

Contested pasts, forgotten voices: remembering and representing slavery in South Africa

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Hull

by

Samuel North

201010331

BA (Hull), MA (Sheffield)

Abstract

The transition to democracy in South Africa after 1994 saw president Nelson Mandela proclaim South Africa a 'rainbow nation'. This in theory signalled a new respect for diverse histories, which museums and other heritage projects were expected to reflect upon. Certain elements of the past have, however, remained marginalised as new state-funded museum projects have invested in the idea of a shared past. As a means of encouraging unity in a divided country, this new national history centres on the idea of a nation which united against apartheid, overcame it, and now enjoys a glorious present as a result. Slavery and colonialism are amongst the histories which have not been discussed openly.

This thesis considers how slavery and its memory have functioned in relation to post-apartheid initiatives of transformation both in terms of museums and heritage projects, and broader society. Through use of qualitative interviews, it scopes the responses of museologists, policy makers, and heritage activists to the questions and demands posed by post-apartheid society. These questions are particularly pertinent currently given that new generations of activists are increasingly calling for 'decolonisation' as a means of reforming a society which they claim has not delivered the changes promised in the immediate post-1994 period. Such claims by necessity require discussion of the deeply-ingrained injustices which colonialism and slavery set in motion. Indeed, it is suggested that in post-apartheid South Africa it is problematic to commemorate historical slavery without reference to these often visible legacies. The thesis argues that the different concepts of historical slavery held by different groups results in contestations when the subject reemerges in public discourse. These contestations are variously shaped by the specific ways slavery has been marginalised over time in South Africa, and by the demands of the present.

Contents

List of acronyms.....	4
A note on terminology	6
List of figures and maps.....	7
Acknowledgements	9
Introduction.....	11
Literature Review	25
Methodology: a word on positionality.....	53
Chapter One: Remembering many atrocities: slavery, museums, and the South African metanarrative.....	65
Chapter Two: ‘Our communities are still enslaved’: heritage, slavery, and coloured identity in the Western Cape post-apartheid	115
Chapter Three: Presenting the past, creating locality: Cape slavery in the local and community museum	157
Chapter Four: Beauty is only skin deep: memorialising slavery in contemporary Cape Town....	213
Chapter Five: Slavery sells? Representing the past in the Cape Winelands.....	265
Conclusion	317
Bibliography.....	331

List of acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
APO	African Political Organisation
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CA	Western Cape Archives and Records Service
CEO	Chief executive officer
CIDs	City Improvement Districts
CSAAWU	Commercial, Stevedoring, Agricultural and Allied Workers Union
CSCR	Cape Slavery Community Research Project
DA	Democratic Alliance
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
HRW	Human Rights Watch
HWC	Heritage Western Cape
KWB	<i>Kleurling Weerstandsbeweging vir die Vooruitgang van Bruinmense</i> (Coloured Movement for the Progress of Brown People)
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NHRA	1999 National Heritage Resources Act
NLSA	National Library of South Africa
NP	National Party
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PPPC	Prestwich Place Project Committee
SAM	South African Museum
SACHM	South African Cultural History Museum
SADF	South African Defence Force
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resources Agency
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UCT	University of Cape Town
UDF	United Democratic Front

UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UWC	University of the Western Cape
V&A	Victoria & Alfred
VOC	<i>Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie</i> (Dutch East India Company)
WIETA	Wine and Agricultural Ethical Trading Association
Wits	University of the Witwatersrand

A note on terminology

Ascribing people with racial labels is problematic. It is however virtually impossible to write about contemporary South Africa without referring to the racial categories which were used to define everyday life by the apartheid state. Indeed, the labels black, white, and coloured remain common currency in the country today, together with the various sub-categories which were used to control people from colonial times until (theoretically) 1994. This thesis reproduces racial categories without quotation marks, using lower case spellings except for in situations where it would be grammatically incorrect to do so (see African, Indian). It acknowledges that the use of such terms can cover up some of the contestations and pain which they carry, and intends to evoke them in as academic a sense as is possible.

Excluding the methods section where reflexivity is fundamental, this thesis is written in the third person. This is not to suggest that reflexivity is irrelevant in the rest of the thesis, but merely to highlight the necessity of associating oneself with one's own work and train of thought when reflecting on practices adopted.

List of figures and maps

- Figure 1.1 'The Slave Lodge: past, present, future', Slave Lodge, Cape Town, 2015.
- Figure 1.2 'Slave Voyages' gallery featuring the abolitionist plan of the slaver *Brookes*, Slave Lodge, Cape Town, 2015.
- Figure 1.3 'Column of Memory', Slave Lodge, Cape Town, 2015.
- Figure 1.4 Map which forms the centrepiece of the 'Origins and Arrivals' gallery, Slave Lodge, Cape Town, 2015.
- Figure 1.5 'Lesaka', Freedom Park, 2015.
- Figure 1.6 'Wall of Names', Freedom Park, 2015.
- Figure 1.7 Specific detail of 'Slavery' sub-section of 'Wall of Names', Freedom Park, 2015.
- Figure 1.8 Clive van den Berg's slave ship installation, *//hapo*, Freedom Park, 2016.
- Figure 1.9 Artefacts which form part of 'Peopling', *//hapo*, Freedom Park 2016.
- Figure 1.10 *Kitaab* and other artefacts, *//hapo*, Freedom Park, 2016.
- Figure 2.1 Father Michael Weeder addresses the crowd at Strand Street Quarry, 1 December emancipation day march, 2015.
- Figure 3.1 Period exhibitions, Stellenbosch Village Museum, 2015.
- Figure 3.2 New exhibitions in the foyer area, Stellenbosch Village Museum, 2015.
- Figure 3.3 Exterior of outbuilding containing slavery exhibition, Swellendam Drostdy Museum, 2016.
- Figure 3.4 Interior of outbuilding, Swellendam Drostdy Museum, 2016.
- Figure 3.5 Freedom Monument, Pniel, 2015.
- Figure 3.6 *Ubuntu* Monument, Pniel, 2015.
- Figure 3.7 Replica slave bell, Pniel, 2015.
- Figure 3.8 Kitchen, Pniel Museum, 2015.
- Figure 3.9 Sports room, Pniel Museum, 2015.
- Figure 3.10 Willemse family tree, Pniel Museum, 2015.
- Figure 3.11 1938 slavery emancipation centenary memorial, Elim, 2016.
- Figure 3.12 Genealogical display, Elim Heritage Centre, 2016.
- Figure 3.13 Trade display, Elim Heritage Centre, 2016.
- Figure 3.14 Photographic display, Elim Heritage Centre, 2016.
- Figure 4.1 Restored original slave bell towers at Oranjezicht City Farm, Cape Town, 2016.
- Figure 4.2 Plaque marking the restored vegetable garden, Company's Gardens, Cape Town, 2015.

- Figure 4.3 1953 plaque marking the Old Slave Tree, Cape Town, 2015.
- Figure 4.4 2015 plaque marking the Slave Auction Tree, Cape Town, 2015.
- Figure 4.5 Exterior of Prestwich Memorial, 2015.
- Figure 4.6 Displays leading to ossuary area, Prestwich Memorial, 2015.
- Figure 4.7 Exhibition area, Prestwich Memorial, 2015.
- Figure 4.8 The Memorial to the Enslaved, Church Square, Cape Town, 2016.
- Figure 4.9 Nadya Glawe's slave tree installation, Spin Street, Cape Town, 2015 (copyright: Nadya Glawe).
- Figure 4.10 Detail, temporary slave tree installation, Spin Street, Cape Town, 2015 (copyright: Nadya Glawe).
- Figure 4.11 Detail, temporary slave tree installation, Spin Street, Cape Town, 2015 (copyright: Nadya Glawe).
- Figure 5.1 *Werf* area, Babylonstoren, 2016.
- Figure 5.2 Revised exhibition, Vergelegen manor house, 2016.
- Figure 5.3 Manor house interior, Boschendal, 2015.
- Figure 5.4 Panel 'Friday and Bonnie Cloete', Orientation Centre, Groot Constantia, 2015.
- Figure 5.5 '1819 Boschendal', one of the now-discarded social history displays, Boschendal, 2015.
- Figure 5.6 Exterior of Museum van de Caab, former wine cellar, Solms Delta, 2016.
- Figure 5.7 Oral history installation, Solms Delta, 2016.
- Figure 5.8 Slave memorial installation, Solms Delta, 2016.
- Figure 5.9 Marco Cianfanelli's 'The Dying Slave', Spier, 2015.
- Figure 5.10 Restored 1825 slave bell, Spier, 2015.
- Map 0.1 Map showing sites analysed.
- Map 4.1 Map created from creative commons image hosted at wiki.openstreetmap.org showing Cape Town's City Bowl with various sites of slave heritage marked.
- Map 5.1 Map showing the rough area of the Cape Winelands municipality and wine estates analysed, created using the software scribblemaps.com.

Acknowledgements

I have undoubtedly forgotten how many people I owe gratitude to for being able to research and write this thesis. Foremost, I should thank the Arts and Humanities Research Council (UK) Heritage Consortium for providing a generous living allowance over the three year period necessary to complete this work. Additionally, I was afforded travel expenses for the intercontinental flights which, though tedious, were fundamental to the undertaking of my research work. It seems logical and just to also thank administrative staff at the University of Hull for their support in processing the numerous forms I have submitted for their attention over the course of this study.

Beyond the monetary, I immediately think of numerous individuals and groups who have offered their help. My interviewees deserve immeasurable gratitude for their willingness to give up their time and meet me to sit through an interview, and for, in several cases, continued fruitful correspondence. This thesis would not have been possible without them. Additionally, I wish to thank staff at the South African Heritage Resources Agency, Cape Archives, University of Cape Town's Jagger Library, the Cape Town campus of the National Library of South Africa, and the University of Hull's Brynmor Jones Library for their diligence in supplying books, documents, and answering with professionalism any other requests I may have made. Recalling the gratitude I owe various people in aiding the logistical side of my research reminds me of the help I received during my stays in South Africa. I immediately think of the way in which staff based in Iziko's social history building made me feel at home whilst I worked there as an intern. Shanaaz, Paul, Fatima, Esther, Nadjwa, and Nolwandle in particular were always on hand with their humour, advice, and company, ensuring that my term there was entertaining and enlightening. I must equally thank Viv and my various housemates for sharing their home with me and offering fruitful company over the course of my stay in Muizenberg. Finally, special gratitude is owed to Sandy Shell. In providing on numerous occasions a veritable taxi service with nothing in return, as well as thought-provoking conversation whilst I conducted my research at museum and heritage sites, she redefined the meaning of kindness for me.

Recounting these names brings me to the support I have received from the academic community in Britain. In particular, my two supervisors, Nick Evans and Helen Dampier, deserve thanks for tolerating my idiosyncrasies for three years. Nick specifically has served as a friend and constant source of encouragement and help from my time as an undergraduate history student at Hull. Additionally, all the individuals who form part of the impressive community at WISE have variously provided encouragement and laughter over the course of this project. John Oldfield, as director, generously provided additional funding for my final visit to South Africa. John also deserves gratitude for serving as thesis examiner alongside Joel Quirk. Both provided illuminating and insightful thoughts and suggestions which will help me to take the thesis forwards. Before I forget, I specifically wish to thank Rebecca Nelson, Lauren Bell, Alicia Kidd, Edward Hardiman, Carlos da Silva, and my surrogate mother Beki Bloomfield for the way they have illuminated my everyday life as a PhD student.

Finally, I had pondered the idea of dedicating this thesis to my mother and was dissuaded from doing so by the frequently macabre subject matter. Suffice to say that I wish her well.

Introduction

On the evening of 9 April 2015, a large, expectant crowd gathered on the idyllic expanses of the sports field and steps adjacent to the Jameson Hall at the University of Cape Town's (UCT) Upper Campus. This crowd comprised students, activists, journalists, academics, as well as other interested parties, all of whom were waiting to witness the historic removal of the bronze statue of Cecil Rhodes, scheduled for 5pm by university management. Around 15 minutes later than advertised, the claws of the crane were lowered into place and the now desecrated figure of Rhodes was lifted amidst a dulcet chorus of cheers from its resting place and onto the back of the adjacent flatbed lorry. The lorry was then driven away, complete with people hanging from the removed statue and accompanied by others chasing gleefully in its wake. A mining and business magnate, British-born Rhodes was a pivotal figure in modern day South Africa's industrialisation. He was founder of the British South Africa Company, a mineral extraction organisation, and served as prime minister of the Cape Colony between 1890 and 1896. Part of his estate was donated to UCT for the construction of Upper Campus in the late 1920s. Until April 2015 two memorial sites stood on the former Rhodes Estate, acting as ever-present reminders of his influence. The now-removed Upper Campus statue was installed in 1934, taking the form of a bronze statue depicting Rhodes in a pensive position, gazing across what were to become the black and coloured townships of apartheid-era Cape Town.

Adopting the title #RhodesMustFall, the campaign for the 1934 statue's removal was driven by students – mainly, though not exclusively young black or coloured men and women – and a panoply of activists and political pressure groups who argued that the bronze figure of Rhodes reminded them of colonialism and its legacies in prevailing social injustices today.¹ Their demands ranged far beyond the simple issue of removing a statue, which in the minds of

¹ 'Rhodes statue: students occupy offices', *Weekend Argus*, 21 March 2015.

activists merely acted as a physical marker of current injustices in post-apartheid South Africa; a perpetual reminder of sorts. Though not now formally enforced through legislation, South Africa remains a country where race and class are heavily linked. It was a brief and innovative effort, carried out with zeal and intensity. This was effectively a critique of the way in which white privilege has been maintained from colonial times, and has remained prevalent post-democracy in spite of a state which has paid lip-service to reform. The real catalyst had been a protest on 9 March, characterised by activist and fourth year politics student Chumani Maxwele's iconic and widely-reported act of hurling human excrement at the Rhodes statue.² By 30 March, the university leadership had agreed to remove the statue following several weeks of protestors occupying the Bremner Building. The statue campaign has subsequently grown to encompass other efforts targeting reforms to proposed university fee increases.

Why are these sustained episodes of popular protest relevant to a study of slavery and memorialisation? Besides the obvious point of targeting memorials, monuments, and other heritage markers as symbols of racist regimes and continued marginalisation, they represent attempts to grapple with and expose the history and legacies of colonialism. In spite of the way in which inclusive historical narratives have been central to the 'Rainbow Nation' rhetoric of the democratic South Africa, there are vast tracts of time which remain relatively unexplored. As an element of South African history which is only fitfully beginning to feature as part of museum displays, as the subject of memorials, and as an accepted part of genealogies, slavery falls into this category. It has mainly been through the efforts of individuals that this recognition has occurred. The colonial and slave past was largely absent from the national metanarrative of unity in struggle against apartheid associated most closely with the immediate post-apartheid African National Congress (ANC) regime and embraced enthusiastically for its egalitarianism by sections of society cautiously anticipating momentous change. The testimony recorded by the

² 'Birth of a movement that felled a statue', *Cape Times*, 10 April 2015. The excrement was symbolically sourced from a communal township toilet.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) during the late 1990s was emblematic of this, focussing only on documenting claims and counter-claims made by victims and perpetrators of human rights abuses since 1960. Falling, at least most visibly, into the section of the population categorised as coloured, slave descendants themselves suffered forced removal under apartheid. The more distant intergenerational trauma of slavery has seemed less relevant to their lives, and alternative group histories were constructed to combat racial segregation. Writing about the memorialisation of Rhodes prior to the 2015 unrest, Paul Maylam noted how South Africa's colonial past has remained shrouded in silence relative to its apartheid era history.³ Part of the reason for this, argues Maylam, is that many colonial-era statues do not provoke an emotive response, and consequently have not been identified as requiring mediation by the public.⁴ This indifference is suggestive of how the salience of colonialism has been overshadowed by subsequent human rights abuses.

Discussing these marginalised histories is important given how slavery defined early European colonial society in South Africa. With enslavement of the indigenous Khoi and San population forbidden, Dutch colonists looked elsewhere for a source of cheap labour to carry out work which would be uneconomical on European wages after their arrival in 1652. The first cargo of almost 200 enslaved people arrived at the Cape from Angola on board the Dutch merchant vessel *Amersfoort* on 28 March 1658. Subsequent consignments of humans mostly originated in Dutch eastern possessions, including modern-day Indonesia, Sri Lanka, and India, other parts of south-east Asia, and Mozambique and Madagascar. Between the arrival of the first Angolans in 1658 and slavery's abolition by British settlers in 1834, approximately 60, 000 enslaved people were either born at or imported to the Cape.⁵ Cape slavery was not a system of large-scale plantation slavery as developed in the Americas and as has come to define publically-

³ P. Maylam, *The Cult of Rhodes: Remembering an Imperialist in Africa* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2005), 31-2.

⁴ *Ibid*, 47.

⁵ R.C-H. Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838*, reprint (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1997), 155.

accessible iconography associated globally with the term 'slavery'. Rather, it was an extensive system of smaller numbers of people performing tasks ranging from household work to artisanal craft work to heavy lifting in family households, on wine farms, and in government service. One of the most important historians of Cape slavery, Nigel Worden, has written of how understanding slavery is critical to interpreting much of what followed in South African history. Worden explains how slavery was the first means through which a racially-stratified society emerged in South Africa, thus setting in motion patterns of socio-economic relations which came to define much of 19th and particularly 20th century South African history as Europeans advanced into the country's interior.⁶ This statement underlines how the subject cannot be omitted from any linear narrative of the country's history, and is a critical part of any narrative focussing on human rights abuses in South African history.

That elements of the past such as slavery which have previously gone undiscussed in post-apartheid South Africa are now attracting attention is representative of the way in which activists are looking to the inequalities imbedded in South Africa over hundreds of years to explain and critique a perceived lack of change since 1994. Taking their cues from #RhodesMustFall, other groups of activists have also based claims on the ways in which they perceive colonialism as salient in contemporary South Africa. A destructive way of both highlighting these links and demanding higher education reform occurred in September 2016 when the University of KwaZulu-Natal's (UKZN)'s Howard College law library was set on fire by protesting students. The library, which contained a number of rare works dating from the 17th century, was targeted as a symbol of colonial knowledge. Indeed, demands for 'decolonised' curricula featuring African rather than European epistemology as its foundation circulated throughout both the #RhodesMustFall campaign and successor student-led protests which criticised tuition fee increases and university management in general. Any calls for 'decolonisation' must, by their very nature, interrogate colonialism and its legacies.

⁶ N. Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 4-5.

The way in which the radical leftist Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) and their commitment to land reform has been identified as a threat among the white population as the movement has increased in popularity suggests that an open discussion of the more distant past is necessary.⁷ Seminal South Africanist historian Shula Marks noted in a 2012 *Mail & Guardian* article how the biases of apartheid history education had obscured the history of land ownership in the country, and how there had been little concerted attempt to address any misunderstandings since 1994.⁸ Education should not by necessity take a confrontational nature, but merely provide people with the knowledge to discuss and understand how the legacies of colonisation continue to shape land ownership and broader socio-economic relations in contemporary South Africa. The need for these discussions to take place was further spelled out in March 2017 when Western Cape Premier and former Democratic Alliance (DA) leader Helen Zille posted a series of ill-advised comments on the social networking website Twitter. Colonialism, Zille claimed, was not ‘only negative’, and brought benefits including an ‘independent judiciary, transport infrastructure, piped water’.⁹ Zille was widely condemned, including by members of her own political party, and later apologised and claimed to have been inspired by a recent visit to Singapore and the way it had acquitted itself to the challenges of the post-colonial world.¹⁰ Accepting that any historical event will produce apologists and fringe adherents, it was alarming to note the ease with which a prominent state official and representative of thousands of impoverished people praised colonialism with little qualification. That Zille felt it was acceptable to make such comments serves to reinforce the idea that there is widespread ignorance surrounding colonialism in South Africa. Praising it for its claimed contributions to bastions of modern nationhood disavows recognition of the very real legacies of poverty, racial segregation, and violence it introduced to South Africa. Creating this

⁷ ‘EFF told to ‘tone down’ land reform claims’, *Cape Times*, 2 December 2016.

⁸ S. Marks, ‘SA ignorant about its land struggle’, *Mail & Guardian*, 2 March 2012.

⁹ <https://twitter.com/helenzille/status/842260539644497921> [accessed 20 March 2017 at 07:57].

¹⁰ ‘Zille a ‘cold-hearted racist’’, *Cape Times*, 17 March 2017; H. Zille, ‘From the Inside: Lessons from Singapore’, *Daily Maverick*, 20 March 2017, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2017-03-20-from-the-inside-lessons-from-singapore/#.WM-H72-LSUK> [accessed 20 March 2017 at 08:15].

understanding and facilitating these discussions is perhaps where museums and other cultural institutions could play a greater role, acting as ostensibly neutral spaces. They cannot, however, act alone.

The present time seems as relevant as any for researching and writing about how South Africa's heritage industry portrays historical slavery at the Cape. Probing how this is understood in South Africa and displayed to local and international visitors is key to understanding the processes leading to the 'unspeakability' which has surrounded slavery and later colonialism in the country and is only now beginning to change. The roots of this silence can be traced to the ways in which colonial and apartheid education and public history projects depicted a white-only view of the past which sought to reinforce hegemonic concepts.¹¹ Equally, the selective form of national memory promoted by the immediate post-apartheid ANC state largely ignored this past in order to emphasise commonalities gleaned from opposition to apartheid. The work of the TRC in attempting to create an agreed version of the past must also be afforded attention in analysing this process. Deborah Posel has argued that the nation-building project did not require a detailed understanding of the past as an output of the TRC, but rather the creation of a deliberately vague past so as to not challenge the relative stability of the late 1990s.¹² This was therefore a totemic and ostensibly authoritative process which omitted historical episodes for political utility. It frequently downplayed more complex histories in favour of a narrow focus on political crimes, amnesty applications, and public hearings relating to South Africa's recent past.¹³ State policy both during and after apartheid has consequently played a role in suppressing – or at least in not encouraging - discussion of the distant past.

¹¹ L. Witz, *Apartheid's Festival: Contesting South Africa's National Pasts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 1-10; J.M. Gore, 'A Lack of Nation? The Evolution of History in South African Museums, c.1825 – 1945', *South African Historical Journal* 51.1 (2004), 24-46.

¹² D. Posel, 'The TRC Report: What Kind of History? What Kind of Truth?' in D. Posel and G. Simpson (eds), *Commissioning the Past: Understanding South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2002), 152-153.

¹³ P. Bonner and N. Nieftagodien, 'The Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Pursuit of 'Social Truth': The Case of Kathorus' in Posel and Simpson, 173-175.

Heidi Grunebaum has recently discussed the implications of the understandings of the past produced by the TRC for historical representation in contemporary South Africa. In Grunebaum's polemical account, the TRC is criticised for authorising agreed forms of past violence and consequently obscuring more systemic patterns of violence.¹⁴ As such, it has created a version of the past which is agreed upon at state level and, through the language of reconciliation, places South Africa within the global order as a country which has overcome the troubles of its past using exemplary methods.¹⁵ Critically, these discourses enable present social problems and prevailing violence and trauma to be depicted as the natural outcomes of apartheid, with poverty and its associated vices normalised or obscured.¹⁶ It may be unfair to attribute these issues in their entirety to the influences of the TRC, and it is important to remember the importance of how its findings were interpreted in producing these silences. Nonetheless, the TRC and its selective view of the past stands as a totem for the reconciliatory discourse which has permeated South African politics beginning with the Mandela administration.

It is these processes which activists such as those in the #RhodesMustFall movement are responding to. As will become clear over the course of the thesis, the work of additional activists and selected museologists and heritage professionals has also challenged the silences surrounding historical slavery and colonialism. The ways in which the discourse of reconciliation has been promoted at the expense of meaningful social reform, and how the more distant past and its legacies have not been readily discussed underpin claims over access to resources in South Africa today. Criticism of the previously saintly figure of Mandela now seems possible, particularly among younger activists who have grown up under the post-apartheid regime. As questionable, however, as this discourse of reconciliation has been in providing answers to the

¹⁴ H. Grunebaum, *Memorializing the Past: Everyday Life in South Africa after the Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2011), 28.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 19-20.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 25-28.

questions posed by national cohesion and social justice, the point stands as to what feasible alternative approaches were available in 1994. Achieving stability even whilst society was undergoing this change would perhaps have been threatened by a more confrontational approach which addressed the everyday injustices of apartheid and colonialism.

It would nonetheless be unreasonable to suggest that no change has occurred in how the past is understood and presented to the public in South Africa since the fall of apartheid. As Eric Hobsbawm suggested, periods of societal change are always the most fertile for introducing new interpretations of history which better suit the needs of the transformed society.¹⁷ In post-apartheid South Africa, the previously unexplored and unrepresented history of selected marginalised groups has frequently been elevated to contest space previously reserved for exclusive settler history and representations of elite culture. Whilst in exile during the 1980s, the ANC began formulating working groups and policies which would subsequently form the basis of the inclusive legislation they introduced once in government during the 1990s.¹⁸ Equally, the more open-minded museum staff at the more progressive institutions began plotting changes from the late 1970s onwards. This was particularly the case where staff worked in collaboration with revisionist social historians, using 'general affairs' status afforded by the 1984 Tricameral Parliament to reach out to previously neglected groups.¹⁹ Many of the changes instituted in museums have worked in tandem with the reconciliatory discourse promoted by the TRC, particularly where direct state influence is discernible. The landmark 1996 White Paper on Arts, Culture, and Heritage established these parameters. Depicting South Africa as a country 'emerging out of a troubled history', it suggested that arts, culture, and heritage could operate in harmony with other sectors to promote human rights as part of a responsible international

¹⁷ E. Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions' in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 4-5.

¹⁸ G. Corsane, 'Transforming Museums and Heritage in Postcolonial and Post-apartheid South Africa: The Impact of Processes of Policy Formulation and New Legislation', *Social Analysis* 48.1 (2004), 8-10.

¹⁹ A. Coombes, *History after Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 153-154; C. Hamilton, 'Against the Museum as Chameleon', *South African Historical Journal* 31 (1994), 184-190.

order, and promote national reconciliation by offering a shared historical narrative which would work against the dangers posed by 'sectional purpose'.²⁰

'Sectional purpose' is perhaps an appropriate phrase for understanding what has and has not often featured in post-apartheid heritage projects. Many sites and spaces have followed a familiar formula of commemorating the anti-apartheid struggle and its various victories and massacres. In a sense, they take cues from the personal testimony recorded by the TRC's hearings. A site of banishment for centuries, Robben Island off the coast of Cape Town has been transformed into a totemic, state-funded heritage site largely focussing on the island's post-1960 history as a political prison. The current list of 14 state-funded Legacy Projects share common characteristics with Robben Island and how it has been posited. Their number includes the former homes of anti-apartheid struggle heroes Nelson Mandela and Albert Luthuli, the former prison site of Constitution Hill in Johannesburg, the 'national memorial' of Freedom Park in Pretoria, the Blood River Heritage site and Ncome Museum, and the National Women's Monument in Bloemfontein. Whilst not all of the Legacy Projects focus purely on the apartheid-era past, there is an identifiable common narrative thread of depicting an egalitarian, democratic modern South Africa which has overcome the violence and division of the commemorated recent past. Of course, ascribing influence to state-formulated narratives does run the risk of negating the influence both of heritage professionals and of community-operated memory projects. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to suggest that the idea of working towards some form of agreed past in common with the work of the TRC has permeated many heritage projects since 1994. The idea of coming to terms with the recent past by discussing it and thus moving beyond it became almost enshrined on the national agenda during the Mandela era, and has remained influential in state policy since then.

²⁰ Republic of South Africa Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, 'White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage' (June 1996).

As a by-product of this move towards an agreed past with the idea of uniting all South Africans in their common history of supporting human rights, some histories have been downplayed. Slavery is one of these histories, and it could certainly be claimed that, much like the TRC, the remit of many heritage projects has not included confronting the broader colonial society slavery both formed part of and preceded. Slavery was a part of the past which was viewed with scepticism by some politicians in the immediate post-1994 period who were wary of what it could offer to any new national heritage.²¹ It was considered coloured, rather than collective, history; part of the past relevant only to those who descended from enslaved people. In this sense, it may have been categorised under 'sectional purpose' referred to in the 1996 White Paper. As Nigel Worden recounts, a late 1990s project to establish a Cape leg of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation's (UNESCO)'s international Slave Routes Project foundered owing primarily to a lack of political enthusiasm for what was held as a potentially divisive history.²²

To achieve recognition, slave history had to overcome both this post-apartheid stigma and, in common with many other aspects of South Africa's past which had been obscured or neglected under colonialism and apartheid, the misconceptions created by distorted or biased representations which served the interests of successive white supremacist regimes. The anniversary of 1 December 1834 – emancipation day – was commemorated into the early 20th century by slave descendants with picnics, excursions to the countryside, and, as racial segregation began to be implemented, political meetings.²³ Although similar events did take place to commemorate the centenary of emancipation in the 1930s, state-organised

²¹ K. Ward and N. Worden, 'Commemorating, suppressing, and invoking Cape slavery' in S. Nuttall and C. Coetzee (eds), *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 216-217; N. Worden, 'The changing politics of slave heritage in the Western Cape, South Africa', *The Journal of African History* 50.1 (March 2009), 28-29.

²² Worden, 'The changing politics', 29.

²³ Ward and Worden, 202-203.

celebrations of the lives of British abolitionists obscured the link with coloured people as descendants of the enslaved in showpiece events.²⁴

This privileging of European history prevailed over time. The public commemorative events organised in 1952 to mark the tercentenary of Jan van Riebeeck's arrival at the Cape further obscured the history of slavery behind white interests. As Leslie Witz has explained, the 'Malay pageant' section of the tercentenary formed part of National Party (NP) Commissioner for Coloured Affairs I.D. du Plessis' attempt to construct a 'Malay' identity to define Muslim coloured people.²⁵ Much like du Plessis' broader account of Malay history, the pageant eschewed possible links with slavery to depict princely origins which complimented the idea of an exotic culture featuring mystical tricks, oriental cookery, and ancient dancing rituals.²⁶ The concept of the exotic and docile Malay slave descendant has endured to the present day as one of the main catalysts distancing Cape slavery from its brutal reality, demonstrating how damaging this construct has been in terms of discussing the past.²⁷

Given the widespread neglect or distortion both of slave histories and other experiences of marginalised social groups by the colonial and apartheid authorities, it would be accurate to speak of slavery as a part of the past in need of rediscovery by the public sphere after the fall of apartheid. Visiting the museums of the Slave Lodge and Bo-Kaap in Cape Town, and those on the wine estates of Vergelegen and Groot Constantia during 1998, Carohn Cornell wrote of the way in which slavery was either downplayed or entirely ignored at what were important sites of slave heritage.²⁸ In addition to being embroiled in political discourses, Cape slavery in the museum also has to reckon with a paucity of artefacts which could form the centrepiece of any exhibition. In spite of these considerations, the topic has gradually gained more attention in the 23 years

²⁴ *Ibid*, 205-207; F. Kahn, 'The Elim Slave Route pilot project: report on a project executed on behalf of the department of environmental affairs and tourism' (February 1999), 17-23.

²⁵ Witz, *Apartheid's Festival*, 135-136.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 131-147.

²⁷ G. Baderoon, *Regarding Muslims: from slavery to post-apartheid* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2014), 3.

²⁸ C. Cornell, 'Whatever became of slavery in Western Cape museums?', *Kronos* 25 (1999), 259-279.

since democracy, and museums – particularly in the former slave trading epicentre of the Western Cape – have begun to represent slavery. The subject occupies an anomalous, paradoxical position of arguably emerging as a topic of museological and heritage interest in spite of, rather than because of, inclusive state legislation. This thesis consequently places emphasis on the role played by activists, museologists, and other professionals with a stake in the memorialisation process in ensuring that slavery has been represented in post-apartheid South Africa. As will be demonstrated, the previous reticence displayed by some state officials towards promoting slavery as a history has moderated in line with the way reconciliation discourse has gradually receded in prominence as time has progressed. All of the museums discussed by Cornell have been redeveloped to various extents, and now offer fresh representations of the past which account for slavery history. In addition to this, a number of post-1994 or pre-existing museums now also cover the subject, whilst multiple memorial projects stand witness to the way in which the early Cape was built upon slave labour. Beyond heritage commemorations, slavery has been afforded increased exposure in the school curriculum over the past decade, thus creating an early-level understanding of the subject.²⁹ The subject is now beginning to be discussed more openly in certain spaces, although more generally both slavery and colonialism arguably remain marginalised in understandings of the past. The fact that statues such as that of Rhodes removed from UCT in 2015 are only now beginning to feature in critical public discourse underlines this latter point.

This thesis aims to trace and explain these changes in how slavery has been and is remembered, commemorated, and memorialised in South Africa. With deference to recent activist demands for ‘decolonisation’, the relationship between commemorations of slavery and its legacies in contemporary South Africa will be central throughout. The thesis questions who is doing the remembering, for what reasons, and in what spatial and temporal contexts. The way in

²⁹ L. Chisholm, ‘The history curriculum in the (revised) national curriculum statement: an introduction’ in S. Jeppie (ed.), *Towards ‘New’ Histories for South Africa: On the Place of the Past in our Present* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 2004), 182.

which slavery figures in relation to broader discourses of national unity, reconciliation, and separatist histories will feature prominently throughout. Mindful of both these debates and discourses surrounding the memorialisation of slavery on a global level, it will be argued that there is no singular method of commemorating Cape slavery. Using interviews with key actors and stakeholders, it will demonstrate the contested nature of the Cape's slave past arises from the way in which it holds different meanings for different people and groups. Furthermore, it will be argued that the specific way in which slavery was forgotten under colonialism and apartheid, and subsequently marginalised in some post-apartheid circles, has resulted in a situation where there is no established understanding of the subject when it does (re)emerge in contemporary South Africa. This not only enables multiple interpretations of this part of the past, but also can fuel misunderstandings and contestations between groups.

Chapter one examines how slavery has been represented at prominent post-apartheid heritage projects, mindful of the discussion of national reconciliatory politics raised here. Looking closely at the Slave Lodge in Cape Town and Freedom Park in Pretoria, it will demonstrate that slavery as a subject has not always been compatible with the interests of successive national historical discourses. This highlights how such national discourses are not always useful in enabling people to understand the past, particularly in relation to 'difficult' histories such as slavery. These themes will be expanded upon in chapter two, which analyses how people who identify as descendants of the enslaved use organic or vernacular heritage projects to contest the memorial terrain of post-apartheid South Africa. It argues that slavery as a coloured ancestry is sometimes imagined through a close, and often emotive, identification with forebears, producing a dissonant form of memory which is frequently at odds with how slavery is represented at 'official' sites such as those discussed in chapter one. Chapter three moves on to an additional area of remembrance, focussing on how local history museums in the Western Cape represent slavery. Identifying some of the difficulties many of these sites face in transforming their displays, it suggests that slavery here functions as a means of integrating

alternative histories into museums which were previously devoted to white settler pasts. Consequently, these sites appear to operate outside some of the considerations enforced by reconciliatory discourses evident at the museums discussed in chapter one. Exhibitions in local history museums identify the enslaved as local actors who contributed to a successful community and in turn posit contemporary coloured descendants as stakeholders in a diverse community. Chapters four and five move beyond these discussions, and examine the ways in which recalling slavery interplays with the interests of private enterprises in the Western Cape. Chapter four focuses on urban Cape Town, featuring discussions of how city centre gentrification competes with memorialisation of the past. Central here will be enquiries into how memorials such as the Memorial to the Enslaved in Church Square and the Prestwich Memorial function against the backdrop of a commercial sector which frequently treats history with a selective lens to promote specific views of Cape Town as an inclusive city. Chapter five considers wine estates, questioning how and why these commercial sites choose to commemorate or ignore their extensive histories of slavery and exploitation. In particular, it will identify an alternative approach exemplified by the estates of Solms Delta and Spier, where an emphasis on ethical credentials in much of both estates' public outputs have translated into open discussions of their slave pasts.

Literature Review

The history of slavery in South Africa is one of marginalisation and amnesia. These comments apply to academic history writing as much as they do public memory of the topic. Early historians of South Africa subscribed to racist viewpoints, taking the assumed inferiority of black and coloured people as factual basis for their accounts of the South African past. To write of 19th and early 20th century historiography therefore is to discuss a Eurocentric institution, interested in the documentation of settler prosperity and its origins.³⁰ It was only really with the advent of radical revisionist historical writing from the late 1960s onwards that these ingrained patterns began to shift as the experiences of working-class and subaltern groups began to be taken into account. The marginalisation of histories from below such as slavery went hand-in-hand with how these elements of the past were perceived by the wider public. There was little engagement with the topic under apartheid, and the way in which history was written ascribed to viewpoints which reinforced damaging misconceptions. Centring in particular on the idea that Cape slavery was a mild and small-scale institution, these misconceptions have proven difficult to shift over time. They have contributed to a sense that slavery was unimportant in terms of South African history, working as part of a much wider pattern of selective remembrance discussed above as racial segregation took hold. It is these processes which museologists, activists, and other stakeholders are working to reverse in the present day.

Historians and Cape slavery

The seminal Canadian-born late 19th century historian George McCall Theal did not consider Cape slavery to be particularly cruel in relation to American plantation slavery. Indeed, Theal applied his racist logic to the subject and argued that it was beneficial for enslaved people who

³⁰ C. Saunders, *The Making of the South African Past: Major historians on race and class* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1988), 20.

were given a means of sustenance in the civilised colonial order.³¹ These latter indiscretions notwithstanding, the idea that Cape slavery was relatively mild was perpetuated over time. As Christopher Saunders has explained, whilst Theal's Social Darwinist perspective on race was normally discarded by subsequent historians, his fundamental belief in the superiority of white people endured in later writing, and particularly that of British-born George Cory.³² At times, Afrikaner intellectualism and academic writing coalesced during apartheid. In 1960, pro-segregation scholars N.J. Rhoodie and H.J. Venter published *Apartheid: A Sociohistorical Exposition of the Origin and Development of the Apartheid Idea* which depicted a history of separate development as a justification for apartheid in South Africa.³³

Victor de Kock's 1950 book *Those in Bondage* stands as an example of how the idea that Cape slavery somehow did not rely on violence permeated mainstream academic scholarship well into the 20th century.³⁴ Set within a broader context of racially-exclusive representations of the past for public consumption perpetuated by the apartheid state, Cape slavery's relationship with the term 'neglected history' becomes apparent. With museums and public constructions of history largely intent on portraying a narrow settler past, slave descendants suffering forced removal, and an academy which had yet to set its analytical lens on Cape slavery, it is understandable why awareness of the topic was minimal under apartheid. By the 1980s, revisionist scholarship which specifically sought to uncover previously marginalised life stories and eschew a 'great man' narrative dominated the South African historical academy. In part, this owed itself to the global revolution in social history enquiry. In South Africa, this new history often explicitly worked against the racism of the apartheid state, and was at times aligned with

³¹ G.M. Theal, *History of South Africa under the administration of the Dutch East India Company [1652 to 1795]* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1897), 80-81. For a summary of Theal's work and the influence of his ideas on later historians – most prominently George Cory – see Saunders, *The Making of the South African Past*, 27-44.

³² Saunders, *The Making of the South African Past*, 27-41.

³³ N.J. Rhoodie and H.J. Venter, *Apartheid: A Sociohistorical Exposition of the Origin and Development of the Apartheid Idea* (Amsterdam: De Bussy, 1960).

³⁴ V. de Kock, *Those in Bondage: An Account of the Life of the Slave at the Cape in the Days of the Dutch East India Company* (London: Allen, 1950).

the anti-apartheid movement. Whilst this revisionism extended to far broader topics than Cape slavery, it was during this period too that the latter was first subjected to the rigorous research methods of contemporary academia.

The perceptions of Cape slavery established by Theal were progressively challenged by new historiography during the 1970s. A 1973 article by the American historian Lewis J. Greenstein compared North American plantation slavery and Cape slavery. Greenstein made specific reference to debates concerning the purported mildness of Latin American slavery in relation to North American slavery, with a view to scoping how similar interpretations of Cape slavery had developed.³⁵ He set out with the intention of demonstrating that generalising Cape slavery as 'mild' was as untenable as drawing similar conclusions from studies of Latin American slavery.³⁶ Rooting his critique in the misconceptions of writers such as de Kock, Greenstein explained how Cape slavery was in fact a microcosm of slavery in the Americas, thereby refuting assumptions of mildness owing to numerical differences.³⁷ Greenstein's article preceded a period of intensive scholarly analysis of Cape slavery which greatly enhanced how historians, museologists, tour guides, artists, the public, and numerous other groups understand the institution today. The public memory work taking place today which is discussed throughout this thesis would not be possible without these vital interventions. One of the first publications which can be attributed to this revisionism was Leon Hattingh's 1979 *'n Ontleding van sekere aspekte van slawerny aan die Kaap in die sewentiende eeu'* ('An analysis of certain aspects of slavery at the Cape in the 17th century').³⁸ Basing much of his study on auction prices obtained in the Cape's rural hinterland, Hattingh was one of the first historians to apply cliometric

³⁵ L.J. Greenstein, 'Slave and Citizen: The South African Case', *Race* 15 (1973), 25-46.

³⁶ *Ibid*, 26.

³⁷ *Ibid*, 25-30.

³⁸ J.L. Hattingh, *'n Ontleding van sekere aspekte van slawerny aan die Kaap in die sewentiende eeu'*, *Kronos* 1 (1979), 34-78.

methodologies to the study of Cape slavery, following the pioneering work of Stanley Engerman and Robert Fogel.³⁹

The 1980s heralded the development of further momentum, with two seminal studies of Cape slavery emerging from this revisionist school of thought. Robert Ross' 1983 *Cape of Torments* meticulously reconstructed Cape slave society based predominantly on court records, highlighting its violent characteristics and shattering any lingering perceptions that slavery at the Cape was somehow benign.⁴⁰ Published two years later, Nigel Worden's *Slavery in Dutch South Africa* was also concerned with transforming scholarly perceptions of Cape slavery, with the author intent on underlining slavery's position in a colonial mercantilist order to challenge the idea that South African economic history began with industrialisation in the north.⁴¹ Much like Ross, Worden constructed his arguments from a fragmentary colonial archive, utilising court records, estate inventories, deeds of sale, and a range of other 'official' documents to gain glimpses into the lives of enslaved people. Other academics – including, prominently, Wayne Dooling – have followed Ross and Worden in applying quantitative methods of study to colonial source material to situate slavery within a revised account, depicting the Cape economy as vibrant and driven by individuals with agency.⁴² Robert Shell's 1994 *Children of Bondage* was similarly based upon cliometric methods and followed two decades of the author's work on the early Cape slave trade.⁴³ Shell's work offered fresh insights into patterns of slave ownership at

³⁹ R.W. Fogel, and S.L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (London: Little, Brown and Company, 1974). Though seminal, Fogel and Engerman's quantitative methods have received extensive criticism, notably by Herbert Gutman who argued that the authors failed to account for the social narrative of slavery. See H. Gutman, *Slavery and the Numbers Game: A Critique of Time on the Cross* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975).

⁴⁰ R. Ross, *Cape of Torments: slavery and resistance in South Africa* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983).

⁴¹ Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*.

⁴² W. Dooling, *Law and community in a slave society: Stellenbosch district, South Africa, c.1760-1820* (Cape Town: Centre for African Studies, 1992); W. Dooling, *Slavery, emancipation and colonial rule in South Africa* (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2007). See also M. Rayner, *Wine and slaves: the failure of an export economy and the ending of slavery in the Cape Colony, South Africa, 1806-1834* (unpublished PhD thesis), Duke University, 1986.

⁴³ Shell, *Children of Bondage*. See also R.C.-H. Shell, *Cape slave trade, 1680 to 1731: towards a consensus* (1983).

the Cape, and additionally ventured into social history by offering a limited reconstruction of enslaved lives in the *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie's* (Dutch East India Company)'s (VOC)'s Slave Lodge and examining different roles fulfilled by enslaved people within colonial society.

Over time, a comprehensive picture has developed of how enslavement coalesced with the Cape economy and influenced future events across South Africa. The inclusion of additional material on slavery in the revised 1988 edition of Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee's *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840* demonstrates the impact of this revisionist slavery historiography not only on academic understandings of Cape slavery, but also the relationship of this historiography with developments in other fields South African fields of historical enquiry.⁴⁴ Elphick and Giliomee's work by design largely omitted the output of the South African Marxist school of 'history from below' which was aligned primarily with the University of the Witwatersrand's (Wits) History Workshop and peaked contemporaneously with revisionist slavery historiography. Taking its cue from the British History Workshop, the Wits History Workshop that was founded in 1977 became aligned mainly – though not exclusively – with the interests of radical academics sympathetic to the anti-apartheid struggle. Participants began to involve the subjects of their research actively through oral history and other outreach projects which engaged with workers and activists.⁴⁵ South African workers' history from the late 19th century onwards was the core focus, and it formed part of a broader revision of the historical record encompassing white South Africanist scholars increasingly based around the world.⁴⁶ This

⁴⁴ Most notable amongst this material was J. Armstrong and N. Worden, 'The Slaves, 1652-1834' in R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds), *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1988), 109-183.

⁴⁵ B. Bozzoli and P. Delius, 'Radical History and South African Society', *Radical History Review* 46.7 (1990), 13-45; D. Posel, 'Social History and the Wits History Workshop', *African Studies* 69 (2010), 29-40; J. Hyslop, 'E.P. Thompson in South Africa: The Practice and Politics of Social History in an Era of Revolt and Transition, 1976-2012', *International Review of Social History* 61.1 (2016), 95-116.

⁴⁶ For examples of this scholarship, see L. Callinicos (ed.), *Gold and Workers, 1886-1924: A People's History of South Africa* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1981); L. Callinicos, *Working Life: Factories, Townships, and Popular Culture 1886-1940* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1987); C. van Onselen, *The Small Matter of a Horse: The Life of 'Nongoloza' Mathebula, 1867-1948* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1984); B. Bozzoli (ed.), *Class, Community and*

was a critical rewriting of the past led predominantly by South African scholars based at South African universities.

This was more than a mere coincidence of time. Both the History Workshop's scholarship and the work of Worden, Ross, and others were concerned with producing an alternative historiographical consensus which placed focus on the experiences and contributions made by people who had hitherto served as history's forgotten actors. Examining the connections between the two fields is, however, far from straightforward. As Worden made clear in *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, he was concerned with depicting a South African economy defined by enslavement and the pre-industrial Cape, rather than with the influence of the mineral revolution.⁴⁷ Such a focus had the potential to subvert radical scholarship's interest in the experience of the proto-industrial worker. These intellectual synergies were considered by historian Greg Cuthbertson in a 1992 article. He depicted an uneasy relationship between the two bodies of work defined by the parochial Cape context of slavery historiography and the fact that the leading scholars of this school were either educated or based overseas.⁴⁸ Consequently, he maintained, slavery historiography seemed to lack the political dynamism of workers' history.⁴⁹ He argued that this did not begin to change until scholars at the coloured-only University of the Western Cape (UWC) began taking note of the political unrest which surrounded them on the Cape Flats during the middle of the 1980s and were driven accordingly to consider the legacies of slavery in the local area.⁵⁰ Though occurring at similar times and bearing what were on the face of it comparable themes, it is worth being wary of associating too

Conflict: South African Perspectives (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1987). For examples of academics based overseas contributing towards this historiographical revolution, see S. Marks and R. Rathbone (eds), *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa: African class formation, culture, and consciousness, 1870-1930* (London: Longman, 1983); S. Marks and S. Trapido (eds), *The Politics of Race, Class, and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa* (London: Longman, 1987).

⁴⁷ Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, 1-3.

⁴⁸ G. Cuthbertson, 'Cape Slave Historiography and the Question of Intellectual Dependence', *South African Historical Journal* 27.1 (1992), 34-35.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 35.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*.

closely revisionist slavery historiography with the scholarship associated with the Wits History Workshop.

Whilst both bodies of work may have played pivotal roles in overcoming previous racist or otherwise biased histories, their motivations were not necessarily the same. Nonetheless, one of the primary concerns of revisionist radical historians was debunking interpretations of the South African past established by liberal historians which they argued did not adequately interrogate the relationship between economics and racism. The fact that the liberal interpretation of South African history owed much to the myth of Cape liberalism and a desire to distance the origins of racism from the Cape potentially problematised the relationship between radical scholarship and Cape-centric revisionist accounts of slavery, however there were synergies in the way both challenged these perceptions.⁵¹ In common with revisionist slavery historiography, a central thrust of workers' history was back-dating the origins of racial segregation from frontier Afrikaner life and encouraging a more nuanced analysis of how it developed. In particular, the role of colonial economics and how these interplayed with labour organisation were important themes of the work of academics including Martin Legassick and Harold Wolpe.⁵² That two historiographical movements engaged with marginalised groups took shape as popular opposition to apartheid grew is surely also worth highlighting. The understandings they facilitated provided post-apartheid actors in museums and the broader heritage sector with individual stories and examples of human agency which could be used to contest and redefine white hegemony.

⁵¹ P. Maylam, *South Africa's Racial Past: The history and historiography of racism, segregation, and apartheid* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 63-64.

⁵² Saunders, *The Making of the South African Past*. See also M. Legassick, 'Legislation, Ideology, and Economy in post-1948 South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 1.1 (1974), 3-35; H. Wolpe, 'Capitalism and cheap labour power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid', *Economy and Society* 1.4 (1972), 425-456.

As Cuthbertson pointed out, there was a greater synergy between revisionist Cape slavery historiography and nascent work on American plantation slavery.⁵³ This was clear from the introduction to Worden's *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*. As mentioned, Worden backdated the genesis of modern South Africa from the radical workers' history, which placed emphasis on late 19th century industrialisation, to the colonial economy of the earlier Cape.⁵⁴ Whilst situating his work within a growing historiography which redefined the nature and importance of the VOC-era Cape economy, Worden also aligned his work with studies of American plantation slavery, outlining a wish to include a comparative element.⁵⁵ In particular, he suggested that understanding of Cape slavery would benefit from a similar historiographical revolution to that which developed around American plantation slavery from the 1950s onwards.⁵⁶ Betraying his American education at Rochester under the supervision of Stanley Engerman and later position at Princeton, Shell too looked to the study of plantation slavery for methodological paradigms. In a study which was partly concerned with the social systems of enslaved people at the Cape, Shell's enquiry into the family appears to have been inspired by the work of seminal American slavery historian David Brion Davies.⁵⁷ Much as the iconography of transatlantic slavery and its middle passage and large plantations has dominated global public understanding of slavery, it seems that academic study of this subject heavily influenced scholarly enquiry into Cape slavery.

As much as public representations of slavery have been influenced by this new slavery historiography, the extent to which this writing was publically-accessible was limited. In comparison with the History Workshop scholarship, there was no collaborative working with slave descendants in early studies. The issue of accessibility was recognised by both Ross and Worden in comments pertaining to the paucity of human stories in the colonial archive, and the

⁵³ Cuthbertson, 27.

⁵⁴ Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, 2.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 2-6.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 5.

⁵⁷ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, xxvi.

fragmentary nature of surviving records.⁵⁸ It is important to consider that Ross was the first author to detail slave agency in attempting to overturn slavery, documenting the 1808 rebellion led by Louis van Mauritius. The account published in *Cape of Torments* is a useful case in point to illustrate the frailties of available material given that the voices of enslaved people are only visible through circumscribed court proceedings and other colonial sources. This lack of biographical detail has proven to be a hindrance for public historians and museologists attempting to raise awareness of slavery at the Cape, as tales which may inspire and empower popular audiences have remained elusive. This underlines how multiple considerations must be accounted for when probing the difficulties associated with discussing the subject.

Some historians have, however, attempted to write more socially-focussed accounts of Cape slavery which can be contrasted with the cliometric methods used by the pioneers of the 1970s and 1980s. Published in 1991, Andrew Bank's *The Decline of Urban Slavery at the Cape, 1806 to 1843* was introduced by the author as a qualitative study which offered insights overlooked by the quantitative methods employed by other authors to that point.⁵⁹ Bank was concerned with disputing the contention raised by both Ross and Worden that little in the way of slave culture developed at the Cape, and was indeed successful in depicting a subculture amongst Cape Town's working-classes.⁶⁰ This was largely described in macro terms, with only limited insights offered into individual life stories. John Mason's 2003 study *Social Death and Resurrection: Slavery and Emancipation in South Africa* also attempted to scope how the enslaved lived.⁶¹ Mason explored whether Orlando Patterson's theory that enslaved people were rendered socially dead by their subjugated status could be applied to South Africa. Far

⁵⁸ Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, 5; Ross, 6.

⁵⁹ A. Bank, *The Decline of Urban Slavery at the Cape, 1806 to 1843* (Cape Town: Centre for African Studies, 1991).

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 99.

⁶¹ J.E. Mason, *Social Death and Resurrection: Slavery and Emancipation in South Africa* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003).

from being 'socially dead', the author used colonial records to highlight how enslaved people created their own family ties and communal bonds.

Pamela Scully's work on kinship amongst the enslaved from the late slavery to post-emancipation periods has perhaps served as the most notable academic study in terms of illuminating the lives of enslaved people.⁶² Utilising court records relating to marital issues, material pertaining to mission churches and patterns of settlement, and other documents, Scully was able to reconstruct some aspects of domestic life to demonstrate the importance of family life for enslaved people.⁶³ These stories critically revealed the daily challenges facing enslaved women, and Scully was consequently the first historian of Cape slavery to place a real emphasis on gender. Nonetheless, much of what she wrote was snapshots, macro perspectives of changing numbers of residents on mission stations, or brief glimpses of lives. Scully herself recognised the 'danger of reproducing a colonialist argument about the relationship between race and intellect', and posited her book as a departure from this possibility through its '[s]tudy of habit, of the social architecture of daily life' which 'enables us to "hear" people, particularly women, who have not traditionally "spoken" in the historical archive'.⁶⁴ What *Liberating the Family?* demonstrated, therefore, was some of the difficulties which the nature of the colonial archive posed for the historian who was minded to write about the individual lives of marginalised people.

Beyond the academy: Cape slavery, memory, and public history

In spite of the issues associated with accessing life stories, a number of more publically-accessible academic works have been published with a focus on constructing biographies as much as the archive allows. One of the more notable publications in this regard has been the

⁶² P. Scully, *Liberating the Family? Gender and British Slave Emancipation in the Rural Western Cape, South Africa, 1823-1853* (Oxford: James Currey, 1997).

⁶³ These snapshots included, for example, evidence gleaned from the Domon Booysen rape case. See *ibid*, 154-158.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 12-13.

journalist Jackie Loos' *Echoes of Slavery*. Loos outlined her work as a 'collection of true stories' gleaned from the archives pertaining to the lives of enslaved people at the state, illustrating a level of detail she claimed was largely beneath the professional historian.⁶⁵ Much like her regular column in the *Cape Argus*, Loos' book was concerned with making real life stories publically-accessible without the pressures of conforming to a rigorous academic argument or structure. As awareness of historical slavery increases in contemporary South Africa, it is perhaps the detailed life tapestries constructed by writers such as Loos which will resonate most strongly amongst slave descendants and other interested constituents. They highlight as much as anything else the commonalities shared between different communities at the Cape which – as will be demonstrated over the course of the thesis – could underpin any fresh understanding of the past.

The influence and resonance of stories such as those written by Jackie Loos, as well as broader histories of slavery, on public consciousness is a growing area of study. Work on slave memory and heritage representations in South Africa forms part of a number of broader fields of enquiry. Primarily, it coalesces with work which documents and problematises inclusive changes at South African museums and heritage sites. The epistemological origins of this field lay within a global turn towards critical museum and heritage studies evident from the late 1980s and early 1990s onwards. This increase both in social awareness in museums and in academics seeking to explain these changes developed simultaneously with slavery's emergence globally as a subject of commemoration. Studies focussing on commemoration of slavery in museums and by memorials have consequently come to form part of this wider field of interest. Engagement with this wider field by academics working in South Africa mirrors how strategies used to memorialise Cape slavery borrow from nascent global practices of remembering subaltern and oppressed histories, and particularly slavery itself.

⁶⁵J. Loos, *Echoes of slavery: voices from South Africa's past* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2004), vi.

The rich field of work which has built up around museums and heritage spaces in South Africa forms part of a global body of literature critiquing and informing heritage practice. The origins of this literature can be traced to the 1980s when museums were first beginning to be repositioned away from serving as large display units towards a view that they could empower and define identities. This owed much to revisionist social history which placed working-class agents as drivers of change, as well as the influence of increased rights granted to minority or marginalised groups in the global West. By this point, museums and heritage had emerged as subjects of scholarly enquiry through the writings of historians such as David Lowenthal and Robert Hewison.⁶⁶ Both were concerned with what they perceived as a threat posed by the heritage industry to the serious scholarly work of the academy. Their critiques therefore targeted the ways in which they believed the heritage industry simplified, sanitised, and commodified the past. This scepticism as to the value of the heritage industry was however soon to change.

As museums became increasingly socially aware, the idea that they were intertwined with postmodern debates surrounding the self and identity was increasingly espoused, not least by progressive scholars working in a growing climate of social science reflexivity encouraged by fields such as postcolonialism. Peter Vergo's 1989 theorisation of what he termed 'the new museology' underlined how museums were only just becoming objects considered worthy of study at that point.⁶⁷ Vergo outlined how the majority of artefacts on display in museums were socially and culturally constructed, and argued that it was necessary to re-evaluate the role of museums if they were to retain relevance in a postmodern society.⁶⁸ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill's *Museums and the Reshaping of Knowledge* explored how power relations shaped collecting and interpretation practices, and how economic and other pressures were requiring institutions to

⁶⁶ D. Lowenthal, *The past is a foreign country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); R. Hewison, *The heritage industry: Britain in a climate of decline* (London: Methuen, 1987).

⁶⁷ P. Vergo, 'Introduction' in P. Vergo (ed.), *The New Museology* (London: Reaktion Books, 1989), 1-6.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

evolve.⁶⁹ Situating her study within an emerging critical field of museum studies, Hooper-Greenhill identified a general absence of reflection on museum practice, noting how much of the existing writing on museums had focussed on the development and history of specific institutions.⁷⁰ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's *Destination Culture*, and Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe's *Theorising Museums*, for example, both contributed to this rethinking of the traditional object-based role of the museum in the later 1990s.⁷¹

Liberalisation in South African museums and heritage spaces took place concurrently with these global developments, though the momentous period of political change which the country underwent in the run up to and after the 1994 democratic elections arguably provided a more symbolic context. Certainly, the way in which museums largely reflected the racial segregation of apartheid society meant that greater remedial work was required to bring them into line with emergent international practices of inclusivity. One of the first attempts to grapple with the changes occurring in South Africa's culture of public memory post-apartheid was Sarah Nuttall and Carli Coetzee's edited volume *Negotiating the Past*. The authors introduced the book – published in 1998 – as analysing the 'newness' of post-apartheid South Africa whilst retaining a sense of what came before.⁷² Bringing together perspectives from prominent academics and public figures, the volume pondered what form post-apartheid reconstruction should take in the cultural sector, as well as analysing the changes which had already taken place in the form of the new constitution and TRC hearings. Nuttall's follow-up edited volume, *Senses of Culture*, took a broader view than *Negotiating the Past*, and with essays focussing on cultural phenomena such as Cape Town's New Year carnival, aimed to assert that South Africa had always hosted a

⁶⁹ E. Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992).

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 3; 19-21.

⁷¹ B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); S. Macdonald and G. Fyfe (eds), *Theorising Museums* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996). See also, S.E. Weil, *Rethinking the Museum: and Other Meditations* (Washington: Smithsonian Press, 1990).

⁷² S. Nuttall and C. Coetzee, 'Introduction' in *idem*, 1-19.

heterogeneous and creolised society.⁷³ It thus amounted to a critique of some of the assumptions which the state's 'rainbowism' agenda rested upon. These early texts remain important for the perspectives they offered on nascent transformation, conveying a sense somewhere between weary optimism and scepticism.

As memorial projects proliferated in the democratic South Africa, academic interest in analysing these changes also increased. Annie Coombes' 2003 work *History After Apartheid* was primarily concerned with visual culture, and how the 'new' South Africa was manifesting itself in this area.⁷⁴ There was a clear shift in Coombes' work from the 'newness' analysed by Nuttall and Coetzee to a series of case studies representing what had changed, and how this could be problematised versus proclaimed goals of national reconstruction and reconciliation. She analysed how apartheid symbols such as the Voortrekker Monument and Robben Island could be and were being reimagined in the post-apartheid present and how they functioned as totems both of the past and any transformed nation. The ways in which these projects and others discussed a painful past was one of the prime features of *History After Apartheid*, which consequently situated its discussion within a cultural and social context rather than focussing narrowly upon material constructions. Writing at a similar time to Coombes, the American sociologist Steven Dubin's *Transforming Museums: Mounting Queen Victoria in a Democratic South Africa* provided an alternative perspective on transformative museology by questioning how professionals were dealing with the demands placed on them by society.⁷⁵ Using a methodology primarily based around conducting interviews with staff, Dubin's work was a hybrid of a technical account of museum operations and an attempt to explain some of the broader changes in South Africa society. The author was particularly concerned with how post-apartheid South Africa's interest in memory as characterised by the testimonies heard by the

⁷³ S. Nuttall and C.A. Michael (eds), *Senses of Culture: South African Culture Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁷⁴ Coombes.

⁷⁵ S. Dubin, *Transforming Museums: Mounting Queen Victoria in a Democratic South Africa* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

TRC was reflected in the museum sector as it attempted to transform and become more representative of the country's population.⁷⁶ *Transforming Museums* thus serves as a useful snapshot of the South African museum profession during the 2000s, documenting optimism, pessimism, challenges, and examples of productive community collaboration.

Work published during the first decade of democracy such as that by Coombes and Dubin reflected global interest in the way South Africa was dealing with the momentous shift from white minority rule to representative governance. There was evidence of healthy scepticism of some of the generalising assumptions made by the ANC's Department of Arts and Culture, perhaps born out of a goodwill desire to ensure that the country did not allow the opportunity to achieve empowerment and restitution through arts and culture pass it by. The rate of work published during the second decade of democracy has slowed somewhat, with more specialised case studies taking precedence over nationwide investigations.⁷⁷ Case study approaches, exemplified by Sara Byala's work on MuseumAfrica, have become more common, enabling a greater focus on the actions of individuals at various institutions.⁷⁸ This possibly reflects how experiences of transformation in arts and culture have become increasingly diffused, relating as much to local demands, individual actors, and how the legacies of apartheid impact on different spaces in different ways.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 1-2.

⁷⁷ Case study approaches have been employed throughout the post-1994 period by academics focussing on arts and culture, see C. Rassool and S. Prosalendis (eds), *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001). At the time of writing, they constitute a large proportion of scholarly output on the subject. Recent examples of case studies are represented by N. Murray and L. Witz, *Hostels, homes, museum: memorialising migrant labour pasts in Lwandle, South Africa* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 2014); H.K. Hlongwane, 'Commemoration, Memory and Monuments in the Contested Language of Black Liberation: The South African Experience', *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 2.4 (June 2008), 135-170; M. Haron, 'The 'Cape Malay' Culture as represented in the South End Museum and the Dr. Nortier's Rooibos Museum', *S.A. Tydskrif vir Kultuurgeskiedenis* 29.1 (June 2015), 74-97.

⁷⁸ S. Byala, *A Place That Matters Yet: John Gubbins's MuseumAfrica in the Postcolonial World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013). See also S. Byala, 'The museum becomes archive: reassessing Johannesburg's MuseumAfrica', *Social Dynamics* 36.1 (2010), 11-23.

An exception to this localisation was UKZN-based Sabine Marschall's 2010 work *Landscape of Memory*.⁷⁹ In contrast to scholars such as Coombes, Dubin, and contributors to earlier edited editions who primarily focussed on museums and public memory in general, Marschall was concerned with memorials. *Landscape of Memory* examined the question of why many potentially offensive memorials predating 1994 remain in situ in South Africa. One conclusion offered by Marschall suggested that any refusal to remove statues on behalf of the government or municipality might be in support of maintaining equilibrium given that small groups of white people may retain attachments to such figures of the past.⁸⁰ The fact that statues to colonial and – in cases – apartheid era oppressors have been allowed to remain standing owed much to the existence of a national method of discussing the past which has often avoided referring to elements which may ostracise certain population groups. It was partially this process which the 2015 #RhodesMustFall movement was mobilised in response to. Marschall advances this argument by seeking to explain how and why post-1994 memorials could operate in dialogue with these pre-existing structures when installed in nearby spaces. The themes of national and local identity and reconciliation formed a backdrop to these enquiries. Marschall perceptively concluded that installing alternative memorials to redress the white-dominated memorial landscape merely reinforced black-white divisions, ignoring the nuances of local identity politics.⁸¹ This highlights how numerous reconciliatory measures implemented by local and national administrations in post-apartheid South Africa have not addressed more complex inequalities.

