an important tension in this thesis. Finally, Rothberg's reminder that memory studies projects with a transnational or multidirectional focus allows the user to foreground the processual and relational dimensions of remembrance inform this thesis. The insights and observations about the memory of slavery and its relation to the representations of slavery I consider are likely to keep evolving, as memory-production is an ongoing process.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

Grunebaum has noted that the conceptualisation of 'nation-building-as-reconciliation' has resulted in a form of official amnesia regarding other forms of construction of nation that may have been possible (Grunebaum cited in Jonker & Till 2009: 315). The alternative contributions to nation-building in this thesis have focused on the contribution of slave history and memory in the form of representational activities in the post-apartheid South African context.

My consideration of these representational examples has been in order to address a number of key questions related to the investigation of why representations of slavery emerge in formations of a national discourse of race and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa. These include how representations of slavery are linked to documenting histories of slavery within South Africa; indications that the emerging memory of slavery as currently practiced in South Africa carries the potential to assist the country in coming to terms with its slave past; and finally a discussion of who is responsible for mobilising these different forms of memory. Each of the case studies analysed in this dissertation provides various answers to these questions. Through this research process I have found that a network of sites, processes and acts of memory exist throughout Cape Town and the Western Cape and that the roots of slavery and its memory are widespread and are increasingly troubling the comfortable associations we have with the past and the discourses that constitute belonging to the post-apartheid nation. They also stand as a challenge to the amnesia Grunebaum identifies in terms of which narratives are included in the construction of the idea of nation.

In this chapter I thus revisit some of the general observations of the research process, and offer some final contextualising remarks pertaining to slave memory in South Africa. I then retrace the main arguments made throughout the thesis and the contribution of these findings to the theoretical concepts that underpinned the project.

In describing the methodological work memory is able to perform, Radstone suggests that memory's work is directed towards practices of collective and self-transformation in the present, where memory-work focuses on re-interpretation and re-contextualisation of memory

> in the service of revised understandings of individual or collective selves…this individual or collective memory work adopts a critical and self-reflexive perspective on memory's capacity to 'keep us afloat'…and sees memory as the raw material for further 'acts of memory'… or 're-memberance' by means of which an individual's or the collective's cultural and historical formation can be seized. (Radstone 2000: 13)

Radstone's conclusions outline some of the implications of the research undertaken because the collective re-fashioning of memories of slavery sees the meaning of the historic facts of slavery repurposed for particular goals related to inclusion in the post-apartheid discursive construction of race and reconciliation of nation and forms of legitimate belonging.
The interdisciplinary approach of project provided a consideration of the phenomena of power in relation to cultural and discursive formations of memory, slavery, identity and nation-building.

The symbolic work memory is able to perform in this context is tied to the immediate needs of those proposing and implementing the remembering and remembrance of slavery – the public visibility of slavery is thus tied to notions of memory, nation and identity. In certain examples, the ideas about slave memory are still tied to questions of race and identity – evidenced in the ongoing discussions about 'Colouredness' as representing a collective most

closely associated with being the descendants of slaves in the Western Cape. In other instances, ideas about slavery are extended to refer to broad sections of South Africa and read slavery as the history and heritage of everyone, in the sense that slavery has contributed significantly to history, economic and political developments in South Africa's past and present.

A cultural studies perspective has provided a lens through which I have considered the various examples of representations of slavery as part of present-day popular culture and as such read slavery as more than simply a historical subject.

At the start of this dissertation I provided a review of the historical relationship between 'Coloured' identity and slavery in order to consider the contextual arguments provided as to why slave memory and history appeared to have systematically been abandoned or forgotten in South Africa until recently, and therefore to consider the backdrop against which memories of slavery appeared more readily recalled and remembered in the post-apartheid period. Much of the literature studied suggested that there existed a fluctuation in how this relationship was thought about and why, with a clear indication that the democratic period of South Africa's history saw increased opportunities for memories of slavery to be more readily remembered, both in historiography and representational politics. These remembrances also occurred both within and outside of the confines of 'Colouredness' as the purchase of memory in the formation of national discourses of race and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa became more apparent.

This dissertation also analysed the ways in which slave memory was used to complicate the national discourse of race and reconciliation so prevalent in the post-apartheid period in South Africa – with the implication being that certain 'difficult' memories were overlooked

in the major memory-making moments such as the TRC in the early post-apartheid period. It discussed the use of memory-making in the production of a national discourse of race and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa as simultaneously raising questions about power and authority in thinking about what versions of history and memory came to be identified as 'true' and more importantly, relevant, in this context. The various theories of memory included in Chapter Three therefore revealed the complex ways in which individual and collective remembering takes place. This theoretical backdrop also provided the basis for the analysis that followed of the representational activity of slave memory.

In the discussion of the permanent exhibition, *Remembering Slavery,* at the Slave Lodge and the Memorial to the Enslaved on Church Square, I proposed that the memory of slavery allowed people to revive discussions of atrocities in South Africa's history that preceded the apartheid period and consequently demanded adequate representations of that past in the public sphere. In reading the politics of forgetting entailed in both the Memorial to the Enslaved and the permanent exhibition at the Slave Lodge, I showed how both have attempted to support processes of restoration in relation to the memories of slavery. Both examples have also surfaced the historic fact of slavery at the Cape and in so doing endeavoured to remap and reconstruct the place that history had in the city. The discussion about these examples of representational activity also raised questions about the function and place of the memory of slavery and its 'official' discursive circulations. In addition I suggested that the existence of both sites (recently established and reconfigured in the present form to represent slave history) indicated an 'expansion of what counts as worthy of inclusion in the South African historic / memory landscape' (Linenthal 2006: 216). However, the analysis of these sites illustrated that the presentation of an 'indigestible' narrative of slavery in a 'palatable' form was part of a larger narrative of race and reconciliation

suggested through the sanctioned forms of remembrance added to national discourses of race and reconciliation, limiting the place of slave memory to function in particular ways. I ultimately suggested that the story of slavery in South African would only be audible if it was recast into the reconciliatory narrative of race and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa.

In the analysis of slave walking tours, I suggested that these examples of representation of slave memory re-interpreted the map of Cape Town and its subsequent meaning outside of the officially sanctioned discourses we saw in the examples of Chapter Five. I argued that representations of slave memory permitted people to narrate their own experience in relation to that history and to campaign for its inclusion in how broader narratives of South Africa's history and the subsequent construction of a national discourse of race and reconciliation took place. The memory of slavery was used by individuals to reposition the narrative of slavery as central to and not peripheral to the discursive reconstruction of race and reconciliation in post-apartheid nationhood.

The different examples of slave walking tours consulted indicated the degree of interpretation concerning the relevance of slave memory; with examples cited from official tourist narratives (in the form of the City of Cape Town Tourism agency) remaining limited and problematic for perpetuating the position that view slavery as largely relevant to 'Coloured' identity and therefore peripheral to a broader interpretation of the city of Cape Town. Other examples emerged, however, in the forms of representational activity in heritage tourism, which challenged traditional views and offered multiple avenues of interpretation for the relevance and centrality of slave memory. The examples of the Transcending History Walking Tour and the Slave Heritage Walks of Cape Town understood the repositioning of

slavery as relevant to a broad collective of South Africans and as a result, positioned this memory as central and not peripheral - both to the city landscape and for those who occupied it. I suggested that the slave walking tours offered illustrations of ongoing legacies of slavery (of the historical relationships between the colonial settlement and its subjects as impacting contemporary ideas of belonging and inhabiting (Jonker & Till 2009: 323) with the hope that the increased visibility of the contribution and inheritances of this past could produce alternatives for belonging and inhabiting.

In the final examination of Solms-Delta as an example of representational activity that figured slave memory as central to a project of restoration, I found that restoring slave memory inevitably led to the restoration of financial and social benefits.

The memory of slavery thus provided those involved in the estate with access to participate in economic exchanges at Solms-Delta – where the representations of slave history provides economic and other opportunities for those involved in the memory-work.

In Chapter Six I suggested that although the Museum van de Caab had gone to great lengths to demonstrate the multiple ways in which there had been progressive developments in the farm's history, there remained instances in which the narrative took on a problematic redemptive quality. I proposed that this finding needed to be offset by the other positive strategies employed in the museum's deployment of memory, such as the presentation of various voices within the exhibition narrative.

The multiple ways in which slavery, slave history and identity continue to surface in South Africa's social and political legacy was seen as important in this narrative accounting. Museum van de Caab also represented slavery as central to South African history – sobering,

severe, under-acknowledged and in need of continuing response and deep engagement through memory-work.

As such, Museum van de Caab is part of the complex ways in which Solms-Delta could be read as a site of memory. The changes in labour and ownership arrangements on the farm were shown to be another example of how the memory of slavery was used to interrupt and alter how we have come to think about the place and importance of slave history and its legacies in post-apartheid South Africa. As such, the visibility of slave memory interrupts claims often taken for granted, about how it is possible to think, talk and represent ideas of belonging to the post-apartheid nation. Finally I suggested that on Solms-Delta (a site of memory), there exist new progressive attempts at altering the social and economic politics of wine through cooperative ventures and that the memory of slavery was quite central to this work.

In the final section of this dissertation I turned to a global perspective of international studies of slavery and memory that foreground transnational approaches in order to show how contemporary studies of slavery are positioned in more than just historical terms.

Throughout this dissertation I have argued that representations of slavery in post-apartheid South African are tied to a number of present concerns regarding participation and belonging to the production of national discourses of race and reconciliation. It has thus, of necessity, considered slavery as framed not only in historical terms. Positioning and analysing slavery as a contemporary transnational issue that highlights memory, identity and its role in alternative forms of knowledge-production in the post-apartheid context remains necessary in order to consider the layered impact of thinking about South Africa's slave past in the present. I have submitted that, while not specifically transnational in focus, this research

employed many of the methodological approaches that these projects entail and also surfaced power, identity, and a contemporary focus and consideration of the multiple layers of understanding about the possible impact of the visibility of slave memory and history in the post-apartheid period of South Africa.

I have suggested that the consideration of slave memory and representations of slavery in the context of democratic South Africa also requires a reconceptualisation of how national memories are produced and mobilised and how these impulses simultaneously took place in a broader transnational context. The reflection on the significance of a 'politics of location' was situated in relation to the specifics of the social, cultural and historical context of the Western Cape – with reflections about that regional specificity in light of wider discussions about nation and the production of national discourses of race and reconciliation being an important tension in this thesis.

This dissertation has thus shown the complexities of memory-work, which explores the links between individual or group memories and the broader more generalised domains of history, culture and society in post-apartheid South Africa. The particularity of slave memory in this context was the starting point of this project and provided the location for a consideration of the politics of belonging and participation in the discursive formation of race and reconciliation in the post-apartheid nation that suggests that the relationship between slavery and memory in memorial projects in post-apartheid South Africa helps us to explain larger questions about the ongoing political impact of race, nation, identity and their long history within the geographical, social and cultural landscape.

APPENDIX A

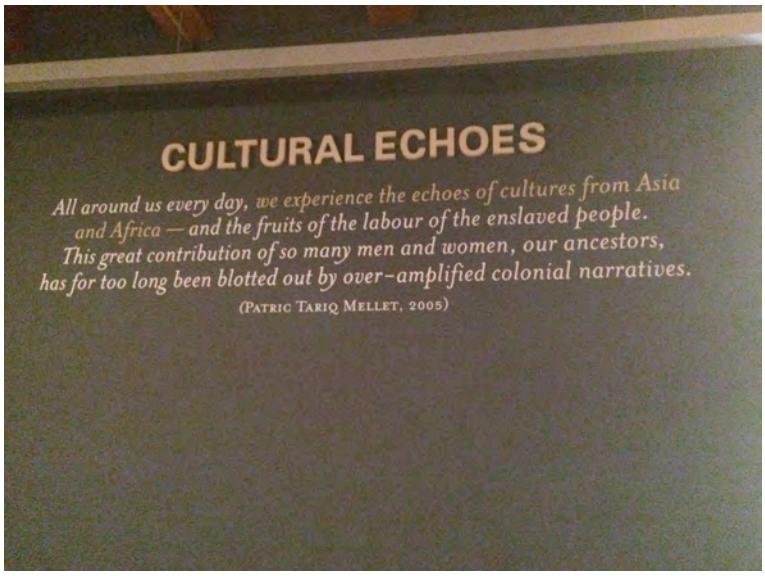


Figure 1 Cultural Echoes - Exhibition Annotation



Figure 2 Cultural Echoes Exhibition Detail



Figure 3 Cultural Echoes Exhibition Detail



Figure 4 Cultural Echoes Exhibition Detail



Figure 5 Cultural Echoes Exhibition Detail



Figure 6 Cultural Echoes Exhibition Detail



Figure 7 Cultural Echoes Exhibition Detail



Figure 8 Cultural Echoes Exhibition Detail



Figure 9 Cultural Echoes Exhibition Detail



Figure 10 Cultural Echoes Exhibition Detail

APPENDIX B



Figure 11 Walking Tour Sites Slave Lodge Parliament Avenue Street View



Figure 12 Walking Tour Sites Old Slave Tree Plaque



Figure 13 Walking Tour Sites Memorial to the Enslaved in Church Square



Figure 14 Walking Tour Sites Women and Girls Mosaic



Figure 15 Walking Tour Sites Krotoa Mosaic Detail



Figure 16 Walking Tour Sites Krotoa Mosaic

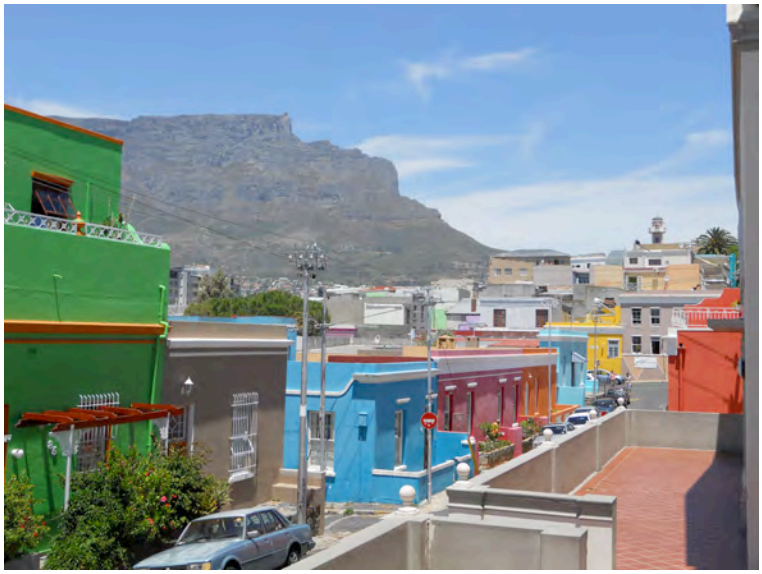


Figure 17 Walking Tour Sites in the Bo-Kaap

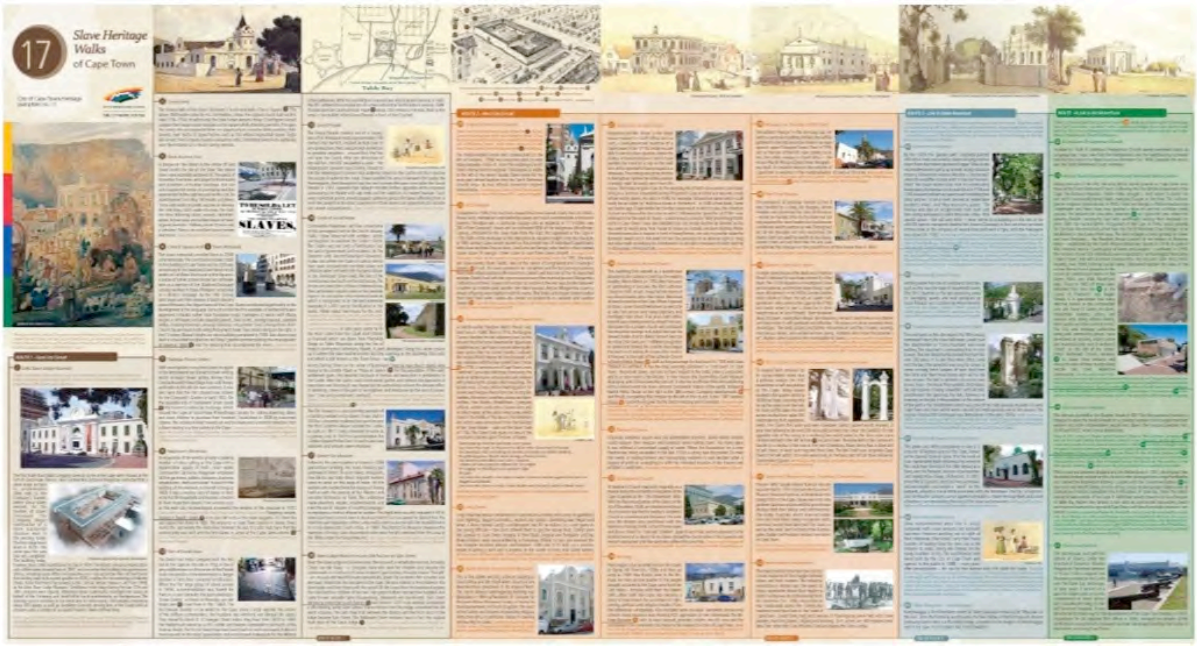


Figure 18 Walking Tour Sites Adderley Street Flower Market

APPENDIX C

Slave Heritage Walks of Cape Town Pamphlet





SLAVERY AT THE CAPE

While few first-hand accounts of the lives of slaves have been handed down to us, significant elements of their varied cultures, along with physical evidence of their labour, ordeals and achievements are to be found infused into the culture and historical fabric of Cape Town and its environs. Indeed, when South Africa is referred to with pride today as the 'rainbow nation' it is good to remember that many of the people of the rainbow nation are descendents of slaves and thus share a common inheritance of displacement, bondage and exploitation. Slavery at the Cape was atypical. Generally slave-owning countries in the 18th and 19th centuries imported captives from East and West Africa. Here at the Cape, however, the more than 63 000 people brought to these shores in bondage between 1653 and 1806 came not only from Africa but also from as far afield as Madagascar, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia and China. This resulted in the Cape having the most culturally and ethnically diverse slave population in the modern history of slavery. Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope, therefore, has had not only a profound influence on the evolution of South African society but forms an important thread in the comparative history of slavery worldwide.

The earliest people at the Cape

The area around Cape Town was inhabited by hunter-gatherers for many thousands of years. Then around 2000 years ago these people were joined by pastoralists, known as the Khoekhoen who migrated here seeking assured sources of water and grazing for their large herds of cattle and sheep. To early callers at the Cape these herders were known collectively as the 'Saldanhars' because it was believed they originated from the area of Saldanha Bay to the north. In fact, they represented a number of distinct clans – the Gorachouqua, the Goringhaiqua and the Goringhaicona. To the Khoekhoen this was *Camissa* – the place of sweet water – in reference to the perennial sources of water which flow from the mountains of the Peninsula.



Khoekhoen family and livestock by unknown 17th century artist (National Library of South Africa: Cape Town)

How slavery developed at the Cape of Good Hope

To ward off the dangers malnutrition posed to the health of crews and thus ships and cargos on the long sea voyage between Europe and the trading centres of the East – the Dutch East India Company (*Verenigde Oost-indische Compagnie*) or VOC, decided to establish a refreshment station at the Cape of Good Hope in 1651. The first Commander, Jan van Riebeeck and his small party of VOC employees arrived at Table Bay on the 6th of April, 1652. In this venture the VOC chose initially to employ contracted wage labourers from Europe rather than slaves as slaves represented a capital cost that the directors were not prepared to incur while the future of the settlement was still uncertain. As this undertaking proved to be far more difficult than first anticipated, the commander repeatedly petitioned the directors for slaves to do the 'dirtiest and heaviest work'. Van Riebeeck even suggested enslaving the local Khoekhoen. The directors, however, insisted that every effort be made to maintain friendly relations and encourage trade – particularly in livestock – on which the success of the settlement so much depended. Whether sanctioned by the VOC or not, slaves began to arrive at the Cape either discovered as stowaways, imported as personal slaves or presented as gifts by the captains of passing ships. The first of these was a young man called Abraham who arrived as a stowaway from Batavia (present day Jakarta, Indonesia) in 1653. Next came Maria van Bengalen, who Van Riebeeck arranged to have sent out from Batavia to work as a personal servant for his family.

Then in May 1654, Van Riebeeck received permission from the VOC authorities to dispatch a small vessel, the *Roode Vos*, to Madagascar for rice and other desperately needed foodstuffs and see whether or not any slaves might be acquired there. While this first attempt proved a failure, a second was made in July of the same year when the galliot, *Tulp*, sailed to Madagascar under the command of Frederick Verburgh. Here Verburgh was able to acquire three individuals – a woman named Eva and two children, one of them her own. A slave from Madagascar called Anthony also appears in the records around this time. Then came a small family consisting of Domingo and Angela from Bengal and their three children. Two Arab girls aged 10 and 12 (who came to be known as Cornelia and Lijsbeth) also arrived – presented as personal slaves to Maria van Riebeeck by the French Admiral De La Roche St Andre when he visited the Cape in March 1657. They were later claimed by the VOC and became Company slaves.

The first free burghers

The Cape settlement was not an immediate success, particularly with attempts to establish a grain supply. Van Riebeeck proposed to address agricultural and stock shortages by encouraging individuals to leave the Company's employ, accept grants of land along the valley of the Liesbeek river and take up farming. As a further incentive, the VOC also took action to provide slave labour for both the Company and these first 'free burghers'.

The origin of Cape slaves

The year 1658 saw the arrival of slaves in increasing numbers and the beginnings of an extended system of slave ownership at the Cape. In March the *Amersfoort* arrived from the Netherlands having captured a Portuguese slaver off the coast of Angola, bound for Brazil. Of the 500 slaves aboard, the Dutch took off 250 of the most 'promising individuals'. Only 174 survived this ordeal to reach the Cape and from where the greater number were sent on to Batavia. Some 75, mostly children, remained here. Of these, 43 were set to work in the fields and gardens or were assigned to various Company officials. Van Riebeeck in his journal entry of March 28th, 1658, bemoaned the fact that, 'the majority of the slaves are young boys and girls who will be of little use for the next four of five years'.



Slave at the Cape working as his master looks on (Iziko Slave Lodge Museum)

A few weeks later, on the 6th of May, the *Hasselt* arrived from Guinea in West Africa with 228 slaves surviving out of an original number of 271. Van Riebeeck would later describe them as 'very good-looking, strong and cheerful people'. From this group 80 were sent on to Batavia while the rest were sold to individuals at the Cape. In fact, this had been a secret poaching operation ordered by the VOC into the exclusive trading area of its sister company, the Dutch West India Company, which jealously guarded its trading interests. It also explains why, apart from isolated cases, slaves that arrived at the Cape after this time came from areas east of the Cape of Good Hope and generally in one of three ways.

1. Company-sponsored slave expeditions

The general policy of the VOC was to not purchase slaves from middlemen. Instead the Company preferred to arrange its own slaving expeditions and then profit from the sell of any captives in excess of its needs. Between Van Riebeeck's first exploratory mission in 1654 and the last in 1786, no less than 39 slaving expeditions were sent out from the Cape. The majority of these went to Madagascar. An example is the *Leidsman*, which was dispatched to Madagascar after 200 Company slaves succumbed to the smallpox epidemic of 1713. This expedition was regarded as particularly successful in that a greater proportion of men over women (136 to 43) was obtained.



Arrival of the slaver Leidsman, St Augustine Bay, Madagascar, 1715. From the original journal. (Cape Archives)

In 1724, the Dutch even attempted to establish a slaving outpost, Fort Lydsaamheit, at present-day Maputo. This resulted in such a high loss of life among Company employees deployed there and supplied such a disappointingly low number of slaves (280), that it was abandoned less than ten years later. After this, slaving missions resumed to the west coast of Madagascar, particularly the northwest port of Mazalagem Nova at Boina Bay and also slave ports along the east African coast from Mozambique to Zanzibar during the final years of Company-sponsored voyages (1776-86).

2. VOC fleets returning to Europe

Slaves also came to the Cape aboard VOC ships returning to Europe. From many far-flung outposts of the VOC these ships would gather each year at Batavia and Galle in Ceylon. From these gathering points they would then sail in the safety of convoy to the Cape. Returning aboard were Company officials and ships' officers who often took slaves to serve them on the voyage. Mindful that slavery was not allowed in Holland these owners expected to sell their slaves at the Cape where it was known they could command a high price.

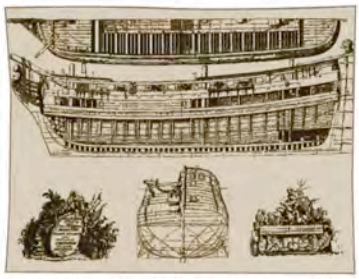
3. Foreign ships

There were also foreign ships engaged in the slave trade which regularly called at the Cape. While greater returns could be realized in the slave markets of the Americas, the captains of such ships often chose to sell their human cargoes here rather than risk the losses that could be expected on the lengthy Atlantic crossing. Mostly these slaves came from east Africa and Madagascar in the later years of the 18th century until 1808 when the oceanic slave trade was abolished throughout the British Empire.

The end result of these influences is that of the people brought in bondage to the Cape some 26% originated from regions of Africa, a further 26% came from the Indian subcontinent, 23% from the many islands of Indonesia and the East Indies and 25% from Madagascar alone.

Conditions on a slave ship: trauma of sea passage

Following their capture, slaves usually had to endure an arduous trek in chains to coastal slaving fortresses. Survivors were then likely to be forced into the dark holds of ships under the most inhumane and crowded conditions imaginable. It was not uncommon for a quarter of their number to die *en route* or soon after arrival, from weakness or illnesses contracted aboard ship. Captives, however, did not always resign themselves to this fate and where possible, attempted to claim back their freedom. In 1766, the slave lodge ship *Meermin* was returning to the Cape from Madagascar when the 140 intended slaves aboard managed to escape and take over the ship. In this uprising 30 out of the crew of 66 were killed. The Meermin then ran aground and was wrecked off Cape Agulhas. In the end 112 captives survived and upon recapture, were sent on to Cape Town to begin their lives in bondage far from the families, homes, language and customs they once knew.



The 450-ton 'hoeker' Meermin, built in 1759 and which was afterwards fitted out and employed at the Cape by the VOC as a slave ship. (Iziko Maritime Museum)

The work and life of slaves

From the 1650s to the 1830s the Cape was a slave-owning society. Early Cape Town can be said to have been built with slave labour. Very few records exist from which a clear picture of the lives of slaves can be drawn. Enough is known to conclude that slaves were the backbone of the early economy at the Cape and provided not only labour but also their skills as artisans. But whether artisan or labourer, slaves could not escape the reality of their subservient status and the ways their lives, personal aspirations and happiness remained subject to the whims of their masters.



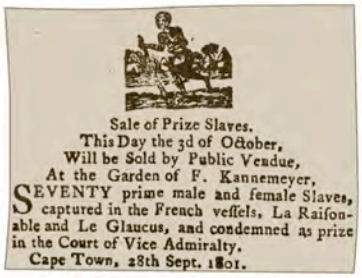
Household slave, believed to be August von Benzler, holding pipe while his owner, Hendrik Cloete of Groot Constantia, plays cards, c.1780. (Swellengrebel Collection, Hilversum)

Inhumane lodging

Company slaves were housed in the slave lodge alongside convicts, political prisoners, and even 'lunatics'. The eyewitness reports that exist describe conditions inside as overcrowded, foul and neglected. As for privately owned slaves – females engaged in domestic chores generally slept indoors in the kitchen while males were housed in outbuildings and often locked up at night to guard against escape or possible reprisal against their owners.

Slave owners

Throughout the VOC period there were essentially two categories of slave owners – the Company and private individuals. The latter included Company officials, free burghers, and also a group known as *vrije swarten* 'free blacks'. The number of slaves owned by free burghers surpassed those owned by the Company by 1690 – to more than ten to one by 1750 and over 30 to one by the end of Company rule in 1795.



Slave auction notice which appeared in the Cape of Good Hope Gazette, 3 October 1801. (National Library of South Africa: Cape Town)

Slaves were traded or sold as any other property might be. These 'sales' can be compared to livestock auctions where buyers could check the fitness, strength and general value of the 'goods'. Many Company officials came to own personal slaves to serve in their households and although not technically allowed – to provide the labour required on private farms and other enterprises they engaged in on the side. These

slaves were generally not reported in censuses to keep the Company from learning of such private trading and dealings. Often slave artisans were hired out by their owners as a means of recouping the cost of purchase and their continued maintenance. In many instances slave women became concubines of their owners or were coerced into prostitution. Children from such forced unions became the property of the slave's owner even if their fathers were free men. It should also be noted that there was a growing number of 'free blacks' consisting of slaves who had in one way or another been manumitted by their owners or won their freedom through a meritorious act. One such ex-slave, Catharina Anthonis van Bengal, was the first to gain freedom in 1656, when she married Jan Woutersz, a VOC employee. Free blacks also came to include political exiles banned to the Cape by the VOC and convicts or *bandieten* who, having served out their time, chose to remain here. Many became extremely successful in business and in turn, some came to own slaves themselves.

Although technically 'free', such free blacks were subjected to an increasing degree of discrimination. With their own first-hand experience of slavery they could strongly identify with those still in bondage, even assisting at times with acts of resistance.

Loss of identity: 'slave names'

Slaves owned by the VOC often retained versions of their real names (Sao Balla, Revotes, Kehang, Indebet, Chemehaijre) while privately owned slaves were more likely to be given new names and consequently lost this connection to the people from whom they were taken. Some were given names after the place of their capture (van Bengalen, van Batavia, van Ceylon, van Balij, van Mallabar, van Macassar), their place of birth (van de West Kus, van de Caab), figures in classical mythology (Cupido, Mars), biblical names (Herodus, Salomon) or names as arbitrary as the months of the year (February, October, September).

Labour: the 'dirtiest and heaviest work'

The settlement relied on slave labour in virtually every aspect of life, both public and private. Slaves did the 'dirtiest and heaviest work' called for on virtually all of the public works – digging canals, building fortifications and working the harbour. Slaves served as woodcutters and water carriers, bricklayers and lime-burners, masons and carpenters, fishermen and vegetable hawkers, porters and street sweepers. They were grooms and coachmen, butlers and valets, musicians, cooks, furniture makers, tailors, and builders – a rich tapestry of abilities and skills. In the farmlands far from authorities and any threat of reprimand – owners could demand long gruelling days in the fields and vineyards and inflict terrible punishments for resistance or indolence. Slave women were mostly employed as domestic workers: cooks, cleaners, nurses, wet-nurses and washerwomen.



Washerwomen, watercolour by De Meillon, c. 1830 (Brenthurst Press)

Slaves' religious practice denied

The Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) was the only religion recognised by the VOC and while accepting its duty to spread the message of Christianity to freemen and slaves alike, ran into a contradictory situation. The Dutch Reformed Synod of Dordt sat in the Netherlands in 1618 and addressed the question of rights bestowed on slaves through baptism. In 1621, the Synod declared that 'Baptized slaves should enjoy equal right of liberty with other Christians and ought never to be handed over again to the power of heathens by their Christian Masters either by sale or any other transfer of possession'. The hope of obtaining their freedom, if baptised, was an obvious incentive for slaves to become Christians. At the same time, however, it worked against them as slave owners were little encouraged to allow religious instruction if it could lead to possible manumission and thus the loss of their slaves. As far as slaves owned by the VOC – a provision was at least made by visiting Commissioner van Rheede in 1685 that children of Company slaves and white fathers be allowed to purchase their freedom after reaching adulthood, provided they were confirmed in the DRC and could speak Dutch.



Islamic school or madrasah at the Cape, early 1800s. (National Library of South Africa: Cape Town)

Many slaves denied access to Christianity turned to Islam and were welcomed as converts. As early as 1694 political exiles under the leadership of Sheikh Yusef arrived at the Cape. Among the entourage of Sheikh Yusef were 12 Imams. Taking the many opportunities exile provided these revered religious leaders to profess their faith led to Islam being accepted by an estimated one third of the slaves at the Cape by the time of emancipation in 1834.

Slaves and the missionary societies

Missionary work in South Africa began with the Moravian Missionary Society in 1737 at Baviaanskloof (now called Genadendal) near Caledon, with displaced and homeless Khoekhoen. They were followed by others including the London Missionary Society (1795) and Netherlands Missionary Society (1797) which, inspired by the Evangelical movement, began the South African Missionary Society in 1799 for the purposes of converting the homeless to the Christian faith. The rise of the Evangelical Philanthropic Movement in England carried with it widespread revulsion for the continuing practice of slavery and finally resulted in the abolition of the oceanic slave trade in 1807. British authorities supported the work of missionary societies through grants of lands. Lord Charles Somerset, for example, granted the Groenekloof north of Cape Town to the Moravian Church as the site for a mission station in 1806 (known today as Mamre). With the full emancipation of the slaves in 1838, many slaves with no means of supporting themselves settled at mission stations.



A slave woman, believed to be nursing her mistress's child, while her own baby sits by, c. 1798. (Letters of Lady Anne Barnard)

Struggle for liberty

Resistance, uprising and escape for some

By the early 19th century slaves outnumbered free people at the Cape and fear of a possible slave uprising was pervasive. Any sign of insurrection was met with a swift and forceful response. Slaves nonetheless resisted their situation in both passive and violent ways. Some passive means included working slowly, playing dumb and engaging in petty theft. More overt ways included damage to property (often through arson), organised stealing, assault, poisoning, murder, suicide, and even armed revolt. In 1808 Louis van Mauritius and Abraham van de Caap led over 320 followers in a revolt and marched as far as Salt River before being turned back by the local militia. The ringleaders were captured and executed.

Some slaves formed runaway or *droster* communities hiding out in groups on Table Mountain and other isolated parts of the Cape Peninsula and surrounding hinterland. One group led by Leander van Bourgies escaped to Cape Hangklip in 1725 and gathered a following that grew to as many as 60 individuals. This group remained in existence until the emancipation of the slaves in 1834 by raiding surrounding farms, hunting and gathering and trading with slaves, free blacks and renegades. Many slaves escaped as far north as they could, moving beyond the reach of the local militia.

Crime and punishment

In response to slave resistance owners and the authorities employed both physical and psychological measures to preserve the master/slave relationship. The Company had the power of life and death over slaves. Close to the Castle was the place of execution originally called the *Justitie Plaats* (corner of Darling and Buitenkant Street) where brutal punishment was meted out. In the early days the customary penalty for what can be termed 'minor acts of defiance', was scourging. Slaves who absconded were commonly flogged and branded on one cheek. A second attempt at escape brought with it a flogging and branding on the other cheek, while a third could result in the nose and/or ears of the slave being lopped off. Hapless individuals maimed in this way became so common in later years that the authorities confined punishment to flogging and branding on the back. This was not out of concern for the slaves but 'in considering the abominableness… to those who see these mutilated persons'. Between 1680 and 1795 an average of one slave per month was publicly executed - often by being broken on the wheel, impaled, disembowelled or burnt at the stake for arson. The remains of those executed were left on display as a warning to others. At the beginning of the British occupation of the Cape in 1795, even the battle-hardened, Major-General Craig questioned the local Burgher Council over the greater severity of the punishments imposed on slaves over freemen and the use of torture in cases demanding the death penalty. To this the Council replied:



The Cape Hangman as sketched by Lady Anne Barnard, c. 1798. (Letters of Lady Anne Barnard)

'Experience has taught that gentle means are inadequate, even amongst free persons, to maintain law and order… consequently altho' strongly actuated by motives of humanity, and viewing the slave in the most favourable light, it becomes necessary to adopt severe measures to deter them from revolting against their masters and taking advantage of their superior strength'.

The following year, Governor Lord Macartney abolished the use of torture as part of the justice system at the Cape.

Emancipation

By 1806 the debate over the future of slavery in the British Empire was turning in favour of abolition. The oceanic slave trade was outlawed in 1807 (came into force in 1808) although in reality it was hard to implement such a decision. With British control over the Cape in 1806 also came ownership of the Company slaves and the decision on the part of the British colonial authority to divest itself of this responsibility in 1807. The remaining fit and young slaves were sold off while the old and infirm were retired to a new residence near the top of the Company's Garden.

At midnight on the 1st of December 1834, the Cape celebrated the formal end of slavery with church services including vigils held by slaves. Bonfires were lit on Table Mountain.

Slaves owners made predictions about anarchy and lawlessness. This never occurred and the slave population celebrated with religious ceremonies and went back to work as indentured apprentices. Celebrations and processions on New Year's Day each year still commemorate this legacy.



Ex-slave Katie Jacobs pictured here with some of her descendants in 1910. In her 96th year she could still recall events surrounding her manumission in 1834 (National Library of South Africa: Cape Town)

Tracing roots

The nearly two centuries of slavery at the Cape has often been referred to as the unwritten chapter in South African history. Many Capetonians, particularly of slave and indigenous ancestry, are striving to have this aspect of our history recognised and thus create a better understanding of how slavery influenced the development of South African society.



Picture taken in Elgin of this ex-slave, Jan Present, from Mozambique when reported to be 120 years old. (Cape Times: 21 April 1916)

The UNESCO Slave Route Project seeks to better research and understand the nature and impact of slavery as a worldwide historic phenomenon. Cape Town's slave history is not only an important element of this story but has a unique contribution to make to this important global initiative.



Watercolour by De Meillon, c. 1830. (Brenthurst Press)


ATLANTIC OCEAN
N
BEACH
GRANGER BAY
VICTORIA & ALFRED WATERFRONT
Cape Town Stadium
GREEN POINT COMMON
SOMERSET HOSPITAL
WESTERN BOULEVARD
MAIN
PORTSWOOD
Nelson Mandela Gateway Clock Tower Precinct
DUNCAN DOCK
MAS
HIGH LEVEL
SOMERSET
SIGNAL HILL
Noon Gun
Cape Town International Convention Centre
BREE
LOOP
LONG
HEERENGRACHT
HERTZOG
STRAND
ADDERLEY
Cape Town Station
WALE
BUITENGRACHT
DARLING
Grand Parade
Castle of Good Hope
Iziko Slave Lodge Museum
Company's Garden
PLEIN
BUITENKANT
BUITENSINGEL
Iziko S.A. Museum
KLOOF NEK
KLOOF
Mount Nelson Hotel
ORANGE
MILL
Hot Street Reservoirs
De Waal Park
Molteno Reservoir
TABLE MOUNTAIN NATIONAL PARK
Lower Cableway Station
Access and safety
Parking
1) Clock Tower Precinct/ V&A Waterfront
2) Next to St Andrews Church (Corner of Waterkant and Buitengracht)
3) Castle of Good Hope (off Darling Street)
4) Hof/Corrie Street, (off Orange and just below the Hof St. Reservoirs)
5) Lower Cableway Station
Toilets and refreshments
1) Clock Tower Precinct/ V&A Waterfront
2) Next to St Andrews Church (Corner of Waterkant and Buitengracht)
3) Martin Melck House/Gold Museum
4) Castle of Good Hope
5) District Six Museum
6) Old Townhouse (Greenmarket Square)
7) Company's Garden
8) Lower Cableway Station
General security and telephones
While most of the city is monitored by CCTV cameras as well as regular foot, bicycle and horse patrols, it is wise to take the usual precautions.
In the event of an emergency public telephones can be found at:
1) Clock Tower Precinct/ V&A Waterfront
2) Golden Acre
3) Company's Garden
4) Lower Cableway Station
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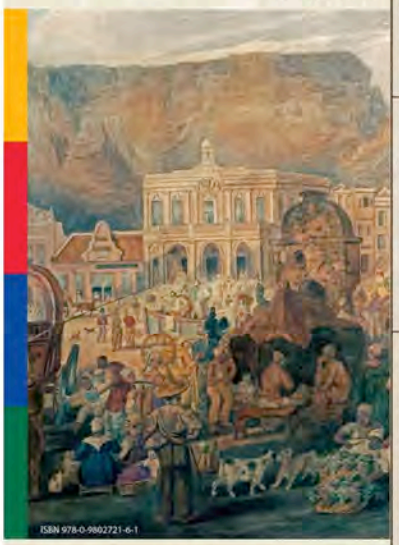
17 Slave Heritage Walks of Cape Town

City of Cape Town Heritage pamphlet no. 17

THIS CITY WORKS FOR YOU



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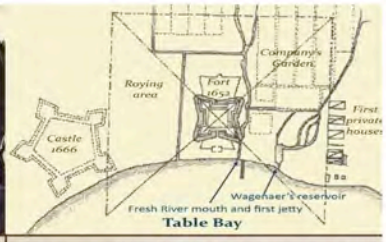
The four walking trails of this guide trace the history of slavery in Cape Town from where the first slaves set foot upon these shores, to where they lived, the sufferings they endured and profound contributions they made to the building of Cape Town and the unique culture of the Western Cape.





ROUTE 1 – East City Circuit

1 Iziko Slave Lodge Museum

There is no better place to begin our slave walk than at the site of the Dutch East India Company's slave lodge which, at the corner of Adderley and Wale Streets, now houses the Iziko Slave Lodge Museum.



The first Dutch East India Company slaves to arrive at the Cape were housed at the Fort of Good Hope. Then in 1663 Commander Zacharias Wagenaer instructed that a slave lodge be built to accommodate them next to the Company's Garden, where many slaves worked. As the number of slaves increased the Company began construction of a more substantial structure next to the existing lodge. The first lodge burnt down in 1679 – the same year the new one was completed. The building today, however, bears little resemblance to that of 1679. The British colonial administration sold all the slaves housed here in 1807, and converted the building into government offices, including a post office and supreme court. City authorities then set the front of the building back to its current position in 1926, to allow for the widening of Adderley Street. Since this time it has served as the Cultural History Museum and from 1998, as the Iziko Slave Lodge Museum. Conditions in the lodge during the late 17th and 18th centuries were squalid. *Mandoors* (local supervisors) managed the slaves on behalf of the Company and could inflict harsh punishments on transgressors. The building had no windows to the street and at times nearly 1000 people, comprising about 600 slaves, as well as *bandieten* (convicts serving time at the Cape) political prisoners and a number of so-called 'lunatics' were confined here.



1798 Slave Lodge by Peter Laponser. Iziko Museum

When you leave the Lodge, turn left and left again into Parliament Lane (between the lodge and the Houses of Parliament). Proceed to the end of the Lodge. Turn left into Parliament Street and continue across Spin Street to the Groote Kerk.

2 Groote Kerk

The Groote Kerk of the Dutch Reformed Church overlooks Church Square 4. The above 1830 water colour by H.C. De Meillon, shows the original church built on this site (1700–1704) of which only the clock tower remains today. Churchgoers would *outspan* their wagons and carriages on the square while attending services. This gave the slaves who accompanied them an opportunity to socialise while awaiting their owners. Ever fearful of opportunities such as this where disgruntled slaves might plot unrest, the Company issued a *plakaat* or edict, forbidding slaves from gathering near the entrance of a church during services.

3 Slave Auction Tree




TO BE SOLD & LET
BY PUBLIC AUCTION,
On MONDAY the 18th of MAY, 1829,
THE THREE FOLLOWING
SLAVES,

A plaque on the island in the centre of Spin Street marks the site of the Slave Tree where slaves were reputedly auctioned off. Thousands of kilometres from home and subject to the brutality and privations of human bondage, one can only imagine the sense of uncertainty and fear experienced by the captives sold on this site. An advertisement from May 1829 reads as follows: *'To be sold and let by public auction on Monday the 18th May, 1829, under the trees. For Sale, the three following slaves, namely, Hannibal, about 30 years old, an excellent house servant, of good character. William, about 35 years old, a labourer. Nancy, an excellent house servant and nurse.'* Cross the road to Church Square.

4 Church Square and 5 Slave Memorial



The slave memorial unveiled here in 2008 commemorates the contribution slaves made to the building of Cape Town and the 200 year anniversary of the Swartland Slave Revolt which ended at Salt River. Also found on the Square is a statue of former prime minister Jan Hofmeyer, who as a member of the *Taalbond* (language society) worked to have Afrikaans recognised as a distinct language. By the 19th century both slaves and their owners of Dutch descent spoke Afrikaans, the *lingua franca* of the Cape. Slaves contributed significantly to the development of the language. So much so that the first examples of written Afrikaans appeared in Arabic rather than European script. Examples of words with Malay origins in Afrikaans include *baadjie* (jacket), *baie* (a lot), *piering* (saucer), *sjambok* (whip), *blatjang* (chutney), *piesang* (banana), and *pondok* (hut), among others. From Church Square head north along Parliament Street. Two blocks along on the right, is the 13-storey Mutual Heights art-deco building completed in 1939. Just above shop level is a bas-relief sculpted on red 'Parys' granite commemorating the emancipation of slaves in 1834 6 and the rejoicing that accompanied this event. *Cross into the pedestrian mall further along Parliament Street and you will pass the Trafalgar flower sellers.*

7 Trafalgar Flower Sellers



With emancipation, many freed slaves struggled to find employment and turned to street vending which included flower selling. Women from Constantia and Protea Village have sold flowers and herbs on this site for over a century. It was also here that the first ground was broken for the Company's Garden in April 1652. On the opposite side of Parliament Street stood 8 the former Commercial Exchange, which housed the Cape of Good Hope Philanthropic Society for 'aiding deserving slaves and slave children to purchase their freedom'. Established in 1828 by concerned citizens, this society worked towards an end to slavery and a smooth transition from a slave-owning to a free society at the Cape. *Continue to the end of Parliament Street until the Golden Acre shopping centre. As you enter the building descend the flight of steps to Level 2 and continue forward and around the corner to your right, to the site of Wagenaer's Reservoir.*

9 Wagenaer's Reservoir



Diorama of early settlement

In recognition of the need to provide a growing number of ships calling at the Cape with a dependable supply of fresh, clean water, Commander Zacharias Wagenaer employed 'all the gardeners, soldiers, labourers, boatmen, arquebusiers, clerks and slaves' to assist in the building of this reservoir on the 6th of August, 1663. It was a routine duty of slaves to fetch water for the households and business concerns of their respective owners from sources such as this each day. Archaeologists uncovered the remains of this structure in 1975. *Our walk now continues to the Plein Street east of the Golden Acre.* Stepping outside, Strand or 'Beach' Street 10 is to your left and as the name suggests, it is here the sea lapped the shore in 1663. The entrance to Cape Town station in Strand Street marks the spot where the Fresh River entered the sea. It is also near here that the earliest jetty was built and the first slaves to arrive at the Cape, came ashore. 11 *Cross Plein Street to the grey cobblestone paving on the northwest (nearest) corner of the Grand Parade.*

12 Fort of Good Hope



The Dutch East India Company built the first fort at the Cape on this site in 1652. A line of grey cobblestones on this corner of the Parade marks the position of the westernmost or Reijger bastion of this four cornered fortification. When the first large group of slaves arrived in 1658, accommodation was found for them in a room beneath the grain storeroom. 'Groot Catrijn', a friend of Armosijn van der Kaap (see 18) lived here in the 1660s. The first female *bandiet* to be exiled to the Cape, Groot Catrijn washed the clothes of the military commanders. Her husband was Anthonij van Bengal (de Later). They moved to block D, St Georges Street where they lived from 1673 to 1683. Her freeborn son served as a VOC soldier and became *stamvader* or patriarch, of the Snijman family. The Fort of Good Hope was hastily built of earth and wood. It did not stand up well to the rainy Cape winters and soon proved inadequate for the defence of the settlement. With the possibility of a second war with England looming in 1665, the VOC ordered the construction of a more substantial fortification in January 1666. This became the Castle of Good Hope 13 about 200 metres to the east. Walk to the trees in the middle of the Grand Parade in front of the City Hall.