Any study of slavery and memorialisation in South Africa must be mindful of this broader field of critical museum and heritage studies in South Africa. International academic attention focussing on the politics of memory surrounding historical slavery is itself another sub-field of

⁷⁹ Marschall, *Landscape of Memory: Commemorative monuments, memorials and public statuary in post-apartheid South Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 24; 142.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, 316.

global interest in museums and heritage sites. On a global level – and particularly in the transatlantic world – slavery has generally served as a form of counter-memory which has been included in commemorations as a means of engaging with black slave descendants. The sense of museums and other heritage projects as sites of cultural contestation which reflect power relations was in two ways central to the cultivation of a body of scholarship looking at representations of slavery in public life. On the one hand, broader literature which redefined museums and heritage work provided the epistemological backdrop within which this writing occurred. Secondly, this critical discourse responded to changes in museums, and it was this inclusive turn in museums which first enabled histories such as slavery to be represented on anything approaching a comprehensive level. With a few exceptions, it was not until the 1990s and the global shift towards using heritage sites as spaces for discussing difficult pasts relevant to often marginalised groups that slavery was really considered as a topic of museological interest in the West.⁸² Much of the writing in this field has focused on the transatlantic world where the bulk of commemorations have taken place. In particular, Western amnesia and the attempts of African-American people who identify as descendants of the enslaved to gain recognition of the slave past from museologists, politicians, and other public figures has been a strong feature.

Slave heritage studies have generally taken the form of case studies examining how one country or heritage project remembers slavery. This perhaps reflects the diffused memory of slavery, as well as the localised research interests of authors. It is in this vein that much of the writing on African-American diaspora tourism in West Africa has been published.⁸³ From this, we

⁸² F.D. Ruffins, 'Revisiting the Old Plantation: Reparations, Reconciliation, and Museumizing American Slavery' in I. Karp, C.A. Kratz, L. Szwaja, and T. Ybarra-Frausto, with G. Buntinx, B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, and C. Rassool (eds), *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), 394-435.

⁸³ E. Akyeampong, 'History, Memory, Slave-Trade and Slavery in Anlo (Ghana)', *Slavery & Abolition* 22.3 (2001), 1-24; P.A. Ebron, 'Tourists as pilgrims: Commercial fashioning of transatlantic politics', *American Ethnologist* 26.4 (November 1999), 910-932; P. Essah, 'Slavery, Heritage and Tourism in Ghana', *International Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Administration*, 2.3-4 (2001), 31-49; S. Okudzeto, 'Emotive histories: the politics of remembering slavery in contemporary Ghana', *Atlantic Studies: Global Currents*

learn how comparatively wealthy tourists have sometimes dictated the form of museum displays at iconic slave castles by evoking an emotive connection with the ancestral lineage, taken as a foundation experience which their ancestors overcame. Other work on places including Nigeria attest to Africa's complex relationship with slavery, dictated by oral tradition and the perceived needs of modern day political projects.⁸⁴ This work forms a natural counterpoint to scholarly enquiry into memory of slavery in 'receptor' societies such as Caribbean nations or Brazil. Understanding of slavery here interplays with identity politics which often define the social position of the formerly enslaved diaspora. As Ana Lucia Araujo's pioneering work has demonstrated in relation to Brazil in particular, memory politics in such nations are often fraught given the way in which slave descendants constitute a visible proportion of society and have both been excluded from mainstream politics and based claims for increased representation as a result of these ancestral links.⁸⁵ In the case of the Caribbean, the economic and cultural influence of former colonising nations continues to influence memorial practices, as Catherine Reinhardt's insightful study of memory in former French territory has demonstrated.⁸⁶

The problematic position of slavery in the West's public memory has also dominated academic interest. Academics have typically been driven to explain the widespread absence of slavery from public memory in nations such as Britain, France, and the US, tying this amnesia to wider patterns of national myth-construction as well as issues of perpetrator guilt.⁸⁷ The Dutch,

9.3 (2012), 337-361; B. Osei-Tutu, 'The African-American Factor in the Commodification of Ghana's Slave Castles', *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 6 (2002), 115-133; C.M. Kreamer, 'Shared Heritage, Contested Terrain: Cultural Negotiation and Ghana's Cape Coast Castle Museum Exhibition "Crossroads of People, Crossroads of Trade"' in Karp et al, *Museum Frictions*, 435-469.

⁸⁴ R. Blench, 'The Present in the Past: How Narratives of the Slave-Raiding Era Inform Current Politics in Northern and Central Nigeria' in P.J. Lane and K.C. MacDonald (eds), *Slavery in Africa: Archaeology and Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 361-393.

⁸⁵ A.L. Araujo, *Public Memory of Slavery: Victims and Perpetrators in the South Atlantic* (New York, Cambria, 2010), 5-10; 208-225. For a discussion of how memory of slavery interplays with contemporary political demands in the Caribbean, see W. Modest, 'Slavery and the (Symbolic) Politics of Memory in Jamaica: Rethinking the Bicentenary' in Smith et al, 75-97.

⁸⁶ C.A. Reinhardt, *Claims to Memory: Beyond Slavery and Emancipation in the French Caribbean* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006).

⁸⁷ C. Forsdick, 'The Panthéon's empty plinth: commemorating slavery in contemporary France', *Atlantic Studies: Global Currents* 9.3 (2012), 279-297; M. Gwyn, 'Wales and the memorialisation of slavery in 2007',

who introduced slavery to the Cape, have been reluctant to explore their relationship with this history, with the 150th anniversary of abolition in 2013 passing without state-level commemoration.⁸⁸ Elsewhere, a particular locus of attention has been the whitewashing of slavery from southern US plantation sites which tend to present grand ‘big house’ histories to eager tourists.⁸⁹ The counter-claims of groups eager to commemorate this past have also often featured.⁹⁰ In the Dutch example, these claims made by people identifying as descendants of the enslaved have been one of the main drivers of what little visible commemoration has taken place.⁹¹ As much as the West has served as the site of numerous projects which remember and memorialise enslavement, it is also a setting in which slavery is a problematic history which often evokes feelings of perpetrator guilt.

The collective picture built by these studies is of a diffuse experience of slavery, bound by locality as much as by national boundaries. Such discussions of memory recall Sean Sitwell’s thoughtful analysis of slavery in Africa. Sitwell outlined how enslavement on the continent was a disparate process, distinct from the widely-understood iconography of plantation slavery in the Americas and often highly responsive to local relations in terms of economics, power, and kinship.⁹² In particular, defining enslavement in Africa can prove difficult, particularly where conditions of relative autonomy produced living conditions which question the accepted dichotomy between free and unfree. The way this history is recalled is equally diffuse, making it difficult to identify a consistent response to what can be a painful history, but equally can serve

Atlantic Studies: Global Currents 9.3 (2012), 299-318; M. Minardi, ‘Making Slavery Visible (Again): The Nineteenth-Century Roots of a Revisionist Recovery in New England’ in A.L. Araujo, (ed.), *Politics of memory: making slavery visible in the public space* (London: Routledge, 2012), 92-106.

⁸⁸ I.T. Van Daalen, ‘Dutch Attitudes towards Slavery and the Tardy Road to Abolition: The Case of Deshima’ in H. Suzuki (ed.), *Abolitions as a Global Experience* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2016), 72-112; A. Cain, ‘Slavery and Memory in the Netherlands: Who Needs Commemoration?’, *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage* 4.3 (2015), 227-242.

⁸⁹ The most comprehensive of such studies is J.L. Eichstedt and S. Small, *Representations of Slavery: Race and Ideology in Southern Plantation Museums* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2002).

⁹⁰ L. Smith and K. Fouseki, ‘The Role of Museums as ‘Places of Social Justice’: Community Consultation and the 1807 Bicentenary’ in Smith, G. Cubitt, R. Wilson, and K. Fouseki (eds), *Representing Enslavement and Abolition in Museums: Ambiguous Engagements* (London: Routledge, 2011), 97-116.

⁹¹ Van Daalen, 98.

⁹² S. Stilwell, *Slaving and Slavery in African History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 3-8.

as a source of solidarity and pride. As Araujo's work on Benin highlights, what constituted an 'experience' of the transatlantic slavery was in itself diverse. Araujo traces the history of the Aguda community of people who descend from former enslaved people who returned to West Africa from Brazil and Cuba and on occasion became slave traders themselves. She links memory of this history with local and national politics of race and outlines how distinguishing between a perpetrator and a victim in this case becomes blurred and thus subverts typical transatlantic memory paradigms.⁹³ The various obstacles which any memorial projects must negotiate helps us to partially understand how transatlantic slavery, with its horrific middle passage, has come to define what much of the world understands by the term 'slavery'. The involvement of nations such as America and Britain – countries where, in spite of occasional reluctance to recall slavery as part of national history, time and money has been invested in memorialisation - in the transatlantic trade could also explain this dominance.

Nonetheless, memory of transatlantic slavery outside the West is complex. In some African nations, an internal slave trade may have been equally influential in shaping contemporary society. In Gambia, for example, the state has been eager to encourage diaspora tourism by commemorating transatlantic slavery, something which has sat at odds with local memory and oral tradition which identifies more closely with an internal slave trade and its legacies which continue to influence social hierarchies.⁹⁴ This attests to a situation evident in a number of African countries whereby memory of slavery is bound as much with local affiliations as it is to any unitary notion of what enslavement involved and how it should be remembered.⁹⁵ This is perhaps not unexpected given that, as Diptee and Trotman explain, the way in which similar histories are remembered across the continent varies depending on the length of time

⁹³ Araujo, *Public Memory*, 350-351.

⁹⁴ A. Bellagamba, 'Reasons for Silence: Tracing the Legacy of Internal Slavery and the Slave Trade in Contemporary Gambia' in Araujo, *Politics of memory*, 35-54.

⁹⁵ J.G. Deutsch, 'Memory, Oral History and the End of Slavery in Tanzania: Some Methodological Considerations' in Lane and Macdonald, 355.

the slave trade and colonialism were able to influence national development.⁹⁶ In South Africa, oral tradition and identification with wealthy slave owners are not factors which inform how slavery is remembered. The legacies of apartheid on public memory, together with present-day memorial agendas, are however influential in dictating how Cape slavery is recalled. At this point it would be perhaps appropriate to note Marcus Wood's questioning of whether slavery can ever truly be held as a comparative institution.⁹⁷ Wood's idea of a differentiated experience of slavery has been shared by other scholars examining how slavery is remembered, who write of an institution which subjectively holds different meanings for different groups.⁹⁸ What existing studies do demonstrate is how memory has tended to be grouped around transatlantic slavery, at least where 'official' commemorations have been concerned. Although UNESCO developed an Indian Ocean slave route project during the first few years of the 21st century, this seems comparatively marginalised against the organisation's transatlantic slave route. Non-transatlantic forms of slavery, such as that practiced in the Arab world, have received lower levels of attention both in memorialisation projects and in historiographical accounts.

If there is any debate in the literature on slavery's commemoration, then it can be found in two strands of thought over the most appropriate form this memorialisation should take. Some scholars, such as Elizabeth Kowaleski Wallace, advocate an approach which posits slavery as part of a continuum of human rights abuses across human history, teaching the consumers of heritage displays to guard against the possibility of allowing social injustices to occur unchecked in the contemporary world. This, argues Kowaleski Wallace, is an inclusive way of memorialising slavery in the West, avoiding a victim-perpetrator narrative which may work to repel many by

⁹⁶ A.A. Diptee and D.V. Trotman, 'Ways of Remembering Many Africas, Many Diasporas' in idem (eds), *Remembering Africa & its Diasporas: Memory, Public History & Representations of the Past* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2012), 5-7.

⁹⁷ M. Wood, *Black Milk: Imagining Slavery in the Visual Cultures of Brazil and America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 20-21.

⁹⁸ Araujo, *Public Memory*, 9; Rice, A., *Creating Memorials, Building Identities: The Politics of Memory in the Black Atlantic* (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool, 2010), 1-2; B. Jewsiewicki, 'In the Empire of Forgetting: Collective Memory of the Slave Trade and Slavery' in A.L. Araujo, M.P. Candido, and P.E. Lovejoy (eds), *Crossing Memories: Slavery and African Diaspora* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2011), 6-7.

evoking feelings of guilt.⁹⁹ Others, such as Araujo, have been more sceptical of the ability of this perspective to adequately encompass the range of experiences which define enslavement. Specifically problematising evocations of slavery as an 'African Holocaust', Araujo argued that situating slavery within a historical narrative of human rights abuses ignored the often dislocated socio-economic experiences of descendants of enslaved people today.¹⁰⁰ Focussing on Elmina Castle in Ghana, Araujo argued that the human rights narrative offered by the on-site museum to wealthy international tourists stood in stark ignorance of the conditions of relative poverty which the surrounding population lived in, partially as a result of the legacies of slavery.¹⁰¹ Historical specificity is consequently marginalised. Quite what constitutes an appropriate or fitting way of memorialising slavery seems unclear from browsing secondary literature. It is perhaps the case that there is no 'correct' way of remembering this past, so traumatic and wide-reaching it was.

Slave memory has been analysed by a small number of scholars in the South African context, responding both to studies of post-apartheid heritage and remembrance domestically, and international debates concerning the memorialisation of slavery. A 1999 article by UWC academic Carohn Cornell portrayed a dispiriting picture of Western Cape museums, finding very little in terms of representations of slavery at the sites of Vergelegen, Groot Constantia, Bo-Kaap Museum, and the Slave Lodge.¹⁰² Where slavery was discussed, Cornell found that museums tended to perpetuate the idea of a mild Cape slavery which revisionist historiography had dismissed during the previous decade. A continuously evolving situation was identified in Anne Eichmann's UWC honours thesis later published as part of Robert Shell's *Diaspora to Diorama*

⁹⁹ E. Kowaleski Wallace, *The British Slave Trade & Public Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 21-23.

¹⁰⁰ A.L. Araujo, *Shadows of the Slave Past: Memory, Heritage, and Slavery* (Florence: Taylor and Francis, 2014), 50-53.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, 53. Other authors have also written about this discrepancy between diaspora tourists and local residents in West Africa, see Rice, 590, Osei-Tutu, and Okudzeto.

¹⁰² Cornell, 259-279.

which compiled volumes of primary and secondary material relating to slavery at the Cape.¹⁰³

Eichmann documented in some detail the installation of the exhibition 'Remembering Slavery' at the Slave Lodge in 2006. Writing from the perspective of an intern on the exhibition project, Eichmann offered unique insights into the process of conceptualising an exhibition which represented a watershed moment in terms of slavery's public accessibility as a topic in South Africa. 'Remembering Slavery' was, of course, the first dedicated slavery exhibition in the country's only bona fide slavery museum. Eichmann's work not only serves as a comprehensive analysis of some of the issues connected with representing Cape slavery, but also functions as primary source material which is fundamental reading for anyone wishing to understand the 'Remembering Slavery' exhibition and workings of Iziko Museums which has managed the building since 1998.¹⁰⁴

The application of postcolonial thought and feminist methodologies to historical Cape slavery has resulted in the growth of a lively and engaging field of cultural enquiry which poses questions not asked by traditional historical accounts and museum studies. Pumla Dineo Gqola's *What is slavery to me?* and Gabeba Baderoon's *Regarding Muslims* both examine the cultural legacies of enslavement in South Africa and detail how these interface with popular memory, covering topics ranging from slavery's legacies in violence against women, to the often circumscribed ways in which Cape Malay cookery books reference the slave past.¹⁰⁵ This methodological lens of linking physical and psychological trauma from the colonial era with its contemporary traces from a feminist perspective can be traced to Yvette Abrahams and her

¹⁰³ A. Eichmann, 'Representing slavery in South Africa' in R.C.-H. Shell (ed.), *From Diaspora to Diorama: The Old Slave Lodge in Cape Town, volume 3* (Cape Town: NagsPro Multimedia, 2013), 3175-3322. See also A. Eichmann, 'The Heritage of Slavery and Nation Building: A Comparison of South Africa and Mauritius' in D. Hamilton, K. Hodgson, and J. Quirk (eds), *Slavery, memory and identity: national representations and global legacies* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), 63-77.

¹⁰⁴ Iziko – meaning 'hearth' in isiXhosa - was created in 1998 to manage state-funded museums in the Cape Town area. It presently manages eleven sites, including the Slave Lodge.

¹⁰⁵ P.D. Gqola, *What is slavery to me? Postcolonial/slave memory in post-Apartheid South Africa* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2010); Baderoon.

work on Saartjie Baartman.¹⁰⁶ Abrahams was particularly concerned with humanising Baartman as an ancestor who she claimed was being denigrated in death by the academy, which in maintaining Eurocentric perspectives on her time as a captive was perpetuating the work of her European handlers and the Victorian audiences who marvelled at her 'otherness'.

Gqola analysed the interplay between coloured identity and memory – and particularly traces of slave memory – outlining the ambiguity and shifting meanings of the former construction over time before noting how its current manifestations challenge the certainty of the nation-building project.¹⁰⁷ Elsewhere, Gqola focussed on case studies including evolving concepts of racial mixture and their impact upon Afrikaner self-conception, the repatriation of the remains of Baartman and their implications for the 'new' South Africa, and initiatives to recognise diasporic links between the Cape and South East Asia.¹⁰⁸ As the title of her book suggests, Baderoon was particularly concerned with cultural responses to Muslims, a religious identity taken to originate in slave society. This included analysing source material including colonial-era portraits and Cape Malay cookery books to unpick some of the issues surrounding the way in which Capetonian Muslims have been depicted as a docile, distant 'other' over time by hegemonic and popular cultures.¹⁰⁹ Both authors adopted a timeframe which stressed the importance of analysing oppression and marginalisation as a continuous theme of South African history from the time the first Europeans arrived at the Cape. A further important contribution made by both Gqola and Baderoon has been reconnecting Cape slavery and its remembrance with broader Indian Ocean diasporic ties, rather than simply looking to the Atlantic for theoretical paradigms. This task of reassessing Cape slavery's legacies arguably mirrors the work of historians during the 1970s and 1980s in repositioning Cape slavery as a salient institution in

¹⁰⁶ Y. Abrahams, *Colonialism, dysfunction and disjuncture: the historiography of Sarah Bartmann* (unpublished PhD thesis), University of Cape Town, 2000; Y. Abrahams, 'Disempowered to Consent: Sara Bartman and Khoisan Slavery in the Nineteenth-Century Cape Colony and Britain', *South African Historical Journal* 35 (1996), 89-114. Baartmann's remains were repatriated from France in 2002 and reburied close to her former home near Hankey in the Eastern Cape.

¹⁰⁷ Gqola, 55.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ Baderoon.

its own right, rather than as one which operated in the shadow of transatlantic plantation slavery. Interest in the Cape's Indian Ocean slavery links from the historical academy has itself been increasing of late, as represented by Patrick Harries' work on the Madagascan and Mozbieker diaspora coercively brought to the Cape under the auspicious of the Royal Navy's anti-slavery patrols post-1808.¹¹⁰

Most recently, academic work has combined interest in Cape slavery's cultural legacies with enquiry into how these legacies shape contemporary understanding of the subject. The March 2017 special edition of *South African Historical Journal* brought together articles from a number of authors who focussed on this very topic.¹¹¹ Essays by Cynthia Kros and Siobhan Glanvill-Miller questioned ways in which slavery could be more effectively communicated to learners in a school system where teachers are sometimes reluctant to delve into emotive topics which could disturb the racial equilibrium of the South African classroom.¹¹² Articles from Nicola Cloete, David Wilkins, and Samuel North meanwhile scoped ways in which the legacies of slavery in South Africa have been and could be discussed in museums and literature.¹¹³ The timing of this academic work seeking to open a dialogue on how slavery could be more openly discussed in South Africa has not been a coincidence, given how the legacies of colonialism are currently being questioned by activists and community leaders.

¹¹⁰ P. Harries, 'Middle passages of the southwest Indian Ocean: a century of forced immigration from Africa to the Cape of Good Hope', *The Journal of African History* 55.2 (2014), 173-190; P. Harries, 'Negotiating abolition: Cape Town and the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade', *Slavery & Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies* 34.4 (2013), 579-597.

¹¹¹ C. Kros and D. Wilkins, 'Introduction: Repairing the Legacies of Harm', *South African Historical Journal* 69.1 (2017), 1-11.

¹¹² C. Kros, 'Teaching the Past in All Its 'Messiness': Slavery in the Grade 7 Curriculum', *South African Historical Journal* 69.1 (2017), 32-51; S. Glanvill-Miller, 'Teaching Maths is Easier Than This!': PreService Educators Confront the Challenges and Opportunities of Teaching Emotive and Contested Pasts in Post-Apartheid History and Social Science Classrooms', *South African Historical Journal* 69.1 (2017), 52-69.

¹¹³ N. Cloete, 'The Politics of Unspeakability in Yvette Christianse's Unconfessed', *South African Historical Journal* 69.1 (2017), 70-81; D. Wilkins, 'History, Truth Telling and the Legacies of Slavery in South Africa', *South African Historical Journal* 69.1 (2017), 12-31; S. North, 'Museums as Tools for Understanding Slavery and its Legacies in South Africa', *South African Historical Journal* 69.1 (2017), 82-100.

An equally significant contribution in this area was made by Nicola Cloete's PhD thesis, completed at Wits in 2015.¹¹⁴ Primarily focussing on three areas of analysis – Cape Town's Slave Lodge and Memorial to the Enslaved, Solms Delta wine estate, and walking historical tours in Cape Town – Cloete suggested that memory of slavery functions in different ways for different people in South Africa, depending on who is remembering and why.¹¹⁵ The author ascribes to a view that memorial projects are driven by individual agents, working within and often in tension with the national memory project and ideas of nation-building. Besides, slavery, suggests Cloete, is 'indigestible' according to the terms of national reconciliation, a difficulty which sometimes results in a sanitised representation of this history when it is absorbed into reconciliatory narratives.¹¹⁶ In light of these tendencies, she also argued for the importance of remembering Cape slavery not only as 'coloured history', given how understanding the institution enables us to interpret a broader section of the South African narrative.¹¹⁷ The idea of slavery holding different meanings to different people is one which will be maintained here. This study will also develop the sense that slavery is not always compatible with the aims of national reconciliation in the arts and culture sector.

Through using a wider variety of case studies to examine not only how this memory functions in an urban context, but expanding into the neglected rural towns and local history museums, this thesis will argue that one of the fundamental reasons for this incompatibility is the absence of an agreed sense of what slavery was and what it means today. A lack of consideration as to how slavery meshes with the better-known history of South Africa in the 20th century are also held as important in these contestations. Whilst similar contestations surround memory of slavery – and indeed memorial projects in general – elsewhere, the specific nature of the way in which slavery was forgotten in South Africa and is now recalled in a society where

¹¹⁴ N. Cloete, *Memory, Slavery, Nation: An Analysis of Representations of Slavery in Post-Apartheid Cultural and Memory Production* (unpublished PhD thesis), University of the Witwatersrand, 2015.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, 4-6.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, 78.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, 33.

claims to universal equality are sometimes made gives rise to acute disagreements. The understandably defensive responses of a handful of coloured identity activists who feel that their history is being misrepresented also impedes the ability of slavery history to perform reconciliatory goals. With reference to the suggestions of Gqola and Baderoon, the need to understand present forms of social dislocation through analysing the distant pasts of colonialism and enslavement will be central here. The possibility of any memorial, museum exhibition, or other heritage project to provide closure on the slave past without confronting these legacies will be explored. These themes are of particular pertinence in contemporary South Africa given the increasing demands of 'decolonisation' made by social activists. As Gqola observed, the majority of heritage studies in South Africa focus on memory of apartheid or the proceedings of the TRC, and it is in bringing concepts of the colonial era to light where the real contribution of literature on slave memory rests.¹¹⁸ This study will maintain the global idea of a disparate experience or experiences of slavery enabling diffuse and often competing forms of memorialisation to take place. It will take as fact the possibility for these competing commemorations to take place simultaneously whilst providing justice and meaning to those involved in their conceptualisation and practice. Much as the work of Gqola and Baderoon has done in the field of cultural studies, it aims to break away from the transatlantic paradigm, and will highlight the importance of remembering slavery elsewhere whilst expanding the field of literature discussing transatlantic slavery. Crucially, it will enlarge knowledge of how the colonial past functions in everyday South African life by examining how slavery history interfaces with national reconciliation agendas.

¹¹⁸ Gqola, 4.

Methodology: a word on positionality

European colonialism reshaped entire continents and the fortunes of the people who inhabited them. This often quite violent process left legacies of poverty and underdevelopment which continue to define relationships between European powers and their former colonies. Historical inequalities continue to manifest in the present in forms ranging from general access to resources and knowledge, to more specific concerns such as the presence of claimed cultural property in former colonial museum collections. The refusal of many former colonial powers and their citizens to confront what is often perceived as a 'dark history' arises from contemporary guilt and uncertainty, as well as the challenges these sentiments pose to concepts of self and nation.¹¹⁹ Silence or a selective reordering of the past to bolster national foundation narratives represent the most common ways in which colonial conquest resurfaces in former colonising states. Though legal claims are becoming more frequent, cases such as the British government's 2013 compensation payout to victims of torture by the colonial regime in Kenya are rare. The fact that in paying compensation the British government refused to accept legal liability for its colonial predecessor's actions in the Mau Mau torture case merely highlights how fraught these processes of recollection and redress are. As a researcher of white European origin with both a research and personal interest in historical injustices, it is impossible to escape these themes and the ways in which they undoubtedly influence my work. To attempt to do so would be counterintuitive, and what follows is an attempt to unravel issues of positionality, authority, and privilege in my writing.

Critiques of Eurocentric epistemology first began to gain traction in postcolonial nations during the 1970s and 1980s. These typically turned attention for the first time on the ways in which knowledge formation in the academy was dominated by Western, former colonial perspectives, methodologies, and their inherent biases. Questions of how appropriate such

¹¹⁹ S. Maddison, 'Postcolonial guilt and national identity: historical injustice and the Australian settler state', *Social Identities* 18.6 (2012), 695-709.

imbalances were both for conducting research and for the social sciences as disciplines in developing postcolonial nations were central to these critiques. Accordingly, critical attention directed at scholarly practice followed revisionist accounts of colonial history written from the perspective of scholars either from or based in post-colonial nations intent on challenging what had been glorious constructions of the past.¹²⁰ As is perhaps inferred by the title, Claude Ake's 1979 book *Social Science as Imperialism*, for example, contended that Western social science practice amounted to a perpetuation of imperialism. Ake suggested that Western-dominated social science disciplines were practiced from perspectives which held that developing countries should follow a path towards capitalism in the model of the West.¹²¹ Social scientists were consequently accused of perpetrating a postcolonial form of cultural imperialism; a way in which former colonial states in the West continued to project their values onto the developing world which had hitherto passed without comment or reflection. Ake's criticisms were similar in several ways to those raised by Edward Said in his seminal 1977 text *Orientalism*. Said claimed that the view of the East 'invented' by Western scholarship perpetuated the idea of the East as 'other', and, in doing so, enabled the West to understand and control the Orient.¹²² Depictions of the East as a romantic space characterised by enchanting landscapes were solidified as the hegemonic view by early academic accounts and, owing to the dominance of Western scholarship, endured over time.¹²³ For Said, scholarship was closely-tied with the imperialist project of defining and consequently marshalling the potentially problematic 'other'. This relationship between colonialism and the formation of knowledge was a fundamental point of nascent 1970s postcolonial writing, and the claims it made as to the perseverance of these imbalances are vital points for any Western-based scholar today.

¹²⁰ See, for example, W. Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Washington: Howard University Press, 1972).

¹²¹ C. Ake, *Social Science as Imperialism: the Theory of Political Development* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1982), i.

¹²² E. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1977), 1-7.

¹²³ *Ibid*, 1.

The postcolonial feminist questions posed by Gayatri Spivak followed Said's investigation of how Western scholarship portrayed the 'other'. In her 1988 essay 'Can the subaltern speak?', Spivak argued that Western scholarship on non-Western culture was produced to suit the needs – and primarily the economic needs – of the West.¹²⁴ Musing on a debate between French philosophers Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze, Spivak articulated how Western academics claimed to advocate the interests of the non-Western oppressed in their work without offering said oppressed a voice in their work.¹²⁵ Essentially, Spivak saw the case study conversation as representative of Western academic tradition in which white men discussed colonised or formerly colonised peoples amongst themselves. They claimed sympathy with the plight of these people and expressed hostility towards the forces which deprived them of liberty, however were oblivious to the argument that, by exporting knowledge, intellectuals were complicit in the very processes of exploitation they were critiquing.¹²⁶ By the end of the 1980s, there was an increasing sense that scholarship was not as objective as may have been claimed, with academics based in or originating from postcolonial countries leading these charges. Subjectivities, it seemed, corresponded closely with familiar patterns of thought conditioned by colonialism and a belief in the primacy of the West. Non-Western cultures featured as subjects of research to suit the agendas of an academic tradition located primarily in the Western, developed world.

Critiques such as those made by Ake, Said, and Spivak may have been written three decades ago, however they retain a relevance for the researcher today. The Western-based academic should be mindful of prevailing geographical imbalances as well as the legacies of colonialism when conducting their research. Many of the issues raised in early postcolonial writing – let alone wider inadequacies in how cultures approach colonialism – have yet to be

¹²⁴ G.C. Spivak, 'Can the subaltern speak?' in C. Nelson and L. Grossberg, (eds), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988), 271-313.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, 279.

¹²⁶ *Ibid*, 274.

fully addressed. Whilst investment programmes led by national governments as well as overseas scholarships may have worked towards redressing certain biases in academia, intellectual capital remains concentrated – or, as importantly, recognised - in long-established centres of knowledge, often thousands of miles removed from locations studied. Without wishing to single out an institution, it is problematic that The School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) at the University of London remains arguably the world-leading research centre focussing on Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. Though institutions such as SOAS can commendably boast of an increasingly diverse team of staff, they are suggestive of the way in which academic expertise on Asia and Africa is situated in the West as a remnant of the colonial project and the way it sought to develop knowledge-as-control. The way in which the production of knowledge remains concentrated in the global West is a pertinent consideration for any researcher operating in a South Africa where calls for the ‘decolonisation’ of education are becoming louder

Where then does this leave the European researcher in the non-Western world? I recognise that, as an individual of white British origin based at a British university, I am very much central to some of the issues raised up to this point. I do not necessarily have an answer to any accusations which could be raised, and do not believe that there is a straightforward way of dealing with the imbalances in question, nor that such an undertaking can be carried out by any one individual. The American author and activist bell hooks argued that in writing about ostensibly black culture, progressive white scholars were in fact in danger of perpetuating racially-exclusive hegemony if their interpretation of their positionality and interest amounted to little other than explaining that they were white.¹²⁷ It was necessary, hooks followed, not only for these authors to interrogate their work as a means of examining ways in which it could perpetuate what amounted to racism, but also to align it with a critical cultural project minded to question complacent assumptions.¹²⁸ It consequently seems insufficient not to explore my

¹²⁷ b. hooks, *Yearning: race, gender, and cultural politics* (Boston: South End Press, 1990), 8-9; 54.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, 8-9.

own motivations as a researcher. My interest in slavery as a broad area of study originated in secondary school with a fascination with empire as one of the cornerstones of British history. This, I soon learned, was not a history which the nation should be particularly proud of, or necessarily ashamed of, but aware of. That this basic acknowledgement of an often problematic past was broadly absent from society informed an interest in the politics of memory, and of how people interpret challenging history. I write not only from a position which advocates equality and fairness – however idealistic that may sound – but also hope that my work makes a positive contribution to understanding some of the problems I identify. It would, of course, be to neglect any belief in the capacity of the arts as a means of driving change and empowerment to divorce the possibility of resolution from what I write.

Throughout the course of my three field trips to South Africa over the course of fourteen months, I attempted to engage with the academic community by attending and speaking at conferences, workshops, and symposia across modern South Africa, and utilising contacts built up over time. Additionally, the methods I employed – which will be described shortly – necessitated sustained interaction with heritage professionals whose practice I was effectively critiquing. This, I hope, gave my work a spirit of democratisation and collaboration. I have consciously not included anything resembling a ‘recommendations’ section to avoid creating a body of work that is excessively didactic and potentially patronising. I propose that what I write should be read as an open critique, designed to stimulate thought and discussion over issues which could be addressed, rather than acting as the final word on the topic. Though it may be impossible to redress many of the deeply-embedded imbalances discussed previously, there is a hope that by communicating my research whilst ‘in the field’ this work will not simply be a case of European researchers discussing South Africa in an echo chamber.

I became increasingly aware of my own position as a European researcher in South Africa as time progressed. This was something of a disheartening journey as I was confronted by

the ways in which history was distorted for commercial aims, and socio-economic difficulties were glossed over or downplayed for the sake of a simplified narrative. This undoubtedly provides economic sustenance for a select group of businesses and operators, however it was difficult not to be left with the impression that both South Africa and visitors to the country would benefit greatly from an honest conversation. Part of the reason why I was left with these feelings was a sense of guilt. I found myself in a similar position to the anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss who, in reflecting on his years of field work from the perspective of a European primarily in Brazil, commented '[t]he first thing we see as we travel around the world is our own filth, thrown into the face of mankind'.¹²⁹ Identifying two common strands of traveller perspectives as ignorance on the one hand and a nostalgia for what was assumed to be authentic culture on the other, Levi-Strauss urged a more conscientious approach to travelling.¹³⁰ Drawing on his own experience, he was essentially encouraging awareness of surroundings, and cautioning against the possibility of travel functioning as a form of escapism for Westerners whose ancestors had adversely shaped many of the areas they now visit.¹³¹ It was in this vein that I experienced South Africa. I was confronted by the homelessness, poverty, underdevelopment, and, yes, even the tourism industry, and could not mentally separate this from the debilitating history which I was studying. Without wishing to infer victimhood on myself, every time I was asked for money or food from a homeless person I was driven to ponder the value of the freedom I write about. Equally, I often considered how historical events had shaped the present in such a way that I as a European researcher have had the privilege of a funded study – a true indulgence – whilst many of the people directly shaped by the history I study live in far less comfortable circumstances. In its rawest form, this was a manifestation of apologist liberal guilt, and there is no simple closure.

¹²⁹ C. Levi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques* trans. John and Doreen Weightman (London: Cape, 1973), 38.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, 41.

¹³¹ *Ibid*, 38-41.

My approach to this study was ultimately mindful of all of these considerations. I spent over eight months living in Cape Town, consisting of a two week spell in April 2015, a six month trip between June and December 2015, and a shorter two month stay between late March and early June 2016. My work had received ethical approval by the University of Hull Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences ethics panel prior to commencement. The original plan for my thesis and research area was to scope the ways in which slavery could be represented at the province-aided site of Simon's Town Museum, situated in Simon's Town, around 40 kilometres south of Cape Town. Such a focus would have enabled a number of general points to be drawn from a case study approach, with a particular interest in how a contested history such as slavery could function as the basis for a community museum project. As time and work progressed, a number of issues crystalised around this approach, particularly in terms of funding the proposed exhibition. Finally, and perhaps overwhelmingly, it became evident to me through work that a European researcher proposing a form of utopian exhibition at a South African museum could be interpreted as patronising and neo-colonial. The study morphed over time into a more general examination of how slavery has been remembered and is represented by the South African heritage industry, carefully avoiding treading into didactic territory.

Having refined this research area to an enquiry into how slavery is represented and discussed in South African museums and other heritage outlets, I worked to a method which could be defined as grounded theory. Grounded theory as developed by sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss during the 1960s could be summarised as a systematic method of generating theory from collated research data as it is collected.¹³² It stresses the development of ideas and theories by coding different elements of research to draw commonalities and themes, rather than approaching a study with a hypothesis and set of theoretical principles.¹³³ Strauss and Corbin's later attempts to define grounded theory provoked a hostile reaction from Glaser,

¹³² B.G. Glaser and A.L. Strauss, *The discovery of grounded theory: strategies for qualitative research* (Chicago: Aldine, 1967), 1-5.

¹³³ A.L. Strauss, *Qualitative analysis for social scientists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 5.

who accused Strauss of trying to ascribe grounded theory with excessive structure at the expense of the researcher's creativity.¹³⁴ Glaser's model was at the heart of the constructivist, experiential concept of grounded theory developed more recently by Kathy Charmaz and employed in this study. Charmaz describes grounded theory as 'a set of principles and practices, not as prescriptions or packages'.¹³⁵ Extracting grounded theory from positivist modes of enquiry, Charmaz posits it as a method of working which begins with an interest in a subject or field which forms a point of departure for the generation of ideas as research progresses.¹³⁶ Working to this method, for example, enabled me to problematise my initial Eurocentric thinking and reframe my research parameters as less didactic and potentially patronising. This shift was fundamentally informed by the research process, involving interacting both with professionals from the South African heritage sector, and by experiencing day-to-day life in the country over a period of eight months.

The adoption of such an approach enabled findings to shape my research and, although I was interested in how the distant past was being used or could function as part of the well-worn South African tropes of national reconciliation and nation-building, I never particularly worked to a hypothesis. During the longer visit, I spent two days per week working as an unpaid intern for Iziko Museums of South Africa in the social history division. This offered me valuable insights into how South African museums operate, as well access to museum staff who became valuable contacts and the chance to work at some of the sites which were integral to my study. I feel that both the experience of working for Iziko and working on the ultimately ill-fated project at Simon's Town Museum were fundamental in terms of not only networking but in aiding any process of democratisation alluded to earlier. The Iziko internship in particular performed the

¹³⁴ A.L. Strauss and J. Corbin, *Basics of qualitative research : grounded theory procedures and techniques* (Newbury Park: Sage, 1990); B.G. Glaser, *Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis* (Mill Valley: Sociology Press, 1992).

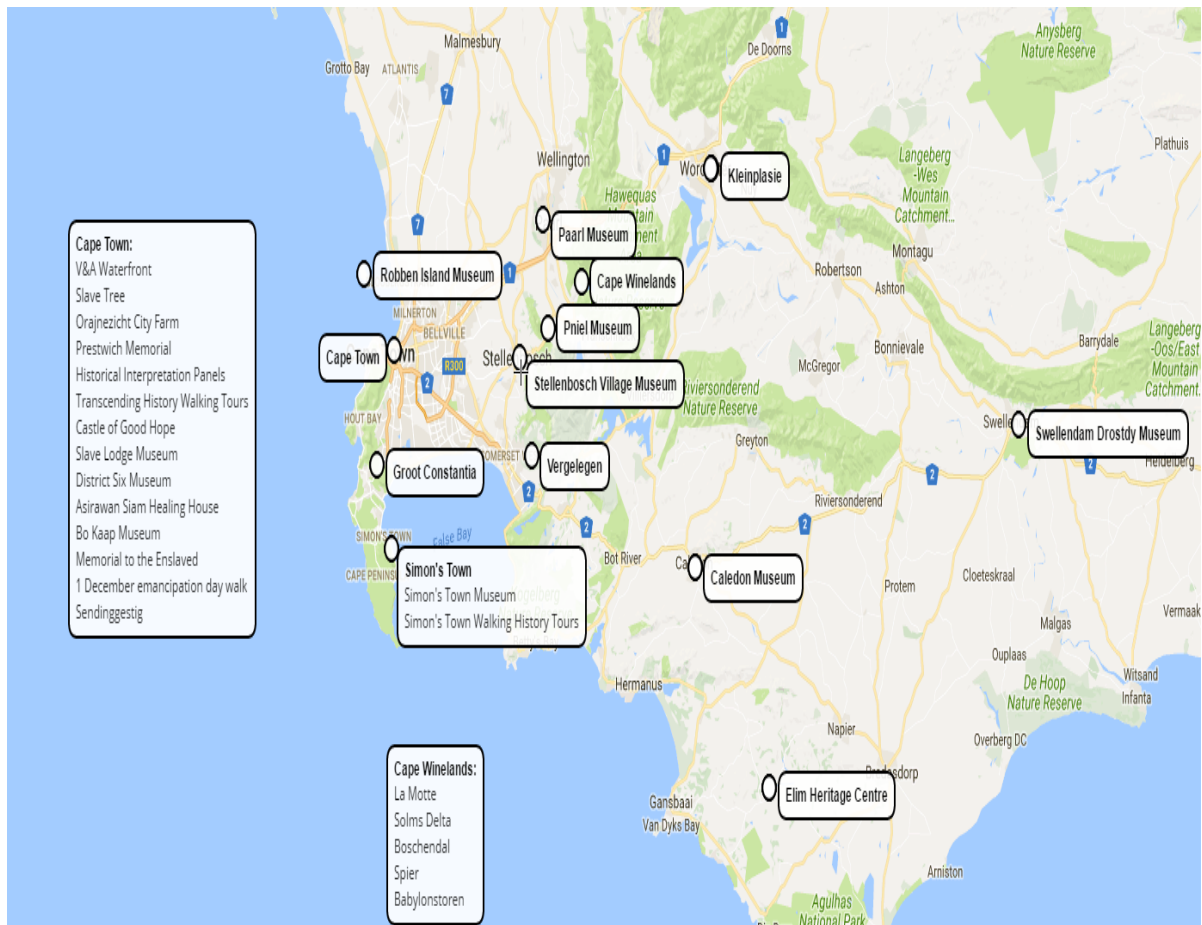
¹³⁵ K. Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis* (London: Sage, 2006), 9.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, 16-17.

important process of establishing relationships with people whose work I would essentially be appraising. Both engagements enabled me to work with community groups who descend from enslaved people. Although their voices may not directly be included in my work, I do believe that discussing life, their perceptions of the past, and a host of other topics on an informal basis has influenced the way I think and write about what might be considered 'their' history. Effectively, by immersing myself in the arts and cultural sector which I was studying, I was able to change my own methods of thinking and challenge some of the arrogant presuppositions of my original research approach. My research consequently allays some of the primary criticisms which could be levelled at the European researcher by the post-colonial scholar. The result was a study which is based as much on engagement as 'peering in'.

Initially, a core group of heritage sites was identified for visit and research. This list expanded as research progressed and the need to visit places where alternative interpretations may be on offer became apparent. A standard pattern was developed for analysing each site. This involved conducting a qualitative survey of, for example, a museum display, accompanied by taking photographs where permission had been obtained. In total, 27 site visits have been cited in this study, selected on the basis of their relevance to slavery, or other content which was of interest and relevance. In the case of the sites I envisaged would play a major role in the study, attempts were made to obtain an interview with a key member of staff to obtain their opinions and thoughts on issues arising from the interpretation on offer. 19 interviews were conducted in total, 16 of which have been cited. These interviews were unstructured, though followed a similar pattern designed to elicit what the interviewee believed were some of the key issues to consider when representing slavery in South Africa. Interviews were recorded with consent, and subsequently transcribed using word processing software. They varied in length, with the shortest running at just under 12 minutes and the longest lasting for over one hour. Conversations were generally left to run their course, ending at the point where it seemed as though both interviewer and interviewee had made their points.

Map 0.1 Map showing sites analysed.



Notes: the map excludes Freedom Park which was the only site outside the Western Cape, situated in Pretoria over 1000 kilometres north east of Cape Town.

The use of interviews as part of my research methodology was another measure adopted to ensure some form of democratisation. By allowing perspectives from the South African heritage sector to narrate parts of exhibitions, memorials, and other heritage markers, the voice heard is not merely my own. Academic debates over the use of interviews as a research method originally centred upon issues of reliability. These questions occurred in response to positivist critiques of oral history interviewing as the method became popularised as a way of accessing previously marginalised working-class perspectives from the 1960s

onwards.¹³⁷ Perhaps mindful of post-structuralist discourse's dismissal of the notion of academic objectivity, subsequent scholarship has identified how oral history and interview research methodologies are an intersubjective process. They represent the convergence of biases pertaining to the worldviews and expectations of both the interviewer and interviewee.¹³⁸ These debates over reliability and subjectivity are however peripheral to this study. Interviews were used not as a means of critiquing memory, nor with a particular interest in issues of objectivity and subjectivity amongst interviewees.

Interviews formed part of a process of triangulation which also involved analysis of documentary sources such as newspapers and official and internal documents, and engaging in qualitative research at heritage sites. Triangulation has been described as a means of gathering different perspectives to help the researcher gain a more comprehensive understanding of their research agenda.¹³⁹ It involves using different methods of collecting data to achieve these ends, respecting each means of research for what it can offer to the study.¹⁴⁰ Michael Patton suggests that by applying triangulation, the researcher can overcome some of the weaknesses inherent in a single research method which may produce inaccuracies.¹⁴¹ In this study, triangulation enabled me to build a broader picture than would have been possible by solely employing interviews as a research technique. Interviews had been identified as a necessity for the way in which they would enable dialogue between myself as researcher and the perspectives of heritage professionals and practitioners in South Africa. Alternative sources of data were used to provide contextual information, and aid me in preparing questions or themes to be discussed in

¹³⁷ L. Passerini, 'Work, Ideology and Consensus under Italian Fascism' in R. Perks, and A. Thomson (eds), *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 1998), 53-62; A. Portelli, 'The Peculiarities of Oral History', *History Workshop Journal* 12.1 (1981), 96-107.

¹³⁸ M. Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990).

¹³⁹ G. Valentine, 'Tell me about...: using interviews as a research methodology' in R. Flowerdew and D. Martin (eds), *Methods in Human Geography: A guide for students doing a research project* (Harlow: Longman, 1997), 112.

¹⁴⁰ N.K. Denzin, *The Research Act in Sociology: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods* (London: Butterworths, 1970), 297-313.

¹⁴¹ M.Q. Patton, *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods* (Newbury Park: Sage, 1990), 187-188.

interviews. Using documentary sources equally enabled me to access points of view which, for various reasons, were inaccessible by interview. This was a grounded theory mode of working, as it encouraged enquiry into a number of data sources from which ideas were drawn over time. Triangulating data enabled the formation of a broad picture of my research field to form over time, with binding theories drawn from this comprehensive bank of material with confidence.

Chapter One: Remembering many atrocities: slavery, museums, and the South African metanarrative

South Africa seemed like a global success story in the immediate post-1994 period. It had successfully discarded the tyranny of a racist and frequently brutal system of minority rule, and replaced this with a regime rooted in pluralism and constitutionally-enshrined egalitarian rights. This combination of a troubled past and a present deemed worthy of celebration made South Africa fertile territory for what Paul Williams has termed the 'memorial museum'. For Williams, the memorial museum is defined as a museum which exhibits a traumatic past such as a specific atrocity and attempts to draw lessons for humanity from this event so as to say 'never again'.¹⁴² As part of reconfiguring an arts and heritage sector in which history museums largely represented European settler pasts, significant time, money, and effort has been expended in post-apartheid South Africa to create memorials to apartheid. Repurposing collective memories and personal stories as museum artefacts has partly been a means of overcoming the legacies of past collecting policies which did not engage with the histories of black and coloured people, beyond anthropological and ethnographical interest in the African 'other' during the colonial period.¹⁴³ New collections based on this intangible heritage have thus been created to fill these spaces, as well as to discuss the past. As Ciraj Rassool relays, another influential explanation for this trend has been the way in which the TRC has cemented personal testimony and discussion of the apartheid past as symbols of post-apartheid reconciliation.¹⁴⁴ Museums which remember apartheid are consequently linked both in content and in the work they carry out with discussing

¹⁴² P. Williams, *Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities* (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 181.

¹⁴³ G. Dominy, 'The politics of museums collecting in the 'old' and the 'new' South Africa' in S.J. Knell (ed.), *Museums and the Future of Collecting* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 93.

¹⁴⁴ C. Rassool, 'Community Museums, Memory Politics, and Social Transformation in South Africa: Histories, Possibilities, and Limits', in I. Karp et al, *Museum Frictions*, 288. Additionally, Eduard Fagan has argued that memory is 'constitutionally entrenched', see E. Fagan, 'The constitutional entrenchment of memory' in Nuttall and Coetzee (eds), 249-263. For discussion of how the 'storytelling' of the TRC has pervaded the museum sector, see C.J. Colvin, "'Brothers and sisters, do not be afraid of me': Trauma, history and the therapeutic imagination in the new South Africa' in K. Hodgkin and S. Radstone (eds), *Contested Pasts: The politics of memory* (London: Routledge, 2003), 153-169.

apartheid as a means of overcoming its effects. This end-product can be associated with the immediate post-apartheid reconciliatory agenda adopted by the non-racialist, central wing of the ANC.

This chapter aims to examine how the history of Cape slavery has been integrated into the narratives on display at museums which memorialise the violence and associated trauma of the South African past. Whilst many of these sites informally follow the parameters established by the TRC in only looking to a past which falls within living memory, a smaller number do explore a more distant past. These spaces enable us to understand how slavery is represented as part of a broader historical picture, and also to consider how its legacies in modern South Africa are portrayed. In their seminal historical studies of Cape slavery, both Robert Shell and Nigel Worden wrote of the similarities between slavery and later apartheid.¹⁴⁵ For Shell, who described how slavery ‘reshaped the whole society’, apartheid reflected slavery in terms of restrictions placed on individual liberty and land ownership, its tightly-controlled labour system, and the way in which family life was impinged.¹⁴⁶ Worden, on the other hand, wrote more broadly of how slavery encouraged racialised thinking which was later institutionalised across South Africa.¹⁴⁷ Additionally, scholars including Gabeba Baderoon and Pumla Dineo Gqola have specifically analysed the cultural legacies of enslavement in terms of how they have impacted upon personal and social identity, cookery and how it is written about, and various societal ills including violence against women.¹⁴⁸ Consequently, if we are to better understand patterns of violence and marginalisation which have prevailed post-slavery into the present day, then both historical slavery and its legacies require examination as part of any South African historical narrative. The chapter will first consider how slavery has and has not been integrated into narratives displayed at key post-apartheid museums. It progresses to examine two state-funded

¹⁴⁵ Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, 4; Shell, *Children of Bondage*, xix-xx.

¹⁴⁶ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, xix-xx; xxxi.

¹⁴⁷ Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, 4.

¹⁴⁸ Baderoon; Gqola.

museum sites – Pretoria's Freedom Park and the Slave Lodge in Cape Town – for the ways in which they attempt to depict slavery as part of a South African narrative of history and oppression. In exploring how they perform this role, it is argued that national metanarratives are not always conducive to understanding complicated historical issues such as those raised by slavery.

Evolving museums in South Africa

The inclusive turn in the South African museum sector has its origins in the 1970s and 1980s, as political activists and progressively-minded museum staff began to consider how arts and cultural organisations could function in a democratic South Africa. These embryonic moves to revise and transform the ways in which South African museums approached practices of collecting and exhibiting histories tapped into a global discourse which emerged during the 1970s and sought to find ways of working with and including the perspectives of previously marginalised communities in museums.¹⁴⁹ Whilst similar changes may have been occurring globally, the South African case remains exceptional owing to the racist narratives broadcast by museums, and the scale of change required to begin redressing this situation. By the time it took power in April 1994, the ANC had over a decade worth of planning changes in the arts and culture sector. A White Paper on the subject was published in 1996, outlining a coherent policy which would underpin change in state-funded cultural institutions. Critically, this White Paper suggested that one potential result of revisions to the arts and culture sector may be enabling them to play a 'healing role' in national reconciliation by recognising and respecting the diversity of South Africa's numerous historical experiences and finding common ground.¹⁵⁰ Though one should be wary of ascribing ultimate influence to state-prescribed narratives without considering decisions made at an institutional level by managerial or curatorial staff, it would be reasonable

¹⁴⁹ G. Black, *Transforming Museums in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Routledge, 2012), 203-206; M.G. Simpson, *Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era* (London: Routledge, 1996), 1-2.

¹⁵⁰ Republic of South Africa, 'White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage' (June 1996). See also C. Rassool, 'The rise of heritage and the reconstitution of history in South Africa', *Kronos* 26 (August 2000), 1-21.

to argue that the idea of a united nation forged out of past wrongs is one which has influenced exhibition practices.

Working towards this ideal has occasionally resulted in the (re)production of a simplified version of what is seen as a common past, rather than necessarily respecting a diverse set of experiences.¹⁵¹ Narratives which depict a specific history as emblematic of the South African experience and, in particular, its liberation struggle are commonplace both at state and privately-funded museums.¹⁵² Whilst these representations of a country with a common yet diverse past have sometimes been explained as the conceptual underpinnings of the 'rainbow nation', Sabine Marschall offers a more complex explanation. Marschall argues that the origin myth of post-apartheid South Africa and its heritage productions lay in four interrelated strands of thought, namely the idea of a liberation struggle against apartheid, a desire to recognise the agency of resistance heroes implicated in this struggle, a sense of triumph over oppression, and a common humanity rooted in the notion of traditional African life.¹⁵³

These elements incorporated narratives which Colin Bundy has identified as linking representations of heritage with the nation building project in South Africa. Though warning against simplification, Bundy wrote of the ANC's reconciliatory 'rainbow nation' ideal of 'unity in diversity' most closely associated with the Mandela era, and of how this was usurped and complemented by the 'African renaissance' most closely associated with the 1999-2008 premiership of Thabo Mbeki.¹⁵⁴ Successive post-apartheid administrations have brought their own foundation myths which have both influenced representations of the past and promoted the idea of a common present in the interests of national unity. In the decade since Bundy referred to these themes, a third element of identity politics which he identified has gained

¹⁵¹ G. Baines, 'The politics of public history in post-apartheid South Africa' in H.E. Stolten (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics: The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2007), 171.

¹⁵² Murray and Witz, 10.

¹⁵³ Marschall, *Landscape of Memory*, 181.

¹⁵⁴ C. Bundy, 'New nation, new history? Historical narratives, gender, and public education in South Africa' in Stolten (ed.), 80.

increasing prominence. 'Ethnic particularism', defined as individuals or groups asserting a non-national identity, has become more commonplace.¹⁵⁵ Indeed, if identity politics can be associated with South Africa's current president, Jacob Zuma, then ethnic separatism is probably the strand. Under Zuma's premiership, representations of the president's own Zulu heritage have become commonplace at state events which regularly feature groups of female dancers, addresses given in Zulu, and the appearance of Zulu dress. As will be discussed in chapter two, the appeal of these self-defined narratives reflects the limitations of state-formulated identities such as reconciliation discourse, raising questions as to whether people ever really internalise their messages.

One of the primary difficulties associated with any totalising discourse is the way in which elements of reality which it considers troublesome are discarded or marginalised. The omissions and universalising tendencies which can be associated with the ANC's 'unity in diversity' or 'rainbow nation' heritage narratives mean that its influence amongst South African citizens is in general likely to have been superficial. The idea of an anti-apartheid struggle giving birth to a united nation has, however, undeniably influenced the exhibition practices of museums, both at state-funded sites which are the subject of government directives, and at other institutions falling outside these parameters. Despite offering much to a narrative which stressed resistance politics, the recovery of oppressed voices, and ultimately liberation, slavery was one part of the past discarded by the 'rainbow nation' narrative. For Nigel Worden, this was because the way in which slavery was seen as relevant only to the history of the coloured community by state officials was also perceived as potentially damaging to the 'unity' element of this discourse.¹⁵⁶ More recently, Nicola Cloete has suggested that difficult histories such as slavery may never become compatible with the aims of reconciliation, and will continue to be

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ Worden, 'The changing politics', 28-29.

problematic for as long as this remains a state priority.¹⁵⁷ It has largely been through the efforts of small numbers of dedicated heritage activists, museologists working to transform their institutions, and the emergence of alternative national discourses as time has progressed that slavery has received public recognition – in the Western Cape at least - as part of South Africa's past.

Slavery and the 'memorial museum'

Globally, the past three decades have witnessed a proliferation in the number of museums and memorials which stand as testimony to the wrongs of the past and strive to promote a moral message premised on the idea of 'never again'.¹⁵⁸ A high proportion of new museums established in post-apartheid South Africa have been of this nature. These sites have tended to focus on attempting to come to terms with apartheid, as if continuing the TRC's work of trying to establish a form of historical truth. Following these lines of memorialisation, it is perhaps unsurprising that the former houses of struggle figureheads Nelson Mandela and Albert Luthuli have both been opened as state-funded museums. In Johannesburg, the privately-funded Apartheid Museum opened in 2001 and was deliberately modelled on Washington's Holocaust Museum, a site very much fitting Williams' definition of the 'memorial museum'.¹⁵⁹ This site takes the artefacts of apartheid – identity cards, photographs, miscellaneous personal items, and first-hand testimony – and weaves a narrative of a country which has redeemed itself from this fraught past through liberal democracy.¹⁶⁰ This is, of course, a selective interpretation of past and present, filtering out troublesome aspects which may obstruct this moralistic message. It has attracted criticism, not least for the way in which detractors have alleged it silences a broad spectrum of anti-apartheid voices to overplay the primacy of the ANC.¹⁶¹ The Apartheid Museum

¹⁵⁷ Cloete, 75-77.

¹⁵⁸ Williams, 1-7; J. Lennon and M. Foley, *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster* (London: Continuum, 2000), 3.

¹⁵⁹ G. Verbeeck, 'Structure of memory: Apartheid in the museum' in Stolten, 218; Williams, 181.

¹⁶⁰ Notes taken from 30 September 2015 visit.

¹⁶¹ Verbeeck, 222.

is perhaps representative of another tendency of the South African memorial museum, specifically the practice of recalling the apartheid past as symbolic of the nation's history of oppression. Slavery figures only once in its displays, doing so briefly as part of a chronological audio-visual feature, and overall there is little contextualisation of the country's past. Though funded by private capital, the Apartheid Museum borrows heavily from the 'rainbow nation' concept of a united present born out of a wrongful past. In this construct, potentially problematic elements of the past which may continue to influence the present such as race and economic access are negated to avoid interrogating claims to the harmony of the present.¹⁶² Consequently, the celebration of the present often found within the post-apartheid memorial museum frequently makes it difficult to recall systemic themes of the past.

Other emblematic post-apartheid heritage sites similarly do not portray a more complex, longer history of subjugation. Situated in Table Bay off the coast of Cape Town, Robben Island is a name which gained global resonance for its role as an apartheid political prison between 1961 and 1991. Its history as a prison and site of exile however stretches far back into the Dutch colonial period, and the best way to represent this history figured strongly in debates once it was decided during the mid 1990s to open the island as a state memorial site.¹⁶³ The ANC wished the site to broadcast a message depicting the 'triumph of human spirit over suffering and hardship', and various stakeholders believed that narratives on display should privilege the more recent apartheid past.¹⁶⁴ The former prisoners themselves tacitly welcomed this angle, and were more concerned with plans to commercialise the island by offering accommodation and conferencing facilities than they were about the extent to which the lives of their antecedents

¹⁶² C. Teeger and V. Vinitzky-Seroussi, 'Controlling for Consensus: Commemorating Apartheid in South Africa', *Symbolic Interaction* 30.1 (2007), 64-65; D. Newbury, 'Living Historically through Photographs in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Reflections on Kliptown Museum, Soweto' in E. Lehrer, C.E. Milton, and M.E. Patterson (eds), *Curating Difficult Knowledge: Violent Pasts in Public Places* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 94-95.

¹⁶³ N. Penn, 'Robben Island 1488-1805' in H. Deacon (ed.), *The Island: A History of Robben Island 1488-1990* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1996), 9-33 offers a useful historical overview of the island.

¹⁶⁴ Coombes, 58-59.

were represented.¹⁶⁵ Robben Island functions as a perfect case study of how a visible history of long-term oppression is simplified into a narrative deemed to suit the needs of the present.

Consequently, when Robben Island opened to visitors in 1997 it was its history as a post-1961 political prison which confronted visitors, eager to see the cell in which Mandela had been confined. Early criticism of the content of ex-prisoner-guided historical tours being skewed in favour of the ANC's role in the liberation struggle has seen efforts made to account for other perspectives and Robert Sobukwe of the Pan-African Congress (PAC) now figures with notable prominence.¹⁶⁶ Robben Island's role as the colonial Cape's site of confinement is, however, less clear. Although interpretation panels have been added explaining the life of Eva Kroota and her banishment on Robben Island, as well as Chief Maqoma's anti-colonial activism and imprisonment on the island, these fall outside the main guided bus tour which the majority of visitors experience. It is a curious by-product of how the past has been formulated in post-apartheid South Africa that these stories of human agency and resistance are not deemed of sufficient value to contribute to a site which has been framed in terms of struggle and triumph. Annie Coombes suggested that when the history narrative offered at Robben Island was being formulated, the concept of a community among political prisoners on Robben Island was held as synonymous with the struggle of the broader South African nation under apartheid.¹⁶⁷ The island's transition from political prison to tourist attraction was therefore representative of the country's rebirth as a democratic polity. Perhaps histories such as that represented by Kroota are too complex to simply re-emerge over 300 years after they were forgotten, and instead require discussion before they are fully re-integrated into any national discourse? The way in which Robben Island's narrative has repressed their existence mirrors how the 'rainbow nation' concept with which it is closely aligned also marginalises certain experiences. Enabling living

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 58-59.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 77; 99. Comments based on 16 April and 5 November 2015 visits.

¹⁶⁷ Coombes, 120-121.

people to tell their stories of confinement should not necessarily obscure the experiences of the long dead.

This neglect of the distant past is not pervasive throughout the field of new post-apartheid museums. Another world-renowned museological project in Cape Town, District Six Museum, is more willing to discuss the pre-apartheid era.¹⁶⁸ Situated in a former Methodist church close to the city centre, the museum functions as a memorial to the former neighbourhood of District Six which was cleared during the 1970s and 1980s when its residents were forcibly removed to racially-segregated townships on the Cape Flats by the Group Areas Act. In contrast to the majority of museums in the Cape Town area, it functions largely without state funding. For Coombes, District Six Museum's concept of community is local rather than national, taking case study accounts of forcibly displaced people and encouraging reflection on the barbarity of the apartheid past.¹⁶⁹ The diverse groups of people and their descendants who constituted the pre-Group Areas District Six community are recalled by the museum's displays. This number includes enslaved people and their descendants, thus offering them a place in a narrative of city displacement. One criticism which has been voiced of District Six Museum is its tendency to evoke the past in nostalgic terms, referring to notions of pre-apartheid harmony which were violently disrupted by segregationist planners.¹⁷⁰ The descendants of the enslaved thus appear as part of a 'cosmopolitan' group of working-class traders, shopkeepers, landlords, and numerous others who inhabited the 'exuberant and vibrant place' which existed during the 1950s. There is little sense given as to what slavery actually involved, and nor is reflecting on this question within the museum's remit. It is in introducing the theme of multiple, inter-generational displacements where the museum breaks with paradigms for discussing the recent past evident in the cases of the Apartheid Museum and Robben Island. This could encourage a

¹⁶⁸ Comments based on a number of visits between April 2015 and May 2016.

¹⁶⁹ Coombes, 120-122.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 122.

more holistic understanding of the past which roots the origins of racially-based oppression in the 17th, rather than 20th century.

In the context of South African museums, it may be worthwhile to consider human rights abuses as part of an interconnected narrative so as to promote awareness of systemic injustices which are salient yet often unacknowledged. This suggestion perhaps runs contrary to the argument of Williams, who warns that museums which make comparisons between the atrocity they represent and other atrocities can obscure the specific nature of the subject they are dedicated to by portraying it as part of generalised patterns of violence and human rights infringement.¹⁷¹ Specific histories thus become part of what Williams terms a museum's 'pedagogical toolbox' of moral guidance, encouraging not a commemoration of specific acts but more general ideas of what visitors can do to stop history repeating itself.¹⁷² However, unlike cases of the holocaust being examined as a historical tragedy from which humanity must learn in polities such as the United States, which had no direct involvement in the event itself, the historical abuses under consideration here all took place in South Africa. The accusation that the relationship between colonialism and apartheid in South Africa is one of generalised human wrongdoing is not applicable given that these are connected events which form part of a national narrative dominated by minority rule, oppression, and disenfranchisement.

Freedom Park and Iziko's Slave Lodge will now be discussed as examples of museums which do attempt to situate the origins of South Africa's racist past in distant history. Considering how the traumas enacted by enslavement, colonialism, and their legacies are re-emerging in South African society, it is arguably important for museums to discuss the issues they raise. Critically, both sites claim mission statements which encourage social cohesion and citizen empowerment.¹⁷³ To give meaning to these intentions, the two museums could function

¹⁷¹ Williams, 147-148.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ Iziko Museums of South Africa, 'Annual Report 2014/2015' (2015), 7; Freedom Park, 'Annual Report 2016' (2016), 6.

as discussion spaces for debates over societal transformation.¹⁷⁴ Activists are increasingly voicing concerns over a perceived lack of socio-economic change since 1994, and calls for ‘decolonisation’ have been one way of criticising deeply-embedded injustices. Exploring these meanings could be supported in museums by exhibitions which acknowledge the longer history of South Africa in ways which have sometimes been overlooked in post-apartheid museology. Addressing the daily concerns of South Africa’s population is no small feat, however it is a concern which museums might attempt to cover if they are to fulfil their role of fostering social cohesion as imagined by state legislation. It should be possible to achieve these aims whilst avoiding Williams’ main criticisms of the way museums sometimes present a generalised human condition of inequity when discussing trauma. National interest arguably trumps global discourse in this case.

Ana Lucia Araujo’s thoughtful discussion of how slavery and its legacies figure as part of museum human rights narratives is a useful point of departure for considering how these topics are represented at the Slave Lodge and Freedom Park. Writing about West African slave castles – and particularly Elmina Castle in Ghana – Araujo is particularly critical of the way in which slavery is connected in exhibitions with other globally-significant human rights deprivations and tragedies. She suggests that Elmina’s description of the transatlantic slave trade as an ‘African holocaust’ in an appeal to wealthy tourists ignores the visible and lived legacies of slavery in the surrounding area, where a large percentage of the local population exist in a state of impoverishment.¹⁷⁵ Additionally, Araujo argues that in positing the holocaust as a directly-comparable successor atrocity to slavery on a visit to Ghana’s Cape Coast Castle in 2009, United States President Barack Obama was effectively refusing to discuss the racialised legacies of

¹⁷⁴ For the idea of museums as spaces where diverse groups can come together for discussion, see J. Clifford, ‘Museums as contact zones’ in J. Clifford (ed.), *Routes: travel and translation in the late twentieth century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 188-219.

¹⁷⁵ Araujo, *Shadows of the Slave Past*, 53.

slavery in the United States today.¹⁷⁶ Essentially, recalling enslavement as part of a globalised sequence of human rights infringements can divert from its more pertinent local consequences. It is along similar lines that Geoff Cubitt outlines how 'legacy' for many museums which commemorated the 2007 British bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade translated as discussion of contemporary forced labour and human trafficking.¹⁷⁷ As some activists claimed at the time, this was tantamount to a disavowal of the complex and contested legacies of transatlantic slavery in contemporary Britain in terms of race and social justice.¹⁷⁸ The way in which the legacies of slavery are discussed is very much central to considering how the practice of owning human beings can be linked with subsequent human rights abuses in in South Africa. It is important to bear in mind the impact which slavery had on people and identity politics over time.

This critical overview of how the legacy of slavery is sometimes presented is not dissimilar to the argument proposed by Williams which suggests that broad, sweeping narratives can marginalise historical specificities.¹⁷⁹ In order to perform their goals of promoting social cohesion, any South African museum adopting a narrative approach of connecting more distant history with more recent events must be mindful to respect the specificities of events. Nonetheless, it would be possible at a site such as the Slave Lodge for apartheid to be considered as a legacy of Cape slavery along similar lines as historians such as Shell and Worden have done without implicating contradictory comparisons to genocides and wars. In particular, the way in which slavery created a working-class at the Cape which subsequently suffered forced removal under apartheid could be brought into the open.¹⁸⁰ This would help to confront some of

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 51.

¹⁷⁷ G. Cubitt, 'Museums and Slavery in Britain: The Bicentenary of 2007' in Araujo, *Politics of memory*, 172.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*.

¹⁷⁹ Williams, 147-148.

¹⁸⁰ V. Bickford-Smith, 'Meanings of Freedom: Social Position & Identity Among Ex-Slaves & Their Descendants in Cape Town, 1875-1910' in Worden and C. Crais (eds), *Breaking the Chains: Slavery and its Legacy in the Nineteenth Century Cape Colony* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1994), 289-313; M. Adhikari, 'The Sons of Ham: Slavery and the Making of Coloured Identity', *South African Historical Journal* 27 (1992), 95-112.

the concerns of perpetual dislocation which poor people across South Africa face in the post-apartheid era. Crucially, for state-funded museums with remits of social responsibility, it may enable discussion of some of the intergenerational unspeakabilities of trauma and personal identity. This is a possibility arguably missed in spaces where only the recent past is exhibited, yet fundamental to museums such as Freedom Park and the Slave Lodge where a more comprehensive narrative is on display.

Slavery and reconciliation at the Slave Lodge

Iziko Museums' Slave Lodge in Cape Town is one of the few South African national museums which examines pre-apartheid atrocities in any detail. The Lodge was built in 1679 by the VOC as housing for the people it held in slavery. Robert Shell explains how the enslaved population of the Lodge predominantly worked on urban projects such as tending the adjacent Company's Gardens, and posits it as a relatively well-fed and cared for group of people of up to 1000 in number which supposedly represented what the Company saw as a model for slave ownership at the Cape.¹⁸¹ It was additionally used as facility for interring people deemed 'lunatics', and also served as accommodation for convict labour, particularly from China.¹⁸² Having been rebuilt and enlarged on a number of occasions owing to fire and increased demand for space, the building was converted for administrative use from 1811 onwards. A smaller facility in the Company's Gardens continued to function as South Africa's largest single slave holding facility until 1828.¹⁸³ In this second phase of existence, the Lodge served first as government offices for the nascent British administration, followed by spells as a post office, as the legislative chamber of the Cape parliament, and most notably as the Supreme Court building.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, xxxi; 248.

¹⁸² *Ibid*, 249-250.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, 249. H. Vollgraaff, *The Dutch East India Company's Slave Lodge at the Cape* (Cape Town: South African Cultural History Museum, 1997), 7.

¹⁸⁴ Vollgraaff, 7.

The building was converted for use as a museum during the 1960s, opening as a cultural history satellite of the natural history SAM in 1967 under the auspicious of the South African Cultural History Museum (SACHM). Owing much to its various uses as an administrative facility, the building resembled little the unsanitary space Shell wrote of, and the curators of the SACHM were certainly not eager to remind visitors of these links. Hans Fransen reported in 1978 of collections comprising Cape silver items, an extensive selection of armoury, vases from Greece, Ming dynasty artefacts, and Roman and Egyptian archaeological finds.¹⁸⁵ Visiting the museum in the late 1990s, Carohn Cornell found little trace of the building's original use. The only exhibitions to refer to slavery were a display focussing on the Spin Street slave tree through the lens of the tree as an object, and a small display on emancipation depicting happy free people and the benign influence of British colonists.¹⁸⁶ Three other museums in the Cape Town area acted as satellite sites of the SACHM; the 18th century period family dwelling of Koopmans de Wet House on Strand Street, Bo-Kaap Museum on Wale Street in the Bo-Kaap area, and Groot Constantia manor house on the wine estate of Groot Constantia to the south of the city. In spite of holding connections with slavery as former sites of habitation and work, these museums too made little reference to slavery in their exhibitions.¹⁸⁷

Reflecting changing agendas of museologists and official cultural policy which accompanied the 1990s, the SACHM was renamed Slave Lodge on Heritage Day in 1998, thus in theory being reconnected with its original purpose. Shortly after renaming, the Slave Lodge was one of several state-funded museums brought under the newly-created 'southern flagship' of Iziko Museums.¹⁸⁸ Incorporating most of the major museums in the Cape Town area – though

¹⁸⁵ H. Fransen, *Guide to the Museums of Southern Africa* (Cape Town: South African Museums Association, 1978), 23-25.

¹⁸⁶ Cornell, 262-263.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 259; Fransen, *Guide*, 34-36. The connections between Koopmans De Wet House and slavery are discussed by Carmel Schrire. See C. Schrire, *Tigers in Africa: Stalking the Past at the Cape of Good Hope* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2002), 28-30.

¹⁸⁸ 'Iziko' means 'hearth' in isiXhosa. The number of museums managed by Iziko has changed over the years and currently stands at eleven, including the former SACHM satellite sites.

notably excluding the then-newly-created sites of Robben Island and District Six Museum – Iziko was created to manage transformation more effectively. Its mission statement is consequently closely-aligned with state ideas of social cohesion, citizen empowerment, and national reconciliation.¹⁸⁹ This was a sign of how museums functioned as an important part of state reconciliation policy in the immediate post-apartheid period.

The change of name at the Slave Lodge and incorporation as part of Iziko did not precipitate immediate revision of the former SACHM displays. Various temporary exhibitions including a travelling UNESCO display on transatlantic slavery and an Iziko-curated display which situated slavery within VOC domestic life at the Cape were held, however it was not until 2006 that a permanent exhibition focussing on slavery opened at the Slave Lodge.¹⁹⁰ Various reasons could be cited to explain this delay. Anne Eichmann, who served as an intern on the permanent exhibition project, recalls how there was a gradual increase in curatorial interest in slavery at Iziko during the early 2000s as staff grappled with the contested nature of slave heritage at the Cape and the perception that slavery could be a divisive history.¹⁹¹ Eichmann also notes how internal politics, staff changes, and a focus on other priorities including streamlining the management of newly-amalgamated and diverse sites hampered progress towards transformation.¹⁹²

Opening in 2006, the Slave Lodge's 'Remembering Slavery' was the first permanent museum exhibition in South Africa to attempt a holistic examination of slavery at the Cape. It was the nation's first and thus far only major exhibition to take Cape slavery as its sole focus. Reading the exhibition is therefore crucial to understanding some of the narratives which function as part of the retelling of Cape slavery and which are supported or contested by stakeholders. Its installation marked the culmination of Iziko's initial steps in repurposing the

¹⁸⁹ Iziko, 'Annual Report 2014/2015', 7.

¹⁹⁰ K. Goodnow, J. Lohman, and J. Bredekamp, *Challenge and Transformation: Museums in Cape Town and Sydney* (Paris: UNESCO, 2006), 217.

¹⁹¹ Eichmann, 'Representing slavery in South Africa', 3238-3240.

¹⁹² *Ibid*, 3250-3275.

Lodge as a museum with the motif 'from human wrongs to human rights'. There was a clear shift among staff from viewing a potentially transformed Slave Lodge as a possible museum of Cape history during the early 2000s to one with a specific focus on human rights.¹⁹³ The replacement of some of the SACHM displays with temporary material including a photographic exhibition of human rights issues during 2004 and 2005 was representative of this shift in approach, as was the opening in 2004 of an audio-visual exhibition titled 'Human Wrongs to Human Rights' which currently acts as an introductory piece to 'Remembering Slavery'.¹⁹⁴ As a result of this reconceptualisation of the Slave Lodge as a museum, 'Remembering Slavery' sits within the international human rights discourse critiqued by Araujo which holds slavery as one of a succession of crimes against humanity.¹⁹⁵ The exhibition also appears to have been influenced by the South African idea of national reconciliation, representing slavery as a universal history in a similar vein to how the anti-apartheid struggle has become a national unitary past at certain flagship post-apartheid sites. As will be explored, these twin themes prevent 'Remembering Slavery' from discussing issues of human legacy and coloured identity politics. It is in these areas where it could contribute most meaningfully to Iziko's social cohesion remit.

The Slave Lodge's foyer immediately establishes human rights as a central theme.¹⁹⁶ A series of large text panels define slavery as an institution which 'has been found in almost all cultures and continents and persists in many forms today'. Contemporary human rights issues including debt bondage, serfdom, human trafficking, sexual exploitation, and child labour are introduced as legacies of historical slavery. Slavery as imagined here is a problem relevant to all visitors to the Slave Lodge, given its ubiquity in human life. The museum is posited as a space which works against these excesses of humanity, self-describing as 'a project that tells of the long history of slavery in South Africa and raises awareness of human rights'. The Slave Lodge is

¹⁹³ Goodnow et al, 109-110; 217.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 217.

¹⁹⁵ Araujo, *Shadows of the Slave Past*, 50-53.

¹⁹⁶ Comments based on a number of visits between April 2015 and June 2016. Additionally, the author worked as an intern in social history for Iziko between June and December 2015.

consequently imagined not only as a slavery museum, but as a space where the inequities of global society are discussed. 'Remembering Slavery' itself is spread across four galleries along the southern ground floor wing of the Slave Lodge. The audio-visual exhibition 'Human Wrongs to Human Rights' is situated in a small room off the main corridor immediately before the visitor enters 'Remembering Slavery'. The looped short film which this feature comprises offers contextual information on the history of Cape slavery and the ongoing project to transform the Slave Lodge as a museum, using actors to imagine scenarios from the slave past including a graphic whipping scene. Though it explicitly recalls the violence which slavery entailed, quite how effective such depictions of brutality are in evoking feelings amongst visitors in an age where similar displays of inhumanity dominate popular media forms is questionable. Such considerations raise debate as to how helpful it is for the memorial museum to convey its 'never again' message through displays of ubiquitous barbarity.¹⁹⁷

The first gallery of 'Remembering Slavery' expands on this audio-visual feature, with an initial text panel situating the Cape slave trade within the broader history of slavery. This takes care to distinguish Cape slavery from transatlantic slavery which is probably more familiar to the group which accounts for a sizeable proportion of visitor figures – international tourists. Additional contextual information which aims to construct the sense of a Cape slave culture is printed on an adjacent wall. As if to explain why the interior aesthetics of the Slave Lodge resemble more closely a municipal building than an emotive site of confinement, another display in this gallery charts the evolution of the building over time illustrated by sketches, plans, and photographs. An installation by the Cape Town-based artist Rod Sauls dominates the room between these two contextual features.

¹⁹⁷ E. Lehrer and C.E. Milton, 'Introduction: Witnesses to Witnessing' in E. Lehrer, C.E. Milton, and M.E. Patterson (eds), *Curating Difficult Knowledge: Violent Pasts in Public Places* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 1.

Figure 1.1. 'The Slave Lodge: past, present, future', Slave Lodge, Cape Town, 2015.



Notes: this is the first gallery of 'Remembering Slavery'.

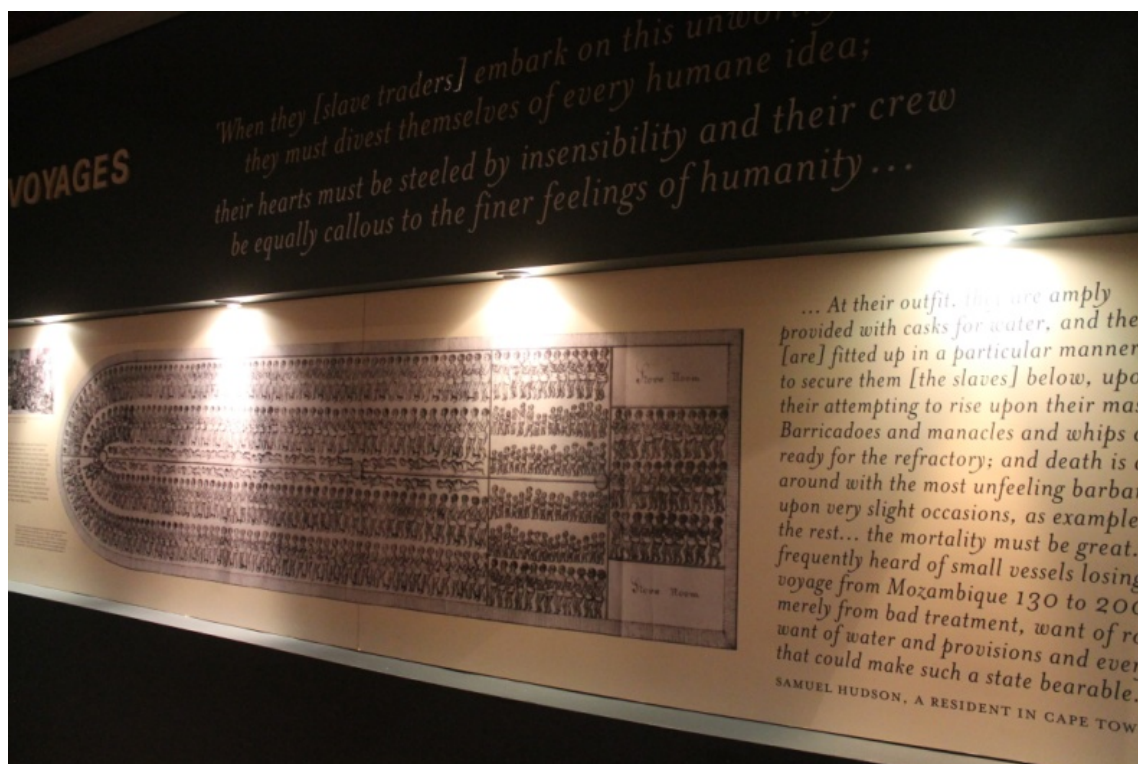
The second gallery, 'Slave Voyages', includes 'a present-day artist's impression' of the deck of the Cape slaver *Meermin* which was the site of a slave rebellion in 1766.¹⁹⁸ On the opposite wall, the British abolitionist imagery of enslaved people packed tightly in the hold of the Liverpool slaver *Brookes* and a quote from Cape Town resident and abolitionist Samuel Hudson aim to reconnect the mock-up slave ship deck with the scenes of human confinement which its historical inspiration was premised upon.¹⁹⁹ Counterbalancing these Eurocentric abolitionist viewpoints, the poem 'Slave Dream' by South African poet Malika Ndlovu is read on a loop from the perspective of an enslaved person. The visitor is perhaps encouraged to consider the motivations of those who fought against confinement on board the *Meermin* by words

¹⁹⁸ Since 2004, Iziko's maritime archaeology team have been actively engaged in attempting to locate the remains of the *Meermin*, believed to be located along the Cape Agulhas coastline. A re-enactment of the episode has been filmed and is on display in the Maritime Centre at the Waterfront. For more information on the *Meermin* rebellion, see D. Sleight and P. Westra, *The taking of the slaver Meermin, 1766* (Cape Town: Africana Publishers, 2013).

¹⁹⁹ The Hudson quote describes typical conditions on board slavers at the Cape, as well as recounting stories of 'small vessels losing on a voyage from Mozambique 130 to 200 slaves merely for bad treatment, want of room, want of water and provisions and everything that could make such a state bearable.'

which recall a desire for freedom. The fourth feature of this gallery expands on these humanising ideas. The 'Column of Memory' is a backlit, cylindrical tower inscribed with the names of selected people who were enslaved within the Slave Lodge. It serves to restore a presence – if in name only – of the previously forgotten victims of enslavement, and offers them a memorial denied by colonial practices of unmarked burial.

Figure 1.2 'Slave Voyages' gallery featuring the abolitionist plan of the slaver *Brookes*, Slave Lodge, Cape Town, 2015.



Notes: this panel sits opposite the slave ship installation.

Figure 1.3 'Column of Memory', Slave Lodge, Cape Town, 2015.



Notes: The photograph shows detailing on a section of what is a larger tower.

Following this is a larger third gallery, 'Origins and Arrival', dominated by an interactive map covering Africa, Asia, and Australia and depicting slave trading routes to the Cape. Situated within the Indian Ocean, rather than Atlantic, world, the trade is explained by an adjacent text panel. On the opposite side of the room a series of plaques are attached to the wall, adorned with the names of seven notable enslaved people, four of whom are noted as posthumously receiving the Western Cape's Order of the Disa in December 2005.²⁰⁰ The life stories of Armosijn Claesz and Rangton van Bali are amongst those reproduced in text to offer a sense of how these people were able to marry and work after manumission or emancipation. The final gallery of 'Remembering Slavery' follows. Presumably representing curatorial awareness of how the building's interior does not compare visually with its 17th century origins, this gallery is titled 'Inside the Slave Lodge' and aims to reimagine the dark and unsanitary conditions of the past. Set against dimmed lighting and audio-visual display panels which create an ambient scene of

²⁰⁰ Order of the Disa was a distinction created in 1999 to recognise service at province level.

dripping water and passing livestock, a conversation discussing conditions inside the Slave Lodge between an 18th century German visitor and a Dutch official is played on a loop. The trial of a man from Mozambique who has been accused of assaulting a convict can also be heard. The names of some of the people who were confined inside the building scroll across another screen, creating a sense of presence in lieu of the dearth of material traces of enslaved people at the Cape. Perhaps reflecting this paucity of material evidence, the only time the voice of an enslaved person is heard during this recreation is when the Mozambican man speaks during his trial.

Figure 1.4 Map which forms the centrepiece of the 'Origins and Arrivals' gallery, Slave Lodge, Cape Town, 2015.



'Remembering Slavery' raises several talking points. As Eichmann outlined, there was considerable debate both within Iziko and among external figures consulted as to the extent to

which the exhibition should refer to slavery in terms of the violence it entailed.²⁰¹ An initial exhibition script was criticised for the extent to which it focussed on the brutality of slavery when distributed to members of a steering group primarily comprising academics and museologists.²⁰² The revised script, written with input from Cape slavery historians Robert Shell and Susan Newton-King, instead privileged factual accuracy over emotion.²⁰³ For Eichmann, the final version of 'Remembering Slavery' did not explicitly refer to brutality as the overarching feature of enslavement, but instead took a more detached view which, where possible, sought to portray enslaved people as agents in their own destiny.²⁰⁴ Privileging the latter narrative entailed avoiding the image of the abused, passive slave which Marcus Wood has posited as a central component of persuasive 19th century abolitionist iconography.²⁰⁵ This negation of violence also arguably allows 'Remembering Slavery' to avoid a victim-perpetrator narrative and instead situate slavery in universalist terms, both in relation to reconciliation discourse in South Africa and global human rights museum discourse.

The violence which characterised certain aspects of the master-slave relationship is at most implicit in 'Remembering Slavery'. For all that the recreated slave ship is illustrated by the anti-slavery *Brookes* sketch; Ndlovu's poem and the fact that the installation recalls a rebellion shifts focus sufficiently onto the ways in which the enslaved attempted to challenge their confinement.²⁰⁶ The video installation 'Human Wrongs to Human Rights' which predates 'Remembering Slavery' is the only real point where violence is explicitly recalled, featuring a male actor playing a slave who is graphically whipped. Simultaneously, it would be inaccurate to argue that the exhibition downplays suffering to reveal the human stories of Cape slavery. The

²⁰¹ Eichmann, 'Representing slavery in South Africa', 3265-3267.

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 3270-3273.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 3289.

²⁰⁵ M. Wood, *Blind Memory: Visual representations of slavery in England and America, 1780-1865* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 23.

²⁰⁶ For a critique of the use of slave ship installations by museums attempting to recreate the middle passage see *ibid.*, 300. Wood argues that visitors to museums can never really understand what it was like to be confined in the hold of a slave ship and that museums are simply misinforming people by attempting to simulate these conditions.

text panels which trace cultural legacies such as languages spoken in the first gallery present a factual overview which is not developed over the course of the exhibition. Similarly, the seven life stories on display in the 'Origins and Arrivals' gallery are too brief to really alter the course of the exhibition. These difficulties in identifying with enslaved people as human beings perhaps reflect the nature of evidence in South Africa, where material remains and life narratives are almost entirely absent. Museologists must instead make best use of the colonial archive, a source from which the names attached to the 'Column of Memory' are clearly drawn. Whilst much of the material available offers but a fleeting glimpse into the lives of enslaved people, the way in which 'Remembering Slavery' represents enslaved people holds additional problems. The people who fought against confinement on the *Meermin* are described as 'mutineers', a term which suggests their conduct was somehow unjustified. Furthermore, the life stories of notable enslaved people such as Jan Smiesing, the 18th century enslaved school master of the Slave Lodge, are entirely absent from 'Remembering Slavery'. Given the relevancy of Smiesing to the Slave Lodge, the reality of slave agency, and the extent of academic knowledge of his life, then it will continue to be problematic to argue that 'Remembering Slavery' is concerned with enslaved people as human beings until this and similar stories are represented.²⁰⁷

What 'Remembering Slavery' does offer is a detached, clinical overview of Cape slavery, borrowing heavily from revisionist academic work conducted from the 1970s and 1980s onwards. Rather than depicting enslaved people as human beings, its negation of the brutality which underpinned slavery is instead suggestive of a narrative which seeks to reposition slavery as a universal South African story, rather than an ethnically-separatist history with relevancy only to people categorised as coloured under apartheid. Eichmann surmises that the idea of situating slavery within this universalist discourse was influenced by proposals originating with

²⁰⁷ R.C.-H. Shell and A. Dick, 'Jan Smiesing, Slave Lodge Schoolmaster and Healer, 1697-1734' in N. Worden (ed.), *Cape Town Between East and West: Social identities in a Dutch Colonial Town* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2012), 128-153. For other life stories of possible museological interest, see S. Newton-King, 'Family, Friendship and Survival Among Freed Slaves' in Worden, *Cape Town Between East and West*, 153-176; Scully; Loos.

subject specialists such as Nigel Worden during the early 2000s which urged a wide definition of slavery.²⁰⁸ In making this decision, staff were perhaps mindful of broader reconciliatory, non-racist rhetoric closely associated with the ANC's 'rainbow nation' concept. Text in the foyer situates slavery as a universal human experience and, beyond a brief sentence suggesting that the effects of slavery remain salient in South African society today, there is little content in 'Remembering Slavery' which speaks to any form of legacy. The installation in the first gallery by the artist Rod Sauls which depicts a number of objects including a 'replica' set of shackles confined within perspex display boxes is perhaps one of these elements. Sauls, a coloured man who was forcibly removed from District Six by Group Areas legislation, was one of the few 'community' representatives involved in the exhibition.²⁰⁹ Mirroring the ways in which African-American diaspora tourists were eager for Cape Coast Castle to represent slavery as 'their' emotive experience of triumph over adversity during its mid 1990s redevelopment, people identifying as slave descendants in Cape Town have responded critically to the way they perceive 'Remembering Slavery' as negating both the suffering of their ancestors and of descendants themselves.²¹⁰ What emerges from the exhibition is a factual account of Cape slavery which may appeal to international visitors but does not speak to the concerns of local slave descendants.

Situating slavery as within a broader reconciliatory history undoubtedly has utility in terms of performing the important role of overcoming past silence and encouraging a wider range of people to acknowledge that slavery happened at the Cape. As Baderoon has argued, depicting slavery as a coloured-interest issue encourages adoption of a view that slavery was an

²⁰⁸ Eichmann, 'Representing slavery in South Africa', 3299. Worden had written of some of the pitfalls associated with the perception of slavery as an ethnically-separate history, in particular drawing on his experience as a participant in the failed Cape leg of UNESCO's Slave Route project. See Ward and Worden, 201-221.

²⁰⁹ Eichmann, 'Representing slavery in South Africa', 3259 describes how a steering group established in June 2005 was composed of academics and Iziko staff, and how other people were invited to comment on the draft script via email.

²¹⁰ Osei-Tutu, 118-120; Patrick Tariq Mellet, interview, 12 April 2016; Lucy Campbell, interview, 29 June 2015.

exceptional rather than integral part of the South African historical experience.²¹¹

Simultaneously, however, in order to deliver Iziko's objectives of citizen empowerment and reconciliation, the Slave Lodge could confront the painful, lived legacies of slavery rather than entirely avoiding issues relating to coloured group identity.²¹² Williams argues that one possible outcome of the memorial museum and its 'never again' narrative of inhumane events was to shift focus away from the specificities of historical tragedies.²¹³ This is one danger at the Slave Lodge if the museum continues to follow the redemptive 'human wrongs to human rights' theme without addressing the trauma and inequality which slavery imbedded in South African society.

Currently, a long-discarded plan in the first gallery of 'Remembering Slavery' outlines intentions for a future 'Legacy' gallery. As it is, the only space in the building which attempts to grapple with these issues is an exhibition titled 'Cultural Echoes' which was installed in 2009 in a room immediately following 'Remembering Slavery'. 'Cultural Echoes' takes a number of objects and pictures of objects from places where victims of the Cape slave trade originated, displaying them so as to construct a scene of vibrant culture. Included are photographs of a 20th century dance from Bali, numerous sculptures, a 20th century winnowing basket from Mozambique, and a photograph of a puppeteer from Java. The exhibition is problematic in a number of ways. Though it is foregrounded by a quote from slave descendant and heritage activist Patrick Tariq Mellet which instructs visitors to reflect on the ways in which enslaved people left cultural imprints, the exhibition is ambiguous as to the way in which the objects it displays were used at the Cape.²¹⁴ Many of them post-date slavery, and are in fact cultural artefacts from nations of origin which did not necessarily form part of the Cape's creolised culture. The lack of an

²¹¹ Baderoon, 16.

²¹² Iziko, 'Annual Report 2014/2015', 7

²¹³ Williams, 147-148.

²¹⁴ The quote reads 'All around us every day, we experience the echoes of cultures from Asia and Africa – and the fruits of the labour of the enslaved people. This great contribution of so many men and women, our ancestors, has for too long been blotted out by over-amplified colonial narratives'.

explanation, however, leaves open the possibility for visitors to interpret the objects as part of Cape culture. Secondly, if 'Cultural Echoes' does recall any legacy of Cape slavery then it is the stereotype of the 'exotic' Malay descendant, attached by custom to eastern cookery and traditional dress. Baderoon has critiqued the tendency to view slavery through this lens, suggesting that it further distances more troublesome legacies such as violence against women.²¹⁵ In this sense, 'Cultural Echoes' in fact further works to remove slavery from its painful and contested legacies, instead depicting timeless scenes of dancing and eating.

'Cultural Echoes' could be read differently were it not the only exhibition in the Slave Lodge which grapples with the legacy of slavery. Beyond 'Remembering Slavery', the rest of the building is primarily occupied by various temporary exhibitions documenting aspects of apartheid life which sit uneasily alongside remnants of the SACHM. Suggestive of a space which aims to interrogate human rights abuses across the South African historical narrative, temporary exhibitions have included displays such as the anti-apartheid protest song exhibition 'Singing Freedom', an exhibition on the life of Oliver Tambo, the artist Sue Williamson's 'There's something I must tell you' installation which included video footage of female struggle veterans in conversation with their daughters, and the Carneson family's 'Red in the Rainbow' exhibition looking at communist resistance to apartheid. It would be possible to link examinations of later human rights topics with slavery in a national narrative avoiding some of the pitfalls of the globalised discourse critiqued by Williams, however the contrast between old and new in the Slave Lodge makes it a difficult museum to assess against this objective. The former SACHM displays include exhibitions of Cape silverware and weaponry, and are tribute to recent recognition of the slow nature of change in museums by a state White Paper circulated as part of the process of drafting a new national arts, culture, and heritage policy.²¹⁶ They stand as emblems of the way in which museums founded under apartheid by necessity have to confront

²¹⁵ Baderoon, 16; 52.

²¹⁶ Republic of South Africa Department of Arts and Culture, 'Draft Revised White Paper on Arts, Culture, and Heritage, version 2' (June 2013), 38.

the legacies of past museum practices.²¹⁷ There is, however, nothing on site to explain why these exhibitions form part of the Slave Lodge, and the casual visitor is probably left none the wiser.

In addition to the continued presence of these outdated exhibitions, further material which has only a tenuous link with the motif 'human wrongs to human rights' has been installed since the change in direction heralded by the 2006 opening of 'Remembering Slavery'. These include the artist Siemon Allen's 'Labels' installation, an exhibition of *Isishweshwe* blue dye clothing titled 'Material Woman?', and a ceramics exhibition named 'From African Earth'.²¹⁸ Whilst funding deficiencies may go a long way to explaining why the older exhibitions have not been fully replaced, the installation of additional material with little connection to the Slave Lodge's declared narrative raises questions. For Paul Tichmann, who became curator of the museum in 2013, the links between the Slave Lodge's human rights focus and these exhibitions could be better explained to visitors.²¹⁹ In particular, he points to how the 5000 photographs of record covers which constitute 'Labels' include political speeches made by figures such as Nelson Mandela.²²⁰ He does, however, concede 'I think it doesn't make enough of a statement'.²²¹ 'In some cases,' he goes on, 'the collections almost determine what kinds of exhibitions are put in place'.²²² A desire to display blue dye clothing in the collection could therefore explain why 'Material Woman?' was installed, whilst the ambiguous artefacts which form 'Cultural Echoes' may also be linked with a drive to use collections rather than source fresh objects. For Tichmann, the underlying cause is 'a big focus on collections in Iziko', something which can perhaps be attributed to the legacies of Iziko's past as a disparate group of apartheid-era museums which largely focussed on elite cultural history.²²³ The lingering 20th century conceptualisation of museums as research-based organisations based on extensive collections betrays the origins of

²¹⁷ C. Rassool, 'Introduction: recalling community in Cape Town' in Rassool and Prosalendis, viii.

²¹⁸ All three of these exhibitions were originally conceived as temporary installations, yet all three have remained in situ beyond their advertised removal dates.

²¹⁹ Paul Tichmann, interview, 26 May 2016.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

²²¹ *Ibid.*

²²² *Ibid.*

²²³ *Ibid.*

many Iziko sites as colonial or apartheid-era institutions. Accordingly, Julie McGee has identified largely unaddressed structural problems within Iziko which have given rise to a 'transformation ideology' that pays lip service to change without ever properly attempting to engage with what it would mean.²²⁴ Though the situation has gradually changed as new staff have been appointed, for much of the post-apartheid period curators remained paired with research specialisms and were responsible for developing collections, rather than for engaging with new audiences.²²⁵ The past politics of apartheid have combined with the present politics of Iziko to create a Slave Lodge which aspires to the problematic theme of 'human wrongs to human rights', yet struggles to fulfil this remit owing to the continued presence of dated apartheid-era exhibitions. Displays of silverware and weaponry neither offer the possibility of reconciliation, nor do they explicitly expose human rights abuses.

There are currently signs that more meaningful change is occurring at the Slave Lodge, beyond merely redeveloping the museum space as was partially achieved by the installation of 'Remembering Slavery' in 2006. The rediscovery of the remains of the Portuguese slaver *São José* off the coast of Camps Bay in 2015 by a team led by members of Iziko's maritime archaeology unit has heralded new possibilities for the museum's future. The vessel had foundered in 1794 whilst en route across the Atlantic in 1794 with an estimated 212 out of a human cargo of around 500 also perishing.²²⁶ Although a number of the artefacts recovered have been loaned to the Smithsonian's National Museum of African American History and Culture which has part-funded the project, a portion have been retained in Cape Town for a planned exhibition in the Slave Lodge.²²⁷ The artefacts discovered represent a rare tangible link with Cape slavery given that the kind of triangular trade objects which dominate exhibitions of

²²⁴ J.L.M. McGee, 'Restructuring South African museums: reality and rhetoric within Cape Town' in J. Marstine (ed.), *New Museum Theory and Practice: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 178; 192.

²²⁵ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill was among the first academics to describe in detail how museums began moving away from the collecting-research axis during the 1980s. See Hooper-Greenhill, 204-206.

²²⁶ 'South Africans honour slaves drowned in 1794 shipwreck', *Mail & Guardian*, 2 June 2015.

²²⁷ Artefacts include copper fastenings and ballast from the ship, and a set of shackles.

transatlantic slavery largely passed unpreserved in South Africa. Staff at Iziko are presently engaged in a process of public consultation which seeks to build upon the interest generated by these uncommon connections.

These tangible links with the slave past have proven pivotal in establishing new global and local conversations between the Slave Lodge and various external groups and organisations. Together with a number of international partners including the Smithsonian and the US National Park Service, Iziko is now part of the Slave Wrecks Project which seeks to use maritime archaeology to further academic and public understanding of the slave trade.²²⁸ Existing links between Iziko and Brown University's Center for the Study of Slavery and Justice have also been bolstered by the discovery, and both organisations are currently part of the Slave Knowledges Global Curatorial Project which brings together curatorial expertise from across the world to advance public understanding of slavery. Iziko has organised a number of public events – beginning with a June 2015 symposium titled 'Bringing the *São José* into Memory' – in an attempt to communicate the significance of the discovery locally and invite suggestions as to how to exhibit the artefacts. This method of working could enable the Slave Lodge to integrate community perspectives and discuss some of the human legacies of slavery which are currently absent from the universalist narrative of 'Remembering Slavery'.

Eichmann notes that community consultation work has frequently eluded the Slave Lodge, identifying how public workshops held during the final years of the SACHM resulted in criticisms of the museum as an institution which precipitated a more insular focus.²²⁹ There is a perceptible sense among some groups that many of Cape Town's museums remain 'white' spaces. This includes the Slave Lodge, where a change of name and installation of new

²²⁸ For a full list of collaborators behind the Slave Wrecks Project, as well as for additional information on the project itself, see <https://www.slavewreckproject.org/> [accessed 11/12/16 at 10:40].

²²⁹ Eichmann, 'Representing slavery in South Africa', 3256-3257. Work with communities has generally been temporary and sporadic. See N.J. Gibson, 'Making art, making identity: Moving beyond racialised perceptions of identity through collaborative exhibition in the New South Africa', *South African Historical Journal* 61.3 (2009), 594-620 for discussion of a 1998 art exhibition which reflected on slave ancestry and was developed as a collaboration between Iziko and artists from the Cape Flats.

exhibitions has not been able to reverse the psychological effects which accompany decades of racial segregation.²³⁰ For example, a Muslim community group from the former coloured township of Mitchell's Plain attended Iziko's 2015 1 December commemorative event on invitation and all of those who visited claimed to have never entered the building before. This potentially underlines how revised exhibitions such as 'Remembering Slavery' have not spoken to the interests of everyday Capetonians. Staff are mindful of how such issues can stymie attempts to change, and are also forced to think creatively about how to connect with marginalised communities who may be unable to afford to travel to city centre museum spaces.²³¹ Precipitating what may turn out to be a broader change in focus, a temporary exhibition titled 'My Naam is Februarie: Identities Rooted in Slavery' opened at the Slave Lodge in October 2016. Based on the idea of a calendar designed by the marketing company Geometry Global whose creative director approached Iziko with the belief that more should be said about the Cape's slave heritage, the exhibition matched each month of the year with the surname of a participant. John January represented January, Felix February for February, and so forth, with obvious links to slave naming patterns at the Cape.²³² An accompanying video featured participants reflecting on this heritage, with several commenting how in the past these links were simply not discussed at family or any other level. Speaking about these previously unspeakable, ubiquitous legacies is an important role which a Slave Lodge mindful of social cohesion and empowerment can play.

²³⁰ The possibilities of apartheid-era heritage sites developing refashioned, inclusive 'second lives' has been discussed in relation to the Voortrekker Monument by Coombes, 35-45; and C. Kros, 'Public History/Heritage: Translation, Transgression or More of the Same?', *African Studies* 69.1 (2010), 63-77. Additionally, much like the Slave Lodge, whilst formulating redevelopment efforts the Africana Museum/Museum Africa had to grapple with similar questions of black and coloured people perceiving it as a white space, see D. Van Tonder, 'From Mausoleum to Museum: Revisiting Public History at the Inauguration of MuseumAfrica, Newtown', *South African Historical Journal* 31.1 (1994), 165-183. These considerations highlight some of the challenges which pre-existing museums face in meeting targets of inclusivity, compared with new post-1994 heritage projects.

²³¹ Najumoeniesa Damon, interview, 31 May 2016.

²³² Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 240-246. In addition to explaining slave naming patterns at the Cape, Shell commented that this heritage was obvious from browsing the Cape phone directory.

Curator Paul Tichmann suggests that staff have eagerly seized the opportunity presented by the *São José* artefacts to engage with the public and position Iziko within the global museological networks which the slave ship is part of.²³³ ‘The story of African slavery is somewhat downplayed’, he comments with reference to South Africa, expressing optimism that the discovery may reverse perceptions that Cape slavery purely involved Asian people.²³⁴ As evidence, he refers to the number of people who have already willingly spoken of ancestors from Mozambique at events.²³⁵ At an April 2016 public discussion meeting of plans for the Slave Wrecks Project, explicit calls were made to try and identify people with possible ancestral links with Mozambique.²³⁶ Although many of the people who have attended these meetings have been drawn from familiar groups – journalists, academics, anti-apartheid struggle veterans, heritage activists, and so forth – Tichmann points to an increase in the number of people contacting him with genealogical enquiries linked with slavery as evidence of wider resonance.²³⁷ He links this partially with the awareness which the *São José* discovery has raised, and additionally suggests that other developments such as the prominence of slavery within the school curriculum are encouraging people to investigate their ancestry.²³⁸ These enquiries are also suggestive of Iziko’s position as one of the foremost representatives of slave heritage in South Africa. Displays at Koopmans de Wet House and, as will be discussed in chapter five, Groot Constantia, have also been revised over the past decade to account for the lives of enslaved people.²³⁹ Whilst another Iziko site criticised by Cornell for its perceived failure to adequately represent slavery, Bo-Kaap Museum, has been reimagined more as a community centre than

²³³ Tichmann, interview.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

²³⁶ This meeting took place on 1 April 2016. Descent from 20th century mineworkers represents additional possible ancestral links with Mozambique.

²³⁷ Tichmann, interview.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*

²³⁹ Comments on Koopmans de Wet House based on 6 July 2015 visit; comments on Groot Constantia based on 15 April 2015 and 30 May 2016 visits.

necessarily as a history museum, links between the area and slavery are now also evident in displays here.²⁴⁰ 'There's real potential in having that kind of service', summarises Tichmann.²⁴¹

The interest generated by the *Sao Jose* discovery has built concurrently with other outreach work Iziko staff have been undertaking. Najumoeniesa Damon, an educator based in the Slave Lodge, describes how work with school learners has enabled the museum to engage additionally with older generations. Inter-generational workshops have been held whereby three generations of the same family sit and discuss various difficulties they have faced during their lives. 'And through these kind of interactions,' comments Damon, 'and these sessions we're able to breach those kind of...and get to the heart of those kind of traumas.'²⁴² Intergenerational memory work, she claims, can begin to overcome silences which have typically surrounded traumatic lived experiences, such as apartheid era legislation including the Mixed Marriages Act.²⁴³ These experiences and their legacies have remained salient in the lives of many people without being discussed or properly understood, meaning that such difficulties are passed on to the next generation who in turn are not able to come to terms with their familial pasts. Regardless of whether the *São José* artefacts translate into any meaningful change in focus for the Slave Lodge's exhibitions, it is arguably through 'behind the scenes' community work such as these discussions that the museum can confront the legacies of marginalisation over time. As the example of District Six Museum and its role in encouraging displaced residents to apply for land restitution demonstrates, in post-apartheid South Africa museums have a broader utility in the process of working towards social justice than merely creating inclusive exhibitions.²⁴⁴

Buoyed by this increase in community-orientated work over the past few years, there is a growing sense at Iziko that slavery can be a unitary narrative which simultaneously explores

²⁴⁰ Cornell, 267-271. Comments based on a number of visits between April 2015 and June 2016.

²⁴¹ Tichmann, interview.

²⁴² Damon, interview.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁴ Coombes, 147-148.

often fraught identity politics. The commonalities as they are now conceived are not necessarily in terms of the lesson for South Africa and universal humanity which 'Remembering Slavery' offers, but are premised on the idea of slavery as part of a melting pot Cape heritage. This idea is nothing new in itself, however it is important that it is now being recognised as a way by which the Slave Lodge can confront Cape identity politics whilst also working towards Iziko's reconciliatory objectives. Tichmann suggests that by working with communities the museum can foster pride in diverse origins which remind people that slavery is one of a number of Cape histories featuring in many family trees.²⁴⁵ Damon has seen the results of such a strategy, reporting how school learners from different racial groups are able to look at the 'Column of Memory' and see their own names. 'I had Xhosa-speaking learners who said "miss, but that's my surname there", and it was van Mozambique, or it was from Madagascar,' she comments.²⁴⁶ Positing slavery as a common Capetonian origin consequently addresses the question of where people come from, thus enabling some understanding of the present without entrenching apartheid racial categories. This is an important step in confronting some of the legacies of slavery. 'It's about...working with communities, working with non-governmental organisations (NGOs), working with various groups to really then make it, to create that impact in terms of social cohesion, in terms of nation-building', comments Tichmann, highlighting how South African museums cannot act alone in this process²⁴⁷ This underlines an idea that a museum's exhibitions are not necessarily the most important element of its activities, and impresses the need for longer-term work. Given that the limiting factor of funding is unlikely to change in the immediate future, then it is perhaps by acting as a centre for discussion that the Slave Lodge can begin to speak to the human legacies of slavery.

²⁴⁵ Tichmann, interview.

²⁴⁶ Damon, interview.

²⁴⁷ Tichmann, interview.

An African heritage: representing slavery at Freedom Park

Situated in a 52 hectare site on a hillside above the national capital of Pretoria, Freedom Park opened in 2006 having been institutionalised as a Legacy Project of Mandela's successor as president, Thabo Mbeki.²⁴⁸ Sabine Marschall argues that sites included within the Legacy Project amount to official guidance as to which elements of the South African past should be considered 'national history', in terms both of events and potential national heroes.²⁴⁹ As a flagship site of this stature, Freedom Park currently receives an annual grant from the Department of Arts and Culture of over R80, 000, 000 which, to give context, is around R20, 000, 000 more than the eleven sites which constitute Iziko received in public money in 2015.²⁵⁰ The politics associated with transforming both institutionally and in terms of displays are not quite so pressing in the case of Freedom Park compared with Iziko. Unlike the Slave Lodge, Freedom Park is not specifically a museum of slavery and consequently does not offer quite such extensive insights into representing Cape slavery. It does, however, give more attention to the slave past than is the case with many post-apartheid heritage projects. As a national memorial site, the way in which Freedom Park represents slavery is useful to consider for the insights it offers into how the subject can and does figure in terms of national remembrance. Significantly, Freedom Park is one of the only heritage sites outside the Western Cape to commemorate Cape slavery.²⁵¹

Freedom Park is conceived as a garden of remembrance to the South African past and its actors. Outside, it comprises three main components. The first of these is a symbolic area named 'S'khumbuto', of which a central feature the 'Wall of Names'. This is grouped into eight 'struggle' epochs which staff and the diverse parties which comprise its steering group believe have

²⁴⁸ The Legacy Project comprised nine heritage projects considered to be a high priority by the state. Other sites included were Nelson Mandela's house, a commemorative site for the South African War, and the Monument for the Women of South Africa. For a full list, see Marschall, *Landscape of Memory*, 175.

²⁴⁹ Marschall, *Landscape of Memory*, 182.

²⁵⁰ Freedom Park, 'Annual Report 2016', 74; Iziko, 'Annual Report 2014/2015', 76. The amount of money given to Freedom Park has fallen in recent years, though has remained stable between 2015 and 2016.

²⁵¹ Comments based on 29 September 2015 and 9 May 2016 visits.

shaped South African history.²⁵² Roughly 85, 000 names of men and women are displayed underneath subheadings of the epochs they were associated with.²⁵³ These epochs include 'Genocide', 'Wars of Resistance', 'Slavery', 'South African War', 'First World War', 'Second World War', and 'Apartheid'. Additional symbolic features include the reflective area '*Uitspanplek*', and '*Isivivane*' which represents a symbolic resting place for the people Freedom Park commemorates. Included within '*Isivivane*' are an area where boulders from each of South Africa's nine provinces function as a symbolic burial ground titled '*Lesaka*', and '*Lekgotla*', a traditional African meeting place surrounding the trunk of a *uMlahlankosi* tree. A museum named *//hapo* - 'dream' in Khoi – was opened in 2013, offering a historical narrative which begins 3.6 billion years ago.

Figure 1.5 '*Lesaka*', Freedom Park, 2015.



Notes: Nine of the eleven boulders represent South Africa's nine provinces; the other two symbolise international community and local governance. '*Isivivane*', which '*Lesaka*' forms part of, is conceived as a resting place for past struggle heroes, and the boulders represent the contributions made by people from various geographical areas to the fight for freedom.

²⁵² Members of the steering group range from academics to anti-apartheid struggle veterans to South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) staff.

²⁵³ The number of names on the wall increases every year, and at full capacity will total 150, 000.

The history of South Africa as told at Freedom Park charts both violence and the everyday men and women who resisted oppression and fought for the constitutional rights which are enjoyed today. As Marschall explains, it was partially inspired by sites such as Zimbabwe's National Heroes Acre, though is more 'measured and restrained' in celebrating liberation than similar memorials in many post-colonial African states are.²⁵⁴ The broad definition of the 'freedom fighter' is taken and posited as the ancestors of all South Africans who are celebrated as modern day 'Africans'.²⁵⁵ Addressing the ambiguous position of white South Africans in this formula, 'freedom fighter' here can mean anyone who celebrated freedom, even if this meant repressing others in the process.²⁵⁶ Freedom Park represents national rebirth, standing for a nation which has been shaped by a past of struggle, remembers and reflects on this history, and has moved on to an egalitarian present, tinged by the sorrow of past oppression. It sits across the valley from the Afrikaner nationalist-totem that is the 1938 Voortrekker Monument, and both sites are symbolically linked by 'Reconciliation Road' which opened in 2011.

As memorial features such as '*Lekgotla*' suggest, Freedom Park is rooted in 'African renaissance' thinking which was the 'symbolic currency' of the Mbeki era.²⁵⁷ In his biography of Mbeki, Mark Gevisser describes 'African renaissance' as a policy which was influenced both by Mbeki's own desire for self-discovery after returning from exile and by black consciousness ideas apparent from the late 19th century onwards.²⁵⁸ It suggested that South Africa – as part of a united Africa – could be reborn by reconnecting with indigenous knowledge systems to recover a sense of self-worth after centuries of exploitation.²⁵⁹ 'African renaissance' built upon the non-racialist reconciliation discourse closely associated with the Mandela era to suggest an inclusive

²⁵⁴ Marschall, *Landscape of Memory*, 209-211; 181.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 209-211.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 232.

²⁵⁷ D. Herwitz, 'Heritage and Legacy in the South African State and University' in Peterson et al, 39.

²⁵⁸ M. Gevisser, *Thabo Mbeki: The Dream Deferred* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2009), 52; 357-359.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 356-357.

society united by a sense of being African.²⁶⁰ Accordingly, Duane Jethro has suggested that, guided by Mbeki's philosophy, Freedom Park's historical narrative takes its foundation moment not in the big bang but by closely following 'an African story of creation'.²⁶¹ For Jethro, the birth of the nation is constructed using ideas from indigenous knowledge systems and southern African religion which are translated into the fixed symbolic structures which form Freedom Park.²⁶² Marschall notes a tension in the memorial's conceptual process between on the one hand appealing to an international memorial aesthetic, and on the other wishing to create a memorial which was suitably 'African'. Although design of the resting place installation, 'Isivivane', was reserved for an African designer, ideas for the rest of Freedom Park were advertised as part of an international competition.²⁶³ The 'Wall of Names' itself is a very Western concept, inspired by numerous war memorials and in particular the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial in Washington.²⁶⁴

²⁶⁰ Bundy, 80.

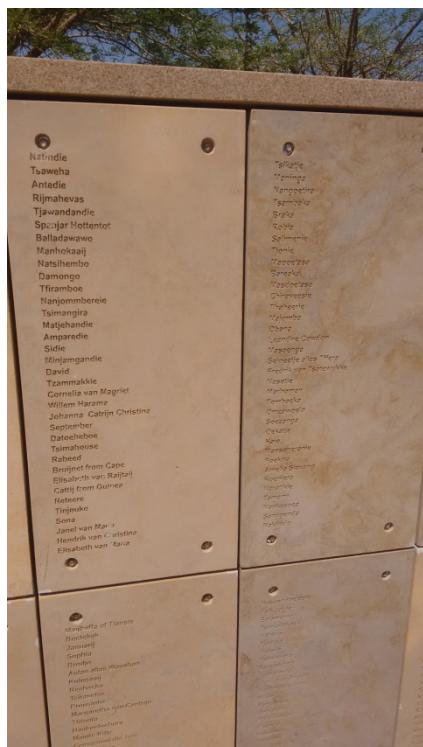
²⁶¹ D. Jethro, 'An African story of creation: heritage formation at Freedom Park, South Africa', *Material Religion* 9.3. (2013), 388.

²⁶² *Ibid*, 374-375.

²⁶³ Marschall, *Landscape of Memory*, 220-221.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 229.

Figure 1.7 Specific detail of 'Slavery' sub-section of 'Wall of Names', Freedom Park, 2015.



From its early days, Freedom Park, and particularly its 'Wall of Names', has caused controversy over who it has and has not ascribed with the status of national hero. Enslaved

people, it can be presumed, are considered freedom fighters, with their names appearing beneath the wall's 'Slavery' subheading. A particularly acute debate reflecting some of the tensions in post-apartheid society erupted in 2006 when the Freedom Park Trust requested proposals for names to be included on the 'Wall of Names'. South African Defence Force (SADF) veterans' organisations submitted the names of former servicemen who had fought in the apartheid-era South African Border War in Namibia.²⁶⁵ The ensuing debate over how appropriate it was to include the names of people who had upheld racial oppression as part of a memorial which ostensibly commemorated freedom raised pertinent questions as to the purpose of Freedom Park. As Marschall argues, Freedom Park's definition of what constitutes an 'African' is not obviously defined.²⁶⁶ Given how 'African' constituted an apartheid-era racial category, then its reuse as a collective South African identity could nonetheless easily exclude white people both from South African history and as stakeholders in the 'new' nation. Foremost, the SADF episode underlined the importance of Freedom Park and similar sites in creating this sense of who is and who is not included in the public sphere of the reborn South Africa.

The opening of the museum *//hapo* introduced didactic content to Freedom Park where the past had previously been commemorated largely through symbolic methods. In light of the way in which this instructive content offers a greater narrative depth, this space is arguably the most pertinent element of Freedom Park for assessing how and where enslavement fits into its Africanist narrative of national reconciliation. In common with the 'Wall of Names', *//hapo* is sub-divided into epochs, though these differ slightly from the epochs displayed outside. 'Earth', 'Ancestors', 'Peopling', 'Resistance and Colonisation', 'Industrialisation and Urbanisation', 'Nationalisms', 'The Struggle', and 'Nation Building and Continent Building' are chosen in *//hapo*

²⁶⁵ G. Baines, 'Site of struggle: the Freedom Park fracas and the divisive legacy of South Africa's Border War/Liberation Struggle', *Social Dynamics* 35.2 (2009), 335. The names have yet to be included on the wall, however Freedom Park has engaged in a joint annual commemorative event with the Voortrekker Monument to remember SADF casualties. The SADF Wall of Remembrance was opened at the latter site in 2009.

²⁶⁶ Marschall, *Landscape of Memory*, 232-236.

as the eight conflicts which have shaped South Africa. The museum's orientation room roots its content in Mbeki's 1996 'I Am an African' speech, an excerpt of which is displayed on a panel. Gevisser depicts this speech as inclusive, suggesting that Mbeki's definition of 'African' included former oppressors whose identities he assimilated.²⁶⁷ In this sense, the speech is consistent with other elements of *//hapo's* orientation room which describes the museum as 'a dream for humanity' where the past is discussed as a means of moving 'forward to a shared future as Africans'. Alternatively, Marschall suggests that 'I Am an African' was not well-defined, particularly in its approach to white South Africans, and argues that Freedom Park has adopted these ambiguities, in particular in relation to the SADF affair.²⁶⁸ Accordingly, the selective nature of the excerpt displayed in *//hapo* is potentially problematic. Mbeki's definition of an 'African' as inclusive of the natural landscape figures prominently, however specificities are omitted. Given the limited physical space available to display the speech, this was probably a curatorial decision so as to avoid including certain definitions – say, Khoi people – and not others – say, enslaved people, or those who fought in the South African War. Freedom Park's 'African' is consequently an individual who has remembered their ancestors' connections with the landscape, an important point of departure for discussing subsequent elements of *//hapo*.

An introductory text panel offers further definition, specifically identifying *//hapo's* purpose as 'giving voice' to 'distorted, suppressed and silenced...African stories' to enable South Africa to 'become the nation we imagined'. These African stories begin in the 'Earth' gallery where an audio-visual feature complete with dimmed lights give an account of how rock, then fire, and then water were brought into being by 'the Creator'. Human beings, the story follows, emerged from the Zulu '*Umhlanga*' (reed dance) ceremony, and began to live at one with the earth and each other by practising *ubuntu*. The instructive nature of *//hapo* is clear from this early point, with the genesis of human beings held as a reminder of what the visitor could learn

²⁶⁷ Gevisser, 359.

²⁶⁸ Marschall, *Landscape of Memory*, 232.

from early ancestors. A text panel in 'Earth' defines *ubuntu* as the only means by which human beings can 'realise our potential to become the best human beings we can be'. Foregrounding the museum in this context draws on notions of Africa as the birthplace of humanity.

The 'Ancestors' gallery follows, maintaining and developing these fused interests of an embryonic humanity and natural environment. Foremost here is the concept of a self-respecting Africa proud of its achievements, an important element of Mbeki's 'African renaissance' idea. A map depicts migration outward from Africa over the past million years, whilst early stone implements are interpreted as catalysts of human innovation and evidence of the African contribution to later industrialisation. The optimism derived from the simple – yet ambitious – interaction between human beings and their natural environment is disrupted in subsequent galleries. The following gallery, 'Peopling', depicts how Europeans saw Africa as a market for slaves, whilst 'Resistance and Colonisation' develops this idea of aggressive foreign colonisers disrupting the connection between African people and their land, in spite of attempted resistance. 'Industrialisation and Urbanisation' posits African people, now divorced from the land, as expendable units of production in the eyes of European settlers. A more specific focus on the history of South Africa is evident by this stage, as the mining revolution is depicted and a timeline explains the gradual tightening of racial segregationist policies as the 19th became the 20th century. The next two galleries, 'Nationalisms' and 'The Struggle' cover how the oppressed in South Africa gradually fought against racial segregation, with peaceful resistance giving way to violent protest. Symbolically, white men refusing conscription into the SADF under apartheid is offered as an example of resistance amidst the more expected references to the ANC, Black Consciousness Movement, Organisation of African Unity, and the international anti-apartheid movement.

//*hapo* culminates with the somewhat triumphant 'Nation Building and Continent Building' gallery. The emancipation moment of democracy is outlined, illustrated by an image of

a beaming Mandela casting his vote in 1994, and the egalitarianism of the new constitution is heralded. The pan-African narrative of the first three galleries is restored here, as South Africa is once again posited as part of a wider continent. Mbeki's 'African renaissance' is foremost in this cautious celebration of the present, being introduced and held as a concept that reintegrated South Africa into Africa on the basis of its central belief that Africans can live alongside each other in peace. Recalling the themes introduced by 'Earth' and 'Ancestors', links between new national symbols and the natural environment are described, including the new national tree, *mufhanza*, and the new national fish, *galjoen*. Recalling Williams' formulation of the memorial museum, *//hapo* traces a national and continental history from humble beginnings through periods of trauma to an age symbolised by the 'African renaissance' of Mbeki, where lessons gleaned from these origins are viewed as solutions to national and continental problems.²⁶⁹ This idea of healing by looking to an African past builds upon Freedom Park's symbolic features such as 'Isivivane' which encourage reflection informed by indigenous knowledge systems. *//hapo* thus says 'never again' to the malign influences of European colonisation and racial segregation by proposing that Africa's future lies in its pre-colonial past. Truth commissions such as the TRC in South Africa and International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda are depicted as 'African solutions for African problems', rooted in the 'spirit of *ubuntu*' which guided humanity from its creation.

Victims of enslavement are offered a stake in this Africanist account of history in *//hapo*, just as they are on the 'Wall of Names'. It is important that any project of national healing accounts for this deep history, and, in identifying how European influence separated African people from their natural world, *//hapo* certainly provides one explanation for long-term structural inequalities. In tentatively celebrating a democratic country situated in a united continent, the museum perhaps stops short of examining the prevalence of these socio-economic problems. One criticism of the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg has been the way in which it 'closes' history by presenting inequality as part of the past, and a similar critique

²⁶⁹ Williams, 147-148.

could be made of *//hapo* where a resurgent Africanism is presented as the incubator of a glorious present.²⁷⁰ *//hapo* does nonetheless provide some contextualisation as to how enslavement can form part of a South African historical narrative. Though the exhibition's conclusion may be celebratory, there is a sense of how slavery formed part of a narrative of marginalisation and exploitation which culminated with the horror of apartheid. This is a narrative which the democratic present is posited as in the process of redeeming, and thus the enslaved and other people who appear as dispossessed by injustice in *//hapo* serve as stakeholders in bringing about this new era of freedom.

Whilst enslaved people are undoubtedly recognised as national heroes by Freedom Park, their exact identities are at times unclear. In this sense, Freedom Park perhaps evokes a concept of slavery which risks becoming lost in the generalisations critiqued by Williams and Araujo.²⁷¹ On the 'Wall of Names', the names of people enslaved at the Cape – such as 'Rachael from Batavia', 'Johanna Catrijn Christina', and many others – are recalled alongside other people who played a role in the nation's history of struggle.²⁷² Slavery as described in *//hapo*, however, appears to be transatlantic slavery. The introductory panel in 'Peopling' describes the history of internal migration in Africa before suggesting the slavery perpetrated by Europeans disrupted this development and opened up the possibility of colonisation. The 'Peopling' gallery is dominated by a large installation designed by the Johannesburg-based sculptor Clive van den Berg which depicts groups of people being marched from the African interior to board slave ships bound across the sea. These ships are labelled, and the inclusion of the renowned Liverpool slaver *Brookes* leaves no doubt as to which slave trade the artwork recalls. Maps of population development in Africa, and artefacts including a large clay pot are displayed as

²⁷⁰ Verbeeck, 222; L.J. Bremner, 'Memory, Nation Building and the Post-apartheid City' in N. Murray, N. Shepherd, and M. Hall, (eds), *Desire Lines: space, memory and identity in the post-apartheid city* (London: Routledge, 2007), 102.

²⁷¹ Williams, 147-148; Araujo, *Shadows of the Slave Past*, 51-53.

²⁷² Anecdotal evidence suggests that Iziko was one source these names were gathered from.

evidence of pre-slave trade civilisation in Africa.²⁷³ On an adjacent wall, excerpts from transatlantic slave narratives written by individuals such as Olaudah Equiano and Ottobah Cugano are displayed to give a first-person African perspective of being removed from home by European traders.

Figure 1.8 Clive van den Berg's slave ship installation, //hapo, Freedom Park, 2016.



Notes: The names of transatlantic slaving vessels including, visibly, *Desire* – the first American slave ship – are included as part of an installation which depicts enslaved people being marched to the coast of Africa and departure from the continent on board slavers.

Subsequent galleries recall a more specific South African history, however history as told in 'Peopling' is a similarly broad analysis of a generalised 'African' history as offered in the preceding 'Earth' and 'Ancestors' galleries. 'Peopling' is in many ways the culmination of these previous galleries, and sets up the next few galleries as a tension between 'heroes' and 'villains', read broadly as Africans and Europeans respectively. As an institution which removed Asian and

²⁷³ Several of these artefacts were either created as replicas for the exhibition, or sourced from other museum collections.

African people from their homes to Africa rather than from Africa across the Atlantic, Cape slavery was anomalous in terms of historical relations between African and European people. It is difficult to reconcile its specific characteristics with the Africanist perspective adopted by Freedom Park. This representation of slavery is problematic given that Freedom Park – as the SADF controversy highlighted – has been assigned with a status which dictates voice and place in the reborn South Africa. Though included in the ‘Wall of Names’, people enslaved at the Cape, and by association their descendants, are offered at best implicit recognition in *//hapo*.

Figure 1.9 Artefacts which form part of ‘Peopling’, *//hapo*, Freedom Park, 2016.



Notes: some of these objects were commissioned for the exhibition and constructed by West Africans. It is not always clear from available on site information which artefacts fall into this category, although there is an audio-visual installation depicting the process by which clay pots are manufactured in the present day. This forms part of a general theme of advocating the agency of African people throughout time.