13 Grand Parade



Steam etching scene. De Meillon c.1830

The Grand Parade evolved out of a 'roying' area of 50 Rhineland roods (approximately 190 metres) that the VOC insisted be kept clear of any obstructions that could provide protection to possible attackers - around first the Fort and later the Castle. After the demolition of the old Fort, the VOC excavated a canal – the Keizergracht (present-day Darling Street) to link the Heerengracht (present-day Adderley Street) to the Castle and thus improve the supply of water to the moat. Slaves levelled the area in between the Castle, the Heerengracht, the Keizergracht and the sea to create the space now called the Grand Parade. In 1761, Governor Ryk Tulbagh initiated further upgrades which proposed surrounding the Parade with oak trees and the addition of a water fountain. Such water collection points proved popular gathering places for slaves affording them a brief time away from the direct supervision of their owners and opportunity to socialise and renew acquaintances. *Carry on across the Parade to the Castle of Good Hope.*

14 Castle of Good Hope



Castle entrance



Kat balcony



The Leerdam bastion and footpath

Commander Wagenaer laid the cornerstone of this pentagonal fort on the 2nd of January, 1666. Slaves laboured with soldiers, sailors and burghers to complete the Castle in 1679. The Castle was not only a fortification but the seat of government and residence for the Governor and *Secund* (Assistant Governor). It was also where the Court of Justice met to hear cases. Accused and convicted slaves and criminals were confined in the dungeon known as the *Donkergat* (Dark hole). The fate of the convicted was read out from the Kat balcony. The torture and execution of those condemned was then performed in public view on the Leerdam bastion. You can explore this renowned landmark which is recognised to be the best-preserved example of a VOC-period fortification in the world. Allow about two hours for the visit. *Leaving the Castle gate, turn left and follow the outer wall around the Leerdam bastion to the parking area and then on to the moat bridge over Darling Street.* In later years water to fill the moat came from the Capel *sluit* (stream or channel) which ran down from Platteklip Gorge on Table Mountain along the line of today's Harrington/Canterbury Streets. A path developed along this water course up to where the slave washerwomen did their washing at the *platteklip* (flat rock) and which is still known as the Slave Route – see 40.

Across Darling Street on the corner of Buitenkant Street (a new church stands here today) is the *Justitie Plaats* or 'Place of Justice' 15. As the population of the early settlement grew, this became the place of torture and execution in preference to the Castle. Here the public could more easily gather and witness the spectacle of executions and thereby (it was hoped by the authorities) achieve the desired effect of deterring crime on the part of wrongdoers and resistance on the part of slaves. (see 'Crime and punishment' overleaf). *From the moat bridge, turn right into Darling Street. Cross Darling Street at the Buitenkant intersection lights. Walk up Buitenkant Street, past the Old Granary 16 to the District Six Museum on the corner of Albertus Street.*

The Old Granary is a rare surviving example of a building worked on by slaves. It was built in 1814 as a domestic residence but soon became the first Customs House outside the Castle. As early as 1817 it was converted to serve as a granary and in 1824 to accommodate the Caledon Square Police Court. In each case slave labourers and artisans were employed.



17 District Six Museum



Following the emancipation of slaves in 1838 speculative building and mass housing got underway in District Six as ex-slaves, immigrants, free-blacks and later black migrant workers came to settle on this edge of town. For the workers who settled here, the legacy of slavery lived on with the passing of the Masters and Servants Ordinance in 1838. This ordinance made desertion, neglect, insubordination and even the use of 'abusive or insulting language' to employers a criminal offence for workers. This legislation was only repealed in 1974, when Apartheid controls were in place and District Six was poised for destruction. The mind-set such legislation reflects only really came to an end with the establishment of a truly democratic South Africa, in 1994. The District Six Museum preserves the memories of many slave descendants who were forcibly removed from this area in the 1960s under the Group Areas Act. *Turn right into Albertus Street for one block and then take a quick right and left into Mostert Street. After crossing Plein Street, Mostert becomes Spin Street which in turn, becomes Buiteu Street.*

18 Slave Lodge Matron's House, Silk Factory on Spin Street

Near the Slave Lodge and Gardens was the house of a remarkable woman, Armosijn Claasz van der Kaap – a Company slave who won her freedom and became the *stammoeder* or matriarch of some eminent Cape families. Armosijn means 'fine silk' – an unusual and beautiful name presumably 'given' by an owner. Her surname 'van der Kaap' shows that she was born at the Cape. She was matron to the children in the slave lodge and lived there until the age of 38. We know from the baptismal register that she had four children of her own. Her grandchildren married free burghers and came to own valuable farms (Raapenburg, Liesbeeck and Koornhoop). Spin Street derives its name from a silk factory 19 built here in 1727 in an attempt to establish a silk industry, using slave labour. Slave children from the lodge unravelled the silk worm cocoons. The path they trod between the factory and the front door of the lodge became Spin Street. The Parliament Street entrance was in fact the original front door of the Slave Lodge 1. *From Spin Street our walk continues straight on into Buiteu and down left on Adderley – to the Slave Lodge Museum entrance. Route 1 ends.*

END OF ROUTE 1



Artist's impression of the slave lodge precinct during the 17th century. A Silk Factory, B Slave Auction Tree, C Lodge Matron's House, D Church Square, E Spin Street, F Slave Lodge, G Company's Garden, H Groote Kerk, I Grave Yard, J Heerengracht and K Company's Hospital



Greenmarket Square, c.1830, by De Meillon



Riebeeck Square and St Stephens Church, c.1830, by De Meillon

ROUTE 2 – West City Circuit

20 Original Groote Kerk Steeple

Start from the Iziko Slave Lodge Museum (1). As you leave the Lodge turn right into Adderley Street. Cross the intersection at Bureau Street and left to the opposite side of Adderley Street – walk down and turn first left into Church Street. Note the Groote Kerk (2) behind you.



The thatch-roofed Groote Kerk (consecrated on the 6th of January, 1704) was reconstructed as seen today between 1836-41. From the Adderley/Church Street intersection the original 1704 steeple is visible to the left of the newer façade. Slaves were for the most part denied baptism into the Dutch Reformed Church since, by law, official conversion implied manumission. *Continue up Church (Kerk) Street which crosses over the site of the former VOC–period hospital.*

21 VOC Hospital

Completed in 1699, this cruciform-shaped structure covered nearly two city blocks. It was built, maintained and staffed by slaves and could accommodate a thousand patients. Smallpox was a particular scourge and an epidemic in 1713 killed over 200 of the Company's slaves and an estimated 90% of the indigenous Khoekhoen. Leprosy, attributed to the slave trade from the East, first appeared at the Cape in 1756. Wills of the deceased at this time provide valuable insights into the character of 18th century Cape society as well as the private lives of individual Capetonians, both slave and free. One ex-slave, Carel Jans van Bengal, who lived in a four-roomed house above St George's Street came to own three slaves himself. *Turn right into St George's Mall, to the corner of Longmarket (Langmark) Street.* In 1791, the tailor and slave-owner, Adam Siedel, lived at the corner of Longmarket and St George's Streets. (22) In all, 16 slaves worked in his household and for his tailoring business. Many held skilled positions. We know from Siedel's will that one of the 16 slaves had epilepsy. Siedel lived with the *vrye vrouwspersoon* (free married person) Margaretha Catharina and their 13-year old son but his estate in the end was divided between a further six children and another free black woman, Regina Margaretha Louvens, whose offspring were baptised with his name. The family sold draper's merchandise from their front room. Siedel also rented out properties in Leeuwen and Keerom Streets (39). *Turn left into Longmarket Street. One block away is Greenmarket Square. The Old Town House is on your left.*

23 Greenmarket Square and Old Town House



A thatch-roofed 'Burgher Watch House' was built here in 1696. Then in 1710, the Burgher Council decided to add adjoining land to this site and thus the future Greenmarket Square was established as Cape Town's second oldest public open space after the Grand Parade. Gradually the original Watch House fell into disrepair and was replaced with the flat-roofed Town House (24) in 1756. It remains one of Cape Town's most cherished Cape-style buildings showcasing the work of skilled slave artisans who are credited with producing the plaster relief mouldings. The square was a busy central meeting place for farmers and wagon-drivers from the countryside, hawkers, fishermen, travellers, slaves and slave-holders, free blacks, Khoekhoen, Company officials, soldiers and sailors. Slaves were sent to collect water at the public water pump which stood in the middle of the square. Proclamations and edicts were announced from the balcony of the Town House – such as the Slave Code of 1756. The Slave Code gives an idea of the constraints placed upon the lives of slaves:



De Meillon c.1830

Slaves must go barefoot and must carry passes.
Any slave who stops in the street to talk to other slaves may be beaten.
No meeting in bars, no buying of alcohol, no groups on public holidays.
No gathering near church doors during a church service.
Any slave out after dark must carry a lantern.
Curfew: all slaves must be indoors by 10 at night.
No singing or whistling or any noise at night.
No guns.
Any slave who insults a free man or makes a false accusation against him must be flogged and chained.
Any slave who dares to strike a slave-holder must be put to death without mercy.

Walk diagonally across the Square and go left one block along Shortmarket Street (Kortmark) to Long Street.

25 Long Street

Long Street became an underworld of slave leisure activities with access to gambling, cock fighting, *dagga* (cannabis), alcohol and opium. Gambling was illegal and when a slave named Catrijn van Bengalen lost 80 rix-dollars in a card game to two young officials – the court ordered them to pay the money back. Catrijn does not appear to have been charged. A free black, Angela van Bengalen and her three children were manumitted by a Company official. In turn she married the free burgher Arnoldus Basson and between 1680 and 1720 built up a wealthy estate including a farm and a property at the corner of Long and Castle Streets. *At the corner of Shortmarket and Long Street, cross to the opposite (north) side of Long and turn right. Walk two blocks to the South African Slave Church on your left.*

26 South African Slave Church Museum



This is the oldest existing mission building in South Africa and the third oldest church of any denomination preserved in its original form. This South African Sendinggestig building was dedicated in 1804 by Reverend J.P. Surrurier for the South African Missionary Society or Society for the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom. The work of the Society was focused on providing religious instruction and, in particular, classes in spelling and reading for slaves. *Continue along Long Street to the corner of Long and Strand and turn right where you will find the Koopmans-de Wet House.*

27 Koopmans-de Wet House



Koopmans-de Wet House is the oldest house-museum in South Africa and as such, a well-preserved example of a Cape house of the 1770s. Inside you are able to see the slave quarters above the stables. A household slave is said to have painted the mural of a ship on the wall here and is reported to have escaped as a stowaway. The coming and going of ships in the harbour (where the railway station is today) could be easily seen from this house. The museum gives clues to the everyday life of both slave owners and slaves living in a common household during this period. Cape architecture was very much influenced by slavery. An edict in 1686, for example, forbade low eaves which could easily be set alight by 'malicious slaves or Hottentots'. In 1688 a free black, Sante van Sante Jago (Cape Verde) led the first slave revolt in which it was the intention 'to burn one house after the other to ashes'. Following the 'great fire' of 1798 – also believed to be the work of slaves – a decree was passed in 1804 prohibiting thatch roofs in Cape Town. It was also decided that only inside shutters be allowed as fire was seen to easily jump from house to house via outside, wooden shutters. Water channels were also a feature in front of many homes, not only to provide water for domestic needs but in the event of fire. The provision of an external light or *bolig* was also made mandatory for homeowners to provide a measure of street lighting to discourage criminal activity. *Leave Koopmans-de Wet house and turn left up Strand Street. Two and a half blocks on is the Evangelical Lutheran Church Complex on the right.*

28 Evangelical Lutheran Church





This building first served as a warehouse donated to the Lutheran Church by the wealthy burgher, Martin Melck, in 1774. After five years of petitioning it became the first Lutheran Church in 1780. In fact, it was the first church of any denomination other than Dutch Reformed allowed to practise at the Cape. When it opened its doors, slaves found themselves as welcome as any free person and many baptisms and marriages took place. Five years later Anton Anreith was commissioned to convert the basic structure into a proper church and produced the exquisite carvings and pulpit that can be viewed inside. Martin Melck himself kept no less than 204 slaves on 11 different properties he owned and farmed. He is said to have begun the practice of naming his slaves after months of the year. To the right of the Lutheran Church is Martin Melck House (29), built as the parsonage for the church in 1781 with Louis Thibault as architect. It has the only surviving *dakkamer* or 'roof room' in Cape Town. Household slaves are said to have lodged in the cellar (now a restaurant) and in a room next to the kitchen. It now houses the South Africa Gold Museum displaying gold African jewellery and art. It also has an African time-line paralleling Africa's history with the more common Eurocentric history of the world. Following Martin Melck House on the right is the 18th century Company store/barracks (30) and finally, completing this complex to the left of the church, is the 1787 Sexton's House (31) (currently occupied by the Dutch Embassy and Consulate). *Our walk now proceeds to the left up Buitengracht or 'outermost water channel or canal' Street for three blocks, to a collection of historical buildings dating to 1771 when Buitengracht Street was the boundary of town. Many relics of slavery can be seen in the design and construction of these building such as slave quarters and elements of slave craftsmanship.*

32 Riebeeck Square

Originally Riebeeck Square was the *Boerenplein* (Farmers' plain) where farmers could outspan their wagons and livestock when visiting town. For many years it was without a convenient supply of water. When the foundation for a new theatre was being excavated in the late 1700s a spring was discovered. To meet the needs of visiting farmers and surrounding residents it was decided (after a degree of political wrangling) to shift the intended location of the theatre and establish a well here. *Proceed to the middle of this square and St Stephen's Church.*

33 St Stephen's Church



St Stephen's Church was built originally as a theatre during the First British Occupation of the Cape. It opened on the 17th of November, 1800. With the final emancipation of the slaves on the 1st of December, 1838, an interdenominational church service was held in nearby St Andrew's Church to commemorate this event. The next year the theatre was purchased with the intention of turning it into a church for ex-slaves and also a school for 'coloured' children. Legend has it that persons opposed to the establishment of a church for ex-slaves stoned the church when it first opened and hence it was named after the saint who suffered the same fate. *Carry on up Buitengracht Street for one block and turn right into Wale Street for one block to the Bo-Kaap Museum.*

34 Bo-Kaap



Plots began to be parcelled out on the slopes of Signal Hill from the 1780s and from as early as 1800 free blacks lived in the Bo-Kaap. As many as one quarter of the people brought as slaves to the Cape came from the East Indies – bringing with them the Islamic faith. After 1681 the Cape also became a place of banishment for a number of high-ranking political and religious leaders from the Indonesian archipelago. Also included were so-called *bandieten*, whose only crime in many instances was resisting VOC oppression in their homelands. The Bo-Kaap Museum (35) with its wavy parapet, provides insights into this area and the contribution this community has made to the unique character of Cape Town. *Walk from the Bo-Kaap Museum down Wale Street, cross to the opposite side of Buitengracht and turn right. Walk to the corner with Dorp Street. (Look up Dorp Street).*

36 Mosques on the edge of Old Town



The earliest 'mosque' in the Bo-Kaap was not tied to a particular building. Initially the faithful gathered for worship around an Imam in an open space in upper Chiappini Street. Then in 1794, just as the rule of the VOC was coming to an end, the oldest mosque in South Africa – the Auwal Masjid Mosque (Dorp Street Mosque) – was built. Its location here on the outskirts of Cape Town is evidence of the marginalisation of Islam at this time. *Now walk down Dorp Street to the corner with Long Street. Turn right into Long (at the 1844 Noor el Hamedia Mosque) (37) and continue up Long to the Palm Tree Mosque.*

38 Palm Tree Mosque



This mosque is of particular interest in that it was founded by a slave, Jan Bougies, whose freedom was purchased by Salie of Macassar – whom he married. Prior to this Salie had not only acquired her own freedom but had become a relatively wealthy woman as well. Throughout his life Jan Bourgies not only proclaimed the Islamic faith but used his wealth to buy slaves, convert them and set them free. He and Salie established this mosque on the ground floor of their house here in 1807. *Two blocks past the Palm Tree Mosque turn left into Green Street, passing Keerom Street.*

39 Keerom ('turn back') Street



A single-storey house at the dead-end of Keerom Street is believed to have been owned by a free black. The 1700s façade is an example of slave period domestic architecture when thatch roofs were still allowed. In the 1820s, Samuel Hudson lived in Keerom Street. He was an 'upper-class gentleman' who came to the Cape in the 1790s and swore never to own a slave but in time bought one as an 'act of charity'. Soon he owned about 20 slaves, mainly Mozambican farm labourers. He said 'I treat them as my children and they return it with gratitude and affection.' His essays on slaves promote ethnic stereotypes: "the mild, patient and faithful Mozambican' and the 'shrewd, cunning, treacherous Malay', and wicked women slaves, 'Jezebels who know the poisoner's art', Hudson came to oppose the emancipation of slaves. *Continue another block down Green Street, cross Queen Victoria Street and turn left – walk to the end of the white garden wall and enter the Company's Garden through the first gate in the red-brick garden wall. Walk straight ahead to the sundial and turn right to the 'Slave Bell' behind the aviary.*

40 The Company's Garden *Brochure available from the Visitor's Centre*





To supply fresh produce for its scurvy-ridden crews was a primary reason the VOC established a half-way station at the Cape. Many slaves worked in this garden which by 1658 had been extended this far up the valley from the Fort. As many as fifty slave men and women worked here under VOC rule producing fruit, vegetables, herbs, the Cape's first wine and even rosewater (which gained world renown). A pear tree believed to be over 300 years old survives here (near the Sundial). On the opposite side of the aviary is a mulberry tree which dates to the time when slave children worked in the silk factory (3) on Spin Street. The slave bell in the Company's Garden is a replica of the one at the farm Elsenburg. Many farms had a slave bell to call slaves to work and regulate their lives. The bell itself was originally Cape Town's fire bell which, for many years hung in the back yard of Old Town House on Greenmarket Square. *Walk back to the Sundial, turn right to the gate in front of Tuynhuis, then left down Government Avenue.*

41 Governor's Pleasure House – Tuynhuis (Garden House)





The pre-1693 'Garden House' built on this site was extended in 1701 to become the Governor's Pleasure House and serve as accommodation for foreign VIPs to the Cape. Slaves were not only gardeners but also artisans and this grand house displays both their labour and craftsmanship. The water channels which diverted water from the Fresh River along the garden paths (avenues) would have been built by slaves as well as the small 'dam' in front of the Tuynhuis gates. Today the President resides here when in Cape Town. *Our walk continues down Government Avenue and concludes at the entrance to the Gardens.*

42 Emancipation celebrations



The emancipation movement was not just a moral outcome of the struggle between slaves and their owners. The industrial revolution in Britain and the need for cheap, expendable labour (that require no capital outlay) was an underpinning force. On December 1st, 1838, emancipation was celebrated across the Colony but nowhere more than here in the heart of Cape Town. Church bells rang and services of thanksgiving were held with street parades, marching bands, singing and dancing. Such scenes are still replayed each New Year when the Cape Minstrel Carnival passes the Slave Lodge.

END OF ROUTE 2



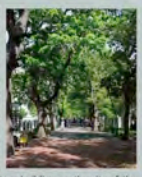
Entrance to the Company's Garden from Government Avenue, by De Meillon

St Andrews Church, by De Meillon

ROUTE 3 - Link to Table Mountain

This slave walk to the Platteklip stream washhouses and then on to Table Mountain is a substantial uphill hike – take water and refreshments, do not walk alone, arrange for transport back to town from the lower cableway station. START at the Slave Lodge – turn left as you exit the lodge and then up Government Avenue through to the top end of the Company's Garden.

43 Government Avenue



By the 1670s this 'garden path', originally planted with citrus trees, was used by slaves carrying produce down from the market gardens of upper Table Valley and washerwomen going up to work along mountain streams. Government Avenue was also a 'promenade' where the wealthier classes went to 'see and be seen'. 'Bold' free black women also took to promenading freely along the Avenue to the point that in 1756 and 1790 *placaats* (ordinances) were issued forbidding free black women "to be as well dressed as respectable burgher's wives', and 'they must carry passes'. The Avenue was also an escape route from town and then along waterways to Table Mountain. After 1806 unsold slaves – the old and infirm – were retired to a building on the site of the old VOC-period menagerie (behind the Lioness Gateway) to live out what remained of their lives in the company of several lions and even a tiger, until the menagerie was closed in 1838. *At the top of Government Avenue cross over Orange Street at the pedestrian crossing and turn left in front of the Mount Nelson and right into Hof Street. Two blocks up, cut diagonally left (and up) across the park and you will pass the Historic Hof Street Reservoir 44 built in the early 1800s to meet the growing water needs of Cape Town. Above the reservoirs cross Camp Street and walk diagonally left and uphill across De Waal Park. Exit the park at the top-left (southwest) gate into Upper Orange Street. If you have time, a quick diversion from the corner of Upper Orange and Prince Streets – one block down Prince Street – is the Hurling 'Swaai' Pump.*

45 The Hurling 'Swaai' Pump



Fetching water from one of a number of fountains such as this was the duty of household slaves. This 1812 fountain is the last remaining *swaai* or 'swinging' pump and was designed by Louis Thibault and sculpted by Anton Anreith. *Continue up Upper Orange Street towards Table Mountain – a further two blocks to the site of the Oranjezicht farmstead (on the left).*

46 Oranjezicht Farmstead and Slave Bell



The small park on this site retains this 18th century farmstead's barn, the slave bell tower, a vault over the *Stadsfontein* or 'City's Fountain' and some walling. The slave bell is a remaining link to rural slavery. The Van Breda family owned this farm for over 200 years. It is said that when ships came into the bay, the slave bell was rung for slaves to come running, fetch baskets of fresh fruit from the farm and then head down and sell to the new arrivals. The bell is symbolic of control over slaves' lives – the hours they worked, child labour, the *dop* system of being 'rewarded' with alcohol, punishment for ignoring the bell, lateness or sleeping on the job. In the paddock at the bottom of the yard is the Stadsfontein which was one of the main sources of water for early Cape Town and from which water can still be heard gushing out of the ground. The original Oranjezicht farmhouse was demolished in the early 1950s. *Walk further up Upper Orange and turn left into Saltmouth Avenue. Walk for two blocks to the lower end of Van Riebeeck Park at Gorge Road. Just to your left is St Cyprian's school with the kramat (tomb) of Abdul Malik near the top end of Gorge Road.*

47 Abdul Malik Kramat and St Cyprians



This green and white mausoleum is one of a crescent of kramats around the Cape, known as the Sacred Circle of Islam. It is the tomb of Tuan Sayed Abdul Malik of Batavia. He arrived at the Cape near the end of the 18th century as a slave, won his freedom, became a businessman and owned three slaves, all Muslims. In 2001, when the St Cyprian's preschool was proposed, archaeologists uncovered a 'vault' on the property, possibly a burial tomb associated with the farmstead. The City, St Cyprian's and the Muslim Judicial Council agreed to establish a Slave Heritage Walk and a wall of memory commemorating the story of the slave washerwomen. *Walk uphill into Van Riebeeck Park following the footpath to the washhouses.*

48 Platteklip Washhouses



Slave washerwomen were low in status compared with house servants but ironically had more freedom working out of sight of their mistresses. They would carry their heavy bundles of laundry from the town up to the streams to wash, laying the clothes on the many boulders to dry. The washhouses here were built by the City of Cape Town and opened to the public in 1888 – many years after emancipation – for use by free women who still plied this trade. *The hike from here continues up a boardwalk and then a management track which turning to the right will take you up to Tafelberg Road. Then turn right and continue along Tafelberg Road to the lower aerial cableway station where there are refreshments and toilets and Route 3 ends. Taxis can be called here for the return trip to the central city. Alternatively one can walk from the washhouses back down Gorge Road and then Buitenkant Street, to the Castle.*

49 Table Mountain – Hoerikwaggo

Hoerikwaggo is the Khoekhoen name for Table Mountain meaning the "Mountain of the Sea". From the Platteklip washhouses, the hike follows in the footsteps of *drosters* (runaway slaves) who, via Platteklip Gorge, ascended to the heights of Hoerikwaggo and in the case of a fortunate few, found freedom.

END OF ROUTE 3

ROUTE - 4 Link to the Waterfront

START at the Evangelical Lutheran Church 28 Walk up to Buitengracht Street and turn right and down one block to the pedestrian bridge. Cross over to the small park on the corner of Buitengracht and Riebeeck Streets where you can see St Andrews Presbyterian Church before you.

50 St Andrews Presbyterian Church

Founded in 1828, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church openly welcomed slaves as congregantes. It was here that the Presbyterians and the neighbouring Lutherans held the first service for freed slaves on December 1st, 1838. Opposite the church was the Dutch Reformed Church cemetery.

51 Historic Burial Grounds and Prestwich Memorial Visitor Centre

During the rule of the VOC the only official burial grounds in Cape Town were those of the Dutch Reformed Church. Following the First British Occupation of the Cape, the Batavian Republic (1804–1806) brought a brief return to Dutch rule and with it many enlightened ideals sweeping Europe at that time. This included greater religious tolerance and in 1805, Frans van Bengal, a *Mohammedaansche Veldpriester* and freed slave, was granted a piece of land for a Muslim burial ground. This became the Tana Baru cemetery 57 on Signal Hill near where the growing Muslim community had been unofficially burying their deceased for years. With the Second British Occupation of the Cape in 1806, burial grounds for Christian denominations other than the Dutch Reformed Church began to be established in the Green Point area. This also included a burial ground for slaves and non-Christians – the 'Heathen Burial Ground' at the bottom of Ebenezer Road – established by the South African Missionary Society in 1818. In spite of this, informal burials – particularly of slaves and paupers – continued. In 1995, the remains of over 120 individuals were excavated by archaeologists from along Cobern Street, one with a broken manacle (iron leg ring and chain links). More recently, over 3000 informal burials were discovered outside the areas of the known formal burial grounds in the course of construction works in the Green Point and V&A Waterfront area. Close to 1800 of these were exhumed from one site 58 at the corner of Prestwich and Napier Streets. It is speculated that many informal burials in the surrounding area are those of slaves, ex-slaves, Khoekhoen workers, sailors and paupers who, dying without means, were hastily and often secretly buried. The City and heritage authorities along with community groups, have developed an ossuary, visitor centre and memorial park near St Andrew's Church on the site of the former Dutch Reformed Church cemetery 51 to house these remains and reveal the story of these marginalised people and their respective communities. *At the west end of this park our route turns right across Somerset Road and down Chiappini Street for one block. On your right is a remaining part of the 'blue stone' wall which surrounded the historic Dutch Reformed Church cemetery 52 while on the left were the cemeteries for the Roman Catholic and Scottish Church. (St Andrew's Presbyterian) 53 Turn left into Prestwich Street and on your right is the site of the Old Somerset Hospital.*





54 Old Somerset Hospital

This site was granted by the Burgher Senate in 1817 for the purpose of erecting a hospital to serve the medical needs of a growing number of discharged merchant seamen and other impoverished people and slaves. The hospital operated from 1818 until 1937, when it was demolished.

Stop at the corner of Napier and Prestwich Streets. The Lutheran cemetery 55 was on the right where the primary school is now. Opposite, on the left, is the slave and pauper burial ground uncovered in 2004 56 Continue straight along Prestwich Street to Ebenezer Road and turn right. Ebenezer Road was named after the Ebenezer Church cemetery 58 located here. On the left was Gallows Hill 59 which replaced the Justitie Plaats as the place of execution during the First British Occupation of the Cape. Also of interest along Port Road are the remains of the Amsterdam Battery 60 which can be glimpsed but is not publicly accessible.

With a new war between England and the Netherlands in 1781, the original Heer Hendricks Kinderen redoubt on this site was further developed into a major fortification and named the Amsterdam Battery. Coupled with the Chavonnes Battery 61 to the north and Imhoff Battery in front of the Castle, the Amsterdam Battery with its cannons and mortars completed the fortifications of Table Bay. When the British arrived to take control of the Cape in 1806 they wisely chose not to face the guns of Table Bay. Rather they landed to the north at unprotected Blaauwberg beach and marched overland to approach Cape Town and these formidable defences from behind. *Continue under the flyover to the traffic circle. Cross the road and turn right into Dock Road, cross the canal bridge and turn immediately left onto the canal-side footpath. Cross the Boscule Bridge straight ahead and pass the Robinson Dry Dock (with the Alfred Basin on your right). Walk clockwise around the Alfred Basin, cross the swivel bridge to the Victorian clock tower and Nelson Mandela Gateway and turn right to the Chavonnes Battery.*

61 Chavonnes Battery



This battery was built with the labour of slaves, under the direction of Governor Maurice Pasques de Chavonnes between 1715 and 1726 to augment the firepower provided by the Castle over the Table Bay anchorage. In later years it served as a gaol for slaves and prisoners condemned to hard labour and convalescent wing for the old Somerset Hospital. It was demolished to make way for the development of the Cape Town harbour in 1861. Excavations for the adjacent BOE offices in 1999, revealed the remains of this fortification around which a museum has been developed detailing the history of this battery and early Cape Town.

END OF ROUTE 4

Farm workers expose the lie of the land

Mazibuko K Jara

THE sleeping giant is finally awakening.

For the first time in South African history, thousands of farm workers, whose working and living conditions reduce their livelihood to modern slavery, woke up, realised their power, and used it to challenge the agricultural slave master.

The farm worker strike, which began in De Doorns, quickly spread to Paarl, Riebeek West, Malmesbury, Moorreesburg, Ceres, Prince Alfred Hamlet, Saron and Citrusdal to the west and north, and to Worcester, Robertson, Ashton and Bonnievale to the east and south.

Like the Marikana mineworkers, farm workers are showing that it is only by their own efforts and self-organisation that reforms can be won and society transformed. In their own words, the workers are now refusing to be treated as little more than animals, whose labour feeds and enriches a small elite of farmers who live in luxury.

Farm workers can no longer accept being ignored by the very government that is supposed to ensure all workers receive a living wage and are treated with respect and dignity.

The social and economic relations between farmers and workers are a continuation of a long history of dispossession, slavery, cheap labour, exploitative work and social control. For many farm workers, the farm is not only a place of employment, but also the only home for the worker and the family. Accordingly, farmers continue to have extensive control over all aspects of life of farm workers.

The tremendous courage displayed by thousands of farm workers has exposed the façade of respecting the law presented by Agri Wes-Cape. Agri Wes-Cape consistently denies the racist, oppressive and exploitative practices that its members follow.

Yet, every month farm worker trade unions and rural NGOs receive thousands of reports of cases of abuse, exploitation and oppression that belie Agri Wes-Cape claims.

The Commercial, Stevedoring, Agricultural and Allied Workers' Union deals with tens of complaints from its shop stewards and worker members who face intimidation, suspensions and threats of dismissal when they try to join unions and when they speak out against abuses.

Workers are dismissed, evicted, denied electricity and water, and verbally and physically abused when they want to be together. Five worker leaders have been suspended on Leeuwenkuil farm in Agter Paarl for this. How can Agri Wes-Cape then claim that its members behave otherwise?

Instead of respecting labour laws and paying the measly minimum wage, many farmers have responded to labour and other forms of regulation through labour shedding. This was part of a wider structural shift in the post-apartheid economy towards temporary, seasonal and subcontracted labour.

At the heart of this was the squeeze many farmers felt from liberalisation and deregulation which exposed them to global competition from subsidised farmers in the north. In turn, farmers increased their squeeze on labour to sustain accumulation. A consequence of this is the reproduction of the slave-like conditions for almost all farm workers and farm dwellers. It is this cheap labour that remains central to the very profits of these globally integrated farms.

Farm workers do backbreaking work to produce food while earning starvation wages, working in unsafe and unhealthy conditions, and living with minimal provision of water, sanitation and electricity, and under the constant threat of evictions, physical and verbal abuse and intimidation at the hands of the bosses. Workers in De Doorns earn R69 a day, of which R30 is deducted by some bosses for electricity.

Up to now, white farmers have been ably assisted by a weak legislative and policy framework; ineffective monitoring by labour inspectors; the collusion of police and magistrates in the countryside; the weak social organisation of farm worker and dwellers; and the lack of consumer pressure on farmers.

Also, post-apartheid land and agricultural policies have failed to ensure widespread redistribution of land and resources to farm worker as a basis for a restructured agricultural sector.

This policy regime has not empowered farm worker to become owners and producers on redistributed farms within a restructured agricultural value chain.



BURNING ISSUE: Post-apartheid agricultural policies have failed to ensure widespread redistribution of land to farm workers, says the writer.

Large-scale commercial agriculture has actively promoted and benefited from these untransformative land and agricultural policies. Its monopoly position in producing most of our food and agriculture's contribution to export earnings has been used to blackmail the country into believing that there are no alternative agrarian policy options.

At the same time the land reform programme has been redefined as a limited programme of black commercial farmer settlement. White farmers are aware that, unlike the mass of the rural landless, these aspirant farmers are unlikely to constitute a large and powerful interest group who can challenge the dominant interests in the sector, and rather will be absorbed into it.

The narrative here is that only commercial agriculture is "real agriculture". As part of this, Agri SA has defended the property rights of landowners as absolute. All this has been combined with a political strategy of using the DA as an effective political mouthpiece to challenge any possible radical changes as irrational.

The farm worker strike marks the beginnings of much-needed mass struggles to challenge and defeat white *baasskap*, starvation wages, slave working conditions, market-based land reform and liberalised agricultural policy. The awakening farm workers and farm dwellers need to realise that their organised social power is the key to breaking the strategic advantage of agrarian capitalists. The farm worker committees that have emerged must combine with the radical independent trade unions like the Commercial, Stevedoring, Agricultural and Allied Workers' Union and the organised bodies of farm dwellers such as the Mawubuye Land Rights Forum.

Also important is how farm workers and dwellers link up with allies in urban areas and other countries. Shared concerns about high food prices are potentially unifying. Urban consumers have the power to put pressure on farmers and to carry out boycott strategies to demand produce from farms that respect worker rights and pay a living wage.

There are two other lies to which the awakening farm workers have put paid: Cosatu's delusional belief that it still organises and leads the most exploited workers, and the DA's self-serving propaganda that it can possibly offer a viable alternative to meet the needs and interests of the black working class.

Farm workers were angry and demoralised at Cosatu's decision to suspend the strike without consulting them. This decision increased its distance from them.

The DA's liberal policies will not advance worker interests. It will protect the privileges inherited from the past and merely seek to deepen the incorporation of the poor into circuits that reproduce inequality. DA policies do not provide anything but the reproduction of indignity for black working-class people. It is silly to believe its propaganda simply because it has temporarily secured the majority of the working-class vote in Cape Town. Its collusion with farmers has begun to show that farm workers and dwellers are able to overcome its propaganda, which has been helped by an inept ANC.

In more than 18 years, the ANC and the DA have done little or nothing to address the fundamental social and economic conditions of farm workers in the Western Cape. Instead, their joint support for liberalised and deregulated agriculture has worsened the lot of farm workers and dwellers. The DA's complicity in the exploitation of farm workers needs to be exposed together with its political blackmail that the strikes are an ANC attempt to win back the Western Cape.

Beyond farm worker strikes, this is the time to build for economy-wide actions by workers and the unemployed to protest the anti-poor and anti-worker economic policies of the ANC and the DA. Such actions must also call for a legislated national minimum wage for farm workers and other workers, improved working and living conditions on the farms and other economic sectors, a living income for the unemployed and for redistributive land and agricultural policies.

To build and sustain such actions will take hard work among farm workers and dwellers, other workers and the unemployed. Such sustained working-class mobilisation is needed to redirect the economy of this country away from liberalisation and deregulation towards justice and meeting social needs.

● *Jara is a member of the Democratic Left Front.*

Cape Times Mon Dec 3 2012 p9

Sunday Argus article – Sunday 9th December 2012

Everyone is a loser in farm strikes

There were no winners, and the politicians generally disgraced themselves in the Western Cape farm workers' unrest, writes **William Dicey**

THERE were no winners in the farmworker strike. Tractor driver Michael Daniels lost his life to a police bullet. Seasonal worker Bongile Ntleni lost his life to a private-security bullet.

Farmer Tienie Crous, 81, almost lost his life when strikers accosted him (his hearing aid had to be cut out of his skull). Towns were ransacked and property destroyed. Sheds and bulk bins and tractors and vineyards went up in flames.

Farmers are jittery, angry and scared. Many are talking of selling their farms and emigrating. Permanent farmworkers are likewise jittery, angry and scared. They don't have the option, however, of packing up. They have to ride out this storm and see whether they still have jobs come April.

The strikers who resorted to violent protest were losers too. They took their share of rubber bullets, and no doubt a good dose of police brutality. They also had to face the wrath of workers they'd intimidated into staying at home. The first day of protest might have been kind of fun, but after four days without pay people were desperate.

The politicians were clear losers. Premier Helen Zille was the best of a bad bunch, but only because she didn't blatantly put her foot in it. She dithered, failing to show decisive leadership, most likely because she didn't wish to antagonise either the farmers or the coloured workers, both traditional supporters of the DA. DA statements to the press, however, were indistinguishable from those of farmer organisations such as Agri SA.

Zille's opposite number, Marius Fransman, provincial leader of the ANC, made an aggressive start, telling farmers "julle gaan kak", before wisely taking a back seat.

Tina Joemat-Pettersson, Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, put on a disastrous show. Addressing strikers in De Doorns, she congratulated them on their "victory". None of them, she said, would face disciplinary action or criminal charges.

It's difficult to say which of these two statements is more bizarre: a Minister of Agriculture congratulating farmworkers for an illegal strike in which vineyards were torched; or a minister from a non-judicial portfolio promising immunity from prosecution to people who have taken part in an orgy of criminality, including barricaded a national road and stoning passing vehicles.

To cap off her performance, the minister announced that the minimum wage would be reviewed within two weeks – something that wasn't constitutionally possible.

But perhaps I'm being too hard on Joemat-Pettersson. She's so ineffectual and bungling it's difficult to blame her.

Many aspects of the strike are more complex than they would appear, and issues differ from region to region. Even a simple word like "strikers", for instance, is not at all straightforward. "Farmworkers" and "strikers" and "protesters" are distinct groupings of people. These groupings overlap somewhat in De Doorns, but less so in Ceres.

Ehrenreich's role in strike nothing short of despicable

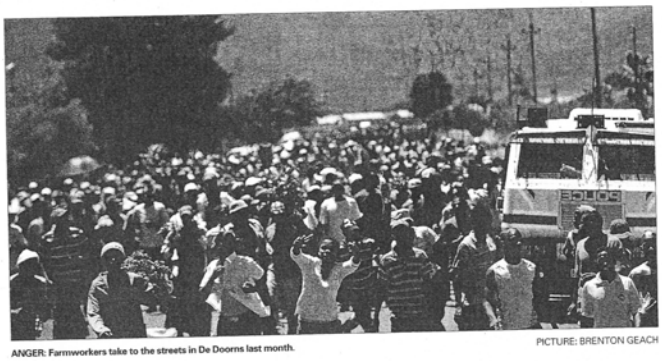
When the strike started in De Doorns, the protesters – that is, the people burning tyres and stoning vehicles – were farmworkers. There's some disagreement as to whether they were seasonal workers from Lesotho whose work permits hadn't been renewed or whether they were a broader coalition.

Either way, they were disgruntled seasonal workers who then intimidated the valley's permanent workers into joining them. A friend of mine farms in De Doorns.

His permanent workers received threatening text messages: "We're coming to get you," read these messages (in Afrikaans), "we know which vineyard you're in."

My friend spent the day transporting terrified workers from one corner of his farm to another. He then told them to stay home.

The seasonal workers in De Doorns probably had just cause to strike. Over the past decade or two, growers of table grapes in the Hex River Valley have seen their margins shrink dramatically (30 percent of farms in the Hex have changed hands in the past five years).



ANGER: Farmworkers take to the streets in De Doorns last month. PICTURE: BRENTON GEACH

As a result, many farmers have taken on a greater proportion of seasonal labour and have paid them close to the statutory minimum. While it's difficult to condone this course of action – R69 is an appalling wage – it's easy enough to understand it.

In Wolseley and Ceres (two regions of which I can speak with some authority: my brother farms in Wolseley, I farm in Ceres) the situation is very different.

Farmers grow apples, pears and plums. Despite a number of challenges, margins are healthier. This reflects in the wages. The farms around me all pay between R85 and R90 a day to their lowest-paid workers. In addition, workers are paid a piecework rate per tree pruned or per bag picked.

This averages out, over the course of a year, at around R25 a day. In addition, workers receive an annual bonus, free transport, subsidised visits to the doctor, free crèche facilities and paid school fees. Workers who live on the farm pay no rent and their electricity is subsidised. If one attaches a value to these benefits, then the average live-on worker receives R140 a day, and the average live-off worker R120. Workers who choose to exert themselves earn significantly more. As do skilled workers such as team leaders, administrative staff and tractor drivers.

Similar rates of pay would apply to many farms in Ceres and Wolseley, and elsewhere in the Boland too. It's not a whole lot of money, but with labour accounting for 40 percent of costs, it's as much as a well-run fruit farm can reasonably afford to pay. And given the national context, where 60 percent of households earn less than this, it's certainly not a rate of pay that lends itself to violent protest. This is where the politics comes in.

The co-ordination and efficiency with which the strike spread from De Doorns to 15 other Boland towns on a single day speaks of careful planning and significant mobilisation of personnel and resources.

There is little doubt that the ANC in the Western Cape and its alliance partner Cosatu were behind this roll-out. A pamphlet on ANC letterhead was distributed in Villiersdorp, and there were reports, throughout the Boland, of intimidation by Cosatu members (despite the fact that there are very few unionised farms in the Boland).

This would explain the strangers disembarking at Wolseley train station, and the buses arriving in Ndulí, the township outside Ceres, in the middle of the night.

I'm no fan of the DA's reactionary politics, but their spokesperson for agriculture, Pieter van Duiken, was probably close to the truth when he characterised the strike as "simply the latest instalment in the ANC campaign to make the Western Cape ungovernable".

Not a single worker on my farm wanted to strike. Those who live in Ndulí were informed that their families and their houses would be at risk if they went off to work. Those who live on the farm received threatening telephone calls and text messages. Whether these threats would have been carried out is moot. The workers were terrified and retired to their homes.

Tony Ehrenreich's role in the strike has been nothing short of despicable.

Ehrenreich is on record as saying: "The strike... could see a reversal to the low-level civil war we all witnessed on farms a few weeks ago."

The only conclusion one can draw is that Ehrenreich wanted to see the Western Cape burn. Why? To please his political bosses, most likely.

And also, no doubt, to raise the profile of Tony Ehrenreich Inc., mayoral candidate and champion of the poor. Only, he's far from a champion of the poor. One of the sad ironies of the strike was that the majority of protesters – in Ceres and Wolseley, at any rate – were either unemployed or occasionally employed. Had they achieved their goal of getting the minimum wage increased to R150 a day, they would have locked themselves out of a job for a long time to come. Ehrenreich's political pawns were the very people who stood to lose the most had his strike achieved its stated goal.

Ehrenreich was also a loser in the strike. He's been the subject of more hate mail than I've ever seen in the blogosphere; he raised workers' hopes only to disappoint them.

Despite the fact that there were no winners, the strike wasn't all bad.

The incitement and the intimidation and the violence and the destruction were obviously bad. The cynical deployment of thousands of poor people to further the personal ambitions of a handful of politicians was equally bad.

But the principle of a widespread strike in the agricultural sector has merit. For too long now labour relations have been the elephant in the corner of the orchard, so to speak. The strike gave us a chance to talk, to let off some steam, and – hopefully – to take action.

Personally, it has long bothered me that workers living on my farm get free housing, while those living off the farm don't; the strike has prompted me to look into ways of subsidising off-farm living.

Come April, I would like to see the minimum wage for farmworkers increased substantially. It's certainly not the solution to rural woes, but exploitative farmers should feel the heat. Most of them can afford to pay more. Those who can't need to face up to the fact that they're subsidising the inefficiency of their operations with cheap labour.

Leaving aside the question of who lit the match, there's no denying that the strike spread like wildfire. There is deep dissatisfaction in rural areas, and farmers would do well to take heed of it. But the government should take heed too.

This dissatisfaction, I would argue, has more to do with poverty, unemployment and the lack of any prospects for a better life than it has to do with labour relations on farms. This strike wasn't all strike, it was part social unrest.

"If Minister Joemat-Pettersson and Mr Ehrenreich really want to benefit farmworkers," writes economist Johan Fourie on his blog, "they should rather worry about another legacy of apartheid – the poor performance of rural schools, especially in those provinces where many of the migrants come from – and less about government policies to change the minimum wage."

Unfortunately, however, as Fourie points out, adjusting the minimum wage is easier to do, and it's a more popular sell.

● *Dicey is a farmer and a writer. This article was first published on Politicsweb.*

APPENDIX E
MUSEUM VAN DE CAAB NEWSPAPER

MUSEUM VAN DE CAAB



The Museum van de Caab tells the story of Delta farm.
Similar stories could be told of all the old farms
in the Franschhoek valley.
The things that happened here reflect the whole
history of South Africa.



A highlight of the museum is a series of 200 granite plaques which memorialises the identities of all the people who gave their lives through slavery to Delta farm, from 1690 to 1834.



The museum is located in Delta's original wine cellar, built circa 1740. The glass display panels are arranged against the backdrop of exposed rock and clay-brick walls.