//hapo's curator, Sipho Mdanda, claimed when asked that the museum's representation of slavery was informed partially by a wariness of wading into identity debates in the Cape

coloured community which he perceives have yet to be resolved.²⁷⁴ 'Yeah, it's very important as an acknowledgement of their slavery roots, but how do you embrace that in your identity going forwards is another issue,' he comments in relation to Cape coloured identity.²⁷⁵ 'Why are they not telling with it like that?' he asks, outlining Freedom Park's respect of the decision made by many people not to discuss the Cape slave past and not to assign them with this identity.²⁷⁶ Mirroring 'Remembering Slavery' at the Slave Lodge, it seems that coloured identity politics and the supposed divisiveness of Cape slavery was influential in dictating the form of the exhibition at Freedom Park. This curatorial reluctance to engage with identity politics is notably at odds with how state-funded museums have been ascribed a central role in dictating a new national identity in South Africa – and indeed post-colonial African states in general – by some scholars.²⁷⁷ At the very least, it emphasises the necessity of accounting for the actions of individual actors such as curatorial staff when analysing patterns of change in arts, culture, and heritage. In the case of 'Peopling', navigating these issues whilst maintaining *//hapo's* pan-African narrative necessitated a portrayal of a continental experience of slavery which has little in common with Cape slavery. In planning content, staff were also mindful that slavery is open to a number of definitions. It could, they claim, be used to refer to the exploitative *inboekeling* system of contract labour perpetrated by internal Boer settlers in the 19th century.²⁷⁸ Indeed, the names of people who suffered under this system are included on the 'Wall of Names' underneath the slavery subheading, demonstrating how Freedom Park has conflated the two histories. As much as these pasts are worthy of greater attention, 'Peopling' largely refers to transatlantic slavery, making it unlikely for the casual visitor to read in these connections.

²⁷⁴ Sipho Mdanda and Lauren Marx, interview, 9 May 2016.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁷ S. Nanda, 'South African Museums and the Creation of a New National Identity', *American Anthropologist* 106.2 (2004), 379-385; R. Werbner, 'Smoke from the Barrel of a Gun: Postwars of the Dead, memory and Reinscription in Zimbabwe' in R. Werbner (ed.), *Memory and the Postcolony: African anthropology and the critique of power* (New York: Zed Books, 1998), 71-102.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.* For more information on *inboekeling*, see P. Delius, *The Land Belongs to Us: The Pedi Polity, the Boers and the British in the Nineteenth-Century Transvaal* (London: Heinemann, 1984).

One break with this general rule occurs through the inclusion of a *kitaab* loaned from a member of Cape Town's Muslim community and displayed in a case alongside a set of shackles.²⁷⁹ This is not labelled, meaning that anyone lacking in academic knowledge of the subject would most probably pass by unaware. Nonetheless, its presence in 'Peopling' suggests a curatorial awareness of Cape slavery and its modern legacies, and an intention to in fact address some of the complex contestations surrounding coloured identity. Why would this personal artefact have been sourced if not to illustrate the ancestral origins of the Cape coloured community? It brings to the fore the construct of Malay identity, and also the Western Cape's contemporary population as legacies of its multilayered history. Perhaps a potential late change in direction to a solely pan-African perspective rendered it redundant? That it has been retained as part of 'Peopling' adds a confusing layer of complexity to what is already a beguiling gallery. Its presence is emblematic of a museum which is suggestive of the traumatic effects of deep history on South Africa without specifically addressing the nature of this history, or the ways in which it surfaces in society today.

²⁷⁹ *Kitaabs* are documentary accounts of ancestry held by many Cape Muslim families which recall various origins, including slavery. See S. Jappie, 'From the Madrasah to the Museum: the Social Life of the "Kietabs" of Cape Town', *History in Africa* 38 (2011), 369-399 for additional information. The provenance of the shackles is unknown, however it seems likely that they are either replicas or were originally not connected with slavery.

Figure 1.10 *Kitaab* and other artefacts, //hapo, Freedom Park, 2016.



Notes: as the picture shows, there is no text panel explaining these artefacts.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that both post-apartheid reconciliation discourse and Mbeki's African renaissance simplify what is a complex history in slavery. In doing so, it has advanced established critiques of national foundation myths, arguing that they by necessity simplify or obscure difficult elements of the past.²⁸⁰ At the Slave Lodge, 'Remembering Slavery' taps into international modes of remembering and represents Cape slavery as a universal human rights story which all visitors can learn from. The violent aspects of slavery are marginalised, and the exhibition attempts to depict enslaved people as human agents though is constricted in this goal by a lack of source material which offers understanding of how such people thought and lived. As a means of negotiating local identity politics and the perception of slavery as an ethnically-separatist heritage, the exhibition also does not engage with slavery's legacies, beyond the transnational idea of the universal lesson for humanity. This may be something which is changing, as current Iziko staff are increasingly engaging with people who identify as slave

²⁸⁰ Werbner.

descendants. Freedom Park is a memorial space which says 'never again' to the malign influences of European colonialism and formal racial segregation, tentatively heralding a potentially glorious future based on African tradition. The primacy of this discourse has resulted in a different representation of slavery which could also be considered problematic. *//hapo* at Freedom Park offers a continuous historical narrative which refers to marginalisation as it has been experienced over time. Slavery is presented as an early interaction between Europeans and Africans, and transatlantic slavery, rather than Cape slavery, is recalled. As an institution which removed people from Africa across the Atlantic, transatlantic slavery offers more to the Mbeki-inspired African renaissance discourse than Cape slavery, which saw African and Asian people removed to Africa, would.

The Slave Lodge and Freedom Park are among the few museums in South Africa which memorialise the atrocities of the past by looking beyond the past century. This makes them prime sites for discussing deeply-imbedded injustices, yet the presence of national narratives and other structural issues currently constrain their possible effectiveness in doing this. Arguably, facilitating understanding of the past so as to encourage people to better understand the present is one of the ways in which these museums could contribute towards their goals of citizen empowerment. Such work is an important part of establishing a socially-conscious museum, and could speak to the concerns of activists who have addressed a deeper South African historical narrative and called for 'decolonisation' as one answer to socio-economic problems. Chapter two will examine how coloured slave descendants are themselves responding to these challenges through work in the heritage industry.

Chapter Two: 'Our communities are still enslaved': heritage, slavery, and coloured identity in the Western Cape post-apartheid

The label 'coloured' has problematic and contested connotations in modern day South Africa. Conceived during the late 19th century by a state increasingly interested in control and taxonomy, it represented a lazy, liminal term covering anyone thought to belong to neither the white nor black racial binaries. Descendants of the enslaved were included within this all-encompassing label, alongside descendants of Khoi and San people, later migrants from the Indian and Atlantic Ocean worlds, and people who were products of the great *fin de siècle* fear that was racial mixture. Burgeoning racial segregation was particularly targeted at inner city working-class neighbourhoods in response to public health fears.²⁸¹ Many of the former enslaved and their descendents lived in these racially mixed areas, including the now-iconic neighbourhood of District Six. The increasingly stringent and formalised racial segregation which accompanied the onset of apartheid from 1948 onwards crystalised the meaning of coloured from the state's perspective. Seven sub-groups were delineated by the 1959 Population Registration Act, these being Griqua, Malay, Indian, Chinese, Cape Coloured, Other Asiatic, and Other Coloured. Owing to the Cape's historical status as a maritime melting pot, people categorised as coloured have typically formed a numerical majority in the modern day Western Cape province.²⁸²

This chapter aims to explore and explain how the arena of heritage representation is being used by coloured actors to advance recognition of the slave past, as well as their own claims to this ancestry. These claims are sometimes hostile to 'official' forms of historical representation discussed in chapter one. It will suggest that slavery is a heritage which at times is performed, and that this visual reminder of the past is particularly powerful in fostering a

²⁸¹ V. Bickford-Smith, 'Mapping Cape Town: From Slavery to Apartheid' in S. Field (ed.), *Lost Communities, Living Memories: Remembering Forced Removals in Cape Town* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2001), 16-18.

²⁸² The 2011 national census reveals that coloured people constitute almost 50 per cent of the province's population. Statistics South Africa, 'Census 2011. Census in Brief' (2011), 21.

sense of belonging and recognition of slave ancestry amongst fellow coloured people. In doing this, it will develop an existing field of work which examines refashioned coloured identity in post-apartheid South Africa. This literature has been particularly vociferous on the Khoisan revival movement, and indeed parallels between these developments and a reclaimed slave identity will be investigated. It is interesting to note how claims are now being made by actors pertaining to the importance of the enslaved in constructing modern Cape Town, with this seemingly influencing their own perspectives of temporal and spatial belonging. Likewise, there is a sense currently promulgated by proponents of an identity which recognises slave ancestry that slavery is in numerous ways a living history, one which people can learn from whilst still being affected, often adversely, by its legacies.

Refashioning coloured identity over time

Apartheid and its discriminatory practices brought upheaval for people classified as coloured. In towns and cities across the country, state-sponsored forced displacement to racially-segregated townships was a harsh fact of life for hundreds of thousands of people following the introduction of the Group Areas Act in 1950. In Cape Town, over 100, 000 people were forcibly removed from racially heterogeneous areas surrounding the city centre and southern suburbs to distant and desolate grid-style townships on the Cape Flats. The 1956 Separate Registration of Voters Act restricted the electoral rights of coloured people to four members of parliament, and the franchise was subsequently removed from all coloured voters in 1969. The transformation of group outlook and identity in response to this trauma was cataclysmic. With protagonists of the anti-apartheid struggle increasingly espousing ideals of black consciousness from the 1960s onwards, the idea of a separate coloured identity was condemned as a state construct, inimical to the interests of opposing racial segregation.

Revisionist scholarship in the post-apartheid era led chiefly by Mohamed Adhikari has however stressed the idea of a self-defined coloured identity under apartheid.²⁸³ Indeed, it has been suggested that pan-African opposition to apartheid was merely a political front maintained by a select group of activists, with the majority of coloured people living in racially-homogenous areas, conditioned by decades of colonial and apartheid racially-exclusive planning.²⁸⁴ Henry Trotter argues that apartheid and the trauma of forced displacement led to the creation of an alternative coloured meta-narrative which emphasised the harmony of pre-Group Areas life. Circulating in racially-exclusive social surroundings which promoted reminiscing, this re-writing of history offered people a means of coping with the often dangerous and dispiriting conditions in townships on the Cape Flats where gang violence and drug abuse remain a feature of life.²⁸⁵ It is perhaps worth noting that the black consciousness wing of the anti-apartheid movement probably only ever had currency amongst educated, politically-active coloured people, and that working-class members of society instead continued to identify along racial lines.²⁸⁶ The new version of the past constructed by the latter group ignored ancestral origins such as slavery.²⁸⁷ Simultaneously, the black consciousness anti-apartheid argument was articulated to reject an

²⁸³ M. Adhikari, 'From Narratives of Miscegenation to Post-Modernist Reimagining: Toward a Historiography of Coloured Identity in South Africa', *African Historical Review* 40.1 (2008), 79-80. See also Z. Erasmus, 'Re-imagining Coloured Identities in Post-Apartheid South Africa' in Z. Erasmus (ed.), *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape Town* (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2001), 13-29.

²⁸⁴ S. Jackson, 'Coloureds don't Toyi-Toyi: Gesture, Constraint & Identity in Cape Town' in S.L. Robins (ed.), *Limits to Liberation after Apartheid: Citizenship, Governance & Culture* (Oxford: James Currey, 2005), 211.

²⁸⁵ H. Trotter, 'Trauma and memory: the impact of apartheid-era forced removals on coloured identity in Cape Town' in M. Adhikari (ed.), *Burdened by Race: Coloured Identities in southern Africa* (Cape Town: UCT press, 2009), 49-50. The centrality of reminiscing to constructions of coloured identity in Cape Town has also been identified in S. Field, *Oral History, Community and Displacement: Imagining Memories in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 43, whilst the detrimental effects of forced removals on group memory and storytelling is cited as a broader South African experience in I. Hofmeyer, *"We spend our years as a tale that is told": Oral Historical Narrative in a South African Chieftdom* (London: J Currey, 1994), 11.

²⁸⁶ Field, 44; M. Adhikari, *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005), 160-1.

²⁸⁷ This process of memory displacement was not necessarily limited to people who suffered forced removals and also occurred in rural areas of the Western Cape where unequal access to resources has maintained a strict labour hierarchy over the centuries. See Kahn, 30-33 and K. Ward, *The Road to Mamre: Migration, Memory, and the Meaning of Community c.1900-1992* (unpublished MA thesis), University of Cape Town, 1992, 152-154.

offer from the Malaysian government of repatriation to escape apartheid as recognition of slave diasporic lines. Accepting these advances was deemed incompatible with the idea of a collective struggle, and thus slave ancestry was again ignored.²⁸⁸

The uneasy relationship between those labelled as coloured and the slave past was developing prior to apartheid and its racial constructs and opposition movements. Although 1 December continued to be celebrated as emancipation day until the early 20th century, attempts were underway to distance coloured as a category from slavery by the late 19th century.²⁸⁹ Those who constituted the nascent category of coloured at this time perceived a stigma attached to slavery stemming particularly from the idea that an association with slavery somehow made them less civilised.²⁹⁰ Denying this ancestry was central to the idea of attempting to identify as white rather than coloured in order to achieve preferable status in the colonial and later apartheid classification systems. People were not encouraged to embrace slave ancestry by the segregationist government, although, ironically, the apartheid state did incorporate slave ancestry into its vision of an orientalist, exoticised Malay identity used to define coloured Capetonian Muslims. This construct, however, negated the brutal realities of the slave past, was not held as relevant to the broader non-Muslim coloured population, and only received implicit support from middle-class members of the Malay community, with Malay anti-apartheid campaigners contesting its imposition.²⁹¹ For much of the twentieth century, there was little impetus to recall slavery from any group or individual.

According to literary scholar Zoe Wicomb, the sense of a shameful slave ancestry has persisted across the centuries and into the post-apartheid period. For Wicomb, shame dominated the coloured outlook during the late 1990s, from informing opinions on slave ancestry and racial mixture to what the author argued as a shameful tendency to use white-

²⁸⁸ Gqola, 139-140.

²⁸⁹ Ward and Worden, 204.

²⁹⁰ Adhikari, 'The Sons of Ham', 111.

²⁹¹ S. Jeppie, 'Reclassifications: Coloured, Malay, Muslim' in Erasmus, 84; 93-4.

sounding names in order to disavow links with black people.²⁹² Apartheid's impact on group identity consequently remains relevant. Although racial categories in theory subsided with the implementation of democracy in 1994, coloured has endured as a means of identification.²⁹³ The new political dispensation has been treated with some scepticism by coloured people, fearing the replacement of a white-dominated elite with one premised on black hegemony. There has been a fear amongst working-class coloured people that mediatory policies of affirmative action and black empowerment only benefit those who were categorised as black African under apartheid.²⁹⁴ Indeed, it is perhaps not surprising that the working-classes have not engaged with what are frequently abstract intellectual debates over identity and in many cases have unquestionably continued to identify as coloured. To generalise, the feeling among working-class coloured people is one of being bypassed by transformation, and their response has often been defensive. This has particularly been the case among older voters who were often raised to fear 'blackness' under apartheid.²⁹⁵ Consequently, as a group which has not entirely embraced the politics of the ANC, coloured people have been posited as a 'question' during the post-apartheid period. In South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, for example, the ANC's

²⁹² Z. Wicomb, 'Shame and identity: the case of the coloured in South Africa' in D. Attridge and R. Jolly (eds), *Writing South Africa: Literature, apartheid, and democracy, 1970-1995* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 100. Though the circumstances differ in terms of spatiality in relation to colonial trade routes, the practice of distancing oneself from slave ancestry in South Africa is not dissimilar to the way in which inhabitants of certain areas of West Africa refuse to speak on the topic for reasons of status in contemporary times. See M. Klein, 'Studying the History of Those Who Would Rather Forget: Oral History and the Experience of Slavery', *History in Africa* 16 (1989), 209-217. Interestingly, Klein makes a distinction between West Africans and the way in which African Americans celebrate their slave ancestry as evidence of collectively overcoming a traumatic experience. As a comparable site of arrival rather than departure for the enslaved, as well as –broadly speaking – experiencing similar racial segregation in the 20th century, it is noteworthy that the Cape follows the West African, rather than African American, trend. This could perhaps be attributed to a perceived absence of collective slave culture at the Cape, although this idea has been disputed by Andrew Bank, at least in an urban context – see Bank, 98-101. Indeed, Adhikari points to a creole, urban subculture which catalysed the formation of an early coloured identity which later worked to deny slave ancestry to suit its own ends. Specific local circumstances, therefore, are paramount. See Adhikari, 'Sons of Ham'.

²⁹³ 'Coloured', 'White', 'Black African', and 'Indian/Asian' still appear as categories in census surveys, for example.

²⁹⁴ M. Besten, 'We are the original inhabitants of this land': Khoe-San identity in post-apartheid South Africa', in Adhikari, *Burdened by Race*, 149.

²⁹⁵ C. Besteman, *Transforming Cape Town* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 176-8; S. Bekker, A. Leilde, S. Cornelissen, and S. Horstmeier, 'The emergence of new identities in the Western Cape', *Politikon* 27.2 (2000), 231-2.

appeal to coloured voters in the Western Cape failed and instead the NP which engineered apartheid was elected at province level. This vote, argued Wicomb, was 'shameful', reflecting the 'shame' of being black yet striving to be white.²⁹⁶

The term coloured has not, however, purely been associated with fear and conservatism in the post-apartheid period and, largely thanks to the initiatives of a number of intellectuals from the coloured community, has been reclaimed and reworked. Adhikari has termed this post-apartheid refashioning of what it means to be coloured as a third paradigm in coloured identity politics. Labelling this redefinition as 'social constructivism', Adhikari argues that these developments recognise that coloured identity is self-defined and dynamic, operating in tandem with wider changes as different people and groups position themselves in an evolving post-apartheid nation.²⁹⁷ Noting new self-defined identities which have emerged from the middle of the 1990s onwards, the author outlines a continuity in terms of actors who rejected the coloured label under apartheid and those investigating new identities in the post-apartheid era.²⁹⁸ It is also likely that proponents of these new or resurgent identities have been energised by the ideas of freedom and diversity which characterise the 'new' South Africa.²⁹⁹ As will be discussed shortly, Khoisan revivalism has been one of the most prominent new forms of identification amongst coloured people.

Minority and separatist identities encouraged by this redefinition of coloured have not however always been compatible with the idea of the national meta-narrative of unity which non-racist sections of the ANC state, at least in the early years of democracy, attempted to engineer. Critiques of a state-imposed heritage-as-nation-building in post-colonial African nation have most closely been associated with Richard Werbner. Discussing Zimbabwe, Werbner

²⁹⁶ Wicomb, 93.

²⁹⁷ Adhikari, 'From Narratives of Miscegenation', 91.

²⁹⁸ Adhikari, *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough*, 160-1.

²⁹⁹ E. Rasool, 'Unveiling the heart of fear' in W. James, D. Caliguire, K. Cullinan, J. Levy, and S. Wescott (eds), *Now That We are Free: Coloured communities in a democratic South Africa* (Cape Town: Institute for Democracy in South Africa, 1996), 56.

outlined how such centrally-promulgated versions of history fail to identify and empathise with the past and its nuances as experienced by people themselves, thus giving rise to dispute and contestation.³⁰⁰ At the heart of these debates is a citizen's right to recognition, with this acknowledgment acting to validate citizenship and stake in nationhood.³⁰¹ Werbner's ideas help to explain why some figures within the coloured community have felt ostracised by the post-apartheid state. Michele Ruiters applies this lens to the South African context, suggesting that a tension between individual and ANC ideas of national identity partially explains why coloured intellectuals – though often broadly supportive of the state - have been driven to elucidate their own identities as part of processes of self-discovery.³⁰² The possibility of individuality has since been implicitly acknowledged by state policy, although the tendency towards engineering commonality rather than celebrating diversity persists.³⁰³ Whilst histories such as slavery are now not necessarily completely ignored by the government, when they are covered as part of state-affiliated heritage projects they often appear in ways which do not satisfy the demands of activists. Though this may be a national policy issue, rather than a disjuncture specific to heritage directives, it does help to explain how latter projects can foster distrust and disagreements which recur without closure.

As mentioned in chapter one, separatist identities have gained increasing resonance during the second decade of democracy, perhaps best reflected by President Jacob Zuma's promotion of his own Zulu heritage at state functions and as a set of principles guiding his personal life. Operating to a large extent independently of centrally-driven ideas of heritage and identity, the partial reimagining of what it means to be defined as coloured has occurred within

³⁰⁰ Werbner, 'Smoke from the Barrel of a Gun', 100.

³⁰¹ *Ibid*, 100.

³⁰² M. Ruiters, 'Collaboration, assimilation and contestation: emerging constructions of coloured identity in post-apartheid South Africa' in Adhikari, *Burdened by Race*, 127.

³⁰³ *Ibid*, 107.

this context of ethnic essentialism.³⁰⁴ These moves do not necessarily accept apartheid-era labels, but seek to challenge them through redefinition. Probably the most prominent new means of identification to emerge from the coloured community has been the Khoisan revival movement.³⁰⁵ Citing the appeal of this identity as a desire amongst some coloured people to challenge their apartheid-era label, Michael Besten suggests Khoisan revivalism is a 'testament to the psychological space opened up by the 1994 democratic transition for coloureds to reassess their identity'.³⁰⁶ Besten notes an additional function of this identity, that being how it enables actors to claim first nation status, and thus challenge the idea that black Africans were the original inhabitants of South Africa.³⁰⁷ This has utility when related to fears of marginalisation in a transforming society. The ability of the Khoisan revival movement to coalesce with existing land restitution claims made by longstanding Khoisan communities in rural areas has perhaps encouraged its popularity.³⁰⁸ Steven Robins, however, warns against reducing Khoisan revivalism to merely an issue of self-interest, suggesting that by identifying with this lineage people are engaging in a process of restoring lost social memory and initiating discussion of a previously silenced past.³⁰⁹ Beyond this reawakening of Khoisan identity, other initiatives emanating from the broad coloured community have included attempts to reclaim Malay identity, a process which, in contrast to the 1960s, involved proponents embracing diasporic links with Malaysia in the 1990s.³¹⁰ Additionally, *kitaab* Islamic manuscripts passed between

³⁰⁴ Whilst Thabo Mbeki's 'I Am an African' speech in 1996 offered the possibility of a broader interpretation of what it meant to be South African, the idea of a selective interpretation of the liberation struggle as central to any discussion of national identity has arguably persisted in ANC circles.

³⁰⁵ This movement has been galvanised by significant events such as the repatriation of the remains of Saartjie Baartman, the 'Hottentot Venus', in 2002, which provided a chance both for remembrance and served as a rallying point. See C. Rassool, 'Human Remains, the Disciplines of the Dead, and the South African Memorial Complex' in D.R. Peterson, K. Gavua, and C. Rassool (eds), *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, Histories, and Infrastructures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 134-137.

³⁰⁶ Besten in Adhikari, 151.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 145-149.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 141.

³⁰⁹ S. Robins, 'Silence in my father's house: memory, nationalism, and narratives of the body' in Nuttall and Coetzee, 129-130. The rethinking of Zulu identity in KwaZulu-Natal since 1994 has spawned similar allegations, see M. Buthelezi, 'Heritage vs Heritage: Reaching for Pre-Zulu Identities in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa' in Peterson et al, 160.

³¹⁰ Jeppie, 'Reclassifications', 81.

generations of numerous Muslim families have been reevaluated, transforming their status from that of written heirloom to that of valued collective heritage.³¹¹

Where does slavery appear within this nascent redefinition of the term coloured? It has arguably received less attention as an ancestral possibility, both from the academy and amongst would-be descendants. In the period which immediately followed democracy in 1994, former United Democratic Front (UDF) activist and Anglican clergyman Father Michael Weeder attempted to rouse interest in slave ancestry amongst coloured people, as well as foster a group consciousness. His 1 December movement which explicitly recalled the forgotten tradition of celebrating emancipation day was, however, criticised by union and ANC officials for suggesting separatism at a time when reconciliation foregrounded the national agenda.³¹² Weeder, on his part, suggested that the movement should not be interpreted as calling for coloured nationalism, arguing that it merely attempted to challenge the shame surrounding racial mixture and provide a forum for discussion of issues facing the community.³¹³ It is worth noting that the negative reaction which the 1 December movement received occurred immediately after Mervyn Ross founded the *Kleurling Weerstandsbeweging vir die Vooruitgang van Bruinmense* (KWB) (Coloured Movement for the Progress of Brown People) in Johannesburg, and may have been as much a continuation of anti-separatist sentiments as specifically directed at the idea of slave ancestry. The assertions originating with the KWB were far more forceful than claims made by Weeder's aborted movement, relying on demands for land restitution, proposals for official recognition of Khoisan languages, and moves to create an ethnic identity.³¹⁴ For the ANC state, these movements were representative of the dangers which ethnic separatism could pose to national reconciliation. They flirted too closely with the divisions of the past in the immediate post-apartheid period to ever gain wide acceptance, both in state circles and the wider context

³¹¹ Jappie, 'From the madrasah to the museum', 373.

³¹² Ruiters, 120; Worden, 'The changing politics', 28.

³¹³ 'Shadows of the Old Slave Tree', *Mail & Guardian*, 29 November 1996.

³¹⁴ Ruiters, 116-117.

of a post-conflict nation working collectively towards racial reconciliation. As time has passed, attitudes towards historical Cape slavery have mutated slightly. Although it still occupies a position in state discourse which might be described as ambiguous at best, increasing numbers of people are turning to this history as a way of defining themselves and their place in modern South Africa.

Slavery and the search for new identities

The first question requiring an answer relates to why people choose to identify with their slave ancestors in modern South Africa? The idea of a plural self-definition within an artificially-constructed coloured community has already been posited. Why, however, do people specifically identify with slavery, rather than one of the other possible identities? Why do a minority break the decades of stigma? Returning briefly to the Khoisan revival movement, former UDF activist and member of the Cape Cultural Heritage Development Council Jean Burgess suggested that claiming the label Khoisan allowed her to define herself as something other than coloured, thus imbuing her identity with deeper meaning.³¹⁵ Situated within Adhikari's paradigm of 'social constructivism', this self-definition operates as part of a national milieu of remembering. Although the Mandela ANC administration may have attempted to use national memory for the ends of reconciliation, silencing and checking as it saw fit, it is only natural that people have broken with this selectivity and investigated their genealogies for reasons outlined by Burgess.

The reintroduction of slavery to coloured identity politics was catalysed by a collaborative programme titled Cape Slavery Community Research Project (CSCR) between academics at UWC and UCT, and a disparate selection of coloured people from across the Western Cape in 2001. One of the academics involved, Carohn Cornell, published a research

³¹⁵ Besten in Adhikari, 145-6.

guide to ease the budding genealogists through the alien topography of the colonial archive.³¹⁶ Of the seven researchers, one, Ebrahim Rhoda, has subsequently published a book charting the development of the Muslim community in the Strand area, whilst another, Ebrahim Manuel, attempted to substantiate family oral tradition with documental evidence and ultimately embarked on a journey of ancestral self-discovery to Indonesia.³¹⁷ Precisely how the uncovering of these ancestral pasts influenced concepts of identity amongst participants is unclear. In the cases of Rhoda and Manuel, it appears that the opportunities offered by the CSCRP helped to formalise local and familial oral tradition and serve as a springboard for future historical enquiry and documentation.

To gain a deeper understanding of how slavery interplays with ideas of self in the loosely-defined coloured community we can turn to the preface written by the former anti-apartheid activist, university rector, and educationist Richard van der Ross in his popular history of Cape slavery, *Up from slavery*. Writing that, even after studying history at university, he was unaware of the history of slavery at the Cape, van der Ross posits his own process of self-discovery as a product of the combined influences of academic enquiry into the slave past and of the current political atmosphere which he claims ‘allows much freer investigation’ of the self.³¹⁸ The name of the book itself is suggestive of a certain pride in slave roots, as though slavery was a historical period of trauma which the coloured community collectively overcame and should reflect upon with a sense of achievement.³¹⁹ For people such as van der Ross, therefore, the starting point was one of self-inquiry and redefinition. Whilst it has not yet achieved and may never achieve the prominence of the Khoisan revival movement or the reworked concept of

³¹⁶ ‘Exploring Slave Roots’, *UWC Arts Faculty Newsletter* 2 (April 2001).

³¹⁷ ‘Going back to my slave routes’, *UWC Monday Paper* 20.10 (23-29 April, 2001); E. Rhoda, *The Strand Muslim Community, 1822-1966: A Historical Overview* (Firgrove: Ebrahim Rhoda, 2013).

³¹⁸ R.E. Van der Ross, *Up from slavery: Slaves at the Cape, their origins, treatment, and contribution* (Cape Town: Ampersand Press, 2005), iii.

³¹⁹ This is the prism through which African-Americans have typically recalled their experience of slavery, see Klein, 210.

deeply-ingrained Malayism, 'slave descendant' is nonetheless becoming evident as an alternative means of identification to 'coloured'

Slavery and heritage in the Western Cape

The ongoing restoration of slavery to public consciousness in South Africa – and specifically the Western Cape – has occurred concurrently with state-driven efforts to rebalance the heritage industry in the country. In identifying as slave descendants, people are potentially empowered by the way in which museums have redefined their displays. As explained in chapter one, the Slave Lodge in Cape Town in particular has recently served as a focal point for genealogical enquiries, contestation and criticism, and self-definition. There is also a growing focus on communities telling their own stories. Heritage has thus become an arena for developing alternative identities and broadcasting alternative, often personal, histories.

As Cape Town has been developed and marketed as a tourist destination of international calibre since the fall of apartheid, the number of people and businesses offering guided tours to visitors has increased proportionately. Leslie Witz' work on the phenomena of the township tour has demonstrated how these tours reduce complex socio-economic relations to a reconciliatory, consumable narrative with an emphasis on an alternative experience which transcends perceived boundaries.³²⁰ A number of guided historical tours operate in Cape Town and generally lack the immediacy and voyeurism of the township tour, though nonetheless can retain the sense of 'othering' as they offer their cheerful narrative to the expectant tourist. Tours of this nature are likely in cases to be the sole means by which visitors absorb historical information in Cape Town, and the simplistic perspectives offered give themselves to a selective interpretation of contemporary South Africa as a modern nation reborn. As will be discussed in more detail in chapter four, this kind of historical tour does little to illuminate the troublesome

³²⁰ L. Witz, 'Museums on Cape Town's Township Tours' in Murray et al, *Desire Lines*, 259-277.

elements of the city's colonial past, instead conforming to the forces which work to obscure this history.

The historical walking tour offered by Lucy Campbell directly contravenes this trend. The name of her company, Transcending History Tours, is suggestive of an endeavour which aims to challenge perceived misrepresentations and offer an authentic view of a past characterised by slavery and indigenous history. As will now be argued, guided historical tours such as this one, as well as other representations of heritage, are both a means of divulging hidden narratives to visitors, and claiming and exploring alternative ways of self-representation and identification. A coloured woman born under apartheid, Campbell claims a broad Khoisan and slave ancestry. She tells of becoming engaged by this history whilst working in customer service for Iziko at Groot Constantia.³²¹ Her initial response to these geneteele surroundings was 'fuck, Lucy what the fuck are you doing here?'.³²² However, the story of former estate resident Anna de Koningh, who she describes as 'the birth mother to all the tours and the work that I do now', inspired a quest of self-discovery.³²³ She subsequently studied Cape slavery at UWC, and undertook the joint UCT, UWC, and Robben Island museums qualification.³²⁴ She founded Transcending History Tours which, in her own words, 'looks at history and it reinterprets it, it turns it around, and makes it more readable for communities, because a lot of the work that's been written and researched has been done is not local people on the streets'.³²⁵ Although Campbell concedes that the majority of what she defines as 'community' is too engaged with the quotidian to consider her message and that many of her tour customers belong to NGOs or academia, she is nonetheless optimistic about revealing the hidden history of Cape Town.³²⁶ There is an element of dissonance in her words, of rejecting 'official' – and frequently state-prescribed – history in

³²¹ Campbell, interview.

³²² *Ibid.*

³²³ *Ibid.* De Koningh was married to Olof Berg, one of the historical owners of Groot Constantia, and was the Bengal-born daughter of the enslaved woman Angela of Bengal and Dutch captain David de Koninck. She became the first woman to own Groot Constantia when Berg died in 1724.

³²⁴ Campbell, interview.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

favour of a democratic, community-defined vision of the past. Whilst she works with Iziko in bringing visitors to the Slave Lodge, she is critical of what she perceives as the organisation's detachment from everyday life and problems facing communities on the Cape Flats.³²⁷

Taking Campbell's tour in September 2015 presented the opportunity to grasp how vocal activists can evoke questions of identity within the broader coloured community.³²⁸ The other guests on the tour were a community group from Tafelsig, a predominantly coloured township on the Cape Flats. A sizeable proportion of the group were early teen school learners. Beginning outside the Castle, Campbell posited the tour as a healing experience for the group, offering her understanding of the past as a means of explaining present-day social problems in deprived areas such as Tafelsig. The idea that slavery continues to negatively influence the everyday lives of slave descendants in the Western Cape is frequently implicit in nascent public discourse surrounding slavery.³²⁹ The rise of this discourse can perhaps be attributed both to the gradual reawakening of awareness of historical slavery in the Western Cape, and to an activist climate which, characterised by youth engagement with politics, is increasingly questioning the perceived absence of socio-economic transformation in many poorer areas since the fall of apartheid. In *Up from slavery*, Van der Ross identified the pervasive influence of slavery in shaping socio-economic relationships between white and coloured people to the present day.³³⁰ Campbell was more explicit, offering unemployment and an addiction to *tik* (crystal meth) as

³²⁷ *Ibid.*

³²⁸ Comments based on 5 September 2015 tour.

³²⁹ See, for example, 'You are walking on graves', *City Press*, 24 September 2014; 'Slaves: South Africa's First Freedom Fighters', *Mail & Guardian*, 5 December 2015 for evidence of how popular discourse on slavery is increasingly focussing on issues of legacy and the problems facing communities of potential slave descent.

³³⁰ Van der Ross, 91. Shell, *Children of Bondage*, xix-xx., and Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, 4 were forerunners in this sense, suggesting that, although not a continuation of slavery, apartheid held undeniable similarities in terms of power and labour relations. Other contributions from Baderoon and Gqola have traced the cultural legacies of slavery, and problematised how these traces are idealised or otherwise obscured in popular discourse today.

evidence of slavery's transmutation to a living psychological phenomena which continues to bedevil communities.³³¹

On entering the Castle itself, the participants already appeared to have been empowered by Campbell's discussion of slavery's pervasive legacy. One of the elder and more vocal members of the group asserted to the staff member working at the front desk that the group should be permitted free entry on the grounds of their claimed Khoi and slave ancestry. This represents a further strand of discussion surrounding slavery on behalf of descendants, that of claimed contribution made to modern South Africa by their descendants. Mirroring to a degree assertions of First Nation status mobilised around Khoi ancestry, it assures descendants of a place in a nation which they otherwise may feel marginalises them. The same man then claimed to have visited the Castle three times in his life, anticipating that this visit, his fourth, would be the first time he will learn the truth about its exploitative past. Once inside, Campbell highlighted how military presence and pomp continues to characterise the Castle, suggesting that these forces influence the lives of those on the Cape Flats in the same way as VOC officials controlled the enslaved two hundred years before.

The tour was presented as a process of discovery and of walking the streets of Cape Town to unearth the unheralded, hidden stories which lie dormant within its built environment. Symbols and reminders of colonialism were posited as inimical to the interests of the group. Upon reaching the interpretive board at Krotoa Place, Campbell highlighted the VOC emblem set within the paving, and suggested that members of the group stamp on it in disgust. These instructions are accepted with alacrity, with one guest even spitting on it. The Sendinggestig was then visited, followed by the Slave Lodge, where the group again objected to the suggestion that they should pay to view what they were by this point claiming as their own history. Following a mock-slave auction at the Spin Street plaque, the tour culminated alongside the Memorial to the

³³¹ Dooling, *Slavery, emancipation and colonial rule*, viii-ix cautions against making such comparisons, arguing that they misunderstand the dehumanising experience of slavery as, although many slave descendants today live in relative poverty, they are still technically free.

Enslaved at Church Square, where Campbell voiced several common criticisms of the installation which will be discussed in chapter four. By this point, the group were vitalised sufficiently to discuss the idea of establishing their own history museum in Tafelsig. They chanted 'We are slave! We are San! We are Khoi!' in recognition of their newly-absorbed heritage.

Whilst this tour may have been an exception rather than a rule based on the receptivity of the audience, it nonetheless exemplifies the potential of heritage as an arena for shaping identity and empowering people. Central to this inter-subjective process with the Tafelsig group was the authority of Campbell as a coloured woman who they could identify with, and her own ability to empathise with the issues they face daily. In a sense, Campbell's power as a tour guide is similar to that held by the former political prisoners who now act as tour guides on Robben Island. Though she may not have experienced first-hand the trauma she describes, the dual concepts of storytelling as a form of therapy and of the guide as a subject of history remain as parallels.³³² This is a quality which she herself recognises, suggesting that 'even though traumatic, even though it's very, very honest', guests will receive the real history 'from a local descendant and coming from a local indigenous person'.³³³ Part of her vision for the representation of slave and Khoisan history in Cape Town entails a network of community museums established on an almost ad-hoc basis, perhaps partnered with one of the larger sites in central Cape Town. 'I don't see why we can't have a museum in the backyard, a Wendy house' she comments.³³⁴ The enthusiasm of the Tafelsig group at the end of Campbell's tour was a useful example of how heritage representations can stimulate a snowball effect. The role of coloured intellectuals, activists, and community leaders in facilitating the partial redefinition of

³³² Colvin, 153-155; H. Garuba, 'A Second Life: Museums, Mimesis, and the Narratives of the Tour Guides of Robben Island' in Murray et al, *Desire Lines*, 136-142.

³³³ Campbell, interview.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*

identity which has occurred since 1994 has already been acknowledged.³³⁵ It is within this trend that self-defined, self-representational displays of heritage hold their power.

With a history of exploitation and colonialism running throughout the Western Cape, revisionist historical tours of the kind offered by Campbell are not restricted to Cape Town. Simon's Town sits around 30 kilometres south of Cape Town along the Cape Peninsula and is the final settlement of note prior to Cape Point. Behind the seafront idyll lies a story of colonial displacement, enslavement, and state-sponsored forced removal. With the town founded as the VOC's winter anchorage in 1774 prior to becoming a permanent British Royal Navy base in 1814, popular history in Simon's Town tends to reflect the area's rich naval history. The built environment and predominantly white male figures of naval celebration are emphasised in publications associated with the Simon's Town Historical Society, a predominantly white group through which much of the town's historical currency flows. As well as working in close partnership with the province-aided Simon's Town Museum, the Society publishes a yearly bulletin which tends to reflect themes of naval and colonial pomp.³³⁶ It also presides over a Historic Mile featuring elderly buildings which largely pertain to the colonial period. The town is promoted to tourists as quaint, and has become a locus for second home ownership. Much like neighbouring Cape Town, this popular history at times obscures how the Group Areas Act removed around 7000 black and coloured residents during the 1960s and 1970s, as well as neglecting earlier enslavement and colonial exploitation.

It is against this backdrop that Joline Young began offering historical tours of Simon's Town in 2012. Much like Campbell, Young is a coloured woman who identifies with the enslaved people in her lineage. 'My mother would tell us about her childhood, and about Ta Lizzie who was an enslaved woman who was her great-grandmother', she recalls.³³⁷ Originally from

³³⁵ Ruiters, 111.

³³⁶ See, for example, B. Dommissie, 'Vice-Admiral Sir Jahleel Brenton part 1', *Simon's Town Historical Society Bulletin*, 23, 4 (2005), 138-141.

³³⁷ Joline Young, interview, 15 April 2016.

Wynberg, Young became engaged with the history of Simon's Town when she stumbled upon the building which later became the Simon's Town Heritage Museum whilst helping to supervise a school trip in 1997.³³⁸ After discovering that the owner of this building, Zainab 'Patty' Davidson, had recently moved back into the property after being forcibly removed by the Group Areas Act during the 1970s, Young committed to writing a history of the Simon's Town community.³³⁹ After researching Simon's Town for much of the ensuing decade as time permitted, she dedicated herself to academia in 2008. Having made contact with Robert Shell, she undertook a bachelor's degree in history at UCT under the supervision of Nigel Worden which culminated in a masters degree and thesis focussing on the history of slavery in Simon's Town.³⁴⁰

In contrast to Campbell, much of Young's authority as a tour guide stems from her academic insights than per se from the offer of an authentic modern Capetonian voice for her ancestors.³⁴¹ Her guided tour begins at Admiralty House, visiting Simon's Town Museum before traversing the Historical Mile, pausing at the Heritage Museum, and culminating in the area adjacent to the Noorul Islam Mosque which continues to function, though with a greatly-reduced congregation. The more typical naval-gazing narrative is infused with insights from archival sources which reinstate the marginalised voices of subaltern groups in Simon's Town over the centuries. For example, Charles Blair, the early 19th century Collector of Customs at the Cape, was described as 'a very dishonest man' for the way in which he exploited the 'prize negro' indentureship system for personal gain. Young, however, avoids the potential pitfall of portraying herself with unquestionable authority, merely suggesting that she offers an interpretation based on her own extensive research. Perhaps owing to her own subjectivities as

³³⁸ *Ibid.* As will be discussed, the Simon's Town Heritage Museum is dedicated to the history of the coloured – and particularly Muslim – community of Simon's Town which was devastated by the forced removals.

³³⁹ Young, interview.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁴¹ Comments based on 10 April 2015 and 14 May 2016 tours.

a descendant of the enslaved, she speaks about marginalised historical figures as though they were friends or family members. Whilst reading other work on Cape slavery, she recalls how 'I actually burst into tears because of the lack of, of the lack of humanity that came through in the way this person wrote it.'³⁴² Alongside her academic credentials, Young's connection with the past is emotive, imagining her ancestors as living, subjective beings, rather than statistics in the colonial archive.

Though she maintains that the tours were simply a means of helping to fund her studies, Young does acknowledge that her work holds importance in terms of redressing how public history in Simon's Town is presented.³⁴³ When she first began offering the tours she received resistance from the Historical Society which effectively exercised a monopoly on historically-based activities in Simon's Town.³⁴⁴ This highlights the tensions inherent in transformation-era South Africa, where despite an emphasis on reconciliation, many white people have felt destabilised when confronted with new agendas. Much like Campbell, Young's audience has mainly consisted of academics and other enlightened visitors.³⁴⁵ To an extent, there is a sense of preaching to the converted. However, Young also discloses how local white people from Simon's Town and nearby Fish Hoek have taken her tour and responded positively when their perceptions of local history have been challenged. '[T]hey're saying 'we want to know'', she comments, suggesting that her work entails promoting new understandings of the past which can facilitate inter-community dialogue.³⁴⁶ Young's tours therefore not only balance the over-amplified narratives of the past, but also work to create new understandings of history which potentially perform the work of reconciliation at a local level.

³⁴² Young, interview.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.* The audience on both of the tours I attended largely consisted of academics or other interested professionals.

³⁴⁶ Young, interview.

This wider utility of Young's work is an important point in relation to how slavery is being reclaimed as a potential basis of identity. As with Lucy Campbell, Young wishes to use the past to engage disadvantaged communities with questions of identity in order to promote social uplift. 'I'd love to see this little walking history business becoming part of a youth development project,' she comments in relation to plans to hand over the tour business to young people from Gugulethu and Ocean View, two townships to which black and coloured people respectively from Simon's Town were forcibly removed.³⁴⁷ Young believes that this would not only reconnect people with their own pasts, but also create work opportunities in areas where unemployment is high.³⁴⁸ This idea of using heritage for job creation and to bolster the sustainability of communities has recently been recognised by the 2013 White Paper on Arts, Culture, and Heritage, which sought more explicitly to align the sector with economic opportunities.³⁴⁹ Whilst the commercialisation of the heritage industry has correctly been viewed with scepticism by academics who warn against the trivialisation which follows, the results of this alignment are not necessarily entirely negative.³⁵⁰ As the entrenchment of apartheid-era labels amongst the majority of the population – and particularly the working-classes – demonstrates, South Africans have been reluctant to examine their pasts beyond living memory. Put bluntly, a form of economic incentive is perhaps one way of engaging young people with their history, and encouraging new understandings of self. Guided by an informed figure such as Young, this process does not necessarily have to lack taste. She wishes to establish a youth development centre which would acknowledge the pain inflicted by traumatic history and work to remedy the psychological scars which she believes black and coloured people continue to carry today.³⁵¹

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁹ Department of Arts and Culture, 'Draft Revised White Paper on Arts, Culture, and Heritage, version 2' (June 2013), 10-11.

³⁵⁰ David Lowenthal was one of the first scholars to analyse the heritage industry, adopting a critical stance of commercial venues taking hold at heritage sites. See D. Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past: the Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 99-102

³⁵¹ Young, interview.

As they walk the streets of Cape Town and Simon's Town, tour participants retain the status of 'pilgrim'. In being asked to imagine and reinterpret the historical landscape, people are provoked to consider themselves as part of the same historical continuum as those whose lives they are reflecting upon.³⁵² In the case of Campbell's tour participants, they were cast by the guide as direct descendants of figures such as Krotoa. They mused on this depiction, and accordingly assumed a role as rightful heirs to the legacies left by their ancestors. The simple dissemination of historical facts and of engaging people with the past was neglected for decades under apartheid, and is now gradually being remedied. In the longer-term, the snowballing effect of such historical memory work may become evident as more people invest in questions of self. Even in the case of Young's tour, where the majority of the participants were from an academic background, benefits are evident. The participant becomes the investigator, complicit as part of a process which sees the guide remove layers of amnesia and distortion to reveal history's hidden actors. Historical tours of this nature are not simply a tourist attraction, but serve as a platform for tour guides to offer their own interpretation of the past, often distinct from that which is available at heritage sites and museums. Crucially in the context of remembering slavery in South Africa, they are a means by which identities can be configured and promoted as possibilities.

The guided historical walking tour is not the only means by which the heritage industry is being used to reclaim slavery as an identity. Former *uMkhonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation) member, ANC printer-in-exile, and Western Cape Home Affairs Director of Immigration Patric Tariq Mellet operates the Asirawan Siam Healing House & SA-Thai Slave Heritage Reflection Centre from the home he shares with his Thai wife in Bloubergstrand in the northern suburbs of Cape Town. Mellet is a prolific blogger on issues of identity and a long-time advocate of recognising the creole roots not only of coloured people, but of South Africans in general.³⁵³

³⁵² Kowaleski Wallace, 54.

³⁵³ Mellet's blog can be found at <https://camissapeople.wordpress.com/> [accessed 08/07/16 at 08:52].

Born to coloured parents of diverse European settler, slave, and Khoi ancestry, Mellet grew up in the cosmopolitan area that was District Six. He believed his father to be dead until he met him after reaching his mid teens and recalls a 'difficult' childhood of scrubbing floors in the foster homes where he lived.³⁵⁴ Although he professes to have appeared 'European' enough to classify as white, he chose to identify as coloured under apartheid in solidarity with the rest of his maternal family.³⁵⁵

Pride comes to the fore in Mellet's description of his life. There is a clear sense of fulfilment drawn not only from his own achievements in fighting against apartheid, but also his sense of continuing the remarkable lineage that has traced. 'I'm proud to have a lineage which involves 19 slaves' he claims, identifying with the way in which these people dealt with adversity and comparing their struggles with those of his own life.³⁵⁶ 'God, you know when I look at those, I actually came from a people!'.³⁵⁷ This sense of belonging to a linear narrative is here considered through the prism of a person who refused rather than craved being classified as white under apartheid. Mellet was inspired to begin his genealogical journey by a German nun whose care he was under at the age of eight whilst his mother lived in a child-free boarding house. Inspired by her devotion to Saint Martin de Porres, he began to ask questions as to who he himself was, and where he had come from.³⁵⁸ He claims to have researched a comprehensive and fully-documented family tree spanning 500 years of Cape history. This includes what may initially seem to be far-fetched claims that Eva Krotoa is his ninth great-grandmother, and Louis of Mauritius' common-law wife is a distant ancestor.³⁵⁹ The accuracy of this genealogy constructed from a paper-based colonial archive in which the voices of marginalised and subaltern groups are notoriously difficult to recover is debatable. What is clear, however, is that

³⁵⁴ Mellet, interview.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.* Krotoa worked as a translator in Dutch-Khoi relations, whilst Louis of Mauritius led to 1808 slave rebellion.

the time Mellet has invested in researching his genealogy has equipped him with a unique outlook on his identity.

It is this outlook which Mellet promotes through both his blog site and Asirawan. It is worth noting that Mellet's status as a former state employee who was active in the liberation struggle offers him a platform regardless of these outlets. He uses this social capital to circulate reflections on identity, with his blog and the museum at Asirawan being constituent parts of this platform. Asirawan is an unconventional mixture of small-scale business and heritage. Its primary function is as a Thai massage parlour with guest accommodation offered as part of a hospitality package. A small area set off the massage parlour includes a series of interpretive display panels which espouse the origins of the Cape's creole population. A range of topics are discussed in a text-heavy format, including the cultural impact made by the enslaved at the Cape through objects such as Ghoema drums, and the way in which different cultures such as Indians and Griqua people have left imprints upon the wider nation of South Africa.³⁶⁰ The creolised culture depicted in the exhibitions adds substance to Mellet's claims that slavery need not be considered a divisive lineage. He argues that the idea of diversity has been overplayed in post-apartheid South Africa, at the expense of downplaying the other bulwark of the nation's motto, unity.³⁶¹ The central premise both of his regular blogs and of the display panels at Asirawan is to emphasise what Mellet terms 'the ties that bind us in our diversity [as] the substance to the unity element'.³⁶² For him, coloured is an artificial construct, as the majority of people who can trace back several generations in South Africa have mixed ancestry. 'We have all the ingredients here in our history and heritage of coming together' he claims, suggesting that these commonalities should be explained by a museum in every locality.³⁶³

³⁶⁰ Comments based on visits on 3 December 2015 and 12 April 2016.

³⁶¹ Mellet, interview.

³⁶² *Ibid.*

³⁶³ *Ibid.*

Compelling though this may be, the various new definitions of what it means to be coloured have tended to bypass shared characteristics. Khoisan revivalism, for example, rests upon claiming pure Khoisan roots so as to buttress First Nation arguments.³⁶⁴ This creole identity proposed by Mellet may find currency in official circles through the contemporary utility he outlines. Mellet argues that 'we need to start thinking as a Southern African people' in response to the ugly xenophobic attacks which have recently taken place in parts of South Africa.³⁶⁵ Creole links of the type advocated by Mellet have, however, typically been viewed with some scepticism in the 'new' South Africa. In particular, the way in which members of the white community have scrambled to claim mixed ancestry without confronting previous disavowal of such heritage under apartheid have been critiqued as disingenuous.³⁶⁶ Gqola argues convincingly that the reconciliation which white claims to mixed ancestry are suggestive of is impossible without proper acknowledgement of past white-perpetrated injustices, thereby otherwise defeating any purpose of such claims.³⁶⁷ Perhaps if the proponent of adopting a creole identity is someone who was categorised as coloured, the claims would be treated differently? Mellet certainly does not aim to downplay the past and its many painful episodes. His fundamental message is one of promoting tolerance by investigating the links that tie southern Africans together, and fostering new understandings of self which could encourage reconciliation. This is not reconciliation based upon erasing parts of the past to curate commonality, but a version premised on the idea that the divisions which the state has attempted to downplay are indeed false, but require discussion.

How then do people respond to being confronted with this heavy history after receiving a message? Are the series of display panels an effective example of how heritage representations can be used to raise questions of identity amongst visitors? Mellet was upbeat

³⁶⁴ Robins, 'Silence in my father's house', 133-4.

³⁶⁵ Mellet, interview.

³⁶⁶ C. Coetzee, 'Krotoa remembered: a mother of unity, a mother of sorrows?' in Nuttall and Coetzee, 119; Gqola, 114.

³⁶⁷ Gqola, 129.

in his response, claiming to attract visitors of all backgrounds.³⁶⁸ Certain guests, he reports, 'wanna ask you a question, but they don't, so then I'll, I'll, I'll, I'll try and bait them out.'³⁶⁹ This perhaps underlines the unspeakability which surrounds subjects such as slavery in South Africa, and how breaking these taboos requires conversations of the type Asirawan can facilitate. For others, meanwhile, 'it starts conversations'.³⁷⁰ These conversations include surprise that Simon van der Stel had an Indian mother, as well as broader reflections on immigration to South Africa and how this has developed the diverse population of today.³⁷¹ Mellet suggests tongue-in-cheek that he could franchise the Asirawan concept. He explains that it provides a space for individual reflection as well as a site where groups of people – including small classes of school children – can visit and absorb the Cape's heritage, led by a charismatic host.³⁷² Much like Campbell and Young, he is critical of the way in which Cape history has been portrayed by existing heritage organisations. Iziko, in particular, he argued, fails to cater for the Cape's history adequately in what he claimed is an omission of the social history of coloured people.³⁷³ Asirawan should perhaps therefore be viewed as a small step in redressing this balance, and in using representations of the past to reveal commonalities. It adheres to the idea that, if done tastefully and using appropriate expertise, the convergence of heritage and commercial aims are not by necessity crass and unsavoury. As a platform for advocating a creolised identity which acknowledges slavery as a constituent element, it highlights a further way by which heritage representations are being used to redefine coloured identity.

Performative platforms: transformation and identity

There is no set way of changing a museum display or transforming a heritage site. In Cape Town, two sites have become heritage stages where new coloured identities are claimed and acted

³⁶⁸ Mellet, interview.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*

³⁷² *Ibid.*

³⁷³ *Ibid.*

out. One of these is the province-aided South African Sendinggestig Museum on Long Street which was established in 1977. It is situated in an old mission church which still functions for ceremonial purposes though lost its congregation – which mainly comprised poorer black and coloured people – when the terms of the Group Areas Act were applied to inner city spaces such as District Six. It is colloquially referred to as the ‘Slave Church’, reflecting the presence of enslaved people in its original congregation founded in 1804. The other site – the Castle of Good Hope – is a more grandiose and celebrated structure situated on Castle Street and immediately visible in any overhead view of Cape Town. As the first building constructed by the Dutch at the Cape, its history has often been commemorated in terms of colonialism and military significance, overlooking its dual history of exploitation. These perceptions are fitfully being challenged at present. Both the Sendinggestig and Castle are currently being repositioned as inclusive spaces where debates which surround heritage can take place. They should consequently be considered in the context of Laurajane Smith’s definition of heritage. Smith contends that places and objects themselves hold little inherent value, with meaning instead being developed by events which occur at these places.³⁷⁴ Sites simply provide a tangible element through which processes are enacted. Identity is central to this interpretation of what heritage is, given that the events which constitute heritage are based around memory and concepts of self.³⁷⁵ As such, historical sites become places where state ideas of heritage are not only projected, but also contested by visitors to these sites.³⁷⁶ Smith’s definition underlines the possibility not only of reinterpreting places through performance and display, but of using these places as bulwarks against which to contest received ideas of heritage.

The Sendinggestig was originally conceived as a mission museum. Walking through its main entrance today is to walk into a church hall, with benches facing an organ at the far end of the room. An assortment of annual reports of the South African Missionary Society sit in a glass

³⁷⁴ L. Smith, *The Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2006), 83.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 51-54.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 52-53.

display case towards the rear of the hall, foregrounding the site's religious heritage. A series of display panels installed by the Provincial Government in 2011 give a fairly generic overview of mission activity and religious organisation at the Cape.³⁷⁷ The importance of Islam to the subculture of the enslaved is explained, although a greater proportion of the available space is dedicated to explaining the mechanisms of mission activity and the architectural influences carried by the building. The museum also currently hosts the Provincial Government's travelling 'No Longer For Sale' display which is devoted to Cape slavery and was launched in 2013. As will be discussed in chapter two, this display and others similar demonstrate the centrality of slave history to the Provincial Government's strategy of increasing stakeholder representation at its sites. It does not merely relegate slavery to history, and includes an interactive element which requests the visitor place their hand on a touch pad and select different products such as coffee and cigarettes from a touch screen. These items are then linked to ongoing enslavement across the world today. The Cape slavery element is, whilst thorough, also text-heavy and broad, offering a useful introduction which reads as though it was copied directly from an academic text on the subject.

More meaningful transformation at the Sendinggestig has come in the form of the building's use as a venue for performance and debate. It regularly hosts events in collaboration with the Cape Cultural Collective, a group of predominantly coloured artists which aims to influence social change and comment through song, dance, and other art forms. Respecting cultural traditions, the Collective's events have included commemorating 1 December emancipation day with programmes which reflect on slave history through poetry and song. Alongside offering space to the Collective, in 2015 the Sendinggestig also hosted events organised by the group *Wie Is Jy* (Who are You?), including a cultural market and Khoisan language sessions. These events aimed to provoke dormant questions of self and identity in people, asking them to reflect on their identities in light of the #RhodesMustFall campaign and

³⁷⁷ Comments based on visits on 18 June 2015 and 6 May 2016.

the way in which it interrogated the Cape's colonial legacy.³⁷⁸ This form of performative heritage differs from that presented in more typical analyses of the 'performance turn' at heritage sites, where live period display and visitor interaction are foremost concerns.³⁷⁹ These actors are not so much 'acting as slaves', but reimagining, reinterpreting, and redisplaying what they perceive as their own cultural heritage, often using creative means. Performances with heritage, rather than necessarily performances of or recalling heritage, are more commonly discussed, however the two are not mutually exclusive. For Smith, the performance element which underpins her definition of heritage becomes a form of collective memory, and it is precisely this kind of memory creation which occurs in arts-based performance in Cape Town.³⁸⁰ People reconnect with their heritage through performance, and consequently new collective memories are forged. Against these ideas, the physical space of the Sendinggestig is not simply a place of history, but one which is alive with utility and agency in the present time. This agency rests on its potential as a public stage, with agents reconnecting with the historical congregation through their activities today.

The staging of these events is closely associated with the custodianship of Jaline de Villiers, who took over as museum manager in 2013. Noting that the displays at the museum featured little on the social lives of the church's congregation, de Villiers contacted vocal activists such as Lucy Campbell – who now regularly brings tour groups into the museum – as a means of reintegrating the everyday Capetonian voice into the museum space.³⁸¹ She believes that one of the reasons why individuals and groups have been so receptive to the offer of space has been because venue hire is otherwise expensive in the city. '[M]y whole point is we'll rather let people use it and not charge them horrendous fees than just be empty the whole time', she

³⁷⁸ 'Campaign to drive decolonisation debate', *Cape Times*, 7 April 2015.

³⁷⁹ M. Haldrup, and J.O. Bærenholdt, 'Heritage as Performance' in E. Waterton and S. Watson (eds), *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2015), 55-59.

³⁸⁰ Smith, 63-65.

³⁸¹ Jaline de Villiers, interview, 6 May 2016.

argues.³⁸² The museum consequently is transformed not so much by its displays, but by the events and interactions which occur within its walls. It also becomes a platform, much like the heritage platforms which have been self-fashioned by coloured intellectuals and community leaders. De Villiers suggests that the audience received at Cape Cultural Collective events has been 'very mixed' with 'over 200 people here sometimes'.³⁸³ Quite whether the message of self-exploration has been disseminated amongst working-class people is not clear, however the continued staging of displays and debates underpinned by activists should be viewed as crucial to the growing consciousness surrounding the slave past in the Western Cape.

A similar process of mutual benefit through performance and display is currently occurring at the Castle. As a symbol of colonial power which the VOC began constructing in 1666, history here has typically been viewed through a Eurocentric lens. From this starting point as a colonial fort, the Castle appeared on the apartheid-era emblem of the SADF. The continued presence of military figures at what is now a ceremonial provincial heritage site contributes intensely towards the impression of an unwelcoming site burdened by an unflattering past. Present heritage interpretation at the Castle reinforces this colonial viewpoint, revealing little of the lives of the enslaved and indigenous people who built the site under VOC command or were imprisoned and punished within its confines.³⁸⁴ What is described on-site as the 'torture chamber' consists of a tall, narrow space with a hook ominously lowered to roughly head-height.³⁸⁵ The interpretive panel outside simply discusses the physical features of the chamber and the process of convicting a prisoner, neglecting to discuss the identities of many of those who were tortured which could open up the space as a site of memory for communities in the Western Cape today. Beyond the dry interpretive stations on offer, there are three museum

³⁸² *Ibid.*

³⁸³ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁴ Comments based on a number of visits between April 2015 and May 2016.

³⁸⁵ This is a recreation, rather than an original feature, as the room was modified when the building was restored.

displays within the Castle – the Castle Military Museum, part of Iziko’s William Fehr artwork collection, and an Iziko ceramics display.³⁸⁶

Recently, the Castle Control Board has embarked upon a process of reimagining the Castle by allowing previously critical stakeholder communities to explore it as part of their heritage. This is not the first time that heritage displays at the site have been democratised. In 1994 it hosted the ‘300 Years: Making of Cape Muslim Culture’ exhibition, curated by staff from Iziko in collaboration with the local Muslim community to mark the tercentenary of the arrival of Sheik Yusuf as a political prisoner at the Cape.³⁸⁷ The exhibition’s organisers believed that the occasion represented the opportunity to break perceived psychological barriers which, in the minds of black and coloured people, depicted the Castle as a ‘whites-only’ space.³⁸⁸ Capetonian Muslims were invited to donate everyday objects for display, Muslim craftspeople were given space to exhibit their work, and paintings from the Fehr collection were displayed in their appropriate context of 19th century colonial interpretations of an alien culture.³⁸⁹ The exhibition affirmed a sense of pride in Muslim identity, though has been criticised for reinforcing rather than challenging the concept of distinct Malay.³⁹⁰ It was, however, met with a sense of trepidation by military personnel at the Castle who, in a climate of immediate post-apartheid uncertainty, were fearful of future changes in status which this temporary opening up of the Castle might have heralded.³⁹¹ Subsequent exhibitions aimed at democratising the space included two exhibitions focussing on apartheid in 1994 and 1995, and a 1996 art display which responded to the TRC and engaged with artists from diverse backgrounds.³⁹² Perhaps owing to the continued involvement of military personnel in exhibitionary practices, these efforts do not

³⁸⁶ The military museum and Fehr collection are both closed for refurbishment at the time of writing.

³⁸⁷ Yusuf was instrumental in the spread of Islam at the Cape and is often cited as the person who brought Islam to the Cape, though this has been disputed. See A. Tayob, *Islam in South Africa: Mosques, Imams, and Sermons* (Florida, 1999), 22-23.

³⁸⁸ K. Ward, ‘The “300 Years: Making of Cape Muslim Culture” Exhibition, Cape Town, April 1994: Liberating the Castle?’, *Social Dynamics* 21.1 (1995), 101.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 107-8.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 114-116; Jeppie, ‘Reclassifications’, 81.

³⁹¹ Ward, ‘The “300 Years”’, 96.

³⁹² Goodnow et al, 112-113.

appear to have translated into any long-term programme of visible change. This underlines one of the central challenges of transforming a space such as the Castle, namely challenging the perception that it is a solely a totem of white European history without alienating the white population.

Calvyn Gilfellan was appointed the first civilian chief executive officer (CEO) of the Castle Control Board in April 2013.³⁹³ Several months into his new job, Gilfellan set a precedent for rethinking the Castle by inviting a Khoi group into the space having noted their protest banner outside which contended that the land on which the building was constructed originally belonged to their ancestors.³⁹⁴ These early collaborations involved discussion as well as song and dance, thus giving people the chance to explore and project their claimed identities in this former colonial space.³⁹⁵ Other initiatives included hosting weekly Khoi language classes in 2015, led by language expert and Khoi heritage activist Bradley van Sitters. These classes have performed a dual function of encouraging visits to the Castle from people who otherwise may have no interest in witnessing what is still considered a colonial symbol, and of enabling comment on the ongoing process of transformation at the site. Two students argued that the classes allowed them to confront a painful symbol of their genealogies, and reflected that by learning the language of their ancestors they were reconnecting with a history that the Castle had attempted to silence.³⁹⁶ This process of reconciliation and realignment was enhanced by the appointment of Moeshfieka Botha as the Castle's Heritage Officer in 2015 whose job includes a brief of engaging with outside groups.³⁹⁷

Recent events have included further collaboration with Khoi groups, including an art exhibition and sale in the first half of 2016. Events have increasingly become intertwined with plans to commemorate the 350th anniversary of the Castle's foundation, an occasion which has

³⁹³ The Control Board includes representatives from the City, Iziko, and military.

³⁹⁴ Calvyn Gilfellan and Moeshfieka Botha, interview, 22 April 2016.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁶ 'Important to rename Castle', *Cape Times*, 31 August 2015.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

also been acknowledged by cosmetic restoration of the building. The anniversary commemorations began on 2 January with the annual Cape Minstrel Carnival which included a prolonged visit to the Castle to herald the start of the year's commemorative events. The tradition of celebrating 2 January is rooted in slave culture, although the carnival element carries a number of outside influences. Most prominently, American performers visiting the Cape in the late 19th century introduced a minstrel element to what had been a festival which fused eastern and European musical traditions.³⁹⁸ In spite of the attempts of I.D. du Plessis to control the festival in the 1940s by introducing Afrikaans songs, it largely escaped apartheid intact.³⁹⁹ Whilst the carnival is not always readily associated with slave culture, the connections are nonetheless recalled by media coverage on a fairly reliable basis.⁴⁰⁰ Many participants in the 70 plus minstrel troupes active today are drawn from poorer communities on the Cape Flats.

The 2 January carnival was used as a means of unveiling and promoting the Castle's 2016 350th anniversary programme, titled 'Freedom from Oppression'. Material distributed by the Castle ahead of the day sought to recognise both the carnival's and the Castle's historical links with slavery.⁴⁰¹ Kevin Momberg, CEO of the Cape Cultural Events and Carnival Committee and CEO of the Cape Town Minstrel Carnival Association, explained how the minstrel displays should be viewed as people celebrating triumph over slavery and rejoicing in their current freedom, even though this freedom was tempered by violence, drug problems, and crime in poorer communities today.⁴⁰² The Castle, meanwhile, was portrayed in literature as a site awaiting this liberation, with 2 January officially marking the start of its transformation into a 'multifaceted, comprehensive' heritage site.⁴⁰³ This was about learning from the celebratory spectacle of the minstrel carnival, whilst remaining mindful of the role such a totemic heritage site could play in

³⁹⁸ D-C. Martin, 'Cape Town's Coon Carnival' in Nuttall and Michael, 368.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 370.

⁴⁰⁰ 'Plans to change Castle's image', *Cape Times*, 29 December 2015 is one example of how the carnival's links with slavery are highlighted by the media.

⁴⁰¹ Castle of Good Hope, 'Official Newsletter' (December 2015), 2-3.

⁴⁰² *Ibid*, 3.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid*, 2.

ongoing processes of social justice. There was also a sense that, by inviting minstrel troupes into the Castle before the traditional street parade, the event was reconnecting the carnival with its historical roots in slavery. This was therefore a mutually-beneficial process, with both entities depicted as gaining deeper understandings of their complex and interlinked pasts. Performers were offered a stake in the history of what was for many years a 'whites-only' space, and, in return, reintroduced an element of slave culture to its confines in recognition of the people who built the Castle.

As part of the ongoing 350th anniversary commemorations, a Khoi kraal (village) display was installed within the Castle in April 2016. This was curated by Ron Martin, a prominent figure in the Khoisan revival movement. It consisted of a series of huts and included live goats, presumably intending to add a sense of realism. Martin was frequently on hand to guide visitors, explaining that the idea underpinning the installation was the suggestion that prior to the arrival of Europeans similar kraals were likely to have stood on the same spot. This example, he contended, was the first kraal on the spot for at least 350 years.⁴⁰⁴ Martin has subsequently used the media coverage gained by the kraal to call for social reform. He has suggested that, by reconnecting with their Khoi heritage, people can move beyond present issues such as spousal abuse.⁴⁰⁵ This idea is reminiscent of Mbeki's 'African renaissance' philosophy in the way in which it posits returning to a traditional way of living as an answer to the excesses of the present. This notion of rediscovering a rich heritage buried beneath decades of forced forgetting and trauma is central to the Castle's offer as a platform for people such as Martin. It is not restricted to reminding coloured people of their forgotten heritage. Gilfellan recalls overhearing a conversation between an Afrikaner mother and her child. The mother, questioning the presence of the kraal, was reminded by the child that Khoi people occupied the area 'before us' and

⁴⁰⁴ Comments made 19 April 2016.

⁴⁰⁵ 'Social ills the result of being removed from our culture – heritage expert', *News24*, 21 April 2016.

therefore were being appropriately depicted.⁴⁰⁶ It is within this broader field of reconstituting ideas about the past that identities are being deconstructed and reconstructed as artists, performers, activists, and visitors alike are offered the chance to explore Cape history.

The symbolism of current events at the Castle lies partially in their use of the more distant past to promote reconciliation and nation-building, rather than relying on the concept of a national meta-narrative of recent struggle and liberation to work towards these ends. Central to this process is encouraging reflection on a long durée heritage, and inviting people to discover new identities based upon acknowledging Khoi, slave, and other roots. By engaging with activists and community leaders who perceive that their heritage has been neglected by state museums and historical initiatives, the Castle is performing work which ideally would have taken place during the first decade of democracy. That it did not ensures that this role today is more complex as additional contestations and disputes have emerged arising from the lack of attention paid to colonial-era injustices. For Gilfellan and Botha, the Castle is a unique site in terms of understanding this past, having stood as a symbol of white authority through the colonial and apartheid eras.⁴⁰⁷ Gilfellan describes it as ‘the navel of modern South Africa’, suggesting that the events which have taken place within its walls can serve as metaphors for human rights abuses throughout South African history to social problems facing disadvantaged communities today.⁴⁰⁸ He argues that by confronting previously ignored colonial-era dispossession and marginalisation, the Castle can enable people to understand contemporary trends such as land division and ownership which he cites as direct consequences.⁴⁰⁹ Crucially, both Gilfellan and Botha recognise that adopting a hostile approach is not the way to proceed, and claim to be mindful of representing the entire story of the Castle, including its European

⁴⁰⁶ Gilfellan and Botha, interview.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

history which has until recently occupied central ground.⁴¹⁰ The process of repositioning the Castle is therefore one of understanding. It is about understanding the full story of the past, rather than the selective Eurocentric history which the interpretive stations on site currently offer. It is about encouraging and enabling people to understand where they have come from and who they are, facilitated by partnerships with community leaders and activists. This understanding is used as the basis for analysing the roots of contemporary social problems, and working together to mitigate their effects.

Why now? Why has this process taken so long to materialise? For Gifellan, the Castle is partially responding to outside trends, just as it was when he first invited Khoisan activists into the space. People, he claims, are encouraged to self-investigate by the ease with which information passes through social media.⁴¹¹ In particular, he identifies the Arab Spring in 2011 as an event which galvanised activism in South Africa and catalysed a gradual move away from erasure and reconciliation towards confronting questions which had remained dormant since democracy.⁴¹² Botha suggests that people have taken advantage of these developments, to the point where the Castle is now reacting to calls for recognition from groups who feel that their history has been neglected for too long.⁴¹³ To refer back to Smith's definition of heritage and the discussion of the Sendinggestig, the Castle becomes a space symbolic not so much for its past but for what it means now. Not only is this past reconsidered and properly acknowledged, but the built space is reinterpreted from occupying what was for some a hostile psychological standing to being receptive towards processes of identity-building and claims of heritage.

Walking in the footsteps of the enslaved in Cape Town

One of the most prominent initiatives aimed at reimagining the slave past has been the rebirth of 1 December emancipation day commemorations from 2006 onwards, led chiefly by District

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*

⁴¹² *Ibid.*

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*

Six Museum.⁴¹⁴ The historian Vivian Bickford-Smith had predicted the likelihood of these events reappearing in a 1996 letter to the *Cape Times*, perceptively suggesting that a state desire for unity in the immediate post-apartheid era would not necessarily result in such trends being encouraged.⁴¹⁵ It is perhaps symptomatic of increased tacit approval of individualised and even ethnically-based identities as democracy has matured that the resurgent commemorations have received municipal support.⁴¹⁶ The event has taken the form of a march through Cape Town via various sites of slave heritage, beginning on the evening of 30 November and culminating in the early hours of 1 December. It aims to evoke the commemorative efforts of imagined ancestors in the 19th century, recalling lost traditions such the use as lanterns and picnics as a form of celebration. It is perhaps the most recognisable aspect of various tangible representations of the intangible slave past and associated projections of identity previously discussed in this chapter. In contrast to the Khoisan revival movement, anyone claiming a slave-based identity cannot borrow from distinct cultural practices which hold a dual role as popular images attached to a particular stereotype.⁴¹⁷ The kind of primordialist displays which are sometimes harnessed by Khoisan activists in an attempt to connect with ancestors are not an option for people claiming a slave-based ancestry. Academic study of Cape slavery has stressed the absence of an easily-defined shared slave culture characterised by distinctive practices.⁴¹⁸ 1 December as a commemorative occasion offers a rare opportunity to reconnect with collective practices associated with slavery and those who experienced this dehumanising subjugation first hand.

The revived central Cape Town 1 December march has occurred concurrently with, and perhaps

⁴¹⁴ Support has variously been received from the City of Cape Town, Iziko, the Institute for the Healing of Memories, the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, the District Six-aligned Prestwich Place Project Committee, and a number of cultural organisations in the Cape Town area. Some of these interests have lately organised as the Emancipation Day Coalition.

⁴¹⁵ Ward and Worden, 216.

⁴¹⁶ The event initially took place without City-approval, though provision is now in place for authorised road closures and a police presence.

⁴¹⁷ M. Besten, 'Envisioning ancestors: staging of Kho-San authenticity in South Africa', *Critical Arts* 25.2 (2011), 175-191. Besten contends that primordialist self-representation is used particularly by newer proponents of Khoisan identity both to affirm their status as genuine Khoisan people and to challenge societal stereotypes of a primitive lifestyle.

⁴¹⁸ N. Worden, 'Revolt in Cape Colony slave society' in E.A. Alpers, G. Campbell, and M. Salman (eds), *Resisting Bondage in Indian Ocean Africa and Asia* (London: Routledge, 2007), 12.

played a catalysing role in, a broader interest in marking the day across the Western Cape. The Western Cape Provincial Government in 2012 replaced World AIDS Day with emancipation day as its stock 1 December commemorative point of reference, and many of its 28 affiliated museums now mark the occasion. Iziko too has held annual events, often taking the form of public lectures and guided tours.

Unlike other examples discussed in this chapter, the practices of recreation rather than simply reconnection and remembrance rest at the centre of the resurgent 1 December commemorations. A period of around a century characterised by inactivity and amnesia ensures that these events are not necessarily identical to the processes of nostalgia and tradition which dominate academic discussions of performative heritage. Nonetheless, it is useful to be mindful of Ferdinand de Jong's explanation of how cultural practices naturally and organically evolve over time as an example of how renewed commemorations of 1 December do not merely recall the past, but dynamically challenge the present.⁴¹⁹ In terms of considering the mechanics of recalling a practice which has been forgotten and requires recovery, Benedict Anderson's work is a useful point of departure. In areas where memories no longer exist, argues Anderson, the past must be narrated based on documentary evidence.⁴²⁰ The form taken by the modern 1 December march therefore can be assumed to owe their characteristics to newspaper reports from the time, academic accounts such as that offered by Ward and Worden, and the comments on 19th century emancipation day celebrations offered by former enslaved woman Lydia Williams.⁴²¹ This enables a form of commemoration which, as outlined by Maurice Halbwachs, does not rely on familiarity but on repeating the practices others would have enacted had they

⁴¹⁹ F. De Jong, 'A Masterpiece of Masquerading: Contradictions of Conservation in Intangible Heritage' in F. De Jong and M. Rowlands (eds), *Reclaiming Heritage: Alternative Imaginaries of Memory in West Africa* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2007), 178-179.

⁴²⁰ B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* third edn. (London: Verso, 2006), 204.

⁴²¹ Ward and Worden, 203-207; Williams' story can be found as part of the displays at District Six Museum under the title 'A Fervent Simplicity: the story of Lydia, ex-slave woman' and also appears briefly in Ward and Worden, 204.

been in the same position.⁴²² Paul Basu's work on diaspora tourism amongst descendants of Scottish highlanders provides an example of how this reconnection functions at a practical level. Basu places attempts at defining the self as central to reconnecting with practices separated by space and time, underpinned by a desire to retrace and reconnect with ruptured communities.⁴²³ Emulating the practices of claimed ancestors becomes a means of identifying with them as part of an increasing acknowledgement of slave ancestry. As Pumla Dineo Gqola suggests, by claiming Khoi and slave ancestry, coloured people in post-apartheid South Africa embark on a process of humanising their ancestors, liberating them from the status of faceless subjects in the colonial archive.⁴²⁴ This emotive method of reconnecting with the past also functions as a way of recalling the triumphs, rather than the suffering of enslaved ancestors. In 2015, a banner carrying the slogan 'Remember not that we were freed...but that we fought', inspired by the International Slavery Museum in Liverpool, was carried by those at the front of the march. This is suggestive of an activist milieu which not only seeks to recover the agency of the enslaved and emphasise its primacy, but inspire similar action against the social and political problems of today.

One of the foremost proponents of the reborn commemorations, Bonita Bennett of District Six Museum, has explained the modern 1 December events as 'an exploration of historic imagination' as well as a time for reflection on modern slavery, human trafficking, and other contemporary issues such as violence against women.⁴²⁵ Motivated by the discovery of human remains at Prestwich Place, the idea was premised on creatively illuminating the past by attempting to reimagine the experiences of the former enslaved on emancipation day.⁴²⁶ The precise form of commemorations has differed from year to year. In 2009, for example, 1

⁴²² M. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* trans. Lewis Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 53.

⁴²³ P. Basu, *Highland Homecomings: Genealogy and Heritage Tourism in the Scottish Diaspora* (London: Routledge, 2007), 157.

⁴²⁴ Gqola, 49.

⁴²⁵ "'Walk in the night' enables reflection', *Cape Times*, 1 December 2014.

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*

December itself was preceded by a series of workshops held at District Six Museum with the aim of discussing some of the themes raised by the commemorations, including defining modern slavery.⁴²⁷ In both 2009 and 2012 various creative forms of remembrance were employed, including encouraging reflection through poetry and dramatic performance. Though rooted in a recognition of history, these events are very much concerned with present day issues. The 2015 event culminated at the Castle where, prior to a programme of entertainment, CEO Calvyn Gilfellan addressed the assembled crowd. 'Our communities are still enslaved', he reminded the gathered crowd. Enslavement in this sense, he explained, referred to violence against women, substance abuse, and the ravaging effects of AIDS on poorer communities, a topical connection given the day's dual symbolism as World AIDS Day.

The Cape Town march is symbolic in a number of ways. At a basic level, it serves to encourage remembrance and commemoration of slavery. It is not, however, a simple case of emulating the commemorative practices of those who went before. Social commentary runs throughout the resurgent commemorations. They are an act of reclaiming the city on behalf of people whose interactions with this space are defined by a work-home dichotomy. Cape Town's City Bowl is not normally a place where the majority of Cape Flats-dwellers would find themselves in the early hours of the morning. As will be examined in chapter four, outside standard working hours the area becomes the preserve of the moneyed, inaccessible without personal transport owing both to security problems and to the limitations of an inadequate public transportation network. The 1 December march encourages interaction with the city as a space beyond this typical binary, and demands that participants rethink and reclaim its history. Both in this sense and in other ways, the revived 1 December march is infused with social and political commentary. These are themes which themselves have history. In the early to mid 20th century, emancipation day was dually used as a reflective moment and by a number of leftist interests as an opportunity to advance political arguments by questioning the value of

⁴²⁷ Cape Town Partnership, 'Commemorating Emancipation Day 2009' (2009).

emancipation from slavery to coloured people.⁴²⁸ The slave past, it seems, has reassumed its role as a discursive point of comparison as it has reappeared in public consciousness.

Figure 2.1 Father Michael Weeder addresses the crowd at Strand Street Quarry, 1 December emancipation day march, 2015.



Notes: the banner, which reads 'Emancipation Day: Celebrate the End of Slavery', was carried at the front of the march once underway.

Paul Gilroy's seminal work on the black Atlantic enables a deeper reading of these recurring patterns. Gilroy suggested that slavery in North America nurtured a dissonant political culture which was maintained over time amongst black people in the transatlantic world and mobilised in order to question power structures.⁴²⁹ Gilroy's theory of political organisation as a form of slave memory initially has questionable utility in relation to South Africa, where memory of slavery has faded over time. Additionally, slavery at the Cape did not so much foster a radical political culture as develop a working-class subculture which later contributed to activism in

⁴²⁸ Kahn, 22; Ward and Worden, 207-208.

⁴²⁹ P. Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), 39.

opposition to racial segregation.⁴³⁰ These nuances should not be used to entirely dismiss the link, however. It was within this working-class culture that a relatively lively awareness of slavery existed before formal racial segregation incrementally consumed society from the late 19th century – and particularly 1910s – onwards. It is partly in this sense of a ‘dissonant political culture’ that slavery is being refashioned as a claimed identity.⁴³¹ Commonality of experience enables us to understand how these patterns have been able to bridge the discontinuities and disjuncture associated with enforced forgetting. For Gilroy, both the enslaved in the Americas and their black descendents around the transatlantic world have frequently witnessed their various interests as at odds with those of evolving modernity.⁴³² As such, black intellectuals have developed a scepticism of modernity which refers to injustices meted out over time, encompassing the entire black experience including slavery.⁴³³ Though deemed inimical to the united front of anti-apartheid activism, these same critical thought patterns are arguably now emerging in relation to the slave experience in South Africa. It is this politics of opposition which the 1 December march slogan recalls, aiming to emulate ancestors not only in remembering but in what they stood and fought against.

Conclusion

Using evidence drawn from five case studies, this chapter has demonstrated how the sphere of heritage is serving as a vehicle through which the idea of slave ancestry is both defined and promoted. This use of heritage representations attests to Laurajane Smith’s definition of heritage as something which is performed, negotiated, and holds no fixed value. Compared with the Khoisan revival movement, slave ancestry has received less attention from coloured people seeking to redefine both their apartheid and post-apartheid state-prescribed labels. Partly responding to academic-led initiatives and situated within a wider context of defining the self,

⁴³⁰ Adhikari, ‘The Sons of Ham’, 97.

⁴³¹ Gilroy, 39.

⁴³² *Ibid*, 73.

⁴³³ *Ibid*.

slave roots are now fitfully being acknowledged. Actors creatively interact with a past which they do not remember, yet have internalised as a personal history by investigating and theorising their ancestries. Heritage representations offer actors a platform from which they can both challenge state-prescribed narratives and broadcast their message to consumers of this heritage experience. When these consumers are probable slave descendants as in the cases of Lucy Campbell's tour and the District Six Museum-led 1 December emancipation day march, these representations of heritage can explicitly become part of a process of identity-building. Close identification with a previously forgotten past imbues representations with social comment through a process which empathises with and is inspired by the enslaved as fore mothers and fathers on a historical plane. This demonstrates how, contrary to needs perceived by the state and the TRC, people have looked to the more distant colonial past to help understand who they are and to explain current socio-economic inequalities. These moves have sometimes appeared at odds with the less challenging terminology which characterises 'official' forms of remembering discussed in chapter one. When evoked by people claiming slave ancestry, historical slavery is frequently used as a parallel with contemporary social problems in poorer areas, both as a means of drawing attention to these prevailing injustices and of engaging people. The contrast between how slavery is remembered in spaces such as the Slave Lodge compared with how slave descendants identify with this past attests to the idea that there are multiple ways of exploring Cape slavery. Chapter three will advance this idea, investigating how locality influences representations in the Western Cape.

Chapter Three: Presenting the past, creating locality: Cape slavery in the local and community museum

10 per cent of all the museums on the African continent are located in the Western Cape province of South Africa.⁴³⁴ This statistic owes much to the province's rich history, its long relationship with tourism, and the social, economic, and cultural capital which has typically existed within its boundaries. Whilst major national museum and heritage sites such as Freedom Park have attracted extensive scholarly analysis for the ways in which they reflect state-orchestrated renewal and identity formation, smaller South African museums have tended to be treated less enthusiastically by the academy. This is true of the many local and community history museums dotted across the Western Cape which comprise part of the aforementioned 10 per cent.⁴³⁵ Whilst these sites may often be small in size with a limited exhibition remit, they nonetheless reflect both local and national agendas of nation and identity building. As Buntinx and Karp have claimed, local museums around the world both interpret national narratives and find strong resonance with local residents who may form supportive communities in response.⁴³⁶ Any attempt to analyse the dual politics of representation of the past and collective identity should therefore pay close attention to local museums for the ways in which they support or dispute broader trends.

Through a number of case studies – including Simon's Town Museum, Stellenbosch Museum, Paarl Museum, and Swellendam Drostdy Museum – this chapter charts how the politics of representation have evolved over time at local museums in the Western Cape. Slavery

⁴³⁴ Western Cape Provincial Government Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport, 'Discussion Paper: Towards a New Provincial Museum Policy for the Western Cape' (March 2011).

⁴³⁵ 'Local' and 'community' museums are defined here as interlinked, but not as synonymous. Whilst the majority of community museums are by nature local museums, not all local museums resonate strongly enough with local audiences to be defined as community museums. A local museum is thus defined here as a site which exhibits material relating to the local area in which it is situated, whilst a community museum extends beyond this and actively engages with and exchanges ideas with communities situated in the surrounding area.

⁴³⁶ G. Buntinx and I. Karp, 'Tactical Museologies' in Karp et al, *Museum Frictions*, 208-209; A.K. Levin, 'Why Local Museums Matter' in A.K. Levin (ed.), *Defining Memory: Local Museums and the Construction of History in America's Changing Communities* (Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2007), 13.

was ubiquitous during the Dutch and early British colonial eras throughout the area now defined as Western Cape Province, yet the metropole that was Cape Town and its Slave Lodge has dominated commemorative activity. The focus of this chapter will enable an understanding of how history in general is represented in the Western Cape beyond Cape Town, and particularly how neglected histories such as slavery are now receiving attention as a means of reconnecting with previously marginalised local citizens. The aforementioned state-funded sites will be compared and contrasted with two independent, community-operated museums in the former mission villages of Pniel and Elim. Both of these settlements have strong links with slavery and emancipation through their origins as mission stations. Central to debates here will be the ways in which community memory influences modes of representation, and how this links with wider issues of post-apartheid transformation in arts, culture, and heritage, and the concepts of identity discussed in chapter two. The extent to which these new sites mark a departure from themes identified at longer-established local museums will be debated. The idea that all of these sites evoke a specific, localised memory of enslaved people as a constituent part of a past local community will be maintained throughout. Acknowledging their presence functions as a means of introducing histories beyond those of white settlers to museum displays, and of positing the enslaved as one of a number of multiracial forebears of modern-day local residents.

Defining local and community museums

Browsing the work of academics who have analysed local and community history museums in various parts of the world reveals some common assumptions and conclusions. Local museums worldwide, we learn, can display a tendency to idealise the past based upon the nostalgic sentiments of key individuals who may have either directly experienced or claim association with the aspect of the past on display.⁴³⁷ Bella Dicks has argued that local museums create an

⁴³⁷ A. Gordon, 'The Highland Heart in Nova Scotia: Place and Memory at the Highland Village Museum' in J. Opp and J.C. Walsh (eds), *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada* (Toronto: UBC Press, 2010), 121.

ethnography of the communities they represent. This involves essentialising an area's population through what is and what is not represented in the museum, and placing this imagined community at the centre of national and global processes which are not examined themselves.⁴³⁸ These sites can exert critical influence over what becomes the authorised history of an area as told to visitors, selecting and distorting as curators see fit.⁴³⁹ Writing in a more general sense, Andrea Witcomb claimed that museums are as much implicated in the production of the idea of a community as they are in representing pre-existing notions of communities.⁴⁴⁰ In a rural area such as the Western Cape, local museums can reflect how leading local citizenry imagines both local and national pasts.

Greater emphasis has been placed by scholars on the local museum as a community site conceived and articulated as part of a defensive repertoire of self-definition.⁴⁴¹ In this sense, local museums worldwide can serve as useful vehicles for furthering the interests of communities eager to assert ownership or otherwise lay claim to specific pasts or cultural treasures.⁴⁴² Writing during the early 1990s, Ivan Karp situated museums at the centre of the 'struggle over identity' which he claimed defined the existence of all communities.⁴⁴³ A picture emerges of the local museum as a potentially subversive entity when controlled by community groups; as a space which can be mobilised to challenge received notions of identity. This tension in the local museum acting both as a repository for an idealised depiction of a specific, treasured

⁴³⁸ B. Dicks, 'The view of our town from the hill: communities on display as local heritage', *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 2.3 (1999), 358-362.

⁴³⁹ J. Price, 'The Small Town We Never Were: Old Cowtown Museum Faces an Urban Past' in A.K. Levin (ed.), *Defining Memory: Local Museums and the Construction of History in America's Changing Communities* (Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2007), 99.

⁴⁴⁰ A. Witcomb, *Re-Imagining the Museum: Beyond the Mausoleum* (Abingdon: Taylor and Francis, 2003), 82.

⁴⁴¹ C. Camarena and T. Morales, 'Community Museums and Global Connections: The Union of Community Museums of Oaxaca' in Karp et al, *Museum Frictions*, 327.

⁴⁴² E. Hoobler, '"To Take Their Heritage in Their Hands": Indigenous Self-Representation and Decolonization in the Community Museums of Oaxaca, Mexico', *American Indian Quarterly* 30.3/4 (2006), 444-445.

⁴⁴³ I. Karp, 'Introduction: Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture' in I. Karp, C.M. Kreamer, and S.D. Lavine (eds), *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 14-15.

past and as a space for negotiating threats posed by national and global processes in the postmodern world, has itself been recognised.⁴⁴⁴ For Marta Anico, it is a frequent reality for local museums to fulfil both definitions.⁴⁴⁵

Some of these statements are generalisations, and significant variations can be expected in the ways that local museums function. A local museum site operated by a community, for example, will bear notable structural differences compared with a state-funded site managed by a municipality, or similar. In post-apartheid South Africa, these variations situate local museums variously as sites for examining self-definition through heritage representation as discussed in chapter two, as well as places where state-led transformation efforts as debated in chapter one can unfold. The Western Cape Provincial Government Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport provides funding – often partial – to 27 museums situated in the province via its Museum Service.⁴⁴⁶ Museum Service-affiliated sites are generally small in size and scale, and normally depict the history – or claimed history – of the area in which they are situated. At the time of writing, these sites continue to be governed by 1975 Museums Ordinance, a policy which on paper reminds management committees of their responsibility to outline access times and charges applicable to persons of specific races.⁴⁴⁷ Although a new policy has been formulated, this has yet to become active.⁴⁴⁸ Whilst the practice of using race to restrict visiting times is no longer adhered to, the fact that it has taken over 20 years to introduce a new policy to manage these local sites speaks volumes for the pace of transformation at such places.

⁴⁴⁴ Dicks, 365; M. Anico, 'Representing identities at local municipal museums: Cultural forums or identity bunkers?' in M. Anico and E. Peralta (eds), *Heritage and Identity: Engagement and Demission in the Contemporary World* (London: Routledge, 2009), 74-75.

⁴⁴⁵ Anico, 64.

⁴⁴⁶ 18 of these museums hold 'province-aided' status, five 'local', and four 'provincial'. These distinctions dictate funding arrangements.

⁴⁴⁷ Provincial Administration of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope, 'Museums Ordinance 8 of 1975' (1975), 8.

⁴⁴⁸ Western Cape Provincial Government Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport, 'Western Cape Museum Policy' (August 2013).

As change has slowly been enacted, new displays have appeared at a number of the Museum Service's sites. In an effort to make history relevant to all local communities, these new displays have sometimes used the Cape's history of enslavement as a counterpoint to the European settler and elite cultural pasts which have typically been depicted in Western Cape local museums. Slavery becomes a history which forms part of an inclusive local history in which the ancestors of contemporary residents are all posited as stakeholders in constructing the present. Although these displays are important in understanding how the slave past is communicated outside the provincial capital of Cape Town, what they also often expose are the difficulties in representing Cape slavery in museums. This museological complex is influenced by past collecting policies, an absence of material culture, and misconceptions and disconnections arising from past policies of racial segregation and exclusive constructions of the past.

The genesis of the Western Cape local history museum

A common trajectory can be identified in tracing the origins of many Western Cape local history museums. The earliest examples date from the 1930s, however the majority were founded in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. This placed them squarely at the centre of an apartheid climate of historical representation eager to valorise early Cape settlers, and in particular Jan van Riebeeck.⁴⁴⁹ Accordingly, Murray and Witz convincingly describe how in 1960s and 1970s South Africa, 'the local history museum became one of the most conservative institutions.'⁴⁵⁰ Despite the extent to which local museums were intertwined with concepts of a national past under apartheid, in the Cape Province they operated largely independently, even in cases where they fell under direct control of the provincial administration. Hall and Kros describe how this

⁴⁴⁹ N. Shepherd, 'Heritage' in N. Shepherd and S. Robins (eds), *New South African Keywords* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2008), 119; Witz, *Apartheid's Festival*, 31-2.

⁴⁵⁰ Murray and Witz, 8. See also Dominy, 94.

arrangement differed from other areas of South Africa, and in Cape Province mainly amounted to financial support rather than technical assistance from the state.⁴⁵¹

The origin of a typical Western Cape local history museum rested in the interests of leading municipal citizens, often including businesspeople, local councillors, serving or former state representatives, intellectuals, and serving or former members of the armed forces. Such museums were predominantly found in white group areas, where the aforementioned local notables and their economic and social capital were also located.⁴⁵² The Stellenbosch Museum is a typical example of this tendency. Originally situated in the 1781-built Grosvenor House in Ryneveld Street, it opened in 1948 to display the Phillimore-Ives Collection of paintings.⁴⁵³ This collection returned to Britain when South Africa was expelled from the Commonwealth in 1961, and Grosvenor House was re-opened as a local history museum in 1966.⁴⁵⁴ Stellenbosch Museum clearly played an important role in the social lives of town's cultural and economic elite. Professor J. Trumpelmann, lecturer in German at the University of Stellenbosch, and George Osler, a local architect, were prominent names in the minutes of the Friends of the Stellenbosch Museum during the 1970s.⁴⁵⁵

This combination of a town's leading citizenry, the celebration of a selective past, and the reuse of a historic building as a museum site is also evident in tracing the origins of Simon's Town Museum which opened in 1977. This museum occupies The Residency, a building constructed in 1777 as the residency of the VOC Governor whilst Simon's Town functioned as the company's winter anchorage. When Simon's Town became the British Royal Navy's permanent base in 1814 it was converted into a court building. Though it currently carries

⁴⁵¹ A. Hall and C. Kros, 'New Premises for Public History in South Africa', *The Public Historian* 16.2 (1994), 18-19.

⁴⁵² The 1984 Tricameral Parliament specifically assigned different museums to different racial administrations from 1986 until the end of apartheid, depending on the racial group area they were situated in. See *ibid*, 16.

⁴⁵³ Fransen, *Guide*, 90-91.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid*.

⁴⁵⁵ National Library of South Africa (NLSA), Cape Town Periodicals, P 13 392, Friends of the Stellenbosch Museum. Minutes.

province-aided status, Simon's Town Museum has always held a strong relationship with its founders, the Simon's Town Historical Society. The Historical Society itself has typically enjoyed a close association with the military. In 1983, for example, its committee included Lieutenant Commander W.M. Bisset as a designated 'SA Navy representative' with SADF Chief Admiral Hugo Biermann serving as its president.⁴⁵⁶ The museum had been opened by councillor Llew Gay, cementing its links with municipal pomp from the outset.⁴⁵⁷ There was evidently a sense of satisfaction in the achievement of opening the museum, for the Historical Society was able to boast of how the number of objects donated during the first year 'indicates how much this museum was necessary'.⁴⁵⁸

The original displays in the museum were incrementally installed as the elderly Residency building was restored through the late 1970s and 1980s. A 'Warrior Room' and 'Navy Room' are suggestive of an overarching narrative based upon privileging histories of conflict, pomp, and virtue gained from the town's long association with the military.⁴⁵⁹ This was about recognising the strategic importance of Simon's Town over the centuries as a town of military value, reflected by the convergence of Historical Society, museum, and serving military personnel. The themes which have and continue to characterise both the Historical Society's publications and the displays of Simon's Town Museum have encouraged a public history of Simon's Town premised on the idea of unproblematic, 'quaint' historic buildings, detached from the histories of enslavement and apartheid which fissure beneath the surface.⁴⁶⁰ Both in the past and present, the local museum can be used to present a selective municipal identity which

⁴⁵⁶ Simon's Town Historical Society, 'Chairman's Report – 23rd Annual General Meeting', *Simon's Town Historical Society Bulletin* 12.4 (July 1983), 125.

⁴⁵⁷ G. Wilson, 'Simon's Town Historical Society Eighteenth Annual Report', *Simon's Town Historical Society Bulletin* 10.2 (July 1978), 41.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 42.

⁴⁵⁹ Simon's Town Historical Society, 'Simon's Town Historical Society: Twentieth Annual Report', *Simon's Town Historical Society Bulletin* 11.2 (July 1980), 42; Simon's Town Historical Society, 'Chairman's Report', *Simon's Town Historical Society Bulletin* 13.2 (July 1984), 43.

⁴⁶⁰ Simon's Town Tourism, *Exploring Simon's Town* (undated leaflet).

privileges the events which a relatively small group of notable citizens consider to define the past.

Simon's Town Museum was able to craft a narrative of relative coherence, based though it was on a myopic reading of the past. Many similar museums in the Western Cape under apartheid seem to have been repositories for the material culture of middle and upper-class life. The presence of such objects may have sought to affirm the enlightened qualities of a town's citizenry, combining these assumed intellectual qualities with every day, donated objects. A 1973 guide to the Oude Pastorie Museum in Paarl suggests exhibition themes of European and Cape cultural history with little local connection. This museum had been founded in 1937 as the Huguenot Museum and changed its name in 1969 so as to avoid confusion with the Huguenot Museum in Franschhoek. Its collections in 1973 included a series of old English flatware, a number of porcelain plates including two bearing VOC insignia, a large collection of coins dating from the start of European settlement at the Cape to modern times, and numerous items of international and Cape furniture.⁴⁶¹ The museum was laid out like a house, presumably reflecting both a logical way of representing everyday elite items and of encouraging visitors to reflect upon the lifestyles of early settlers in this 1787-constructed building. The leaflet shows a clear sense of pride in assumed civility, boasting of the living room's 'oldworld atmosphere'.⁴⁶² There does not, however, appear to be any indication that the Oude Pastorie Museum represented anything specific of the history of Paarl, beyond reflecting selective aspects of the broader South African experience. The tendencies to promote a selective past and, at times, a skewed image of locality in Western Cape local history museums was representative of how local museums themselves 'celebrate their pasts without critically scrutinising them' and are frequently premised on nostalgic ideals.⁴⁶³ They also portrayed an idealised past which glorified

⁴⁶¹ Oude Pastorie Museum, Paarl (1973), 5-13.

⁴⁶² *Ibid*, 9.

⁴⁶³ E. Vallance, 'Local History, "Old Things to Look At," and a Sculptor's Vision: Exploring Local Museums through Curriculum Theory' in Levin (ed.), 28.

conflict and fetishised aspects of European settler lifestyle, thereby coalescing with the version of the past which the apartheid state promoted as a national history.

Transforming local history

The legacies of these past collecting and representational policies have created troublesome barriers to transformation under the post-1994 political dispensation. As several of the examples demonstrate – and in particular that of the Oude Pastorie Museum – collection policies tended to negate the local in favour of internationally-recognisable artefacts. The social history revolution had yet to take place in 1960s and 1970s South Africa and this, combined with apartheid sensibilities, meant that there was no currency in recovering or preserving the experiences of the marginalised over time. Slavery was one aspect of the past which was completely neglected by Western Cape local history museums even though, as will be explained, some of these sites had intimate tangible connections with the slave past. This model of constructing an uncritical collection of objects which visitors are encouraged to read detached from any context other than as presented in the gallery has been identified as a relic of 19th century display practices which only began evolving during the 1980s and 1990s.⁴⁶⁴ Local museums in the Western Cape were consequently bound up with global processes whilst simultaneously responding to the national and local needs of constructing white cultural hegemony.

Selective past collection policies have proved significant obstacles in making these state-funded spaces relevant to the whole populations of the localities they purport to serve.

Administrative changes post-1994 saw the old Cape Province split into three smaller provinces, and the museums discussed in this chapter fell under the new Western Cape Provincial Government. Its Museum Service is now responsible for direct technical support including employing centralised staff who are responsible for curating exhibitions where state funding is

⁴⁶⁴ Hooper-Greenhill, 204-205; C. Saumarez Smith, 'Museums, Artefacts, and Meanings' in P. Vergo (ed.), *The New Museology* (London: Reaktion Books, 1989), 17-19.

used. Antonia Malan and Nigel Worden recall how the Museum Service distributed a memorandum to its curators during the early 2000s requesting they make any items relevant to slavery available for display. The majority responded that the collections of their institutions did not hold such items, and that they were unsure where they would be able to obtain them.⁴⁶⁵ This reinforces the point made in chapter one that post-apartheid transformation directives have proven difficult to respond to in museums which pre-date 1994. As Patricia Davison commented during the late 1990s, these longer-established museums are burdened by the need to confront their own pasts as they try to meaningfully transform.⁴⁶⁶ Given the pervasiveness of slavery in the historical Cape Colony, local stories of enslavement exist for the majority of towns and villages.⁴⁶⁷ Accessing these histories requires a different strategy to the object-based exhibition strategy traditionally adopted by local history museums in Cape Province and its successor Western Cape.

The availability of funding is a significant obstacle in itself, and a number of the museums aligned with the Museum Service are not only unreconstructed, but dilapidated. Kleinplasië Museum in Worcester, around 100 kilometres north-east of Cape Town, opened in 1981 as a living farm counterpart to a more traditional series of period houses, art galleries, and Afrikaner artefact repositories, all of which have since closed.⁴⁶⁸ Its present state is largely unchanged, and the period buildings come across as neglected and absent of any real context with redundant items such as farming implements masquerading as contextualising props within their walls.⁴⁶⁹ The example of Kleinplasië offers evidence of how transformation has been slow at Western Cape sites aligned with the Museum Service, and how these spaces are the subject of

⁴⁶⁵ A. Malan and N. Worden, 'Constructing and Contesting Histories of Slavery at the Cape, South Africa' in Lane and MacDonald, 404.

⁴⁶⁶ P. Davison, 'Museums and the reshaping of memory' in Nuttall and Coetzee, 149.

⁴⁶⁷ Existing academic historical work including K. Schoeman, *Portrait of a slave society: the Cape of Good Hope, 1717-1795* (Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2012); Scully; Loos could be used to underpin any future exhibitions which focus on individuals and local stories of enslavement.

⁴⁶⁸ Fransen, *Guide*, 105-106; Museums of/van Worcester (1981).

⁴⁶⁹ Comments based on 15 July 2015 visit.

neglect and a chronic paucity in funding. Returning to the case of Simon's Town Museum introduces an additional element to this discussion in the form of institutional mindset. Here, local contestations around constructions of the past have defined the representation of a fascinating series of cells beneath the museum. Sited in the old Residency building dating from 1777, numerous stories exist surrounding the cells on the ground floor of the museum, including that they were used to sell or even house enslaved people by one owner, the Swedish merchant Isaac Stromboom. At present absolute evidence to prove this is not available, though it is almost certain that the man who Stromboom sold the building to, Johannes Henricus Brand, kept enslaved people in the property.⁴⁷⁰ Once the Residency became a court building in 1814, the cellars were used as jail cells.

Though these cellars were at one time open to the public, they are now viewable only by appointment. According to the notice fixed to their entrance, this owes much to vandalism of the cellars. Further probing, however, reveals that two local Muslim families have made allegations that their ancestors are buried in the space, something which appears to have startled museum staff. A stubborn dispute with a representative of one of these families, Ebrahim Manuel, appears to have influenced the decision to close the cells to public access. In 1968, the Manuels had been forcibly removed from Simon's Town to the new coloured township of Ocean View on the western side of the Cape Peninsula. Hadji Bakaar Manuel, Ebrahim's grandfather, was a notable member of the Simon's Town Muslim community and acted as its de facto historian.⁴⁷¹ Motivated by his involvement in the CSCR, Ebrahim Manuel travelled to the Indonesian island of Sumbawa in 1999 armed with a *kitaab* which he hoped would verify a family

⁴⁷⁰ U. Seemann, 'The ground floor and courtyard of the 'Residency', Simon's Town: An archaeological / historical enquiry' (November 2001), 26.

⁴⁷¹ R. Jacobs, 'Near the mountain, near the sea', in P. Faber (ed.), *Group Portrait South Africa: Nine family histories* (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2003), 157-158; 168. See also L. Green and N. Murray, 'Private property and the problem of the miraculous: the kramats and the city of Cape Town', *Social Dynamics* 38.2 (2012), 201-220; A. Tayob, 'Muslim Shrines in Cape Town: Religion and Post-Apartheid Public Spheres' in B. Bompani and M. Frahm-Arp (eds), *Development and Politics from Below: Exploring Religious Spaces in the African State* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 56-73.

oral tradition which stipulated their royal lineage.⁴⁷² He visited the village of Pemangong where he met an imam who allegedly confirmed a local story that Tuan Dea Koasa and Ismail Dea Melela were taken from the village by the Dutch as political dissenters.⁴⁷³ For Manuel, the presence of this legend, together with a purported translation of the *kitaab* by village elders, confirmed that Dea Koasa and Dea Melela were his ancestors.⁴⁷⁴

Another former Simon's Town resident, Juleiga Anthony, has claimed to descend from the same Indonesian notables. Both Manuel and Anthony asserted that their ancestors were held in the cells beneath the contemporary museum before escaping.⁴⁷⁵ The museum appears to have sided with the Anthonys, whose story is on display in a gallery titled 'The People of Simon's Town'. Doubts have been expressed about the reliability of Manuel's account and both versions of the story to an extent represent a tendency amongst Cape Muslim families to eschew slave ancestry in favour of more prestigious royal lineage.⁴⁷⁶ Rayda Jacobs, who had written with some scepticism an account of the Manuel story and subsequently produced a documentary featuring both the Manuel and Anthony stories, described how Manuel's tale 'became a sad affair'.⁴⁷⁷ In response to the two claims, the museum commissioned an excavation of the cells which failed to unearth conclusive evidence of enslavement or royalty, although a cowrie shell discovered is now on display in the museum with the label 'used as currency by slaves'.⁴⁷⁸ Whilst the increasingly unsavoury nature of the episode may have forced their hand, it is nonetheless disappointing that staff have responded with such conservatism in closing to the public what are unique tangible reminders of the Cape's slave and colonial pasts. If they are to retain their

⁴⁷² A.E. Read, 'Ebrahim Manuel traces his roots', *Simon's Town Historical Society Bulletin* 21.4 (July 2001), 152-155.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid*, 153.

⁴⁷⁴ Jacobs, 'Near the mountain', 173.

⁴⁷⁵ R. Jacobs, *Tuan of Antonie's Gat* (South Africa: Riempe Productions, 2003).

⁴⁷⁶ Ward and Worden, 208.

⁴⁷⁷ Jacobs, 'Near the mountain', 156-180; S. Meyer, 'Group Portrait: Self, Family, and Nation on Exhibit' in J.L. Coullie, S. Meyer, T.H. Ngwenya, and T. Oliver (eds), *Selves in Question: Interviews on Southern African Auto/biography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 423.

⁴⁷⁸ Seeman. An earlier archaeological dig had taken place on the site and is described in N.J. Shepherd, *Reading the Past: Archaeology at The Residency, Simon's Town* (unpublished BA honours thesis), University of Cape Town, 1989. This too did not uncover any conclusive material evidence of slavery.

meaning, then the contestations at the heart of sites such as this should be explained to visitors, rather than hidden away as so as to avoid a forfeiture of unequivocal knowledge. The current silence surrounding the cells unfortunately does much to stymie representations of slave heritage at the museum and, by association, prevents the integration of this formative period of history into the dominant narrative projected on site. The episode attests to the idea that, as people reconnect with previously forgotten histories of enslavement, competing versions of history emerge. As highlighted both in chapter two and in the case of the Simon's Town cells, these interpretations of the past are frequently at odds with organisations which have been granted the status of custodians of history.

As mentioned, this is a museum still closely-aligned with the interests of the Simon's Town Historical Society which is predominantly concerned with military and 'great man' history. The Historical Society continues to meet at the museum, and its membership and the museum's governance are intertwined. Partly constrained by funding deficiencies, revisions to the permanent displays in the museum have not been comprehensive and it continues to project a narrative which glorifies war and celebrates Simon's Town's long history as a port of strategic importance. To refer back to the essence of the local museum discussed earlier, what is achieved here is a nostalgic remembrance of a certain past, portrayed through artefacts such as a naval officers' uniform, a recreated naval bar area, a display of knot types, and a selection of farming implements.⁴⁷⁹ The San and the Khoi meanwhile appear as 'hunter gatherers' represented by an assortment of naturally-occurring objects inside an acrylic display cabinet.

Work behind the scenes is perhaps more indicative of the new dispensation and its agenda. The museum launched Project Phoenix in 1996 in response to complaints from forcibly displaced residents of Simon's Town that it did not represent their history. The permanent 'People of Simon's Town' gallery added as a result is clearly a low budget solution, though

⁴⁷⁹ Comments based on a number of visits between April 2015 and May 2016.

effectively conveys memories of displacement. The names of families forcibly removed from particular areas are listed as memorials to the tragedy of the past, displayed alongside photographs of areas prior to clearance and more detailed case studies of specific families which include donated everyday objects. A reference group continues to meet on a monthly basis, whilst an annual parade is held on Heritage Day to commemorate the forced removals. However positive in themselves, these initiatives are problematic when viewed against the broader museum. The 'People' gallery seems peripheral in relation to the dominant narrative on site. Additionally, there is little more than a cursory overview of how this diverse pre-Group Areas population was formed. This is where the cells could play a role, however they remain shrouded in silence at present.

Whilst the case of Simon's Town Museum and its contested cells may be an exceptional example, it nonetheless highlights how local politics and the legacies of the past continue to influence display and transformation policies at local museums in the Western Cape. The conservatism of the 1960s and 1970s which Murray and Witz referred to when discussing these institutions is only challenged behind-the-scenes, and the permanent displays at museums such as Kleinplaspie and Simon's Town remain fixed on selective depictions of narrowly-defined local identities which served the needs of constructing a 'white' past under apartheid.⁴⁸⁰ The Western Cape Provincial Government itself has nonetheless attempted to situate historical slavery as central to transformative initiatives. The Provincial Government's agenda is reflected in its Museum Service which provides research and curation through its staff, although some museums choose instead to utilise the services of external companies or freelance staff. Much like representations of slavery at the Slave Lodge, the subject as interpreted by the Museum Service is an inclusive heritage, though for different reasons. Rather than necessarily attempting to integrate slavery into a narrative of human rights abuses and recognise a common humanity, at provincial sites it appears in terms of repositioning local history narratives from an exclusive

⁴⁸⁰ Witz and Murray, 8.

focus on settler pasts to the projection of a local identity in which the ancestors of all local residents are posited as stakeholders in a past community. Slavery, therefore, is a coloured or black counterpoint to figures such as Jan van Riebeeck or Simon van der Stel who inevitably figure in any broad narrative of Cape history. This interpretation is significantly broad to allow enslaved people to figure as common ancestors, living as one of a number of potential forebears to all members of the modern community.

Two generic, travelling displays curated by Museum Service staff with a focus on Cape slavery are representative of this interest in slavery. The first of this pair, 'Born to Carry the Burden', was conceptualised during the early 2000s by Michael Jonas.⁴⁸¹ This offers the story of Cape slavery in a text-heavy, clinical fashion, reading as though words have simply been reproduced from the seminal historical studies by Ross, Worden, and Shell.⁴⁸² Perhaps owing to the nature of the sources which the content would have originally derived from, the exhibition tends towards a Eurocentric interpretation. Although a number of images, including well-worn 'for sale' advertisements, portraits of abolitionists, and widely-available sketches depicting slave society at the Cape, are included, 'Born to Carry the Burden' brings to the fore one of the inherent issues in representing Cape slavery. There is little here to engage the imagination for visitors lacking the attention span or interest necessary to sift through the text. Additionally, text is presented in the three official languages of the Western Cape: Afrikaans, isiXhosa, and English as per Provincial Government policy.⁴⁸³ As will be discussed later, although this policy is commendably inclusive, it is problematic at a purely aesthetic representation level.

The second display, 'No Longer for Sale', also reflects official language policy, though interactive features suggestive of its 2013 production date render it more engaging.⁴⁸⁴ This exhibition adopts an atypical macro approach to Cape slavery, situating it within the global

⁴⁸¹ Abrahams, 2513.

⁴⁸² Comments based on observing the exhibition at Stellenbosch Village Museum on 30 June and 28 October 2015, and at Swellendam Drosty Museum on 1 June 2016.

⁴⁸³ Western Cape Provincial Government, 'Western Cape Language Policy' (2013).

⁴⁸⁴ Western Cape Provincial Government, 'Annual Report 2013/14 Cultural Affairs and Sport' (2014), 54.

context of enslavement up to the modern day.⁴⁸⁵ Taking the form of a triangular case designed to sit in the centre of a gallery, one side features a timeline of Cape slavery, and another a map of Cape slave trading routes illustrated by the human voices of former slave and Muslim pioneer Carel Pilgrim, and enslaved woman Manisa van die Caap. The third side, meanwhile, reminds visitors of the presence of what it considers forms of enslavement and coerced labour in the world today. It requests that they place their hand on a hand-print sensor and select contemporary produce from a touchscreen to reveal its connections with forms of exploitation. This posits the visitor as consumer, situating them as actors in the historical process and reminding them that their actions and choices are individually influential. Together, the two exhibitions represent a Museum Service which is attempting to engage with the slave past. Other temporary exhibitions, including a travelling display on Nelson Mandela, have been created, however slavery seems to be a subject which has garnered unique attention. Precisely what these broad, generic exhibitions achieve in local history spaces is debatable. They should perhaps be read as introductory pieces; as a recognition that enslavement existed in the area in which they are temporarily situated and as possible means of stimulating interest amongst visitors and local people alike. They hold the potential to serve as springboards from which local case studies of enslavement – perhaps currently unknown to academia – could be discussed on a museum-by-museum basis. As will now be outlined, these local case studies are beginning to appear at Museum Service sites where revised exhibitions have been unveiled.

Representing slavery in town and country: Swellendam, Stellenbosch, and Paarl

Though comprehensive redevelopments and refurbishments have been scarce in sites affiliated with the Museum Service, they have nonetheless occurred where funding has allowed. It would be factually incorrect to suggest that the image of an outdated museum space from the 1970s depicting an unchallenged settler past is the rule at provincial sites, however, these museums

⁴⁸⁵ Comments based on observing the exhibition at the Sendinggestig on 18 June 2015 and 6 May 2016. An additional copy of 'No Longer for Sale' has also been displayed at the Bartolomeu Dias Museum in Mossel Bay.

tend to outnumber those which have received attention. Dating from the middle of the 1970s in its current form, Stellenbosch Village Museum was partially redeveloped in 2015. It forms part of the broader Stellenbosch Museum though, today, in practice the only part not included in the Village Museum is the VOC *Kruithuis* military museum. The partial redevelopment of the Village Museum introduces a key theme, namely the use of slave history as a counterpoint to white settler history to produce a balanced local history narrative which represents the past of the entire local community. Implicitly, these revised exhibitions create the sense of a multiracial past in which the contributions made by diverse historical actors are all acknowledged. In this sense, enslaved people serve as possible forebears not only of coloured people, but of an entire local community, the development of which they contributed towards.

Stellenbosch Village Museum is a significant site in relation to the history of slavery in the Stellenbosch area. It is composed of a foyer area which leads to four period houses, these being Schreuder House set in the early 18th century, Bletterman House depicting a late 18th century property, Grosvenor House portraying early 19th century domestic life, and the Victorian Bergh House. Much of the furniture contained in these period settings is original, though the majority of the pieces were sourced externally using auctions and similar means as the museum built its collection.⁴⁸⁶ The outbuildings of Bletterman House included slave quarters and, following the death of its original owner Hendrik Bletterman in 1823, were converted into a school for enslaved children.⁴⁸⁷ These premises are owned by the museum, however have been let out to a number of artisanal and bistro-style eateries and thus represent an unproblematised reuse of potentially painful sites of memory. The period houses which have been restored to their historical states are similarly silent. Each is staffed by a guide dressed in clothing which does not seem period specific, but is presumably deemed 'historical' enough to maintain a temporal illusion. There is a certain symbolism of a coloured woman greeting visitors at

⁴⁸⁶ Ella Odendaal, interview, 28 October 2015.

⁴⁸⁷ A. Mountain, *An Unsung Heritage: Perspectives on Slavery* (Cape Town: David Phillip, 2004), 176.

Bletterman House dressed in something very similar to a maid's uniform. This symbolism is reminiscent of the enslaved women who must have worked in the house, even though slavery is not referred to in the building. The period houses with their guides package Stellenbosch within a quaint, timeless scene of historical buildings.

A new series of displays were opened in 2015 in the foyer space. Conceived by Museum Service staff, these new displays are removed from the period houses, though do offer a balanced overview of the history of Stellenbosch.⁴⁸⁸ A series of text-based panels chart the history of Stellenbosch from pre-colonial times until 1901, aiming to narrate the impact of colonial settlement on the area that became Stellenbosch. In explaining how Khoi people were persecuted and ultimately absorbed into farm labouring populations, the exhibition offers an alternative narrative to the apartheid binary of civilised European settlers and barbaric, raiding Khoi tribes. There is a clear emphasis on establishing the existence of human life in the area before Simon van der Stel founded Stellenbosch in 1679, although the Eurocentric nature of the archive does render the viewpoints of those who lived in the area before this date non-existent in the exhibition. Whilst Commissioner General Baron van Rheede tot Drakenstein is treated with a handsome portrait, depictions of indigenous people come from the brush strokes of Europeans.

The visual impact of these displays is reduced by their text being produced in English, Afrikaans, and isiXhosa, although an extensive use of portraits, sketches, and Victorian-era photographs of Stellenbosch offers something in contrast. Visual material is complemented using artefacts unearthed by archaeologists working for Stellenbosch Museum in the local area which are displayed beneath the panels in an order roughly corresponding with estimated time period of the object and era discussed by the panel above. The display panels serve to contextualise the objects, with digging tools appearing beneath the 'Khoekhoen' panel as

⁴⁸⁸ Comments based on visits on 30 June and 28 October 2015.

evidence of their way of life. The representation of Khoi and San culture in South African museums remains problematic as a legacy of the pseudo-scientific colonial and apartheid discourse which led to the display of plaster casts of San people as part of a dehumanising discourse of 'otherness' at Cape Town's SAM.⁴⁸⁹ Although the casts were removed in 2001, the anthropology gallery at this museum has remained open and continues to depict indigenous culture as worthy of marvel. The controversial 'Miscast' exhibition curated by the artist Pippa Skotnes at the South African National Gallery in 1996 which aimed to mediate by offering a reflexive commentary on museum practice merely invited additional criticism of museum practice.⁴⁹⁰ Issues pertaining to collections of human remains and repatriation have additionally dominated discourse over representations of first nation South Africans in museums long after the fall of apartheid.⁴⁹¹ As displays at Simon's Town Museum demonstrate, it became commonplace to portray first nation culture using cultural objects which would be read as 'exotic' by the predominantly white clientele of such museums. The display of what are purported to be 'traditional' cultural objects in the revised exhibition at Stellenbosch Village Museum could therefore be seen as part of perpetuating an essentialising process which began in the Victorian era. Alternatively, the use of these objects may be read as counterbalancing artefacts of European culture which have typically dominated similar museums.⁴⁹² In a context in which first nation people are offered as equal-as-possible representation in a local history narrative as are European settlers, what would have been problematic objects in the past seem less so.

⁴⁸⁹ P. Davison, 'Typecast: Representations of the Bushmen at the South African Museum', *Public Archaeology* 2.1 (2001), 3-20.

⁴⁹⁰ Dubin, 63-75; Coombes, 239-240.

⁴⁹¹ M. Legassick and C. Rassool, *Skeletons in the cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917* (Cape Town: South African Museum, 2000) was amongst the first academic attempts to problematise these collections.

⁴⁹² Besten, 'Envisioning ancestors', 175-191 problematises the tendency to evoke primordialist representations of identity amongst actors claiming Khoisan identity in post-apartheid South Africa and questions how these constructions of self relate to traditional stereotypes.

A number of the archaeological finds on display likely hold some relevancy to slavery having been excavated from the Bletterman House outbuildings.⁴⁹³ Disappointingly given the general paucity of museum-ready artefacts relating to Cape slavery, any objects from the relevant eras are not linked to possible use by enslaved people who are entirely absent from the display panels. Mirroring to an extent the ways in which coloured identity has been reimagined in the post-apartheid era as discussed in chapter two, there has been no comparable critical discourse challenging colonial and apartheid-era misrepresentations of slavery as there has regarding first nation lifestyles. Interpretations of the past stressing that Cape slavery was a mild institution did characterise public memory of the subject for much of the 20th century, though it would be valid to claim that they were never as widespread nor literally damaging as the tendency to essentialise Khoi or San culture. As it is, enslaved people have no stake in the archaeological and built development of Stellenbosch as told by the Village Museum. Khoi people function as the black actors in an otherwise white Stellenbosch and are at once both humanised by a panel which examines their culture, and limited by a recurring discourse which ties them to the landscape and natural history, as represented by the archaeological remnants on display.

An additional new display in the form of an interactive timeline display at the opposing end of the foyer expands upon some of the themes introduced by the panels and archaeological exhibition, perhaps importantly extending the timeframe to cover apartheid. Crucially, slavery features here, although the exhibition does not expose the connections between enslavement, the museum's buildings, and their contemporary uses. One of the Museum Service staff responsible for creating the exhibition, Ella Odendaal, admits in relation to the museum that 'one should go into more depth' regarding slavery history in Stellenbosch.⁴⁹⁴ This highlights how, even with the intervention of the timeline, staff are mindful that the museum is a work in

⁴⁹³ Odendaal, interview.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

progress with regards to slavery history. Odendaal is knowledgeable, for example, about the artefacts which form part of the new archaeology display ‘that were closely linked to the slaves because at the back of this museum they used to work and live there’.⁴⁹⁵ The timeline takes the form of a large, projected screen at the far end of the room which visitors scroll through using a set of controls alongside a seating area. The interactive nature of the display enables Afrikaans, isiXhosa, or English to be selected as preferred languages beforehand, thus reducing the volume of text on each screen and increasing visual impact.

Figure 3.1 Period exhibitions, Stellenbosch Village Museum, 2015.



Notes: showing the master bedroom of the late 19th century period Bletterman House. This is one of four period properties which form the centrepiece of Stellenbosch Village Museum.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

Figure 3.2 New exhibitions in the foyer area, Stellenbosch Village Museum, 2015.



Notes: the visitor enters the museum through a door to the left. The reception desk is to the right, and interactive display straight ahead. This area of the museum is reached before the period houses.

Slavery first appears with the 1807 abolition of the slave trade, and the visitor also learns of Rhenish missionary work amongst the local enslaved population, abolition in 1834, the ending of the emancipation period in 1838, and settlement on mission stations. We are also told by the 1868-1873 entry that the former enslaved and their descendants 'wanted a future in Stellenbosch' and were thus the recipients of a row of houses in Herte Street constructed by the Rhenish Missionary Church. These entries feature as part of a timeline which begins with the 1679 establishment of Stellenbosch as a European town and end with the less glorious establishment of the liquor company Distill in 2000 following the merger of two local companies. Content generally concerns the built development of the town, as well as notable events such as the foundation of newspapers, and the impact of international developments such as the Second World War on Stellenbosch. The forced removals of the Group Areas Act which targeted

coloured residents of Stellenbosch during the 1960s is covered in the context of spatial planning, with no qualification of human impact offered. In contrast to the archaeological display, Khoi people are almost entirely absent from the interactive timeline, perhaps not aided by the Eurocentric start date.

Efforts are made to link the Bletterman family, their property, and their status as slave owners. The entry for 1826 informs visitors of the death of Hendrik Bletterman's wife, Maria, and lists the 18 mostly Cape-born people who she owned. An entry for 1825-1833 reveals how the 'long building on the corner of Plein and Ryneveld St was originally the slave quarters of Blettermanhuis' and later became a school for enslaved children. The text somewhat unfortunately fails to make the link between the historic use of the building and its contemporary function as a food outlet. There is a clear dichotomy between museum-as-slave quarters and museum-as-quaint village setting depicted respectively in the interactive display and on site in the period houses. This equation becomes more complex when the former slave quarters' present function as an expensive eating outlet is taken into account. The leasing of the slave quarters perhaps reflects the different approaches of Stellenbosch Museum staff concerned with balancing running costs and low grant income versus the Museum Service staff who curated the new exhibitions. Equally, this context foregrounds the Western Cape local history museum as a liminal space where the interests of transformative agendas are often at odds with the practices of old which these museums remain bound by.

Enslaved people are offered a stake in historical Stellenbosch through the case study of Manisa which is perhaps symbolically one of the few human case studies offered by the timeline. Manisa was owned by Stellenbosch resident Johanna Barbara van Biljon whose 1831 death resulted in Manisa's sale through a public auction. Her close family, who had all been owned by van Biljon, was split up. The story is resolved in 1834, when the timeline reports how the family was reunited by the efforts of Lea, Manisa's mother, and moved together to the farm Bottelary,

close to Stellenbosch. Manisa becomes representative of the slave experience in Stellenbosch from disorientation, kinship, and gender to serving quite literally as its human face. A full-body portrait of Manisa, taken from a *Cape Argus* article following emancipation, is used to illustrate the exhibition, its subject staring blankly ahead. Odendaal discloses that Museum Services staff were pleased with the amount of material available to support the Manisa case study. In particular, the photographic content available enabled them to reduce the volume of text otherwise necessary, something which they perceived as a critical issue in representing Cape slavery and early Cape history in general.⁴⁹⁶ Past collecting policies mean that, when representing the histories of enslavement and colonial marginalisation, the cultural artefacts which illustrate the Village Museum's period houses are simply not available. This perhaps makes the failure to link some of the artefacts in the foyer with the presence of enslaved people in the museum's property all the more disappointing. Manisa, with her portrait, becomes the municipal slave of Stellenbosch village, speaking for others like her through her experience of captivity and familial disintegration. She represents marginalisation in this formative period of modern day, multiracial Stellenbosch.

These themes of local slave identity, built remnants of slavery, and using slave history as a counterpoint to a white settler past also characterised a 2014 partial redevelopment of Paarl Museum.⁴⁹⁷ This museum was previously known as De Oude Pastorie Museum and was renamed in 1995 to reflect the adoption of a supposedly-inclusive approach to local history. It is a small site, housed in a former Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) parsonage and consists of three main galleries. Historical commemoration in Paarl is dominated by the *Afrikaanse Taalmonument* (Afrikaans Language Monument), a 1975 apartheid-era totem to the Afrikaans language. Paarl Museum seems marginalised in comparison, and the way in which the *Taalmonument* has functioned as a point of identification among Afrikaner nationalists arguably defines Paarl as a

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁷ Comments based on 31 July 2015 visit.

town with an inextricable association with Afrikaner ideology.⁴⁹⁸ Past guides suggest that it was this early settler history which the local museum too aimed to connect with.⁴⁹⁹

By 2015 the change of name had not heralded any significant changes at Paarl Museum and its displays remained reminiscent of De Oude Pastorie Museum, including a Cape kitchen layout and items of Victorian dress.⁵⁰⁰ These exhibitions demonstrate how detached the 'old museology' was from the social contexts which produced the displays which embodied it.⁵⁰¹ In contrast to other examples, there were no real themes of collective identity apparent here. There was also little of interest to anyone wishing to discover the history of Paarl, something which subsequent interventions by the Museum Service have sought to remedy. A free-standing exhibition in the main gallery adjacent to a number of Victorian objects offers a brief overview of the history of Paarl from 1687. This display features the names of people enslaved by DRC minister T.J. Heroldt, including their occupations. These roles mostly suggest domestic work, implying that these people likely lived and worked in what is now the museum premises. Unfortunately, neither the context of slavery at the Cape or in Paarl is provided, and there is little sense of the presence of Heroldt's enslaved workers in the building. For a human story comparable to that of Manisa in Stellenbosch, the visitor must move next door to another recent Museum Service installation, the 'Conflict' gallery. This adopts a rather disjointed look at this history of conflict in Paarl, prominently examining how the 1899-1902 South African War influenced the Paarl community and displaying various items of memorabilia. At other times the gallery deviates from this theme for no apparent reason, somehow discussing Islam and pre-Group Area Muslim residential areas as part of this broader 'conflict' theme. The omission of any

⁴⁹⁸ Coombes, 45.

⁴⁹⁹ Oude Pastorie Museum (1973).