The display includes video excerpts of oral histories given by the workers currently living at Delta.



One of the display cabinets contains a rare Khoe pot, reconstructed from fragments such as those found on Delta (about 2000 years old).

MUSEUM VAN DE CAAB
For more information contact (021) 874 3937
9 am – 5 pm. 7 days a week.

WINE TASTING
9 am – 5 pm. 7 days a week.

PICNICS
Lunch in an enchanting forest along the banks of our river, among rare and beautiful trees.

www.solms-delta.co.za
Fax: +27 21 874 1852 Tel: +27 21 874 3937

First inhabitants

2.5 million years ago

EARLY STONE AGE (ESA)

4.5 million years ago

A hominid called Australopithecus roamed Africa. Ability to walk on two legs (bipedalism) gives it membership of the human genus. However, Australopithecines retained many characteristics of their common ancestor with apes.

The first humans emerged around 2.5 million years ago. They were distinct in their anatomy from their predecessors. Significantly it is their ability to produce STONE ARTEFACTS that makes them our first human ancestors.
This was the beginning of the Early Stone Age (ESA).

Homo habilis and his later descendant, homo erectus, were the first true humans. Both the oldest human fossils and the oldest stone artefacts belong to these creatures. All were found in Africa, making this continent the **birthplace of humanity**.

Around 1 to 2 million years ago there was an initial dispersal of the early humans across the whole of the African continent and then to most other parts of the world.



250 000 years ago

MIDDLE STONE AGE (MSA)

According to DNA research, all humans living today are descended from an African 'Eve' – a mother who lived in sub-Saharan Africa during the **Middle Stone Age (MSA)** some 200 000 years ago. All humans are members of one single species called HOMO SAPIENS, encompassing different languages, customs and beliefs.

Due to genetic studies "for the first time it is possible to form an impartial view of just how different races might be. The answer is clear. The biological differences among them are small and evidence for the mental superiority of one or the other so flimsy, confused and full of intellectual dishonesty as to be scarcely worth considering".



The discussion of the development of modern humans is still a deeply contested issue. While it may be agreed that Africa was the evolutionary source of humans, it is debated whether it continued to be the place where modern humans developed. One argument contends that modern humans emerged out of Africa and then spread to the rest of the world. Dispersal of these early modern ancestors would have resulted in displacement or assimilation of the archaic people that already inhabited other regions of the world.

An alternative theory argues for the simultaneous evolution of archaic people in various parts of the world. This second view implies that early humans, like Homo erectus, were ancient forms of Homo sapiens and therefore that there were many ancestors rather than a single African 'Eve'.



20 000 years ago

The transition from **Middle** to **Later Stone Age (LSA)** occurred around 20 000 years ago. It was marked by a series of complex technological innovations and increasing specialisation in artefact production and food procurement. LSA stone artefact assemblages differed regionally, as suggested by archaeological sites situated at the coast and the interior of the country.

The Later Stone Age (LSA) extends from roughly 20 000 years ago to historic times and can be broken into four main periods (of which the third is characterised by many of the stone tools found at Zwila). While dating of Early and Middle Stone Age artefacts is problematic, LSA dating is far more resolved as the sites are much better preserved than older sites, allowing archaeologists deeper insights into what life was like for a person living in this period. From well-preserved sites it seems that LSA people were hunters and gatherers.



Some of the innovations that are associated with LSA settlement sites in southern Africa are:

- **rock paintings and engravings**
- **deliberate burial of the dead in graves**
- **bows and arrows**
- **bored stones or 'digging stick' weights**
- **decorative items like beads and pendants of shell and ostrich eggshell as well as bone tools with engraved decoration**
- **fishing equipment**
- **decorated ostrich eggshell flasks**
- **tortoise shell bowls**

While some of these innovations must have occurred during the MSA, most are undoubtedly LSA in origin. More of these things are found in recent sites, which also have better preservation of organic materials like string, leather and wood.

8 000 years ago

LATER STONE AGE (LSA)

2 000 years ago

Around 2 000 years ago pastoralism first appeared in Southern Africa. Domesticated sheep (and later cattle) and pottery were introduced. Thus a new technology and culture was established in a region that had been inhabited by hunter-gatherers for many thousands of years.

Archaeologically we can trace these semi-nomadic herders through the presence of pottery and domesticated animal bones. Both trade and cultural contact occurred between the herders and the hunter-gatherers, resulting in the probable exchange and use of each other's material culture.



Painting of Namaqua dismantling a mat covered house. By Samuel Daniel. With courtesy of the National Library of South Africa.

Historic Times

The historic period of South Africa is generally associated with the arrival of permanent Dutch East India Company employees (who would later become settlers) in 1652. Almost 200 years before that, however, Portuguese mariners had made first contact with the indigenous people of the Cape.

Even if we stretch the historic period back to these Portuguese travellers, 500 years is a microscopic span compared to the millions of years of human habitation of the Cape – let alone the history of the earth itself, which is roughly 5 000 million years old.



Present Day

of this farm

Stone Artefacts

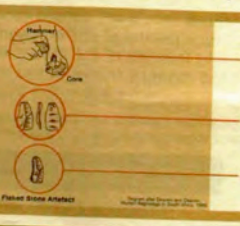
Today archaeologists try to trace and understand human development through the scientific study of material remains that people left behind. This refers not only to the bones and stone tools of early humans who lived millions of years ago, but also to things that were buried or thrown away in the historic times. Stone tools are an especially useful dating device for plotting the development of human kind.

Ever since the first humans, Stone Age people have relied on stone artefacts to obtain and process their food. These flaked tools are the most tangible traces of our earliest ancestors.

As early as 1.4 million years ago in Africa, collections of well-crafted artifact assemblages were found that not only consisted of the building blocks of tool manufacture – cores and flakes – but also included shaped tools made to a certain pattern. This marks the beginnings of STYLE, where artefacts makers took into consideration the function of the tool, together with aesthetic appearance of how specific tools should ideally look.

Tools that follow a standardised DESIGN, are called formal tools, such as hand axes and cleavers.





A flake is created by striking a block of stone (known as a core) with a small pebble or cobble (known as a hammerstone). Usually several flakes will need to be removed before a useable piece is obtained.

The process is simple, but involves a great deal of skill to achieve the desired result. The oldest known artefacts found in Africa were very skillfully made and attest to the complete mastery of this essential skill.

Once a suitable flake is identified, it is further modified by fine flaking (retouch) to create the desired shape/form.

The unevenness of archaeological evidence and the difficulties of dating very old sites makes understanding the nature of stone tool change problematic. Generally it can be said that the characteristic hand axes and cleavers (known as core tools) of the Early Stone Age (ESA) were replaced by Middle Stone Age (MSA) types made of flakes.

There is greater variability around MSA artefacts than those found at ESA sites. This relates to changes in fashion and style through time.

From the plant and animal archaeological remains associated with these MSA assemblages, it is possible in some instances to reconstruct a 'way of life' for our modern human ancestors. It would seem that plants were dietary staples during the MSA, while hunting was important for providing an essential high-protein supplement to this diet rich in plant carbohydrates.



While ESA tools were hand-held, the flaked stone tools of the MSA could have been attached to a handle to act as a lever, which represents a significant technological advance.

One of the primary characteristics of retouched tools is their shape. In the MSA the most typical shapes are long blades (flakes that are twice as long as wide) and triangular flakes.

There is also evidence of the systematic use of marine foods at MSA sites situated along the coast. Seals, penguins and shellfish were eaten at many of the Cape's coastal sites. Fishing was not practiced, as the necessary technology had not yet developed. From the analysis of bones, there is evidence that people would have been involved in active hunting practices rather than scavenging (although opportunistic scavenging certainly also occurred).

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CASE STUDY OF *DELTA*:

An Ancient River

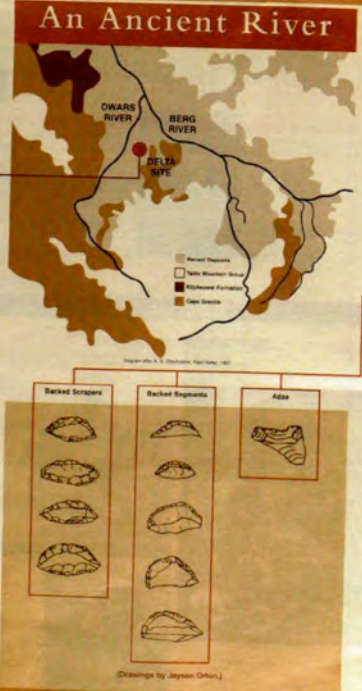
Stone artefacts that occur in large concentrations in a specific area are assumed to mark areas of settlement, where groups of people lived and manufactured tools.

Through the process of archaeological exploration at *Delta*, it was discovered that a Later Stone Age settlement site was situated just metres away from the current homestead.

At the beginning of 2005, archaeologists from the University of Cape Town started doing shovel test excavations at *Delta*, in search of both the historic and pre-historic material remains of the people who once lived here. Six months later, both a ruin of a late 17th century colonial dwelling and a concentration of LSA stone artifacts were found alongside each other beneath the driveway. These were exciting discoveries as they meant that colonial and pre-historic usage of the land coincided in exactly the same location. Intact Stone Age settlement sites are rare in the Boland region and this is the first such site found in the Franschhoek valley.

The extreme density of artefacts found in the soil overlying the palaeoriver terrace on which *Delta* is situated include thousands of stone artefacts, which attest to an extended period of habitation of the site by the San.

Due to its favourable position on a plateau overlooking the confluence of the Berg and Dwars Rivers, *Delta* was a very suitable place for settlement. There would have been an abundant supply of fresh water, which will have attracted plenty of game for hunting. The high position of the site would also have provided a vantage point over the prey and predators that roamed the region.



LSA Holocene Microlithic Tools found on *Delta*

While MSA tools were characterised by triangular flakes or large flake blades, LSA artefacts are identified by their smallness, which is why they are called Microlithic tools. The tiny artefacts found at *Delta* were made during the middle part of the Holocene (the last 10 000 years), most likely between about 6 000 and 4 000 years ago.

These exquisitely detailed small, sharp tools could be attached to handles with mastic (a vegetable glue made from plant or tree gums). Assigning specific uses to ancient tools is a problematic endeavour. Through experimental manufacturing and use of stone tools, archaeologists have been able to determine that some were used on materials such as meat, bones, plants and wood.

Possible Uses:

- **Scrapers were used in preparing skins for leather**
- **Backed bladelets or segments were used in knives or arrow heads**
- **Adzes were used for woodworking**

Of all the stone tools uncovered so far at *Delta*, the highest proportion are segments, end scrapers and backed scrapers. This fertile valley must have been an ideal place to live, with abundant food supplies in the form of animals and plants. From archival documents we know that during colonial times this region was also used for hunting by explorers and traders, who sought out the hippopotamii that once occupied the Berg River. It is noteworthy that people chose to live on the same landscape for such similar reasons for many thousands of years.

– the San hunters

Who were the "San"?

...Soaqua,
Bushmen-Hottentots,
Sonqua,
Obligua,
Fishermen,
Bushmen-Kafirs,
/Xam,
Strandlopers,
!Kung,
San,
Bushmen,
Boesmans,
Khoisan,
Koranna,
Poor Caffers...

Part of the problem in naming the hunter-gatherer communities that lived in this landscape comes from the absence of words in their own vocabularies to describe themselves in general terms. In exploring the often convoluted historical process that led to the various names given to these groups, we encounter a complex story.

Soaqua, Sonqua, Sanqua

[Abbreviated to San]

This is the name by which the herding Khoekhoen called the hunter-gatherer people of Southern Africa at the time of colonization. It is a disparaging generic term for "the others"; people who the Khoekhoen considered to be of a lower social status than themselves.

The modern San were the descendants of hunter-gatherer groups from the Later Stone Age, but we cannot assume that their culture, religion, language and way of life remained unchanged for millenia.

For at least two thousand years, the San had been in contact with groups such as the pastoralist Khoekhoen and later with agro-pastoralist Bantu-speaking groups who settled along South Africa's eastern coast and interior.

There are no written records of these early events from the viewpoint of the indigenous people themselves.
All we have are their few archaeological remains and the existence of rock art found in the many caves and outcrops situated all over South Africa.

The number of rock art sites that exist in South Africa is conservatively estimated at between 35 000 and 50 000 sites, whereas only 350 sites have been recorded in Europe.

The earliest rock art of South Africa has been dated to around 26 000 years old, although the practice of rock paintings and engraving continued into colonial times, as evidenced by paintings of ox wagons, women in crinoline skirts, men with guns, and even ships.

But both the art and the modern folklore and ethnography we use to interpret them are fragile and fragmentary glimpses of what the varied and complex culture of the San must have been like in the past. The ephemeral grasp that we gain today when trying to hear their voices across time is eloquently captured by the /Xam informant Diâlkwain's story of what happens to people when they die.

See previous page

/Xam

A linguistic dialect of the !Ui-Taa group of Southern San languages which were spoken during historical times throughout all parts of the interior of South Africa, from Namaqualand in the West to Moumulanga in the East. While there was certainly linguistic commonality between these !Ui-Taa groups, there were also enough differences to create mutual unintelligibility between them.

/Xam, which was spoken mainly in the Karoo South of the Orange River, was the best known of the !Ui-Taa languages . It was also the dialect spoken by the San ethnographic informants who were interviewed by Dr. Wilhelm Bleek and his sister-in-law Lucy Lloyd in the 1870s. Within a few decades of these interviews, their language and culture had died out.

Emma Sors, a /Xam descendant, who was living in the Colesburg district among a group of 'Karreties Mense' during the 1990s, commented that the only language she knew was "hierdie Boesmantaal van ons" [this Bushman language of ours] – but she was referring to Afrikaans!

Evidence of the process of acculturation of the San can be witnessed in documents recording the /Xam San myths and folklore in the 1870s. If you search the texts carefully, you can see the incorporation within the /Xam language of loan words both from Dutch and a Khoekhoe dialect. Scanning the pages, words such as 'ttronk' (jail), 'tabacca' (tobacco), 'cap' (Cape) and 'rieme' (thongs) can be found.

It is also telling that the informants were recorded as having both /Xam and Dutch names and that while they were still very knowledgable of hunting practices and the collection of wild plant foods, their hunter-gatherer lifestyle had been altered by the influx of settled farmers. Their material culture had changed to include 'colonial' items such as guns, knives, spoons and iron pots.

Khoisan

A name coined by scholars that refers to the wider 'racial stock' to which both the herding Khoekhoen and the hunter-gatherer San belonged during the colonial period.

The first colonial commander of the Cape, Jan van Riebeeck, recorded the existence of two indigenous groups that inhabited the region during the 17th century : the 'Seldanhers' [a group of Peninsula herders known more generically as 'Khoekhoen'] and the 'Fishermen' called 'Soaqua' or 'Sonqua' by these herders.

Cultural interactions between the San and Khoekhoen were extremely complicated. Relationships of co-operation certainly existed as the 'Sonquas' would often serve as scouts, soldiers and even herdsmen for the Khoekhoen in return for protection and food. Similar relationships existed between the San and the Bantu-speaking Xhosa on the Eastern frontier.

There were also, however, violent disputes between the two groups over shared hunting and watering grounds. Disputes would have especially intensified as colonial settlers exerted further pressure on these resources.

The amalgamation of the San and Khoe into a general grouping is perhaps also the result of the mutual fate these two groups were to share. Whatever else united or divided them, both the Khoe and the San were to suffer the destruction of their cultures, languages and livelihoods.

Bushmen or 'Bossiesmans'

A term referring to people considered to be of low social status, encountered by the Dutch settlers in the 1660s. They were reported to collect food off the land and to have no domestic animals.

During the 1770s, the term 'Bushman' took on specific connotations of 'raiding murderers' for a new group of mounted semi-nomadic pastoralists – the 'Trekboers', a group of impoverished, landless settlers whose only reasonable chance of earning a living while still being able to preserve their independence was to expand beyond the borders of the colonial frontier, into the arid territory inhabited by San and Khoekhoe groups of the northern Cape.

While the San retaliated against the invasion of their land by largescale attacks on the lives and property of the Trekboers, the Trekboers in turn organized under an efficient military machine called the Commando. It was partly due to this organization that the bushmen communities of the region were wiped out: most of the adult men were killed and the women and children were effectively enserfed into farm labour.

What the Commando had started, the missionaries finished, so that by the turn of the 20th century, those San that had managed to escape genocide or servitude died of disease or starved to death due to the loss of their land and the game that was their livelihood.

Today, in spite of the negative connotations of this name, some groups prefer to be called Bushmen.

"TAKING AWAY OUR FOOTPRINTS" – the San hunters

/Xam



Dr. Wilhelm Bleek (pictured on the left) was a German philologist who immigrated to the Cape with his sister-in-law Lucy Lloyd (pictured on the right). A rich ethnographic record was created through in-depth interviews with an extended family of /Xam San from the Northern Cape.

The ethnographic material represents an admirable accomplishment on the part of Bleek and Lloyd as they were the only two Europeans living in southern Africa who took the time and trouble to learn a San language and write down what the indigenous people had to say.

//Kabbo (meaning 'Dream' in /Xam), also known as 'Oud Jantje Tooren', stayed at the home of Wilhelm Bleek in the Cape Town suburb of Mowbray from 16 February 1871 to 15 October 1873. Bleek estimated //Kabbo to be around 55 or 60 years old when he came to stay in the household.



//Kabbo was accompanied by his extended San family consisting of his son-in law /Han ‡ass'o (or Klein Jantjie), his nephew Dia‖kwain (also known as Qaiwa Husar), and Dia‖kwain's sister, ‡Kweiten ta /‡ken (or Rachel) [pictured above with two of her younger sons] and her husband and three small children.

One /Xam San informant called //Kabbo told of his capture and imprisonment in Cape Town. These haunting words illuminate what it might have felt like for many indigenous people who were imprisoned for offences which must have seemed unavoidable to them:

//Kabbo's Capture and Journey to Cape Town

[First Account, given in May 1871]

"I came from that place, I came here, when I came from my place,
when I was eating a springbok.
The Kafir took me; he bound my arms.
We were three, when we were bound opposite to the wagon,
while the wagon stood still.
We went away bound to the Magistrate; we went to talk with him;
we remained with him.

We were in jail. We put our legs into the stocks.
The Korannas came to us, when our legs were in the stocks;
we were stretched out in the stocks.
The Korannas came to put their legs in the stocks;
they slept, while their legs were in the stocks.

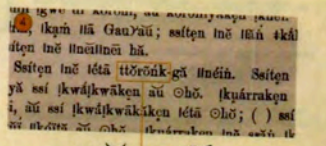
We came to roll stones at Victoria, while we worked at the road.
We lifted stones with our chests;
we rolled great stones.
We again worked with earth, while the earth was upon the handbarrow.
We carried earth; we loaded the wagon with earth; we pushed it.
Other people walked along.
We were pushing the wagon's wheels;
we were pushing;
we poured down the earth;
we pushed it back.
We again loaded it, we and the Korannas.

We again had our arms bound to the wagon chain;
we walked along, while we were fastened to the wagon chain,
as we came to Beaufort,
while the sun was hot.
Our arms were set free in the road.
We got tobacco from the Magistrate;
we smoked, going along, with sheep's bones
we came into Beaufort jail.
The rain fell upon us, while we were in Beaufort jail.

Early the next morning, our arms were made fast,
we were bound.
We walked upon the road, as we followed the wagon,
while the wagon went first.
We walked, following the wagon,
being bound,
until we,
being bound,
came to the Breakwater."



Pictured here are a group of ten San prisoners that were held at the Breakwater Prison in Cape Town for committing various crimes, mainly stock theft.



ttŏrõńk-

An extract of from Bleek and Lloyd's *Specimens of Bushman Folklore* showing the Dutch word 'tronk' (jail) being incorporated into the dialect of the Northern Cape /Xam San [p. 29]

It is there that I sit waiting for the gun;
and then,
he will send the gun to me there;

while he thinks, that I have not forgotten
that my body may be quiet,
it was when I was with him;
while I feel that I shoot,
feeding myself.

For, starvation was that on account of which I was bound.
Therefore, I lived with him,
that I might get a gun from him;
that I might possess it,
That I might shoot,
feeding myself,
while I do not eat my companion's food.

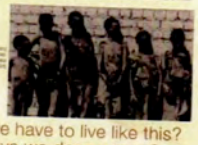
For, a gun is that which takes care of an old man;
it is that which we kill the springbok which go through the cold wind,
we go to eat, in the cold wind.
We do satisfied with food, lie down in our huts in the cold wind.
The gun is strong against the wind.
It satisfies a man with food in the very middle of the cold".

Bushmen or 'Bossiesmans'

In one of the few recordings of San testimony during one of the frontier wars, a man named Koelkie berated a commando, following him by saying:

"What are you doing in my territory? You occupy all the places where the eland and other game are. Why do you not remain where the sun sets, where you first were?"

When questioned further he commented that **"he did not want to leave the area of his birth, and that he would kill their herdsmen and drive them all away."**



"Why do we have to live like this?
What have we done wrong?
Growing up as a child I used to know
the taste of meat.
These days, we do not even get to
smell it very often."

Jan Swingkoom, Tsintsabis, Namibia



The two images above by Charles Bell demonstrate the similarities of lifestyle that existed between the early Trekboers and the Khoisan. Both groups lived a semi-nomadic, self-reliant lifestyle in search of pasture for their valued cattle, and hunting grounds for game to supplement their diet. It is no wonder that the Trekboers and Khoisan came into conflict with each other over access to these resources – which additionally placed strain on the Khoisan hunter-gatherers who where also dependent on this fragile, arid environment.

The semi-nomadic colonists adopted many of the practices of their fellow, indigenous pastoralists – they utilized water-resistant reed mats in the building of their temporary homes and they adopted veldschoenen (Khoekhoe shoes made of cattle hide or animal skin). Additionally it was recorded by observers of the time that the trekboers stored milk in skin sacks made in a similar fashion to those of the Khoisan, and they dried strips of game (later called biltong) on trees and bushes like Khoisan hunters.



The above photographs were taken by Dorothea Bleek, the daughter of Wilhelm Bleek, when she travelled to the Prieska district in the Northern Cape to interview relatives and descendants of the /Xam San that her father interviewed in the 1870s.

She noted that not one of them knew the stories and folklore that their relatives had recorded so meticulously with her father.

Dorothea explained that:

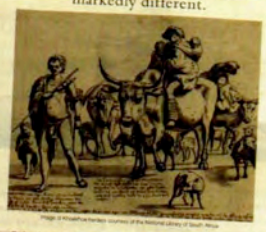
"On my reading some of the old texts a couple of old men recognized a few customs and said, 'I once heard my people tell that'. But the folklore was dead, killed by a life of service among strangers and the breaking up of families".

'THE REAL PEOPLE' – the Khoekhoe herders

Around 2 000 years ago an indigenous group of semi-nomadic herders migrated from Northern Botswana to the South-Western region of Africa.

European travellers and explorers referred to these pastoralists as 'Hottentots', but they called themselves Khoekhoen (or Khoikhoi) meaning **'the real people'** or 'men of men'.

While these herders might originally have derived from the aboriginal hunting groups of Southern Africa – known as the San – their pastoralist economy was markedly different.



Rather than a society based on egalitarianism and sharing like the San, the Khoekhoe herders' main concern was the accumulation of stock and the maintaining of social hierarchies.

The remains of a hut floor after a pastoral group has moved on.



Evidence for Khoekhoe habitation of *Delta* is found in the ceramic fragments excavated by archaeologists working on this farm in 2005, and in the colonial maps and exploration accounts of the Groot Drakenstein region of the 17th century.

During the Dutch occupation of the Cape under commander Jan van Riebeeck, Khoekhoe groups started to be referred to by their specific regional names – such as 'Namaqua' and 'Cochoqua', or by the names of their leaders – such as 'Oedesoa' or 'Gonnema'.

The map above of Drakenstein produced around 1710 shows the positions of the various colonial settlers' homesteads situated in the vicinity of a number of kraals belonging to 'Gonnemase Hottentots'. Gonnema was one of the leaders of the Cochoqua Khoekhoen who seasonally inhabited the Berg River valley for pasturage for their herds.

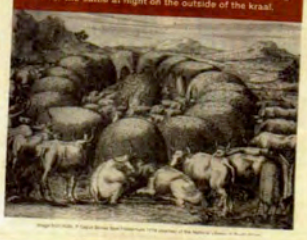
While this 18th century map positions Khoekhoe settlements at quite a distance from the homesteads of the settlers, far more interaction occurred between these two groups than the map suggests.

Two colonists from neighboring farms to *Delta* came into very close contact with Khoekhoe groups living in the Drakenstein region:

- In March 1689 Charles Marais, of the farm *Le Plessis Marle*, was killed by a 'Hottentot' called Dikkop [Thickhead], who had asked him for a watermelon. Conflict ensued, resulting in a stone being thrown at Marais from which he later died.
- In 1702 Daniel Hugo launched a formal complaint that 'Hottentots' had built a kraal near the vineyards on his farm, *Sion*, and their cattle were badly damaging his grapes.

But not all relationships between Khoe and colonist were characterized by conflict. Informal networks of trade existed between the indigenous inhabitants and the new settlers. In fact, colonists would have learnt much about how to survive in this harsh terrain from the Khoekhoen – the settlers even adopted their seasonal grazing methods.

Khoekhoe kraals were constructed along the lines of this Peter Kolb engraving – a circle of 'matjieshuise' with herds of sheep protected in the centre and herdsmen watching over the cattle at night on the outside of the kraal.



'THE REAL PEOPLE'– the Khoekhoe herders

Khoekhoen worked and lived on *Delta* as supplementary labour to the slaves that tilled the soil, picked and pruned the grapes and cleaned and cooked for the owners of the farm.

Before the 1800s most contracts between Khoekhoe labourers and colonists were verbal, so there are few records of the agreements that were made. But Drakenstein colonists would have especially relied on Khoekhoe labour in the early years of settlement, as until 1692 no farmers in this region owned any slaves.

Our first archival record of Khoekhoen people living on *Delta* is dated to 1812, when a 40 year old 'Bastert Hottentotten' named Griet and her 3 children, Hanna 11 years old, Lena 3 years old and Joseph just 9 days old were registered to wine farmer Jan Stephanus de Villiers. It was also recorded that all the children were born in Groot Drakenstein – perhaps *Delta* itself.

Delta

Other 'Hottentots' that were recorded as living and working on *Delta*:

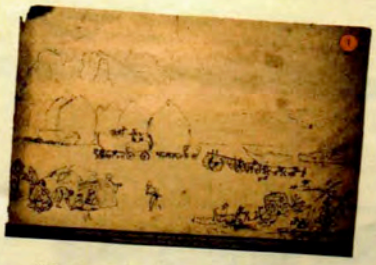
Under Isaac Cornelis de Villiers' ownership of the farm [1814-1823]

- **Sanna, 50 yrs old and her daughter**
  - **Rosina, 3yrs old.**
- **Hanna, 50 years old and her sons**
  - **David, 7yrs old, and**
  - **Hendrik, 4 yrs old.**
- **Sanna, 40 yrs old.**
- **Christina (or Lena), 30 yrs old.**
- **Sanna, 14 yrs old.**
- **Freyn, 10 yrs old.**

Under Cornelis Brink's ownership of the farm [1823-1835]

- **Mietje, and her daughter**
  - **Hanna.**
- **Betje, and her son**
  - **Piet.**





Khoekhoen who lived and worked on *Delta* would have been part of a larger labour force that included slaves from all countries of the globe – from Mozambique, Bougies, and Batavia, as well as from the Cape itself.

Out of their diverse linguistic, cultural and religious backgrounds a new common language was formed, through which they communicated with each other and their Dutch-speaking masters. A creolized Dutch emerged which evolved into 'Afrikaans' – a language still widely in use today.

The linguistic origins of many Afrikaans words can be traced to Malaysian and Khoekhoen roots, in addition to German, Dutch and English.

Khoekhoe words in the Afrikaans language:

Geographical place names:
- Outeniqua
- Karoo
- Gamka
- Namaqualand
- Kamdehoo
- Keiskamma

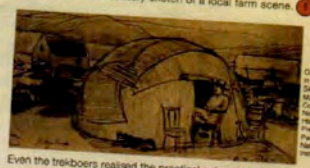
Animal names:
- Goggo (insect)
- Koedoe (antelope)
- Kwagga (zebra)
- Geitjie (Gecko)

Plant names:
- Boegoe (Agathosma spp)
- Dagga (Cannabis sativa)

Also words such as:
- Karos (cloak),
- Kierie (stick),
- Abba (piggy-back),
- Kammi (make-believe),
- Eina (ouch) and
- Aitsa (well-I-never)

In the early years of Dutch colonisation, Khoekhoe men often worked for settler farmers on a seasonal basis while their women and children remained at the kraals. As their access to grazing land and watering places for cattle became increasingly restricted by colonial occupation of the region, these kraals struggled to sustain the people who lived in them.

After the Khoekhoen fought and lost two wars against the Dutch in the late 17th century, they increasingly started to move onto farms. There they would set up their traditional 'matjieshuis' [mat house] on the property, as can be seen in this late 17th century sketch of a local farm scene.



Colonial trekboer in matjieshuis. Sketch by Erich Mayer, 1960. Courtesy of the National Cultural History Museum, Pretoria. Part of the National Flagship Institution.

Even the trekboers realised the practical nature of Khoekhoe dwellings. This sketch shows a white trekboer living in a typical 'Matjieshuis', which suited their semi-nomadic lifestyle in the late 19th century.

"WHAT WE THOUGHT OF THE WAGONS"

"The first time we saw the wagons
was when the Trekboers went up to Lake Ngami.
We thought the wagons were big animals.
There were many oxen going before,
and these big animals were going after, as we thought.

Some of the old Bushmen
had seen such things before.
They looked like elephants, but they were white.
We watched them a long time
and we saw that some of them stopped.

At last one day we saw some of the Trekboers
take all the cows out of the wagon
and leave it on the veld.
We were afraid to go near it.

We thought they had left it to graze,
but we saw that its feet did not move.
Some got near them, and we looked in.
There were lots of things inside
but we Bushmen did not know their uses,
and so we left them.

After a time all the cattle died of sickness,
and the Trekboers got sick and died too.
They left the wagons.

The wagons died on the veld,
and some of them were burnt.
That is what I knew of the Trekboers.
It is the end of the tale."

LOOKING AT EACH OTHER:

A European viewpoint of the indigenous people:

The earliest European reports from the Cape of Good Hope asserted that the indigenous people lacked any trace of religion or language:

as Pyrard de Laval asserted in 1610

"they live without law or religion, like animals"

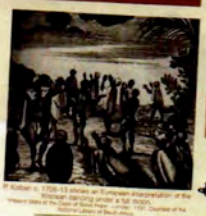
and Edward Terry claimed that

"their speech it seemed to us inarticulate noise, rather than language, like the clucking of hens, or gabbling of turkeys."

European commentators concluded that people who were so deprived and bestial to lack religion had no right to possess this land. Denials of the religion, and in fact the humanity, of the indigenous communities that lived in Southern Africa have to be seen within a larger context of colonial desire for land, livestock, resources and power.

An early visitor to the Cape characterised the 'Hottentots' as wearing

"the raw guts of beasts, which serve well for food as complement...
the rest of the body is naked, save that about the waist they have a thong of leather...
only upon their feet they have a sole or piece of leather tied with a little strap,
which while these Hatten-totes were in our company their hands held, their feet having thereby the greater liberty to steal, which with their toes they can do exactly, all the while looking us in the face the better to deceive".





An indigenous viewpoint of European people:







An indigenous viewpoint recorded by J.G. Grevenbroek in 1695:

"You eaters of grass and lettuce,
Feed it to your oxen:
personally we would rather fast.
Your habits disgust and sicken us:
we never belch or fart.
With your foolish values,
you treasure a woman's necklace
of tiny beads above sheep.
You have no gods; you know none.
Like savages,
you disburden your bowels on
the graves of our ancestor
Heitsi Aibib"

Across both these viewpoints there were misconceptions of the "other" created out of fear, rivalry and ignorance.

The sailors and seamen that came ashore from disparate parts of Europe all had one thing in common: poverty.

The kind of people the Khoekhoen of the Cape would therefore have first come into contact with were not the polished, refined gentry of European castles, but a disease-ridden underclass from the bowels of European society, desperate to earn money and make a new start in life.

'Cabo de Bona Esperança' – the European traders

In 1657, a slave woman called Groote Catrijn arrived at the Cape to serve a life sentence for the murder of her lover in Batavia.

This unlikely woman played a key role in early Cape colonial society. Her story overlaps with the foundation stones of *Delta* farm.

Not only was she the Cape of Good Hope's first recorded female convict (or 'bandiet'), she was also the mother of the SNYMAN family of South Africa.

1 Groote Catrijn's story begins a long time before her banishment to the Cape. She was born around 1631 into an indigenous slave-owning society in Paliacatta (present day Pulicat) – a VOC (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie [Dutch East India Company]) textile trading post situated on India's Coromandel Coast. The VOC obtained textiles such as indigo, cotton yarn and 'Guinees lijnwaad' or Guinea cloth, with which they traded in the Indian archipelago.

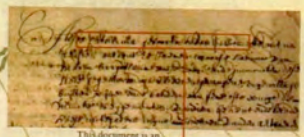
At this stage the VOC was one of the most successful global trading companies in history, whose power stretched across many lands and oceans. In an effort to address the commercial rivalry that existed between Dutch, Portuguese, English and French traders over the routes to the East, the VOC was given the right to maintain military forces, conduct treaties, build fortifications and establish governmental institutions on these Eastern trading centres, in the name of the Dutch States-General.

It is probably due to Pulicat's global trade connections that Groote Catrijn ended up in Batavia (Jakarta in modern-day Java), the VOC's eastern trading and governmental headquarters, working as a slave in the household of Maria Magdalena – a 'vrije vroue' – who was probably a freed slave herself.

THE CONVICTION OF GROOTE CATRIJN AND HER BANISHMENT TO THE CAPE

2 **In 1656 Groote Catrijn was condemned to be tied to a stake and garrotted (or strangled) until dead, for the murder of her former lover Claes van Mallebaerse – a slave from the Coast of Malabar. But she was never to suffer execution. She was pardoned by the Governer-General of Batavia himself – Joan Maetsuycker, who commuted her sentence to life banishment to the Cabo de Bona Esperança [The Cape of Good Hope].**

It was determined that her killing of Claes was committed in self-defence. The two lovers had became involved in a physical struggle one afternoon during which Claes assaulted Catrijn sexually. After being thrown to the ground, and fearing for her life, Catrijn grabbed an angular hay ladder and hit Claes violently in his lower stomach, causing his bladder to burst. He died four days later as a result of this injury. Catrijn was banished to the Cape, to life sentence as a Company slave for the VOC.



This document is an extract from the sentence book of the Batavian Council of Justice in the case of 'Catharina van Paliacatte'



3 **On the 21 February 1657 Groote Catrijn arrived at the Cape, after nearly three month's journey from Batavia on board the ship *Prins Willem*. This was the average time it took to cross the 5,900 nautical miles between Batavia and the Cape.**

While today 3 months seems a long time to travel on board ship, it is nothing compared to the length of the voyage between the Netherlands and Batavia in the 17th and 18th centuries. This journey of approximately 15,000 nautical miles took an average of 6 months.

VOC seafarers, soldiers and craftsmen left their European homes for even longer periods. Aside from the voyage to the East and back, their contracts compelled them to work in Asia for a period of between 3 to 5 years. Groote Catrijn never returned to Batavia or India, her surprising fate and legacy was to be tied to a small emerging colony at the tip of Southern Africa – the Cape of Good Hope.

4 The Cape of 1657 was markedly different from the bustling trade metropolis of Batavia, from whence Groote Catrijn had been exiled.

Just 5 years earlier the VOC had established a refreshment station at Table Bay, run by a garrison of sixty to seventy men, to provide fresh vegetables, meat and water to the company's outward and homeward bound trade ships. The strategic military and trade position of the Cape was one of the driving forces behind the establishment of a VOC station.

In the early years after 1652 there was a certain reluctance on the part of ships' masters to call at the Cape – aside from the dangers of the northwesterly gales that caused many ships to be wrecked along our shores, crews were obliged to help in the building of the fort, leaving no time for rest or entertainment. The struggle setting up this new refreshment station is witnessed by the fact that the survival of the settlement was completely dependant on food supplies shipped from Amsterdam, Madagascar and Batavia.

By the time Groote Catrijn had been living at the Cape for a year, the situation might have slightly improved. In 1658 there were at least 4 taverns alongside the Company fort and gardens, but the population of the settlement was still very small at this stage, with only 360 inhabitants.



POPULATION OF VOC SETTLEMENT AT THE CAPE
(c. May / 1658)

Garrison	80
Sick	15
Dutch women and children	20
Healthy and sick slaves of the Company	98
Freemen	51
Male and Female slaves of Freemen	89
Exiles	7
Total	360

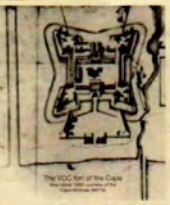
'Cabo de Bona Esperança' – the European traders

5 Groote Catrijn worked as a washerwoman at the fort – the precursor of the still-standing castle that was completed in 1674 – in the early years following her arrival.

Slave washerwomen in Cape Town often met to wash the laundry of their masters and clients at streams that led down from Table Mountain, where they would beat the dirty linen against rocks and wash it in the waters. After ironing the washing, they would tie it up in a sheet and carry it back to the household it belonged to by balancing the bundle on their heads.



The stream that would have been most convenient for Groote Catrijn to use was the one that ran alongside the fort where she lived.



The VOC fort of the Cape

Groote Catrijn might have been a washerwoman for the Commanders of the fort and their families, as her living quarters were situated very close to theirs. Even by 1671, when the majority of Company slaves were housed in a separate slave lodge, Catrijn was still living at the fort.

6 If Groote Catrijn was a washerwoman for the Commanders of the early Cape fort, she certainly would have worked for Jan van Riebeeck during his ten year period of rule from 1652 until 1662.

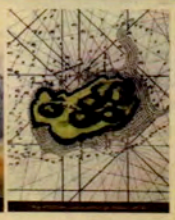
After van Riebeeck's departure a pattern of short-term commanders at the Cape started, lasting for the next 20 years. It is probably partly due to this disruptive rule that Groote Catrijn's status as a convict and slave for life became blurred.



7 On Groote Catrijn's arrival in 1657 there were only 14 other women (whether free or enslaved) living at the small Cape settlement. It is no wonder that Catrijn became involved in relationships with freed slave men and European VOC employees and soldiers, by whom she reportedly mothered 4 children.

One relationship that had interesting consequences for the genealogical line of many South Africans today was with Company soldier Hans Christoffel Snijman (or Snijder) from Heidelberg, Germany. We first learn of this relationship in 1667 when Snijman was convicted for leaving his post as sentry at the fort "te slapen sign ten woonplaets an sekere bekende swarte meijt" [to sleep at the living place of a certain well known black servant girl].





He was sentenced to banishment on Robben Island for two years and forfeited 2 months salary, as well as receiving physical punishment.

Groote Catrijn's illegitimate son born of this relationship was baptised Christoffel on the 9 March 1669. Throughout his life he identified himself by his father's surname as did his own children. Christoffel was the progenitor of the South African Snyman family and the second owner of the farm, *Delta* (then called *Zandvliet*)

In 1671 Catrijn married Anthonij Jansz van Bengale, the first known 'free black' to purchase land and become a registered landowner at the Cape of Good Hope. Catrijn became a free woman when she was pardoned by the authorities so that she could marry this 'free black'.

8 Hans Christoffel Snyman's exile to Robben Island in 1667 attests to the use of the Island as a place of banishment for law-breaking Company employees during Dutch rule at the Cape, which continued under English governance. It was similarly a place of banishment for indigenous and foreign political prisoners that the VOC wanted to subdue.

Aside from the many other roles Robben Island played in South Africa's history – such as leper colony, hospital, and military camp – it is its role as a political prison under Apartheid that is most widely associated with the Island in recent history.

THE MAPPING OF SPACE: Different ways of making sense of the world

Maps played an important part in colonization : They made the imaginary 'real' – trading and hunting routes were established by drawing them on paper for all the world to see; they converted space that was seasonally inhabited by indigenous populations into land permanently owned by colonial settlers.

Not all societies understood space in this way. For the San, space was mapped through the telling of stories – the natural features of the landscape and sky were invested with stories which marked characteristics and resources.

LONG BEFORE THE VOC CLAIMED THE CAPE AS A REFRESHMENT STATION, TRAVELLERS FROM ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD WERE RECORDED AS CIRCUMNAVIGATING AND EXPLORING AFRICA:

11th Century
Arab seafarers and Persians settled along the East African Coast where they set up trading posts at places as far south as Inhambae (23°45'S).

14th Century
Chinese maps of the African continent appeared. In the 15th Century Chinese explorers undertook several expeditions into the Indian ocean – but we do not know if they ever reached Southern Africa and sailed into the Atlantic Ocean.

15th Century
Portuguese explorers such as Bartholomeu Dias (1488) and Vasco da Gama (1497) rounded the Cape and made contact with Khoekhoe inhabitants at Mossel Bay in an attempt to establish a sea route to Asia.

16th Century
Dutch Navigators explored the trade route to the East.

1647
VOC ship Haerlem was stranded at the Cape for a year until rescued by a homeward bound Company fleet. The report of this stay encouraged authorities of the Company to establish a refreshment station for ships en route to the East and returning to the Netherlands.

7 April 1652
Jan van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape to establish the refreshment station.



Map of the world by Al Idrisi, c. 1150 AD.

This map, drawn by Wilhelm Bleek in 1870, depicts the area of the Northern Cape from which his /Xam San informant, //Kabbo, came. It shows that distance was measured in walking days between people. For //Kabbo, understanding and connection to land was embodied in the art of story telling – an extremely important social rite.



For //Kabbo, a story was "like the wind, it comes from a far-off quarter, and we feel it".

//Kabbo's Intended Return Home

[Transcribed in July & August, 1873]

Thou knowest that I sit waiting for the moon to turn back to me,
that I may return to my place.
That I may listen to all the people's stories, when I visit them;
that I may listen to their stories,
that which they tell;

While the sun becomes a little warm,
that I may sit in the sun;
that I may sitting, listen to the stories which yonder come,
which are stories which come from a distance.
Then, I shall get hold of a story from them,
because stories float out from a distance;
while the sun feels a little warm;
while I feel that I must altogether visit;
that I may be talking with them, my fellow men.

For, I do work here, at women's household work.
My fellow men are those who are listening to stories from afar,
which float along;
they are listening to stories from other places.
For I am here; I do not obtain these stories;
because I do not visit, so that I might hear stories which float along;
while I feel that the people of another place are here;
they do not possess my stories.
They do not talk my language.

As regards myself?
I am waiting that the moon may turn back for me;
that I may set my feet forward in the path.
For I think I must only await the moon;
that I may tell my Master,
that I feel this is the time when I should sit among my fellow men,
for, I do think of visits; that I ought to visit;
that I ought to talk with my fellow men;
[but] I work here.

I must first sit a little,
cooling my arms;
that the fatigue may go out of them;
because I sit.
I do merely listen, watching for a story, which I want to hear;
while I sit waiting for it;
that it may float into my ear.

"Veldvlugtig en vogel vrij"
–THE COLONIZATION OF DRAKENSTEIN

In 1688, six years after a refreshment station had been set up at the Cape, the company released some of its men from service to work as 'Free Burghers' who were allowed to farm plots of land alongside the Company's gardens. Later these freeburghers were given the first deeds of grant to land along the Liesbeek River and in Table Valley.

Under pressure to protect the strategic position of the Cape from other European rivals, in the 1670s the VOC committed itself to establishing a permanent settlement at its refreshment station on the tip of Africa.

Rapidly the burgher settlement expanded beyond the plots of Table Bay and out into the Hottentots Holland Mountains, and the Boland hinterland. Between 1680 and 1699, approximately 198 people became freeburghers at the Cape (the majority of whom had previously been employed by the Company).

By 1679 the first freeburgher settled in Stellenbosch. In 1687, due to the rapid settler expansion of this agricultural region, plots of land in Drakenstein (along the Berg River) were measured, to be allocated to freeburghers wanting to cultivate the land.

The 60 morgen (approximately 127 acres or 51 hectares) plot of favorably positioned land between the Berg and Dwars Rivers, then called *Zandvliet* – meaning 'Sandy Brook' – was allocated on 25 October 1690 to Callus Louw (or Laut) and Hans Silverbag.

One of the conditions of the deed was that these burghers were obliged to annually bring one tenth of their harvested wheat to the company in exchange for the land they received. Failure to do so would result in the land being confiscated. The Cape was experiencing massive grain shortages at this time, trying to supply the bread needed by the local inhabitants as well as by the passing ships.



In 1690 the property of Delta (then called Zandvliet) was allocated to Callus Louw (or Laut) and Hans Silverbag both 'vrijluijden en makers of consorten' (freemen and partners or associates).

In a census taken of the Drakenstein region in 1692, these men were not wealthy farmers:

Silverbag was recorded as being unmarried, owning approximately 14 cattle and 240 sheep, growing very small quantities of wheat, rye and barley (probably to make bread) and 1 flintlock rifle.

Louw was recorded as owning even less – one flintlock rifle!

Guns would have been a necessity to these pioneer settlers – they were used not only in the hunting of game and hippopotamus, but also in the very protection of their persons and property against the anger of the indigenous inhabitants.

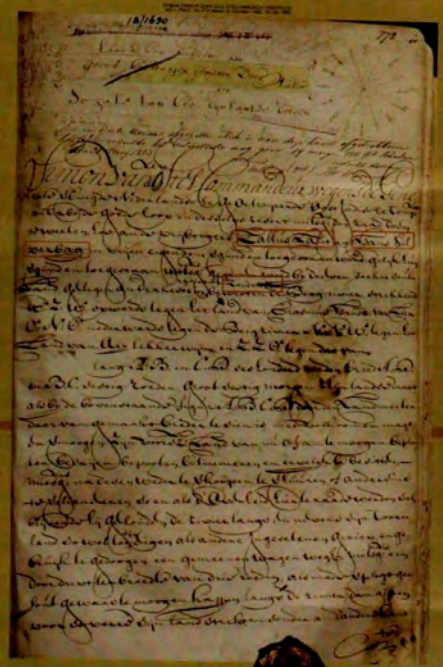
In their two-year period of ownership of *Delta*, around 3 000 vines were planted, which is significant when we consider that wine farming was to become the most important agricultural industry of the district by 1701 (producing more wine than even the Cape district).