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰¹ P. Vergo, 'Introduction' in Vergo, 3.

reference to 1960s anti-apartheid political protest in Paarl is all the more confusing given how it could supply content relevant to the 'conflict' theme.⁵⁰²

In contrast to the approach which has often been adopted in post-apartheid museums, it is a case study from the distant past which illustrates 'conflict' as the story of the enslaved man Joris is introduced as the human face of slavery in Paarl. Joris was murdered in 1822 by his owner, Reverend Johan Wilhelm Gebhart, the minister of Paarl DRC who, of course, would have inhabited the building which now houses Paarl Museum. In an era of ameliorative measures, Gebhart became the first and only slave owner to be sentenced to death for mistreatment of a slave, and was hanged in November 1822. Perhaps reflecting outrage amongst the Paarl community, Gebhart's gravestone was later discovered in use as a bridge on Paarl Mountain, and now forms part of the museum's collection. Joris, much like Manisa in Stellenbosch, functions as the maltreated voice of slavery in Paarl; as a human forbearer of contemporary local inhabitants. It is important to note that, in spite of this human case study, none of the exhibitions at the museum at any point offer any context, however brief, on what slavery at the Cape was. It is perhaps unsurprising that, owing to their underwhelming visual impact and incoherent nature, these displays are scheduled to be redeveloped in 2016, this time using an outside exhibition designer rather than Museum Service staff.⁵⁰³ This, perhaps, will allow a more comprehensive form of transformation to take place, and enable the formation of a coherent local history narrative in which slavery and other histories are properly contextualised.

At Swellendam Drostdy Museum, a different approach has been adopted to representing slavery. Situated over 200 kilometres east of Cape Town, this is a large museum complex founded in 1939 and based in the former court complex which reflects Swellendam's

⁵⁰² T. Randle, 'The inheritance of loss' in C.S. Van der Waal (ed.), *Winelands wealth and work: transformations in the Dwars River Valley, Stellenbosch* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2014), 43.

⁵⁰³ Isabell Schneider, interview, 11 September 2015.

history as a *landdrost* seat and frontier town.⁵⁰⁴ A sense of historical Swellendam as the final frontier of European Cape civilisation and justice is offered through the main court building which is furnished in period fashion.⁵⁰⁵ The collective heritage of Swellendam thus becomes a series of rooms including a magistrate's chamber, court room, and a number of domestic settings where the landdrost and his family would have relaxed between the important duties of enforcing European jurisdiction. A safe, the only original item from the building not destroyed in an 1865 fire, occupies a prominent place as a tangible link to this past. This theme of Swellendam as the centre of justice is extended across the road where a cat o' nine tails is displayed in the old jail complex to offer a physical reminder of the harshness of Cape settler justice. A tool yard, waggon shed, and period late 19th century house comprise the rest of the Drostdy Museum's exhibitions.

A small exhibition on slavery marks a point of departure from this Eurocentric context. Rather than utilising local case studies to augment dry factual content, the museum has instead recognised the potential of using the built environment as an artefact of the slave past, just as it does with the court building and frontier life. This is implicit, though not fully realised, in the cases of Stellenbosch and Paarl. A barn within the court complex, adjacent to the waggon display, has been reimagined with specific reference to the era of slavery. This display opened in December 2006 with the then-museum manager Tizzie Mangiagalli situating it as part of a wider, not-yet-realised redevelopment of the Drostdy Museum.⁵⁰⁶ Staff surmised that the enslaved people who lived at the Drostdy would have been forced to sleep in the outbuildings and that this exhibition was a memorial to these people and a reminder of their contribution to Swellendam's built environment.⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁴ Fransen, 98-100.

⁵⁰⁵ Comments based on 1 June 2016 visit.

⁵⁰⁶ Swellendam Drostdy Museum, *The Drostdy Muse News* 3.1 (January 2007).

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

The barn depicts an understated, everyday scene. As a recreation, it does not deploy any of the dramatic visual memory tools which Marcus Wood has so eloquently problematised as part of a quest to find and portray 'what really happened' in the transatlantic context.⁵⁰⁸ There is no exhibition of shackles or pain implements as characterises depictions of transatlantic slavery both in West Africa and in Western Europe and North America. Whilst this may be a necessity owing to a limited collection, the barn is arguably an appropriate marker. A series of straw beds, a cart, a waggon, and some basic food implements invite the visitor to consider what must have been a cold and dispiriting life without ever explicitly encouraging this conclusion. The exhibition evokes the ubiquity of enslavement in the Cape's rural hinterland whilst suggesting the limitations of academic knowledge in these areas. A series of five interpretation panels at the foot of the barn offer some historical context, positing enslaved and Khoi people as part of 'Hidden Histories' which it acknowledges the museum previously ignored. Several names of the court's slaves and Khoi contract workers are offered, inviting the visitor to imagine that they may be standing in the footsteps of these people. 'November van Mozambique, labourer (35)', 'Dina, nurse (67)', 'Klaas Meyer' it reads. With additional panels on 'Survival and Resistance' and 'Economic Contribution', there is a strong theme of humanisation, and of using the barn as a memorial rather than simply as an exhibition space.

⁵⁰⁸ Wood, *Blind Memory*, 8; 216-219.

Figure 3.3 Exterior of outbuilding containing slavery exhibition, Swellendam Drostdy Museum, 2016.



Notes: the barn is situated off the main Drostdy complex, across the road from the former jail.

Figure 3.4 Interior of outbuilding, Swellendam Drostdy Museum, 2016.



Notes: The objects are unlikely to be original. A series of display panels behind the photographer contextualise the history of slavery in the area.

The effectiveness of the barn as a memorial makes subsequent events at the Drostdy Museum all the more disappointing. In 2015, museum staff decided to rent one of its buildings in the old jail complex to an upmarket eatery. Showing the same disregard for sensitivity and history which has come to characterise gentrification projects in the Western Cape, this bar was given the name ‘The Whipping Post’ by its owner as a distasteful ode to the whipping post which formerly stood adjacent to the jail. The museum had already been formally charged by Heritage Western Cape (HWC) for carrying out illegal renovation work to the building which included building a pizza oven under a thatched roof and damaging a 270-year-old wall.⁵⁰⁹ The connections between the former whipping post and slavery were immediately highlighted in the media, with ANC Western Cape secretary Faiez Jacobs describing the name as ‘a smack in the face for the people of Swellendam’ and condemning it as ‘celebrating’ the punishment of

⁵⁰⁹ ‘Museum eatery to change offensive name’, *Cape Argus*, 7 December 2015.

Swellendam's past residents.⁵¹⁰ Mediation occurred in the form of a meeting between the bar's owner, museum staff, Khoi heritage groups, and local government officials, and the bar was renamed 'The Trading Post'. Nonetheless, the indifference of the Drostdy Museum regarding the original name demarcates it not as a site that remembers, but as one that does not care and places its bottom line over taste. However distanced these spaces may still be from the local communities they neglected to serve under apartheid, it offers evidence that the decisions they make and exhibitions they install are still able to provoke critical responses.

What does slavery mean in the context of a Western Cape local history museum? It is clear from the examples of Stellenbosch, Paarl, and Swellendam that it has become the symbolic currency of transformation, a means of providing a purportedly balanced narrative of early Cape European history. It functions as a method of providing an alternative local history narrative, and in turn disrupting selective notions of local identity which became ingrained through exhibitions under apartheid. In recalling this past, these local museums seem almost to operate outside what has become established as post-apartheid heritage discourse. The distant past seems to matter here, and, often in the absence of any rich history of anti-apartheid struggle, it is this which is recalled as part of a process of making history relevant to the broader community.

These local sites can contribute too to national understandings of the slave past. In *Black Milk*, Marcus Wood writes of 'distinct natures of the national histories of the slave powers...and the sheer diversity of cultural forms in which slavery was memorialised and re-imagined', arguing that this rendered 'any comprehensive museological approach to the inheritance of the Atlantic slave systems...an impossibility'.⁵¹¹ This idea of a disparate slave experience can be applied to the local which, piece-by-piece, constitutes the national. Worden has noted how slavery on farms in rural areas of the Cape tended to be characterised by harsher conditions of

⁵¹⁰ 'Welcome to The Whipping Post, have a seat', *Cape Argus*, 27 November 2015.

⁵¹¹ Wood, *Black Milk*, 341.

work and living environment than in the urban area of Cape Town.⁵¹² One role of the local history museum could be to represent slavery along these lines; as it happened in the local area. Whilst none of the local sites discussed may be termed slavery museums, they could nonetheless facilitate understanding of the broad tapestry which constituted the Cape slave experience, with the Slave Lodge in Cape Town as its central node. It is perhaps too at a local level that the voices of individuals such as Manisa and Joris resonate most vividly and it may be here that these stories are best contextualised and understood. These case studies feature individuals as the local residents of the past, recalling a multi-racial community which stands as the antecedent of what exists today. The brutality and disorientating experience of enslavement are evident, however they are not necessarily highlighted as something which visitors can learn from, or which can inform current discussions of human rights issues. Simply, the experiences of these people form part of an image of the everyday past, of the lives of the ancestors of those who inhabit Stellenbosch and Paarl today.

Up from slavery: community history in Pniel and Elim

As examined most closely in chapter two, the egalitarianism promoted at least at face value by the post-apartheid state has encouraged self-examination and a refashioning of identities. In places, this process has entailed the establishment of community museums in order to protect collective local heritage and self-represent a claimed past. Ciraj Rassool attributes these South African museological trends to the inspirational model provided by District Six Museum which refers to itself as a 'community museum'.⁵¹³ He identifies District Six as the seminal site of a new paradigm which seeks to unearth hidden pasts and record community memories from the perspective of the community.⁵¹⁴ To an extent, these sites are refreshed versions of the local history museums which were developed from the 1930s onwards. They respond to an updated set of sensibilities in a different age, but fundamentally still purport to preserve the collective

⁵¹² Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, 101-102.

⁵¹³ C. Rassool, 'Community Museums', 289.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid*, 288.

heritage of local inhabitants and, deliberately or otherwise, package a community or locality with a given identity or image. Small, locally-operated museums in the former mission settlements of Elim and Pniel in the rural Western Cape reflect these broader patterns. With a similar remit of preserving a local history to the province-affiliated sites discussed earlier in this chapter, their contrasting nature is simultaneously identifiable through their roots in marginalised communities. Analysing their various contexts offers a window into understanding how community-run local museums operating under post-apartheid sensibilities approach local histories of colonialism, slavery, apartheid, and everyday life.

Both Pniel and Elim were declared coloured Group Areas under apartheid and have strong links with slavery. Established in 1824, Elim was one of what was a fairly extensive network of Moravian mission settlements in South Africa established to proselytise amongst the Khoi population.⁵¹⁵ It is situated north-west of Cape Agulhas, around 120 kilometres south-east of Cape Town amidst the rolling farm land of the Overberg. Following emancipation in 1838, however, large numbers of the newly free were attracted by the securities of land and housing and moved to Elim and other Moravian settlements, most prominently Genadendal.⁵¹⁶ Positioned close to Stellenbosch around 60 kilometres east of Cape Town, Pniel was an Apostolic Union settlement established in 1843 and the recipient of steady numbers of former enslaved settlers as the century progressed.⁵¹⁷ Many of those who settled had worked or continued to work in the neighbouring wine and later fruit farming businesses. The history of Pniel is consequently closely aligned to that of farms such as Boschendal which it borders. As a combination of the legacies of past investment policies, their geographical positioning away from major economic centres, limited or no public transportation facilities, and prevailing national economic patterns, both villages remain fairly poor. There has typically been an

⁵¹⁵ Scully, 23-24.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid*, 76.

⁵¹⁷ G. Lucas, *An Archaeology of Colonial Identity: Power and Material Culture in the Dwars Valley, South Africa* (New York: Springer, 2006), 144-148.

identifiable trend in migration away from rural mission stations to Cape Town in search of work, though this has depended on access to transport.⁵¹⁸

Elim was the subject of an offshoot feasibility study of the UNESCO Slave Routes project between 1997 and 1999.⁵¹⁹ This revealed both comprehensive local support for measures to commemorate local history and encourage tourism, and a widespread ignorance of the village's history, particularly its slave history.⁵²⁰ This is more reflective of a general neglect of history in what was a coloured Group Area under apartheid than the outright denial of slave ancestry in favour of claiming Khoi origins unearthed in Kerry Ward's study of another Moravian mission station, Mamre, during the early 1990s.⁵²¹ Importantly, records held in Cape Town and Elim were used to create a series of research posters which are now held by the museum and have inspired interest in Elim's history both locally and when displayed by the project in Cape Town.⁵²² Pniel residents too have been more eager to point to alternative genealogies, in particular taking advantage of European surnames gained through marriage to missionaries or members of the neighbouring farming community to privilege European ancestry.⁵²³ Accepting this, there does appear to have been more tacit acceptance over time of slave forbearers in Pniel than in the other settlements discussed, and the Khoisan origins of the Pniel community have been almost entirely negated.⁵²⁴

The museum project at Pniel grew out of efforts to recognise local history by a group of local residents of reasonably successful professional standing. The first visible marker of this investment in local history came with the installation of the Freedom Monument in 1993, funded by the congregational church which forms the centrepiece of life in Pniel.⁵²⁵ The year of

⁵¹⁸ K. Ward, 'The Road to Mamre', *South African Historical Journal* 27 (November 1992), 209.

⁵¹⁹ Kahn.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid*, 29-35.

⁵²¹ Ward, *The Road to Mamre*, 152-153.

⁵²² Kahn, 37.

⁵²³ Matthew Cyster, interview, 25 November 2015.

⁵²⁴ Lucas, 151.

⁵²⁵ Cyster, interview.

installation suggests that memory of slavery must have prevailed in Pniel under apartheid. This can probably be attributed to the impact of an independently-minded group of locals, although it is worth mentioning that the majority of residents did not experience the disorientating effects of forced removal suffered by coloured people in Cape Town. Although Pniel was formally designated a coloured Group Area in 1968, it had de facto held this status from its inception, and the re-writing of collective history which Trotter links with forced removal in urban coloured communities may not have occurred here.⁵²⁶ The Freedom Monument commemorates abolition and in particular the enslaved themselves, together with their faith in God. It takes the form of a bronze flame, situated atop a cairn-like stone structure. The inscription recalls not only the suffering endured by communal ancestors, but also 'their unfaltering faith in God'. Its constituent parts were designed to symbolise freedom, love, and life. The bronze flame is suggestive of defiance; of a community which prevailed in spite of the lingering effects of slavery and apartheid. This pride in a sometimes troubled past is a common thread which runs through representations of the past in Pniel. The monument sits on the *werf* area of a modest 18th century property which was originally built as the manor house of the farm Papier Molen and subsequently functioned as the parsonage for the church until 2010. In 2013 it opened as Pniel Museum.⁵²⁷ Two additional monuments were unveiled on the *werf* in 2006, coinciding with the foundation of the Pniel Heritage and Cultural Trust which formalised previous local groupings with the help of the church. One of these monuments was the Ubuntu Monument, which celebrates both emancipation from slavery which forms the foundation story of Pniel and the egalitarianism of the post-apartheid political dispensation by including within its design a stone from Robben Island. The other monument is a replica slave bell dedicated to God and inscribed with text which remembers 'our slave ancestors'.

⁵²⁶ Trotter, 49-50.

⁵²⁷ Comments based on 18 September, 21 October, and 25 November 2015 visits.

Figure 3.5 Freedom Monument, Pniel, 2015.



Figure 3.6 Ubuntu Monument, Pniel, 2015.



Notes: the upper plaque reads 'South African National Heritage Council. "Reviving *Ubuntu* for National Reconciliation". "Never, never, and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another..." Nelson Mandela, May 1994. Because we are one. *Want ons is een. Kuba sibanye. Rona rengatala e lengoe.*' The lower plaque states that

the memorial was unveiled by Kenneth Kaunda, former president of Zambia, on 19 October 2007.

The Robben Island stone sits at the top.

Figure 3.7 Replica slave bell, Pniel, 2015.



Notes: the three memorials are all situated in front of the former Papier Molen manor house which now functions as Pniel Museum. Arriving from the car park, the Freedom Monument is reached first, followed by the Ubuntu Monument, and finally the replica slave bell.

The immediate catalyst for the establishment of the museum was the publication in 2008 of a local history book, *Pniel en Sy Mense*, written by members of the Trust and Stellenbosch-based historian Matilda Burden, who later designed the museum exhibition panels.⁵²⁸ The Trust's chairman, Matthew Cyster, was also a strong proponent of the museum. Cyster was a school headteacher, and another two of the five trustees either are or have been involved in education, confirming that community museums tend to reflect the interest of a locality's elite citizenry. The Trust operates voluntarily and raised much of the money required to found the museum and renovate the parsonage building itself. This kind of volunteer-museum relationship is an arrangement which the Western Cape Provincial Government has encouraged

⁵²⁸ L. Cyster, M. Cyster, E. Damon, F. Simpson, *Pniel en Sy Mense* (Pniel: Matthew Cyster, 2008). The title translates into English as *Pniel and its People*.

in its revised museum policy, partly as a means of combating limited funding availability.⁵²⁹ It seemed to elude the cases analysed, however, and more generally relations between long-established province-affiliated museums and communities seem to take the form of friendly societies composed of elderly white people or oral history outreach projects.

Pniel Museum is spread over eight galleries. The first of these functions as the foyer, complete with an admissions desk. An overview of Pniel's early history is offered, including its built development and status as a refuge for emancipated slaves. The museum also offers a version of what Bella Dicks has termed 'the view of our town from the hill' through a small panel which effectively details an ethnology of Pniel.⁵³⁰ 'In Pniel', it begins, 'we do happiness, we do smiles, we do authentic, we do fun, we do history'. The idea of 'authentic' casts the museum in the Trust's idea of Pniel's essence. A panel titled 'Our old buildings' entrenches the sense that this is a portrayal of a personal past, viewed through a nostalgic lens. The following gallery discusses congregationalism and its impact on Pniel, describing the church as 'The Heart of Pniel'. Subsequent galleries feature recreated kitchen and bedroom layouts, a room composed of portraits of local couples, another featuring lyrics of songs sung in Pniel and a children's playground game layout, a gallery dedicated to notable sportspeople from Pniel, and finally a gallery which heralds local business successes and attempts to trace the origins of Pniel. The donated objects which form the bulk of the collection range from cutlery and jars of apricots in the recreated kitchen, to carpentry tools in the final gallery.

The trades exhibition in the final gallery shares space with an exhibition which focuses on the origins of settlement in Pniel. This is the only real juncture where the museum discusses slavery and is thus of prime importance in interpreting how this aspect of the past is understood locally. At the head of the room, an extensive family tree confronts the visitor. At the top sits Adriaan Willemse who is described as 'a freed slave who settled on the Pniel mission station and

⁵²⁹ 'Western Cape Museum Policy', 45.

⁵³⁰ Dicks, 365.

became the father of almost 70% of Pniel inhabitants'. Pictured starting sternly ahead, Willemse the former slave becomes the progenitor of Pniel. The tree has been constructed using marriage records and family knowledge, and includes a note from a '5th generation Williams' which invites corrections. Later members of the family are illustrated using apartheid-era identity cards which marks one of the rare occasions where the museum touches upon racial segregation. The authenticity of the tree is debated, and it is currently being re-researched by staff at the University Museum in Stellenbosch. Uncertainty surrounding the precise origins of the Pniel community is introduced in the first gallery through the revelation 'it is somewhat difficult at this point in time to determine how many of the first inhabitants were in fact former slaves'.

Figure 3.8 Kitchen, Pniel Museum, 2015.

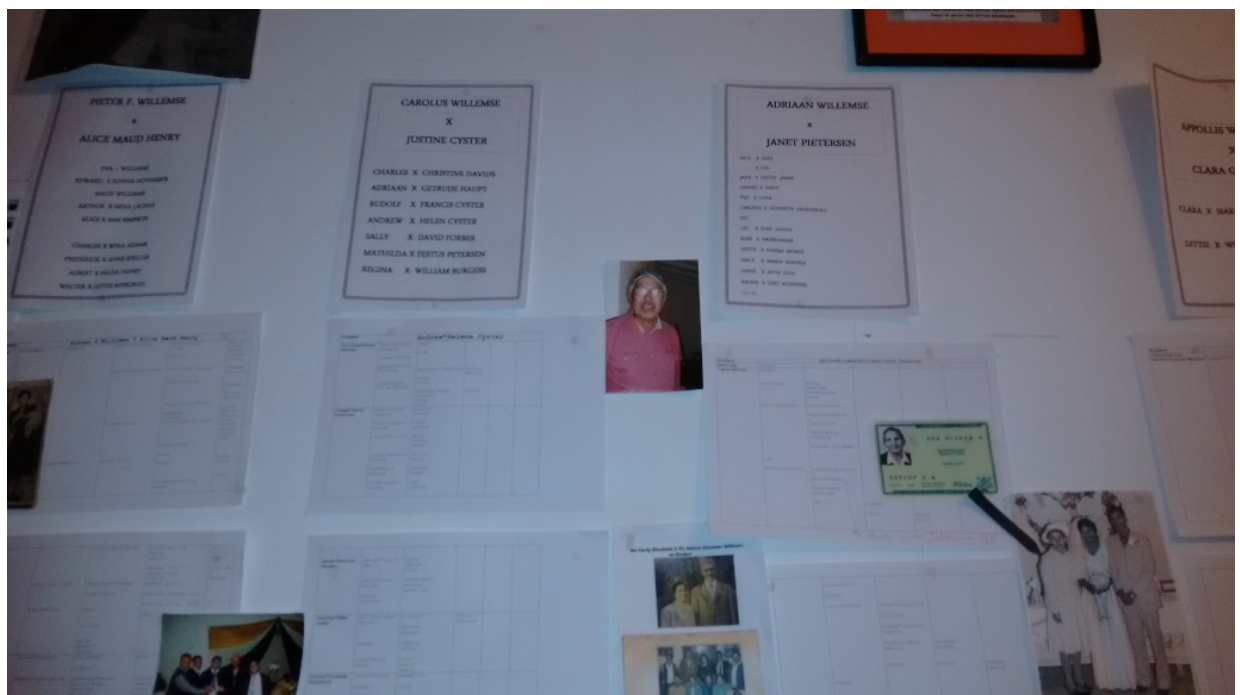


Notes: the majority of the objects on display have been donated by local residents.

Figure 3.9 Sports room, Pniel Museum, 2015.



Figure 3.10 Willemse family tree, Pniel Museum, 2015.



Notes: the printed sheets of paper highlight the budget nature of the display.

The contention is that, much like other mission stations such as Genadendal, the Pniel settlers may have included a higher proportion of Khoi people than it did former enslaved people. As chair of the Trust, Matthew Cyster remains steadfast in claiming slave ancestry. 'I strongly believe that there's a huge, huge probability that enough of the people of Pniel [descend from slaves]' he claims, accepting that Khoi people and particularly European settlers are also likely to feature in many Pniel family genealogies.⁵³¹ 'It's fashionable now to be a descendant of slaves', Cyster argues, perhaps mindful of identity politics which are currently playing out in Cape Town and the wider area.⁵³² He does admit that there is widespread apathy towards history amongst locals in Pniel, though maintains that the publication of *Pniel en Sy Mense* prompted more people to investigate their ancestry.⁵³³ Whilst this lack of interest could be attributed to broader views on the relevancy of history, Cyster attributes it to the apartheid era tendency to privilege European ancestry and links with white farmer employers.⁵³⁴ This reinforces the idea that local museums such as that in Pniel portray one version of the past which is contested locally and often reflects the interests of a small, leading citizenry. Cyster's own motivation is simple. 'I'm very, very interested to know where I actually come from', he maintains.⁵³⁵ The museum and history project consequently belong to a similar self-investigative discourse as the identity claims discussed in chapter two. Pniel offers a further case of people open to the idea of slave ancestry, rather than viewing it as a shameful heritage.

For Cyster, the main purpose of the museum is intertwined with community pride. He suggests a reading of the exhibitions which follows 'from a slave history to, or a probable slave history to where we are, are today'.⁵³⁶ The family tree, once verified as accurate, would serve as a starting point, although its present position at the far end of the museum may require revision.

⁵³¹ Cyster, interview.

⁵³² *Ibid.*

⁵³³ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*

The visitor would then view pictures of the locally-successful Pniel Villagers rugby club in the sports room, or the profiling of the fruit farmer Richard Myburgh as part of the industry display. ‘We’ve got business people that can compete with anywhere in, in, well, in South Africa’ claims Cyster.⁵³⁷ ‘We’ve got doctors here, we’ve got lawyers here. This is the one thing the slave people, the freed slaves, told I suppose, told their children “you go and learn, this is the only thing I can give you”’.⁵³⁸ This interpretation of the museum space accords slavery with a greater presence than is evident at face value. The museum refers to Pniel’s close association with slavery only sparingly, and interesting subplots such as the area known as *Masambiekvlei* which was supposedly settled by former slaves of Mozambican lineage are largely unexplained.⁵³⁹ Read in this way, Pniel Museum simultaneously portrays a familiar local museum story of advocacy and pride, and celebrates what Marcus Wood has termed the ‘emancipation moment’ in taking the abolition of slavery as its foundation narrative.⁵⁴⁰

This commemoration of abolition recurs in the Ubuntu Monument on the adjacent *werf* where a recognition of perpetual salvation from human rights abuses is evident. The Robben Island stone displayed recalls the iconography of Nelson Mandela as reconciliatory figurehead of the anti-apartheid movement, quoting his famous ‘Never, never, and never again’ speech on an affixed stone plaque. A set of broken shackles which hang from the stone suggest enslavement and, when viewed alongside the adjacent Freedom Monument and replica slave bell, point to a community which has witnessed liberations both from slavery by European missionaries and later from apartheid. Nonetheless, this is not a celebration of abolition which excessively honours European abolitionists. For all that there is a clear sense of how important the Apostolic mission was in Pniel’s history, the agency of enslaved ancestors repeatedly occurs in tandem. The inscription attached to the Freedom Monument, for example, not only praises god,

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁹ Lucas, 150.

⁵⁴⁰ Anico, 74-75; M. Wood, *The Horrible Gift of Freedom: Atlantic Slavery and the Representation of Emancipation* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010).

but also refers to 'the suffering that our ancestors had to endure'. Whilst Wood may have associated depictions of brutality with the abolitionist iconography of the 'kneeling slave', meanings shift when representations form part of a community project which identifies the subject portrayed as 'ancestors'.⁵⁴¹ In Pniel, slavery is not just part of a multicultural local history as at the province-affiliated museum sites discussed previously, but 'our history'. Although Pniel Museum may not mobilise case studies of enslaved people in the local area, it does serve as a vehicle for the sentiments of trustees such as Matthew Cyster, who claim slave ancestry. This is a different kind of recollection and identification to the examples of individuals such as Lucy Campbell and Patrick Tariq Mellet discussed in chapter two. Although the enslaved are still depicted as agents in their own destiny, their experiences are not linked with contemporary social problems to call for political change. This is perhaps where the conservative, essentialising influence of local museum discourse takes over. Slavery becomes part of an everyday experience retold as part of a local history narrative in which emphasising its brutality seems unnecessary.

The themes raised by Pniel Museum are also relevant to discussion of Elim Heritage Centre which opened in 2009. This is another community site which is comparable in both size and scope with Pniel Museum. These commonalities include offering a local history narrative premised on the idea of pride which likewise adopts a similar form to exhibitions at province-affiliated museums, yet simultaneously marks a departure from them. Established in 1824 by Moravian missionaries from Germany, Elim predates Pniel by 19 years. Its population almost doubled between 1837 and 1840 when nearly 300 people arrived, largely as the result of emancipation.⁵⁴² The Heritage Centre consequently operates against a similar background of slavery, emancipation, and religion to Pniel Museum. As mentioned, its antecedent was an offshoot of the UNESCO Slave Routes project lead by Farieda Kahn during the late 1990s. Although the Cape chapter of the Slave Routes project was ultimately doomed to failure, the

⁵⁴¹ Wood, *Blind Memory*, 23.

⁵⁴² Kahn, 16.

Elim branch was successful in producing a number of exhibition posters focussing on Cape slavery, the history of Elim, and the links between the two. These were exhibited at UCT in 1998 and at District Six Museum in 1999.⁵⁴³ Consultation work in Elim itself took the form of public meetings and oral history interviews with elderly residents, and appears to have created enthusiasm for the village's history whilst simultaneously revealing poor levels of awareness of possible slave ancestry.⁵⁴⁴

The Heritage Centre has managed to obtain a donation from South African National Parks to aid with running costs. Once this money has been depleted it will have to find alternative means of sustaining itself, with province-affiliation being one option.⁵⁴⁵ The donation currently facilitates a living allowance for the Heritage Centre's curator, Amanda Cloete, who describes how it is 'for the community', a claim which places it at odds with many province-affiliated museums and their struggles with transformation.⁵⁴⁶ As, however, the case of Lwandle proves, province affiliation and a strong community focus are not mutually exclusive.⁵⁴⁷ Complementing this community focus, Cloete also refers to numbers of tourists visiting the Cape Agulhas region calling at the museum having increased now that the dirt roads which previously restricted travel to Elim have been fully tarmacked.⁵⁴⁸ She began planning the museum in 2004, coinciding with the 180th anniversary of Elim's foundation. The process included compiling a collection largely from donations and making the former mission store building suitable for museum exhibitions. The current shortage of funding gives the building something of a dilapidated feel, with cracked plastering in the main gallery being one current visible problem.⁵⁴⁹

Mirroring Matthew Cyster in Pniel, Cloete enthusiastically discusses Elim's slave heritage, although is simultaneously eager to point out her own genealogical links with Jacob

⁵⁴³ *Ibid*, 35-37.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 25-32.

⁵⁴⁵ Amanda Cloete, interview, 6 April 2016.

⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid*.

⁵⁴⁷ Murray and Witz, 162.

⁵⁴⁸ Cloete, interview.

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid*.

Cloete who arrived at the Cape alongside Jan van Riebeeck in 1652.⁵⁵⁰ 'We've got a very big slave history', she comments, describing how this makes Elim 'very famous'.⁵⁵¹ She portrays contemporary Elim as reflective of its melting-pot of Khoi, European, and slave forebears, pointing to the presence of German surnames such as Engel and typical slave names such as October today as evidence. 'I'll get a from overseas, and, err, many people give me emails and phone me, and I've done, say, as I say, more or less 30 surnames, like the Octobers' she comments with reference to genealogical queries which are answered with the help of the Moravian church baptismal records which the Heritage Centre holds.⁵⁵² Elim retains contact with the history of slavery through a monument situated on a grassy area adjacent to what now functions as a community computer centre in the middle of the village, opposite the Moravian church building. The monument was unveiled in 1938 by the Elim branch of the African Political Organisation (APO) to mark the centenary of the ending of the apprenticeship period, and even which its inscription attributes to God. Enslavement here is very much couched in a discourse of Christian benevolence, lacking the theme of agency evident in Pniel. Catalysed by the Slave Route feasibility project, the monument, having fallen into disrepair, was re-dedicated in 2004 by Jatti Bredekamp, then CEO of Iziko. It now forms the centrepiece of Elim's annual 1 December emancipation day commemoration which Cloete describes as 'a big day for us'.⁵⁵³ There is a clear sense of pride when, perhaps unaware of commemorations in Pniel and Cape Town, she describes the monument as 'the only slave monument in, in South Africa'.⁵⁵⁴ Slave remembrance in Elim takes the 'emancipation moment' as its foundation point, encompassing similar pride as is evident in Pniel in building an independent, self-sustaining community governed by the sensibilities of the Moravian church. The process of recalling these origins resulted in an

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

additional memorial in the form of a tree being installed alongside the original memorial on 1 December 2014.

Figure 3.11 1938 slavery emancipation centenary memorial, Elim, 2016.



Notes: the memorial is situated at the centre of the village, opposite the Moravian church building. Its style is reminiscent of classical European architecture and can probably be attributed to Elim's long association with European missionaries.

The Heritage Centre's displays use the familiar trope of nostalgia to depict a timeless community through the mnemonic devices of everyday objects and photographs.⁵⁵⁵ It is split over six galleries which essentialise life in Elim. There is perhaps an expectation to live up to the quaint stereotype afforded by the thatched roofs which characterise its built environment, and period features including a restored water mill from 1833 which enjoys status as a provincial heritage site. The village's biological identity is captured at the start of the Heritage Centre through a display which features specimens of fynbos fauna found in the local area. The

⁵⁵⁵ Comments based on 6 April 2016 visit.

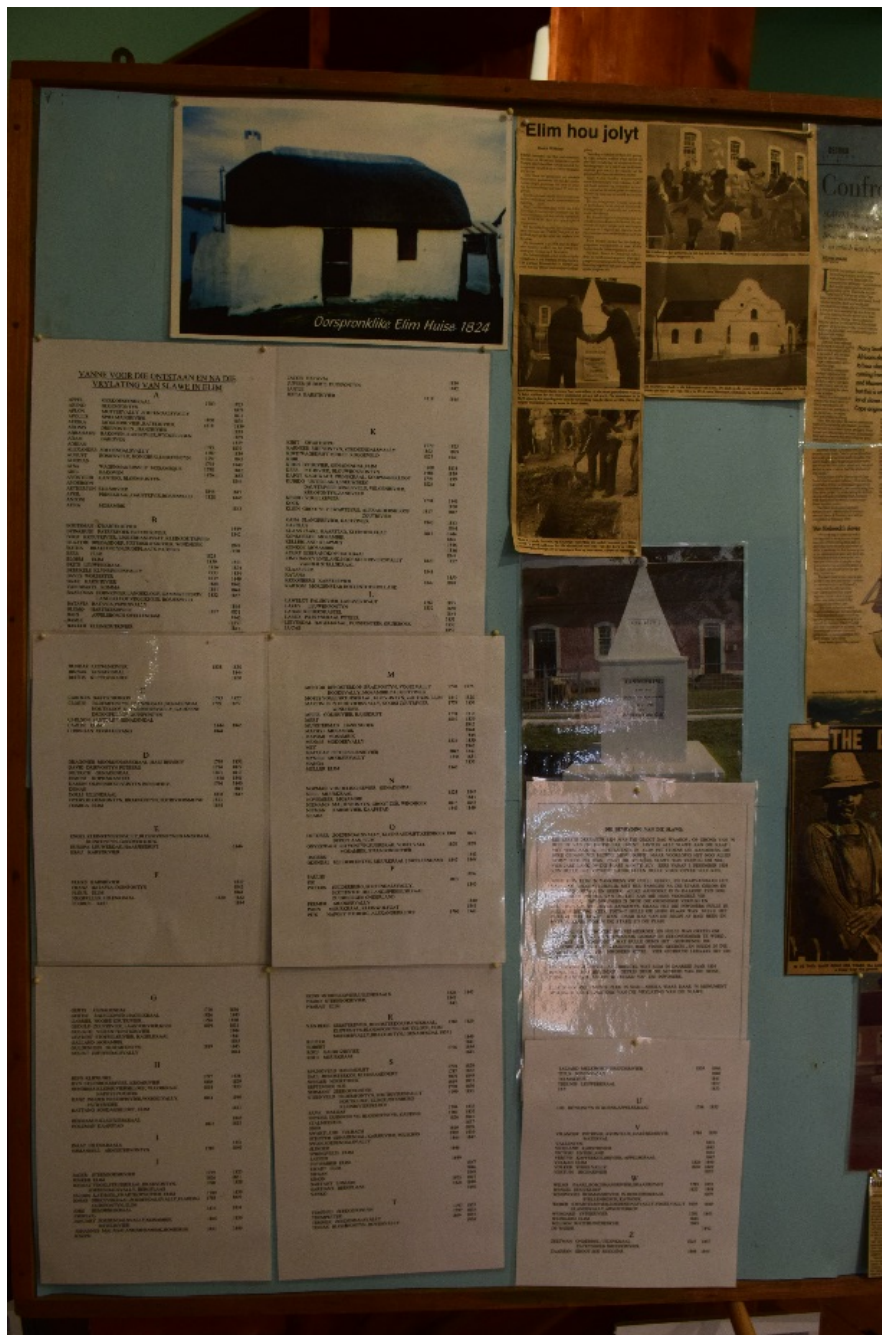
building's large main hall meanwhile includes a miscellanea of life in Elim, functioning as a veritable community archive. 'This place is too small...every day, people bring something' comments the curator.⁵⁵⁶ Included here are an old shop till which recalls the building's life as a mission store, Joseph Cloete's 1912 christening dress, and a cabinet full of crockery and pottery, amongst other local artefacts. Extensive collections of photographs in both colour and black and white are displayed around the gallery. These include pictures of weddings, the church building, notable residents, architecture, and trades ranging from 'Thatchers' to 'Sea Culling'. One display of photographs, titled 'Those were the days', explicitly encourages reminiscence in displaying pictures of washerwomen smiling in a timeless, happy scene. Three galleries branch off the main room; one being a period bedroom, another a period kitchen, and the final one a room filled with trade-related objects, most prominently relating to farming. This is effectively a community memory centre which captures a harmonious past. Elements of a potentially troubled present, including poverty and substance abuse which abound in rural areas of the Western Cape, are entirely absent.

Slavery is discussed more prominently in the Heritage Centre than at Pniel Museum, although where it does appear it frequently recalls pride in the 1938 monument. There is, for example, a display of photographs of the monument in the main gallery which mark the 2004 dedication, situating this momentous local event alongside other sources of community pride. A larger display in the centre of the main gallery aims to tackle the origins of the Elim community with specific reference to slavery. This is achieved by means of a free-standing notice-style board with various printed sheets of paper attached. One of these features the surnames of 19th century settlers – 'Konkoe', 'November', 'Konkoekoe' from 'Mosambik', 'Arend', 'Munsterman', 'Pieters' – which are juxtaposed alongside surnames of current Elim residents arranged by street to establish how a community of creole origins developed. Photographs of the 1938 monument and newspaper cuttings which report on various commemorations of slavery in Elim are also

⁵⁵⁶ Cloete, interview.

displayed as if to offer a reminder that Elim actively remembers and values this history. Once again, memory is grouped around the monument and the sense of community pride it creates. The inclusion of a framed Premier's Commendation certificate dating from 2005 and signed by then-Western Cape Premier Ebrahim Rasool exemplifies this point, praising as it does the Elim community for preserving what it claims is a unique monument. The way the museum commemorates this history represents a confluence between recalling Cape slavery and established local museum paradigms. On the one hand, there is a valorisation of the 'emancipation moment' and what it meant for ancestors, whilst on the other this is subsumed by a museum narrative of nostalgia and community pride.

Figure 3.12 Genealogical display, Elim Heritage Centre, 2016.



Notes: the laminated sheets include the surnames of 19th century settlers arranged alphabetically. The surnames of a selection of modern day residents are displayed out of frame to the right.

Figure 3.13 Trade display, Elim Heritage Centre, 2016.



Notes: The tendency of Elim Heritage Centre and similar museums to 'stockpile' donated artefacts on public display is evident in this scene.

Figure 3.14 Photographic display, Elim Heritage Centre, 2016.



Notes: 'Those were the days' is suggestive of a theme of reminiscence.

Both Pniel Museum and Elim Heritage Centre are in many ways reminiscent of a format established by Genadendal Mission Museum which opened in the former Moravian mission settlement of Genadendal in 1963 and was significantly expanded in the middle of the 1980s.⁵⁵⁷ Genadendal too takes the idea of a collective founding heritage – in this case Khoisan, rather than slave, ancestry – and depicts a community which was saved by Christianity. The achievements and virtues of this community over time are then represented by an extensive collection of donated everyday objects which offer material evidence of a functioning group of people. One critique of local, community-operated museums allege that they tend to collect mundane objects which function as tools for reminiscence and nostalgia.⁵⁵⁸ It follows that in this role these museums have little value beyond the powers of recall they offer those closely involved in their operation.⁵⁵⁹ This criticism may be unfair when considering sites of self-

⁵⁵⁷ Comments based on 13 November 2015 visit.

⁵⁵⁸ Vallance, 28.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 35.

representation situated in marginalised rural communities which have suffered from racial discrimination over the centuries. The creation of a space which benefits only the community is not necessarily a negative point. With reference to Stuart Hall's seminal discussion of the politics of representation, ostensibly unremarkable everyday objects are given meaning by the social processes which surround them.⁵⁶⁰ The very marginalisation of the communities of Elim and Pniel ensures that a museum space represents new possibilities for controlling a past which may have previously been denied to them.⁵⁶¹ Even District Six Museum has been criticised for mythologising a harmonious pre-Group Areas past.⁵⁶² Amanda Cloete maintains that the Heritage Centre is 'for the community' which she claims is supportive of the Centre's aims and functions as a 'proud little family'.⁵⁶³ One should, however, be mindful that such a stance tends to uncritically advocate the community and downplay negative elements of past and present. In Elim, displays such as 'Elimers remember the old days' are representative of the Heritage Centre's narrative, and contemporary social problems are entirely absent.

At both Pniel Museum and Elim Heritage Centre, the adoption of goodwill narratives lends itself to a conservative viewpoint. Although they may have been inspired by post-apartheid discourses of community self-definition, these spaces seem to answer as much to worldwide local museum trends, and in this sense their display practices resemble a re-worked version of Western Cape local history museums of the 1970s and 1980s more than following radical redefinitions of museum practice exemplified by sites such as District Six Museum. Camarena and Morales contend that local museums engage in processes of defining and strengthening community ties which effectively protects the idea of the community from outside influences such as globalisation.⁵⁶⁴ This perhaps explains why Pniel and Elim depict a timeless

⁵⁶⁰ S. Hall, 'Introduction' in S. Hall (ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage, 1997), 3-6.

⁵⁶¹ Camarena and Morales, 327.

⁵⁶² Coombes, 121.

⁵⁶³ Cloete, interview.

⁵⁶⁴ Camarena and Morales, 328.

past, tied to the present by the influence of religion. By recalling societies which were created by Christian missionaries and are understood as continuing to benefit from the legacies they left, both museums hone in on an unchanging institutional landscape. These tendencies perhaps partly exist because these settlements remain fundamentally conservative. Property ownership in Pniel is restricted to people born in Pniel, whilst Elim is still owned by the Moravian church and, in receiving German NGO community workers, recalls a centuries-old connection with Europe. Typical post-apartheid museological tropes of discussing trauma as a means of coming to terms with it are entirely negated at the expense of display modes which have more in common with the museum practices of old. It is within this discourse of tradition, nostalgia, and religion that slavery is recalled from the 'emancipation moment' onwards as a local foundation event. The conflict elements both of enslavement and village life are downplayed, with the former institution recalled as an ancestral experience which founding local citizens survived in order to construct the virtuous communities which exist today. This way of recalling slavery has more in common with the conservative element of remembering slavery as a means of understanding one's origins briefly discussed in the chapter two than it does with the more radical uses of the slave past to contest identities and press political claims which were examined at length in the same chapter. What is depicted is a combination of an ancestral slavery and a 'soft' local history slavery which shares common ground both with other Western Cape local history museums and elements of reimagined coloured identities in the Western Cape.

Conclusion

This chapter has built upon both critiques of local museums worldwide and scholarship which engages with post-apartheid transformation in South African museums to demonstrate how slavery has been central to changes in local and community history museum displays in the Western Cape. Consequently, it has examined museum sites in small towns and villages which

have been neglected by other scholars and highlighted how they are nationally and internationally relevant. Bella Dicks defined local museums as offering 'the view of our town from the hill'.⁵⁶⁵ Certainly, the tendency to essentialise a local area based upon key characteristics has been a theme of Western Cape local and community museums past and present. In transformed spaces, local stories of the past now feature slavery as part of narratives which present important events across time in an attempt to appeal to all sections of the local population. The difficulties which some museums have experienced in conforming with post-apartheid directives of change reflects how the legacies of past attitudes to history and its value continue to influence representational practices today. Not only are these sites which highlight how international local museum discourse functions, but they are also central to understanding how the various transformative demands placed on the arts and culture sector in South Africa by the state play out.

It is within these contexts that Western Cape local history museums add additional layers to understanding how slavery is remembered and represented in South Africa. Slavery here is local history, an alternative local narrative, and, in the cases of Pniel and Elim, the basis for a self-represented history. Local and community history museums in the Western Cape are more attuned to local museum discourse and associated themes of nostalgia and the tendency to essentialise a local area than they are discussions over how slavery should be represented. This is perhaps because these sites are local history museums rather than slavery museums, spaces which aim to draw attention to human rights issues, or offer the history of the South African nation. Elements of the slave past such as brutality are somewhat neglected though, at times, appear as matter-of-fact events which form part of the quotidian experience of a local past. If anything, the way in which an everyday past with the occasional noteworthy case study is recalled demonstrates the ubiquity of slavery at the colonial Cape. In terms of remembering slavery in South Africa, they should be viewed as restoring memory to forgotten rural areas, and

⁵⁶⁵ Dicks.

as functioning as part of a wider symbolic network which includes the Slave Lodge in Cape Town as its central node. The functioning of slavery as an alternative local history featuring the exploits of individual actors who have shaped a locality evidences the numerous ways in which the slave past has become usable in post-apartheid South Africa. These local histories are not necessarily taken to reflect the state-prescribed South African narrative of struggle and liberation. To underline how memorialisation efforts have otherwise been concentrated in the metropole that is Cape Town, this thesis will now return to the city to consider the interplay between history and commercialisation in a burgeoning tourist and business development area.

Chapter Four: Beauty is only skin deep: memorialising slavery in contemporary Cape Town

Contemporary Cape Town is a city of vast contrasts. The second most populous city in South Africa, it is a place where developing and developed worlds converge, sometimes uncomfortably. Walking to the Cape Archives on Roeland Street, one frequently passes a man, most probably homeless, selling homemade furniture items. Further up the hill beyond the archives building sits a Ferrari dealership, its extravagant wares almost inhabiting a different temporality to the hawker and his rudimentary offerings. The sleek, capitalist festivities of the downtown business area are diametrically at odds with both the poverty and gang violence which bedevil the townships of the Cape Flats and the dilapidated shacks and flat units which dominate housing stock in the poorest areas. Since the ending of apartheid in 1994, South Africa, with Cape Town as one of its foremost attractions, has re-emerged as an acceptable setting for international business. Capital is not only provided by investors, but by international tourists keen to sample Cape Town as a destination which has frequently been marketed as a 'must see' place.⁵⁶⁶ The idea of Cape Town as the gateway to a 'world in one country' saw overseas visitors effectively double in number between 1994 and 1995, with close to 1, 000, 000 people visiting Cape Town in 2002 to make it South Africa's foremost tourist destination in terms of numbers.⁵⁶⁷

This chapter will analyse the built remnants of slavery in central Cape Town, and discuss the ways in which this history has been memorialised against this tangible backdrop. It suggests that the interests of business and tourism are not always compatible with producing a balanced exploration of a painful history. The chapter will then progress to discuss how heritage strategies adopted by the City of Cape Town municipality are gradually beginning to reinstate the presence

⁵⁶⁶ The readers of Britain's *Daily Telegraph* voted Cape Town to be 'The world's best city' in 2012, 2013, and 2014, for example. In announcing the 2014 result, the newspaper cited biodiversity, natural encounters, fine dining, and a heritage originating with Dutch arrival in 1652 amongst potential reasons to visit.

⁵⁶⁷ L. Witz, 'Transforming Museums on Postapartheid Tourist Routes' in Karp et al, *Museum Frictions*, 110; V. Bickford-Smith 'Creating a City of the Tourist Imagination: The Case of Cape Town, 'The Fairest Cape of Them All'', *Urban Studies* 46.9 (2009), 1773.

of the enslaved in the modern cityscape. It will move on to examine the case studies of Prestwich Place, Church Square's 'Memorial to the Enslaved', and a temporary installation designed by artist Nadya Glawe in 2014 as examples of some of the debates which emerge when the history of slavery is memorialised in the contested public sphere of Cape Town. This will bring to the fore issues of history and identity which have been common themes in discussions of post-apartheid public life throughout this thesis. In making these links, the chapter will make an interdisciplinary contribution to academic studies which critiques post-apartheid life in terms of heritage and urban development. The questions raised by these debates will once more attest to the idea that there is no set way of memorialising slavery in contemporary South Africa. In the cases discussed in this chapter, issues of race and access to the public sphere will be foremost.

Confronting historical amnesia in the contemporary city

The presence of Cape Town's poorer residents through time from across the globe are encoded within the built environment but rarely acknowledged by the forces of modernity. Those who have been celebrated most loudly within the city centre landscape tend to be notable figures of empire, remembered for their achievements in forwarding the colonial or mercantile project, rather than perpetuating an ever-present dislocation of the area's working-classes.

Memorialisation in Cape Town continues to reflect the legacies of colonialism and apartheid, with little change having taken place since 1994. The centre of Cape Town is a veritable palimpsest, a place where history has been erased or silenced by racial segregation and subsequent neo-liberal economics. In considering the redevelopment of post-reunification Berlin, Andreas Huyssen wrote of a city that is 'as ambivalent of its built past as it is of its urban future'.⁵⁶⁸ Huyssen spoke of Berlin – and particularly the Potsdamer Platz shopping development – as a city in which history and its markers have been reused, with often 'appalling' effects.⁵⁶⁹

This is a useful point of departure in considering Cape Town, a city where past regimes too

⁵⁶⁸ A. Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and The Politics of Memory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 81.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

remain evident despite redevelopment efforts, their presence variously silenced or celebrated by new developments. From colonial, to apartheid, to contemporary times, it is a setting which has undergone considerable built change. Slavery is one element of the past which has imprinted its troublesome heritage upon the built environment yet, until recently, has not been commemorated within the beguiling palimpsest of central Cape Town.

In *Outkast Cape Town*, John Western wrote of how, in spatially demarcating apartheid, planners and ideologues could not feasibly have avoided declaring the city centre as a white space given its economic importance. For Western, its numerous galleries, museums, statues, and other historical markers combine to offer a space which encapsulates a specific white interpretation of South African history.⁵⁷⁰ Although apartheid has formally ended, little physical transformation has occurred in Cape Town's City Bowl to really prompt a revision of Western's argument. In the Company's Gardens, where enslaved people used to till the VOC's vegetable patch to victual passing ships, tourists now stroll through the tree-dappled landscape, set against the dramatic backdrop of Table Mountain. There are statues of Cecil Rhodes, Jan Smuts, George Grey, Henry Timson Lukin, and, as the sole female memorialised, Queen Victoria within this space. The Gardens' memorial landscape is however silent when it comes to recognising the contributions made by the working-classes in shaping the environment currently enjoyed by visitors.⁵⁷¹

For many black and coloured people living in Cape Town, the city centre is a space which offers low-wage jobs in domestic work, construction, or customer services, reached by commuting from homes on the Cape Flats at the start and end of the working day. Although it is important to acknowledge a small, but growing, black and coloured middle-class in post-apartheid South Africa, this is arguably less visible in Cape Town than in other cities such as Johannesburg. It is perhaps along economic as much as racial lines that Cape Town is divided in

⁵⁷⁰ J. Western, *Outkast Cape Town* (California: California University Press, 1996), 140.

⁵⁷¹ A second statue of Smuts sits at the northern entrance to the Gardens on the intersection of Adderley Street and Wale Street, adjacent to the Slave Lodge.

post-apartheid, neo-liberal Cape Town. Owing to the legacies of apartheid, economics remain linked with race, and there is a far greater likelihood of being born poor and black than there is of being born poor and white. Outside working hours, central Cape Town thus returns to something approaching its apartheid state, reinforced by the selective memory of colonial and apartheid statuary and silence-shrouded markers to previous working-classes encoded within the built landscape. Excluding the former Malay group area of Bo-Kaap, the neighbourhoods which border the city centre were all designated for inhabitation solely by white people under apartheid, and these demographic characteristics largely remain current today.⁵⁷² Electric fences and 24 hour security have become commonplace in relatively affluent areas in response to fears over rising crime levels. In this sense, rather than heralding egalitarianism, the insecurities of post-apartheid life and its high unemployment levels and unequal economic development have in fact entrenched difference along class lines, as reflected by the growing number of gated communities across the country.⁵⁷³ The onset of overseas property speculation and second home-ownership in some of Cape Town's affluent city centre neighbourhoods is however increasingly forcing middle-class people out of the property market in these areas.

Both for residents of and visitors to Cape Town, the city centre and surrounding residential areas are spaces conceptualised as 'safe' in comparison with the 'danger' of the Cape Flats townships.⁵⁷⁴ This situation de facto perpetuates geographical, social, and political apartheid, enabling tourists to gaze at township poverty and alien customs through chaperoned township tours. As the work of Leslie Witz has outlined, such spaces are conceptualised as an

⁵⁷² Bo-Kaap developed from the middle of the 1700s onwards, and became the site of South Africa's first official Muslim burial ground, Tana Baru, after religious freedoms were granted in 1804. The area has always held a strong connection with Islam, featuring additionally the oldest mosque in the southern hemisphere, Auwal Mosque, and became designated as a 'Malay' residential area during apartheid. The label 'Malay' was most closely associated with Commissioner for Coloured Affairs I.D. du Plessis attempts to create an 'identity' for Muslims under apartheid. Bo-Kaap retains a high proportion of Muslim inhabitants, although its central location has made it a target for property developers.

⁵⁷³ C. Lemanski, 'Spaces of Exclusivity or Connection? Linkages between a Gated Community and its Poorer Neighbour in a Cape Town Master Plan Development', *Urban Studies* 43.2 (2006), 400-1.

⁵⁷⁴ S. Robins, 'City sites' in Nuttall and Michael, 411-412.

‘other’ world in relation to the ‘European’ civilisation of Cape Town.⁵⁷⁵ As an ‘alternative’ and ‘authentically African’ setting, the Cape Flats is not a place which tourists are encouraged to visit without a guide. A high proportion of the statuary installed in post-apartheid Cape Town has been sited in townships where it fittingly receives greater exposure to locals who may identify with the history it represents.⁵⁷⁶ A memorial to the 1985 Trojan Horse massacre probably has greater resonance in Athlone where this example of police brutality and its legacies are keenly felt than it would in central Cape Town, for example. However, the installation of such memorials in spaces where tourists are not encouraged to visit alone results in a situation where the colonial and apartheid era iconography of central spaces such as the Gardens could be interpreted by visitors without mediation from alternative histories.

In contrast to the townships, Cape Town’s City Bowl is a place where investment – often from overseas – has been encouraged by the local authorities, and a space in which a number of City Improvement Districts (CIDs) have been implemented.⁵⁷⁷ These CIDs serve to attract investment by ‘tidying up’ the areas they are responsible for, primarily using money raised by levying an increased rate of tax on property owners in these areas. This, it has been claimed, drives gentrification by courting wealth in a globalising world.⁵⁷⁸ It is not only central Cape Town which has attracted investment, for private capital has created a number of economically-exclusive ‘out of town’ developments, including the mixed residential and commercial project

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 417-421; L. Witz, C. Rassool, and G. Minkley, ‘Repackaging the past for South African tourism’ in G. Corsane, (ed.), *Heritage, museums and galleries: an introductory reader* (Routledge, London: 2005), 312-314; Witz, ‘Museums on Cape Town’s Township Tours’, 259-277; L. Dondolo, *The Construction of Public History and Tourist Destinations in Cape Town’s Townships: A study of routes, sites and heritage* (unpublished MA thesis), University of the Western Cape, 2002.

⁵⁷⁶ ‘Table of post-apartheid monuments, memorials and public statuary’ in Marschall, 387-399.

⁵⁷⁷ City Bowl refers to what is effectively the city centre of Cape Town, situated immediately north of Table Mountain which serves as a backdrop to the area.

⁵⁷⁸ State-led city centre redevelopment projects in post-apartheid South Africa are increasingly acting as catalysts for gentrification as part of regenerative processes, closely associated with the implementation of CIDs. This process follows Anglo-American trends of encouraging capital to a city in a globalising world, and is discussed comprehensively in G. Visser and N. Kotze, ‘The State and New-build Gentrification in Central Cape Town, South Africa’, *Urban Studies* 45.12 (2008), 2565-2593.

that is Century City.⁵⁷⁹ These processes of gentrification and the creation of economically-exclusive spaces are important in dictating parts of the past which are marked and those which are not commemorated. Whilst the municipality may be responsible for public statuary in the city, private enterprise frequently and selectively incorporates elements of the past into its commercial projects. For Vivian Bickford-Smith, the way in which the ANC has welcomed private enterprise has enabled businesses to dictate how the public history of post-apartheid Cape Town has been refashioned and repackaged.⁵⁸⁰ This, claims the historian, explains why the ways in which history is presented in the city do not always conform with state legislation respecting memorialisation.⁵⁸¹ Accordingly, Martin Hall and Pia Bombardella have argued that new Cape Town leisure developments including GrandWest Casino and Entertainment World, and the aforementioned Century City shopping centre selectively integrate historical elements such as Cape Dutch architecture to nostalgically appeal to an inaccurate recreation of the past.⁵⁸² The authors contend that the idealised image offered by these places is suggestive of a utopian historical milieu which may be revisited through indulging in the consumerism promised on site.⁵⁸³ Socio-economic divisions are entrenched by such developments as a growing basis for identity in post-apartheid South Africa.⁵⁸⁴ As will be outlined in this chapter, it is not only the mythic past represented by Century City which is distorted for commercial aims.

To walk through Cape Town is to be confronted by the city's history of marginalisation and oppression. Progressing from the northern tip of the city in the Green Point and dockyard areas, to the southern side of the City Bowl on the northern slopes of Table Mountain, crosses a historical corridor of slavery and colonialism. As a private enterprise, the Victoria & Alfred (V&A)

⁵⁷⁹ R. Marks, 'Palaces of Desire: Century City & the Ambiguities of Development' in S.L. Robins (ed.), *Limits to Liberation after Apartheid: Citizenship, Governance & Culture* (Oxford: James Currey, 2005), 227.

⁵⁸⁰ Bickford-Smith, 'Creating a City', 1777.

⁵⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸² M. Hall, and P. Bombardella, 'Paths of Nostalgia and Desire through Heritage Destinations at the Cape of Good Hope' in Murray et al, *Desire Lines*, 246-252.

⁵⁸³ *Ibid*, 256.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 257.

Waterfront was physically imposed on top of the historical dockyard environment on the shores of Table Bay during the early 1990s. Offering a mixture of shopping centres and entertainment outlets, the Waterfront is a heavily-policed, safe environment for local and international visitors to enjoy highly-priced retail therapy in surroundings defined by the backdrop of Table Mountain to the south and the Atlantic Ocean to the north. Situated on the site of an 1860 harbour opened by Prince Alfred, historical features such as the 1882 Clock Tower unscrupulously form part of the consumerist atmosphere, sitting uneasily alongside modern architecture. In 2014 it received 24, 000, 000 visitors, contributing almost R200, 000, 000 to the national economy over the previous decade.⁵⁸⁵

Efforts have been made to commemorate and reflect upon history at the Waterfront, however the series of 30 historical interpretation boards present a largely sanitised spectacle of the past which serves in places to promote the site as a venue for tourism. David Lowenthal classically assessed the heritage industry as antithetical to history as produced by the academy, suggesting that public representations of the past were often as much interested in their ability to generate profit as to accurately representing the past.⁵⁸⁶ Where bonafide private enterprise dictates heritage output, this bias becomes all the more tawdry. One recalls, for example, Paulla Ebron's discussion of McDonald's sponsoring an African-American diasporic heritage tour of Senegal and Guinea as a means of both depicting the company as an enabler of culture and marketing itself to this minority group.⁵⁸⁷ These themes are central to the production of heritage at the Waterfront. Writing in 1994 shortly after the Waterfront opened its doors, Nigel Worden identified a nostalgic theme running through historical interpretation at the site. This contributed to the construction of a timeless Capetonian identity which ignored the pre-British period and detached itself from apartheid segregation to offer a view of a perpetual harmonious

⁵⁸⁵ 'V&A Waterfront contributes almost R200 billion to SA economy, retail sales grow again', *Sunday Times*, 26 January 2015.

⁵⁸⁶ Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past*, 114.

⁵⁸⁷ Ebron, 910-932.

relationship between Cape Town residents and their harbour.⁵⁸⁸ Summarising, Worden identified the goal as maximising profit.⁵⁸⁹ The interpretation boards were updated in 2013 with new or revised text added to some of them, and entirely new boards installed in places.⁵⁹⁰ Though only three of the boards which Worden analysed remain in situ, the general conclusions which he drew remain valid.⁵⁹¹ Some of his criticisms have been addressed as, for example, the ‘sailors, soldiers, slaves, Khoi, political exiles and fishermen’ have now been integrated to a limited extent.⁵⁹² The board outside the former Breakwater Prison recalls how ‘emancipated slaves’ and ‘prize negroes and foreigners of colour’ formed part of what was effectively a convict station which constructed the harbour area. Nonetheless, the people here appear as outcasts, an impression which isn’t aided by the positioning of this board – by virtue of the former prison site itself – away from the central spectre of the Waterfront. Beyond this case, the histories of enslavement, forced removals, and general stories of marginalisation are largely absent from narratives which centre on the built environment of the harbour and the pomp of British colonialism.

Sabine Marschall reminds us of how the large numbers of British tourists who visit South Africa are frequently attracted to sites of British colonial interest, and in particular former battlefields.⁵⁹³ It is difficult to look beyond the interpretation boards at the Waterfront as an attempt to capture and coerce this audience. Time, for example, is devoted to celebrating ‘the famous British architect’ Herbert Baker and his ‘beautiful’ work, as well as the successes of the Union Castle Line. On display is a similar perspective to that which promoted early 20th century South Africa as a picture of European colonial prosperity to would-be holidaymakers.⁵⁹⁴ Though the Waterfront does attract local as well as international visitors, historical interpretation on site

⁵⁸⁸ N. Worden, ‘Unwrapping history at the Cape Town Waterfront’, *The Public Historian* 16.2 (1994), 39-43.

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁵⁹⁰ Haniem Paleker, email communication, 7 December 2015.

⁵⁹¹ Comments based on a number of visits between April 2015 and June 2016.

⁵⁹² Worden, ‘Unwrapping history’, 41.

⁵⁹³ Marschall, *Landscape of Memory*, 322.

⁵⁹⁴ L. Witz, ‘Transforming Museums’, 110.

appears to identify the British historical mind as a primary target audience. The precise terms on which these visitors interpret the site is unknown, and beyond the remit of the analysis offered here.⁵⁹⁵ Responses are likely to range from an enthusiastic minority who seek out interpretive stations to the apathy which, from unstructured observations, characterises the majority. The celebration of virtue on offer reaches a grisly nadir at Victoria Wharf, which is presented as a perpetual shopping centre. Presumably hoping to encourage consumerism, the text reports how 'nothing has changed' since the wharf's construction in 1904, with historical merchants and present day consumers portrayed as people sharing a common ground of business and commerce. The lack of change set against the historical offering analysed by Worden in the 1990s and in comparison with early 20th century marketing strategies implies a blasé attitude to history at the Waterfront. There is no desire to acknowledge and recognise the foundations of prosperity, let alone offer a challenging perspective in this centre of consumerism. This is safe history for a pre-defined market.

The V&A Waterfront, therefore, is a place where history is marshalled into a skewed narrative of prosperity designed to benefit the needs of the capitalist present. As its impressive economic figures suggest, the Waterfront is an important employer, generating low-paid work in positions ranging from security guards to shop assistants. The majority of these jobs will be occupied by black and coloured people, and it is worth pausing to note how the site largely obscures its historical role in the events which have resulted in a present whereby white people by-and-large are not found in such professions in Cape Town. As will become familiar over the course of this chapter, there is a disconnect between remembering history and addressing its legacies. Progressing further south onto the slopes of Table Mountain once more reminds us of how difficult histories such as slavery are effectively whitewashed to support various agendas. Oranjezicht City Farm dates from 1709 and originally functioned as a vineyard and vegetable

⁵⁹⁵ The behaviour of tourists in heritage tourism scenarios is an emerging field of enquiry, and one which has been flagged as an area for future research. See D. Light, 'Heritage and Tourism' in Waterton and Watson, 151-156.

garden, growing produce for victualling purposes. As profits declined during the 20th century the land was progressively sold off to the state and the homestead was demolished in 1955.⁵⁹⁶ From 2012 onwards, part of the former estate has been developed as a not-for-profit community initiative and is marketed as an organic market experience where visitors can witness how the food they are buying is produced. Typical of an 18th century Cape farmstead, the original labour force was premised on enslavement. The present-day farm appears to have an uneasy relationship with its exploitative origins. In 2015 it published a history of the farm titled *Oranjezicht: Recalling the past; cultivating the future*. Written by author Adrienne Folb and former Iziko CEO Patricia Davison, this work showcased the past farm whilst exploring its current community-centred approach.⁵⁹⁷ The book offers a Eurocentric view of Cape history compiled from settler sources, though it does also delve into the Cape's slaving past. It makes clear that the Van Breda family who owned Oranjezicht for over a century were significant slave owners.⁵⁹⁸

This partial recognition of history helps to problematise the farm's treatment of its surviving tangible connection with the slave past. An old slave bell frame – originally one of two on the farm – stands in silence adjacent to Upper Orange Street, devoid of the bell which would have signalled breaks in the working day for Van Breda's enslaved workforce. Though it received cosmetic restoration in 2011, it lacks of any form of inscription or historical contextualisation. Both the 'history' section of the farm's website and published history offer similarly oblique accounts of its historical role. The bell tower appears online as a utilitarian tool sounding 'at set hours or in case of an emergency', rather than as a symbol of oppression. The text eagerly informs potential visitors of how the bell sounded 'on sale days', alerting VOC officials to the 'fresh fruit and vegetables' available for sale.⁵⁹⁹ The book meanwhile takes the reader on a journey back in time to these days of colonial markets, asking them to 'Imagine wandering

⁵⁹⁶ P. Davison, and A. Folb, *Oranjezicht: Recalling the past; cultivating the future* (Cape Town: Oranjezicht City Farm NPC, 2015), 3.