We know very little of the origins of Silverbag and Louw, who together owned *Delta*. In all likelihood they came to the Cape in the service of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), like many people of German origin.

The prospect of being offered employment by the VOC almost guaranteed a long absence in a distant land with great risk of sickness or early death. But for some, the attractions outweighed the dangers. For an impoverished landless underclass of European peasants, the opportunity to earn a fixed income with free board and lodging might have seemed very appealing. Perhaps even more attractive was the prospect of improving their social and financial position in life.

But if Silverbag and Louw had started out in the Company's service or even as penniless freeburghers, we should not be misled by the sparse census records of their wealth. Their station in life was greatly improved: they owned land, the single most important factor when trying to accumulate wealth and status in the early Cape colony.



FIRST OWNERS OF *DELTA* (THEN *ZANDVLIËT*)

HANS SILVERBACH
CALLUS LOUW

CHRISTOFFEL SNYMAN

BERNARDUS VAN REUVENSKROON

JOHANNES VAN REUVENSKROON

Behind the Transfer Deeds of *Delta* lies a complex line of genealogical connections and family networks.

For the de Villiers family that owned many properties in the Drakenstein region, space really was organised along socially connected lines.

It was especially in the transfering of property through marriage alliances that wealth became defined. While from the names on the Transfer Deeds it would seem these connections run through the male line, this is not the case, as what most often links the transfer of Cape property is the connection to women.

By the early 19th century it was difficult to find a farm in the Dwars River Valley that did not have some link to de Villiers ownership. It is no wonder that they were to become the wealthiest family in the Drakenstein region.

Sign on the dotted line
What can you learn from a signature?

From his scratchy and shaky cross, it would seem that Hans Silverbag could not write at all. His lack of education attests to his position in society and why he might have sought the opportunity of settling at the Cape to make a fresh start in life. ('Silverbag' in this spelling is a corruption of the German surname 'Silberbach')

dit is de handtoe:
kening van Hans Sil:
verbag voorn:

His partner, Callus Louw (or Laut) could muster an uncomfortable stroke to represent himself on the transfer of *Delta* to Christoffel Snyman. This signature is almost the only concrete evidence that Callus ever existed. Aside from this transfer deed we have yet to find further documentary trace of him. Researching people through archival material often becomes difficult when several spellings of the same person's name appear on documents.

Callus Louw

On the other hand, Christoffel Snyman, the son of a freed slave, could deftly sign his name. After his whole family tragically died when he was 13, the liquidated estate provided monies for the further education of Snyman in "lesen, Schrijven en te leeren" thereby explaining his adequate literacy and his fashionable signature.

Christoffel Snijman

Similarly, French Huguenot Jacob de Villiers, one of three de Villiers brothers who immigrated to the Cape, could stylishly and confidently sign his name. Having a good knowledge of wine making, the three de Villiers brothers' education is evidenced in their very signatures.

jacob De villiers



As to the household possessions of Silverbag and Louw, we can only make guesses. A household inventory of the neighbouring farmer's estate following his death in 1697 allows us to judge the wealth of the early owners of *Delta*.

The household possessions of Arij Lekkerwijn were listed as:
1 old wagon
2 iron pots
1old stretcher bed (and old sleep bunk)
1 old harrow
1 iron frying pan
2 old mattresses (one filled with Kapok)
1 old plough
2 old chests
1 old blanket

The listing of these items belonging to the deceased Lekkerwijn has deeper connections to our farm than may be imagined – Lekkerwijn was murdered by none other than *Delta*'s first owner, Hans Silverbag.

"Veldvlugtig en vogel vrij"

A fugitive on the run – Hans Silverbag murders Arij Lekkerwijn

On the 6th July 1697 Hans Silverbag killed his neighbour and fellow freeburgher Arij Lekkerwijn "without any reason by the blow of a heavy club".

Upon inspection of the body it was found that the blow delivered to Lekkerwijn's head above his temple was so severe that "in the underlying skull bone a large fracture was opened as far as the vault of the cranium so that the victim died of this fatal wound the next morning".

What drove Silverbag to commit this blow we cannot say. Was it self-defence, or an altercation over the shared resource of the Dwars River, or did it concern the maintenance of the communal wagon road (an obligation in the granting of freehold property)...

or perhaps it was a crime of passion.

Hans Silverbag was married to a woman of slave descent, if not a freed slave herself – Ansela van de Caab.

Arij Lekkerwijn on the other hand was married to Maria de Lanoy, the daughter of French Huguenot Nicolas de Lanoy who owned land in Drakenstein that would later become part of *Boschendal*.

Would slave descent have made a difference to Ansela's social acceptance and status within this early colonial settlement?



Marriage between male European immigrants and slave women was not an infrequent occurrence at the Cape during the late 17th Century. In fact in the small Drakenstein community alone there were many such 'mixed marriages'.

- **Arnoldus Willemsz Basson (first owner of *Eensaamheid*)** was married to Ansela van Bengale (also known as "Mooij Ansela")
- **Jacobus van As (first owner of *Meererust*)** was the step-son of Basson – the product of his slave mother's previous relationship with a cooper in the Company's service. In fact, as a child Jacobus himself was a slave until freed in 1666
- **Ernst Frederik Wolter (first owner of *Lubeck*)** was married to Catharine Caboden (similar to "van de Caab" – meaning "of the Cape")

So in fact, of the five properties lying between the Dwars and Berg Rivers, Arij Lekkerwijn was the only owner who was not married to a freed slave or woman of slave descent himself. The prevalence of 'mixed' marriages in this particular region was an effect of the imbalanced sex ratios of the Cape settlement. It was especially in the new districts of Drakenstein and Stellenbosch that the ratio of adult freeburgher men to women was extremely low. With the marrying of European women not always an option, many of the Company men and freeburghers found sexual expression and marriage partners elsewhere. Thus between 1660 and 1795, at least 781 Blankes men married or lived with women who were of mixed ancestry.

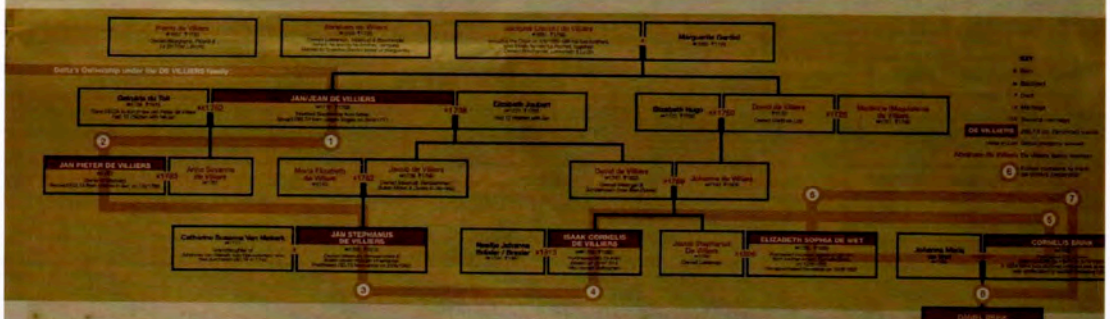


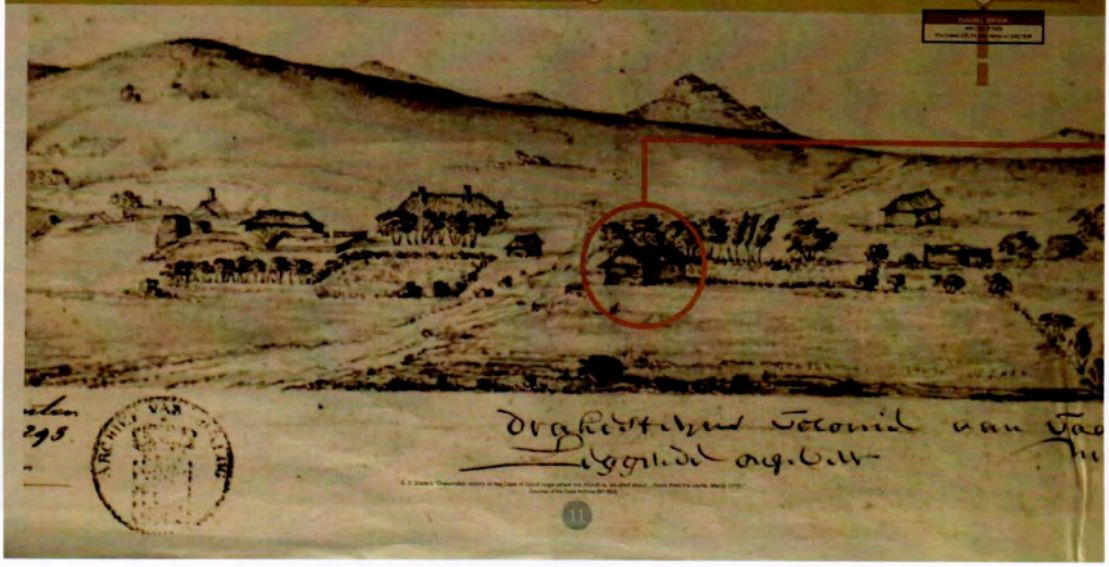
After several summons and a murder charge by proclamation and the public ringing of bells, Silverbag was declared "veldvlugtig en vogel vrij" (a fugitive who may be shot on sight) with a bounty placed on his head. If captured he would receive the death penalty.

Whether an act of self-defence or passion, the murder of a fellow European settler was a severe offence. Had Silverbag confessed and given himself up to the local magistrate, he would have been assured of a slow and painful death in accordance with the tradition and custom of the time.

Had he been caught, Silverbag might have been taken to a place of public execution such as the gallows situated near the Castle (pictured above) and strangled until dead. Often bodies would then be fastened to a forked post and exposed to the air and birds so that all passersby would be reminded of the harsh consequences of disobeying the Company's law.

Silverbag probably fled inland, outside the bounds of the government's jurisdiction. He would have been well equipped to survive in the often inhospitable terrain of the Cape interior. He was a skilled hunter and was used to living off the land, as he had done during his first months in the Drakenstein Valley.





– THE COLONIZATION OF DRAKENSTEIN

An exceptional relationship: Christoffel Snyman and Marguerite Thérèse de Savoye

The second owner of *Delta*, Christoffel Snyman (or Snijman), also enjoyed a mixed marriage, however, it was he rather than his wife that was of slave descent.

Snyman was the son of the first woman convict at the Cape – Groote Catrijn – who had been banished for the murder of her lover in Batavia. In archival documents, Catrijn was referred to as being a 'Moor', but neither her colour nor her background nor his responsibility as a Fort sentry discouraged Company soldier Hans Snijman (aka Snijder or Schneider) from impregnating her.

By 1690 their son Christoffel Snyman was married to Marguerite Thérèse de Savoye, the daughter of the eminent French Huguenot, Jacques de Savoye. Jacques arrived at the Cape on the 25 April 1688 on board the *Oosterland* with his second wife, his mother-in-law, 2 daughters (one of them Marguerite) and his son.

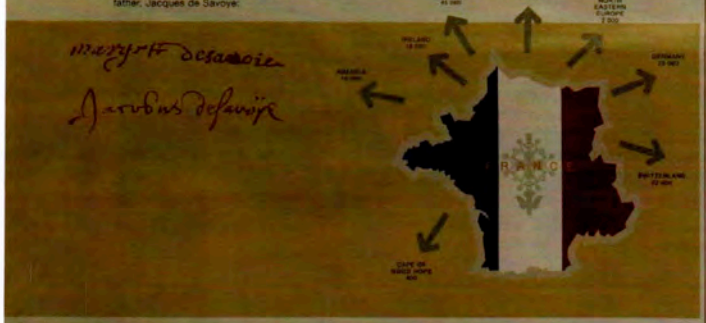
Jacques was perhaps one of the wealthiest Huguenots that sought sanctuary at the Cape, as he did not require financial assistance from the government and even brought his servants with him to the Cape.

So how did the illegitimate son of a convict come to marry the daughter of one of the wealthiest, most prominent Huguenots at the Cape?

At the tender age of 13, Christoffel's entire family suffered a tragedy from which he was the only survivor. He might have gone into the care of his godmother - Mooij Ansela – and her husband Arnoldus Willemsz Basson (whose family owned neighbouring properties called *Eensaamheid* and *Meererust*, across the river from *Delta*).

By 1701, Ansela's family were the wealthiest property owners in the Drakenstein valley, owning over 300 morgen (or 625 acres) of property. Had Snyman indeed been in the care of his godmother's family until he married, it would have been a favorable match for Marguerite.

These are the signatures of Marguerite de Savoye and her father, Jacques de Savoye:



HUGUENOT REFUGEES AT THE CAPE

During the Reformation in the 16th century, groups of French Protestants existed, but were to suffer severe persecution in the following two centuries for their beliefs. Embroiled in wars of religion against the French Catholics, the Huguenots waged a desperate struggle for the right to practice their religion. The Edict of Nantes was issued in 1598 guaranteeing freedom of religion. But under continuing Catholic pressure the Edict was revoked in 1685, beginning a flight of Protestants not only to the neighbouring countries of England, Ireland, Germany, Switzerland and the Dutch Republic, but further afield to places such as America and the Cape of Good Hope. Within a few years more than 250 000 Huguenots had immigrated to various parts of the globe. Full religious freedom was only obtained as late as 1905, when the French State and Church were separated.

It was via Holland that around 400 Huguenot refugees were to find a new home at the tip of the African continent —at the Cape of Good Hope — under the protection and governance of the VOC. The main group of refugees arrived at the Cape in 1688, and the majority were settled in the area from Oliphantshoek to Wagenmakersvallei (now Wellington). Many were granted plots in Drakenstein, as the region was carved up for settlement.

The 'Frans Quartier' of Drakenstein soon became known as 'Frans Hoek' or 'Franschhoek'.

Many of South Africa's oldest settler families originate from these Huguenot refugees. The de Villiers, du Toit, du Preez, Viljoen (Villion) and Marais, to name but a few, are South African families that had their origins in French religious persecution and immigration to the Cape.

The first settlers' dwellings

While Silverbag and Louw did not settle in an uninhabited landscape, they were the first to build permanent houses and cultivate the land – a monumental task when undertaken by people who had no other resources than their own hands and the few Khoekhoe labourers they could persuade to work for them.

Through recent excavations at *Delta*, archaeologists have uncovered the ruins of a 17th century colonial dwelling – almost certainly the very structure built by Silverbag and Louw when they first came to live in the Drakenstein valley.

It is an extraordinary find as very few such ruins have been excavated; it is the oldest intact floor plan ever found at the Cape.

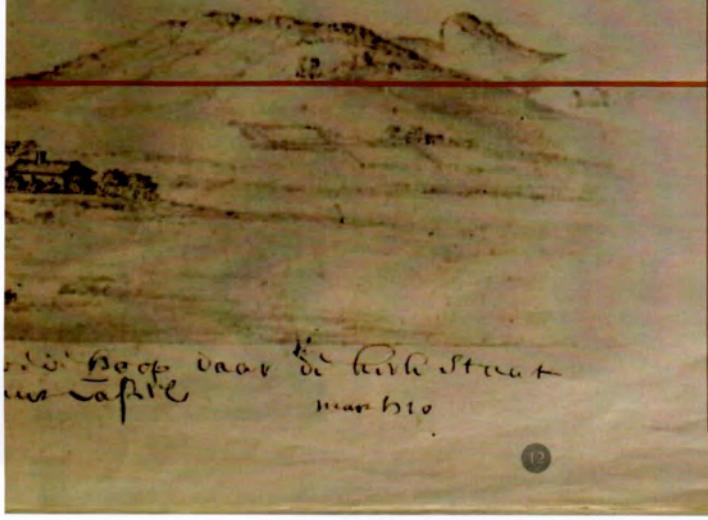
The house would have resembled the simple structures portrayed below (left) in the 1710 van Stade drawing of the "Colony of Drakenstein".

The ruin consists of a simple square structure with cobbled stone floors which was later incorporated into a larger building consisting of three rooms and an external addition. These extentions were probably built by Christoffel Snyman, the second owner of *Delta*, and his wife Marguerite de Savoye. As their family and the number of slaves grew, they would have needed more space than the small structure built by the previous owners.

The most unique element of this archaeological find lies in its connection to a prehistoric site lying alongside it. Thousands of late Stone-Age artefacts dating to 5000 years ago were found less than one metre away from the 17th century ruin. Both hunter-gatherers and colonists chose to settle at this same site, due to its situation on a plateau overlooking the Dwars River.



It is amazing to think that people separated by 5000 years would have chosen exactly the same site to live; a truly remarkable example of the richness of South African history.



SLAVERY–

Ever since *Delta* was first granted to Hans Silverbag and Callus Louw in 1690, the property was planted to wine grapes.

Over the next 200 years this was the shape the farm would take: a wine estate in the heart of the Cape's rural interior.

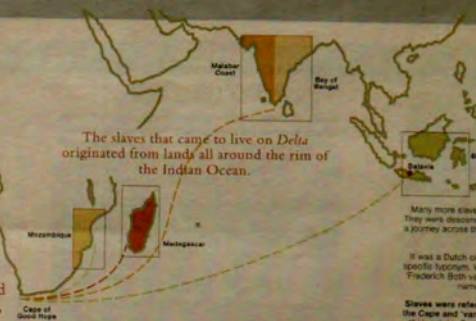


French drawing of slaves pressing wine. Frederick Krivosiff. Courtesy of the Library of Parliament

From the 3000 vines planted by the first owners to the 90 000 vines that were cultivated here by 1823, the owners of the estate did not undertake this mammoth task on their own:

Wine farming is a labour intensive process – the planting and pruning of vines, harvesting the grapes, and actually turning them into wine, takes many hands.

Over the first two centuries that wine was made on *Delta*, the hands that produced it were bound by the shackles of slavery. Over that period approximately 190 slaves lived and worked at *Delta*. They cultivated the land, and built almost all the beautiful buildings that still grace the estate today.



The slaves that came to live on *Delta* originated from lands all around the rim of the Indian Ocean.

What's in a name?

Some of the slaves that lived on *Delta* came from:

Batavia (present day Jakarta in Java), Bougies (part of Sulawesi), Bengal, Malabar, Madagascar and Mozambique.

Many more slaves that lived on this farm were born at the Cape itself. They were descendants of dislocated slaves that had been forced to make a journey across the oceans to work for an unknown "master" for the term of their natural lives.

It was a Dutch convention that individuals were named by a regionally specific hyponym. VOC employees were referred to in this way, for example 'Frederick Both van Gotha' (which became Botha). Similarly slaves were named after the place from which they came.

Slaves were referred to as 'van de Caab' or 'van de Kaap' if born at the Cape and 'van Mozambique' or 'van Malabar'...etc., depending on their origin. Specific attributes and skills became associated with certain regions. Often slaves from Bougies were known for their artisanal skills whereas many from Madagascar were noted for their farming and agricultural talents.

BEING SOLD AT AUCTION

SALE OF A NEGRO FAMILY.

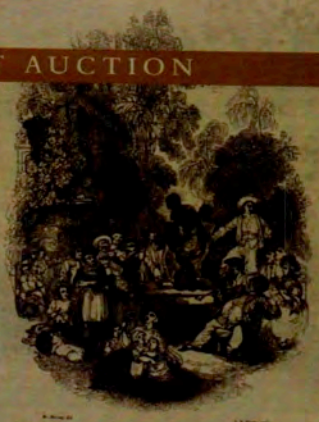
At the Cape of Good Hope, 1824.

A late traveller at the Cape of Good Hope, says, in a letter to a friend, "Having learned that there was to be a sale of cattle, farm-stock, &c. by auction, at a settler's in the vicinity, we halted our waggon for the purpose of procuring fresh oxen. Among the stock of the farm was a female slave and her three children. The farmers examined them, as if they had been so many head of cattle. They were sold separately, and to different purchasers. The tears, the anxiety, the anguish of the mother, while she met the gaze of the multitude, eyed the different countenances of the bidders, or cast a heart-rending look upon her children; and the simplicity and touching sorrow of the poor young ones, while they clung to their distracted parent, wiping their eyes and half concealing their faces, contrasted with the marked insensibility and jocular countenances of the spectators, furnished a striking commentary on the miseries of slavery, and its debasing effects upon the hearts of its abettors. While the woman was in this distressed situation, she was asked: 'Can you feed sheep?' Her reply was so indistinct that it escaped me; but it was probably in the negative, for her purchaser rejoined, in a loud and harsh voice, 'Then I will teach you with the *sjambok*:' a whip made of the rhinoceros' hide. The mother and her three children were literally torn from each other."

New Monthly Magazine.

How just the remark of Cowper:—

"There is no flesh in man's obdurate heart,
It does not feel for man."



SALE OF A NEGRO FAMILY.

Whatever their origin, almost all slaves were orphaned by the slave trade. Either separated from their family when taken from their home country or when put up for auction – the actual process of enslavement was a traumatic and harrowing experience.

On arrival at the Cape the next move from the docks would be to their new owner. At this stage a family might be split up with some members being sold to owners living in Cape Town while others were taken to the rural agricultural districts of the Hottentots Holland, Stellenbosch and Drakenstein.

After auction, slaves had no guarantee that they would stay in one place. They were privately sold and transferred like material possessions – some handed down through family inheritance, others sold as part of business transactions. Slaves might be sold out of their district altogether if their owners viewed them as troublesome and disruptive to their fellow slaves.

Like other valuable property, mortgages and loans were taken out against them so that, if not repaid in due course, they could be repossessed and assigned to new ownership.

The majority of slaves that worked at *Delta* were labourers who were involved in viticultural tasks to maintain and harvest the vines and make wine, and hence the proportion of slave men to women on the farm was always higher throughout its ownership during slavery. After 1816 occupations of slaves were listed in the records of the Slave Protector's Office, and a clear division of labour can be seen between slave men and women.

Slave men almost always laboured in the colonist's lands or outbuildings, whereas the duties of slave women were defined by their domestic roles within the home.

On *Delta*, slave men were put to work as:
labourers,
herdsmen,
wagon drivers and coachmen,
grooms,
gardeners,
masons and coopers.

On the other hand, slave women performed the tasks of:
nursery maids,
washerwomen,
seamstresses,
knitting girls,
housemaids,
and cooks.

Slave cultural influence on modern day South Africa

Evidence of the slave cultural influence on modern day South Africa can be seen in the origins of many Afrikaans words as well as in Cape cuisine where flavours and spices from the East are important elements of traditional dishes.





Many slave women of Indonesian origin worked in the kitchens of their masters' households, creating dishes and accompaniments such as *bobotie* (a light textured curried meat loaf topped with a golden savory crust), *atjar* (a spicy relish or pickle), *blatjang* (a tangy chilli sauce) and sago pudding (a traditional Malay pudding with a thick custard consistency).

Sosaties (or meat kebabs) are traditionally slow cooked over coals as can be seen in the mid 17th century Northern Indian image on the left. These marinated, spicy meat skewers are still a firm favorite at South African 'braais' to this day.

Slaves of Indonesian origin were sought after in Cape homes as they soon learned to prepare traditional Dutch dishes such as *melktert*, adding their own embellishments such as grated nutmeg or cinnamon.

The 'Dop' System

The control of slave labour in an agricultural setting was often mediated by the ringing of bells. On large farms a slave bell was rung to call the slaves to work or to summon them from the fields when the working day had ended. As a measure of control, the slave bell did not act alone. On wine farms there was a darker system whose effects are still being felt in the lives of farm workers to the present day. The slave bell also tolled at times when slaves would receive their 'dops' (measures of wine).

This system of providing alcohol on a daily basis to servants and slaves reaches as far back historically as Jan van Riebeeck's command during the mid 17th century. Through this system both slaves and Khoi labourers became attached to their masters' farms not only by law and custom, and lack of education, but also by dependence on alcohol.



the hands that built these walls

A daily struggle to survive...

The story of Candaza van de Caap, a slave at Delta.

For Candaza, a young woman belonging to Isaac Cornelis de Villiers during his ownership of *Delta* during the early 19th century, slavery was an experience exacerbated by both physical and psychological violence. After having worked for the de Villiers family for 4 years as a housemaid since the age of 14, she decided to lay a charge of physical abuse against her master, Isaac Cornelis, and her mistress, Neeltje.

Candaza related to the Magistrate and Councillors of Stellenbosch on the 20th May 1820 that:

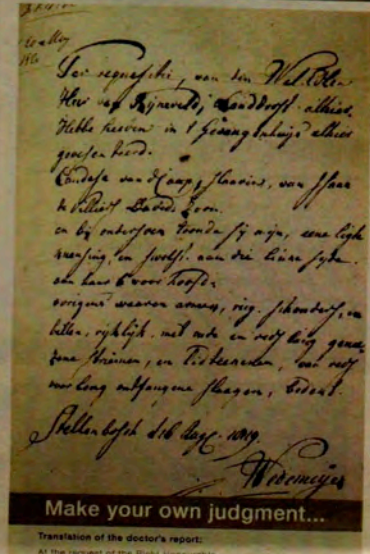
"she was assaulted almost daily by her mistress, who hit her everywhere with a broomstick or pair of pliers; that she was constantly being called a devil, damned waistrel and beast; that she could in no way satisfy her mistress and often had to clean the house at night..."

She further complained that her mistress:

"once seriously threatened her with a knife... so severely assaulted (her) that blood flowed from her entire body... and knocked her head so hard against the wall... that the plaster came off".

Both master and mistress denied her claims and explained to the magistrate that she had only been beaten 2 or 3 times, and only 2 or 3 times with a length of rope, but that they had never seen the sticks which were reportedly broken on her body.





Make your own judgment...

Translation of the doctor's report:

At the request of the Right Honourable Lord van Rhneveld, local Magistrate, [I] visited Candase, female slave of Isaac de Villiers David Zoon in the local goal and on examination she showed me a slight bruise and swelling to one side of her forehead. In addition her arms, shoulders and buttocks were profusely covered in old and partly healed lesions and scars of previously administered blows. Stellenbosch dated 16 August 1819.

Wademeijer

The verdict was that Candaza's claim was "false and unfounded, that everything was fabricated to discomfort both the Magistrate and her master and mistress".

It was recommended that Candaza:

"be condemned to close confinement for several hours – to be permanently jailed or punished as severely as possible by employees of Justice".

After hearing her sentence, Candaza begged once again to be sold: **"because I am being hit so badly, that I sometimes look as though the crows had been feeding off me".**

Her wish was finally granted on the 10th July 1821, when Candaza was sold to Johannes Jurgen Steyn of Tulbagh. Whether this new owner brought about a change in her plight we can only hope.



A struggle to be heard...

The story of Philida van de Kaap, another slave at Delta.

Case No. 405

22 November 1832

"Phillida, 25 years, female, residing at Groot Drakenstein district of Stellenbosch. Housemaid. Slave of Cornelis Brink J Son of the above place. Agriculturist.

Complaint registered by the slave herself on the above date. That her Master's son Frans Brink had cohabited with her for the last 8 years and made with her 4 children.

That said Brink first seduced her on the promise that he would make her happy by purchasing her freedom, that she is now however sent from her master's place to look for another master in Cape Town, but as she was not able to find one, she is now to be brought to the Interior in order to be sold there, which is done to break the connection between her and said Frans Brink".

Philida's complaint to the Slave Protector's Office attests to the complex nature of slave and master relationships that existed on farms such as *Delta* during the early 19th century. Through the piecing together of Philida's story we can explore what life might have been like for a slave living on *Delta* during this period:

Philida had been living and working as a 'Knitting Girl' for Cornelis Brink since she was at least 9 years old, when Brink was still living and working in Cape Town as a wine merchant. By the time Brink moved to *Delta* to increase his merchant income by making wine himself, he brought with him not only his wife and children, but his slaves too.



When Philida made her statement in 1832, she would have been 25 years old. However harsh her life was under the ownership of Brink and his family, it was perhaps the only family she had ever known. Philida named her first-born child after a fellow slave, Mamie, who had worked as a nursery maid, probably since the first of Brink's children was born in 1808. If not Philida's biological mother, she possibly acted as a mother figure to the young knitting girl.

The threat of being sold to the interior and away from the family that had raised her probably compelled Philida to make her complaint. Sexual relationships between 'Master' and 'Slave' were not uncommon, especially between adolescent sons of the household and young domestic slave girls. Many such encounters resulted in pregnancy, and Philida herself claims that all her 4 children were fathered by her owner's son.



As was usually the case, the girl was rebuked for her wantonness, and threatened with dire punishments if she dared to disclose who was responsible for her condition; **"nay, she is bribed to put the blame on another man"**. Frans Brink denied the entire affair saying that the children were created out of relationships she had with 2 slaves belonging to one of their neighbours.

Frans Brink's statement to the Slave Protector tends to confirm Philida's complaint, as he declares that her accusation is **"as true as it is false, that he yet could *do* nothing for her, as she is his father's slave and dependant not possessed of any means whatever...it was impossible for him to interfere for Philida had already disgraced him so much with his parents... that should he attempt anything, it would most certainly be his ruin, and that she cannot remain in the family after her very insolent and improper conduct"**.

Philida was informed by the Protector that he could not on any grounds prevent her sale unless she retracted the alleged connection between her and Frans Brink. On the 15 February 1833, Philida and two of her children were sold to B. J.G. de La Bat of the Tulbagh District (now Worcester). Her complaint was made just one month after her 4th child was born and shortly before Frans Brink's marriage to Maria Magdalena Bertrangé (the daughter of a wealthy military auditor).

EMANCIPATION

Slavery as a legal institution did not last forever. As decreed from London, emancipation from slavery was to take effect on 1 December 1834.

In 1795 Britain annexed the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch as it held strategic military importance in protecting the sea route to the East against one of Britain's main rivals, France. However, it was only from 1806 onwards that Britain properly claimed occupation of the Cape and began to enforce changes to its government and administration.

From 1808 the British oceanic slave trade was abolished, making it illegal for slaving ships to land at any British harbour, including the Cape. This did not end slavery, but created an atmosphere where greater pressure was placed on the Cape-born slave population – or creoles – and indentured labourers of Khoekhoen descent.



The 'Slave Abolition Act' was designed to placate all registered slave owners, as they were to receive compensation for their loss of 'property' in the form of bills of credit in London.

More significantly, the Act also made allowance for the continued labour of slaves that before emancipation had legally been tied to their masters.

Now these 'freed' slaves were 'apprenticed' to the very same owners (now termed 'employers') for four years, to allow a period of adjustment to the wage labour system.

The apprenticeship period lasted until 1838 – ensuring that for the majority of the Cape's freed slaves the difference to their daily lives was slight.



Despite the restrictions placed on freed slaves by the apprenticeship system, the psychological importance of being legally free should not be underestimated.

G.J. Rogers, the Protector of the Slaves noted in 1830:

"I have known many instances of slaves on the verge of the grave praying to be emancipated that they may die free".

On the ending of apprenticeship on 1 December 1838, a Capetonian remembered 'a number of Coloured people... parading through Cape Town, singing a Dutch song in which every verse ended "Victoria! Victoria! Daar waai de Engelschen vlag".

My mother asked a Coloured girl to go on an errand for her, she said

"No, I won't, we are free today".

ANNO TERTIO & QUARTO

GULIELMI IV. REGIS.

C A P. LXXIII.

An Act for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the *British* Colonies; for promoting the Industry of the manumitted Slaves; and for compensating the Persons hitherto entitled to the Services of such Slaves. [28th *August* 1833.]



When the apprenticeship period ended in 1838, many of the freed slaves that worked and lived on Drakenstein farms moved away to make a new life for themselves in the bustling world of Cape Town. Many more freed slaves, however, continued to work for the very same people that had owned them during slavery, due to their poor economic situation, and the social and family ties they had formed in their rural enclaves.

Another option open to both freed slaves and Khoekhoe labourers was the opportunity to settle at a mission station. The mission station acted as a haven for these groups – it provided them access to land for planting and grazing and a chance to live in their own homes and lead a more or less self-sufficient life.



In 1843 Pniel mission station was established in the Dwars River Valley by the Reverend Stegman of the Apostolic Union (a non-denominational protestant group). Land was set aside for the inhabitants of this mission – one area was used to house the 99 plots where people would live and another was opened up as a garden for the inhabitants to grow vegetables and keep livestock. The station was actually an amalgamation of land belonging to the owners of the nearby farms *Rhone*, *Langedes* and *Goede Hoop*. The creation of a local mission station in the heart of white-owned farmland was an effort to secure workers for the farmers of this region who were in the grip of an acute labour shortage.

Of the 44 freed slaves living at Pniel that were recorded as working on the farms situated in Drakenstein in 1849, at least one of them worked on *Delta*. The rest worked on the surrounding farms of Boschendal, Lekkerwyn, Meerlust, Groenenkloof and Bellingham to name a few.

It is a difficult process to identify all the voices from the past that built this farm – many were silenced for so long that we fear they will never be heard.



The rise and fall of the Cape wine farmer during the 19th century



Seven years into its occupation of the Cape, a system of preferential tariffs for Cape wine was initiated by Britain. This was one of the most significant policies to affect the wine industry, as an explosion of wine production was witnessed and a dramatic increase in vine planting. In 1810 there were 16.9 million vines in the Cape Colony. By 1824, this number had nearly doubled to 31.9 million. By 1860, the number of vines in the Drakenstein district alone had increased to 20 million.

At *Delta*, whereas Silverbag and Louw had planted 3000 vines by 1692, Brink had planted 90000 by 1824.

Of course all the labour involved in planting and pruning these vines was not performed by the hands of wealthy estate owners – the boom in the wine trade caused a proportionately large demand for slave labour in the wine districts. So while the farmers of the 18th century owned an average of 7 slaves, those were farmers in the 19th century owned as many as 30 or 40 slaves.

Thus, whereas Silverbag and Louw kept no slaves at *Delta*, Brink had owned 40 slaves by the time of emancipation.

But the wine boom did not last forever, and in 1821 there was a drastic drop in the price of wine. The cost of being a wine farmer weighed heavily on the owner of *Delta* during this period, Cornelis Brink. He would have had to contend with expensive equipment, the high costs involved in purchasing slaves and keeping them fit enough to work, as well as the problems of transport. With such costs it is no wonder that Brink was declared insolvent in 1834 – the year of slave emancipation. Brink had taken out so many mortgage bonds against his property and slaves that eventually when his debt caught up with him it was too late, and all of his worldly possessions were auctioned off – probably in front of his very eyes and those of his neighbours and family.

The ups and downs of wine farming in Drakenstein were to continue throughout the rest of the 19th century until the devastating spread of the Phylloxera epidemic seized the fate of this wine farming region. Vines were not planted at *Delta* again until the turn of the 20th century.



It has been estimated that an ox wagon could carry only 2 leaguers of wine at a time (a leaguer roughly equaling 600 litres). Cornelis Brink, who owned *Delta* from 1823 to 1849, was recorded as producing 90 leaguers of wine and nearly 5 leaguers of brandy per year – totalling a staggering 57 000 litres! Brink would have had to undertake roughly 50 journeys to Cape Town in order to sell this amount of wine at the market or to merchants. A single journey over poor roads could take up to 4 days for the remote Drakenstein wine farmers.



Some Khoekhoe labourers who worked for the wine farmers of this region also moved to the mission stations in the early parts of the 19th century, but many others remained working on the farms alongside the freed slaves. After 1838, freed slaves and Khoe were grouped together under the label 'coloured'.

The farmers' fears over the loss of their slave labour force were not unjustified. In 1830 the Compensation Commissioners recorded 35 745 slaves living in Cape Town and the arable south western districts, with an estimated worth of over £3 million.

But even those freed slave men and women who continued to work on wine farms after the apprenticeship period did not experience true freedom, as they were only partially paid in wages.

"They were forced to work for farmers in return for the use of land, or more commonly for food, drink, housing or clothing".

Seeds of Apartheid

After British legislation was passed in 1860 that ended the favourable import duties placed on Cape wine, Drakenstein wine farmers faced a serious economic crisis. The situation was exacerbated by the onset of the Phylloxera vine disease, which devastated what little financial security these farmers had left.

In 1886 Phylloxera was discovered in a vineyard in Mowbray. By the summer of 1890 out of the total infected vines in the Cape (214 652) Groot Drakenstein alone accounted for almost 80 percent of the losses.

While measures such as the grafting of resistant American vine stocks were introduced in nurseries in Paarl, it was too late for the wine farmers of Drakenstein, many of whom were forced to declare bankruptcy.

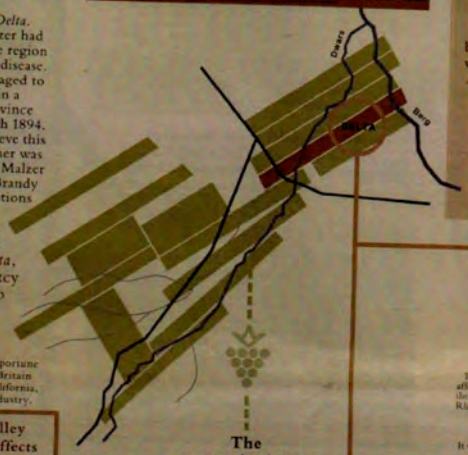
This applied also to the owners of *Delta*. In 1892 Frans Kuffner and Louis Malzer had purchased the farm, at a time when the region was in the grip of this devastating vine disease. Despite this, Kuffner and Malzer managed to produce an award-winning wine, in a competition held at the Western Province Agricultural Show in Rosebank in March 1894. These partners were well placed to achieve this success, as during their lifetimes Kuffner was recorded as being a "wine expert" and Malzer the manager of the Castle Wine and Brandy Company. But neither their qualifications nor their successes guaranteed them security in business. By 1899, they had dissolved the company that bought *Delta*, and Kuffner declared bankruptcy before selling the property to H.E.V. Pickstone on 28th September 1899.

Pickstone entered the Drakenstein valley at an opportune moment in its history. He had emigrated from Britain with a background in deciduous fruit farming in California, with the hope of developing the Cape's fruit industry.

At this stage, the Drakenstein valley was a disaster area shattered by the effects of Phylloxera. This made large scale acquisition of prime estates a relatively easy venture. Pickstone purchased most of the properties along the Dwars River, with the financial backing of the wealthy and influential Cecil John Rhodes.

Individual farms that had been essentially wine producing for over 200 years and informally connected to each other by community and family networks, now became part of a large formal corporation: the Rhodes Fruit Farms.





The properties in the Dwars River Valley owned by H.E.V Pickstone and Rhodes Fruit Farms.

Cecil John Rhodes became Prime Minister of the Cape Colony in 1890. He was also the most powerful man in the diamond and gold-mining industries, through his control of a company called De Beers, which had the monopoly of Kimberley's diamond production.

Rhodes extended his power to the Witwatersrand, and invested his profits there. It was to become the largest gold-mining operation in the world.

There is a darker undercurrent to his success story, as it was the exploitation of African labour that created this industry. Racial segregation and discrimination were the hallmarks of the enterprise. African men left their families in their rural homes to earn money on the mines for several months at a time. They were forced to live in male-only compounds owned by the companies they worked for.

"They were clustered together, as many as fifty to a room, where they slept without beds in double-decker concrete bunks...white workers earned about eight times as much as Africans and were free from supervision in their living arrangements"



The new ownership of these properties in the Dwars River valley affected both the agricultural landscape and the architectural style of the buildings that lay on those properties. Due to connections between Rhodes and the architect Sir Herbert Baker, many of the homesteads that were part of Rhodes Fruit Farms were altered to include British Imperial features.

It was largely due to Rhodes and Baker that Cape Dutch vernacular architecture was survived.

In the Herbert Baker Papers housed at UCT's Manuscripts and Archives Library, we can track the changes his office made to Delta . Dark passageways and rooms of the homestead were opened up by fanlights, and new windows were inserted into the walls. There was also a concern for warmth in the living rooms and bedrooms, where new fireplaces were installed.



After the end of the 'apprenticeship' period in 1838, the majority of ex-slaves continued to be live in poverty – an indication that their lives were not materially changed by the abolition of slavery. There were a few "black" people in Cape Town that were property owners or merchants, but the bulk of wealth and power lay in "white" hands. There were no people of colour in the central or local government legislatures of the Colony, which effectively meant that

"people of European descent were in the widest sense the ruling class".

Segregation was slowly being enforced in all manner of places: in prisons, hospitals and churches; social arenas such as sports clubs, hotels and restaurants; and certain types of trade apprenticeship were reserved for whites only. From the 1880s there was also increasing segregation in educational facilities.

In the early 20th century, new social and political identities developed, building on those that had emerged during slavery. The Afrikaans-speaking freed slaves and their descendants began to be identified as 'Coloured'. This term was eventually adopted by the elite "of those so described because of discrimination against them by whites, but also because, as 'Coloureds' they wanted to distinguish themselves from Bantu-speaking Africans". This 'Coloured' category also included the descendants of the indigenous San and Khoe language groups. By the end of the 19th century, other indigenous Africans were subject to far more stringent forms of economic and social control in that they were subject to residential segregation and prohibitory liquor laws . 'Coloured' classification became an acceptable way of dissociating oneself from African 'Natives' or 'Kafirs'. For those Afrikaans-speaking Khoisan and ex-slaves and their descendants, however, colour was only one potential means of self-identification.





With the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley and gold on the Witwatersrand at the end of the 19th century, a mineral revolution brought new opportunities for Capetonians of all colours. Many black workers enjoyed increased earnings, which resulted in growth of the black bourgeoisie. However, it was still true that the people who performed the worst jobs (such as coal loading and working at the docks) were southern African black migrants.

A consequence of white fears over this growing black bourgeoisie was that segregation dramatically increased in all social, economic and political institutions . But it was not until the early 20th century that segregation became a "fully fledged ideology".

Britain's granting of Responsible Government to the Cape in 1872 helped to create a more racially ordered political economy. The achievement of Responsible Government gave control to the white colonists, who deployed state power to meet their labour needs following the mineral revolution. It also preserved white supremacy through the annexation of African kingdoms. By the end of the 19th century a move towards a thoroughly segregated and racially ordered society had taken shape in the form of mine compounds for migrant labourers and reserves for rural Africans. Cape Town was of course quite different to the mining centres of Kimberley and the Witwatersrand. Nevertheless the city's dominant class began to use colour as the distinguishing feature regulating access to facilities and resources. The mineral revolution forced Cape Town to come to terms with unprecedented economic and demographic changes, in the form of more prosperous black Capetonians and larger numbers of African migrant labourers in the city. This move towards social segregation probably played an important part in the formation of the racial categories that would soon be strictly enforced under the "Apartheid" system that was introduced at the end of the 1940s.

Fruits of Apartheid

We tell the story of Apartheid through the voices of the people who actually experienced it. The people who work on *Delta* (and their parents and grandparents) faced first-hand what it was like to live under Apartheid in a rural setting. Their struggles through those darkest of times, their triumphs over extreme adversity, and their hopes for the future, illustrate what many South Africans went through to create the democratic and free country we enjoy today. Their stories are representative, but at the same time unique, as they experienced their own personal Apartheid. We honour their voices in the museum, in memory of the millions of fellow South Africans whose voices were never heard.

LABOUR

"I can remember one incident where I was sent by one of the old people also working on the farm to go opposite the road to fetch a watermelon. I was just about to knock on the fruit when the boss came running towards me from this farm. He said to me "So, you come from another farm to come steal here", and he told us to get onto the truck.

Close to where we lived he stopped and told the others they could leave, but that I had to stay. We got into the barn where he took a branch and beat me so hard I started running without looking back, leaving my pay behind. I never went back to collect it."

Gert 'Mannetjies' Arendse



Many occupations that would have provided means of accumulating wealth required considerable capital outlay on licences, equipment, stock and premises. These opportunities were therefore closed to people of slave descent. In Cape Town, the major economic activities of 'non-whites' Capetonians were fishing, building, and production of foodstuffs and clothing. Income from these occupations was unreliable as they were affected by the weather and fluctuating demand. In the Cape's rural regions, the lack of opportunities for people of slave descent was compounded by the 'dop system' which persisted well into the 20th century, creating a situation where the worker was dependant on his or her employer for the provision of alcohol, which was offered instead of cash. The devastating social and emotional consequences of this practice hardly need to be spelt out.

All the quotes below are edited translations, taken from interviews conducted by Juanita Pastor-Makhurane and Doma Ryneveld in August 2005.



"I actually went through a very difficult time because most days my father put us out of the house.

My father drank a lot those days because the white people paid him with wine. I had difficult times growing up; I couldn't learn properly. I only attended school until Grade 10, then I had to leave school."

Karools Malgas

"Before the time of machinery, everything on the farm was done by hand. So the white man stood at one end of the paths we used to dig, and the first two to reach him would get a cup of wine.

You worked yourself up to a sweat wanting to get that drink...you worked so hard and fast [while] the white man stood at the end clapping hands...

...and even though you drank the wine, you never got drunk because you were working so hard and fast.

Sometimes when you requested wine from the boss, he would deduct it from your salary without you knowing, leaving you thinking the boss is a good guy."

Gert 'Mannetjies' Arendse

POVERTY

"I was twelve years old when I received my very first pair of shoes and felt extremely *gaairig* [tickled pink]. I remember it so clearly, it almost seems like yesterday. With them, I also got a pair of velvet slacks with silver buckles in the front. I was so *gaairig* about my first pair of shoes. I never had shoes when I was at school. We covered our feet with Hessian and plastic bags. Little stones hurt our feet and we were very cold on the farm."

Sanna Malgas

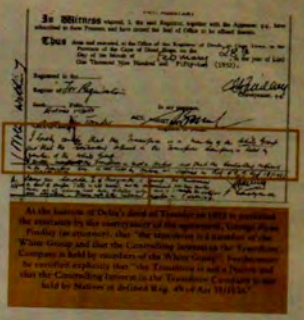
In 1932, racism was written into the very deed of transfer for Delta. People other than whites were not allowed to own farms in this valley – one of the determining factors for accumulating wealth. Ten years before that, discriminatory legislation prevented people of colour from owning property. It was a legal condition of sale

(g) That no Coolie or Indian nor Asiatic nor Native nor any other coloured person may be located on the Lots herein mentioned unless he or she is in the bona fide employ of any lessee or owner of ground for domestic, menial or agricultural purposes, nor may the Lot or Lots mentioned herein be sold, transferred or leased either directly or indirectly to any Arab, Malay, Chinaman, Indian, Coolie, Kaffir or other coloured person.

This condition of ownership of property was attached to a deed of transfer for Delta. The condition was for another property that was being transferred at the same time.