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 27; 49.

⁵⁹⁹ 'History', <http://www.ozcf.co.za/about/history/> [accessed 08/03/16 at 09:47]; Davison and Folb, 44.

through fragrant orchards of oranges, lemons, guavas and almonds, while listening to the music of slaves playing flutes and violins. Homemade sweets, cookies and raisins added to the pleasure of these social events.’⁶⁰⁰ This idealism undermines other sections of the book where the reality of slavery is clear, instead choosing to recall a tranquil scene of artisanal, organic beauty.⁶⁰¹ It allows for an obfuscation of the past in which the bell towers seamlessly fade into a picturesque amnesia characteristic of how Cape Town hides its history.

Figure 4.1 Restored original slave bell towers at Oranjezicht City Farm, Cape Town, 2016.



Notes: the bell frame is visible from Upper Orange Street and would probably be passed by the majority of customers arriving at the farm – out of view to the right of this photograph – by foot.

This portrayal of the surviving slave bell tower reveals one of the tendencies of the farm’s authorised history. It points towards a timeless market atmosphere in which black people happily coexisted alongside their white masters. The book seems eager to stress how many of the enslaved were deployed as ‘gardeners’, whilst it also promotes the idea of a ‘shared

⁶⁰⁰ Davison and Folbe, 44.

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid*, 33 discusses mistreatment cases concerning other slave owners.

agricultural heritage'.⁶⁰² This scene of liberal interracial harmony is one which the project coordinators seem eager to dwell upon. The farm pays a number of farmers – many of whom are black or coloured – through money derived from sales at its market transactions.⁶⁰³ It thus – perhaps justifiably – evokes concepts of 'community' and 'cohesion'.⁶⁰⁴ The precise meaning of 'community' here is debatable, as the market's expensive organic produce seems to be targeted at the affluent – and predominantly white – residents of areas such as the estate surrounding the farm itself. Indeed, it is difficult to separate the market's ambience from the artisanal culture prevalent in various affluent areas of Cape Town, and particularly the City Bowl and southern suburbs where similar markets are commonplace. It is less a bastion of cohesion than an entrenchment of exclusivity, operating in an environment where history is carefully controlled. The farm's published history sees no issue with rooting the idea to develop the area surrounding the former homestead in a community effort to prevent the installation of sub-economic housing on the site.⁶⁰⁵ This implies that poor people are only welcomed here if authorised by the farm, and that it would be inconceivable for such people to settle in an affluent suburb. The oppressive marker of the slave bell becomes a signifier of a busy market scene serving moneyed customers, much like that which exists today.

The points raised in relation both to the V&A Waterfront and Oranjezicht City Farm suggest a further interpretation of Cape slavery than those already discussed. Whilst coloured heritage activists identify with this past on personal terms, local history museums recall it as part of an everyday local narrative, and large state-funded museum projects look to national and international human rights and nation-building discourses, here slavery appears in a benign and consumable form. Any disagreeable elements are silenced and, whilst it is made clear that enslavement occurred, the precise details of its happening are oblique. As with other examples,

⁶⁰² *Ibid*, 1; 27.

⁶⁰³ *Ibid*, 102-113.

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 100.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid*; Lemanski, 400-1.

it is recalled to support the overarching aims of those carrying out the memorialisation. In this case, however, the goal is not to remember the past per se, but to include an element of history within a broader project. Slavery at both the Waterfront and Oranjezicht is consequently silenced and distorted to promote assumed positive qualities at each of the sites.

This approach is not all-pervasive in Cape Town and, largely at the behest of the City of Cape Town, moves have been made to commemorate difficult histories in public spaces. The City adopted a heritage strategy in 2005 which, couched in typically inclusive post-apartheid rhetoric, suggested that Cape Town should be recognised as a city with rich and diverse heritage.⁶⁰⁶ Describing Cape Town as a 'unique historic city', it promised to protect 'heritage sites and the traditions and memories associated with them' as part of a wider municipal city management plan.⁶⁰⁷ Cape Town in this vision effectively becomes a 'rainbow city', a place where outsiders can marvel at recognition of historic sites relating from the pre-colonial period to the modern day, and transcending class divisions.⁶⁰⁸ The policy envisages a multicultural city, united by a respect for its past. These parameters link both to an enduring depiction which originated in the late 19th century of Cape Town as a unique historical setting to be marketed to international tourists, and with a more recent packaging of the city as a culturally diverse space prevalent from the 2004 launch of Cape Town Tourism onwards.⁶⁰⁹ Respecting this claimed diversity, the idea of community consultation work in the designation of heritage sites was particularly emphasised, with the City promising to take into account alternative interpretations of the past.⁶¹⁰ This revised approach to protecting the past in the aftermath of formalised racially exclusive heritage policies has, as in other sectors of governance, perhaps been slow to materialise however. Precisely whether this revised strategy was intended solely to reconnect

⁶⁰⁶ Environmental Resource Management City of Cape Town, 'Cultural Heritage Strategy for the City of Cape Town' (April 2005).

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 11.

⁶⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 12.

⁶⁰⁹ Bickford-Smith, 'Creating a City', 1769; 1779.

⁶¹⁰ *Ibid*, 14-15.

Capetonians with their history, or whether attention was also given to ways of using history to market the city to visitors is debatable. As much as the policy reflects both ANC and DA – which has controlled Cape Town since 2006 – preoccupation with the rhetoric of diversity and equality, it nonetheless also represents a coherent effort to reveal some of Cape Town’s previously hidden historical features.

The City has additionally launched a ‘Slave Heritage Walks of Cape Town’ pamphlet as part of its heritage series.⁶¹¹ This includes attractions ranging from the site of the Old Slave Tree to the Castle, and additionally encompasses District Six Museum and the Company’s Gardens. The self-guided walk included in this pamphlet could be viewed as one of the legacies of the ultimately unsuccessful Cape chapter of UNESCO’s international Slave Route project which had been launched in July 1998.⁶¹² Although it brought together leading academics, museologists, and policy makers, one of the participants, Nigel Worden, has maintained that an interpretation of Cape slavery as a divisive history relevant only to coloured people from state officials involved resulted in the project failing to gain traction.⁶¹³ Recognition of slavery at municipal level perhaps reflects both the differing agendas of different sectors of the state, and particularly a grasp of the salience of slave history at a provincial Cape level. Additionally, the reading of slavery as a potentially divisive history appears to have receded as time has passed and the topic has been the subject of greater discussion. This acceptance of slavery in terms of the built environment has been supported over time by legislation. The 1999 National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) specifically referred to ‘sites of significance relating to the history of slavery in South Africa’ as part of its protective mandate.⁶¹⁴ Accordingly, Heritage Western Cape, the agency responsible for heritage protection at a provincial level, highlights ‘structures associated with

⁶¹¹ City of Cape Town, leaflet HAP17 ‘Slave Heritage Walks of Cape Town’, accessible <http://www.capetown.gov.za/EN/ENVIRONMENTALRESOURCEMANAGEMENT/PUBLICATIONS/Pages/HeritagePamphlets.aspx> [accessed 08/03/16 at 11:19].

⁶¹² UCT Special Collections, BAJ 326.05 SLA Slave Route Project Newsletters, Newsletter no.1 (July 1998).

⁶¹³ Worden, ‘The changing politics’, 29.

⁶¹⁴ Republic of South Africa, *National Heritage Resources Act* (1999), 14.

slavery' as one of the 'heritage resources' it is responsible for managing.⁶¹⁵ This legislation should ensure that sites such as the Grand Parade and St Stephen's Church are afforded additional protection if built developments are considered in the future, such are their links with the slave past as meeting spaces and places of worship. Slavery was the only specific area of the past to be explicitly referred to by the NHRA. This reflects its centrality to South African history, an importance which the City's heritage policy appears to implicitly recognise. In practical terms, however, the visible product of this legislation in relation to built remnants of slavery has amounted to a handful of interpretive panels honouring the unmarked dead and their contributions to the modern city.

⁶¹⁵ <http://www.hwc.org.za/> [accessed 26/05/16 at 07:42].

Map 4.1 Map created from creative commons image hosted at wiki.openstreetmap.org showing Cape Town's City Bowl with various sites of slave heritage marked.



Notes: the map highlights the number of sites of slave heritage in the central City Bowl area, particularly concentrated in what are today the main shopping and business areas.

Cape Town's bustling capitalist centre features a number of heritage interventions from the City which aim to restore the area's former subaltern classes to memory by installing a didactic commemorative presence amongst everyday city life. A series of interpretive boards have been installed at the former North Wharf area which presently forms part of the sleek business district. These bear an inclusive premise, integrating both European historical viewpoints and references to those who served them. The panel describing the Roggebaai Fish

Market, which previously operated in this area, uses excerpts from the writings of colonial notables such as William Wilberforce-Bird and William Layton Sammons who describe the area as it was during the early 19th century. Beneath these perspectives are references to April of Bengal, Salie of Macassar, and other enslaved and 'free black' fishermen who worked in the area in 1811. These are juxtaposed alongside photographs from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, depicting the busy, ramshackle area prior to reclamation in the 1940s. Following immediately on from this panel is another text intervention, this time describing 'Emancipation from Slavery'. That an entire panel has been devoted to this subject hints at the centrality of the slave past in the City's polyvocal heritage strategy. That the content on this panel has little relevance to the immediate area underscores this point. A series of sketches are included, as well as a photograph depicting four former enslaved people on a farm. The idea appears to be an attempt to foreground Cape Town in the fruits of slave labour, and invite visitors to consider the cultural impact of people from Madagascar, Mozambique, India, Ceylon, and Indonesia. If exploring Cape Town from the former dockyard area, it is an appropriate starting point.

Moving southwards through Cape Town from this point reveals further the dual histories of slavery and colonialism. In his essay 'Walking in the City', Michel de Certeau wrote of how 'there is no place that is not haunted by many different spirits hidden there in silence, spirits one can "invoke" or not'.⁶¹⁶ This is a useful point of departure when considering the uncomfortable history which modern day Cape Town functions atop. This is a history which haunts the city, its painful legacies encoded not only in the built environment but in socio-economic relations and spatial practices. In the process of demonstrating how city inhabitants define the built environment and redefine their own identities in relation to the possibilities it offers, C. Nadia Seremetakis described Vienna as a city conveying 'the sense of everyday life as the theatre of

⁶¹⁶ M. De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 108.

the “unknown” dead’.⁶¹⁷ For Seremetakis, the dead as memorialised in Vienna functioned as a useful means of mapping the city, and of demarcating its modern thoroughfares.⁶¹⁸ In Cape Town, the ‘unknown’ dead quite literally do not enjoy a similar visibility, however their historical presence has defined how the modern city is laid out. The way in which this past is revealed to visitors and city-dwellers is changing, gradually. The act of ‘invoking’ may primarily be internal in de Certeau’s interpretation, however it is also possible for outside forces to invoke or evoke within a person. In New York, a city with a history of enslavement which is obscured by modernity in similar ways to Cape Town, African-American artist Nona Faustine chose in 2015 to invoke the silenced spirits of enslaved people by posing naked at a number of city centre sites to highlight their connections with slavery. In Cape Town, less dynamic means have been adopted. In this setting, interpretive heritage boards such as those situated at North Wharf are used to illuminate the ‘spirits hidden in silence’, and make their presence visible to people beyond those who consciously chose to invoke them. A coherent and visible network has yet to be developed, though these interventions can perhaps be interpreted as a starting point in exposing this past to greater attention.

Sites of slave heritage dominate the City Bowl area, from Groote Kerk which accepted emancipated slaves as part of its congregation, the Old Town House from which the emancipation proclamation was read in 1834, various mosques which reflect the importance of Islam amongst the enslaved population, and numerous other sites. In the heart of the modern city centre, Greenmarket Square’s past as a cosmopolitan market is detailed by a fixed City interpretation panel. In a setting which continues to function as a market, the historical space is recalled as a place where ‘farmers, travellers, Khoekhoen, free blacks and slaves, Company officials and slave holders’ were found ‘haggling with hawkers, fishmongers and other street-traders’. Additional information plaques have been installed by the City at a number of locations,

⁶¹⁷ C.N. Seremetakis, ‘The Other City of Silence: Disaster and the Petrified Bodies’ in G. Brandstetter and H. Volckers (eds), *ReMembering the Body* (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2000), 302.

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid*, 304.

including at slave heritage sites such as the Old Slave Tree on Spin Street, which remains marked with the largely illegible spherical stone slab installed in 1953 after the tree stump was removed. Another plaque can be found at the now-restored former VOC vegetable garden although, in spite of the recognition offered to slavery in official policy, this makes no mention of the presence of the enslaved as labourers in the colonial-era Gardens. Whilst the presence of the Khoi Gorinhaiqua is acknowledged, the functioning of the vegetable garden which usurped their nomadic farming lifestyle is referred to only in terms of its utility as a victualling station. Much like the use of slave history as a counterpoint to settler history discussed in chapter three, the plaque's text seems to suggest that only one previously marginalised narrative can surface at any time. Whilst this does work to restore the spirit of the 'unknown dead' to the cityscape, it simultaneously can work to obscure history as it happened.

Figure 4.2 Plaque marking the restored vegetable garden, Company's Gardens, Cape Town, 2015.



Notes: the absence of slavery from a narrative which instead focusses on settler and Khoi history is evident.

Figure 4.3 1953 plaque marking the Old Slave Tree, Cape Town, 2015.



Notes: the text, largely illegible, reads 'On this spot stood the Old Slave Tree', also translated into Afrikaans.

Figure 4.4 2015 plaque marking the Slave Auction Tree, Cape Town, 2015.



Notes: in spite of this additional plaque, the site sits in the middle of a busy road intersection and is very easy to miss.

Memorialising slavery in 21st century Cape Town

Against this urban backdrop of tourism and business opportunity on the one hand, and a municipality which is gradually recognising the contributions made to the cityscape by historical marginalised communities on the other, there have been a number of efforts to explicitly create memorials to slavery. These originate both in the public and private spheres, and, owing to questions of voice, race, and place in the post-apartheid order, have tended to provoke occasionally fierce debate. As documented in chapter two, coloured heritage activists perceive that their history has often been overlooked by state-funded heritage projects, and these accusations once more dominate the memorialisation of slavery in urban Cape Town. What is perhaps lacking is not necessarily recognition of slavery from national and municipal authorities, but an ability to provide appropriate commemoration for those for whom the subject has become personalised. Whilst heritage interpretation boards may only seek to offer a balanced

interpretation of the past and present a diverse history to visitors, a memorial is a different proposition. James E. Young defined memorial sites as constructs which institutionalise memory and offer a means of discussing differing interpretations of an event or history.⁶¹⁹ A memorial or monument therefore represents acceptance of a certain past, although Young's suggestion that memorials can be perceived to absolve society of the need to actively remember is perhaps not applicable to a history such as Cape slavery which has long been characterised by an absence of memory.⁶²⁰ Indeed, the inverse is true here. Pertinently, Young goes on to suggest that a monument 'becomes a point 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'.⁶²¹ This idea underlines how a slavery memorial in Cape Town could function against the backdrop of the sites of silent slave heritage which characterise the city centre. It could act as a means of illuminating the wider landscape, serving as a focal point for slave heritage in Cape Town and speaking for a city that remembers.

The Prestwich Street affair which erupted shortly after the turn of the century was revealing of the complexities associated with memorialisation in the 'new' South Africa. In early 2003, developer Ari Estathiou of Styleprops Ltd discovered human remains whilst attempting to dig foundations for a new apartment block planned in the vicinity of Prestwich Street, Green Point. They had stumbled across what was believed to be one of many similar unmarked, 17th, 18th, and 19th century gravesites for Cape Town's forgotten subaltern classes, now buried beneath the modern city where commerce and tourism work to ignore their contributions.⁶²² This was a literal resurfacing of the past; a visceral reminder of how the modern city of Cape Town has been constructed on top of previous societies, whose presence remains largely

⁶¹⁹ J.E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 2-4.

⁶²⁰ *Ibid*, 5.

⁶²¹ *Ibid*, 7.

⁶²² N. Shepherd and C. Ernsden, 'The World Below: Post-apartheid Urban Imaginaries and the Bones of the Prestwich Street Dead' in N. Murray et al, *Desire Lines*, 215-6.

obscured. After the developer notified SAHRA as per protocol, a public consultation process began, igniting a heated and at times acrimonious debate between protagonists of two separate approaches to dealing with the discovered human remains. As was established in these meetings, on one side of the argument were a group of primarily coloured activists, supported by academics at the historically coloured University of the Western Cape. For them, the bones discovered were their slave ancestors, and they argued that they should be treated with the upmost respect and be left buried.⁶²³ The dominance of this argument appears to have precluded the possibility of embracing the site as a more inclusive heritage. This itself was likely a defensive reaction from activists, fearing that what they identified as their history would be overlooked. Whilst it was generally accepted that a high proportion of the human remains were those of the enslaved, the mass grave sites in this area also included other people who fell outside the colonial state and DRC establishment, likely including soldiers, children, prisoners and other working-class people.⁶²⁴ It is interesting to muse that whilst slavery has often functioned as a silenced heritage, here what was in all probability a burial plot containing the remains of people from a variety of backgrounds was transformed into a slave-specific site owing to the claims of a small group of campaigners and oft-repeated statements in the media describing Prestwich as a slave burial ground.

The Hands Off Prestwich Street Committee was formed to appeal to SAHRA to stop the development works. It later evolved into the Prestwich Place Project Committee (PPPC) to appeal directly to the Minister of Arts and Culture when initial objections were rejected in November 2003.⁶²⁵ Its viewpoint was contested by a pro-exhumation lobby, which prized the potential historical and scientific understanding which academia could draw from forensic

⁶²³ *Ibid*, 217-223. Although the human remains were never subjected to biological testing, archaeological fieldwork established a number of traits indicative of people from Mozambique, including tooth filing. See City of Cape Town 21/2/7/2/07/737 volume 20 Prestwich Memorial, E. Finnegan, 'The 'informal' burial ground at Prestwich Street, Cape Town: cultural and chronological indicators for the diverse underclass of the 17th-19th centuries', draft for SA Bulletin, 9-10.

⁶²⁴ City, Finnegan, 1-4.

⁶²⁵ *Ibid*, 217-220.

examination of the revealed remains. This was an argument which was espoused mainly by archaeologists – including those working on the Prestwich excavations - and biologists based at the historically white UCT, and tacitly supported by SAHRA.⁶²⁶ Whilst excavation work was temporarily halted by SAHRA as the consultation process progressed, it ultimately proceeded in spite of continued objections.

According to Nick Shepherd and Christian Ernsden, at the heart of the dispute were issues pertaining to race and position in the 'new' political dispensation. In particular, questions relating to who has the right to speak for who dominated affairs as anti-exhumation campaigners asserted a direct connection with the human remains as their ancestors. At a consultation meeting, one man who opposed exhumation left in disgust, pleading 'Stop robbing graves!' as he did so.⁶²⁷ Shepherd and Ernsden recall how the image of white archaeologists excavating the resting places of what were presumed to be predominantly coloured people formed the basis of calls to cease exhumation.⁶²⁸ Shepherd's perspective, it is important to note, is that of an archaeologist who did not support the exhumations.⁶²⁹ Conversely, fellow UCT archaeologist Antonia Malan, who led the public consultation process and advocated biological testing on the grounds of the unprecedented opportunities presented by Prestwich in terms of furthering knowledge, has instead highlighted how members of the public were engaged by the sight of the archaeologists at work.⁶³⁰

It was clear that some of the anti-exhumation lobby were eager to use the Prestwich skeletons as a rallying point, lamenting the perceived marginalised position of coloured people both under the hegemonic white apartheid state and the black-dominated new dispensation.

⁶²⁶ *Ibid*, 217-223.

⁶²⁷ *Ibid*, 217-8.

⁶²⁸ *Ibid*.

⁶²⁹ N. Shepherd, 'Archaeology Dreaming: Post-apartheid urban imaginaries and the bones of the Prestwich Street dead', *Journal of Social Archaeology* 7.1 (2007), 21.

⁶³⁰ A. Malan, 'Unearthing slavery: the complex role of archaeology', Iziko Museums Freedom Day lecture (April 2008), 9, http://media1.mweb.co.za/iziko/education/pastprogs/pdfs/2008freedomday_malan.pdf [accessed 27/05/16 at 16:08].

Although the leaders of the anti-exhumation movement were drawn from intellectual circles which have generally remained tacitly supportive of the ANC state, the idea discussed in the chapter two that coloured interests have sometimes been overlooked by the post-apartheid state was nonetheless implicit in the argument against the excavations. Reverend Michael Weeder, a key proponent of the development of a coloured identity based upon a recognition of slave roots in the 'new' South Africa, was a prominent figure on this side of the debate. Weeder argued that the bones should have been viewed as fundamental symbols of coloured history, claiming that 'many of us of slave descent cannot say "here's my birth certificate". We are part of the great unwashed of Cape Town'.⁶³¹ This was effectively a call to respect coloured heritage, just as black heritage has been safeguarded by the government. The Prestwich episode thus became something of a race-interest issue, with a group of coloured activists forming the Hands Off and later PPPC as a means of mobilising their community to contest establishment power systems for the right to control what they perceived as their heritage. Simultaneously, as Heidi Grunebaum has argued, Prestwich became the arena for a contest between investment capital and people urging the state to acknowledge what they saw as their past.⁶³² This highlights how, in lieu of meaningful socio-economic transformation in post-apartheid South Africa, access to the public sphere has remained tied to race, itself now increasingly interlinked with social class. Prestwich was a disjointed convergence of the interests of activists discussed in chapter two who claim to speak for working-class Capetonians, and those of private enterprise and the creation of economically-exclusive city centre urban spaces outlined earlier in this chapter. Issues of voice and empowerment were therefore contested alongside the fundamental issue of exhumation.

The effort to halt construction and leave the bones interred beneath the city was ultimately unsuccessful. The PPPC turned its attentions to contesting the form of a likely

⁶³¹ Shepherd and Ernssten, 219; *ibid*, 9.

⁶³² Grunebaum, 130.

memorial site, as first suggested during the original consultation process.⁶³³ The exhumed bones, which had been stored in Napier House whilst the Committee's appeal to the Minister was assessed and ultimately rejected, were carried through the centre of Cape Town in a procession on Freedom Day on 21 April 2004.⁶³⁴ Contained in 11 boxes draped in different flags representing the 11 official languages of the country, they were blessed by Muslim, Jewish, and Christian leaders to reflect the multi-faith elements of 19th century Cape life, and transferred to Woodstock Hospital and Somerset Hospital.⁶³⁵ The Rockwell apartment and hotel development continued and was completed with the address 32 Prestwich Street.

The City subsequently launched a consultation process to decide on the appropriate form for a memorial site. Closed meetings took place under the auspicious of the Prestwich Place Memorial Team, a panel including representatives from SAHRA, the City, the PPPC, and the closely-allied District Six Museum. In November 2005 plans for the proposed memorial drawn up by the architect Lucien le Grange were unveiled at three public meetings spread over one weekend. Whilst one was held at St Andrew's Church close to the proposed memorial site in central Cape Town, the other two took place in the former coloured townships of Athlone and Mitchell's Plain.⁶³⁶ Comments received both at these meetings and in writing were generally positive, evidencing how members of the PPPC and representatives from the state and its agencies were by this point uniting behind the aim of constructing an appropriate memorial.⁶³⁷ Later in the process, representatives from the Delegation of Chiefs were included in the collaborative meetings having expressed interest in the possibility that Khoisan people may have been buried at Prestwich.⁶³⁸ This demonstrated not only the flexibility of the consultation

⁶³³ Shepherd and Ernsden, 218; 221.

⁶³⁴ Freedom Day is a public holiday in South Africa and was first celebrated in 1995. It marks the day on which the country's first democratic elections were held in 1995.

⁶³⁵ Shepherd and Ernsden, 221.

⁶³⁶ City, volume 9 Prestwich 2005, City of Cape Town, 'Comment Sheet - Application for Consent: Reinterment Ossuary & Memorial Garden'.

⁶³⁷ City, volume 9, 'Application for consent: Reinterment ossuary & memorial garden comments received'.

⁶³⁸ City, volume 18 Prestwich Years: 2008; 2009; 2010; 2011 & 2013, 'Prestwich Memorial Project Team meeting, Thursday 21 February 2008 @ 14h00, Glass Box, 16th Floor, Civic Centre'.

element, but also the high degree of plurality embedded in the remains. An opening ceremony originally planned for the symbolic date of 1 December was pushed back to 25 April 2008. Members of the public including representatives from the PPPC carried a portion of the human remains from their storage sites in Woodstock Hospital and Somerset Hospital to the new ossuary situated at the back of the new memorial in St Andrews Square.⁶³⁹ The site was also consecrated in a traditional African religious ceremony conducted by the Delegation of Chiefs.⁶⁴⁰ The site was jointly funded by the City, SAHRA, and the National Lottery, ultimately costing almost R6 million.⁶⁴¹

The bones were reinterred in an area behind the main memorial, with public access restricted. The boxes which contain them are visible to the public, however are spatially segregated by a tall wooden gate situated at the back of a narrow corridor separated from the rest of the building by a low arched entrance. Anyone wishing to access the skeletons must apply to a panel which comprises representatives from the state and PPPC. So far, no research applications have been accepted.⁶⁴² Additional skeletons unearthed during the construction of the memorial site were reinterred alongside those from the Prestwich site. Indeed, the site has been conceived by the City as a memorial resting place for human remains unearthed in future redevelopments in the Green Point area.⁶⁴³ This is suggestive of a municipal body which recognises the potential capital flow which areas of prime land can generate, and sees the Prestwich Memorial as a means of closure for any consequent debates over exhumation. Nonetheless, a heritage impact assessment carried out for Heritage Western Cape in 2012

⁶³⁹ City, volume 14 Prestwich Memorial 2007, 'Prestwich Memorial Project Team Meeting, Wednesday 13 September 2007 @ 16h00, 6th Floor Boardroom, 44 Wale Street'.

⁶⁴⁰ City, volume 18, 'Prestwich Memorial Project Team meeting, Thursday 21 February 2008'.

⁶⁴¹ City, volume 12 Prestwich Memorial, 'Prestwich Place Project Team, minutes of meeting held 15 March 2007, St Philips Church Hall, 128 Chapel Street, 16h00'; volume 11 Prestwich 2006, 'Prestwich Memorial Project Team Co-operative Agreement'; 'More skeletons found at Prestwich site', *IOL*, 15 August 2006 <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/more-skeletons-found-at-prestwich-site-289398> [accessed 10/03/16 at 11:11].

⁶⁴² Shepherd and Ernsten, 221; Worden, 'Changing Politics', 38.

⁶⁴³ Heritage Western Cape, Green Point, Prestwich School, ERF 202, 564, 566, 734-738, T. Hart, 'Stage 1 HIA Prestwich Precinct' (2012), 15.

recognised the need to acknowledge the past as part of the proposed redevelopment of the Prestwich and St Andrews Square areas. This report argued that the streets themselves could in future be utilised as a form of memorialisation, thereby drawing attention not only to the reinterred human remains but the likelihood of further skeletons which lay beneath the city, unacknowledged.⁶⁴⁴ This would symbolically imbue a sense of presence in the modern city, recognising the former working-classes whose contributions haunt the streets of modern commerce and business. The Prestwich Memorial site, however, has failed to provide closure for those who campaigned as part of the PPPC.

The perspective offered by the series of exhibition panels installed inside lean towards that endorsed by the pro-exhumation lobby and SAHRA.⁶⁴⁵ The interpretive panels offer general facts concerning the history of slavery at the Cape, of unscrupulous colonial era burials in the Green Point area, and of the social landscape of colonial society. It effectively offers a history of the District One area, supported by sketches, paintings, and primary accounts such as that offered by Robert Semple in 1805. There are also panels which invite comments on the future of the site, explain the architect Lucien le Grange's vision for the site, and, most interestingly, an account of the contestations which surrounded the exhumation process. The version of the story offered here appears to marginalise the role played by the Hands Off Committee and later PPPC. Although there are pictures of some of the group carrying the cases which hold the bones, descriptions of the excavations themselves appear to take precedence. Viewed one way, this is the 'official' viewpoint, something which the inclusion of historical colonial perspectives such as that offered by Semple develops. The interpretive panels to an extent offer the PPPC a voice within the memorial, however their objections are circumscribed by the text. The exhibition gives little indication that the prime reason for this Committee's existence was objecting to the exhumations, thus downplaying the importance of addressing issues of voice, silenced histories,

⁶⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 31.

⁶⁴⁵ Comments based on 8 July 2015 visit.

race, and access to the public sphere in post-apartheid South Africa. The PPC is instead portrayed both in the architect's statement and other accounts of the memorialisation process as a group who wished to contribute to the remembrance of their ancestors in a tasteful way. What is not mentioned is that the primary way they proposed to do this was by leaving their remains in the ground.

The Memorial remained only partially open until early 2010, available for remembrance and ceremonial occasions by prior arrangement with the City. The idea of some form of tea kiosk had been included in the original plans, however the City did not actualise this idea until 2009.⁶⁴⁶ The decision to develop these plans originated in a business report conducted for the City by Laura Robinson of the non-profit Cape Town Heritage Trust. This outlined how the Memorial site could use its prominent position at a busy road intersection to serve as a tourist destination.⁶⁴⁷ In particular, the report pointed out that the Memorial was on a designated route for football spectators visiting the Green Point stadium during the 2010 World Cup.⁶⁴⁸ It was this idea – rather than the longer-term suggestion of integrating the memorial into a formalised Cape Town-wide heritage route – which was put out to tender. The need to preserve the financial viability of an expensive new building was seemingly foremost on the City's mind, and it was particularly eager to cash-in on the guaranteed footfall provided by an international sporting event. The proposal submitted by hospitality professional David Donde was ultimately successful. Whilst the opening of Donde's artisanal coffee shop Truth in early 2010 could have simply provided the memorial with economic sustenance, its presence has arguably marked the memorial's departure from a possible appropriate marker to and platform for discussing the slave and working-class past of Cape Town. Instead, it has turned an expensive memorial site

⁶⁴⁶ City, volume 11 Prestwich 2006, Lucien le Grange Architects & Urban Planners, 'St Andrew's Square Development Proposal' (October 2006). Le Grange's original proposal includes the idea of a small-scale 'tea room'.

⁶⁴⁷ City, volume 16 Prestwich Memorial, Cape Town Heritage Trust/Laura Robinson, 'Business plan for the Prestwich Place Memorial Centre, Green Point, Cape Town' (2009), 5.

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

into an outlet which finds belonging not as a flagship collaborative project but with exclusive, gentrified eateries in the City Bowl, Woodstock, and Sea Point where commerce dictates output.⁶⁴⁹ The presence of commercial outlets at heritage sites is well-established globally, and, in places such as South Africa where funding is scarce, could provide a sustainable means of operation. Although the sceptical perspectives of academics such as David Lowenthal and Robert Hewison have come to dominate scholarly analysis of the heritage industry's commercial dimensions, it is nonetheless worth considering the potential for a discrete drinks outlet to tastefully form part of the Prestwich Memorial.⁶⁵⁰

It is not necessarily the concept of installing a drinks outlet in the memorial which is problematic, but rather the nature of Truth's opening and its impact on relations between the City and campaigners, as well as some of Truth's behaviour since it became part of the memorial. The lettering on the side of the building which backs onto the M61 thus reads 'Prestwich Memorial' followed by 'Truth', as though the two entities are one and the same. Entering the building, one almost feels as though one should ask permission from the coffee shop staff before visiting the memorial. Donde's proposal for the site paid lip service to inclusivity, claiming that his planned coffee shop would draw attention to what he perceived as a forgotten memorial and predicting that his establishment would invite visitors into the building.⁶⁵¹ The opposite has almost been achieved with the Memorial occupying secondary space in a building conceptualised for its use. M. Christine Boyer has argued that postmodern city planners, conditioned by their middle-class backgrounds, are primarily concerned with integrating the city into global flows of capital.⁶⁵² An assumption inherent to this mindset

⁶⁴⁹ As part of St Andrews Square, the Prestwich Memorial is part of the Greenpoint CID and at centre of a current inner-city regeneration plan which seeks to attract investment to the area. This links to the discussion of the roll of CIDs in the process of gentrification offered by Visser and Kotze, and is an important point to consider in light of the positioning of Truth in the Prestwich Memorial.

⁶⁵⁰ Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past*; Hewison; T. Cole, *Selling the Holocaust: from Auschwitz to Schindler, how history is bought, packaged, and sold* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 109-113.

⁶⁵¹ City, volume 18, David Donde, 'Prestwich Memorial Proposal: The problem and the solution' (2009).

⁶⁵² M.C. Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996), 4-5.

pertains to a concept of a universal 'community', ignoring the nuanced reality in which marginalised people are expected to share public space with more established figures and may not hold the same voice, capital, representation, and appetite for gentrification.⁶⁵³ Although post-apartheid Cape Town is in many ways an exceptional case considering its background of formal racial segregation, Boyer's idea effectively rings true of the thought processes which characterise many privately and publically-funded development projects in the city. The example of Oranjezicht City Farm demonstrated this, and these assumptions of economic equality certainly foregrounded the opening of Truth at the Prestwich Memorial. In Cape Town, the perpetually-marginalised working-classes are economically-excluded from gentrified spectacles of artisanal food, lattes, and light refreshment. In the case of Prestwich, this arguably circumscribes the potential for sombre contemplation and reconnection with ancestors.

⁶⁵³ *Ibid*, 9.

Figure 4.5 Exterior of Prestwich Memorial, 2015.



Notes: 'Truth' lettering is accorded as much prominence as lettering which denotes the purpose of the building.

Figure 4.6 Displays leading to ossuary area, Prestwich Memorial, 2015.



Notes: this area is reached by a low entrance which the visitor has to stoop beneath. The ossuary area containing the human remains is visible, though inaccessible, behind the black fence.

Whilst browsing the interpretive panels, the constant clatter of drinks being filled, customers placing orders, and moving cutlery infiltrates what should be a reflective experience. Truth menus have been placed within the interpretive area, offering a further reminder if one were required that the setting is a coffee shop. The Truth website is oblique to the point of being crass over its connections with the slave past, rubbishing Donde's claims of inclusivity and respect. Encouraging visitors to experience what it claims is an underexplored and forgotten site, the text brags of how 'a growing number of Cape Town locals, tourists and coffee aficionados have unwittingly been lured to this undercover burial ground. And been given a taste how good slavery can be... (To artisan coffee of course, in this case!)'.⁶⁵⁴ The bones appear as caricatures; as 'skeletons in our closet'. At first reading, the webpage containing this information almost

⁶⁵⁴ 'Truth: Skeletons in our Closet', <http://www.truthcoffee.com/truth-skeletons-in-the-citys-closet/> [accessed 10/03/16 at 11:00].

appears to be a parody. How can a memorial function effectively with this framing? The exhumed remains are effectively interred within a memorial to capital and a lifestyle of unproblematised consumerism which denies the influence of history.

Figure 4.7 Exhibition area, Prestwich Memorial, 2015.



Notes: Truth menus are visible on the bench. The main seating area of the café is out of view to the left.

To achieve financial sustainability for the Memorial site in terms of running costs, the City appears to have granted free reign to a private enterprise. As proprietor of Truth, Donde was reminded of his responsibilities concerning sensitivity following a 2011 incident which involved courting business from attendees of a nearby U2 concert by holding a braai outside the memorial.⁶⁵⁵ Unsurprisingly, the imposition of Truth on the Memorial site has drawn denunciation from members of the PPPC. Following the opening of the Memorial in 2008, the Prestwich Management Group Meetings appear to have been restricted to members of state-

⁶⁵⁵ City, volume 18, Letter from Lorraine Gerrans to David Donde, 24 February 2011.

affiliated organisations. There has been little input from those who opposed exhumation in the first place and were later included in what was a collaborative project.⁶⁵⁶ One of the complaints raised by Bonita Bennett, director of District Six Museum, following the opening of Truth was how the coffee shop had surpassed in scale the original intention of a kiosk, and had been allowed by the City to dominate the Memorial space.⁶⁵⁷ Representing legalese, Mark Truss from the CID countered in a patronising manner, arguing that some form of entertainment feature was necessary to engage people with history.⁶⁵⁸ In itself, this was representative of the growing division between heritage campaigners on the one hand, and state bureaucrats on the other.

Although the City was willing to collaborate with the PPPC and countenance the idea of a memorial, the contestations which have emerged highlight how slavery remained a difficult part of the past to memorialise during the first decade of the 21st century. For activists, this is a personal history, whilst state actors are perhaps more mindful of appealing to a broader range of people as alluded to in the City's 2005 heritage strategy. Profitability as a means of sustenance is also important in both a public and private sense here. This again draws attention to the tension between gentrification and history, as evident in the example of Oranjezicht City Farm. Where prime real estate is at stake, history becomes expendable in the pursuit of profit and/or self-promotion. Underlying disputes between activists and state heritage mechanisms are exposed, and a situation of mistrust and hostility is fostered. At Prestwich, the opportunity for a collaborative Memorial which embraces a number of viewpoints and a diverse working-class heritage has been missed. The decision by the City to allow an artisanal coffee outlet to dominate the Prestwich Memorial can be problematised given that the Memorial itself was the result of a collaborative project which arose after a protracted dispute, fought over the battle

⁶⁵⁶ See, for example, City, volume 16, 'Action Minutes of the Prestwich Memorial Management Group meeting held in the boardroom of SAHRA, 111 Harrington Street, Cape Town on Thursday; 29 April 2010 from 11h00 to 12h30'. Representatives from CCT, CHT, SAHRA, and Green Point City Improvement District were present, but no one from the PPPC. This was typical of post-2008 Prestwich meetings.

⁶⁵⁷ 'Coffee shop 'out of place' at memorial', *The Cape Towner*, 22 April 2010.

⁶⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

lines of representativeness, role, and heritage. The distinctions established by this dispute are ultimately not respected by the current Memorial.

The issues of mistrust and a sense among coloured heritage activists of being ignored by the state have characterised subsequent efforts to memorialise slavery. The recurrence of these debates can be partially seen as a legacy of Prestwich, such was the divisiveness of the affair. The 'Memorial to the Enslaved' was unveiled by the City in Church Square in September 2008. Although it post-dates memorials to slavery in the rural villages of Elim and Pniel, it represented the first formal effort to memorialise slavery in a public space in urban Cape Town. Church Square is a central spot in Cape Town, and until 2006 was functioning as a car park. Close to the Slave Lodge, Groot Kerk, and Old Slave Tree site, the square occupies a space where the interests which upheld slavery intersected. When considered as part of an approach including various slave heritage trails, heritage interpretation panels, and the Prestwich Memorial, the Church Square memorial could be considered as evidence of growing support for the supposedly divisive history of slavery at a municipal level over the past decade. What it also revealed once again, however, was the disconnect between City bureaucrats and activists whose interpretation of Cape slavery differs. As this history reemerges in public memory, so too does a sense that there is no set way of dealing with this potentially traumatic part of the past, hence disagreements emerge between people who interpret slavery as a personal history and officials attempting to create social cohesion. In the case of the 'Memorial to the Enslaved', the animosity lingering from the Prestwich affair probably also influenced relations.

The City began the process of designing the memorial with an open competition. This was undoubtedly conceived much like the Prestwich consultation, with the hope of encouraging a dialogue between potentially disparate groups of people who would ultimately agree as best possible on the memorial's form. As will be documented, however, the City's decision to limit the ultimate responsibility of choosing the winning design to a handful of professionals resulted

in a similar sense of mistrust as was also generated by the Prestwich affair. Initial advertisements of a competition for the design of the proposed 'Memorial to the Enslaved' were made by the City in both the *Cape Times* and *Cape Argus* in late September 2007.⁶⁵⁹ 13 proposals were submitted, judged by a committee of five heritage and design professionals: Marilyn Martin (Director, Iziko South African National Gallery), Lalou Meltzer (Director, Social History, Iziko Museums), Bonita Bennett (Acting Director, District Six Museum), David Hart (Senior Heritage Planner, City), Roberta Gould (Principal Urban Designer, City).⁶⁶⁰ This committee unanimously decreed the most appropriate proposal to be that submitted by Johannesburg-based artists Wilma Cruise and UCT professor emeritus of fine art Gavin Younge.⁶⁶¹

The memorial was subsequently unveiled by DA Mayor Helen Zille on Heritage Day, 24 September 2008. The design consists of nine granite blocks in the centre of the square, and a further two set apart on raised plinths. Each block takes a theme relating to slavery and includes a series of words which pertain to this theme. One block clearly relates to punishment, including the terms 'Justitie Plaats' (the former whipping post adjacent to the Castle), 'drown', and 'hang'. This is countered by blocks with a greater humanising bent, including one which suggests rebellion and human agency with the words 'revolt', 'arson', and '*droster*' (the name given to runaway slaves). In Younge's own words, the memorial was conceptualised around aiming 'to remember them [the enslaved] for what they suffered, and for what they contributed to the building of the South African nation.'⁶⁶² This was perhaps a valiant intention considering the fitful recognition of the contribution made by the enslaved to modern Cape Town within the city itself, let alone wider South Africa.

⁶⁵⁹ A. Lillie, 'Heritage Statement provided in respect of an application in terms of section 27 of the National Heritage Resources Act – Proposed Slave Memorial, Church Square, Cape Town' (2008), 10.

⁶⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 11.

⁶⁶¹ Cruise had previously designed the Monument to the Women of South Africa, installed in Pretoria in 2000.

⁶⁶² G. Younge, 'The Cape Town Memorial to the Enslaved', 11 May 2009, <http://www.gavinyounge.com/the-cape-town-slavery-memorial/site-specific-installations> [accessed 11/03/16 at 11:27].

Younge's words also suggest an interpretation of slavery as a universal South African heritage which influenced the lives of people beyond those directly implicated. This reimagining of the slave past coalesced with the rationale for the memorial provided by the City to HWC which outlined how it would acknowledge 'our slave ancestors'.⁶⁶³ From the perspective of the City, 'our' can probably be taken as a synonym for 'Cape Town' and 'South Africa'. Mirroring the thought process behind the 'Remembering Slavery' exhibition at the Slave Lodge, this resituating of slavery as a universal heritage probably reflects a perceived need from City officials to move away from the idea that slavery is an ethnically-separatist heritage. Younge too stressed that the memorial was intended to represent 'common humanity'.⁶⁶⁴ Although there is not a block which explicitly connects with international human rights issues, the words which are inscribed are significantly broad and wide-ranging to invite numerous interpretations. In encouraging an open design competition, this was a sense which the City appeared to implicitly encourage. It mirrors both the representation of slavery as a broadly-constituted human rights violation offered in the Slave Lodge, and the interpretation of painful apartheid histories at numerous museums and heritage sites as collective pasts which South Africa has learned from.

⁶⁶³ *Ibid*, 10.

⁶⁶⁴ Younge, 'The Cape Town Memorial to the Enslaved'.

Figure 4.8 The Memorial to the Enslaved, Church Square, Cape Town, 2016.



Notes: The memorial consists of 11 black boxes, with nine arranged in rows of three and two situated apart. The Hofmeyr statue dominates the scene to the right.

Whilst this series of blocks could form the starting point for increased visibility of the enslaved in Cape Town, there are a number of points to confront from a design perspective. To the casual visitor, there is nothing which really draws attention to the fact that this is a memorial to the enslaved. Without prior knowledge, would the international visitors who frequent this area identify with the words '*mandoor*', '*kitaab*', or '*Genadendal*'? This use of vague terminology perhaps additionally owes much to an absence of easily-memorialised figures from the history of Cape slavery. Memorialisation of slavery in the Caribbean, for example, has tended towards erecting statues of rebellion leaders who are heralded as heroes.⁶⁶⁵ Similar observations could also be directed towards numerous post-apartheid memorials in South Africa which acknowledge single heroic people. As Robert Ross remarked during the 1980s, Cape slavery

⁶⁶⁵ Araujo, *Shadows of the Slave Past*, 184-195.

entirely lacks publically-acknowledged figures of this stature.⁶⁶⁶ A design in the vein of the statue dedicated to 1816 uprising leader Bussa in Bridgetown, Barbados, may have held limited purchase.

Simultaneously, other processes must be acknowledged. As Sabine Marschall has argued, the tendency to reduce complex historical episodes to a singular figure potentially distorts the past and privileges one narrative whilst marginalising others.⁶⁶⁷ Marschall additionally notes that this form of memorialisation is colonial in origin.⁶⁶⁸ In a space such as urban Cape Town, where the memorial landscape remains dominated by busts and figures of colonial notables, is a similar marker to counter-memory necessary, or should memorials take an alternative form? Younge and Cruise's design implies the designers were of the latter mind, and their series of squares may also subscribe to the belief in slavery as a universal heritage as was evident in Younge's explanation of the design's concept. Rather than representing slavery through a single figure, the 'Memorial to the Enslaved' captures the experience of slavery in somewhat vague terms, opening up a heritage which can be inhabited both by people previously excluded from the memorial landscape, and by the ancestors of the European settlers who are commemorated with aplomb in the nearby Gardens.

It was perhaps by embracing this universalist interpretation of slavery that contributed towards criticism from coloured Capetonians. As chapters one and two demonstrated, the transformation of what is held as a personal, emotive history into a broader history without recognition of those holding the former view has attracted the ire of heritage activists who identify as slave descendants, and ensured that slavery remains a contested history in South Africa. A public meeting was held at the Slave Lodge on 13 March 2008 as a means of inviting

⁶⁶⁶ Ross, *Cape of torments*, 6. Likely figures such as 1808 rebellion leaders Louis van Mauritius and Abraham van der Caab or 1825 uprising leader Galant van der Caab as discussed in both Ross, 97-116 and Worden, 'Revolt in Cape Colony slave society' 10-24 have left little imprint on public consciousness.

⁶⁶⁷ Marschall, 'Visualizing Memories', 149; 165.

⁶⁶⁸ Marschall, *Landscape of Memory*, 215-219.

responses to the proposals for the memorial.⁶⁶⁹ With the designers present, criticism appears to have outweighed praise. In particular, the extent to which the memorial accurately spoke to Cape Town's long history of slavery was debated. Prominent slave heritage genealogist Mogamat Kamedien suggested that the proposed memorial did not accurately represent the voices of the enslaved.⁶⁷⁰ Whilst this meeting suggested that the memorialisation process was not a closed shop, it did raise the question as to whether public participation could have been incorporated earlier in the process, rather than after the design had been formalised.

Written comments were invited at the meeting, and three were received. One of them, from Moegamat Gilmie Hartley, elaborated on some of the issues raised at the meeting. Describing himself as 'a descendant of a slave', Hartley summarised the proximity of the statue of 19th century Afrikaner politician Jan Hofmeyr to the proposed site as 'an insult to us offspring of slaves'.⁶⁷¹ These comments, as with the majority of the other criticisms, had not been addressed by the time the memorial was installed, thus portraying the public participation processes as tokenistic. Read differently, perhaps the proximity of the Hofmeyr statue demonstrates the dialogue between statues which Marschall has argued is a necessary part of discussing of the past?⁶⁷² Maybe it also accurately simulates the master-slave relationship, with several of the inscribed granite blocks offering a reminder that the enslaved rebelled and ultimately overcame their involuntary confinement? Though this outcome was probably unintended, it could be claimed that this kind of dialogue is a necessary approach in a nation where contestations based around identity and place in the new dispensation remain commonplace. To return to a question posed earlier, it seems that Hartley's criticisms demanded a heroic figure which could directly challenge Hofmeyr's presence. The series of granite blocks were interpreted by Hartley as lacking the presence required to do this.

⁶⁶⁹ 'Capetonians critical of monument to slavery', *Cape Argus*, 14 March 2008.

⁶⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷¹ Lillie, 19.

⁶⁷² Marschall, 24.

Echoing some of the issues at the heart of the Prestwich exhumations, Hartley also expressed a belief that Younge and Cruise had been imposed from above and, as white people, could never 'imagine what suffering our forefathers had to endure of being an slave and the scars that we still carry in our hearts of over 300 years of suffering as slaves'.⁶⁷³ These comments expose one of the crucial issues discussed throughout this thesis, namely the recurring division between differing interpretations of slavery, and how this has prevented any real closure on the subject from emerging. The extent to which it is useful to posit slavery as a universal heritage in the South African case necessitates a nuanced answer. In introducing *Children of Bondage*, Robert Shell subscribed to the view of slavery as a broad history, writing 'Not only slaves were in bondage; in a profound sense, the owners were as well'.⁶⁷⁴ Shell's comments could not possibly have pre-empted current debates, and his perspective was probably that of a historian wishing to offer his subject exposure by establishing a broad audience. Nonetheless, it is worth holding in mind the idea that, in shaping socio-economic relations over time in South Africa, slavery is a heritage relevant to the majority of the population.

It is along the lines of acceptance that Elizabeth Kowaleski Wallace has advocated the adoption of a shared humanity approach globally to commemorating slavery, thus repositioning it away from being a history which frequently leans towards racial separatism.⁶⁷⁵ It is important to acknowledge the considerations raised by this interpretation. Positing slavery as a broad heritage can potentially promote discussion of this marginalised element of the past, moving away from a narrative pitching victims against perpetrators which may dissuade many white people from engaging with this history. Such an approach would not be without problem, however. Making in many ways a similar point to those raised in Araujo's and Williams' critiques of broadly-constituted museum human rights narratives discussed in chapter one, Marcus Wood has argued that in the transatlantic context both black victimhood and triumph over slavery, and

⁶⁷³ Lillie, 19.

⁶⁷⁴ Shell, *Children of Bondage*, xxv.

⁶⁷⁵ Kowaleski Wallace, 21-2; 208.

white complicity and profit from slavery need to be explored so as to properly confront the emotional legacies slavery has rendered inherent to both communities.⁶⁷⁶ In the 'new' South Africa, where reconciliation has been privileged over frameworks of confronting historical guilt, a perpetrator-victim narrative seems unlikely to infiltrate City policy. Arguably, however, if the coloured community is to come to terms with this history of enslavement, then the cathartic expose urged by Wood could provide something approaching closure. Wood's nuanced analysis potentially demonstrates a way in which slavery's impact on all groups of people could be confronted, without positing the subject as a lesson for humanity. The difficulty in theorising an approach which could satisfy the demands and psychological needs of all stakeholders merely highlights the problems faced by individuals and groups tasked with memorialising this element of the past. The sense that there is no one way of memorialising Cape slavery and that it will remain a subject which has different meanings to different groups is once again present.

Returning to South Africa, what Shell's comments could not have anticipated were the issues of access to the public sphere which form a fundamental part of the contestations surrounding slavery's representation in modern South Africa. The comments submitted by Moegamat Gilmie Hartley objected first to the way he perceived Younge and Cruise's 'Memorial to the Enslaved' design to omit references to violence. Such claims have occurred globally as slavery has been memorialised, and could be interpreted as an almost natural set of debates to emerge when the subject is considered. Implicit however within Hartley's criticism of the selection of Younge and Cruise as designers, and the way in which he linked this with the psychological legacies of slavery, was a sense that working-class coloured people remain ignored in Cape Town's public sphere. Therefore, not only was history being misrepresented in Hartley's eyes, but the way he believed his interpretation of the past had been ignored was linked with a perceived marginalisation of coloured slave descendants today. Representing slavery as a universal heritage in a space such as urban Cape Town where issues of gentrification and

⁶⁷⁶ Araujo, *Shadows of the Slave Past*, 53; Williams, 147-148; Wood, *Black Milk*, 351.

economic access to common resources define the cityscape is consequently problematic. The issue of a sense of exclusion from a memorialisation process dominated by professionals, combined with the somewhat abstract form of the memorial, led to people who identify as slave descendants concluding that the 'Memorial to the Enslaved' did not speak to them.

The debates surrounding identity and access to the public sphere which the Church Square memorial ignited also enveloped an additional commemoration of slavery in 2014. In contrast to the Church Square memorial, this more recent effort was entirely the initiative of designer Nadya Glawe. As a local resident who passed the spot on a daily basis, Glawe was confronted by the invisibility of the 1953 plaque marking the site of the Old Slave Tree, and attempted to incorporate a temporary memorial into a design project as part of Cape Town's status as World Design Capital in 2014. This is a travelling global initiative which was credited with raising R59.2 million in business sales in Cape Town in 2014, as well as integrating the perspectives of the city's diverse communities into projects through a series of workshops.⁶⁷⁷ Glawe constructed a wooden tree structure which was placed at the site of the former slave tree in May 2014. She raised most of the money herself through a fund-raising campaign, and took advantage of a relaxation in City bureaucracy offered by Cape Town's status as World Design Capital.⁶⁷⁸

The tree was white, and initially leaf-shaped objects were placed adjacent to the tree, inviting people to record comments and attach them to the structure. Later, the tree itself became the canvass for recording comments.⁶⁷⁹ Some people chose to reflect on historical slavery, whilst others made the link with human rights issues today. 'Slavery is still alive' was one comment, whilst somebody else was overawed by the enormity of these issues, commenting 'bigger than me'. Foremost, Glawe believes that the temporary installation successfully raised

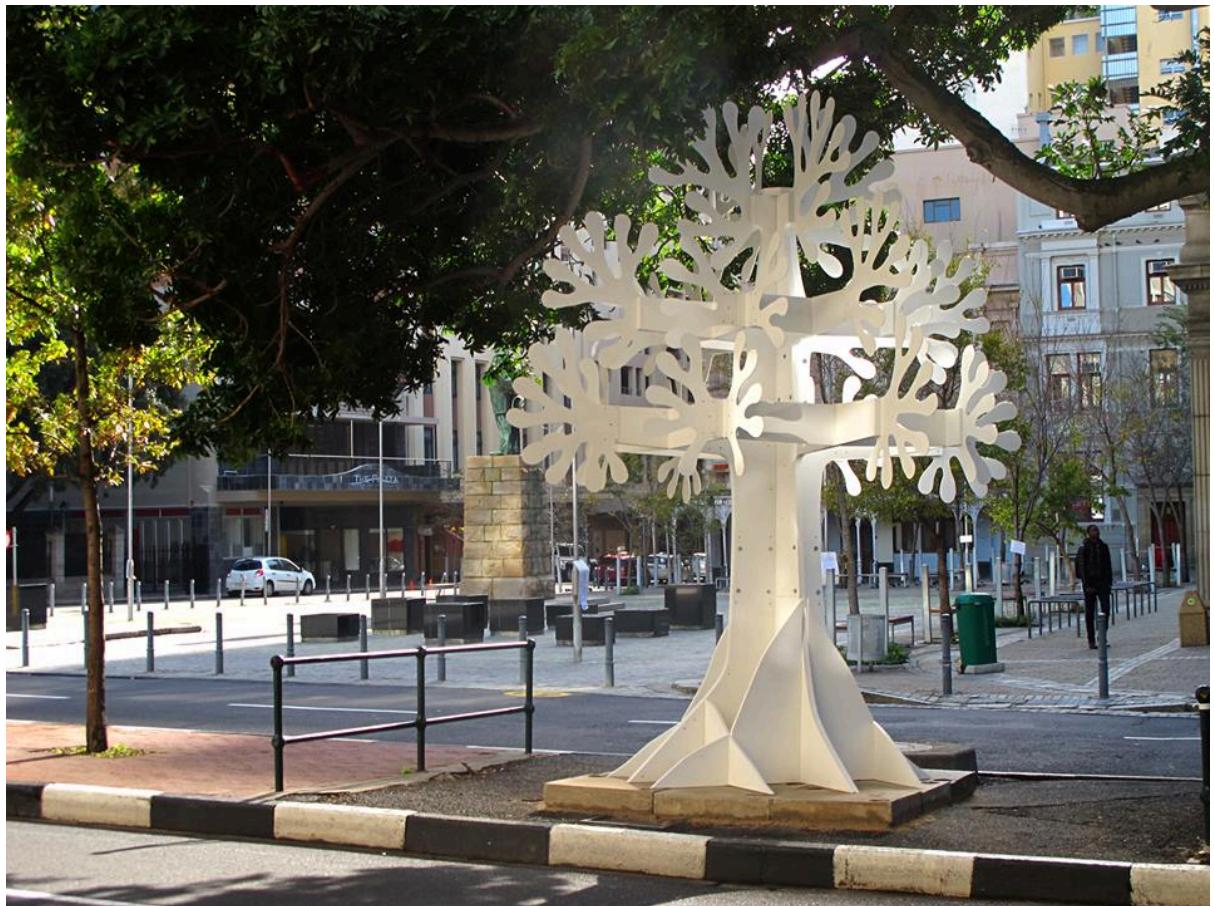
⁶⁷⁷ 'WDC2014 pays off for city', *Cape Argus*, 9 June 2015.

⁶⁷⁸ Nadya Glawe, interview, 29 July 2015.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

awareness of a forgotten site as well as reopening debates about slavery.⁶⁸⁰ At the launch event in May 2014, Robert Shell and Slave Lodge curator Paul Tichmann both delivered well-attended addresses. Public debates focussing on issues of memorialisation also took place at the site, whilst the temporary structure at one point became a means of expression for pro-Palestine supporters during the 2014 Israel-Gaza conflict.⁶⁸¹ These events represented means of drawing attention to the neglected built reminders of slavery in a dynamic, reflexive way. The 'Memorial to the Enslaved' has yet to capture public imagination in this vein. Whilst Glawe's tree was installed with the tacit support of the City, there is nonetheless a certain symbolism to be gained from the way in which it sat across the road from the 2008 memorial and was able to engage with different groups of people.

Figure 4.9 Nadya Glawe's slave tree installation, Spin Street, Cape Town, 2015.

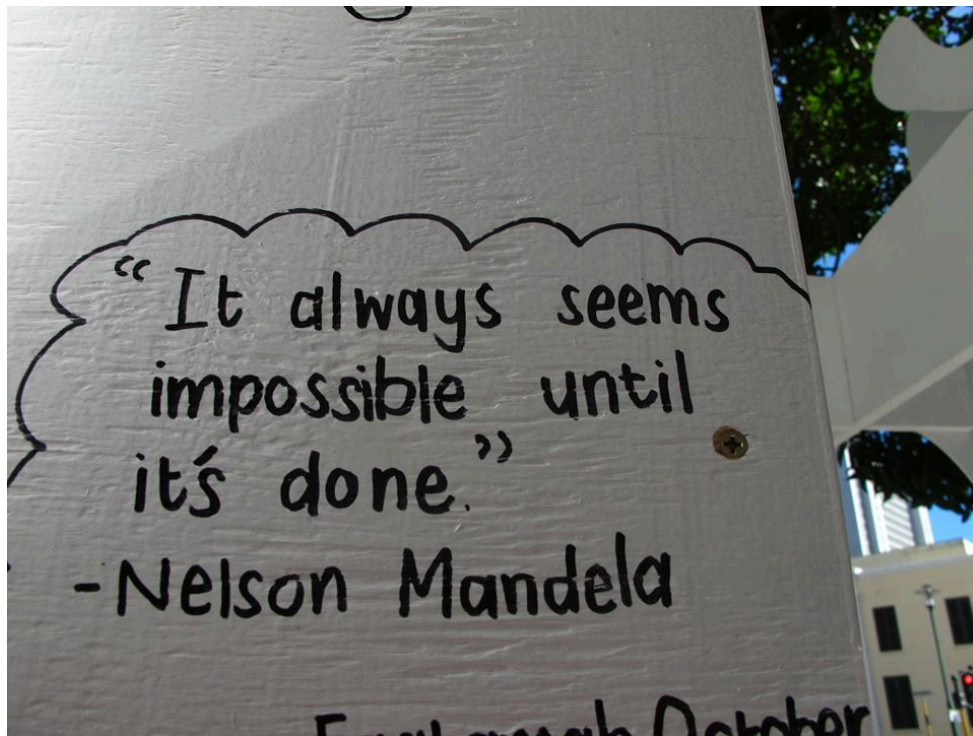


Notes: Memorial to the Enslaved visible in the background

⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

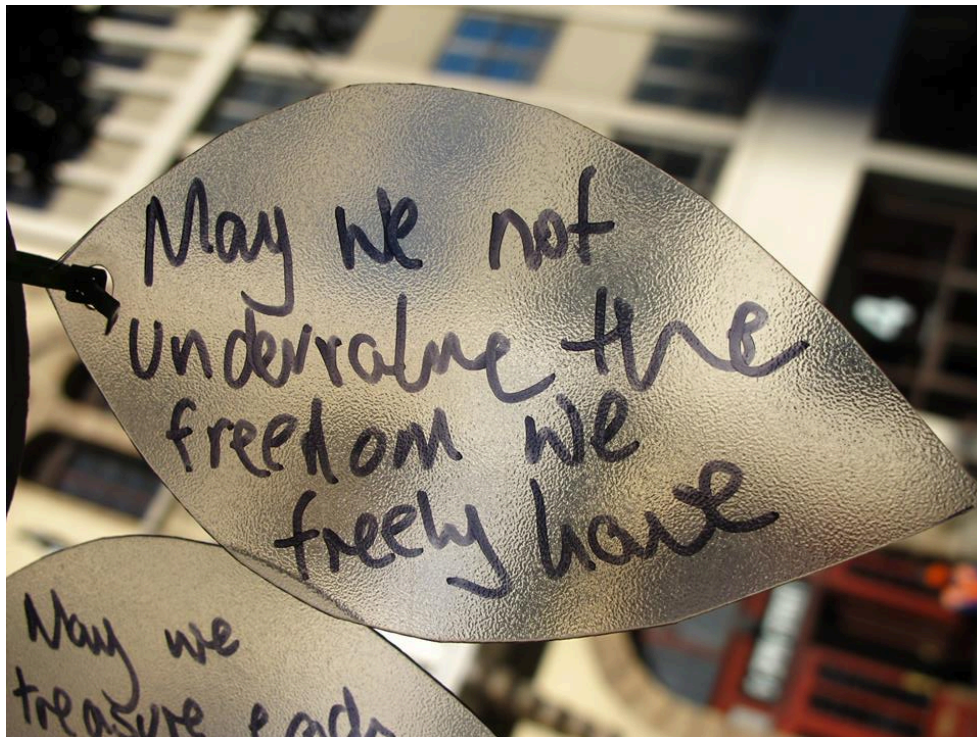
⁶⁸¹ *Ibid.*

Figure 4.10 Detail, temporary slave tree installation, Spin Street, Cape Town, 2015.



Notes: The public were invited to inscribe the installation with comments relating to historical slavery. Many chose to reflect on issues pertaining to human rights.

Figure 4.11 Detail, temporary slave tree installation, Spin Street, Cape Town, 2015.



Notes: The designer provided a number of blank 'leaves' as a means of inviting comments from the public. These were renewed at various points to perpetuate discourse.