With no access to capital, property or a means of accumulating wealth, rural people found themselves restrictively tied to the land and the people they laboured for through circumstances of extreme poverty. By 1945 Cape Town had become a modern industrialised city, but the majority of inhabitants were in the grip of a desperate struggle to feed and clothe their children.





At the historic 'st Delta's deed of Transfer in 1932 it restricted the ownership by non-owners of the agreement, George Alan Findlay (an attorney), that "the transferee is a member of the White Group and that the Controlling interest in the Transferee Company is held by members of the White Group". Furthermore he specified explicitly that "the Transferee is not a Native and that the Controlling interest in the Transferee Company is also held by Natives as defined in the Act 1913/36."

"Children of today are so mature that they are actually born with shoes on. When he lies in his cradle his shoes are put on by his mother. But they must appreciate what they get, because in my day we received very little.... Once a year I got one pair of shoes and those had to be worn right through summer and winter. In the afternoon when I got home, I had to kick them off and put them away back into the box, because it was so precious, I had to handle it with care. Almost as if it was a small diamond, those shoes of mine."

Willie Claasen

ECHOES OF SLAVERY

During the time of slavery at the Cape, even the clothing that slaves and free blacks wore was regulated by law.

After 1765, no Free Black woman was permitted to wear silk clothing, laces, adorned bonnets, hoop skirts or even earrings in public. Slave women that were freed were to wear no other material than chintz and striped cotton.

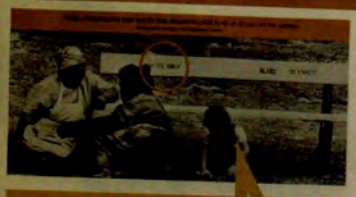
Slaves themselves were forbidden to wear shoes – even in the harshest months of winter. Being barefoot was a mark of servitude and an intended public reflection of one's status. While not regulated during Apartheid, being barefoot remained a mark of the poverty one suffered under laws that prevented the majority of citizens from freely choosing their trade or occupation and from obtaining a decent education or access to higher learning.

"When I was a boy, we never had shoes. When I became a young man I bought myself a black pair of Jordans with buckles on the side, a [pair of] trousers with three pockets and a black shirt... [When I started working on the farm] white people gave us a pair of hard leather veld shoes and for Christmas you received a khaki shirt and trousers. They actually wanted you to wear it on weekends and if not they'd assume you'd sold it."

Gert 'Mannetjies' Arendse

Fruits of Apartheid

SEGREGATION



"We were faced with many obstacles and could not do what we wanted. We could not enter just any place because of restrictions placed on notice boards saying "WHITES ONLY". There were no Coloured shop owners."

Karoois Malgas

Racial discrimination and segregation were prevalent in South Africa from at least the late 19th century. Most government institutions such as hospitals, schools and jails (as well as a host of social establishments) had been artificially segregated for many years. It was only from 1948, however, under the leadership of the National Party, that laws were passed to enforce 'apartheid'. The major innovation of apartheid was the Population Registration Act of 1950. On this basis, South Africa's population was officially divided into four racial groups:

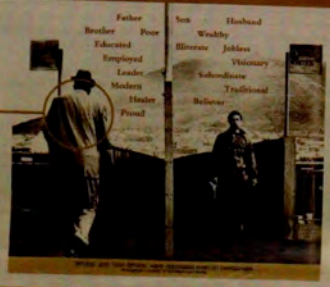
'White'
'Coloured'
'Asian' or
'Native' (African)

All Capetonians over 16 had to carry an identity card that specified their racial category. There were even 'race inspectors' to determine the awkward cases. The Group Areas Act of 1950 reduced these racial groups even further for the purposes of assigning people to the 'proper' place they should live; you were either 'White', 'Native' or 'Coloured'. In 1953 the Separate Amenities Act was passed that enforced legal segregation in almost every facility imaginable. From park benches to public beaches to lavatories, restaurants and pedestrian subways, usage was determined by the colour of your skin.

"The place where I recognized apartheid was when my aunt could not join [my adoptive white family] when we went to the beach. They were not allowed on beaches during the day-time. However, they could go at a certain time, but by then it was already dark. My aunt used to meet with other housemaids on the beach and I would accompany her on her walks. There were other things I noticed that created barriers, like notice boards that read "WHITES ONLY" or "COLOUREDS ONLY" at hotels and other places. Those were the signs of the times of apartheid years."

Nico Jansen

How can a human life be summarized or categorized? We are all so many things at different times in our lives.





This pass book belonged to William Kharyile who was classified as being 'Zulu'. The man in the photograph on the right similarly would have had to carry a pass to identify himself. With an influx of African workers to Cape Town, the government enforced controls that required them to carry 'passes' that identified whether they had permanent employment in the city (thus allowing them legal access).



Signs posted outside Roulette's Beach, Simons Town that prohibited all other members of the population who were not white to use the beach.

EVICTION



In 1899 Languedoc Workers Village was established by Rhodes Fruit Farms with over 100 houses. During the 20th century the settlements of Kylemore and Johannesdal sprang up along the Dwars River Valley in response to the intense demand for labour created by the booming fruit farming operations in the area. In 1968 the Dwars River valley experienced its first legal segregation of property according to race. Paarl was designated as a rural 'Coloured Area' in the heart of white owned farm land. In 1974 new 'Bantu dormitories' were constructed to house the 'Native' migrant labourers in a settlement called 'Thembaletu'.

By the late 1940s, many areas of Cape Town were effectively segregated, even before the coming of apartheid. As far back as the turn of the 20th century segregation was starting to be enforced on a significant scale in the name of "sanitary conditions". Hundreds of people were forcibly removed from their homes to a permanent camp in Maitland when cases of 'the plague' broke out in Cape Town in 1901. Africans were especially regarded as aliens to the 'mother city' and faced restrictive controls at every turn. But following the National Party's Group Areas Acts in the mid 20th century, evictions occurred on a large scale as areas were declared as 'belonging' to certain racial categories. The dehumanizing nature of being allocated an 'appropriate' space to live on the grounds of one's physical characteristics resulted in at least 15, 000 people being forcibly removed from homes they had grown up in. Not only were people separated from their childhood homes, but from whole communities, and sometimes even members of their own family, as the laws of apartheid ran their course.



The Public Safety Act enabled government to declare a 'State of Emergency' that suspended any legal restraints in police actions taken against protesting citizens.

Every individual's personal experience of apartheid was different, but everyone was subject to the legalities of segregation and racism. In a rural context, people who had worked and lived on farms alongside their "masters" for hundreds of years, continued to do so under the new segregationist laws . The provision of labour still remained essential for the success of farms run along feudal lines. Farm labourers lived in daily fear of being evicted from their homes on a whim by their employer.

"They said they could not just give this house to a woman. There had to be a man to work on the farm if my mother wanted to remain in the house. My uncle then said to them, but there were no men, only us sons who were boys at that time. I was eleven years old. So my brother Martin – he was sturdier than me, I was a featherweight at the time – he went to work on the farm. After the first week he said to our mother that he did not want to continue, it was too hard. But she said there had to be someone who worked for our house. So I had no choice but to pitch in."

Willie Venneal



A woman surrounded by her possessions sits on the street after being evicted from her home by the police (in the background). Photograph courtesy of the Mayibuye Centre.

"We never had time for ourselves like other children...I had nothing because from school I went to work, from work I went home, because in summer my parents started work at 5am and in the winter at 6am. So we [children] still had to clean the house because my mother and father came home late from work. It's dark when they return home and by then all our chores had to be done. Most of the time, my mother took the money we earned for food."

Sanna Malgas

"Two to three sons had to work on the farm, if not, mother and children were put out on the street. We never actually had an idea where else we would find shelter. So we had no other choice but to go work on the farms to have a roof over our heads. Those were the times when my father was behind bars in jail. We had to pack up and go...leave the house if we [children] decided not to step in and work on the farm."

Willie Claasen

Fruits of Apartheid

IMPRISONMENT



"We heard that Nelson Mandela was there [Victor Verster Prison, 15 minutes away from Delta] because on Sundays when I used to go visit my friend on the Malan farm on the hill, we used to see crowds of black women toi-toi-ing [dancing] in front of the prison. I never saw for myself, but they said his cell was similar to a nicely furnished home."

Gert 'Mannetjies' Arendse

In 1953 the Criminal Law Amendment Act was passed. This made it a legal offence to support any political campaign against the government. Hundreds of organizations were established to protest against apartheid laws but it was in the year after the National Party came into power, that the African National Congress (ANC) Youth League began a campaign of defiance. People who were part of the campaign refused to obey the government's laws. In 1956, 156 people were arrested and accused of high treason . The infamous 'Treason Trial' lasted until 1961.

Between 1960 and 1976 apartheid reached its heyday, as the National Party government imprisoned and banned many of the main opposition leaders. In 1962, the Government succeeded in capturing Nelson Mandela as well as Ahmed Kathrada, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki amongst others, and sentenced them (for treason) to life imprisonment. Many were to serve their sentences on Robben Island – a place of banishment for convicts, political prisoners and outcasts ever since the Dutch occupation of the Cape in the 17th century.

Neither Nelson Mandela nor his fellow convicted opposition leaders were the first African political prisoners to serve a life sentence on Robben Island. During the Dutch occupation of the Cape, political prisoners such as Muslim priests were exiled on Robben Island so that their teachings could be defused.

Many African leaders who took part in the Colony's eastern and northern frontier conflicts between 1774 and 1879 suffered exile on Robben Island. It was in Britain's strategic interests to banish the Colony's African opponents to an isolated part of the Cape, far from their subjects on the eastern frontier.



In 1874, the Hlubi Chief, Langalibalele (after which the Cape Town township of Langa is named), had been convicted of rebellion, treason and murder and was banished to Robben Island for life. It was thought this sentence was unjust and he was released in 1875, but was only taken back to his home in Natal in 1877.

In 1858 Maqoma, one of the most powerful 19th century Xhosa leaders, became a prisoner on the Island for both his role in the mid-century Xhosa Cattle Killing of 1856-7. He was released only ten years later.



"[At first apartheid] did not affect me much, but when I reached high school it did. In those days we used to boycott a lot for the release of Nelson Mandela and for the freedom for our nation, so we could have more say in our land."

Nico Jansen

"During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve.
But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

Nelson Mandela





"It is from these comrades in the struggle that I learned the meaning of courage. Time and again, I have seen men and women risk and give their lives for an idea...I never lost hope that this great transformation would occur. Not only because of the great heroes...but because of the courage of the ordinary men and women of my country. I always knew that deep down in every human heart, there was a mercy and generosity. No one is born hating another person because of the colour of his skin, or his background, or his religion. People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love, for love comes more naturally to the human heart than its opposite."

Nelson Mandela

"The challenge for every prisoner, particularly every political prisoner, is how to survive prison intact, how to emerge from prison undiminished, how to conserve and even replenish one's beliefs...Prison is designed to break one's spirit and destroy one's resolve. To do this, the authorities attempt to exploit every weakness, demolish every initiative, negate all signs of individuality – all with the idea of stamping out that spark that makes each of us human and each of us who we are."

Nelson Mandela





DEMOCRACY

"The countryside was lush and well cared for, but what surprised me was how many white families were standing beside the road to get a glimpse of our motorcade. They had heard on the radio that we were taking an alternative route. Some, perhaps a dozen, even raised their clenched right fists in what had become the ANC power salute. This astonished me; I was tremendously encouraged by these few brave souls from a conservative farming area who expressed their solidarity.

At one point I stopped and got out the car to greet and thank one such white family and tell them how inspired I was by their support. It made me think that the South Africa I was returning to was far different from the one I had left."

Nelson Mandela

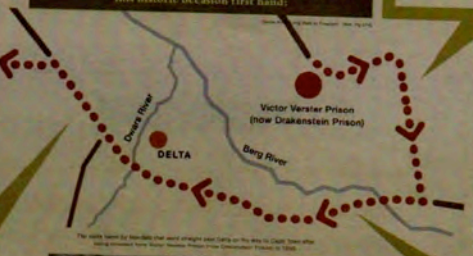
During the 1980s, the ANC intensified its armed struggle and called for all the people of South Africa to join forces to make the country ungovernable. Boycotts and other campaigns organized through the unions were aimed at threatening the country's economy. By the late 1980's much of the country was indeed ungovernable, and the only way forward was negotiation. In 1986 Nelson Mandela began secret talks from Victor Verster Prison with the South African government to start this process. His 70th birthday in 1988 was the focus of a massive international campaign aimed at freeing all political prisoners.

In 1990 President de Klerk unbanned all political organizations and released all political prisoners. On the 11 February of that year, Nelson Mandela was released finally from Victor Verster Prison (the nearby facility to which he had been transferred to in December 1988).

After 27 years of imprisonment and a lifetime of struggle against apartheid, Nelson Mandela made his first steps toward freedom. Just before 4pm, Mandela and his then-wife Winnie walked through the prison gates. They were met by hundreds of supporters who were yelling and cheering. For the first time since his imprisonment all those years ago, Mandela raised his right fist to the crowds and was answered with a thundering roar. Due to the crowds at the gates of the prison, Mandela's driver had to take an unplanned route to reach Cape Town:

"We drove around the back of the prison, and our convoy took small roads and byways into town. We drove through beautiful green vineyards and manicured farms, and I relished the scenery around".

The path he took went straight past Delta and many of the people who worked on this farm experienced this historic occasion first hand:



"The day Nelson Mandela was freed from prison, we all stood along the streets. He drove right around this area in the car. It was the very first time I saw him. They passed us by. Everybody was standing in the streets and on the pavements. We were happy, a person was glad when they released Mandela, because if Mandela was still imprisoned, nothing about this country would have changed; then we might all have been dead today."

Willie Claasen



Aerial view of supporters in anticipation of Mandela's release from Victor Verster Prison. Courtesy of the Argus Library

"Victor Verster was first known as Klipbank before it was named Victor Verster. I went there regularly to visit friends. I knew that Mandela was imprisoned there and that Sunday when he was released, we went to go have a look."

Adam Pietersen



"I was part of the crowd that witnessed the release of Mandela from Victor Verster Prison. It was actually a relief when he was released because he was [going] to rectify everything, but everything changed after his release. Yes, he made promises and did what he could but he could only govern as president of the land for 5 years."

Karools Malgas

In 1991 the Group Areas Act was abolished and in 1992 the government unveiled plans to begin the gradual process of removing statutory discrimination from State schools.

On 27 April 1994 all citizens of South Africa had the right to vote in the first democratic elections to be held in the country's history. The ANC polled 62.6 per cent of the national vote and after three centuries of white minority rule, on 10 May 1994, Nelson Mandela became the President of our new democratic nation. Through all the struggles of South Africa's past, a new future emerged – one based on the voices of all the people. The San, Khoekhoen, slaves, colonists and others beyond the borders of the Cape, oppressors and oppressed – all have played a part in the shaping of this nation. We remember them all.



"This is one of the most important moments in the life of our country. **I stand here before you filled with deep pride and joy - pride in the ordinary, humble people of this country.** You have shown such a calm, patient determination to reclaim this country as your own, and now the joy that we can loudly proclaim from the rooftops – Free at last! Free at last! I stand before you humbled by your courage, with a heart full of love for all of you. I regard it as the highest honour to lead the ANC at this moment in our history. I am your servant…This is a time to heal the old wounds and build a new South Africa."

Nelson Mandela

PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION

We, the people of South Africa,
Recognise the injustices of our past;
Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land;
Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and
Believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity.

We therefore, through our freely elected representatives, adopt this Constitution as the supreme law of the Republic so as to -

- Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights;
- Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law;
- Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person; and
- Build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations.

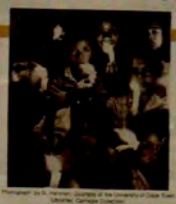
May God protect our people.
Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika.
Morena boloka setjhaba sa heso.
God Seën Suid-Afrika.
God bless South Africa.
Mudzimu fhatutshedza Afurika.
Hosi katekisa Afrika.

"It's always a good thing to have democracy in your land. Mainly because you then know you have the right to... give your opinion on certain things...In the light of democracy everyone is equal and treated equal. If you look at how people were treated in the past, I would say it was a very positive step for the future...in that it lifts your life's worth and...people are more aware of their rights and what's going on around them. Democracy means a lot to me. Even the fact of where I'm sitting today is a testament to our democracy, the goal we are all working towards. I do believe that the future will be much better for us, mainly for our children. We can still improve on many things and I hope it will change. I really hope for the best."

Nico Jansen

"If it could change, I would choose for my children to have a good life. They must not have a tough life, because their father had a tough life...so has their mother. So I would like them to have a peaceful life. They must not hesitate to go forward and achieve the goals they have set for themselves. They must carry on. They must have a bright future."

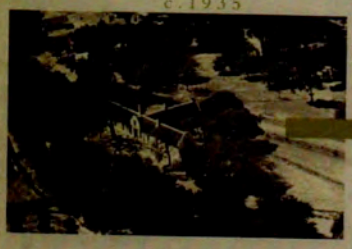
Willie Claasen



Photograph by D. Harmon. Courtesy of the University of Cape Town Libraries, Carnegie Collection

THEN AND NOW

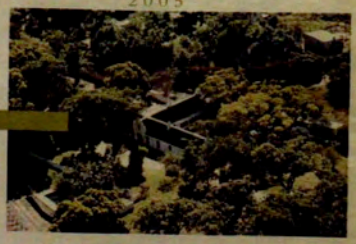
c.1935



Partnership

This museum is part of a renewal project at *Delta* which aims not only to remember our history but also to change it. In mid 2005 the current owners of the farm established the Wijn de Caab Trust which aims in a small, local way to redress the persistent economic inequalities which still characterize South African society.

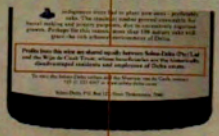
2005



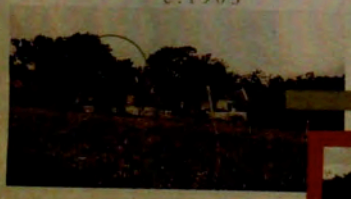
Aerial view of Delta

The trust receives 50% of all profits generated by the wines produced on this farm. Its beneficiaries are the historically disadvantaged residents and employees of *Delta*, as well as the wider rural community of the Franschhoek valley.

Our hope is that future generations descended from the dispossessed indigenous inhabitants and slaves, remembered in this museum, will be empowered to choose vocations on the basis of their interests and abilities rather than fate or necessity.



c.1905





Growth of palm trees



c.1920





Homestead and old oak

> "The policy of apartheid created a deep and lasting wound in my country and my people. All of us will spend many years, if not generations, recovering from that profound hurt. But the decades of oppression and brutality had another, unintended, effect, and that was that it produced...men of such extraordinary courage, wisdom and generosity that their like may never be known again.

c.1925





The Owners

> Perhaps it requires such depths of oppression to create such heights of character. My country is rich in the minerals and gems that lie beneath its soil, but I have always known that its greatest wealth is its people, finer and truer than the purest diamonds."

Nelson Mandela

APPENDIX F:

INTERVIEW 1 ***Lucy Campbell***

Interview conducted via email[sic]

1. Can you tell me something about your history and work?

I was the youngest of seven other children and was only one in the family who matriculated a privilege for young women at the time. I grew up in a typical 'classified 'coloured home in Elsies River mostly shantytown in the sixties and one of the many group areas constructed by the old apartheid government. Typical in the fact that neighbours were like family. It was a working class home like most others in the area, cooking extra just in case someone hungry whoever it may be comes to the door. This was and still is a characteristic that remains part of my nature. *Ubuntu* came with Khoe Boesman and Slave ancestry.

My real entry into worker struggle politics came when I became a member of the United Women's Congress (UWCO) the umbrella body being Federation of South African Women in Bellville South, Northern Suburbs, where the family had relocated to. Later I would work in the African National Congress regional office. Here I was recruited and mentored by the likes of United Democratic Front feminist and activist Amy Thorton and others. My worker struggle consciousness led me to Food and Allied Workers Union, which further strengthened my own humanity, as a woman, and a lesbian in a male dominated institution.

The story of slave mother Anna de Koningh previous owner of one of the largest wine estates Groot Constantia was where I started work in museums, 1998. This narrative later became the birth mother of the slave stories that live on in my tours — stories that have never been truthfully told and celebrated in the places of our slave heritage. My family, like many other classified 'coloured' families in and around the Cape, did not mention any slave ancestry that we may share. And not forgetting that I first met a 'black' person in my teens. It was better to disengage with one's history, a "slave-shame" that it bore, and therefore to forget who we really are. Instead, my hair was treated with chemical straighteners to erase my history and borrow another European history. She stayed with me as I followed the history of her life, reading and retelling her story. I felt her presence there as a historical representation of my presence today…my historical footprints. Her story became the waves of slave stories that informed my tours thereafter.

2. **Please tell me a little about Transcending History tour itself and why you started it.**

The challenges in our communities are a regular topic of newspaper and television reports and continue to provide absorbing conversation around issues such as racism, unemployment, drug abuse, crime, illiteracy, and job creation. The absence of knowing who I am and where I come from is enacted in my everyday life; on the trains, taxis, cinemas, I frequently feel a tenseness, an intolerable feeling and questioning of, 'who are you? Who do you think you are?' These current issues should be aligned and their thread with our historic past and heritage (e.g. racism, domestic violence, alcohol foetal syndrome and its relation to the *dop* system on farms, farm evictions) should be more widely known. Museums would be the prime institutions to help create such awareness. Active public discussion and participation around these issues should be driven by community representatives, government, and non-government, private and concerned citizens of Cape Town.

Cultural tourism plays a fundamental role in fostering social cohesion, nation building and reconciliation. Through cultural tourism we will see how the other parts of our nation live. This cultural tourism should not merely reflect one part of our nation's people. It should include the sum of our entire communities, i.e. 'African', Coloured, Caucasian, Indian, Hindi, etc. I founded Transcending History Tours (THT) with the aim of beginning the work just described. Through ethical tourism we will understand our sameness and our diversity without ignoring the obvious tensions between races in Cape Town and our country and where these tensions come from so that 'black' communities (the mixed race group or coloured), which have some of their roots in Khoi and San as well as those enslaved communities brought to the Cape, are given recognition and status.

3. **How would you describe your relationship with the tour? How has it evolved since the beginning?**

South Africa and its people's socio-economic situation is a direct effect of our past. We can only start to understand these issues in their totality once we know the root of the problems. These challenges are my inspiration and drive me to continue to recollect. My personal interpretive tours offer insight into slavery at the Cape, and engage with topical issues in museums and other sites of memory. They also offer engagement with human rights issues. Researching the history of slavery revealed a side of me such that I would sometimes mirror

the sentiments and emotions of the stories I uncovered. I read and relived many times, the results being painful. Challenging personal issues for me became clearer as I read the stories of my forbearers. One of Transcending History tours most relevant achievements is the birth of a new refreshing addition Remembering Khoe Boesman and Slave heritage at the Cape and Tourism in the Western Cape. This walking Khoe Boesman and Slave Route Tour journeys through parts of the city and explores unique untold stories. Including Khoe Boesman heritage and cultural tourism in the City was natural as the one without the other was just not logic. These new discoveries challenge the old historical representations of monuments and spaces in Cape Town today. THT's refreshingly honest and truthful interpretations appeals to both locals and international visitors. Transcending History Tours are committed to transforming Museums and Heritage sites in Cape Town into places of significance and interaction with locals and foreign visitors. THT's vision is to turn these sites into places of interactive memory and reflection. We maintain links with the Tourism Industry to bring about a socio -economic shift from the City to the townships and other neglected areas. THT conducts ongoing research on the history of Slavery at the Cape and uses this while telling its stories to all tour groups.

4. How would you describe an average tour experience?

Transcending History Tours transforms the history of Khoe Boesman and Slavery in books and literature into living heritage, applying the past to the present. THT is recollecting and making new discoveries of untold stories of the history of Khoe Boesman and Slavery in the Western Cape. THT reinterprets the information available from institutions like the National Archives, Reference Library Company Gardens, Public libraries, Iziko Museums Social History Resources Centre on Church Square, Community Researches etc. into tours, talks, exhibitions, events and multi-media. Transcending History Tours core function is conducting and hosting walking tours to cultural slave heritage sites within the City of Cape Town and the Western Cape. Our vision is to take THT outside to the Cape Flats and wine estates like Groot Constantia Museum. Walking tours include interaction with passerby's asking them question like ' who do you think you are'? They also offer engagement with Human Rights issues like racism, cultural diversity?, human trafficking, xenophobia, freedom and democracy, classification, representations of monuments and sites, the repatriation of human remains and issues in museums, reconciliation just to mention a few. THT's vision is to provide additional training for registered tour guides in Museums and Slave Heritage Studies. Transcending History Tours have published 5 articles, 'Transcending History Tours',

'Whitewashed' and recently 'Let's face' it, 'This land is my land this land is your land' and recently the '*Dop*' system. This blog affords THT the opportunity to further echo the challenges and discourse within the Sites and museums we visit during the tour. THT's research and information is explorative and on-going. Every story that is been interpreted has been referenced and is in the process of developing into a bibliography on the history of Khoe Boesman and Slavery in the Western Cape.

5. Who would you say the tours are aimed at?

Customers are visitors seeking guided walking tours and researched information on the History and Heritage of Khoe Boesman and Slavery at the Cape. They comprise of university student groups doing research, foreign and local tourists, youth and high school student groups, Non Government Organisations (NGO's) and church groups and currently the Human Sciences Research Council (Alternative leadership and classified 'coloured' women revolutionaries). Since the inception of Transcending History Tours successful tours have been conducted at the Slave Lodge museum and other significant sites in Cape Town with students from American universities in conjunction with the University of Cape Town (UCT) and the University of the Western Cape (UWC), Connecticut University Study Abroad Programme, Elon University USA, Centre for Global Education Namibia, Truman University USA, the City of CapeTown, e.t,c . Additional tours have taken place with foreign language students in partnership with Coffee Bean Routes Cape Town. Tours has also taken place with Community Advice Officers for the Social Change Association Trust (SCAT) and Peace Jam Youth Development to assist them in understanding the context in which they are working. My aim would obviously be conducting more local tours as there are more people in the City, the Cape Flats and rural areas who do not know their heritage.

6. What have some of the responses been to the tour? Any extreme ones?

THT tours has mostly been well received and is continuing to be popular especially in its fourth year of operation. Old faithful customers who have been making use of our services all these years are continuing and there has been new ones eager to engage THT. The most extreme response was that 'slavery was mild' in the Western Cape a justification from an old white South African. She would later leave the tour and asked for her money back. As the tour commenced two more white Capetonians left the group in disgust at my interpretations. The rest of the group reiterated 'good riddance. I did feel regret though.

7. Why do you think the tours continue to be important?

Tourists are showing a greater interest in cultural tourism. Khoe Boesman and Slave Heritage tours are a market niche with opportunities for integrating into established channels of tourism. The product is an identified market for internships, training and developing Khoe Boesman and Slave heritage tour guiding. THT tells interwoven stories of identity and place incorporated into our heritage sites. The tours are personal pieces that celebrate the art and power of storytelling. Our narratives extend beyond that of sharing historical facts to that of broadening and opening perspective, inviting personal reflection - linking past to present. Our country (and the world) needs a bit of honesty, and our people need a lot of healing. My tours echo my own journey of self-discovery.

8. What are some of the challenges the tours face?

Though it's not in the interest of the "powers" to support the type of work that THT does more and more people are seeing the relevance and opportunities of this kind of tourism in redressing the heritage landscape. The greatest challenge would be financial especially if you want to survive big tour operators who has the means and have been established businesses for years. I have been operating on my own and have had little and no support from organisations like Cape Tourism, Red Door, Department of Trade and Industry e.t.c. Included Museums who I service and bring revenue remains uncooperative in strengthening partnerships to assist in bringing about awareness around culture and heritage in the City, Western Cape and South Africa.

9. What are some of the challenges that you face as the tour leader?

Within 10 years the cornerstone of THT's business will be Khoe Boesman and Slave Site Heritage Tours within the City, Rural areas and the Cape Flats, which is linked to an International Slave Heritage Tour Route. The organisation will operate from an established Information and Resource Centre that is an Educational, Training and Information space. THT will be a 'contact point' for tourists, communities and educational institutions to access information on the history and heritage of Cape Slavery. THT will train, mentor and provide support services in museum and heritage tourism to at least 50 youth within five years. An internship and training for youth will last for one year and empower them to become tour guides for THT as well as entrepreneurs in their own communities, or by partnering with THT and opening Community Museums in their areas. I need to live for another ten years...

10. How would you describe the legacy of slavery in Cape Town? Do you see it changing

The legacy is catastrophic take a bird's eye view at the state of our population unemployment, drug addiction, *dop* system, poverty, vagrancy, domestic violence, racism 'Connie Mulder's 'comment in parliament not so long along about Nguni's coming from the Niger to Cape Town, so they have no right to the land, rape e.t.c. The first step in achieving the unity we desire would be through developing a deeper consciousness and understanding that the restoration of our heritage and culture is undoubtedly an issue overlooked. I pray that change would come in my lifetime. The divisions we face black, white, 'coloured' e.t.c is daunting.

INTERVIEW 2 ***Reedwaan Ismail***

NC: I am doing my PhD in politics at Wits and its looking at representations of slavery in post-apartheid South Africa and I had initially wanted to do quite an interdisciplinary project that looked at literature and material culture and historiographies but have finally ended up looking at museums and memorial practices so I'm looking at questions of memorialization and trying to unearth and understand why there is an increased visibility of slavery post apartheid and what that means for questions of gender and memory politics. And having been down in Cape Town recently I realised that there isn't actually a re-emergence, there has just…you know its always been there, its been embedded in perhaps a Cape society in particular ways and as I am based in Johannesburg I am somewhat removed from that so I think that that has been really interesting to see. And I'm looking at three particular sites, I'm looking at um the Slave Lodge and I'm looking at Museum van de Caab in Solms Delta in Franschhoek, a museum that they've done there and then I'm looking at Walking Tours in the city and the various sites that they visit and trying to understand how those different case studies help us understand something about the memory of slavery and how that impacts on memory politics today. So obviously your book and your work is right up my alley and I was very pleased to see it. And I've been working with Lucy Campbell, I'm not sure if you know her, she used to work to Iziko, and she does a slave tour called Transcending History

RI: Lucy Campbell?

NC: Ja, Lucy, Lucelle Campbell

RI: …does she also present the tours?

NC: she presents the tours and she also does a particular kind of narrative…um and she was the first person I kind of stumbled across

RI: ahh yes

NC: and so now I am very excited because I think I can actually extend that section that looks at Walking Tours and hopefully include yours as well and some of the other ones that Iziko has listed as part of their slave tours. Because when I had first initially started doing the research I hadn't realised how huge the walking tour industry is in some ways, particularly around slavery and tourism and the city. So

that's what I'm hoping to do is to extend what was to start with one case study but now feels like there will be multiple moments of that case study

RI: yes, yes, yes

NC: and you've got a published text which is particularly helpful and there's a particular narrative that you can discern from that which I think is really interesting and because its self-guided there is a moment of interpretation that isn't overly reliant on the guide so I'm hoping to use that as well as a particular text that I am studying in terms of …the study. So that's where I'm at and I'm here doing my fieldwork and site visits and setting up some interviews and then I'll be back next year once my funding has come through to do longer visits because we're waiting for funding proposals. But I have 10 questions which I am hoping to ask you and that's just around slavery and the way in which you came to the tour. So if that's OK we can do that and hopefully it will be just under an hour of your time

RI: No that's fine, like I said I cleared my diary so uh, I know interviews like this doesn't always take an hour and also I make the exception whenever uh a researcher wants to undertake research then I you know, open the way. That is my philosophy and I do it with all my students and you're no exception so just to let you know that, feel free you know, we have all the time…no need to rush

NC: thank you, I really appreciate that because I think one of the things I am realizing is that because I'm not from here its difficult to set up a network of people that you can approach so I've been sending out a lot of emails this week so thank you very much for agreeing and being amenable to helping with the research

RI: I could also refer you to some other companies if you haven't uh met up with them

NC: OK

RI: the one of them is Footsteps to Freedom, have you come across them?

NC: No I haven't come across them

RI: ok, if you Google it, its Footsteps to Freedom…ummm that's quite a nice company to also interview because they also do the walking tour ok, but they look more at the post-apartheid era about the effects of the apartheid laws and you know stuff like that. Then there's also another tour and I would recommend that you actually do the tour with them, it's called Sex and City, Sex and the Slaves, ja, Sex and the slaves

NC: oh, very catchy title

RI: Yes, absolutely and tourists love it because what they've done is …it is a couple, they're art students? Theatrical students you know, theatre and they actually act out the entire tour along the way so they take you to a particular site and they do their thing you move to the next site and they relate the information to you. So its not just being bombarded with historical information, it's done in a very fun way. You have to laugh, you partake and things like that so I think that is a very innovative way of doing it. There's also Ursula Stevens, you can contact her. You'll get all their details on Google, its Ursula Stevens, she also undertakes guided walking tours

NC: And is it Stevens with a v-e-s?

RI: Ja, ja Ursula Stevens and there's another guy…if I just check on my phone, you know, so many names..umm…the other place you should also go to is the district 6 museum

NC: I've done 2 visits to the District 6 museum this week

RI: have you spoken to *Boeta* Noor?

NC: I haven't actually interviewed anyone there. Do you recommend that I speak to him?

RI: Speak to *Boeta* Noor …because they also, they have a gentleman there, or they had someone um that did the District 6 walk. So if you go onto their website, the District 6 museum, if you just check the website there will be a gentleman, he passed on now, but they still have the tour itself, you can still follow it you know. Um, I think that will be nice, um and then also with District 6 museum, they've got a video or dvd on the history of District 6 and obviously slavery will feature there…this guy's name is on the tip of my tongue…[inaudible] nope, sorry for that, I must have written it down somewhere else. Um, Edgar Collins, there you go

NC: I think it was the same person I did a tour with yesterday, um, he did a walking tour of the historical and cultural aspects of the city

RI: OK, so you met him at the Cape Town Tourism …

NC: at the Cape Town Tourism and then we walked around the city

RI: Ok, no that's him, that's him

NC: he was really helpful and lots of interesting insights to offer so that was great. OK,

good that's very good for me when certain things start lining up and you feel like you're on the right track and you're meeting the right kinds of people.

RI: So I think those would be the main ones to contact…um…then you have tour operators that offer cultural tours but um, if you're going to concentrate on walking tours then these are the 5 companies that you should contact and um also, if you want to include my name, the name of the company, its called WR tourism consultants so the slave route tour is one tour that we're up to *ja*

NC: I'm having very limited access to Internet at the moment so I've seen that you have a website so I'll look at it once I have…

RI: I haven't um really focused on the tour itself to provide lots of information…um I've only got the previous publication that I've done so the one on the slave route, its not on there

NC: well I've got the book which has really been helpful. I don't know if you've had a chance to sign copies of the papers, the documentation I sent?

RI: uh, yes, it's in my office, I'll get it to you

NC: Great, thank you so I've got 10 questions and then I've got one that has recently come up in terms of the questions I had approved by the ethics committee and its in relation to the strikes in the wine farms so if we have a chance, and I don't know if you have some thoughts on that at the moment you know and its relation to that, but lets end with that one as opposed to starting with it. So the first question is around how your tour represents the history of slavery and I'm hoping you can say something briefly about what you aim to do in setting up this tour and what you hoped to achieve in terms of the representation of this history was concerned?

RI: um, I need to take you back to a few years ago. What I have done in the past, I used to be in the tourism department and part of the programme that we offered, we offered a tourist guiding course so students had to research a particular route and we offered then the Mother City tour. So they researched information about various attractions on the route. And then myself and other colleagues in the department, we then go on the coach and we assess the students. And the kind of information that students presented was either incorrect or irrelevant or insufficient umm or they could not access it or the information we would have loved to hear them presenting was missing. And uh, that's one reason why I decided to collate the information and

put it together in a book. Umm, that's one reason. Another reason was that um, when a tourist for example, comes into Cape Town, what they see around them, there is no evidence that the city was built on the backs of slavery. There's no evidence of it. And I've done a few tours with visitors that we've had from abroad and when I relay to them the information, they just can't believe it you know. So that, I think those are the two main reasons why I decided to put together the information. And thirdly its also for tourists like backpackers who like to do things by themselves so they can grab a copy of the book and do the things they want to see and see the things they want to see…you know they don't have to do all the sites, they can be selective and then read up on the information. Um the other interesting or very important thing for me is that when tourists go on tours they listen to the oral narration. When they leave that tour, there's nothing concrete, nothing tangible and so with the publication, there is something they can take back home, put it on their um, in their library and they can always refer to it and if they want to research more, its all there, they can always research a particular aspect of it and um find out more about a particular attraction or site.

NC: I really appreciate the fact that there's a bibliography there that people can go to and extend their interest and their research

RI: Uh, just something on the bibliography, uh, one of the criticism I have received from colleagues is that I have basically referred to mainly white sources you know. So I said I agree, you're right but give me those sources that were written by our own people and I'll gladly reference it. The only um people of colour I could reference was the late Achmed Davids, Youssuf DeCosta, those are the two names that stand out but otherwise um, our own people we don't write about our history, that is the sad part of it. So I had to depend or rely on the sources and the publications that's available currently you know…um, *ja*. But otherwise…

NC: *ja*, ok I mean I think its great that there is something tangible around that people can take with and there is the ways in which you are adding to the body of knowledge. And I think you are so right about the things that are absent as far as a particular history is concerned so that narratives that have shaped what we understand about a particular history is always written from a particular perspective…so I think that's really great

RI: uh, just on that you mentioned something now about the perspective from which history is written, um, maybe you should also pay a visit to the archives, which are on Roland Street, you have an idea where it is? OK, ummm…there also we have um…shelves of books that were handwritten by the Dutch East India Company and the British, OK? Now the Dutch East India Company, they meticulously recorded every little detail as to what happened at the Cape. But that is written in Dutch, the classical Dutch, which we don't have access to. In other words we have access to it but we can't read with understanding and only a selected few professors from a university has access to that, they are able to read that kind of Dutch so they have access to it and it its their interpretation of the text. You follow what I am saying? And so that will also give us a very good um understanding of what happened at the Cape in 1652, what life was like, how they dealt with things, how punishment was meted out, what were the misdemeanours, how they spread themselves and acquired land and all these issues. And so again there is a need for that funding to do that kind of translation and then make that available to the greater South African community and I think it will really give a different perspective on what happened, yes, yes.

NC: I'm hoping to start my PhD with a discussion around historiography and the different ways in which slavery has been written about globally and so this, again, your text is helpful in that way to look at recent ways in which we start inserting different voices into the grand narrative of the historical perspective of slavery, so that's very helpful to me. I was wondering what your thoughts were about how slavery is represented in the work that you do more broadly speaking so in terms of heritage and tourism, do you have any thoughts about how slavery is represented, I don't know if its in this institution or where you work or in the kind of broader work that you do in heritage?

RI: OK, at the institution where I am employed on a full time basis there is nothing except for when tourist guiding is taught as a subject. So one of the modules that is done is the contribution of slaves or slavery at the Cape. So in that way the education of it and the research of it does take place.

NC: And has that module always been existence?

RI: Yes, its part of the national diploma in tourism…uhm, but its also part of the tourist guiding course so if you want to become a registered tourist guide you have to do

that module. So in that way slavery is incorporated into that programme. In terms of the business that I have, slavery…my focus is only on slavery. So the walking tour that I uh am planning to do…in fact when the lady phoned from Cape Town Tourism she asked me if I can do the tour and I said no no I don't do it and the reason is because I am full time employed here. But, uh, in fact what I've now started, in fact that conversation now led me to the idea of starting the tour on a Saturday. So I'll be offering it this Saturday between 10 and 12 you know so again it is I've got the pamphlets so I'm just going to hand out the pamphlets, see whoever's interested. If there's really a need and interest by tourists to actually undertake this walking tour.

NC: Well I'd certainly like to do it if you're going to be offering it

RI: OK, I'll be commencing from the Slave Lodge, that's where we'll start off umm…

NC: And you said this Saturday as in not tomorrow, but the day thereafter? OK and you said its 10'oclock?

RI: Yes, it's a 2-hour walk until 12

NC: well, I will be there. I will move my diary around to be there because I think it would also be really helpful to get a guide's perspective on some of those sites and these narratives. And then in the larger context of the Western Cape, do you think slavery, how do you think slavery is represented?

RI: In terms of?

NC: In terms of people's knowledge of it, its visibility, its place in a tourism industry, very broadly speaking I suppose in the Western Cape

RI: If you read the introduction in the book, there I lament about the fact that very little representation is made with reference to slavery and um…if you look at for example on Church Square they have these…marble blocks with names of slaves on there. And when I compare the size of those square blocks to for example the *Taal* monument, its chalk and cheese you know. And when we go back into history and in fact that's going to be the next book, the contribution or how slaves kept their Afrikaans language alive. From a, from my own research what I have identified and read up on is that the contribution that the slaves made to the Afrikaans language is so much more than what it is being represented at the *Taal* monument. So the *Taal*

monument is actually a misrepresentation of the contribution slaves made with regard to the Afrikaans language. Uhm so in the same way, as much as slavery contributed to the development of Cape Town, in some way we need to represent that. In the form of a structure or a statue, you know, whatever that is and when I look at for example when the first slaves arrived, they docked at the harbour, you know there at the jetty and things like that, so the place where the slaves set foot on Cape Town soil, South African soil, that is, you know, the centre where this structure should be erected to represent the arrival of slavery at the Cape. Uhm, currently that space is where the train station is and then the first group of slaves, they were housed in the fort that Van Riebeck built which was on the parade. The fort doesn't exist any longer, the parade is there, lets put up some structure there, you know. Uhm, if you look at for example in the book also I have a picture of a little monument they put up in Pniel, no not Pniel…

NC: Elim?

RI: Elim, yes, that's right, thanks, in Elim and it is nothing higher than a meter and a half and it is a square you know, brick column. Now, if tourists want to understand the contribution of slavery, they're not going to drive out to Elim for 2 hours just to look at a column, you know. It should be where the tourists find themselves or where the hub, where things really happen, that is where it needs to happen. So currently there is nothing like that. Uhm, yes, we have the Iziko slave museum, we have the Bo-Kaap museum, we also have the slave church. In fact, they're not allowed to use that name, they've got another name, it's in the book as well. So it is those kinds of attractions we have or museums that's available where the information or history of slavery is then represented you know but in terms of a physical structure or a monument, we don't have that except for what is on the Church Square.

NC: and do you think that the rest of South Africa is more lamentable in terms of the kind of visibility of a slave past is concerned

RI: I think, I think if the, if they are informed or educated about the contributions slaves made, I think that is when they, that is when people will say why isn't there any representation to show there is that. But otherwise, if you have tourists coming from, I mean domestic tourists, coming from any other part of the country, they know

slavery existed in South Africa, but there is nothing, if you walk in town, there is nothing to tell you slaves built these channels. If you go into the Golden Acre, there Wagenar's Reservoir, you know, all of that, there is nothing. And in fact, you look at that, the lighting is so poor there and in fact when I took photographs of it, I asked the security you know, can't they switch on the lights. And then the managers, they came to me and they said, well, they have no control over that. That is with the City of Cape Town, so if you want them to put on the lights, you've got to contact them. And they assured me that those lights might not even work and all of that. So, I mean that is such an important historical sight and the lights are not working, there is nobody there to tell you about the information, they should have had some interaction, you know where um, some computer screen where you click a button and it will relate to you the little story and things like that, you know. Or you can plug in your USB and you can download photographs and you know there is nothing like that. And those are the kind of things that will actually inform people and "concentize" people and say listen you know slaves had a contribution, they built these things and we should give recognition to that.

NC: *ja*, I mean you said that earlier domestic tourists are aware that they country was, that slaves, that the country had slavery and when I started my PhD two or three years ago and I said that I was looking at slavery in the Cape and people would say to me, well I would say I'm looking at slavery and they said, in America? And I said no in South Africa and they said, we had slavery? So I was wondering, I think it was probably a regional bias as far as Gauteng is concerned and is suppose also because we know so much about slavery in the Americas and it is such a, there is such a large visibility, the narratives are so overreaching, that when people think about slavery, they think about that. And I think that as I've done this project I've also thought about how when we think about, why when we think about slavery we are unable to think about our own context. Or if we think about our own African context, people think about slaves who were taken away, as opposed to slaves who were brought here and so I think that that's, as you say, having never been to the reservoir and I was there yesterday, and I was deeply saddened by the fact that people don't see it, you know, they walk past and they just don't see it, even if its there in their midst, between Mr. Price and the Sports-scene, they just don't see it.

RI: And in fact, what you should do as a little exercise, just ask anybody that walks past what is that? And believe me I can assure you that they wouldn't know and they're just walking past there everyday. And so it also tells me that South Africans, locals, we need to educate and inform. There is such a vast and rich history that needs to be shared and the audience is there, you just need to present it to them.

NC: Well hopefully that is starting to happen, my next question is about recent conversations about slavery and I was wondering if you think recent, I say recent meaning the last 18 years when I think there have been more visible conversations about slavery that have happened and perhaps you can correct me if I'm wrong in that assumption because of your context. Do you think those conversations could assist South Africa with addressing a slave past?

RI: Most certainly, there is one organization, its called the Jan Van Riebeck society you should Google that one as well, they're very much into documenting their history and recording slavery and things like that. There is also publications in the Argus, the Weekend Argus, I think the lady's name is Gwen, I forget her surname. But every fortnight she writes an article about slavery and she gets her information from the archives you know. So she relates little stories, what happened and things like that. So it makes very interesting reading and in fact, she's been doing this over a number of years and recently I read of a lady on the Cape Flats that cut out all these clippings and she collected all of these clippings. So there is an interest, you know, into the history, what people did, how they did it and things like that. So yes. There are organizations, for example, local government, you have your cultural department of culture, heritage, sport and all of that, the other thing…another point I was going to make. The department of tourism, national tourism came out with a policy on heritage and culture, cultural and heritage tourism so that would also be nice document for you to look at. So yes, there is that revival to put together tours that will relate the information and the stories of yesteryear. The challenge there is lack of publications, not much research, I mean research has been undertaken but not as, if you talk of the slavery in America. The fact that we have all the documentation still in the archives which hasn't been translated, tells me there is much more to be done. So those books has a wealth of information and just reading say a story or two, you can actually you know, put together the puzzle and say, this is what life was like for the upper class people and the middle class people and for the worker and the

slave and the free person. You can actually do all of that and unless and until those books and information is not translated we wouldn't know.

NC: It remains locked away in some ways. Is gender included in the representations of slavery you have in your tour in any particular way?

RI: Yes, but the first group of slaves that came were mainly men, right. There were females and eventually, I'm not to sure as to the percentage to male and female but there were both genders, you know the male and female. If you look at the male, their role was maybe to do the hard work such as farming, you know the bucket system, to remove that and to take it away. Selling fruit and vegetables to the passing ships you know, that was the kind of work that the males did. Building and repairing and sewing and all of that stuff. Then the females, they were mainly conscripted into the kitchen. Cooking, mending clothes, being wet nurses, they did the washing. And the ladies that did the washing, they were considered the lowest of the low in terms of the slave hierarchy and I mean, that is also very interesting. You know, how even in slavery you enslaved but even there you have your categories. *Ja*, so in terms of their function and the role that they played, each one had a different role. When I, through the research that I read up, the punishment that was meted out to slaves were mainly the males that is what I came across. I suppose the men were more rebellious (laughter). Then also from the reading, slaves that used to run away from the master was also mainly the males. Then also there were incidences where a slave family, husband and wife, with their kids, and if the slave master decided that he is now going to move on, he would then sell the male slave to another farmer, sell the female slave to another farmer, the kids to whoever, whoever. So there was total disregard for the family unity, and I mean it didn't happen once, it happened many many times. So it also showed the kind of disrespect, the dishonour of the slave master towards the slaves you know. There was absolutely no consideration, no nothing you know. So I mean slaves really had it difficult, absolutely.

NC: Ok, we're half way there. Is Coloured identity, and I suppose Coloured identity very broadly speaking in however you would define that phrase, is it included in the representations you have on your tour?

RI: I prefer not to categorize people in those categories. What I represent on the tour is, these were people who came from Indonesia, Malaysia, Angola, Madagascar, India and these were individuals that were brought over and yes intermarriage took place, many of the female slaves were raped by the Dutch colonists as a result of that relationship you have what we term Coloured people or people of Colour, and so that is basically what happened. But I, in my tours, I never in my lectures in class, I stay away from that. Firstly because there are students of mixed race in the class and obviously I don't want to offend them, also I don't know how they will accept the fact that it could be where their great great grandmother was raped by a white colonist. I don't know how they will take to that you know. So I try to stay clear of that kind of discourse. But suffice to say that these people came from different regions, they were put here and they had to interact you know. And the fact that the Dutch East India Company when they came with the first load of sailors and Dutch East India Company officials, they had no, basically no females. So they definitely interacted with the local Khoi people and the San people. When the slaves came you know there also interaction happened. The records, the historical records are very clear that at one stage the Slave Lodge was a brothel you know, so, and we know what happens in these places so nobody can say they want to cut themselves off, or it never happened, the history speaks for itself. And nothing, it is, and in fact someone also asked me how do you, do you find people accepting their roots and things, knowing that this is what happened, its actually very difficult. Some people don't want to face up to it, others say, I'm here, I'm here. What they did is there thing, I'm here.

NC: And I think a series of things about that but I think the trauma of the past, the colonial past is so large both for what people would term the descendants of the slaves and the descendants of the slave masters. And I think you're right that they are less distinct as far as apartheid racial categories are concerned, that you know people who you look at and you think they may be descendants of the slave masters could very well be descendants of the slave, the slaves themselves. So I think that that trauma has not necessarily been addressed and it was last year when Kuli Roberts wrote her article in the Sunday World about the kind of stereotypes around Coloured identity and so much of that was still associated with the history of miscegenation and the negative ideas associated with slavery. And so I think that

one of the reasons, the things that I am interested in trying to understand is is there a change in the way in which people think about slavery and think about it in relation to their own identity and how do they relate kind of racial categories of Black, White and so-called Coloured to that slavery. From what I'm hearing you say is that there is still a range of responses to and that there is a need for a more careful engagement with that.

RI: No definitely, definitely. Because you don't want to upset people because you don't know how they react and so forth. But what you said now could also be one of your recommendations for further research. There was something else I was going to mention now, talking about redress you know, The Dutch East India Company were responsible for slavery at the Cape and then they went bankrupt. So currently we cannot sue anyone for damages, reparations, that kind of thing. So the question is, did the Dutch East India Company undertake to create Cape Town as a halfway station with the knowledge of the Dutch government or the blessings of the Dutch government so that is the question that needs to be investigated. And if that is the case, it can be proven beyond doubt, then there's a case. You can say, yes, we can sue somebody for to pay something towards it if people suffer stigma or anything like that. The other interesting point, I just read it the other day, a Sultan from Indonesia was brought over, also by the Dutch East India Company, because he opposed Dutch occupation and he was a very highly learned person, individual and he was placed on the farm *Vergelegen*, which is Somerset West and on the farm he write the Koran from memory. Now to be able to do that it meant you've had a very good education and you know obviously memorized the Koran and things like that and so your elevation in the community, society is very high and things like that. And the other interesting information is that you've heard of Piet Retief, it was actually a white researcher that claimed that Piet Retief is a a descendant of this Sultan. So again, whoever is into genealogy and all of that can go and investigate that kind of thing. But this is the kind of research that has been done and again coming back to all those documents in the archives if those things can be translated then it will give us so much new insight into what life was like here 300 years ago.

NC: to think only 300 years ago. The next question I wanted to ask you about is if you think there has been a change in the ways in which slavery has been represented after 1994?

RI: Prior to 1994 tourism was on the down side, there wasn't much tourism, only your big companies, your Hilton Ross's, they operated these tours. We know that a township tour was impossible, so if that was the case, then forget about slavery or you know I don't, I haven't come across any company or tourism body or a tourism company that offered walking tours dealing with slaves prior to 94. But what we find after 94 a number of tour operators as I've mentioned they came along and developed these routes and you know yes, after 94, definitely that awareness and also wanting to share to the world this is where we came from and this is where we are and looking at the route ahead.

NC: And I suppose, I had a follow up question to that which was around why you think that may or may not be but I think you've already spoken to some of those ideas around sharing and the changes and the kind of lack of freedom as far as…

RI: and also for example prior to 94 it was difficult for example myself to get a loan from the bank to start a company, a tourism company and things like that. After 94 it's so much easier, the money is there, they're waiting for you. So, again, it opened up an avenue for people to actually say, yes, I have this information, I have this knowledge, I want to make it available, make it known and the funding is there. Also you find with your government agencies, like your Red Doors, your CIDAs and the DTI's they also encourage small to medium enterprises for businesses. So many tour operators, small tour operators came to life you know, started little businesses.

NC: well that is one thing that government is doing right. I think you've spoken to this question in some ways but perhaps I'll ask it anyway. Do you think that the history of slavery is important in South Africa and why?

RI: Beyond doubt because it is part of the history, it is part of the make up of the people, it is when we understand our past we understand ourselves, who we are, where we came from and the direction that we take for the future. And you can only do that when you know where you come from and so the history of the past is extremely important. I'm also very passionate about it being a history teacher myself, taught it for many years, so understanding that history and how people interacted with each other, why certain things happened, why certain wars took place, it develops you as an individual and then you try, you get a better understanding as to how people

think, why they do certain things and it just develops you as an individual, getting a better understanding as to how also interact and deal with people so that is the importance of history.

NC: Because it's a self guided tour I'm not sure if you have an answer to this question, but do you have a sense of who generally does the tour?

RI: No I don't because I haven't, you see the pamphlet I've distributed it at the different info centres, its also available at backpackers you know, I haven't done the research to see who picks it up and to see because the books can be purchased at certain outlets so I have no, I haven't done the research, so no.

NC: Do you think slavery is thought about differently than other periods of oppression in South Africa's history?

RI: If I look at the history syllabus that is taught at schools, in fact slavery is now part of the history syllabus for grade 7's curriculum. Apartheid was always part of the curriculum. The history of South Africa all the leaders and all of that has always been part of that so I don't think that any particular era is left out you know, it depends a lot on the lecturer or the teacher on the kind of emphasis they place on, whether they want to just skim through slavery duh duh duh duh and they came from there, a one pager. Whereas another teacher will say lets do a project and go and research it, see what happened, where did the slaves come from, what did they do and you know, ask your grandparents if they have any links to that etc. etc. Looking at the *kramats* and all of that. So alot depends on the teacher and the lecturer as to the extent they want to delve into that bit of information.

NC: And then my last question is around the recent strikes on the wine farms and I've seen some newspaper reports and editorial pieces that look at the history of the region and slavery is recurring in some of the narratives and they talk about the kind of devastating legacy of slave labour and how that puts us in the context that we are. And I was wondering if you had some thoughts about the ways in which, if you've seen particular ways in which slavery is emerging in the discussion about it?

RI: You know, about 2 weeks ago I had a visitor from Switzerland and I took her around, her husband and herself and I mentioned to her that we still have the *dop* system in place. She said what? I said *dop, dop* and I explained to her what it means and she was like really? That was her reaction, really? I said yes, we still have that.

And she couldn't believe it. And then she went on tour, she went down the Garden Route and things like that and that is when the first uprising happened and I'm sure she would have read about the demonstrations and things like that but talking about the *dop* system, it was something that was practiced 300 years ago and it is still being practiced you know. So yes, you may say slavery had been abolished in 1834 but some of the practices still continues. If you take for example the wages, if I look at what they're earning, I could very well say that that's a slave wage, you know. Who can survive on that kind of money, so yes, we might not have slavery in the statute books but it is still being practiced in certain quarters and what we find is that when people become aware of their rights, they read, they hear, they listen, they watch TV with the internet, cell phones, they come to know that listen, this doesn't have to be like this. For the amount of work and effort that we put in this is what we should be getting. And what is interesting is that it started off on one farm and it spread to other farms and other areas now. It has always been there, it has always been there you know, it just needed someone to strike it and then it takes fire. So yes, it is a reality, so I say yes, slavery is abolished, it is no longer in the statue books, but it is still being practiced. We can say the same thing for apartheid, it is no longer in the statute books but if you apply for a particular job, they still say historically disadvantaged, duh, duh, duh, duh, and so forth.

NC: There are definitely some of those practices. That is the end of my series of questions, was there anything else you wanted to say about your own research or the work that you do?

RI: The work that I do, I'm responsible for student staff exchanges, so if the staff member says they want to go to the UK, talk to me. But like I said I came from tourism then I came into this position and also whenever there is social event, say like Mandela Day then we arrange collection of clothing and things like that then we give it away to needy organizations. So that in a nutshell is what I'm responsible for.

NC: Thank you so much for your time.

INTERVIEW 3 *Johan O'Rayn*

NC: I've got ten questions which I'll ask you and then if you have any questions for me about my project or if there's anything else you want to talk about that would be great as well. There is in fact a question number 11 which isn't included in the official schedule of questions but that has come up recently and its about the strikes in the region so maybe if we have some time in the end of the interview, you can give me your thoughts about what you think is happening and you know we can talk about that. Ok, so if you can just tell me your name and your official position at the farm and how long you've been in this position?

JOR: My name is Johan O'Rayn, my position on the farm here is I'm a tour guide and also the manager of the culinary *fynbos* gardens and I'm here since 10 years ago since for the Solms family as the Solms starts, but I do work before that for the previous owners so it starts in 1981.

NC: So you have been here for a very long time…and who were the previous owners of the farm?

JOR: The Picksons family

NC: I think you mentioned that on the tour that they had done fruit and that it had been a fruit farm before

JOR: A fruit farm, and also a nursery they grew plants and so on

NC: So the first question asks how does your institution (and you can talk about the museum or the farm) how does this institution represent the history of slavery?

JOR: Well what we do on this farm 10 years ago was that we do research about the farms here and all the farms was there. And through that research we found some ceramics that date back to a certain time in between 2000 and 2500 BC and that's where Mark Solms decided lets do a case study on this whole farm and see what was here before. And through that study we found a lot of information in the archives in Cape Town where there is maps that shows us that a lot of things happened here due to that this farm is situated in between two old rivers so therefore there was a lots of fresh water and grass and stuff like that for animals and also to hunt so as we do that case study we found some ceramics and stone tools that date back to a certain time. And looking back into the times that that is being used, it's more like when the San was

living here or the Bushmens as they were called and also the Khoi. So that's where we decided well, lets have this historical museum here because the artefacts belongs to the valley and so to get that history up in panels and make it live again, so that's how we tried to do that.

NC: And what are your thoughts about how it is represented?

JOR: well my thoughts is how it's been represented is that now we, one can see that what happens before here. It also has a reflect to this times here. If you look at certain histories which was slavery, that's another form of what apartheid was, so if you look at that, its just another form that was a little more serious; in the old days in your master said you couldn't do what you wanted to. But then if you take those stories that is on there and you do a play like a time travel or something it becomes the same things that happens these days. And that is how, my feeling is also that one can learn more, kids can learn more through it, what's their roots, where they came from.

NC: And do you think that slavery is thought about or that people can see it in some ways or the history of slavery, they can see it in the rest of the Western Cape?

JOR: yes, you can, if you look at specially at buildings that was been built so like if you look at this building here, if you look at bridges that had been built, like Bainskloof Kloof bridge; slaves was been used through that cos one man couldn't do that. This farm was a wine farm before and the owner needed some workers and that was the slaves so we can see the things that was being built by the hands of the slaves, you can see that.

NC: And do you think that people know that that was built by the slaves, I mean if they don't know about slavery, you've spoken about the research that you went through - do you think that people know about slavery in the Western Cape, that when they see those buildings that they know you know that slaves built them?

JOR: *Ja*, I think so. These days there's a lot of awareness programmes that people now around taking people on tours as you say the walking tours through Cape Town make people more aware, so *ja*, these days I think are aware of that certain buildings was being built by hand, even the roads that was being built by hand of the slaves so people, there's a lot of awareness programmes.

NC: And before those awareness programmes? I mean when you were growing up did you know about slavery?

JOR: I learned through the years as a young boy about slavery but not that much, but *ja*, as I start doing studies around these things, especially around my surname and that's where I became more interested in the history of slaves and so on.

NC: Ok, but it wasn't necessarily something that they taught you at school?

JOR: No, not really no

NC: OK, do you think that there has been more talk about slavery and South Africa's slave past in recent years? You've spoken about some of the awareness that happens and the different types of stuff, do you think that there has been an increase in people's knowledge about the history of slavery recently?

JOR: Yes, yes, people are now more aware especially if you look into how South Africa has been built up, the European families and that comes with them and then some of the overseas, the other countries they are very interested in the history of slavery in South Africa because we still have as I said we still have that you can see that this really was being built by slaves those years.

NC: And do you think that that knowledge, knowing about that history can help South Africa think about the impact of slavery? Because slavery built the Cape and in fact in some ways there is still the legacy of all that, there is still white farm owners and brown people who work the land. So do you think if we know about, if more people knew about that history, it could help them to understand something about the country?

JOR: Yes, yes, certainly I think so because that was the people that really built the Western Cape all the farms there being built up by the slaves. Not all of the slaves that was brought to this areas was *Boesman* or Khoi or some of them was um from Madagascar, Indonesia. So all that people they had a very big impact in building this country up so *ja*, people today, they are aware that of the slave history of how the lands was being built up. I think they will rather say what we do here is to combine together and work together and say lets do something together. Cos that was the people that really built up the country.

NC: OK. Part of what I'm doing in my project is I'm trying to look at the ways in which men and women were treated as slaves and how that distinction in gender, so what men did and what women did, how that is represented in museums now. So do you think in your museum here or on the farm there is a particular attention paid to the different roles that men or women slaves played or is it more general, is it just about slaves in general and not about women or about men?

JOR: *Ja*, um, as we set up there, there is a role that women were playing in slavery so you could see in all the history that there was knitting girls, women that looked after the children, which men don't do. And now these days, we all do that, the men look after the kids, some of the men are tailors, knitting and so on so but *ja* in those days there was a specific role for the women and even for the men.

NC: And so men would, would you say that men were more involved in the kind of the labour out in the fields and the women were confined to the house more? And now that's changed?

JOR: Yes, yes, that's changed, you get women and you get men and its so interesting to see that women can drive a tractor.

NC: One of the other things I'm interested in looking at is the kind of descendants of slaves so in some of the research I've looked at they talk about Coloured people as the direct descendants of slaves and their 'relationships' with owners; so I'm also interested in how Coloured people think about their heritage and history and if they have a connection to slavery so one of things I want to ask you is do you think there is a thing called Coloured identity and if it is included in what you see in the museum in relation to slavery?

JOR: *Ja*, there's a lot of history and you can even read on some of the documents that there was a specific name of saying Coloured [indistinguishable] and *ja*, but *ja* now these days like I said earlier if you know your roots you wont feel offended if you hear that word because its your descendants, its where you came from. Family was that, maybe you have a white family also so *ja*, we its like, understand better your roots

NC: And do you think there has been a change in the ways in which people understand their roots? You know when I was small I would ask my parents where we came from and they didn't really talk about it at all and when I went to school and I saw

that there was slavery and I said are we from slaves? And my mother said no. There seemed to be a lot of shame around saying you had a slave past and when I started this project I said to my mom that I was looking at slavery and she said that was very good and she was telling her friends. So I feel like in the last 10 years there has been a change in how people feel about having a slave background or being descendants of slaves and I was just wondering if you had encountered a change in whether people think its shameful to have a slave past or they did and now there is something else that they think about it?

JOR: *Ja*, even in my family I can say was a little bit ashamed to [interruption] *ja* my family, some of them were really ashamed to understand, to know that we have that background of slavery but as soon as there were programmes or now that we are going along, learning through that, especially from the younger generation that we've had that because they've been studying some of that and *ja* now they are happy to know where they come from. I think the thing is that not all of them in those days they could read and write, that was the main problem so they couldn't really understand coming from that family or from my family or my forefathers was from Madagascar or something like that. So I think that was where the main thing was is that they couldn't read or write, my mother couldn't, my grandmother even tell me where exactly that surname came from, so it was a surname that came from your great grandfather so that was the only things she could say. So she couldn't tell me, he was from Ireland. Her family was *Boesman* so she couldn't tell me that because she didn't know that she comes from Bushman family but she couldn't say that. So *ja*, now these days people understand much better.

NC: I also think that during apartheid you know people didn't talk about where they came from and for me when I first met white people they could tell you the long history of white people and they could tell you this long history of their family, that their grandfather was from here or there, even the black children in my class, they could tell you where their families came from and I knew who my grandparents were but I didn't know where they came from, you know, mixing was seen as a bad thing so to find out years later that my grandmother's father was white and her mother was black was a bad thing during apartheid and as you say there's less shame about that and now we can find out those things. So I think apartheid had a big role to play in ways in which people did talk about their pasts and what they didn't talk

about as well.

JOR: *Ja, ja*, if we're looking at one of the things we found in the archive that was rewritten in 1952, if you look at that where that deed say that some farms wasn't allowed to sell to any native, *koelie* or coloured or whatsoever. And that was a deed which was rewritten during the apartheid years so I think, apartheid do have a really big role, especially if in this areas here, cos if I tell you where I'm coming from the great Karoo, there you have, when I arrive here in 1981 I think, *jees* here is different - big difference between what is happening there because we were living outside Calvinia on a farm 10kms outside the town of Calvinia and really if you sit here you can see the light for 5, 10 kms from here and there's another farm there. So that farmer, maybe it only him and his wife on that farm so they have to live together with their neighbours so but when I arrived here I could see *ja*, here is something very different here. And then I start learning more from apartheid when I arrive here, cos there I couldn't see that apartheid is apartheid cos its also part of the country but you couldn't see that

NC: And I suppose when there are so few people and there is so little you learn to live in a different way. Here, behind those mountains something else might be happening that you may have no idea of so people live very separately I guess… The next question I wanted to ask was did you think there had been a change in the ways in which slavery is represented after 1994? So at the end of apartheid is there a change in how people think about and display the history of slavery?

JOR: Definitely, people are now free, more free you know to talk about the families and the background of the families so definitely after apartheid things did change cos you could now freely speak about what you want to speak about or if you like to tell a story to someone, you will do that with an open mind and say now listen, that's my story

NC: *Ja*, and I guess you know, when laws change about what's illegal and what's not then people are free to do as they want to do as you say

JOR: Also people have more control over a lot of things that people couldn't have control over, like in the old days in apartheid if you get ill, because you take in, you never talk about it and now its something different now, you can talk about the thing, there's a thing that is not doing good for you, you will talk about it and you will get

people to talk about it and in those days no one spoke about it, no-one and you can't go even to anyone else so you sit with that on your shoulders by yourself so *ja* at least now people are more free to speak about these things about what has happened before and now what's going on and so on. [Interruption]

NC: Do you think the history of slavery is important in South Africa?

JOR: Yes, definitely because just to understand then its better cos that's really where it starts, with slavery. Everything is being [undecipherable] so it's really important for us to understand. [Interruption]

NC: So you're saying that everything is just added onto

JOR: After slavery *ja* as I said more things being added but really it starts with slavery so its important to understand the slave history so especially now that we are at this in this its almost like its a Africa into the next phase of democracy so its very important to see where we start with slavery and now we are in the first section the first 15 years and moving over to the next 15, understand better

NC: Do you think that there is a difference in how people think about the history of slavery and the memory of slavery? Do you think that there is a distinction between those two? How people read about the history of slavery is different from how they've been told the story of slavery generationally or is it the same kind of thing, the stuff that is now in history books is the same kind of thing that people share amongst each other?

JOR: *Ja*, one can see say that people now see differently because they understand it now and there are a lot of books as you said, that they can now read and there may be some of them, maybe the old people that is the real descendant that can say my father was a slave or my grandfather was a slave, so now he'll understand that part better, but also through that also that he will understand where he is now and that is where he comes from because maybe he is a driver, he's likely to be in the driving seat, in control and that is where it comes from, because there was people that do that in the early days of slavery and up into apartheid and so you get people that wants to be in the driving seat and you get people that wants to work and so on and that's where you come from.

NC: Who generally comes to visit the farm and the museum? Do you have a sense are they international tourists? Are they local tourists? Are there white people, brown people, black people, old people, young people?

JOR: To tell you exactly really, everyone, everyone wants to once they start learning about Museum van de Caab, if you look at the different museums, the older museums are quite different, this one is quite different, this one tells a whole history of about the whole world in two small rooms, how it has been set up and things, its easy so you understand better so *ja*, people, it doesn't matter what colour, they want to come through this museum, their link, they want to link that museum to maybe with Iziko museums like District 6 or Khayelistha that has the same history but just a little bit different but they want to link that and if you follow all those history patterns of all those different places and you link that together then you sit with a very very big history book that you can really understand better what actually happened.

NC: The second last question is about if you think that the history of slavery is thought about differently than other periods of oppression in South Africa? So do you think we think about apartheid differently than how we think about slavery?

JOR: *Ja*, apartheid was, as I said another form of slavery but it was a little bit easier. Through real slave times you couldn't say good morning like if I was your owner and if I give you two slaps in your face that was my good morning to you and you have to keep your mouth other wise there is more coming but in apartheid you could say listen, I'm going to lay a charge and something will happen but through slavery nothing will happen because you are a slave so but *ja*, just a little bit different from apartheid and if you look at different interviews that we do on this farm or with people that come through apartheid is that like the stories of shoes so some of the people her around they receive one pair of shoes a year or some received a pair when they were old enough 12 years and from there on you could wear shoes and slavery wasn't allowed through slaver times you wasn't allowed, if you was a slave you wasn't allowed to wear shoes so that was little bit completely different from what happened in apartheid but still its the same form but a little bit easier and then you've got to go and work for that shoes if you want to have a pair of trousers you have to go and work for your parents otherwise there wouldn't be money for that trousers so that's what happened, *ja* a little bit different, a little bit easier I would

say.

NC: and then my last question Johan is about the farm strikes recently and I know you mentioned something about it on Friday when you said on this farm things are very different and there is a different labour practice and in fact you said you were paid very well here which as very comforting to hear, but what do you think of these recent strikes? Do you think there is a link to the kind of history of the region, Mark had said they were slave wages that people were being paid on some of these farms?

JOR: I would say the same thing like as I said on Friday to me it was heart sore to understand. I do some research on different farms as I met friends and so on that comes to this farm to understand as we doing the social history tours to understand what we do here and I visit some of them on their farms as they invite me to come to their farms and it was heart sore at some of the farms I could say really in the [undecipherable] De Doorns areas, I know about farms there, that they pay R50 a day and if you're looking at R50 a day ten years ago you could buy 2 times bread, today you can't do that. If you buy bread now, that R50 is finished, there's no milk whatsoever, so I feel for that people, I really feel for them and all of us here on the farm feel for that people, paying that less than what we pay. We're not saying we paying, we paying a really a good salary, but if they can say, OK, lets make it straight, you all giving people that that they ask, we will be happy. Cos now we sitting, we look like we are in front. But we still very young, we struggle, but we looking at it in another way. How to work and if that farms can be like taking the moral as bringing the workers in, have a few workers who say, listen, I have 20 permanent workers and lets come up with an idea to share, I think the farms would do much better then as they do now.

NC: And do you have any thoughts about why people won't do that? Why farmers are paying them R50 a day still in 2012 when they can't buy bread and milk.

JOR: I can't see how come they still paying because if you looking at, as I said on Friday, at farms, if you doing business, it all depends on what you farming but as long as your product that you produce, as long as its going to a shop or it goes wherever, you making profit, so you can, and that is the people that looking after that product, so if you can share with that people I don't think you can be very successful if you're not sharing the product cos if you're paying me R50 and its 10 years ago that

they said pay R50, I'm not going to come to work and do a good job, I'm going to just do something, or I'm going to just stand there whole day for R50 and nothing is going to go on. So if you're looking at that, as I said, it's not right, for me, it not right. R50? Huh uh. So if they are going to start tomorrow, I was in Ceres this weekend at my mom so no-one was moving out, that people is really working on farms, they're going out as 'contracts' and so on. No bus was going there yesterday because they say no-one is going to work. So that area is going to be affected very very big because that's where you get all the fruit so that areas going to be affected like I don't know. A year from now all this farms in South Africa will be in effect by this and I think that's all due to the government because you can't say to me that you can't figure out in 2 days time that there's people paying R280 a week, you hear it, and you know it but you do nothing.

NC: *Ja*, I think its a crisis and the people who pay R50, I just think, as you say, you are making a profit, how can you keep other people from having a living wage, no-one is talking about getting rich

JOR: It's not to get rich but to get a little better life, its not apartheid anymore, its not slavery anymore, you do need to earn something because you don't have, cos if I don't have a piece of land, what can I do.

NC: And they are performing their labour, they are not asking for a social grant, they do the work so they should be paid for the work they do, their labour is valuable.

JOR: I agree on that. So we hope to see what's going to go on tomorrow, my feeling is that this whole area is going to is not going to go to work, even if they pay a little more than R100, all that people will stay at home to feel for that people that don't have something on the table. If you paying that R50 I don't think that money will last 2 days.

NC: As you say, that's 2 loaves of bread, even if you…there really is let alone a coffee somewhere…

JOR: Ja, that's it.

INTERVIEW 4 ***Tracey Randle***

TR: The date's the fourth right

NC: yes, today's the 4th…one of the thing's that I'm trying to do in my methodology and I think that I say try because it seems very recursive at this stage…'cos I took a year off …and I was in America at Harvard doing some courses and uh…had a very pleasant sabbatical from my job and tried to work on my PhD which I think was less successful in some ways because there were wonderful distractions…but I am…spent a lot of time thinking about feminist methodologies and ways in which you…really try and re-imagine your relationship with your interview subject and their relationship with you. And I think particularly because the nature of the content that I am working with questions of representation and identity and difficult past …one of the things…I am …hoping to do with this proj…with my research is [?] at various stages is to come back to people who I have interviewed and go does this actually summarise or reflect what you feel about the subject so…

TR: that would be wonderful

NC: …really what I'm trying to do …

TR: I mean obviously…I think…you know…and I've said this kind of thing…to the directors and…various people on the farm…if we open ourselves up to academic inquiry it does mean that there will be critical elements of that, we have to know that. You know, its not like we're saying we want to change criticism of certain things depending on your argument…you know, obviously not …because that's what you take when you…I know, I've been in academia…like, you're supposed to be critical…that's the whole idea of it all, but at the same time, I think for us its just…to have things factually correct, so if we could do a read through of …even just …you know how old the farm is cos…we've had, I can't tell you how many mistakes we've had and you uh, just kind of think to yourself "and then this is out there in the world and it hasn't even been checked"

NC: *Ja*, and those are the things that come back when people start citing various publications…it would be wonderful for me if I could send you, for example a draft of the chapter which is about museum practice at Solms-Delta and then obviously you'll have …uh…and I would love some feedback…from the people I have interviewed as well and obviously you'll have access to a final copy

TR: *Ja*, that would be great and if we could cos we're starting a research [interruption] If we could also have a final copy for our research center cos we're trying to start, we're trying to make cos we've had a few lots of research done on the farm from anthropologists to water people …I mean its quite an amazing array of all sorts of things but the idea is that when academics come and other people, people in the community they would have access to those…theses and research that have been written so its not just like closed off so if that's also possible if we could have a copy

NC: Absolutely, I could do a hard copy for you as well as an electronic copy

TR: Thank you, that would be wonderful

NC: so February 2014 I'm submitting so obviously once its gone in for final examination I'll give you a copy…So I have ten minutes, I mean ten questions and hopefully it won't take longer than an hour…thank you so much for agreeing to an interview

[Interruption]

NC: U.m…so the first question I'd wanted to ask you is how you think your museum represents the history of slavery?

TR: You know um…its quite interesting because you know we…I think just in relation to a lot of other museums they've been dealing with a long legacy of the museum world and a long kind of inheritance of artifacts and ways of doing things and …you know…a lot of them are governmental organizations so …they've got all sorts of inheritance of bureaucracy and problems of how things are represented. You know we didn't actually have any of those problems because we started from scratch and we started from scratch at a very interesting time where we are…in history certainly in academia focusing on multiple narratives and stories from below and all that kind of thing. Umm…what's been interesting for me is that we weren't setting out to do a slave museum, which is what some people call us, you know they say "oh, you've got such a lovely slave museum" and I always have to correct them and say, "but we're not a slave museum" because our focus has never been on the reverse side of doing…cos I mean a typical…I suppose you also have to look at us as what we are, we're a museum on a wine estate. You know and in my thesis I had um...looked at the history of wine tourism in the Western Cape and had looked at how they represent history to the public and it was interesting cos that was in 2002 and 3 and 4 and um at that stage it was…you weren't finding, not many multiple narratives had

made their way through into the public arena, I mean obviously in certain arenas, more like community museums, District Six and the migrant labourers museum but the larger institutions it was still getting there, it was still in that process and you know most wine estates that you were going to it was very much the colonial owners who owned the farm, rolling vineyards, beautiful landscapes, Cape Dutch houses, umm…you know ceramics, furniture…all that…

NC: Groot Constantia

TR: Groot Constantia…I mean Groot Constantia did have their little interpretation center and they had some parts of slavery but it was very surface level, there was no depth or detail to it. So I suppose what we were really interested to do was to take this one landscape as a way of going into the past and exploring all the people that might have been there and yes, that is also a choice of where we are in terms of what our focus is in terms of history, you know in the present day so its very much that kind of thing but at the same time we were very interested in multiple narratives I think you know for the same piece of land over time, which had always, I guess, in one way or another been chosen…which narrative does this farm tell…so that's why we had done archaeological excavations on the farm to try and find a history further back than just um…the colonial people that inhabited because I mean most wine estates they begin, 1690 the land was granted you know…and we were kind of thinking this landscape doesn't just go back to 1690 …and while they very much do that… like its a colonial history which is why we decided to dig in the ground and as you know we found the whole later stone age settlement at the site and all those other artifacts and even middle and early stone age tools. So that for us was the starting point you know to kind of bring it back further than that then obviously going into who were those indigenous people who would have been here and really trying to contextualize that we don't have a lot of answers but its complex. You know I mean, I don't know if you have…if you saw, I think its the, one of the first couple of panels along like even in the naming of indigenous people you know, who were the San and you kind of look at all these names and that was something, when putting the exhibition together you've got to choose, what do you call the indigenous people? Do you call them San or Bushmen and in most museums, you choose a name and that is that, I mean you don't, that was the San but what was really interesting to me was that there was a whole range of debate around naming and

even the historiography around and the development of each of those names kind of made you see that so much of it is just not a given…I think. So, in terms of the slave aspect and how we represented that…I see that very much as its one of the voices of the farm in the past. Its probably one of the more silent and marginalized voices but having said that I think the indigenous history is even more so silenced and marginalized because…the processes towards uncovering a slave past and an acknowledging of a slave past has been coming for a while and um on *Vergelegen* they had uncovered the slave quarters and that had been, I think that was in the 90s. They hadn't necessarily done huge exhibits about it or had necessarily gone into finding the social history of the people from that building but a process had been starting. And obviously *Groot Constantia* had been…so things like that and I suppose local people were also more willing to make a connection to their own slave past which had been coming up. I mean there were people obviously in communities who were starting to say that this isn't a negative thing…umm…I remember Mark Solms was saying to his housekeeper on the farm, Sanna Malgas …and you know when he was first living on the farm and she was working for him and he said to her "oh, Malgas, that's like maybe from Malagasy, cos you know slaves had this surname" and she said "oh we don't mention that, its shameful" kind of thing…which is interesting because I think a lot has changed since that but I think and I think that people do have a greater awareness around that sort of heritage and taking pride in it now but umm…indigenous heritage is still very much kind of so-called, what do they call it…like *boesmans* …like its still this very negative connotation whereas slavery is a bit more, something that has a bit more positive now because we're opening it up and you know, people are delving into it themselves in terms of identity but *jees*, this indigenous kind of…kind of …inheritance is almost non-existent on the landscape to tell you the truth…and we know from the artifacts that they were living in the area and we know that even through colonial times that they were living side by side with farmers in the region and we know that they were even living on farms as itinerant labour so well into, we've got records from must be the 1820s of so-called, what they would have called bastard hottentots living and working on the farms and so that's not that long ago. Its kind of the same period as slavery but what's really interesting is that that has totally disappeared from our kind of lexicon, our dialogue of whose on this landscape and of course through marketing in Franschhoek it becomes very "Frenchified" and

colonial, of course, and I guess that was a certain tourist market…so…um, *ja*, I think it is…for us the slave is one of multiple narratives and it also wasn't for us a creation of good versus bad history you know, however difficult some of the stories that we uncovered which really were about the plight of what real slaves lives were like. I mean really difficult stories. I don't know if you know the story of Phillida who is in there…

NC: *ja*…I'm half way through the book …its just…so…hard

TR: you know its a really…you know what I knew Phillida's story, I found her in the archives, but to read it in a first person account…it is…it is completely harrowing. I mean I was completely depressed and I I thought I knew her well and of course this is an imagining…a re-imagining of historic facts but you…you don't…however much you know having studied Cape slavery…to read it in a first person account…it is just …it is completely awful.

NC: I mean I thought it could be the text that I bring that was part of my research trip but isn't the kind of major academic texts on ethnographies or historiographies of slavery. And then …its just been very difficult reading because I am also struggling…I think I am resisting ways in which you can identify with the character and the other characters and I just …am finding it so difficult to get through that particular text and the only other text that's done that for me around slavery particularly is Yvette Christiansë's *Unconfessed*

TR: I don't think I've read that

NC: and she had also found like…um…one line in the archive about a slave woman who had killed her children instead of having them umm…be sold off to a different farmer and she was imprisoned on Robben Island and it took me a year to read that because it was also…she writes so beautifully and so evocatively so…I think you're right in terms of the first person account and what it does for the story and history and the ways in which you have to really identify with that

TR: and of course…Andre has received …I mean he's had thousands of reviews and a lot of criticism. I mean he kind of says its audacious for him to take on the role of this narrator from this…you know…kind of, ageing white guy in this period and try and project on to a slave girl and what her thoughts would be and for all of those reasons I can understand how people feel that way.

[conversation off the record]

NC: and maybe those are important. Because in fact, the visibility and the kind of conversation is at the level that only comes with the name Andre Brink …and I think in particular parts of South African society who may never have thought about slavery…but if you associate it with the name Andre Brink, people will engage with it

TR: I think people have ended up reading it who wouldn't have ordinarily read it …I mean I've read reviews from all over the world and I'm just thinking some people have been totally moved by it and other people, whatever their criticisms are. But once again, like I said, people are having a dialogue about it and people have been talking about the harshness of Cape slavery and was it that harsh and all those kind of things but lets talk about it, lets get it into the public arena

NC: as opposed to the kind of erasure of it and where people go, "Oh slavery, slavery?"

TR: did it happen …I saw one person saying "I didn't know there was slavery at the Cape" and I thought if that book has done anything, that one person has thought this was here you know and that kind of thing. And I mean we had….to tell you the truth…I had , under Nigel Worden who was my supervisor, um… I know he's …so calming it just …he's a wonderful supervisor …ummm…but he, we had, I think it was our final year at varsity and we had had to look at "A chain of voices" which was written by Andre Brink and the *Koue Bokkeveld* you know the slave rebellion and we had had to compare it to the written record. And having read that book and how he obviously writes in multiple narratives. And to tell you the truth myself, I had read it and my recommendation in my thesis was that more wine estates should represent history in a multiple narrative perspective like "A Chain of Voices" and the owner of the farm, Mark Solms had read Andre Brink's book separately and had also been inspired by the way of writing. So both of us had already had that kind of framework, that kind of, I don't know what you call it …the same kind of reference point for how history could be done in a different way with multiple kinds of perspectives included. So that very much formulated how we did our current museum

NC: I was going to ask you, so did…did you do your thesis separately …and then started working on the farm …and …a museum came out if it?

TR: well it happened [aside] I…I had I started my thesis, when did I start it? I finished in 2004 so I probably started a year before, something like that and it was…*ja*…like I said it was about the history of wine tourism….I don't know how I ended up in there…oh…I'd done like a public history and tourism course which was through Nigel Worden and UCT ummm I mean UWC and Robben Island and UCT and they don't run it anymore…yes, basically *ja*, that kind of thing and I'd been really interested you know, having studied history for so long and I'd always focused on African history and I'd always kind of whittled down to more Cape history and slavery but um very little at varsity when I was there was about real public, like how has this come…like I mean you deal with archives and you're in there and these stories and it ends up in the thesis collection and who ever reads this I don't know [laughter] but you know …some other poor person who has to reference your work that kind of thing so I was really interested to see well, what are the public manifestations of all these things we're reading and how you know …public perceptions, so I think it was because of that course and because it linked with slavery it was kind of like the best of both worlds for me um…and then I had finished, just about to finish up and a friend of mine was a student of Mark Solms at UCT cos he's a neuro-psychologist and um, he was always talking about that he had just got this wine estate and he was going to start making wine and obviously he was telling his students quite a lot about what he was doing probably more than lecturing them because it must have been rather exciting at the time and then he was saying that he wants to put this museum together and my friend said well I've got a very odd friend who studies Cape history and I didn't give him a CV I just gave him a chapter of my thesis about that section about and he was like totally on the same page and then we just decided OK we'll, lets look into the history of this farm and do it from a multiple narrative perspective and we don't know what's in the archive and what's in the ground but lets dig it up basically…kind of metaphorically and physically and then we…I think I started in May 2004 and then we opened the museum to the public in October 2005. So it wasn't that long…very, very intense…*ja*

NC: OK, that's…where are we now **…**my math's is appalling

TR: 2005**…**7 years, *ja ja* I've been with them, I think its 8 years this year, 7 years we've been open to the public…

NC: And …on Friday I did the social history tour with Johan O'Brayn and he was talking about the next phase of development on the farm and that there's going to be an extension of the museum and the restaurant will move and there will be a larger wine tasting area. So that was one of the things I was interested in was the extension of…you know, is there space for temporary exhibits or how do you imagine the museum to …

TR: well actually …well the museum at the moment will pretty much stay the same except that we are upgrading our plans are to upgrade the actual…the way that the artifacts are displayed and to kind of …cos we did that kind of in a mad rush the night before the thing the opening [laughter] I promise you that we …[?] that whole museum was installed on the day of the opening. It was like one of those …*ja*

NC: Most great exhibitions often are [laughter]

TR: Yes…*ja*…I mean I remember Mark Solms was even sweeping and we were all just like stressed and sweating, but anyway…um…so *ja*, we were, we are reviewing many things in that exhibition and working on a new, hopefully interactive desktop display which, cos we've accumulated so much archaeological and architectural information through all of our excavation on the farm and historical inquiry and all that kind of stuff and we just haven't had a way of how to get it out there to the public, so we want to kind of do a layering of a landscape that you would that you would, its like a I suppose an interactive touch screen type thing that you could see the different layers of the landscape through time and be able to go into it and find out about it, but that's kind of further along, we haven't even started with that next year, so there are plans to do the display and then this interactive thing but pretty much its going to stay the glass panels will mostly stay the themes will stay. The other exhibition that we're working on at the moment is more thematically framed around music, Cape music. So it's not going to be a continuation of what's there, it more going to link to it of course in many ways. So it's supposed to be a journey through Cape music, the origins of Cape music. So in many ways there are overlaps but it's a totally different way of getting into the past. And we kind of start, once again with human origins, with what we share as human beings, how does music develop with us in terms of human evolution even. Cos its an interesting starting point to think what do we all share in terms of why is music such a huge thing in our lives and I think its an interesting starting point. Um…and then we kind of go, I

think what's interesting about Cape music is once again, very much what is much more acknowledged in Cape music is the slave influence much more recently you know, so *Ghoema* and people looking at *Kloppse* Carnival types of things so that's kind of Cape music, that's what gets thrown up kind of thing. And yes, it is an interesting aspect of it that we will be looking at but um…what's often once again not spoken about is the indigenous influences in Cape music. So we've really gone back to the ground work of looking at things like *vastrap* and trance dance and many of the indigenous instruments that had been collected over the years and…*Ja*, a lot of it is like a bit tongue in cheek because a lot, most of the stuff isn't written in the archives because of course related to music …I mean music just forms and grows…but there's commonalities you know amongst…and then we've done…since 2007 we've kind of done our own research interviewing Cape musicians like Robbie Jansen and um…Vincent Colby who lived in District 6 who passed away, in fact most of these people have passed away now. And, uh, then we also interviewed our own people and people in the community and we captured it all on video and we just have thousands and thousands of hours of footage and so its also a way to kind of …people can come and explore you know…um questions that we'd asked and we try to ask them the same set of questions over all the years and um…of course, there are always differences. And so its just, its really just a journey through the people who make up Cape music I guess, in many ways and whether that's European origin or indigenous origins or slaves, where they were coming from, and present day influences - America and all that kind of cross pollination…

NC: And I think music…as a… thing for the body …sorry

TR: no, no, it is

NC: means that you really have to think very differently about a museum experience in that way, which I, I think is really going to be very interesting to see, particularly because of …um…the good things you already do in kind of museological practice in terms of shaping particular visitor experiences in those ways

TR: But it is, we, in terms of criticisms of our current exhibition, obviously we've dealt with a lot of story…book on the wall type thing, which is technically true, but, um, the other alternative was to have this one paragraph per panel type thing which you would find in most museums but we just were so concerned that it really didn't give

you the essence of this, how detailed, how complex, how multiple, how …all of these layers of unpacking and you know, you do get faced with that as soon as you go in there cos its … how we kind of mediated that by was by having larger pieces of text that are the main story and then smaller, more detailed thing. Cos we also acknowledge, people are like "No one will ever read this" and we're like "We're not expecting everyone to read it" our main focus is that someone who comes in there will follow their interest. They're going to read what they're interested in and ultimately we've also always mediated the exhibition through umm…guides. Because, um…to tell you the truth people don't want isolated experiences. I mean that's the one thing I studied in my thesis. I also went on tours with, you know just sitting on tour buses with tourists and it was amazing to me what they made connections with. So we'd visit somewhere like Nelson's Creek and it was this um…I think it was Mr. Victor Titus who was a previous school teacher who lived on the farm and very similar…you know they have their wine, New Beginnings, it was one of the first examples of how to do transformation on a wine estate that had happened in the Cape. And how people who come to this estate and had this personal experience with this guy who really, it was like, you know, sitting kind of down and having a conversation with someone, and and really talking about what conditions were like and all that kind of stuff and then going to somewhere I guess like Spier, where we all sat down in a massive room and it was a certain time and no one…and then we got a wine tasting…it was just no personal experience whatsoever. Um…and I think that for us, you know its just not about the exhibition, the people who work in that museum are from the farm and I think that that's also what visitors want to engage with. They want to engage with people who are living the experience, who have gone through the process of transformation, who ultimately have their own stories and history. You know its not just, it wasn't just about us doing this history and then saying this is the history of your farm - it really was about tell us your history, we want…you know, its changing you know, what has it been, lets have your stories kind of thing. So I think it's…for our music exhibition, it will very much be the same. We still are keeping the same aesthetic I guess, we're having glass panels with kind of the main story information but um, because you know, like you said, music is experienced so differently, it can't be a read only thing. I mean one of the things that I'm working on, it's actually going on to the body as an instrument as part of that musical thing because it's so much. Cos

what's interesting, the other reading I've doing is that how, what parts of the brain is stimulated when someone listens to music and its absolutely incredible…almost every single part of your brain is stimulated from memory to language to timing to sort of like how your body moves and its just…its why we have those transcendental kind of feelings when we listen to music, and you sing along and you feel like its in your head and your body and you feel like…that's why its moving, its because so much of our body and our mind are affected by music you know. So um…the main part of what we're doing is to have we found these indigenous instruments which are at UCT which were collected at the turn of the 20th century by Prof Kirby all over from Southern Africa. And he was kind of ahead of his time in terms of ethnography because he was really specific about the people that he interviewed and trying to capture names and places and what they called themselves, which is like, "Wow". Cos you know it wasn't just like "This is the music of the hottentots" kind of thing scenario. It was really, these were the people living along the Kei River or whatever and this is what they called themselves and this was the name, as much as possible of the guy and the date that he collected it from. And its about 600 instruments which he collected and its one of the most amazing collections from anywhere around the world. Other countries would kill to have such indigenous collections and its like San leg wrappings that they use during trance dance which are made from a Springbok ears because, you use what's around you, like little Springbok ears with stones or beads in it so that when you shake during trance dance it makes that rattling sound. Its the most incredible instruments but the majority of people don't know about them or that they are closed to the public and we have had replicas created of them that are playable cos our idea is that someone will come and engage with the music listen to it then try it yourself you know like obviously our guides would play it and then we've also got three interactive stations so that you can actually go in deeper to the material because obviously its such a I mean the size of the museum, oh my word, its probably just the first part of my lounge, maybe a bit bigger. So its really, its even smaller than our other museum and you know, knowing the level of detail that we want to do and you just cant do it…umm…we decided to go interactive media because its also more current and that you could delve into anything deeper, depending on, you know, what you want, what your interests is or what you want to follow. So the one is going into the history of the indigenous instruments and being able to follow all sorts of different details about them and you

could go deeper and deeper and deeper into an instruments' story kind of thing.

The other one is a world map which I'm working on, starting, which is basically kind of dated to the mid 19th century and its kind of having a look at everyone who came to the Cape from all over the world and slaves and where they came from and you'd be able to click on a country and hear the musical styles from that time and somehow, all together, all of this music and culture somehow created Cape music you know and I think that's a real nice its a way to experience the formation of Cape music, just purely by the sounds of those different places and that kind of thing.

And then the last one, the last interactive panel was really about all of our music project footage so it brings it back to us, which is always very important because you know there have been histories that kind of get written and then wine estates would not want you to bring up the present day scenarios or the issues of apartheid or the *dop* system or all those kinds of things which is why we wanted to bring our current museums very much to the present and its kind of the same with our music project, we really want to bring it right up to where we are today you know that kind of thing. And yes it will date but um, *ja*…I think its really how we want to, so *ja* I think we're trying to give it that same kind of methodology…sorry I don't know if I'm sticking to your questions at all [laughter]

NC: you've given me far more than I had imagined, so thank you. So when is the planned opening [laughter] of the

TR: Heaven help me, it's supposed to be March next year

NC: ok, so that's soon

TR: soon soon, *ja*, I don't sleep much so its fine…[laughter]

NC: OK, the second question I think you've already spoken about …it's around your thoughts about how slavery was represented in the museum and also in the region. I'm wondering if you can speak maybe briefly, or extensively, I'm not sure, about any experiences you have about how slavery is thought about or made visible or represented in the rest of South Africa

TR: Well, obviously South Africa is huge, so I can't really speak for it all but um, I can certainly speak for our valley and um, I think we've also spoken about things like, that were happening, like *Vergelegen* and other estates that were starting to change.

But what was interesting to us was that we have Pniel our surrounding, I'm not sure if you've been to Pniel at all? They've actually just…I think that's also their problem [?] they prefer people not to drive past, they would like people to stop. They have also just their own museum, a community museum and they, they've been struggling for ages cos it's very much a community driven initiative so they, they're outside the realms of funding. I think it's immensely difficult when you're not a private institution, you don't have links to government, but you've got this community drive. I mean the community has literally researched their family histories and made links back to slavery for the cos it was a mission station for freed slaves. Umm, and they have also produced a book called *Pniel en sy mense* which I think they're busy putting into English at the moment, so there's huge amounts of drive in the community and for many years they have kind of been in between tourism and I think quite frustratingly so because people drive past on the way to Boschendal or on the way to Franschhoek and from Stellenbosch and its bypassed and yet people are starting to seek out slave stories or these kind of multiple narratives and it literally bypasses them on the road. Umm…so I would also definitely go visit the museum because I think it's their feelings on the landscape is very interesting. Um, also, there's about to be a new book published which is in production at the moment from Stellenbosch University called um its the Dwars River Valley, I can't remember what they called the name. I'm just doing the historical background for it, but it's all kind of different sociologists and anthropologists who are dealing with present day issues in the valley and um…also issues around the connection of housing and identities and for people in Pniel, Johannes del Lankedak and feelings of marginalization and all that kind of stuff. I think it's going to be really interesting, it might be worthwhile to see a draft version of it

NC: And it's from Stellenbosch University Press

TR: *Ja*, I think so, but I'll, or else contact me cos I know they're formalizing a draft of it by the end of this year. I mean I could always ask the guy, Prof Kees van der Waal whose coordinating it all if you might be able to see a draft version, I'll let you know.

NC: Ok, that would be great

TR: *Ja*, so Pniel is very interesting I think because of that and because they are perhaps more ahead of other communities, they also…its really interesting to go back into Pniel's history because they somehow still separate, literally from their neighbors somehow. Whether that's ideologically or for whatever thing, but they also, many people in Pniel, as soon as Pniel started as a mission station, the children and adults started receiving education to read and write and this was in 1843, so they also see themselves as a much more educated kind of middle class to elite kind of settlement in the area. So there are some fractions among surrounding communities which maybe don't have as much resources. But so, they've been able for many years, I think because of their history, to be able to focus on and take pride in their past. So perhaps more than other communities, I would say, they are very much talking about slave heritage, they're talking about their heritage, they've gone through those processes of doing it themselves…um *ja*, I think that's an interesting case study in our surrounding region. And then, other museums in our, I mean obviously there is Franschhoek museum itself which is in Franschhoek and obviously that is a Huguenot memorial museum and they do have aspects of slavery in there. I mean I know Juno Malherbe who is one of the researchers there, she spent many years researching the stories of slaves in Franschhoek but obviously its not their main story at all because their focus is Huguenots…*ja*, but I think its an interesting discourse and dialogue, I mean, I think…its also quite interesting for us because we are a private institution so we kind of fall outside of whatever's happening in government…I still try and keep in the loop but because we are not up to the same kind of legalities or having to ponder the same bureaucracies its different and then its up to us I guess to make relationships with other institutions like District 6 or whatever, or whatever it is but…I don't know if you've met Krishnay Julius from the District 6 museum?

NC: no

TR: he's one of the researchers there and you know, we had an interesting conversation because they've got a new part of District 6 museum which is this building called the homecoming center and um, you know its just an extension of everything that they're doing but they've got very interesting displays which I took photos of for you because it was about the commemoration or memorialisation of slavery. Um, I'm just trying to find it for you…and obviously they are very much concerns about

who has the right to speak for these types of histories you know; is it always these well-funded organizations? What are the purposes of it? What about the people themselves, do they ever get a say? And I suppose Pniel is one of those examples where they are, in our region, doing it for themselves…ok, here we go…so you must just go have a look at the homecoming center, its quite interesting, its upstairs, its called imagining identity and it was all about re-imagining carnival in Cape Town and what was interesting about that for me, they had various people…it was students who had put these things together but one of the most interesting pictures I thought was…sorry, modern technology just kills…and they kind of also did like, because it was also about carnival and stuff and it was students doing their own exhibition, there was an interesting part…kind of like they've done their own little theater photographs, they staged things…so like this one says "this picture has two central characters, slavery and celebration. In this scene they can be seen moving from pillar to pillar but never making contact or colliding. Its a statement saying slavery and celebration can't live in coexistence" and then they go into more…its really interesting cos they say "we choose to use elements or fragments of carnival to re-fabricate or reframe the scene of villains of history and heroes of time, whose left out" and then they're just kind of putting these two words, celebration and slavery in relation to each other. So I think that's quite interesting

NC: that's great and very interesting; I'll certainly go and take a look at that**.** And you said it was a recent exhibition?

TR: *Ja*, I was there about a week or two ago, its upstairs kind of against the walls and the pillars, so if you just go upstairs I think it looked like a really, I wasn't there for the, I don't know if its just a left over kind of things of a formal exhibition or what but Krishnay Julius would probably know more about that

NC: ok, so question 3 (laughter) but I think you've have kind of touched on lots of them as we go so I'll just kind of see as we go. This question was about your thoughts on recent conversations that are taking place about slavery perhaps at your museum but also in the region and in the country more broadly speaking and whether you think they could assist South Africa with addressing its slave past or the history of slavery in particular ways?

TR: I suppose the most recent conversations have been around *Phillida* because of the

controversy around the book and because it relates to our farm so I think we've spoken about that and what I feel the use of that is for

[Interruption]

Ja so I suppose that has been one of the main conversations that we've had and then its always interesting because we constantly engaging with groups that come to the museum and whatever their background whether they be Afrikaans from the Transvaal, you know our history is there, we can't change what it is, that's the story of the farm. What's been very interesting, what people always find some connection to, whether good or bad or whether they'll acknowledge it or not is…you know we always talk about it in such separate categories you know, so there are slaves and colonists [?] "oh, how amazing how separate we are" but actually what I think was so interesting when you look at how preconceived ideas of who were these early colonial settlers and how many of them were descended from freed slaves or married to them. So it kind of also once again in terms of that good vs bad history when you really looked into who these early European colonial settlers were they literally in our valley were slave decedents or married to free slave women so it kind of pushes that boundary of those ideas…of …it was just this black versus white, you know kinda of set in stone and I think what was more interesting for us was realizing once again how complex it is. And then of course even Phillida's story of course is acknowledging the other side of it as well that obviously a lot of slave children were fathered by owners of farms of course…so I think its both sides, you know its looking at how connected we actually all are on many levels, not just on the so-called Phillida side but its actually who are the owners, where are they descended from. So, um…and Hans Geeser had done all that research into early Afrikaans families in the 80s *Groop Sonder Grense* and all of that. You know his work was banned and burned and death threats and all that kind of stuff cos here you are opening up this history when we're supposed to be justifying white domination over a land that's based on purity [laughter] well best of luck with that [laughter] and then when you have someone starting to uncover "well wait, we're not so pure after all" you know it starts to become a bit more tenuous to have those kinds of God-given right of pure nation kind of thing. I think people, I mean obviously there is a huge re-looking into that now I think and what my experience is that South Africans actually welcome it on all sides of this connection. I think for white kind of

Afrikaans people, my experience of what they've said you know if I've given the tour, of course you never know what they are necessarily thinking, but they've kind of said, "OK, so we're all connected, we really belong" and I suppose that for a lot of white people in South Africa in the present day its this feeling like "ok, so we've had this really terrible past and legacy and apartheid and a long history and we kind of feeling like we've been the perpetrators you know of all these crimes and you know, what is our place in South Africa today if we kicked people off their land kind of thing" and I think what's interesting if you go back and you realize how connected we are people feel more positive that they do have a right to be here. *Ja*, …so my experience is that people have welcomed it in terms of local people and connections to each other. I think people …very much want to be connected to each other. I think it helps maybe place people …gives people a feeling of belonging you know…and its always interesting to get anyone else with a different skin tone in there cos they're always "Yes of course that's how it always was, we've known that all along" kind of thing. We've also had kind of old age homes of like white Afrikaans elderly people and we've given them a tour of these kind of things and obviously some of their names have come up or something or we've talked about the kind of history and sometimes its been very quiet [laughter] you know there's just a [interruption] so *ja*, we've had the other kind of side of it as well. I remember when we were uncovering stories, the stories of Phillida and Kendaza, I don't know if you read Kendaza's story, it's just above Phillida. But Kendaza who, I mean Phillida was petitioning that she shouldn't be sold because this was her family and her children were actually the decedents of the farm owner. Kendaza was from an earlier owner of the farm and she was also Kendaza van de Caab so she was born at the Cape but she was actually petitioning that she wanted to be sold away from the owner of the farm because she was treated so badly, you know. And we found, what we put up in the museum was a doctor's report from her court case which said that "her arms and shoulders and buttocks are profusely covered with old and partly healed lesions and scars of previously administered blows". And her whole court case is around her physical treatment by her owners and its just awful, its too awful for words to go through her court case and then she didn't receive the outcome that she wanted cos the judge decided that she was lying and I found out in the end when I researched it that the judge was related to her owner so… So some of these stories, they were immensely difficult to uncover and I remember we had a marketing person, at one

stage when we were first putting the museum together and hadn't opened to the public or anything and these were the types of stories we were uncovering you know and she was like "why would you want to tell these types of stories and sell wine to the public?" and we were like "but its the truth of what we're uncovering here and if we cover it over again isn't that just another method of silencing and you know" and I think its interesting the ideas…I suppose for us in many ways it hadn't been done to that extent on a wine estate where it was really going to detail about what the conditions were like on a farm like this. Like here you are enjoying the fruits of the wine as you sip a glass kind of thing and when we in 2005, it was also interesting because you know you also think that this is just something in the past, um…but so many things were getting opened up at that stage. Carte Blanche was doing investigative journalism into many wine farms in the area about the housing conditions of the workers and you know, really doing exposes on places. I can't remember some of the places but they were doing it and um of course, there are huge questions and we were at that time starting to upgrade our workers accommodation and so our neighbours were very angry with us because here we are opening up stories of the people who were here, we're acknowledging what their level of poverty is, we're talking about issues of housing and illiteracy and alcohol dependency and fetal alcohol syndrome and we're upgrading. And their kind of workers are starting to ask questions, you know, why on the neighbouring farm… So we haven't always been welcomed necessarily, not to say all, but it hasn't always been welcomed, the processes we have gone through

NC: Well Johan was saying on the tour that when the neighbouring farms see that there's an upgrade happening it also gets their workers asking questions about the living conditions and he was talking about how people on Solms are really empathizing with the conditions that workers are facing now and the difficult position that they find that they're in so I think that that was an important point to make for a large tour group from Stellenbosch, the *Vingereds* [I don't speak that much Afrikaans]…but I think to make that an issue for a group of people who are in that industry, to educate people in that industry, I thought was a really important intervention and it wasn't necessary, I mean I don't know if it was an intervention or if it was while he was telling the kind of narrative of the tour but I thought it was, for me it was so important…I thought it was fate that that was the kind of tour I had

joined but also that that was the group who do come to the farm and do engage on some levels…*ja,* so I thought that that was really interesting. Ok, so the next question is around gender and whether you had any particular ways in which you wanted gender to be included in the ways in which you represent the history of slavery or the history of farm?

TR: um, I suppose, obviously personally for myself I'd always been interested in women's stories in history because I mean having studied history it is acknowledged that for the most, it is marginalized, its one of those marginalized voices [interruption] one of those marginalized voices in the past so many of the stories that we have in the museum are stories of women you know, its stories of Groote Catrijn who was from Palakata, stories of Phillida and Kendaza. But not that we necessarily wanted to just…I don't know, focus on women necessarily but I think it was an important part of it not just being a male history and you know, most colonial histories that you read about its about these male settlers on this landscape and we were of course interested in what about …and that's of course who the records were kept by, those were who was allowed to own property, you know so even [interruption] so even a wife on the farm…the records just aren't…unless some sort of grievance or court case or something happened with her. I mean all the records in the archive are kept from the property perspective and it's always in the man's name. And even if a women married and she had property from a previous marriage and then she remarried, as soon as she remarried all her property and belongings went almost under her husband. So, *ja*…I think for me I suppose I had an interest in it. It was about putting it out there. Its impossible to create a balanced history, you can't tick all the boxes for everyone, you can't go OK, yes, we wanted to look at all these people's history, tick, tick, tick, we've done it all. And it's hard to know, but I think we just tried to do it organically, very much so. So I don't think we meant to do it, I just…the stories that we found in the archives happened to be about slave women and that was great as far as I was concerned so…so *ja*.

NC: one of the reasons I ask is because I do have a background in gender studies and I'm interested in questions of women and how they are represented and also part of my project is around memory politics and I am trying to investigate (and I think this is far less defined at the moment) but the ways in which memory is gendered in particular ways and how women remember or the forms that their memories take vs.

the forms that men's memories may take and I don't know if they're so neatly defined but that's one of the things I'm trying to look at are the instances of women's stories in some ways and these particular…

TR: I suppose in terms of the style to tell you the truth, if you look at how our museum, the whole kind of way, the behind the scenes of the museum, is narrative you know. And I find storytelling is such a key component of women's lives, and you know maybe, I don't know, I find it, although having said that I do think that its human beings that's what we connect to, I just think that it ends up being told that its women's lives kind of thing. But I think that having it in a story format, having it in that narrative, it really brings it down to that central kind of experience of storytelling, which is very much in the home, with the mother…I mean that's how we learn to talk and whatever, you know…its literally called, that early baby language is called mother-tese apparently and its because the mother sings to the baby and the musical side and in a musical way we tell stories to our children and it also obviously for us, a more indigenous way of telling a story is through…that's how many of the !Xam/San talked about having stories invested in the landscape, its how you understand the landscape through stories of the chameleon which is what the mountain is, is like the chameleon's back. So it was also interesting for us to do it that way rather than the more kind of formal way of factual information you know. To go into someone's life, it is a bit more like Phillida, we're trying to get back down to that first person account kind of thing. Um, but *ja*, I don't know if we were necessarily totally aware of it was like a gender thing probably

NC: But I think in some ways those moments in the museum and museum practice are…you can see the bias of the curators or the historians and the ways in which they treat factual material and how it gets communicated so I think in some ways you know an interest in women's stories generally is probably the way in which you research. This is a question I have to rephrase often depending on who I'm asking because when I'd written it I thought it was seemingly straightforward because it was about ways in which Coloured identity is included in representations of slavery and every time I've asked the question I now present it with the preamble but that people are far more interested in unpacking the assumption around a homogenous idea around Coloured identity and that's not to say that I'm not interested in that but I thought that its a shorthand that I thought was commonly understood or at least that

would be less of the kind of focus than the question around its link to slavery. So I think, *ja* that's a poorly put way of saying it

TR: its ok I ask many of those all the time [laughter]

NC: But, is there a way in which you thought about representing particular racial identities particularly Coloured identity in the museum?

TR: I think like I said we started with it immediately, when it came to naming and we literally dealt with it, from what do we call the indigenous people who would have used these artifacts that we were uncovering. We literally began there and it was like *sheesh*, what names do we use and um I think what we tried to follow was to try and make it as open as possible, like I said not to just choose a name. In the indigenous case it was opening up a historiography of naming and I think when it came to like Coloured history or identity we kind of, the starting point for us was apartheid segregation in terms of those naming categories [interruption] so we had more kind of dealt with it in that way kind of looking at these were the policies of apartheid, these were the categories, the arbitrary categories they had decided to assign so I don't know if we ever dealt with it outright to tell you the truth, I don't think that we do in the museum. I think we've more dealt with it in that way, kind of saying these were the indigenous terminology that developed and there were all kinds of, I think what's interesting in terms of bushmen or *boesmans* kind of thing is that communities themselves want to call themselves bushmen and take the term back you know, themselves. So even within that, this term which has a very negative connotation is also being reclaimed and some people want to call it. And we've always felt that you kind of have to go with whatever people want to call themselves, you know, cos its their identity you know. And we've had that on all sorts of interesting levels, we've had someone who has made connections with us who is, well he calls himself a Khoisan King and technically Khoisan is an invented academic term you know. But whatever, that's what he wants to call himself so …whatever other issues we take with it. And I suppose that we had kind of looked at kind of Coloured, Black, White within that framework and how that terminology had just developed. We had never really dealt with it in terms of like, I don't even think it was a question we asked our farm workers, it was more centered around apartheid and I suppose it obviously was an undertone because all the regulations were all about the colour of the skin and so-called categories. But I think we dealt

with it in more that kind of way…I don't know if that made any sense, I'm probably not answering it very well

NC: No, I think that does make sense because one of the things I'm realizing about that question is that even in…you need to deal with the assumptions you have and allow people to engage with however they would like to define that term because it makes such a big difference in terms of how they make links to questions of slavery and the history of slavery or how they don't so that's fine. I think you mentioned this very briefly about when you were doing your own research around wine tourism but my question was around do you think there's been a change in the ways in which slavery is represented after the start of democracy in 1994?

TR: I mean definitely, I mean it was a hidden narrative, it wasn't spoken about…I think back to school and if you go back to what you studied at school you studied literally that there was some indigenous people here and little about their lifestyle and then it was just obviously something about Jan van Riebeck and the start of the fort and that there were some slaves but some slaves...I mean that was just about it and of course you weren't finding any of this in any of the museums in Cape Town. I mean, there was nothing as far as I'm aware that were ever really mentioned…it might be some small reference point, you know. People who first settled here were slave descendants kind of thing that would be kind of it. Um, you've obviously spent time at the Slave Lodge…*ja* I think that museums are, having said that I think older museums like all across Worcester or Simon's Town or whoever are trying to bring up those different kind of narratives. I mean Simon's town museum has done huge investigations, investigations sounds like too formal a word, but they've done huge research projects in collaboration with the surrounding community about you know, Muslim heritage and all those types of things and um, obviously identity around that and put, cos obviously Simon's Town has always just been this naval history but its also got many *kramats* and you know all these other types of things, so I think *ja*, institutions…there was obviously a drive, I mean if you're supposed to be a governmental institution and you're supposed to be following the constitution which the very much basis of it now is opening up everyone's story and it all having a place so their mandate effectively has to do that. They might, and the problem is of course funding and manpower and like I said the legacy of the collections they have

is sometimes overwhelming which is very much colonially dominated and at the same time it is very much to do with the interpretation of those artifacts…so you know an interpretation can make an artifact completely different at the same time. So, but *ja*. I do feel it has changed but that's because, that's more maybe a personal perspective, not to say that we still don't have a long way to go but I do think things have changed

[conversation off the record]

NC: [blurb about museum careers]

NC: well I think you've answered question 7 which is about the importance of the history of slavery in South Africa…and because I'm trying to work through for myself in the project the relationship between history and memory I'd like to ask this question which is about do you think there is a difference in terms of how people think about the history of slavery vs. how they think about the memory of slavery?

TR: [sigh] sorry, this is just one of those like in depth questions…I'm just trying to…you see for me its always easier to talk about concrete experiences so I can only answer for myself, I always find it difficult to answer for other people in terms of the question, how do people…um... there's a huge difference in it obviously as you know in the history of slavery and how it is memorialized or remembered and um you know the history of slavery is literally what has been uncovered in the archives and I'd dread to know how small that is that has actually been uncovered. I mean there's 40kms of records in the archives and sometimes the tip of the iceberg and none of its been digitized and people like Jackie Loos' work, she wrote *Echoes of Slavery*, which was made into a play, but very much her column in the Argus from week to week which I think was called "the way we were" and she, you know her book is obviously a collection of those columns really made into a more book format but I think what's interesting is that it very much was dependent on her interest and she had uncovered all these complex fascinating stories of slave lives in Cape Town and relationships with masters and all this kind of thing. Like really not stereotypical, you know almost every single case she was uncovering was just this detailed complex story of an individual person or a set of lives and I think that was really interesting and of course it makes it out there into the public now what gets chosen to be remembered or, you know once again what gets out there, I mean I

don't know if you know Ebrahim Rhode he's from the Strand…he lives in Strand, he was a retired headmaster and he's Muslim so he's very interested in his …the Muslim community of the Strand which obviously links back to early Muslim history at the Cape you know, with the first kind of exiles to the Cape and I think it was settled by that first famous Sheik Youssuf whose tomb is there in the *macassa* but um he had always been, he had always had these kind of family stories about that his great great grandmother was the slave Maria van de Caab or something and there are all these stories that live in families as well and once he was retired he ended up doing, I think it was a Masters through UWC, his supervisor was Suzie Newton-King and umm, I think it was specifically on the Strand Muslim community but he had found his grandmother in the archive after, or his great grandmother, after 5 years of searching and she was Maria van de Caab or whatever and obviously he's a huge proponent of family research but once again, very much of it is this personal journey. Who has access to the archives? Who has the funds available to sit there for hours? Who even knows where to begin? Its often retired people, it has to be people with money, because you have to have nothing else to do cos its open during working hours and some select Saturdays so, you know, the types of stories in that example in that family, how many families have stories like that? How many families have family bibles that we…so in terms of whose stories are being chosen to be memorialized, its very much the researcher's stories that are getting chosen to be memorialized or its public institutions selecting things. In terms of communities like Pniel or communities like Ebrahim Rhode's community who take their own initiatives to do it and through pain and suffering and despite the odds kind of get it out there those are actually the exception to the rule so its very different slave memory and slave history um because the slave history can be written…but slave memory?…

NC: *ja*…and has…I mean because there's no-one around to remember that anymore so the snippets that have remained or retained in particular families or passed on generationally and also have survived a period of silence and erasure of a particular history are…I think we have no sense of how much is out there in that regard

TR: exactly…I mean its, you know you just think about what gets lost when someone passes away you know…these types of things and its just…but these stories are passed down, even if you look at Ebrahim Rhode, there was this thing that was

somehow passed down. Of course he is in his sixties now so, but still I mean, the stories are there sometimes. I mean you hear all sorts of things…I mean I think what might be quite interesting is to contact is the Cape, I think it is the Cape Family History society and umm I know that they often send out things, but their focus is to assist families in Cape Town to research their histories and I think their focus is obviously more on…I mean its any kind of background, but it is really to help people assist in slave kind of, you know, or whatever their background is, but its really that type of history. But it will be interesting to ask them that type of question about what they're witnessing in terms of public you know…and people wanting to go into that history. Ja…

NC: I think I should probably contact them for my own family history…I know I'd asked Mark this question and he said Tracy will be able to give you the exact answer…

TR: no pressure whatsoever [laughter]

NC: [laughter] but it was around who generally comes to visit the museum

TR: interestingly enough you know we have always…I think, when do our figures go back, I must actually send it to you, we've got visitor numbers from our farm which kind of go, we've only just taken, only recently have we, we're sort of altering it a little, we, in fact the last two months, but basically from, I think we've got figures from 2007 just showing you visitor numbers. And we started with half way through we didn't start like at the beginning of a year like we should so we ended up kind of with a few months and then the first year, first full year we had 6000 people visiting the farm and then the next year it was 11000 people and then it went up to 19000 people and currently the last two or three years we've been on 30000 people a year and that's been really interesting although of course now we're trying to figure out who are those people…you know what…having known, having engaged with them, what's really interesting is it seems almost half but its actually a bit more over are local which for me is fascinating…I've just got last…I've only got two months figures, but it seems like the bias is more towards local visitors

NC: that's really phenomenal

TR: it is

NC: if I also just think about what I imagine my impression is of kind of being in the valley and that you probably just think it isn't…international tourists

TR: international tourists *ja*…so it could be local tourists but we…having said that we haven't, we haven't like I don't know, maybe go further but umm…it would be interesting…but we also don't want to totally harass our…to come here…whole life story but um, I think it would be …a lot of those would probably also be …we get lots of university groups that come on tours so we would count those as locals and that kind of thing. But I mean I literally got, I was looking at the figures today and for last month…I mean…I'll tell you properly but I think it was like 1 in 4 were local and 1 in 2 were international and I'm sitting there going, that's incredible

NC: that really is, particularly because I don't think there is a big museum visiting culture in the country and you know, so there's something about the estate and what the visitor experience can be like that they are…that you have that kind of footfall from …

TR: I mean I was just kind of blown away just thought that this was…I mean I have always been, to tell you the truth I always feel, I love local visitors. I think its like whole, I mean obviously I love my international visitors as well I mean its great to engage with them but if you're getting local people here from local communities of whatever background…you know it doesn't matter but the fact that they are coming here that they are having …often we know that they are repeat visits just from communication with them you know. Its fantastic to think that this is…its locals that are really starting to populate us who are coming back to be interested in what we're doing, which goes to show you that its not just this overseas so-called market you know…um *ja*. Ok, so I can send you the actual local versus international only for the last two months

NC: that would be great, just to give me a sense

TR: I mean I can send you the overall graph for all visitors if you want that, just remind me in an email

NC: I will, I'm going to have to learn how to read graphs

TR: [laughter] I've got to learn how to make them.,.I've just been trying to sit there at the moment cos I actually cannot figure out for the life of me how to split a bar graph to show local and international etc. [aside]

NC: I've got two more questions. This one is around if you think that slavery is thought about differently than other periods of oppression in South Africa's past and if you

have any ideas why that might be

TR: interestingly enough I have been reading this other quote which I must just quickly find for you if that's ok …um because it was also about the memorialization of [inaudible]…and this I just found on the internet as well its quite interesting cos it kind of compares how apartheid has been more the focus in memory in terms of Coloured identity um…let me just here …this is Henry Trotter he wrote a chapter called Trauma and Memory

NC: I think, is that from Mohammed Adhikari's Burdened by Race?

TR: *ja*…this says "communities often cohere around memories of historical suffering "and then he talks about black Americans and the Hutus, the injustice of the Tutsi domination, Afrikaners to the abuse of British imperialism "for Coloured South Africans people whose diverse history and experience in slavery and dispossession, genocidal determination, extermination sorry and apartheid generation the question of historical memory is fraught with difficulty. A striking aspect of Coloured people's memory today is that for the most part they do not invest in a remote past. Some scholars have implied that they suffer from historical amnesia. Most Coloured Capetonians instead focus on the painful experience within living memory, the forced eviction of a hundred thousand Coloured people from their natal homes and communities in the Cape Peninsula because of group areas act. Coloured removees coped with their pain by reminiscing with one another about the good old days in their destroyed communities" and then…*ja* I think…I think its interesting because its not like we have one moment in time of …of dispossession or violence or…we've got so many multiple injustices on so many different levels and I've just written, I wrote for the Dwars River Valley, there's Rob Nixon's concept of slow violence and its a really interesting concept. He talks about it in connection to the environmentalism of the poor. Its an interesting concept to think about slow violence in terms of legacies in communities and that the effects are long term and that its not a once off catastrophic event, its often these long term periods of slow violence that sometimes communities don't…it so destructive that communities don't even have it as a cause. And that's really interesting because if you go back to the dispossession of land in the Franschhoek valley from the indigenous people its gone from memory, literally. And even though those indigenous people were still in on working on farms in the 1820s it's not alongside slave history. And then of course you have slavery

and you have people who aren't allowed to speak out and even when they do speak out you know beaten and punishment and so thinking about even slavery in terms of a process of slow violence on present day communities and this focus on present day…I think you know for me its just interesting to think we've got so many levels of dispossession and what moment is focused on and its interesting to think what his argument in here I mean I don't know what anyone says about what he's saying here, I don't know what its based on but its interesting to think about it being the most recent kind of human catastrophe I guess…so um...*ja,* what was the question again?

NC: it was around and I think you have answered it about the ways in which slavery is thought about differently from other periods of oppression and I think your link back to this idea of the recent trauma and the living memory and the ways in which in order to cope now that becomes the focus and the other things become absent and not seen as causes are …already the sense I've had about some of the silence or the kind of potential erasure and the invisibility of those particular ways …those particular moments in the past and how we relate to them

TR: I suppose it's also what's in living memory you know in many ways because its someone can speak about it in their own lifetime about their literal dispossession of house versus a long-term dispossession. And as Rob Nixon says these long term things…its they're so I don't know effective …that it literally I suppose its like, in many ways creates amnesia, it's that effective, you know

NC: And that those things are coupled with the kind of absence from the record. There is probably a moment when you go "Did that happen? Is there a record of that happening?" and generationally when that is lost all there is the resentment or the kind of latent feelings around that…I mean it's a really effective way to break people

TR: I mean…I'll send you my chapter which I'm doing for the Dwars River Valley which includes some of these things

NC: The Dwars river valley is a?

TR: oh it's just another term it's because its a

NC: oh you mean the book you were talking about

TR: *ja* so I kind of talked about these things in a wider valley context outside of our farm and how processes of slow violence might be something to think about how we end up where we end up you know our present day state. Its not just the apartheid past its not just even a slave past its all its all these multiple layerings and you know government…I think what's interesting when you look at social development programmes and changes transformation on landscape is how little often acknowledged or recognized that historic process is that had a role to play in getting there and of course its hugely important. I mean how do you even start to redress or change things if you're not acknowledging how do you get there? I mean its kind of like simple ABC you know

NC: or the moments when people go our moment of redress is over, which I think is also one of the difficulties of having to deal with these questions of transformation is that there is the ignoring of the long past, there is also the kind of fast-forwarding into a different future and there is the way in which the present is resisting that I think

TR: I think what's interesting is that there is that, I think people do want they do talk a lot about lets just let it go or lets just move on, lets think about something positive and I can understand that pull on all sorts of levels, yes, lets do something positive, lets do that but sometimes like I think just going, just having this process of acknowledgement is just so critical like even just exploring what is this past like what is it on your farm or whatever. I mean even if you just…I mean I remember when we interviewed Sanna for the current museum and um and I said to her I'd like to interview you because we'd like to you know people's present day stories from their own perspective because the rest of the museum had always been about us searching for voices so it would be great to have your own perspective in the museum. And she said well why would you want my story, I'm not, I'm just an ordinary person, my story isn't history. That's what she said to me. And I said to her but your story is history, its the history of this farm because when she came I think in 1986 or 80 or something I can't remember when she came, but you are a layer on this landscape you know you are part of the stories and we are not looking for grand narratives we're looking for ordinary people's stories. And I remember the day we opened to the pubic in 2005 and she just kind of stood towards the back just watching people in the museum and exhibition and I was like what do you think, your story is here. And she was just kind of like she never knew. She never knew

that people would be interested and she said it hasn't changed anything that happened in her life you know of course it wouldn't change anything but she said its kind of like a healing to know that people are listening. So that's not an intention that we set out to do. You don't think OK lets do oral history with the intention of healing but just the simple thing of listening to someone's story and that feeling that they feel that they being heard, it's transformative. I mean I think Mark will probably be able to speak more on a psychological perspective on that front but

NC: but I certainly think it makes a difference when…I think that's the kind of devastation of the different forms of oppression in this country is that they have a they were naturalized and made ordinary so people are unable to see that their ordinary life was so

TR: extraordinary is so many ways…*ja*

NC: and I just think that that's just what it was. I remember talking to my gran when she was alive and she said well that's just how it was…it's just how it was. And there was no kind of…she couldn't see, I mean she could see that things weren't right and that they shouldn't be that way but the way in which it was made ordinary for me is the most kind of remarkable thing. Because she didn't see her life then as particularly extraordinary, and I was like but you went to school and you got a career and you raised this family that were able too see things differently and so and she was like but that's just how it was

TR: but maybe that's also just going back to that concept of slow violence…you know, maybe that is…you know my question in my article is what are the consequences of all of those you know is it memory is it the way in which we perceive of ourselves of our pasts of even having a voice to raise when things are wrong. And for me its really interesting to think about that with this workers strike coming back to it cos its almost like how long here we are kind of in a post-apartheid South Africa, we're in 2012 for heavens sake, we have reports that are being written from the Human Rights Watch that are telling you about the conditions, the wine industry wants to sweep it under the carpet, whose actually dealing with the amelioration of their conditions and lives, their status within South Africa and I think we're getting to a crucial point now of, but to me its a good point in some ways that its not the "I don't have a voice" anymore um its "I need to have a voice" maybe its much much more

in South Africa that "I have a space to have a voice" now so for me its…and I also have friends in Ceres with farms and all that kind of thing but maybe I just see it in a different way you know…

NC: *ja*…and I mean that was really the last question I was going to ask you was on the strike and I think you know I will go and have a look at this idea around slow violence because I think in so many ways people have seen I think, recent history, and maybe its just the focus, the media focus on post-apartheid about the increase in the extreme violence and I think that if you think about this as the long term violence, that this has always been a violent society and that there are ways in which we have, it has been slow, its been invisible and that these moments of violence when they are no longer seen as, when you take it away from state violence, that you see people think that this is a strange apparition of something now but you also think psychologically, its generations and generations of particular kind of trauma that…

TR: *ja*, if you think even just of how the power over slaves was mediated, it was a body mediation, it was over minds it was over bodies. I mean in terms of sexual kind of control was a whole different thing but, which was obviously in place. But physical punishment, how do you exert control or power over a majority population in effect to the people and I guess that's the same even during apartheid as well in many ways. But instead of having no recourse to address your grievances, having to internalize, I mean that to me, that's what I'm saying this concept of slow violence, how does, what does this compound in, you know where do we end up with that then?

NC: psychologically it really is the return of the repressed, all of that stuff that has been, if you think about, I keep seeing this woman's face cos she was on the news recently and she was like I can't feed my family on that and for generations you've been unable to change the fate of your family

TR: *ja*, but I think what's interesting is that now hopefully that means that people feel that they have a voice…because clearly their status hasn't changed in all honesty, its not like all of a sudden its worse than it was before, but maybe what's changed is the space to speak which I hope would be the case unfortunately maybe under violent methods but I mean if you look at the history of how we express ourselves, if you look at the *Koue Bokkeveld* Revolt, if you're looking at what a slave does when they

run away or they kill their family or whatever you know, its violence, its personal violence. What I also often talk about because we didn't have a, on farms you didn't have a community that was moved, evictions and that kind of thing but what we do have is psychological dislocation and disconnection and dispossession of a landscape so people who have been working and living on farms for generations don't feel any real ownership over that particular land or their own lives…you know…so…its a totally different kind of dispossession, its not enforced home removal because you want your workers to be tied to the land, you want your labour to be tied to you and you want it to be patriarchal

NC: …one of the things that is so striking for me when I visit Solms is the fact that the people, everyone I speak to on that farm has a sense of ownership on it, which is remarkable in terms of that and it comes across in so many different moments which I think is really

TR: I think for us is really. I mean you can never predict an outcome like that but its probably one of the greatest achievements we've ever done is for someone to feel ownership over obviously the place where they work or live and their own lives I mean you know having agency you know, not, you know even when Mark got here one of the main reasons I think of how he wanted to deal with this landscape because he came here and he was like a feudal lord you know, he's making decisions for all sorts of levels, for people's lives and he shouldn't be making decisions because that's just mostly how it was or how it is. I mean I remember, I don't know if you interviewed Adam Pietersen, Ampie, or if Mark spoke about him? It was really interesting because we had our first harvest festival our *Oesfees* which is this musical celebration you know, which you better come to next March…*ja* but it was really interesting, I remember our first one which must have been in 2008 I think and nothing on the level of what we do them now. I don't know if Mark spoke about them at all? It was the first time we were kind of wanting to do the whole approach of the *Oesfees w*as to be bringing up this all this kind of rural music and musicians and amazing talent and giving it a platform alongside more well known names but it was also supposed to be a real celebration for farm-workers as well as farm-owners and we were told when we were trying to get we literally had to hand out tickets to surrounding farmers and for their workforce cos it wasn't just about the owners coming it was about the workforce coming so each farm in the valley, I think

there were 40 farms would each get 10 free tickets for their labourers or people living on the farm and then one or two tickets for the owners or something like that cos they were supposed to be able to support themselves and what was interesting was that everyone told us it would fail, everyone said how can you have those two different types of communities in that same space with alcohol and its just not going to work. And Mark Solms and Richard Astor were like there's a space for something like this, a space to bring people together through music of whatever your background and yes we have to fund then a lot of tickets to get the people who we would really want to be there but who probably would not be able to afford a ticket umm and the first one was just a complete and utter success, it was absolutely incredible. I mean I can't tell you that experience of seeing like farm owners dancing with their farm workers and it was just creating I suppose in many ways a space to do that in. And you realize that people actually want to do that, they actually want to celebrate

NC: I think its so interesting that people say it wouldn't work, that you cant have farm owners and farm workers, I'm like you live on the same land

TR: you literally live and work on the same land and then you say you can't have a party together. If anything you should be able to have a party together but um and now, this year, last year we had 5000 people attend and so this year I think they're aiming for 7000 so its going to be completely huge and every walk of life is there which is wonderful, I mean that is what it *should* be

NC: I mean I've seen a lot of the coverage around the particular music and the ways in which different types of music and performers performances come together which I think is also a really interesting…I'm hoping to be there

TR: I hope so

NC: Tracy thank you so much for your time and your very generous responses this morning I really appreciate it

TR: of course, this is also a huge passion of mine and I don't usually get to think about these things which is why I love your questions cos I think have I really thought about it [?] the memory of slavery. But it was great I don't get to do it everyday so…

INTERVIEW 5 ***Mark Solms***

NC: Thank you Prof Solms I will try and be brief, because I know you've got a big day, I'm sure on a Monday

MS: I have until, I have until, I think we scheduled an hour but just so you've know I think I can leave at half past eleven if I have to so half past eleven is the, even if I'm in the middle of a sentence

NC: you have to leave, OK. Well hopefully it won't take that much time because I also have an interview with Johann.

MS: Johan O'Rayn?

NC: Yes, he's very kindly agreed to an interview after his tour. I took his tour on Friday. OK so the first question asks how does your institution represent the history of slavery?

MS: Well, just tell me if I'm heading in the wrong direction OK. My institution which, by which I think you are referring to our museum it it doesn't intend to focus particularly on slavery. The intention behind the museum is to tell the story of what happened on this piece of land. A kind of un-chocolate box kind of story, in other words tell the story of what really happened here from pre-colonial times through to the present. Um, the idea behind that was that because its one of the old Cape farms and because its fairly a typical place the idea was that if you tell the story of this place you pretty much telling the story in a manner of speaking, of the whole country but certainly you're telling the story of the winelands generally and so that's the idea behind it. And there are several important parts of the history of what happened on this farm, which are normally neglected when histories are told on these farms. Probably the two outstanding examples are the pre-colonial occupation of the land and the second is slavery and we had nearly 200 years of slavery on this farm so slavery features prominently in the museum but it is not a museum about slavery, its a museum about what really happened here.

NC: and what are your thoughts about how slavery is represented at the museum? Do you think there is more work to be done or do you think it is a comprehensive story of slavery on this particular farm area?

MS: well um no, certainly I don't think it is comprehensive and there are still things to be

done, there are other things we are doing. So let me just quickly sketch that context. Um, firstly just to add to what I said earlier in terms of the vision of the museum, it wasn't only that we wanted to tell the story of what happened here, its also that we wanted as much as possible to tell the story in relation to individuals. Not to say, this slave exactly or the bushman ok, but rather, this woman, Phillida van de Caab, this is what happened to her, and um there was a particular reasoning behind that which I'll come back to but secondly we also wanted, whereever possible to speak in the first person voice so where it was possible to give the perspective of an individual slave in her own words, then we gunned for that. So in the museum, you've been there, you will have noticed that there are two particular women we focus on and that's because they were subjects of court or legal proceedings, which is one of the very few occasions that a slave's voice would be recorded. The focus is on them for that reason, those two people. Then the question of comprehensiveness, as you might have, as you will have noticed, it is already a book on the wall, which is supposed to be very bad technique when it comes to museums. We've given as much information as any visitor could possibly bear to try to consume in one sitting but its far from being a comprehensive account as a few panels devoted to each age section of our history and in the case of slavery there is one panel about general principles, where people came from, why they were brought here, that kind of thing, trying again to vivify it is a description of one particular auction, again to try and bring people into immediate contact with the fact that we're talking about lived lives here and then there's another one focusing on those particular women and another one focusing on emancipation and that's pretty much it and that's clear that that isn't very comprehensive [disruption] so I just think, about first person's and focusing on individuals, we wanted to make it possible, we didn't want to preach to the visitor, you know and its a very divided society this and we wanted to be, to maximise our chances of having a kind of relatively open minded attitude from everyone who came here so without, so by describing things in relation to individual lives, it brings things down to a level that we have the greatest chance of identifying this a person like me and also it minimizes the chances of giving a God's eye view account of this is what happened objectively. Rather it says this is what so and so says happened to him. You know this is what so and so says happened to her and um that increases sort of the chances of an empathic sort of identification, a willingness to listen rather than feeling accused, the *boere* did this, I'm a *boer* oh shit you know so this is

pointing a finger at me. It actually worked quite well that by the way but I'll come back to that later because I think some of your later questions refer to that. So that's my answer to your question. Then we're doing other things, which I'll just quickly mention, we're setting up a musical heritage centre, you know about that? So that's kind of a off-shoot kind of of an aspect of the slave period and much more importantly we are setting up a genealogical research centre, you know about that? Ok, so when you ask is what you've done comprehensive, no its not but its about as much as you can do though in a display like that and there are other aspects that we are exploring in addition.

NC: what do you think about the ways in slavery is made visible or represented in the larger Western Cape context?

MS: Look, I've been, I'm South African, I lived here most of my life, I spent a period abroad, 14 years abroad, I was educated in the state system here, I actually, high school I went to a state school [disruption] so I speak from that background when I say I don't think I'm unusual when I say that I knew about slavery but didn't know about slavery. Its like, *ja*, its there, its mentioned in this history books but I had no idea until I came back to South Africa and until I started, until I came back and started this process of investigating the history of this place, I had no idea how enormous a part it played in the history of the country and then the history in particular of the Cape and I think its massively underreported, under represented under assimilated into our understanding of what we are still grappling with today because the more I understood about slavery and the more we understood and you must remember that on this farm the process that led to the establishment on that museum involved all of us and we all dug in with the archaeologists and we had oral histories of our own lives and that sort of thing. I think that we collectively recognised that its left a huge impact still today. I mean to mention the most obvious examples, the nature of the employment contract between farm owners and farm workers, you assume if you parachute in from Mars that these are people working on this farm are people who chose to be here, you know, that they are willingly selling their labour to me and we've agreed a price. But that is not the case at all, the people living on the farms are there because of slavery you know…their families…either their families were dispossessed in the case of the indigenous people of this area or their families were yanked over here against their will from they don't even know

where and forced to work here. Now that's not for a week, or generation after generation, after generation so that whole family and group culture, you know these little hamlets on these farms they all just the direct descendants of the slaves and they are still living here and they still work for people like me so the whole mind-set is not one of willing buyer willing seller to use the analogy of land reform. Its like, you know you have pay me, I know you don't want to. I have to work for you and I don't want to and its like the whole thing is imbued with a kind of fatalism and a kind of despair and a kind of hopelessness and a kind of lack of agency and lack of choice and resentment and bitterness and somewhere deep down somewhere in the farmers there must be some guilt and some fear, somewhere.

NC: well I think you see that or certainly I have a sense of that when you read some of the reports and you watch the news about the farm strikes at the moment you have that sense of fatalism and the kind of deep anxiety and panic that you see. There's a group on Facebook and I've been kind of watching them the *Boere Aksie* and the ways in which they are articulating what they think is happening on their farms and on their land and the kind of fear inherent in the ways in which they are talking for me is about something else, its not just about just a disgruntled worker of a farm who is asking for a pay increase, its about something else

MS: it's about our whole history

NC: *ja*, I have to say, you get a very different sense on the farm here and having sat through the tour because the wind was terrible on Friday, looking at the ways in which people do have a sense of ownership and the farm and the project and the ways in which they articulate the fact that this is their farm and also the ways in which people engage with you personally as you come onto the farm and it is about a personal relationship, that's very different from when I go to other wine farms in the region

MS: Look I'm telling you I believe and its not just because I am an academic I believe because I have lived through it the biggest thing that changed people's lives on this farm was confronting our history, it was a process of actually facing up to what happened on these places so you know your focus on museums is not a minor thing, it really is a massively important thing that we understand how we got to where we are. This fatalism thing also, you know its like amazing, the farm manager here,

Nico Jansen, the first April I was here we ran out of water, the taps, there was no water coming out of the taps and I said to him we better report this to the municipality and he said no its because its April and I said what do you mean because its April and he said in April this happens and its because there are some Rhodes fruit farms up here, they wash their fruit that time of here so we're down stream as far as the municipal supply is concerned so we don't get water. And that's like, that's his attitude that you just wait, eventually you'll get your water again. For me, its was like fucking hell, what does Rhodes fruit farms think they are, where's my water [laughter] anyway…

NC: well, I think in some ways you've given me an indication about question three about recent conversations about slavery could assist South Africa with dealing with its slave past but also, its larger past

MS: *ja*, I think its very important though the um I don't know where, there's a question there are about 1994 or something, is this that question?

NC: no

MS: ok well then maybe I should so maybe I'm giving my answers in the wrong places and you can just move them around. But I think that the neglect of slave history is important in several ways including this, that there is this monolithic story about apartheid and post apartheid and it kind of homogenises everything

NC: and that there are clear distinctions between those moments

MS: *ja*, there's a particular impact that slavery made which is quite different from apartheid and quite different from dispossession of indigenous people and so on and slavery, slavery is not just a small thing, its the most unbelievable thing and as I said earlier if it happens over generations, it leaves a kind of deep imprint on the whole culture of the people of this area and so that was the other thing I was going to say which is kind of implicit, its not only that slavery is something particular, different from say apartheid, but also, its regional. Slavery impacted on this part of South Africa in a way that it didn't impact on Gauteng and it impacted very differently say in KwaZulu Natal where in fact some people were enslaved and some people from KwaZulu were brought here as slaves but um the social institution, the economic institution of slavery was a Cape phenomenon so you know its not like one size fits all when trying to understand what needs to be restituted and what needs to be

somehow digested.

NC: And I think you still see that kind of regional impact when you talk about slavery in different parts of the country so when I had decided on a PhD topic and the question was less certain so I would just tell people I was researching slavery and they would say obviously slavery in the Americas and I said no, in South Africa and they said oh did we also have people who were taken away to America as slaves and these are not uneducated people but there is a very limited sense of what slavery means and that it is relevant in this case

MS: that's interesting

NC: and people keep asking me about my name and the history of my name and I have no idea, I have no sense of that except 2 days ago I mentioned to my father that there's a possibility I may be going to Elim and he said well that's where our family is from and I said what do you mean that's where our family is from? For years and years and years he has had no sense of where we're from and the mention that I'm potentially going there is you know, brought this up. So I think there is also a kind of lack of, its not just about the visibility but a sense of a generational impact so I am well aware of my mother's family and I think it is also cultural phenomenon and I know that part of, some of the family was from Ireland but I have no sense from about any other parts of the country

MS: well that's why this genealogical thing that we're doing, I think that its really important for people to trace that lineage, you know where am I from? Its not a small question.

NC: it isn't, it really isn't and I think that that is

MS: you see if your family was from Elim then you have a good chance because there are records in relation to those mission stations of the kind that they aren't in other areas

NC: so we'll see, I think it might be the postdoctoral work that I'm going to do. My next question is about gender and its inclusion in the ways in which slavery is represented? Because I also have a background in gender and I'm interested in gendered memory politics and how women remember and how men remember and how they are remembered and the different ways in which gender can function in helping us to understand something about the past.

MS: well um first of all I think that you are absolutely right as regards slavery there is a very gendered history, there are certain types of abuse that one was subject to as a woman slave that you were more or less exempt from as a man. I don't know if you've read Andre Brink's new book?

NC: I'm half way through and I was just thinking vividly about the chapter where he talks about how Phillida is kind of punished by having these two farm labourers.

MS: there's another book of his called um, "Chain of voices" which also I think, very vividly captures experience very well despite his being a man... I was quite shocked how sensitive how sensitive was his portrayal of this woman's experience. But I don't think, although Tracy may have been more self-consciously trying to reflect the gendered aspect of slave history in the museum than I'm aware of but I don't think we particularly, I'm not aware of there being a particular attempt to which is unfortunate I think for the reasons I've just said I do think that there's an important gendered aspect to it. We did on our…the highlight of the slave aspect as far as I'm concerned of our museum are those plaques which memorialise each individual slave who gave their lives against their will to the development of this farm and there are many of them unfortunately that we don't know anything about them except their gender…its interesting that that's the thing that's recorded; he has, so and so has 5 slaves and its 2 women and 3 men and that presumably was related to the kind of work they would do and their value.

NC: I'm still trying to refine the ways in which I reflect on that but it seems like such an important part of how people's stories are told when they are told and how they are reflected on

MS: its a very important part I think that, I mean I've mentioned the obvious, the sexual exploitation of the female slave by the patriarch and his sons but there is also the whole kind of, well I've also mentioned the different kind of jobs that would be done which would make some female slaves very much part of the household and Robert Shell makes this compelling case in his book 'Children of Bondage' about how the unit of the slave economy is the family and so the gendered aspects of all of that, the patriarch and the household workers and who works in the fields and whose valued for the skills and whose sorted treated in these perversely ambiguous ways, they really are part of the family and all that stuff.

NC: in Brink's novel, the way in which he really complicates the relationship between Petronella, the older slave woman on the farm who is free and the farm owner and the strange ways in which those familial relationships are impacted by slavery and muddied in ways that you can't really extricate them and I think its Jessica Murray who writes around Kroatoa Eva the stem/*stam moeder* and the ways in which the 'original' slave woman becomes the maternal figure, the matriarch for Afrikaans culture and I think that those things are really going to be important because there is literature and the kind of fictionalised way in which people think about slavery in those moments and those particular relationships and the questions they raise for our understanding of gender and gender relations to memory will be important in the project so I am going to go back to that [interruption].

The next question I have, you know I had to kind of think about how I rephrase it depending on who I speak to because my assumption going in was that Coloured identity is not fixed necessarily because I don't think it is fixed and I think it is problematic the ways in which it is essentialised but that people would determine what they understood by the phrase for themselves so I suppose I've asked 'is coloured identity included in the representations of slavery in the museums' and the responses I've had from people is that that they want to think about if coloured identity should exist as a term at all and link it back to slavery. So I thought it was a very straightforward question in some ways as a kind of yes, no, maybe and I've found as I asked it, it has been completely imploded by various people that I've asked. So I've given you the preamble and not just asked you the question so I hope you can talk about that

MS: well I think it's a terribly interesting question. And obviously ask a question like that which uses a word that derives directly from apartheid classifications, you know you're bound to touch a nerve but for the same reason, that's why it's an important question because it hits a raw nerve. These sorts of things are not history to us; we're still living them. I think that, there are several ways in which I could answer the question. The one I've already said. There's a kind of homogenisation of post-apartheid, the story of what the progressive mission is…its kind of homogenised and its not true, there are very different things that need to be tackled in different places by people with different histories. And there's a kind of airbrushing out of the particular traumas of the Western Cape. I think that the very question of what is

Coloured? What does this word mean is very interesting in all sorts of ways, going back to genealogy because as soon as you start looking at how artificial were these categories which is also why people object to them, its also a very interesting fact that if they were so artificial, then what determined them? How were these categories invented and for what purposes and so on. It's also certainly true that people identify themselves as Coloured. There's no question about it, there's no obligation to do so anymore you know but there are people who don't feel in anyway oppressed by claiming Coloured identity. And in fact there are people who very, for whom it is an important progressive step to say, you know this is who I am, I'm this. And by the way this is not some intermediate identity, its a very specific identity which of course like with any other cultural identity has nuances and subsets…BoKaap identity and Boesman identity and rural farm communities are very different things and that is just mentioning some off the top of my head, some nuances. I think that the sensitivities around it, the awkwardness that one feels when you talk about what is Coloured identity? I think that those are exactly why that this is a fascinating topic that needs to be talked about. My, I mean I'm an amateur in all of this stuff but what I saw with my own eyes on this farm and that doesn't mean only the people who live here but also the people that visit here, is a a sense of relief at having a place that is ours in the sense of that is Coloured you know, that sort of, not that I ever imagined that such a thing would happen or even that I remotely was intending to engineer something like that, I wasn't at all. But I've just observed that that's happened. People come here and they visit that museum and they say *ja*, great, that's about us. You know, there's not enough places like this. And I don't only mean the museum, I mean also the food in our restaurant and our musical programmes and our celebration of Afrikaans in a non-racial sense because Afrikaanerdom is a very different thing from Afrikaans and there are many people and all of this is news to me and maybe its news to you, I didn't know. And I never realised that there is a strong feeling of pride in speaking Afrikaans and eating *snoek* and *patats* and *tomatoe breedie* and all that kind of stuff. And whose to say that there should or shouldn't be pride in that heritage. There most certainly is a large number of people who identify with that cultural heritage and are thrilled to find that there are places where it is represented and memorialised and celebrated and facilitated. So is that an answer to your question?

NC: that is an answer to my question, thank you. We've spoken briefly about this but maybe you can give me a more specific response. The question is about whether or not you think there has been a change in the ways in which slavery is represented after 1994 and if you have some ideas as to why this may or may not be.

MS: First of all I was away in 1994. I came back at the end of 2001 so there is a hiatus there from personal experience so I have to rely on mainly personal experience because as I keep on telling you I'm an amateur in all this, its not my field. But with that proviso I would say maybe I've become conscientised to themes of slavery because of my own enlightenment about it since I came back here as I said to you initially I just knew *ja* there was slavery but you know I really didn't have the foggiest clue what it meant but I think its not just that I'm conscientised, I think there is an increasing awareness over the period that I have been here which is the last 11 years there is an increasing awareness. There were little signs of it you know at Boschendal down the road which was at that stage owned by Anglo, there was a little chocolate box museum which during that period of time gradually came to include some acknowledgement of slavery. Likewise at *Vergelegen* the chocolate box included eventually an acknowledgement of slavery. The Slave Lodge came to very much to prominence during that time and I think that there is even a recognition…I'll tell you my own personal experience again with the farmworkers here…it was amazing that their response to being educated by the historians and the archaeologists about slavery was one of shame. That was the response. Shame and taboo. You know, don't talk about that. Its like to say that great great grandpa was a slave is like saying he was a paedophile you know something sinful or shameful. But that's changed enormously. I've seen it on this farm and I kind of get the impression generally that there is a dawning sense of pride in slave heritage. The very opposite of what I witnessed when I first came.

NC: when I met with Nigel Worden he had said that his sense was that when RE van der Ross published his book about slave heritage that was one of the moments where a different kind of relationship was possible with the history of slavery because he was a very prominent Coloured man, well educated, claiming a particular slave ancestry and his argument is that in terms of a kind of documented trend in ways in which slavery was written about and also who was writing about it that a shift started. And certainly my sense has been that 10 years ago to talk about slavery even in my

family was to be met with silence in some ways and certainly wasn't spoken about, it didn't happen to our family, there was no particular relationship according to the kind of comments. And now ten years later there seems to be a ways in which my mom will tell people that I am writing about slavery and Coloured people and those kinds of things and it really is met with a different response to….

MS: well that squares with my experience. Just to go back to your earlier question about the concept of Coloured identity there's been alongside this change in the discourse about slavery there has also been a parallel trend towards claiming first people status, Bushman and Khoi identities and this is just my own little idiosyncratic take on things but I always felt a little more uncomfortable with that than with the claiming of and celebrating slave heritage. There's a kind of a fundamentalism ethnic sort of an ethnic purity, sort of we are Bushmen and we were the first and all of that and its a little more right wing than you know, this is what happened, its a bloody shambles what happened here and we've got to face up to that somehow feels more progressive to me.

NC: I've seen images because I've been trying to track their movement particularly in Cape Town, the First People's Movement and when one of the leaders of the Khoi had died recently and they'd put up a sign with different name for Cape Town I saw images of people holding up placards saying "we are not Coloured" which I think is such an interesting commentary - still the recognition of what people think it means and there is an essentalised attitude to being different, separate to being pure in ways which I thought we had moved past in some ways in terms of understanding what these racial categories mean or don't mean.

MS: well I've met a few, I've had dealings with a few of the individuals and there is really a kind of a right wing character to them you know so anyway lets move on.

NC: this seems an obvious question but do you think the history of slavery is important in South Africa?

MS: massively important, I'll tell you that I also think that this idea, the Archbishop's idea of a rainbow people…we need some things to, that can unite us, an inclusive concepts of South African-ness and so on and I think that if the story of what happened in the Cape and slavery being such a central part of that history, its a foundational aspect of that history; if that could be less marginalised, at the moment

its a marginal story, if it could be turned more into centre stage I think that we would have a narrative there that would be much more likely to be inclusive you know, than a First People's narrative. A First People's narrative by definition excludes the settlers and the slaves. I mean you can't organise our narrative around the settlers, that's what was done under apartheid and that's also exclusional, its conquerors' narrative. But the narrative of slavery, I think it's something I think that can straddle that divide. Its like we too are settlers in the sense that we don't lay any greater claim to being from this place more than anyone else but we are also not oppressors, we were victims of the tragedies of our history. There was a famous speech by Thabo Mbeki, this I am an African speech, somebody said and I think it was Jakes Gerwel and I may have got it wrong but I'm pretty sure it was him and I don't know if he said it to me personally or if he wrote it somewhere so this is a highly questionable piece of memory but somebody said and I think it was Jakes Gerwel who said wouldn't it have been nice, wouldn't it have been so much better if Thabo Mbeki had said I am a Coloured. Imagine if starting…cos that is something that can unite us all in South Africa if you really look at the biological facts of the matter you know and this would sort of throw into doubt this whole concept, the way that you were saying some people object to this artifice called Coloured so I'm saying two sort of things. I'm conflating Coloured with of slave descent but I think that if that story could be more central I think it could be a possible powerful tool for nation building and for an inclusive sense of nationhood. But it won't happen.

NC: Well I have my own reservations about nationalism as a project but I think that is because I am an academic and…

MS: well look nationalism is not the same as nationhood and I think that what we are facing is a post apartheid history in other words where we were divided and in and set in opposition to each other. I think to have a country where we're all pulling in the same direction is not a bad thing for all concerned. Look at what's happening at the moment, there's this idea of labour and capital, which is conflated, with these racial categories and its all going to end in tears. I think the idea that this is a project that we're all, like it or not, our fates are bound up with each other is not nationalism its enlightened kind of self-interest.

NC: and I would agree with that but I think some of my concerns are about how sometimes that self interest is translated into a nationalist project that doesn't

recognise individuals and its caught up in a particular rhetoric that is meant to unify people but actually just shores up some of the distinctions that happen. But that's an aside. My next question is around how people think about the history of slavery and how they think about the memory of slavery and if in your experience there is a distinction, particularly in this context.

MS: well, to answer that I would say superficially that there is no memory of slavery because it is so long ago. Therefore we have to fall back on the history of slavery in order to revive or in order to draw attention to the fact that there is a subliminal memory of slavery. I think that, for memory of slavery has two…I mean this is my field so memory has, we draw a distinction in neuropsychology between implicit and explicit memory. Most people when they speak of memory they're referring in fact to explicit memory, in other words "I remember, it happened to me", stuff like this. But that's far from being the bulk of what memory is about. Memory is, its, in terms of brain mechanisms, it is the influence of experience from the past on the present and a great deal of it, the vast bulk of it is not conscious. The influence of the past on the present is not explicitly remembered, so that's the task of history, is to make us explicitly aware of things which are implicitly influencing us without our awareness. And so the kind of things we were talking about earlier on, you and I this morning, like such severely practical and contemporary things like the nature of the employer employee contract in this area, you can't understand it without understanding the impact of the history of slavery. And we don't remember it so we don't recognise it. So that's how I see the distinction between history and memory of slavery. Unless you had something else in mind?

NC: No, I didn't have something else in mind. I come at it from a far less hard sciences perspective and look at questions of collective memory and memory practices and sites of memory but I think that's an important, your comment is important in making clear the ways in which people are also living aspects of that implicit memory which they have 'forgotten' or there has been a kind of erasure of that. I've got 2 and half more questions; do you know who generally comes to visit the farm?

MS: Umm, *ja*, we have over the last 3 years had to the museum over 30 thousand visitors per year. Isn't that amazing? And Tracy can give you the objective data; we've collected information on who visits. Off the top of my head I would say the vast majority of people who come to visit are tourists of one kind or another and they

seem to be pretty evenly split between local and foreign tourists and if you're interested I could break that down further. But what I found gratifying is that there is, its not the case that foreign tourists come here and are open to this story and that locals come here and think what the bloody hell is this *opstooker* trying to do here. I think there's been a really welcoming positive attitude from all. Saying that the main visitors are tourists. I could also say that they're not all coming to see the museum, some of them come to see the museum and then discover other things about what's here and vice versa and then others come here for wine tasting and then discover the museum. But the minority of who comes here are not tourists and those are probably the most precious of our visitors. We have local people, in fact it started with Tracey, well it started with this - the farm workers themselves. Who were involved with the research themselves. Just quietly going in, once the museum was set up, just quietly going in and looking around. And that was a very moving thing to see, I mean really very uneducated people with no sense of our history at all, showing an interest in that. And somebody like Johan O'Rayn is a good example. Johan O'Rayn was a security guard on this farm; you know that was his job. It was out of his interest, him showing an interest in that then the next thing he became one of the sommeliers and tour guides in the museum and then his further interest declaring in indigenous plants now he has the job that he's got. But I mean security guard is about as soul destroying as you can have. So I'm saying firstly there were farmworkers themselves, employees and residents of this place coming in and acquainting themselves with the museum, then there were, Tracey organised school tours, the local schools, as part of their history lessons, would come here and visit our museum. That led to something I found deeply moving which was the occasional child would come back at the weekend with their parents you know, which I don't know if you remember your school days going to a bloody museum, the last thing you'd want to do is go back on the weekends. So that was really really amazing to witness and I have Tracey to thank for that because she organised those schools, and she made sure that the local schools knew about it. Then I think that sort of started a kind of word of mouth process, which has resulted in a lot of local people, not tourists, but local people who live in Pniel and Paarl and what not coming and visiting this museum and that's all got to do with this process that we've been talking about this morning of people gradually conscientising, gradually taking possession of and pride in the particular history of people in this region.

NC: one of the things I've noticed is that regardless of who I'm talking to, whether its in Cape Town or here, the name of the farm comes up, so when I say I'm talking about slavery, people say you must go to Solms-Delta they've got a great museum about slavery and I think that's not often you hear that from people who talk about museums in that way because there is not a museum going circle of people I'm talking to and this museum gets mentioned far more than the Slave Lodge which I think is also interesting commentary on where people find that they are able to identify with things that are happening.

MS: well that's very gratifying to hear and does square with my own experience. But its interesting, isn't it, how many people think about this museum as a museum about slavery. It's not about slavery. Although the one possible other source of that is, I've already said the one possible source is that a large part of the story of this place is the slave period and its impact. But there's also the name of the museum, Museum Van de Caab, which is a slave surname…

NC: I think you've mentioned this briefly but perhaps you can just say something else about it. Do you think slavery is thought about differently than other periods of oppression in South Africa's history?

MS: *ja*, very much so. I think that its under thought about for starters, its not, you know the major experience of oppression in remembered history is apartheid and you know its not surprising that this massive thing masks all else from view, especially what came before, but the story of oppression in South Africa is the story of apartheid. And the second order story is one of colonisation and dispossession. The story of slavery is a little piece of ham in that sandwich. It really doesn't get the attention it deserves. I also think its because it isn't part of the history of the majority of the people of the country. The owners of state power don't identify with slavery…yet.

NC: I think its becoming more visible but certainly not in the same ways that other forms of oppression are visible in the country's history. But we still have many many years left to tell different stories about South Africa's past. So the last question which wasn't on the schedule of questions is around your thoughts about the recent farm strikes. And some of the commentaries I've been reading in newspapers, some of them make overt links to slavery in the slave labour on various farms in the Western

Cape, some of them don't make any reference to it at all. And when you were interviewed on Cape Talk you'd spoken about the different labour practices on the farm and I think someone had said that the difference was that this was a farm that had lots of money and so smaller farms couldn't dream of doing something like you had done here. Do you think that this might precipitate a larger discussion about the history of the region and particular questions around slavery?

MS: well it would be wonderful if it did, that would be in sense one of the best outcomes that could flow from the current crisis. But its not happening, that's exactly how I answered the question. I've been approached by a few journalists and what not. And its a very delicate thing because I don't want to point fingers at my fellow landowners and farmers. Its a very sensitive subject, they're all terrified you know, they really are of what's going to happen in terms of the direct damage to their properties and their crops and in terms of the harvest, its a critical time of year coming up, what's going to happen to the economic sustainability of their farms and with labour relations more generally. But the way that they're responding, that's laarger mentality, that's the main way that they're responding. Like this a plot stoked up by the ANC, they're against us because we're DA governed, they're bussing people in to come and cause mayhem and we're not going to take it. And that's the way they're responding. A much better way of responding is what you're saying, is to try and understand my old shtick since I got here, before we can fix this…I mean I don't know how much you know about my story. I parachuted in here, thought oh well I'll just tell everyone on the farm I look like a *boer* but I'm not and everything would change. How are we going to do it? Come, let's plan it together. That's literally what I thought we would do, just sit down and decide how are we going to transform this farm. They looked at me like I was mad. What is this? Is this guy an idiot? We can't talk like this with him. Doesn't he know who we are sort of thing. It was really unbelievable. It was really impossible. And that's what led to this idea, look we can't fix this until we know what's broken; we've got to understand what's happened collectively. And its not a finger pointing exercise, what's happened has happened, there's not doing away with it. So if that could be the outcome…because I think that the attitudes of the farmworkers to their employers and vice versa, the attitudes of the farm-owners to their employees is steeped in that history, it's dripping with that history. The very idea that you resent

having to pay somebody more than R69 a day - I don't think that is very far removed from slavery. And its almost like they should be grateful to be allowed to live on my farm and work for me. The fact that I've got to pay them R69 a day, it's almost a token salary. And vice versa when it comes to the workers experience, they know that they're not doing this by choice. They're not selling their labour at the price that they think its worth, that they even want to be labourers if they had a choice in the matter, you know. So the fact is that we're deposited on these two sides of the fence - you're a farmworker, you're a farmer because of that history and we don't realise that's what's informing the way that we, the paranoia of the farmers is because somewhere they know they stole the place, literally and that under every little pile, every little *opstal* there is a murder or two in this area. So if we could look at that history and see why we come to the current, why our employment practices are so saturated with antipathy and resentment and fear, I think we would have the basis for…because the truth of the matter is nobody wants to destroy the agricultural economy of the Western Cape. Nobody wants to boycott South African wines. It's not impossible that there will be massive retrenchments, mechanisation of farms, its not impossible. Its a horrible situation and as I keep saying to you, I think its because I'm an academic but I don't base it in any academic principles, I base it in experience, that the first thing we've got to do is face up to our history, that's the best basis for being able to move forward. So to come back to the beginning when I'm asked by journalists like John Maythem on that programme I answer it not by pointing fingers by saying what other farms should or shouldn't do but by saying what we did do which was looking to the past and it was kind of a no-brainer after that as to what should be done to put things right and what our mutual responsibilities are in the process. About the *ja*, "he can do that cause he's rich", well that's total bullshit. I actually answered that question on that programme. Many people imagine that what we have done here is some sort of charitable philanthropic act of giving land to people, giving shares to people. It's not the case, not at all. What we did was stood surety for the farmworkers to take a loan, that's what we did so you don't need to be rich to stand by somebody else's loan. All you've got to do is say my property is on the line for that loan. And the one thing that farmer's do have is a property, that's what defines them as farmers so I think people…there is an endless capacity for excuses about why we're not doing what should so obviously do and as soon as you stop doing that, stop making excuses and decide rather let me

face the real facts then there is endless variety of ways in which you can actually tackle our problems, its just a matter of wanting to.

NC: And I think that wanting to will also change the way in which people imagine their relationships to what they see as the only thing they have left which is land in some ways, but I think there needs to be a change in that perspective to that relationship as opposed to its is not the truth that that is all you have left

MS: by they you're referring here to farmers?

NC: *ja*

MS: well *ja*, if their attitude is all we have left is our land then they are crazy because the one thing they unfortunately cannot count on having left is their land you know, it is the one thing that has to fundamentally be questioned - you can't have 85% of the agricultural land in the hands of the white farmers, because its only in their hands because of that history.

NC: thank you so much for your time and your generous responses

MS: great pleasure

INTERVIEW 6 *Paul Tichmann*

NC: I haven't actually told you anything about myself yet. I am doing my PhD in Politics at Wits and I am broadly speaking looking at representations of slavery in post-apartheid South Africa and I'm interested in questions of gender and memory politics and how those things come together and how slavery as a site can help us understand something broadly speaking about what's going on in South Africa at the moment as far as those things are concerned. I have 3 case study sites in the PhD and the Slave Lodge is one, Museum van de Caab at Solms-Delta in Franschhoek is the other one and then the third is less of a site and more of a practice and I'm looking at walking tours of slavery in the city of Cape Town so those are the 3 sites I'm looking at. The questions I sent you are really my focus in terms of how we represent slavery and what the impact is of those particular choices that we make. So I have 10 questions and an 11th one that is related to the strikes on the farms and the rhetoric around slavery so if we have time I may ask for your thoughts around how slavery is being invoked in this current setting as far as labourers on farms are concerned. The first question is about how your institution or museum represents the history of slavery and maybe if you want you can also tell me about how you come to the project because I know that you have recently joined so…

PT: The Slave Lodge has a theme, "from human wrongs to human rights" and so the history of slavery is encapsulated within that theme and the aim is to then make a link between slavery at the Cape and human rights abuses that followed, like the whole migrant labour system, apartheid, and then to be able to link it to present day problems of human rights abuses, human trafficking and issues like that. It is an on-going process of course because the Slave Lodge has undergone quite a lot of transformation, before the building was actually set up as a museum that would focus on slavery, I suppose there was almost a denial of the slave history on the part of the regime that went before. Of course under apartheid but I think in the case of descendants of slavery to a certain extent, there was a denial as well. And so it is because of that there is quite a big challenge in terms of actually representing that history. I mean if you look at issues of artefacts that could help to tell the story, there isn't that much. If you look at personal stories, again there isn't all that much so one has to dig quite a lot in order to be able to find out something about the stories of the people who were subjected to slavery. So for me there is still a big challenge of

really bringing in the voices of the enslaved but its also important that we keep that link and that we don't forget that theme of "from human wrongs to human rights" and I think I would like to see more projects that make that link. Last year for example, you attended that right? Well I'd like to see more of those types of forums where people come together and talk about issues.

NC: one of the things that I think the museum does do well as far as its exhibition practice is to create an experience in the face of not having artefacts and not having the kinds of stories so when you don't have a large body of material culture that you bring into a space, what do you do to create a meditation around the impact of slavery and I think that one of the other things that I think is quite successful is the range of attempts that the exhibitions have to communicate something about that experience, whether its in a kind of memory column and the stories and the soundscapes as well as the re-enactments, I think that those are the things that need to happen and I think that the museum really attempts to do that well. And that particular forum that you mentioned I found so interesting the range of people who were there and participated and contributed to the programme. There is a particular narrative about the meaning of the 1st of December for the country as opposed to the historical relevance as well.

PT: Yes, that's correct. I mean the other thing that I should perhaps mention is I'm very pleased that we have the installation at the entrance, Rod Saul's carnival figures because that is linked to the story of slavery, to cultural expressions that actually grew out of slavery and out of the attempts of the enslaved to express themselves. And it also does also talk about elements of resistance of course. And if you talk to Rod Sauls, its very interesting to hear why he's represented it in that way. And he's very conscious of himself being a descendant of slaves, he's very conscious of the cultural aspects but also of the resistance and the fact that there will always be resistance where you have people in conditions like that.

NC: and so often I think that resistance narrative is left out, we're very quick to take up the shame narrative and the discourse and the negative legacy and we forget that there were not even pockets of resistance, but major movements of resistance that forced colonial powers to clamp down in that regard. Was the video installation that was also in the entrance last year related to the figurines at all?

PT: No they were not. Selwyn November's installation was really I suppose just his research into his slave ancestry but I thought it worked really well.

NC: I think it did too cause you walk in immediately and you have the grandeur of the reception hall and then you have these figurines so you have so many narratives that you are forced to engage with and also find the relationship because they are in the same space in that regard. And are they both still up at the moment?

PT: No, the Selwyn November installation has been taken down but Rod Sauls' installation is still up.

NC: What are your thoughts about how slavery is represented at the slave lodge?

PT: I haven't been involved from the beginning but I think there are aspects of the displays and the representations that are really very good. For example the whole issue of the names and the column of memory and the fact that I think that it encourages an exploration - you see the names and I know that when I saw it for the first time it actually opened my perspective on the whole way in which so many of our surnames have come about and I know that it does, when I take people through, immediately when they recognise their own surname there then they want to find out more, there is that and I think that is really good. And also I think just the fact that under the theme one is able to look at different facets and so if you go there now you've got the permanent exhibitions and then you've got the recreation of the slave ship for example and that interestingly, we've got one of our education officers who puts the little kids in there and asks them to just think about what it is like. And some of those poor children start to cry because it really touches them and you've got the poem in the background so it really can become very emotional. But I think it works, it has an impact. And then what I like to do, I took through a group of students from UWC and it was a very mixed group, people from all over South Africa but also from other parts of Africa and when you go through to the maps and you talk about the origins and where slaves came from and you see that people are astonished to know that there were slaves from Mozambique, from Angola, Madagascar, from places like Indonesia, Malaysia and so people start to get a sense of the make-up of our society and hopefully it gets people then to think about just how ridiculous racism and xenophobia and all of that it.

NC: I'm wondering what your thoughts are about slavery is represented in the Western

Cape more broadly speaking then or in South Africa, I mean those are very broad categories but do you think that the rest of society…how slavery is represented outside of that space?

PT: I think it is not adequately represented. I think there is, in many cases, still glossed over. And I just think of, I went on a tour in Tulbagh and you know we walked down Church Street with all its historical buildings and it was really interesting to get the history of the buildings. And then the person who was doing the tour just mentioned by the way, there was a building where slaves were kept. It was just a very brief reference and then when we passed, he didn't really say anything about the hill where the gallows used to be but somebody else said wasn't that you know. And there was a little bit of uneasiness and I think in many of the little towns it hasn't really been dealt with. I think we don't really have, we haven't had a proper mapping of the sites of slavery for example and I know there are little pockets, the *sendingsgestigh* museum for example tries to deal with aspects of the history of slavery in Paarl there is an attempt but I think there is still a lot of work to be done and I don't think we've really looked beyond the Western Cape and I suppose there are many other links, indentured labour and the fact that slavery paves the way for all kinds of abuses for forced labour.

NC: When I started my project I was interested in what felt like to me was the re-emergence of slavery and then having spent more time in Cape Town in some pockets its isn't a re-emergence because there has always been a visibility of it, a discourse of it but it certainly has shifted its positions in public discourse in some ways. I was shocked last year when I started a morning breakfast show and I saw that their interior designer had these VOC emblems. I mean Chandler House's selling point are these VOC emblems and I just thought its trendy to talk about particular aspects of South Africa's history like the VOC but have no reflection on that history. And the designer was interviewed on the show about the history of South Africa and the Cape Dutch history and he spoke about it as this wonderful positive influence and so the absence of the entire history and narrative of slavery was absolutely shocking and fascinating that there was no critique, there was no kind of observation or come back from anyone. So in some ways slavery is visible in some parts of Cape Town and in others it is still absent.

PT: I'm sure you're aware of the research that was done by Prof Hees in Stellenbosch

and he looked at the whole issue of white people who were descendants of mixed marriages; he was basically arguing that the staunch Afrikaans families were all descended from…

NC: I'm sure that's not the kind of thing you want to tell staunch Afrikaans families…I've been reading Andre Brink's novel Philida because it also references Solms-Delta in so many ways and the kinds of conversations I've had with people particularly with people at the University of Pretoria are around the kind of controversy of the story as opposed to and not the controversy of white author writing from the perspective of a young slave girl but about it means for Andre Brink's family to have been involved with slavery in that regard…I think its interesting for me to see how people respond to the question of slavery, its relevance but also its historical place in the country's history

PT: and I should just mention I was doing a tour up at the Bo-Kaap with a group of students from the technikon and I mentioned that about the Bo-Kaap's links with slavery and there was a tour operator who overheard it and once the students had left she actually took me to task and she said, how dare you, the Malays are not descendants from slaves. Their ancestors were brought here to teach Islam and anyway the practice of Islam was not allowed publicly until 1804 so there is that denial and the whole thing of, there are big debates on the issue of Malay and people who see themselves as being Malay but *ja*, that's just one of the aspects.

NC: I find it very interesting to go, I've always visited the sites individually and last year I did the official tours and I was really amazed by the kind of narrative tour operators, whoever they are, generally tell about the story of the city of cape Town. That there was slavery, that it was bad, but that it gave us some good things and that these people were slaves, and these people certainly weren't and I just find it fascinating that that's the kind of grand narrative I'm assuming that they are taught as part of their tour guiding course certification but I also think that the legacy of South African history and how its been taught for many years comes through in the particular bias that people have and this is from white tour operators to black tour operators that there is a kind of large narrative that people stick to which for me is scary and fascinating as a researcher. The next question is do you think that recent conversations about slavery can assist South Africa with addressing its slave past? So the kind of conversations you have with tour operators, with students, do you

think it helps us?

PT: I think it does, I would certainly say so. I think on several levels. I think one just dealing with race issues, I think when people begin to understand the whole issue, I don't know if I can use the word creolization…so I think that is one of the areas where it can really help and you find with some of the visitors who come from overseas, they relate to that quite easily and they are able to see so many parallels. I think the other level is just with helping to build self esteem - I think there is still an attitude amongst some people that the Coloured people don't really have a history and I remember I was at an exhibition opening in Montagu and an old man came up to me and I was working for the province at that time and he gave me this complaint about how the museum doesn't represent the history of the majority of the community and I listened to him and we had this discussion and I could see where he was coming from. And he was saying the young people in our area just lack self esteem and he was saying that there was nothing that speaks positively to them and tells them that they should be proud of who they are and where they've come from so I think that's the other aspect of but also getting people to understand that a lot of the wonderful things that they see, that castle etc. that was built by the hands of slaves and that it was their ancestors who were involved in that and to understand that the slaves had different skills and contributed to the city, to the region, to the country and if you look at the language and that's a thing that I think there is far more interest in looking at Afrikaans and where its come from and a far greater acceptance that its a creole language and that the slaves have actually made huge contribution in terms of developing Afrikaans.

NC: I went to the Taal Monument last year and I thought about the problem of the monument in terms of its proportions and how its been built but I think that is also what I am interested in, the kind of legacy of that monument in terms of how people understand the contribution of slavery and how we then challenge some of those ideas and talk about these things and self esteem and the positive traces that slavery has left on the city, not in the way I think that sometimes tour guides do and go, we don't have to talk about it, whilst it was a bad thing, it gave us a good thing - it gave us Cape Town in the end. So saying actually no it was a bad thing and whilst it built the city of Cape Town, you also can't erase people's contribution in that way. So I think the questions of self esteem are really important…Because my background is

in gender studies I did drama, gender studies and politics at various stages I wonder if there are any specific or explicit inclusions of gender in the representations of slavery in the Lodge that you go we actively thought about gender in this particular moment or not.

PT: I think if you look at the DVDs on the documentary that plays there that it certainly does deal with aspects of gender and again Rod Sauls' talks about…if you look at the cloth in…the wall that he's built, that installation and he's put the cloth there to represent or to acknowledge that there were women slaves kept in the slave lodge. The one thing that I feel uncomfortable about is that a lot of the published history talks about the fact that the Slave Lodge operated as a brothel at some times and I have had debates with people over whether or the extent to which the women could make decisions under those conditions and issues of power and somebody actually said to me everybody had great fun and people would come in and out and the women would be paid and it was a way to change their status because they then married the men etc. But I feel that hasn't adequately been researched and it is just a problem for me and perhaps that is something that we need to look at at some stage but I would say there isn't enough of a focus on gender

NC: I think that's fascinating the way in which people…so sex politics and the politics of sex just seem to be collapsed and people always seem to remove questions of power and how do you actually talk about the politics of sex in the politics of oppression when there is a larger systematic oppression taking place…that people can talk about particular aspects of agency in that system and that's not to say that people don't have agency or find ways of resisting….I think that there is a far more complex relationship that needs to be untangled as opposed to one particular story vs. the other story. I appreciate that you hear women's voices in the audio as you walk through the museum which is very different from other museums and that you hear their stories in some regard along with the stories of men. So in that way the Slave Lodge and the sites that I've visited do think about women more than South African history generally speaks and thinks about the role women have played in that regard. And they talk about the differences for the genders as opposed to one larger history about other groups…my next question is around whether Coloured identity is included in the representations of slavery at the lodge and Coloured identity as however you would like to define it.

PT: I think it is to a certain extent and I think that Rod Sauls' installation for example deals very directly with Coloured identity. Again that column of memory I think and I suppose that when I take groups through there I can't avoid talking about identity and I'm pretty sure it's the same with any educator who is doing a tour. And again when it, in the room with the maps and when you talk about the origins of the slaves, but I have one criticism and for some reason there is more of an emphasis on the Indonesian/Malaysian aspect and I'm amazed that people don't seem to focus much on Madagascar and other parts of Africa and for me its almost 50% of the slaves were from Africa and its not really recognised. And the other thing is that a fairly big percentage was that there was a bigger percentage was from India than from Indonesia, Malaysia. So that as well, doesn't get mentioned often. And I just found it interesting when I was interviewing people in the Bo-Kaap that quite a number of people would say to me that, they would mention they had Indian ancestry somewhere down the line. So I think there has been a bit of romanticisation of the Indonesian/ Malaysian links…

NC: Paul do you do lots of guided tours for various educational groups?

PT: I do from time to time and we do have the educational staff who would handle the school groups generally but sometimes they would call me in for university groups or sometimes I would be approached directly by someone from one of the universities

NC: my next question is do you think there has been a change in the ways that slavery is represented after 1994?

PT: Yes, I would say that there has been. I just remember reading an article by somebody from the US, was it Carohn I think? And this was somebody who had actually visited the Slave Lodge and visited the Bo-Kaap museum and she spoke about representation of slavery in museums in the Western Cape. And she mentioned things like there was on display a slice of from the trunk of tree, and it was apparently from the slave tree and it spoke about how the annual rings showed you the age etc. So there was that and there was an avoidance and she spoke about even at the Bo-Kaap in those days it was a museum that was meant to depict a typical Malay home and you had one room that was set out as a bridal chamber and another room was a prayer room and I just remember some of the remarks from

people was that nobody from the Bo-Kaap would be able to live like that - would be able to set aside a whole room for that…and so there has been a definite change because of the…I think the changes that have come in and the whole emphasis on transformation with a new democratic government etc. But that institutions in a sense had no choice but to really take a look at how they were representing history and so you can see a definite shift from then.

NC: and I'm looking at my questions and the next 2 and half I think you have already answered because I was going to ask if you thought the history of slavery was important for South Africa but I think you have already communicated why it is and what the specific use of it so I think that we can move on from that

PT: Can I just make one little remark on that…Rob Shell was taking a group of students through the other day and I tagged along with them and he made an interesting comment and I need to give it more thought but he was saying that nationalism and the focus on nation building hasn't really factored in the whole issue of slavery and he was saying to his students and I thought it was an interesting comment that in spite of the fact that we have now accepted that there was slavery and all of that but still its not on a national level, it hasn't been taken up, the story sort of hasn't become prominent in that regard…[here NC aside about course on Colouredness]…

NC: my next question is about if you think there is a difference in terms of how people think about the history of slavery versus the memory of slavery? For me as you say, you mentioned in the beginning that there are, that we don't have the oral histories, the memories of people who lived through slavery in the same ways that they have them in America. We don't have that kind of testimony, we don't have the artefact. So we have the kind of distance between recent memory and what's happened before and then we have the kind of official history. But I suppose my question is do you think people distinguish between them when they talk about slavery in South Africa or when they talk about slavery in the Slave Lodge? Or do they not distinguish between them in terms of how they talk?

PT: I think some people do, I think what I find quite interesting is that people from diverse backgrounds actually seem to want to do their own research on their slave ancestry and I got a call from a doctor from Mitchell's Plain and he was very keen and he was asking me about the different places and where he can find out more and

he had read about and some of the sources that I mentioned he was familiar with so…and he also discussed with me some of the historical…and he was quite aware of the fact that the sort of the published history left some of the story untold and I think, what's nice about working with people like Rod Sauls is that he comes in from a memory perspective and for him that's what's the really important part is to try and capture some of the culture, the voice of the slave that's what is really missing. But I think that if you look at the schools that come through I don't think there is enough of an emphasis on issues of memory and that sometimes it can just be a kind of textbook or conventional wisdom approach.

NC: I remember being at the lodge in 2009 and there was a conference being run by the Wilberforce Institute and the memorial had recently been installed in Church Square and there were a number of academics in the audience and there was a gentleman who referred to himself as a community activist and I remember everyone being so awkward because someone was voicing something, he was voicing his concern that there was a major problem with the memorial and what it left out and how it re-inscribed particular aspects of how people treated that history and it felt to me in that moment, here was a voice that was speaking from the perspective that is outside of what the academics in the room were looking at - they were looking at the study of slavery and they were quite passionate about it and possibly in very removed ways and here was a man saying I am a descendent of slaves in the following ways and people who are descendants of slaves cannot face those 'black mausoleums' granite mausoleums on the Church Square that don't acknowledge that so for me I always think about that moment as quite an evocative way about the memory was really challenging the official historical narrative and how that had been transformed into a memorial. And I think that artists have their own interpretations about how things happen and they think things like budgets and tenders and all of those things that cloud the question of what this man was trying to re-voice to an audience of people who ostensibly were interested in the same thing that he was interested in. So I find them quite disparate in that way in terms of how people think about them but I don't know for sure, I'm still writing…

PT: What I found really interesting was when the national heritage council had their symposium in Cape Town to talk about the National Heritage Liberation Route and they had been to all the other provinces, the Western Cape was last and somebody

from Province did a little presentation on which was just a quick sweep of the history and unfortunately started off from 1912 and the formation of the ANC. There were Khoisan groups there but also slave heritage groups and they spoke about the fact that slave history had been overlooked and so had the Khoisan and the argument from the Khoisan groups was in fact the struggle for liberation goes back to the first wars the Khoisan had against the Dutch and the Portuguese and then one of the things that the people from the slave memory groups spoke about was the fact that on Robben Island you had long before any of the ANC prisoners were imprisoned there you had the people who were brought from Indonesia in chains because they were opposing the Dutch. So I thought that was interesting, here were community members who were very much aware of their history and were being very vocal about it and for the NHC I think it was a bit of a shock, it was totally unexpected…

NC: I've got two more questions…do you know who generally comes to the Slave Lodge? Do have information about visitor numbers? But more than that do you know if they are more local groups coming for educational purposes or is it mainly international visitors?

PT: we do get the figures, I think actually the majority of our visitor-ship is schools and educational groups so primary, high school and tertiary institutions. I can't give you the exact percentage but I think its just over 50%. You can email me for those figures

NC: and those educational groups are mixed in terms of their make-up? Both private and public schools for example?

PT: yes

NC: and domestic tourists that aren't part of education groups? Do for example Cape Townians come to the museum? Do South Africans generally come to the lodge?

PT: yes, and I think in recent years, more and more. I mean some of our, the Bo-Kaap, its quite a big overseas tourist group and not as many as the local people as we'd like to see

[Interruption]

NC: the second last question is whether you think slavery is thought about differently than other periods of oppression in South Africa's history and why that might be?

PT: I think the brutality of slavery hasn't really been accepted - I just get a sense from talking to people that there is still a shying away and you see it in some of the literature as well and the argument seems to go that it was a time when justice was applied in a certain way and even the sailors who fell foul of the law were executed - I don't really buy that I think there is…and one of the arguments is that even in families I mean that whole thing of looking at slaves- patriarchal and that argument that slaves became virtually members of the family…I think that's problematic. And Rod Sauls was saying something interesting, he was saying if under the apartheid, during the apartheid period police could use *sjamboks* and all of that then we want to argue that under slavery it was just a gentle admonition and maybe a tap with a stick and he was saying and I agree with him that a lot of the brutality that followed later, the seeds had actually been sown during that period and that people were looked at in a certain way and attitudes toward labour had come out of that.

NC: the idea of property and the body as property…I've read the literature of why people think that slavery was mild in South Africa as opposed to in the Americas and plantations in the Caribbean or in Latin America and that because we didn't have the same type of middle passage it doesn't qualify in the same ways…I find that fascinating, what it is people are trying to do with that kind of definition and approach to the brutality of that particular time in South Africa's history. And the slow violence that started there and carries on for 300 years in South African society and the kind of long-term impact of that. There is Rob Nixon's idea of slow violence and the environmental impact of slow violence and I think that in a new anthology about the Dwars River Valley and it looks at it in terms of labour practices on wine farms and what that does to particular groups and communities and understanding the *dop* system from the perspective of slow violence. The last question is then about if you had any thoughts about how the discourse of slavery was being re-enacted in the recent farm strikes and the ways in which people in media coverage were bringing back the idea of slavery and how it was being resisted in some quarters and taken up in others as the kind of most recent very public way in which slavery is featured prominently…

PT: well I just remember reading a study someone had done, actually we were busy with, when I worked for the Province, we were busy with an exhibition in Ceres on the history of Nduni township and Rooikamp and some of the other black townships

that arose there. And we were just, because a lot of the people who were resident there worked on the farms and we did a bit of research on the whole issue of farm labour and one of the readings argued very strongly that labour relations on the farms in the Western Cape had kind of been framed by the whole slave master relationship in rural areas, I thought that was really interesting and I think there is a lot of truth in that and the fact that whole masters and servants act followed the emancipation of slaves and I think one can see definite patterns, just the fact that you know on some of those farms people are housed on compounds on those farms and the whole kind of network on control, the fact that they have to follow certain rules because of the housing and if you step out of, you're kicked out your housing for example. And the *dop* system…but also reminded me of during that whole migrant labour, the early days of the migrant labour mines and the system that they had with the mine stores and how people would be locked into that…what would one call it, where you buy on credit and then you're trapped in a sense…and its been a similar thing with the farm workers to a large extent.

NC: you see some of that discourse come through in the media and some of the challenge to that discourse saying no, this is absolutely not slave labour, its not slave wages…but for me reading those things and seeing the limited understanding of the legacy of slave labour in that regard, that slavery ended and that was that…

PT: and I know there were questions about the employment of children on some of those farms and I suppose its not as big an issue as it used to be but I also know that group that reports to the United Nations but they basically investigated on the conditions on some of those farms on issues of child labour…the human rights watch…

NC: ok, so would it be OK for me to email you if I had any follow up questions once I've transcribed the interview?

[Some additional questions about photos and access to floor plan for museum]

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