Glawe's temporary tree installation did, however, attract criticism, with similar debates over race and access to the public sphere as surrounded the 'Memorial to the Enslaved' again being central. Glawe openly discusses these criticisms, commenting 'One of the issues was that I'm white so how can I talk about slavery? How can I even comment on it? How can I represent it, whatever?'.⁶⁸² There was an impression amongst certain coloured community activists that the designer had been commissioned by the state to design the tree. Glawe strongly refutes this idea, and indeed the fact that certain people felt this way is probably in itself a legacy of the Church Square and Prestwich episodes, and the way in which they have created the perception that coloured activists are not being listened to when what they claim as their history is being represented. Glawe quite cogently claims that her temporary memorial tree was merely a means

⁶⁸² Glawe, interview.

of opening up a forgotten site for exposure and comment, something which the structure can successfully claim to have achieved. 'And now I realise why people, why it is, why it has remained the way it has for so long...because there's so much conflict around the whole subject of slavery and how it's represented', she comments with regards to the site's invisibility, adding 'I do agree with people who have points saying "oh you know it should have been a collaborative effort" and whatever – absolutely. That would have taken years.'⁶⁸³ The former assertion demonstrates the level of ignorance surrounding slavery at the Cape amongst the wider population of Cape Town. The designer, it seems, had no prior awareness of the personal connections which increasing numbers of Capetonians claim with slavery. Whilst this highlights a lack of awareness as to how slavery has been internalised as a personal history by a small group of people, it also perhaps suggests that it may be important to posit slavery as a broader South African heritage simply as a means of raising awareness that enslavement took place at the Cape. An openly-discussed topic would be less likely to prompt fraught disagreements whenever raised in the public sphere.

There were people who claim slave ancestry who were supportive of the project for the way it illuminated the site.⁶⁸⁴ The input from the designer herself was minimal, and beyond installing the blank canvass tree, amounted to providing materials which people could use to inscribe comments and later imprinting quotes pertaining to freedom from figures such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Abraham Lincoln, and Nelson Mandela as a means of inviting additional responses. The white colour of the tree was itself criticised as an implicit representation of white power, with one person scribbling on the tree 'this tree is too white'. This mortified Glawe, who argued that the colour of the tree was intended to signify the blank canvass which one can associate with the colour white.⁶⁸⁵ It was intended to facilitate debate, rather than enforce colonial and apartheid-era hegemony. As part of a process of continually

⁶⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

inviting comment, the tree was later repainted a neutral orange as a means of refreshing the canvass.

Nonetheless, as with the 'Memorial to the Enslaved', there are questions of racially-based privilege which need to be addressed concerning Nadya Glawe's temporary slave tree installation. It remains an issue that many coloured people in post-apartheid South Africa would never accrue the social capital to be commissioned to undertake or be able to embark upon this sort of memorialisation project. For many white people, however, the prospect is more feasible. Whilst Glawe's intentions may have been benign, it stands to reason that she gained significant exposure as a designer from the project, just as the tree site itself gained exposure. Writing on issues of white identity and slavery, Pumla Dineo Gqola elucidates the example of New National Party Member of Parliament Anna van Wyk who claimed in 2002 that the majority of white people in South Africa can trace slave ancestry.⁶⁸⁶ For Gqola, this represented an attempt on the part of van Wyk to embrace racial mixture, previously perceived as a shameful act. To what extent, therefore, does the willingness of white designers and artists to create memorials dedicated to slavery in post-apartheid Cape Town represent attempts to find a place in the new dispensation? As mentioned, Glawe claimed to be ignorant of the discussions surrounding identity and place which her temporary slave tree structure would unveil.⁶⁸⁷ It seems unlikely that Cruise and Younge – as self-proclaimed 'public intellectuals' – could cling to such innocence, although a lack of comprehension of the scale of contestations which their design would provoke is perhaps palpable.⁶⁸⁸ Although both sets of people were probably motivated by a desire to expose a neglected fundamental part of Cape history, neither anticipated the debates their involvement as designers would provoke. This itself underlines a lack of awareness both of historical slavery in the Western Cape, and of discourse surrounding how the subject is

⁶⁸⁶ Gqola, 114.

⁶⁸⁷ Glawe, interview.

⁶⁸⁸ Lillie, 11-12.

represented today. These sentiments are probably the result of decades of silence which have removed slavery from public view until recently.

In the future, it is possible that alternative approaches to the representation of slavery will crystallise in South Africa. Contestations are always likely to surround such painful elements of the past; however a less dictatorial, collaborative process may emerge to allow alternative interpretations to be discussed. At present, and in spite of the prominence of the Prestwich exhumations and memorialisation process, there may be an assumption on the part of some white people that the history of slavery has not been internalised by anyone from the coloured community, such is the extent of the silence surrounding the topic. There may also be a lack of awareness amongst some white people of the privileges which decades of formal racial segregation and its legacies continue to bestow on their socio-economic standing. What perhaps emerges is a sense that it is necessary to situate slavery as a heritage which has influenced all South Africans. This could be done in a way which does not ostracise coloured heritage activists. A starting point in this process may be enacting memorialisation processes which are truly open and do not create a sense of city bureaucrats or relatively privileged designers dictating history. Any approach to memorialisation which both recognises slavery as a universal heritage whilst also placating the demands of heritage activists would not necessarily entail a move towards the depiction of slavery as an episode of the past which humanity has learned from, as offered in the Slave Lodge. An alternative way of raising awareness of how slavery shaped socio-economic relations at the Cape might be to highlight the way in which enslaved people feature in many Capetonian families regardless of skin colour. In bringing the human legacies of slavery to the fore, this approach would effectively advocate the creole heritage discussed in the second chapter in relation to Patrick Tariq Mellet's Asirawan Siam Healing House.

Conclusion

Cape Town remains a divided place. This segregation is now enforced not by the racist legislation of apartheid, but by both its unaddressed legacies of displacement and increasingly rigid economic and class distinctions which define access to the city's public sphere. Consequently, the urban heart of Cape Town is a space inhabited largely by reasonably affluent people, staffed by poorer workers from outlying suburbs and Cape Flats townships, and enjoyed by those with the economic means to patronise gentrified eateries and market places. How memorialisation of slavery can and does function against this backdrop has been a key consideration here. In this sense, the chapter has built upon broader academic studies examining how history and capitalism converge in historic cities, whilst also contributing to discussions of race and memorialisation in post-apartheid South Africa, and of how race figures in commemorations of slavery globally. It has argued that, whilst an inclusive approach to memorialisation may be an ideal scenario, this becomes problematic when access to the public sphere which the memorialisation process forms part of is intertwined with economic standing, which itself is largely tied to race.

Numerous actors hold a stake in the memorialisation process in Cape Town. The City of Cape Town municipality has adopted a revised heritage strategy premised on the idea of recognising a broadly-constituted past as a reflection of an inclusive city which remembers all past residents. New and updated heritage panels have been installed at various locations, representing something of an intervention amidst a city centre memorial environment which remains dominated by white elites. A handful of private enterprises have undertaken memorialisation projects themselves. The cases of both the V&A Waterfront and Oranjezicht City Farm highlight projects which are very much in-keeping with trends of consumerism and increasing gentrification in Cape Town. In choosing to reveal connections with slavery and colonialism in ways which bolster commercialism, these pasts are in fact further marginalised.

More formal practices of memorialising slavery in urban Cape Town have ignited now familiar debates and disputes between different groups claiming a stake in the slave past. What is clear from the examples of Prestwich Street, the Church Square 'Memorial to the Enslaved', and Nadya Glawe's slave tree sculpture is that these contestations are not merely the product of disagreements over the form memorialisation should take, but take place against a backdrop of access to the purportedly-inclusive post-apartheid public sphere. In these latter cases, a perceived failure to incorporate the ideas of slave descendants into memorial forms became linked with race. The involvement of white people in a memorialisation process which coloured activists felt excluded from was linked to a sense that working-class coloured people continue to be marginalised in South Africa's public sphere. The question of how memorialisation of slavery can possibly function in a commercialised, exclusive environment where the descendants of the people who are being memorialised continue to suffer from marginalisation will be central to the next chapter.

Chapter Five: Slavery sells? Representing the past in the Cape Winelands

The history of the Cape wine industry is closely intertwined with the history of Cape slavery. Wine farming was first established in the late 17th century in the rural areas south of Cape Town and quickly expanded inland as the 18th century progressed.⁶⁸⁹ Alongside grain, cattle, and sheep, wine was a staple of colonial Cape agriculture and became an important export commodity which was initially traded in the eastern Dutch markets and later exported to Europe, taking advantage of reduced duties to Britain from 1813 onwards.⁶⁹⁰ Wayne Dooling describes the wine industry as concentrated in the hands of 'a few closely connected families' by the 19th century, with the most prominent 21 families enslaving 3, 557 people between them.⁶⁹¹ By the time the British arrived, slave ownership was consequently concentrated in the area today known as the Cape Winelands. Mirroring most industries, fortunes of wine manufacturing at the Cape have fluctuated over time, and financial rewards have at various points been deflated by outbreaks of vine disease and poor international trading conditions, particularly during the apartheid era and the international sanctions it prompted. The industry has grown in the post-apartheid era, and today several hundred wine producers exist in the valleys surrounding Stellenbosch and Franschhoek to the east of Cape Town alone. These businesses range from specialised, small-scale enterprises to large and often long-established estates of several thousand acres. How these contemporary wine estates approach their foundation histories of enslavement and exploitation is the subject of this chapter. History is frequently either ignored, or distorted to suit the promotion of a timeless Winelands landscape which is now an international tourist destination.

The chapter will begin by providing the contemporary context of workers' rights on Cape wine and fruit farms as an important means of foregrounding the circumstances against which

⁶⁸⁹ P. Van Duin and R. Ross, *The Economy of the Cape Colony in the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: The Centre for the Study of European Expansion, 1987), 45-50.

⁶⁹⁰ Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*, 19; Rayner, 10-16.

⁶⁹¹ Dooling, *Slavery, emancipation and colonial rule*, 81-82.

commemorations of slavery operate in such spaces. It will then outline how many estates operate in a state of silence regarding history, or make limited references to a European settler past as evidence of wines of fine vintage in corporate identities. Estates which follow this practice rarely include anything in the way of fixed heritage interpretation, however La Motte near Franschhoek is an exception and will be the subject of extended analysis. A focus on workers' rights and selective representations of history will attest to the idea of the Winelands as an economically-exclusive space. In this sense, the discussion of urban Cape Town in chapter four is a useful point of departure. Three long-standing Winelands museums will be subsequently examined. Two of these are situated at the historic estates of Vergelegen near Somerset West and Boschendal in Drakenstein, and were established under Anglo-American ownership during the late 20th century. The third is the museum and manor house at Groot Constantia, south of Cape Town, a state-owned site currently managed by Iziko. It will be argued that, although they account for the history of slavery, exhibitions at these three sites tend towards a Eurocentric viewpoint and are circumscribed by their lack of engagement with workers' rights issues. Ana Lucia Araujo's suggestion that representations of slavery are problematic when detached from the institution's visible legacies of impoverishment is again worth bearing in mind here.⁶⁹² By initiating a process of 'museumisation', these sites effectively censure such discourses, and entrench the sense of the Winelands as a 'safe' place for relatively affluent visitors. The chapter will then move on to discuss the cases of Solms Delta and Spier, two sites where acknowledgement of a past based on enslavement functions against a backdrop of labour reform. It will be argued that exposing the slave past in the Cape Winelands can form part of an ethical wine label which encourages responsible consumerism, additionally by pledging to reform deeply-ingrained labour practices.

⁶⁹² Araujo, *Shadows of the Slave Past*, 50-53.

The winelands in modern context

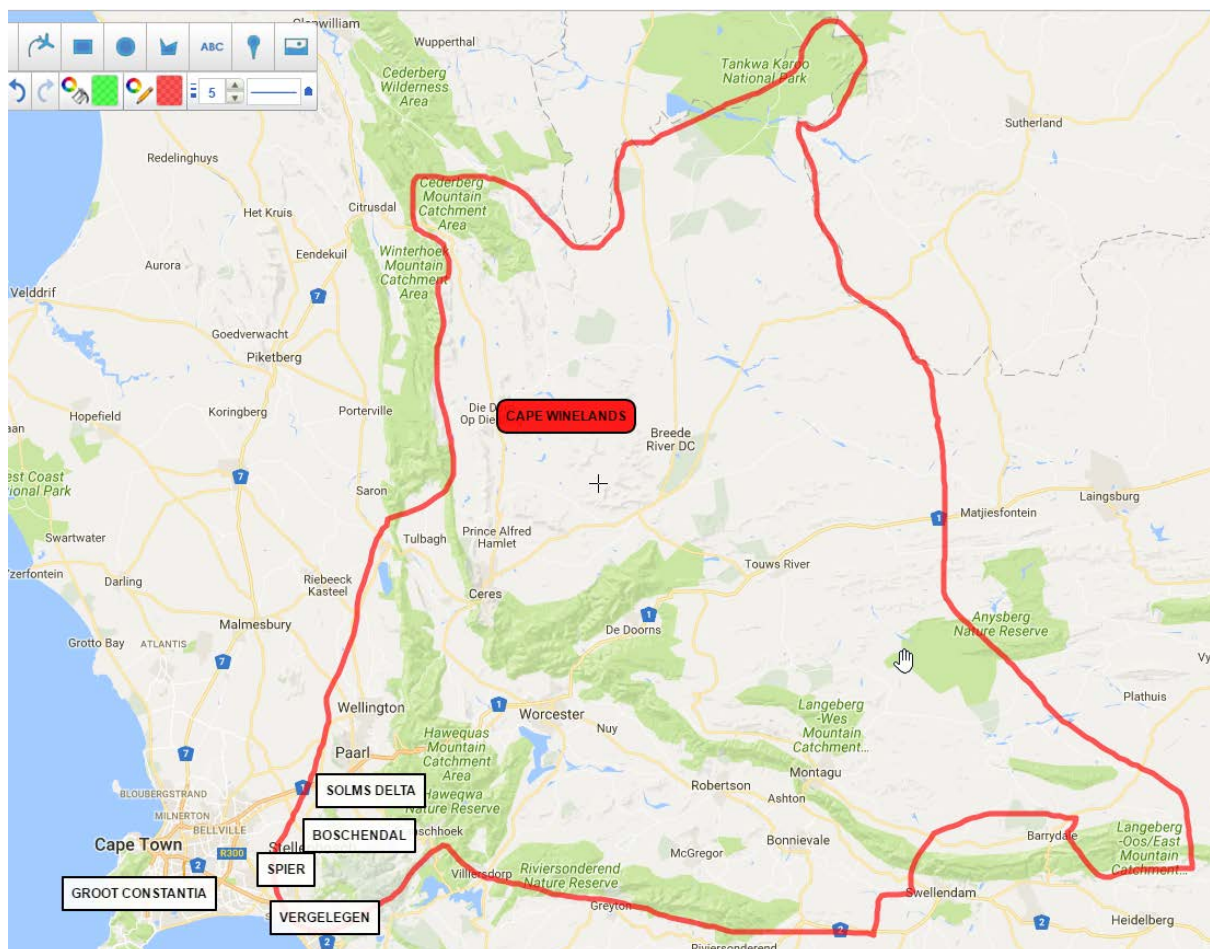
For many visitors to Cape Town, the Cape Winelands functions as a bucolic destination beyond the urban sprawl of the city. Tourists often experience the Winelands as part of an organised group tour encompassing a number of pre-determined estates. Such tours reflect the perspectives and agendas of tour operators which are central to the projection of images of serenity and beauty which characterise the Winelands. The selling of the Winelands landscape is representative of the ways in which the financial interests of wine estates have expanded beyond the production of wine to the broader spheres of tourism, guest accommodation, and land speculation.⁶⁹³ Nonetheless, wine production itself remains economically valuable, and volumes produced continue to increase year-on-year.⁶⁹⁴ The export market in particular has grown since the demise of apartheid and South Africa's reintegration into global markets, and the nation now ranks seventh globally in terms of production.⁶⁹⁵ The industry is a rare economic success in post-apartheid South Africa, and its increasing interests in providing an expanded visitor offering align it both with the valuable tourist market and the opportunities provided by the neo-liberal market.

⁶⁹³ C.S. Van der Waal, 'Researching the social experience of transformation in the Dwars River Valley' in Van der Waal (ed.), 3.

⁶⁹⁴ <http://www.wosa.co.za/The-Industry/Statistics/SA-Wine-Industry-Statistics/> [accessed 03/08/2017 at 08:29].

⁶⁹⁵ <http://www.wosa.co.za/The-Industry/Overview/> [accessed 03/08/2017 at 08:22].

Map 5.1 Map showing the rough area of the Cape Winelands municipality and wine estates analysed, created using the software scribblemaps.com.



Notes: For the purposes of simplification, the term ‘Cape Winelands’ is taken by this chapter to refer to wine producing regions surrounding Cape Town, including the Constantia area which does not form part of the Winelands municipality.

Wine tourism was relatively late to develop in South Africa with the country’s first wine route launching in the Stellenbosch area in 1971. In the post-apartheid era this trade has come to signify a means of job creation and economic growth in rural areas at state level, as both export and tourist markets have opened up as part of the country’s reacceptance into the

international community.⁶⁹⁶ Whilst international visitors do account for a fair proportion of wine tourists, domestic consumers both from Cape Town and further afield in South Africa are numerically the largest sub-group.⁶⁹⁷ The profile of an average wine tourist in 2004 was under 35 years of age and in possession of a professional qualification.⁶⁹⁸ This underscores how the Winelands are economically and racially-exclusive spaces, given that professional qualifications are likely to be limited to those who can afford them, a status which, in post-apartheid South Africa, is still likely to be limited to white people in many cases. Certainly, there is an economic gulf between the typical wine tourist and average farm worker, and people from the latter group are scarcely able to participate in what are frequently expensive leisurely pursuits. This image of farms as exclusive rural retreats is worth bearing in mind when considering how representations of a slave past premised on inequality which continues to exert its legacies in contemporary labour practices could function.

If any sense of the past is given on farms, depictions tend to ignore the problematic elements of wine production past and present, including historical enslavement and contemporary issues of workers' rights. Whilst wine tourism may have been identified as an economic driver, the way it is marketed to visitors tends not only to obscure the past, but additionally overwrites an exploitative present. The organisation of labour on many wine farms starkly recalls the slave past, with workers continuing to live in accommodation on site as part of a farmer-worker relationship characterised by paternalism, as well as exploitation best represented by low pay. Farm ownership remains concentrated in the hands of white people who fulfil the role of benign 'masters' of a predominantly coloured and black workforce, the

⁶⁹⁶ D. Tassiopoulos, N. Nuntsu, and N. Haydam, 'Wine Tourists in South Africa: A Demographic and Psychographic Study', *Journal of Wine Research* 15.1 (2004), 51-52; I.J. Demhardt, 'Wine and Tourism at the "Fairest Cape"', *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing* 14.3-4 (2003), 117.

⁶⁹⁷ Tassiopoulos et al, 53.

⁶⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

travails of which their claimed role as economic enablers ignores.⁶⁹⁹ It is likely that a fair proportion of today's wine estate workers can trace their ancestry to enslaved people, given the ways in which multiple generations tend to work for the same farmers.⁷⁰⁰ Whilst the conditions described may be common, they are not without exception, and the ANC state has encouraged more diverse farm ownership as part of its Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) programme introduced in 2003.⁷⁰¹ A handful of estates also produce wine to international Fairtrade standards, a practice which includes commitment to ethical treatment of workers. As a general rule, these problematic issues past and present are ignored by the tourism industry.

A 2011 report by the American NGO Human Rights Watch (HRW) highlighted for an international audience the exploitative situation which exists on a number of wine and fruit farms in the Western Cape. Based on extensive interviews conducted with farm workers, union representatives, and a selection of farmers, the report highlighted many areas for improvement. On-site housing was found to be frequently of low quality and lacking in basic amenities such as adequate sanitation, electricity, and running water.⁷⁰² Provision of workers' housing is not a legal requirement, however has *de facto* underpinned labour arrangements on many farms dating back to the time of slavery. As a cynical means of increasing financial reimbursement in a competitive global labour market, the use of cheaper migrant labourers who are only employed to cover periods of peak requirement around harvest time has recently begun to erode these long-established labour patterns in the Cape Winelands.⁷⁰³ The situation facing migrant workers both from neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe and from other parts of South Africa was found to be even less secure, with housing provided sometimes taking the form of small

⁶⁹⁹ J. Ewert, and A. du Toit, 'A Deepening Divide in the Countryside: Restructuring and Rural Livelihoods in the South African Wine Industry', *Journal of South African Studies* 31.2 (2005), 318-319.

⁷⁰⁰ F. Louw, 'No place like home: The complexities of resettlement and development in Lanquedoc' in Van der Waal (ed.), 64-66.

⁷⁰¹ G. Williams, 'Black Economic Empowerment in the South African Wine Industry', *Journal of Agrarian Change* 5.4 (2005), 476-504.

⁷⁰² Human Rights Watch, 'Ripe With Abuse: Human Rights Conditions in South Africa's Fruit and Wine Industries' (2011), 10-11.

⁷⁰³ Ewert and du Toit, 326.

dwellings shared between a high number of people, thus rendering privacy impossible.⁷⁰⁴ The insecurity and lack of basic human rights at the heart of this system echoes an exploitative attitude to labour evident from the time of slavery.

It is important to stress that the scenarios described in the HRW report do not apply to every fruit or wine farm in the Western Cape.⁷⁰⁵ Additionally, one should be mindful of the pitfalls of describing the contemporary farm worker as a passive victim, and remain mindful of the alternative cultures which farm workers have eked out in the white spaces of the Winelands.⁷⁰⁶ However, the frequency with which those interviewed were able to identify with the abuses documented in the report is worthy of attention.⁷⁰⁷ Reflective of the international human rights circles in which HRW operates, the denial of basic humanity to some workers on Western Cape fruit and wine farms was posited as a problem for the global community by the report. It reminded readers of how previous media attention on labour in the Winelands had provided a catalyst for the 1999 creation of the Wine and Agricultural Ethical Trading Association (WIETA) and its code of good practice.⁷⁰⁸ Similar international condemnation was courted by the Danish journalist Tom Heinemann in his 2016 documentary *Bitter Grapes: Slavery in the Vineyards* which was broadcast on Danish television.⁷⁰⁹ Heinemann's work included covertly-filmed footage of filthy, dilapidated worker accommodation.⁷¹⁰ As the documentary's title suggests, themes of enslavement were prominent throughout the sector. In interviews broadcast, Commercial, Stevedoring, Agricultural and Allied Workers Union (CSAAWU)

⁷⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 49.

⁷⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 49; 88-89.

⁷⁰⁶ A. Du Toit, 'The Fruits of Modernity: Law, Power and Paternalism in the Rural Western Cape' in D.R. Howarth and A.J. Norval (eds), *South Africa in Transition: New Theoretical Perspectives* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), 153-155.

⁷⁰⁷ Human Rights Watch, 59; 67.

⁷⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 92-95. C. McEwan and D. Bek, 'Placing Ethical Trade in Context: WIETA and the South African wine industry', *Third World Quarterly* 30.4 (2009), 723-742 examine some of the contexts of WIETA's creation as an initiative prompted by the ethical supply concerns of British retailers. The authors report that a 'modest' proportion of South African wine farms are WIETA members.

⁷⁰⁹ *Bitter Grapes: Slavery in the Vineyards*, directed by Tom Heinemann [television documentary] (SVT, 2016).

⁷¹⁰ *Ibid*.

representative Trevor Christians commented ‘you will see people that looks like slaves’.⁷¹¹ These references to slavery recalled a Winelands labour relationship which has not evolved significantly from the time of emancipation in 1838. The HRW report had detailed how the *dop* system – the use of alcohol as a means of payment introduced to the Cape by Jan van Riebeeck in 1658 – was still prevalent on some farms.⁷¹² Both Human Rights Watch and *Bitter Grapes* offered the perspective to Western consumers that, in spite of international celebrations of the racial egalitarianism of Mandela’s Rainbow Nation, wine farm workers have been denied basic human rights from the time of slavery.⁷¹³ Whilst industry representatives criticised Heinemann’s small sample of farms and alleged failure to engage directly with farmers, it is nonetheless clear that low wage and exploitative labour practices abound in the Cape wine industry.⁷¹⁴ This backdrop of perpetual worker exploitation combined with disconnected tourism serves as a useful point of departure for this chapter.

The role of history on Cape wine estates

The majority of Cape wine estates do not reflect upon their problematic histories of enslavement and exploitation, or even offer any suggestion to visitors that this history exists. For some, this is because they are modern enterprises founded long after the abolition of slavery. For others, it is an inconvenient history in relation to commercial interests. There are also those estates which selectively integrate grand elements of history as part of a marketing strategy which takes history to be synonymous with a long tradition of manufacturing fine wines. As much as alternative means of generating money such as offering accommodation to visitors may now represent more lucrative means of business, the basic manufacturing of wine continues to form the central draw for the majority of estates. There is a sense both that the legacies of slavery manifest in modern labour practices, and that these troublesome pasts and presents are

⁷¹¹ *Ibid.*

⁷¹² Human Rights Watch, 65-66; Shell, *Children of Bondage*, 79.

⁷¹³ Human Rights Watch, 51.

⁷¹⁴ *The Keketso Sachane Show* [Radio Programme]. (Cape Talk, 24 October 2016, 20:00).

collectively distanced by silence from the exclusive environment of leisure created on farms. In a number of ways, the selling of this genteel landscape and its associated disavowal of slave history has parallels with the historical narratives offered by plantations in the American South. Much academic attention has been devoted to the ways in which a sanitised narrative which downplays enslavement in favour of valourising the lives of historical plantation owners is the standard mode of communicating history on plantations.⁷¹⁵ Eichstedt and Small describe how history in this area has been premised on ‘romance, wealth, honour, and the chastity of southern women’.⁷¹⁶ It has been suggested that this suppression of slavery arises from a common unconscious wish amongst predominantly-white plantation owners and museum curators that they were not in a position where they were implicated in its legacies as possible benefactors.⁷¹⁷ Though the cultural climate differs and there are fewer demands made relating to acknowledging white complicity in slavery in South Africa, there is certainly mileage in viewing slavery as an uncomfortable history which the Western Cape’s majority-white wine farm owners would rather ignore. The way in which this past could pose questions as to present labour practices and white complicity is additionally worth considering. At present, the only Western Cape estates to offer permanent historical interpretation are the six discussed in this chapter – La Motte, Solms Delta, Spier, Groot Constantia, Vergelegen, and Boschendal.⁷¹⁸ Nonetheless, it is clear that as grand settings of cultural history which are sold to contemporary tourists as a

⁷¹⁵ E.A. Modlin, ‘Representing Slavery at Plantation-House Museums in the U.S. South: A Dynamic Spatial Process’, *Historical Geography* 39 (2011), 147-173; E.A. Modlin, ‘Tales Told on Tour: Mythic Representations of Slavery by Docents at North Carolina Plantation Museums’, *Southern Geographer* 48.3 (2008), 265-287; C.N. Buzinde and C.A. Santos, ‘Representations of Slavery’, *Annals of Tourism Research* 35.2 (2008), 469-488; D.L. Butler, P.L. Carter, O.J. Dwyer, ‘Imagining Plantations: Slavery, Dominant Narratives, and the Foreign Born’, *Southeastern Geographer* 48.3 (2008), 288-302; D.L. Butler, ‘Whitewashing Plantations: The Commodification of a Slave-Free Antebellum South’, *International Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Administration* 2.3-4 (2001), 163-175. Additionally, in focussing on plantation sites in Guadeloupe and Martinique, Reinhardt, 129-131 highlights how nostalgic representations of plantation owners and their claimed entrepreneurial spirit works to obscure the realities of enslavement in the Caribbean.

⁷¹⁶ Eichstedt and Small, 59.

⁷¹⁷ Butler, ‘Whitewashing Plantations’, 170.

⁷¹⁸ The online presence of 203 wine farms and estates was surveyed in 2016, with only six making reference to any form of permanent historical interpretation.

relaxing day out, Cape wine farms are not without precedent in silencing histories of enslavement.

On the longer-established Western Cape wine estates, history often features by mention of foundation year in estate emblems. This might be accompanied by references to this foundation year on the estate's website, and perhaps a short history section which details historical owners. The Stellenbosch estate of Hazendal is typical of these trends, including the inscription 'Anno 1699' beneath a crest which features a facsimile of Bacchus, Roman god of wine and agriculture. The 'history' page of Hazendal's website refers to the 'picturesque' Bottelary Hills setting in which it was founded, thus suggesting a timeless landscape which visitors can indulge in today. There are no references to labour organisation, however the presence of the estate's original gateposts and oxen kraal are emphasised as ways in which visitors can connect with a history which includes a spell as a cattle and grain farm. The text concludes by explaining how the estate was purchased by Dr Mark Voloshin in 1994, romantically positing the Russian as a connoisseur of 'cultural history' at the 'historic estate'.⁷¹⁹ 'Cultural history' here seems to refer to the Russian art museum established on site by Voloshin, rather than acknowledging how an exploitative past enabled the existence of the setting enjoyed today by visitors. Whilst Hazendal's website seeks to explicitly recognise cultural history, it is in fact implicitly suggestive of cultural amnesia arising from decades of ignoring and actively suppressing the histories of slavery and colonialism.

It is not only estates which ignore their slave history which link history with promotional activity. Both Vergelegen and Boschendal, two sites which have been relatively open about their slave pasts, root their commercial offerings as the products of a long history.⁷²⁰ Worldwide, older companies tend to emphasise the ways in which their years of 'accumulated experience'

⁷¹⁹ Hazendal, 'History', <http://www.hazendal.co.za/history/#history> [accessed 06/11/16 at 11:57].

⁷²⁰ Vergelegen Estate, <http://www.vergelegen.co.za/> [accessed 07/11/16 at 09:17]; Boschendal Franschoek Winery, <http://www.boschendal.com/> [accessed 07/11/16 at 09:17].

offer them an edge in terms of product quality over younger rivals.⁷²¹ Mirroring the ways in which the tourist plantation experience is sold in the American South, the Winelands landscape is posited as timeless and of significant historical value.⁷²² In a competitive commercial environment which relies not only on the sale of wine but on offering an immersive visitor experience, the natural Winelands setting and its colonial furnishings are portrayed as agents of history to promote a comprehensive cultural encounter.

Situated south of Paarl, Babylonstoren introduces another common approach to the slave past in the Winelands. Founded in 1692, the estate is typical of 17th century wine farms in the number of surviving historical built features present today. On a number of estates, these built features include slave bells and slave quarters, as well as other buildings relevant to the history of slavery. Babylonstoren's website previously referred to the farm's 'leaning slave bell' as a quaint historical item of interest, although this text was removed in an early 2016 revision.⁷²³ The slave bell is still standing, sitting in perfect idyll adjacent to the Cape Dutch manor house in an area closed – but still visible – to the public.⁷²⁴ It is highly likely that the majority of visitors have no idea what this pair of domed towers represents. The estate's treatment of the former slave quarters is even more problematic. These buildings have been converted into guest accommodation, enabling any visitors to sleep between the same walls as were used to confine people against their will two centuries ago. As the archetypal modern wine estate, Babylonstoren's website refers simply to the 'Cape Dutch style' of the former slave quarters, now advertised as 'pristine' and sold from R4, 000 upwards for a minimum of two nights.⁷²⁵ The crux of the problem consequently is not necessarily the repurposing of these features, but their sale to guests who are probably none-the-wiser. Such manipulation of the

⁷²¹ G.C. Papageorgiou, 'Heritage in Consumer Marketing' in Waterton and Watson, 478; 487.

⁷²² D.H. Alderman and Modlin, '(In)Visibility of the Enslaved Within Online Plantation Tourism Marketing: a Textual Analysis of North Carolina Websites', *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing* 25.3-4 (2008), 271.

⁷²³ Babylonstoren, <https://www.babylonstoren.com/> [accessed 09/11/16 at 08:43].

⁷²⁴ Comments based on 25 May 2016 visit.

⁷²⁵ Babylonstoren, <https://www.babylonstoren.com/experience/farm-hotel> [accessed 09/11/16 at 08:55].

past is not unique to the Winelands. Revisiting the topic of plantations in the American South, Small notes several examples where slave cabins have been reused as guest toilets, restaurants, and luxury accommodation.⁷²⁶ Similarly, Ana Lucia Araujo writes of how several sites of slave heritage have been reused in the southern Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul. The former jerked beef factory Charqueada Sao João is now a private property promoted to tourists, offering historical interpretation on the beef manufacturing industry as well as space for lunches, weddings, anniversaries, and so forth.⁷²⁷ Despite the presence of potentially traumatic memory triggers such as shackles and chains, the site's web page fails to reference slavery in detail and instead promotes idyll, including describing the slave quarters as one of a number of 'wonderful places' which form part of this relaxing setting.⁷²⁸ The way in which estates such as Babylonstoren reuse buildings with connections to slavery is similarly troublesome. It overwrites the past with a present premised not on a fairer treatment of farm labourers, but one in which an exclusive commercialism is encouraged.

⁷²⁶ S. Small, 'Still Back of the Big House: Slave Cabins and Slavery in Southern Heritage Tourism', *Tourism Geographies* 15.3 (2013), 414-415.

⁷²⁷ Araujo, *Shadows of the Slave Past*, 134-135.

⁷²⁸ *Ibid*, 135.

Figure 5.1 *Werf* area, Babylonstoren, 2016.



Notes: former slave bell visible to the left.

There would appear to be an implicit agreement in places where slavery has been neglected as a public history that these elements of the past do not matter. Both in the cases of the Winelands and in southern Brazil, it would seem that site owners and promoters believe that the problematic and painful history of slavery either should not obstruct or complicate their commercial aims, or can be distorted and subsequently harnessed for promotional ends. In South Africa, this situation owes much to past formulations of history in which slavery simply did not figure as of any importance, a mindset which, for many people, is likely to continue today. Writing over a decade ago, Demhardt suggested that the average visitor to the Cape Winelands may interact with history solely when their organised tour visits Stellenbosch and its historical streetscapes and cultural markers.⁷²⁹ Whilst the number of museums on wine estates has increased since this observation was made, it is likely that many tourists receive their instalment of the past through observing historical buildings such as the 'Cape Dutch' scene promoted by

⁷²⁹ Demhardt, 113.

Babylonstoren. Once again, the problematic reality of the past is removed from the curated serenity of an exclusive present.

La Motte near Franschhoek takes these themes of using a selective history as an advertising strategy and marginalising Cape slavery by both valourising historical and current owners to an extreme extent.⁷³⁰ Founded in 1695, La Motte differs from the majority of wine estates in featuring a museum, art gallery, and guided historical tours of the estate. The estate has adopted the motif 'A Culture of Excellence' to buttress its promotional activities, and investment in the arts and heritage is seemingly premised on the desire to create the sense of a cultured space. It does, after all, claim to offer 'visitors an experience that goes far beyond wine', including 'its historical charm, stylish offering in the enjoyment of wine, cuisine and the arts, its environmental care and, above all, its warm spirit of sharing'.⁷³¹ A historical tour operates once per week and offers this affluent clientele the chance 'to experience the impeccably restored historic buildings'.⁷³² There is little mention of slavery amidst a celebration of Cape Dutch architecture, though when prompted the tour guide did reveal the location of the slave quarters and was open about discussing the need for additional research into this element of the past. The museum largely focusses on La Motte's historical owners, detailing the various changes they brought to the estate. Visitors do learn that slavery happened at La Motte, as a list of 18 people who were enslaved on the estate is offered. More space, however, is devoted to explaining the 'sustainable farming' principles which are currently used to harvest the produce enjoyed by visitors, presumably with the aim of encouraging guests into the neighbouring shop or restaurant. This language recalls that used at Oranjezicht City Farm and in Cape Town's economically-exclusive artisanal culture. Here, the natural world is given precedence above humanity, and the terminology of ethics is allowed to mask deeply-embedded structural inequalities in society.

⁷³⁰ Comments based on 25 May 2016 visit.

⁷³¹ La Motte, guide leaflet (2016).

⁷³² *Ibid.*

La Motte's museum also encourages reflection on another important theme of the estate's arts and heritage offering. There is a strong focus on the estate's current owners, the Rupert family, and particularly their former patriarch, tobacco billionaire Anton Rupert who passed away in 2006. The art gallery, for example, features the 44 piece Pierneef collection, purchased by Anton's daughter Hanneli Rupert from Jacobus Pierneef's daughter.⁷³³ An estate guidebook claims that the Ruperts have brought 'a strong focus on historic and cultural preservation' since purchasing the estate in 1970.⁷³⁴ The art gallery therefore represents the culmination of this investment in cultural artefacts, with the Rupert family appearing as connoisseurs of life's finer elements and La Motte as a site which unifies the cultures of wine production, fine dining, and South African art. As the estate's museum makes clear, Anton Rupert had considerable philanthropic interests. A video portraying his life adorns the wall of the museum, positing him as someone who opposed apartheid by investing in business partnerships with black people. Nelson Mandela is shown describing Rupert as 'of special calibre', thereby depicting Rupert not as an outdated white 'master' farm owner, but as someone who very much had a place in the post-apartheid political dispensation. Once again, the image of the farm as a site of responsibility is promoted, though the details are vague.

As much as Anton Rupert may have been an honourable man who devoted time and a portion of his significant capital to charitable causes, the way in which the estate is mobilised to valorise a billionaire seems problematic. The enslaved and working-class people whose labour has kept estates such as La Motte functioning over the centuries is marginalised in relation to celebrating ostentatious private capital. This is something of an omission when the estate is eager to portray Anton Rupert as a man with an interest in the common good of humanity. The printed guide makes reference to the family's interest in 'the active upliftment of educational

⁷³³ Pierneef was a world-renowned 20th century South African landscape artist.

⁷³⁴ *Ibid.*

and living standards of the workforce'.⁷³⁵ In light of the ways in which developments such as the HRW report have publically exposed malpractice on some Western Cape wine farms, why is more not made of the purported alternative approach adopted by the Rupert family at La Motte? Interpretation on the estate instead seems geared towards creating a cultured setting where visitors can be reassured that their money expended on environmentally sustainably-produced wares will be reinvested in philanthropy and the arts. That the Ruperts have given generously to charitable causes cannot be disputed, however considering the long histories of enslavement and worker exploitation in the Winelands it is at best anomalous that La Motte fails to expand on what it briefly claims to be doing differently. This points to a conclusion that discussing enslavement is considered antithetical to creating a cultured setting, premised as it is on economic exclusivity. La Motte is an estate which seems to be in a state of flux over its relationship with its slave past. It neither denies nor interrogates it, whilst – perhaps unconsciously – overshadowing it by constructing a heritage based around the current owners. The outcome of the owners' purported benevolence is depicted as an estate which marries responsibility with a cultural climate in which visitors can unwind. The precise details of how this responsibility has affected the lives of the farm's labourers is omitted, and the culture on offer is most definitely one restricted to the relatively affluent.

Museums and slavery on Western Cape wine estates

Amidst the trend of ignoring, marginalising, or distorting the history of slavery on estates in the Cape Winelands are a small number of farms which have attempted to come to terms with this past. Groot Constantia (founded 1685) in the Constantia hills south of Cape Town, Boschendal (founded 1685) in Drakenstein, and Vergelegen (founded 1700) near Somerset West were the first three estates to intertwine history with the more typical Winelands experience. Boschendal and Vergelegen were purchased by the AmFarms subsidiary of the transnational mining

⁷³⁵ *Ibid.*

company Anglo-American in 1969 and 1987, respectively.⁷³⁶ In the former case, AmFarms purchased what had been Rhodes Fruit Farms' property in the Drakenstein area and restored the land to wine-producing status under the rebranded name of Boschendal which had previously denoted a portion of this newly-purchased land including a historic manor house and *werf* area. Groot Constantia, on the other hand, operates under unique circumstances for a Western Cape wine farm, being wholly owned by the state. The government purchased the estate in 1885 from the Cloete family – owners from 1799 – after the profitability of wine production at the Cape was ravaged by the vine disease phylloxera. Groot Constantia became an experimental wine farm, offering tutoring to agricultural training students. In 1975 its operation was transferred from the Department of Agricultural Technical Services to the Groot Constantia Control Board which was replaced by the Groot Constantia Trust in 1993.⁷³⁷ It currently functions at arms-length from the state with the Trust holding non-profit status. Its offer to visitors in terms of wine tasting and fine dining is, however, broadly comparable with how commercial Western Cape wine producers market themselves.

The first museum at Groot Constantia opened in 1926 in the manor house which had been severely damaged by a fire in the previous year. With Cape Dutch architecture increasingly viewed as representative of European civilisation in a time of growing racist government policy, it is perhaps not surprising that the state chose to honour the built environment of Groot Constantia.⁷³⁸ In opening a museum, Groot Constantia was among the first wine farms to offer something approaching a 'tourist experience', and the way in which this idea of wine honed through experience has persevered over time is worth highlighting. Possibly as an extension of

⁷³⁶ The company still owns Vergelegen today, whilst Boschendal was sold to a BEE consortium of investors in 2003, and was subsequently sold again in 2013.

⁷³⁷ H. Fransen, *Groot Constantia: its history and a description of its architecture and collection* (Cape Town: South African Cultural History Museum, 1983), 10-13.

⁷³⁸ N. Coetzer, *Building Apartheid: On Architecture and Order in Imperial Cape Town* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 52.

these themes, a wine museum opened in the original wine cellar during the 1970s.⁷³⁹

Predictably, neither the manor house nor wine museum appear to have recognised the presence of enslaved people on Groot Constantia. The manor house was transferred to the control of the South African Cultural History Museum in 1969, however it was not until this entity was absorbed into Iziko Museums in 1998 that any real changes seem to have been made as part of centrally-driven transformation directives. Undoubtedly influenced by revisionist academic work on Cape slavery published from the 1980s onwards, a new history of Groot Constantia which acknowledged slavery was written by curator Thijs van der Merwe and published in 1997.⁷⁴⁰ Its publication did not immediately translate into any fixed slavery heritage interpretation at Groot Constantia, however. In lamenting the lack of representation given to slavery in Western Cape museums in the late 1990s, Carohn Cornell wrote of how there was ‘no sign’ that the enslaved lived at Groot Constantia.⁷⁴¹ It was not until October 2004 when anything approaching a thorough examination of slavery on the estate was offered when updated displays were installed in the Orientation Centre.⁷⁴²

Moves to commemorate the slave past at AmFarms sites also first took place during the 1990s. Motivated by answering questions posed by nascent academic analysis of Cape slavery, excavations were undertaken at Vergelegen by a group of archaeologists from UCT between 1989 and 1992. The estate’s former slave lodge was excavated in the hope of uncovering items which evidenced the everyday existence of enslaved people and could be used to interrogate arguments proposed by historians such as Robert Ross and Nigel Worden that enslaved people at the Cape lacked a common culture.⁷⁴³ A number of personal items including coins, counters, and buttons were discovered which the archaeologists contended ‘may have contributed to a

⁷³⁹ *Groot Constantia: S.A. Wine Museum* (1974).

⁷⁴⁰ M.P.S. Van der Merwe, *Groot Constantia 1685-1885: Its owners and occupants* (Cape Town: South African Cultural History Museum, 1997).

⁷⁴¹ Cornell, 271.

⁷⁴² Goodnow et al, 216.

⁷⁴³ A. Markall, M. Hall, and C. Schrire, ‘The Historical Archaeology of Vergelegen, an Early Farmstead at the Cape of Good Hope’, *Historical Archaeology* 29.1 (1995), 10-12.

sense of identity', and argued offered evidence of the slave culture which Worden had dismissed.⁷⁴⁴ The most significant find was the discovery of the skeletal remains of an enslaved woman who was affectionately named 'Flora' by estate staff.⁷⁴⁵ Although the excavated remains of the slave lodge were refilled with soil for reasons of preservation, the location of the building remains recognised by a signpost marker. Significantly, the archaeologists created a small exhibition based around Cape slavery and their work at Vergelegen, including a selection of the objects discovered. Situated in the foyer building on the estate, this was the first exhibition anywhere to comprehensively grapple with the subject of Cape slavery. A second exhibition focussing to a greater extent on the estate's owners was opened in the preserved manor house around the turn of the century, and both exhibitions were combined several years later and then refreshed in 2016.

Figure 5.2 Revised exhibition, Vergelegen manor house, 2016.



Notes: this room is to the left when entering the manor house. An additional room featuring exhibition panels follows through the double doors. The rest of the building is furnished in

⁷⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 29.

⁷⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 27.

period style. The model slave lodge is visible in the centre of the room, and the names of people enslaved on Vergelegen are inscribed on panels fitted to the ceiling.

Investigations into the slave past at Boschendal post-date those at Vergelegen, though engagement with the past here predated the 1990s. Having bought the majority of Rhodes Fruit Farms' land in 1969, AmFarms reintroduced wine farming to the area and set about developing the Boschendal *werf* as a tourist attraction. The wine cellar was converted into a restaurant, and was followed by a shop and deli outlet, making it arguably the first wine farm to invest in the idea of visitor experience.⁷⁴⁶ The manor house, dating from 1812, was restored during the early 1970s and opened to visitors in 1976, complete with period furniture and status as a national monument.⁷⁴⁷ It was not, however, until the appointment of Marianne Gertenbach as curator in 1997 that any attention was given to social history. She recalls how, in spite of the excavations and subsequent exhibition at Vergelgen, AmFarms officials were wary of potentially challenging histories such as slavery.⁷⁴⁸ She describes how she reached out to the estate's workers, combining her own interest in local history with the egalitarianism of the immediate post-apartheid era which made it 'fun discovering history'.⁷⁴⁹ With little money available, a series of exhibitions detailing subjects such as work under Rhodes Fruit Farms, family genealogies, and slavery at the Cape were created and displayed on a revolving basis in a small room situated off the manor house gallery.⁷⁵⁰ At a time when slave history was being identified as a potentially-divisive where state funding was concerned, in the alternative context of the Winelands it was one of the currencies of transformation.

Gertenbach notes how wine tour operators began visiting Boschendal to introduce their guests to the history of the area, suggesting that people expected to hear about previously

⁷⁴⁶ Marianne Gertenbach, interview, 18 May 2016.

⁷⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

hidden histories in the post-1994 period.⁷⁵¹ Indeed, research into post-apartheid wine tourism suggests that tourists are a disparate group, and that some may place learning about the past among their expectations of their visit to the Winelands.⁷⁵² One particularly engaging aspect of the work was its interactive, living element. Gertenbach explains how visitors would ‘walk outside and they’d meet Paul who was on the exhibition. They’d go to the restaurant, the person who greeted them on the bar – stairs – was Sandra Caine who was born in, err, Fairweather’s, the slave quarters’.⁷⁵³ She recalls how AmFarms too had become more supportive of her aims by the turn of the century.⁷⁵⁴ There was perhaps a realisation on their part that exhibiting histories including slavery situated the estate as a stakeholder in the post-apartheid process of uncovering hidden history. As well as engaging with Boschendal’s staff, these exhibitions also satisfied visitors’ expectations of the new dispensation, and they consequently formed part of an experience which made the estate attractive to tourists. Slavery had become valuable to the estate.

⁷⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵² T. Randle, *Grappling with grapes: wine tourism of the Western Cape* (unpublished MA thesis), University of Cape Town, 2004, 53.

⁷⁵³ Gertenbach, interview.

⁷⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

Figure 5.3 Manor house interior, Boschendal, 2015.



Notes: This is the view when entering the house from the front door. The social history displays were formerly situated in a room to the right which now functions as office space. Many items of furniture on display are original.

Although responding to the differing contexts of state-driven transformation versus privately-funded examinations of the past, the exhibitions at Groot Constantia, Vergelegen, and Boschendal occupy similar discursive and semiotic territories. This is perhaps reflective of the ways in which professional academics and museologists with similar agendas have shaped their content. Given the involvement of such individuals, it is not surprising that a more nuanced approach to history has been taken at these estates than when the past is left to the mercy of marketing strategists on farms where it merely figures as a means of selling wine. Groot Constantia's Orientation Centre opened in October 2004 and, in the view of Jatti Bredekamp, then CEO of Iziko, aimed to serve as a gateway museum to the Cape Winelands, with a primary focus on slavery.⁷⁵⁵ Situated in what potentially served as stables and/or slave quarters, the Orientation Centre contains a series of interpretive panels spread across two galleries. It does

⁷⁵⁵ Goodnow et al, 216.

indeed offer a reasonable sense that slavery occurred at Groot Constantia, and represents a counterpoint to the manor house which continues to function as a period setting, and the wine museum which remains situated in the former wine cellar.⁷⁵⁶ Both of these earlier sites are also now managed by Iziko. Within the Orientation Centre, the Cloete family who owned the estate between 1778 and 1885 are posited as ‘farm owners and slave owners’, with their various transactions in people listed. The terminology used represents a significant symbolic shift from farm owners as wine manufacturers to farm owners as enslavers. Work carried out by the enslaved on the estate is detailed, as are the Indian Ocean origins of such people. A panel is devoted to the ‘young servant boy’ Friday, whose ancestral origins are linked to the suppression of the slave trade. The selection of this story can partially be attributed to the availability of suitable museological material, given that a photograph of Friday carrying Bonnie Cloete’s archery set is included. By offering Friday a platform alongside Bonnie, enslaved and working-class people on Groot Constantia are humanised.

⁷⁵⁶ Comments based on 15 April 2015 and 30 May 2016 visits.

Figure 5.4 Panel 'Friday and Bonnie Cloete', Orientation Centre, Groot Constantia, 2015.



The exhibition at Vergelegen is visually similar to that at Groot Constantia. It conveys its message primarily through text, including photographs and copies of archival documents where available as a means of relief.⁷⁵⁷ The displays here are likewise clear about the historical contributions made by the enslaved to the estate. By 2015, all interpretive historical content on the estate was situated in the preserved manor house. The sections which have not been given to the exhibitions are restored in period fashion, with a guide on hand to instruct visitors. The original exhibition curated by the archaeology team from UCT was part of this display, amalgamated with the later panels which focus to a greater extent on historical owners. The archaeologist-led exhibition established a number of semiotic methods which have become

⁷⁵⁷ Comments based on 11 April 2015 and 10 May 2016 visits.

common in representations of slavery in South Africa. Implicitly, this was an early recognition of the paucity of visual material and material artefacts, and of the nature of the colonial archive as a source of knowledge. The human transactions of original owner Willem Adriaan van der Stel were listed in some detail, as were the origins of these people including, for example, Madagascar and India. Time was spent contextualising these origins by situating them within VOC trading networks and placing them on a map. The work they performed at Vergelegen was examined in some detail, encouraging the visitor to reflect on the ways in which enslaved people worked on building projects or were an integral part of the wine-making process.

The exhibition differed somewhat from those which were to follow elsewhere in the way it attempted to examine the lives of the enslaved. This likely reflected the interests of the archaeological team in their aims of tracing slave culture. The diverse origins of the enslaved as evidenced by the transactions of van der Stel were used to suggest that a range of religions must have co-existed on the estate, with a number of different languages spoken. The slave lodge was described as an overcrowded and unpleasant place to have lived based on van der Stel's observation of its stench. A model of the slave lodge created by Iziko's Peter Laponder sat in the centre of the room. This both encouraged the visitor to visit the site of the lodge on the estate, and provided visual relief in an exhibition otherwise reliant on text, maps, reproductions of archival documents, and the photograph or sketch. The archaeologist-led exhibition and later panels were refreshed in 2016 by Marianne Gertenbach, though content has largely remained the same. Developments at Vergelegen are now better contextualised within the wider Cape economy, and the names of the enslaved people bought and sold by van der Stel now symbolically line the domed ceiling of the first gallery, thus offering greater visual impact. Crucially, the archaeological artefacts from the slave lodge excavations now occupy a more prominent position and are explained using a detailed text panel. One section is captioned 'relics of a slave era' and features what the text panel describes as 'personal items' including 'a bone comb, buttons, and buckles worn on clothing'. The presence 'sinkers and barbed hooks for

fishing' is linked to a diet based around fish. By providing tangible evidence of enslaved people, the objects develop earlier themes of the exhibition which attempt to scope the lives these people lived. The visitor is reminded of the presence of the enslaved not only as an interesting period of history, but as a past which reverberates on the estate today.

The social history exhibitions at Boschendal differed slightly in the sense that they took the form of a revolving set of temporary displays situated off the main gallery of the manor house.⁷⁵⁸ They were very much a budget solution, with their form of a series of laminated cards probably reflecting the initial wariness AmFarms executives showed towards histories such as slavery on their estates. One of the exhibitions was titled 'Slavery at the Cape, 1652-1834' and offered what can be described as typical interpretive content on Cape slavery. The names of people who were enslaved on farms including Boschendal in 1819, and Nieuwedorp and Bellingham in 1790 were listed, gleaned directly from archival sources. Another common means of conveying enslavement at the Cape, a map showing origins and VOC trading routes, also featured, as did quantitative data outlining the scale of the Cape slave trade. Examples of work, such as women cooking, washing, and being enslaved as nurses on farms, including Boschendal and Goede Hoop, owned by the De Villiers family during the 18th century are also listed. Essentially, this exhibition offered a contextual overview of Cape slavery, illustrated by local examples drawn from archival sources to give a sense that this story was locally relevant to Boschendal. Although the case studies of well-known enslaved people with local connections such as Jacobus van As, Angela of Bengal, and Anna de Koningh were examined and illustrated using sketches, there was little explanation of how these people lived.⁷⁵⁹

Boschendal's 'Slavery at the Cape' is described here in the past tense because the practice of rotating social history displays in the manor house has now ceased. Although the BEE

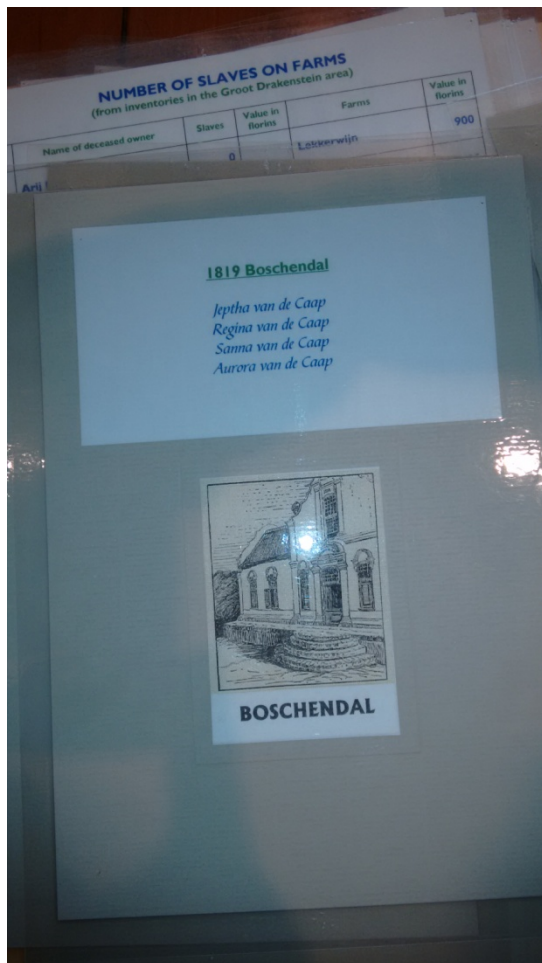
⁷⁵⁸ Comments based on 18 September and 21 October 2015 visits.

⁷⁵⁹ Angela of Bengal arrived at the Cape from India in bondage in 1657 and, having been granted her freedom, was permitted land for three farms in Groot Drakenstein in the 1680s, eventually enslaving 13 people. Jacobus van As was one of Angela's sons, and Anna de Koningh was one of her daughters and married Olof Berg of Groot Constantia.

enterprise Boschendal Limited headed by property developer Clive Venning and ANC anti-apartheid activist Chris Nissen which bought the estate from AmFarms in 2003 maintained an interest in social history on the estate, the consortium which took over in 2013 has not been so sympathetic. The area of the manor house where the social history exhibitions were situated now houses desk space for staff managing on-site accommodation, with the only historical interpretation being a cursory timeline of Boschendal's history. Whilst the manor house remains preserved in period style, it now resembles a reception area, with two additional staff members occupying desks by the front entrance. The owners appear more keen to hire this historical setting out for weddings and other functions than they do in using it to further visitors' understandings of what happened in the past.⁷⁶⁰ This most recent disembowelment of an admittedly basic series of social history displays marks Boschendal not as a site of distinction. Instead, it becomes part of a Winelands where problematic histories are forgotten, and history often functions simply to promote commercial aims.

⁷⁶⁰ Boschendal, <http://www.boschendal.com/weddings-and-functions/venue/boschendal-manor-house> [accessed 15/11/16 at 08:19].

Figure 5.5 '1819 Boschendal', one of the now-discarded social history displays, Boschendal, 2015.



Notes: The social history displays generally took the form of laminated card which was displayed and removed as depending on the exhibition at the time. Although still present on site, the displays are now in storage.

Notwithstanding the recent change in approach to history at Boschendal, there are more critical parallels between the exhibitions at the former, Groot Constantia, and Vergelegen. As mentioned, the form these displays have taken is largely text-based, with can lead to a detached, clinical perspective of slavery. Whilst all three exhibitions offer to varying extents useful contextual knowledge in terms of the slave trade to the Cape and the VOC networks it was situated in, wider patterns of European settlement and land ownership, Cape slave naming

patterns, and work carried out by the enslaved, they convey little from the perspectives of the enslaved, and tend to fail to adequately link historical slavery with its legacies today. At Groot Constantia, there is a strong focus on the late 18th and 19th century Cloete era, with little attention given to earlier periods of enslavement, or the interesting themes of freedom and status which could be drawn from the story of Anna de Koningh. At one point, the Cloetes are effectively praised for keeping 'healthy slaves' during the 1810s when two German doctors regularly tended to the estate's enslaved population. True though this may be, portraying the Cloetes as benign masters seems to downplay their complicity in upholding the system of slavery. Although it does portray enslavement as a dispiriting and inhumane experience, the Vergelgen exhibition likewise suggests that van der Stel treated his human property more kindly than neighbouring slave owners did. These tendencies are reflective of the unapologetically Eurocentric viewpoints which are offered by the archival sources which these exhibitions are based upon. Any insight into the lives of enslaved people is inevitably viewed through European eyes.

Given the unusual willingness with which these estates have discussed the slave past, it is perhaps an oversight that the legacies of slavery in the Winelands do not figure more strongly in their exhibitions. Even the built remnants of slavery are scarcely explained. At Boschendal, for example, the social history exhibitions failed to explain that the former slave quarters had been reused as a butchery and shopping outlet, even though said quarters appeared in a sketch on a laminated card. In light of the ways in which HRW and media outlets have investigated human rights discrepancies on wine estates in the Western Cape, it is also noteworthy that these three farms appear to refer to slavery as a historical issue. This is not to claim that Boschendal, Groot Constantia, or Vergelegen mistreat their staff, however they could still be suitable sites to discuss abuses in the industry they represent. That they do not circumscribes their potency, and suggests that they are primarily aimed at constructing simple narratives for visitors, rather than necessarily engaging in social uplift. On display are controlled, 'safe' histories which, whilst

delving into a troubled past which is forgotten on the majority of estates, do not aim to question a problematic present. This is particularly pertinent in the case of Groot Constantia, where the Iziko-operated site is obliged to adhere to state directives of social transformation.

Growing out of archaeological excavations in the early 1990s, the exhibitions at Vergelegen are the closest to achieving a sense of tangibility. The presence of the slave lodge on site is signposted, and attempts are made in the exhibition to speculate on what life would have been like for the people who were confined within its walls. The exhibition additionally outlines the cultural legacy of slavery at the Cape. This involves discussing Islam, cuisine, and Afrikaans, thus examining the 'passive' and 'exotic' legacies of slavery which Baderoon separates from the experiences of slavery which continue to shape social relations today.⁷⁶¹ Slave ancestry among workers is raised, however it seems detached from their everyday lives. The 2016 revision includes references to how the workers developed a connection with the remains of the enslaved woman which the UCT archaeology team uncovered, identifying her as their ancestor and coining the name 'Flora'. An additional human element has been included in this refresh by integrating research carried out by Strand resident Ebrahim Rhoda into an ancestor name Eva who was enslaved at Vergelegen. This still, however, celebrates a prosperous post-slavery present, and does not problematise the low wage labour and exploitative relationships which continue to characterise many Western Cape wine estates.

These issues are all the more important at Boschendal. Marianne Gertenbach recalls how the social history exhibitions were originally created in consultation with the farm's workers who came to accept a slave history which they previously did not acknowledge.⁷⁶² This interest, however, did not translate into any discussion of slavery's more exploitative legacies. 'Slavery at the Cape', for example, referred to the *dop* system without explaining its pervasiveness over time. The exhibition 'RFF: A Family Affair' meanwhile offered a nostalgic overview of the Rhodes

⁷⁶¹ Baderoon, 11-16.

⁷⁶² Gertenbach, interview.

Fruit Farm era which was presented as an enterprise which brought prosperity to Drakenstein with its modern agriculture and steady employment. It implied that AmFarms maintained this prosperity when it arrived during the late 1960s, a claim which is at odds with how some members of the local community view this history.⁷⁶³ This perhaps suggests that the idea of local community is not fixed, attesting that numerous interpretations of a communal past exist, corresponding with social and economic status.

The social history exhibitions have been scaled back at Boschendal concurrently with the souring of relations between the estate's workers and its new owners. In 2004, Boschendal Limited moved 3000 farm workers off their land at Boschendal and into newly-constructed houses in Lanquedoc, adjacent to Pniel.⁷⁶⁴ This was to make way for highly-priced housing sold to affluent clients. For many workers, this represented a rupture in a paternalistic relationship which had existed for decades. There is an expectation on some farms that, although wages are very low, accommodation will be provided by the farmer for life in exchange for labour.⁷⁶⁵ The move to Lanquedoc was the first time that the majority of the workers had owned their own properties, and for Xhosa-speaking migrant workers who constituted 20 per cent of those moved, represented a significant upgrade over the hostel living they had become accustomed to.⁷⁶⁶ The development has, however, coincided with a rise in seasonal employment replacing guaranteed work at Boschendal and, with criticisms of the quality of housing in Lanquedoc and social problems in the settlement widespread, considerable unease has spread among workers.⁷⁶⁷ This has persisted in spite of the change of ownership in 2013, as the latest owners have continued to develop areas of the estate without consulting workers who feel that their

⁷⁶³ Lucas, 174.

⁷⁶⁴ Louw, 59; see also C. Cash and L. Swatuk, 'Boschendal: Politicisation or transformation?' in Van der Waal (ed.), 105-125.

⁷⁶⁵ Louw, 64.

⁷⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 68-76.

freedom of movement is being restricted.⁷⁶⁸ Against this backdrop, how could any social history exhibition function at Boschendal? As Araujo argues, it is problematic to discuss historical slavery whilst simultaneously ignoring the visible human legacies of this trade in human beings.⁷⁶⁹ This is an issue which stymies representations of the slave past at Boschendal, Vergelegen, and Groot Constantia, and becomes particularly important in light of both recent public revelations as to mistreatments of workers and the construction of the Winelands as a leisure space for relatively affluent visitors.

Alternative approaches: Solms Delta and Spier

Situated close to Boschendal in the Franschhoek valley, Solms Delta is atypical of Western Cape wine farms in numerous ways. The estate functions as a social enterprise premised on the basis of challenging and reversing the legacies of decades of socio-economic disempowerment of workers. Slave and colonial histories are taken to be formative historical episodes giving rise to these legacies, and are exposed to visitors on site for discussion and reflection. Spier meanwhile is a veritable theme park of a wine estate which places economic and environmental ethics at the heart of its output. Both estates have therefore adopted differing ways of encouraging forms of responsibility among visitors, and openly discussing their histories of enslavement forms part of this strategy. In a sense, what Spier and Solms Delta offer is similar to what Modlin has termed 'socially responsible tourism' in relation to Southern US plantations which expose their slave pasts.⁷⁷⁰ They could also function as ethical wine labels, distinguishable from the claims made in the 2011 HRW report.⁷⁷¹

Solms Delta was purchased by UCT neurosurgeon Mark Solms in 2002, opening to the public in 2005. Born in Namibia, Solms grew up in Pretoria before leaving South Africa for

⁷⁶⁸ 'Top wine estate 'betrays the poor'', *Weekend Argus*, 4 July 2015.

⁷⁶⁹ Araujo, *Shadows of the Slave Past*, 53.

⁷⁷⁰ Modlin, 'Tales Told on Tour', 266.

⁷⁷¹ In terms of ethical wine labels, Solms Delta's application for Fairtrade status is currently being processed.

London during the final years of apartheid and returning in 2002. Solms Delta originated in 1690 as Zandvliet, however Solms changed the farm's name to distinguish it from another farm carrying the same name. In spite of what could be inferred from naming a farm after yourself, the practices which Solms has introduced to the estate have been far from narcissistic. Money has been invested in new housing featuring satellite television, whilst an education project both for workers and their children has been established. Social enrichment activities based around music, sports, and performance have been encouraged in an attempt to improve the traditionally poor socio-economic circumstances of the workers, many of whom live on the estate just as their ancestors did. Solms has explained in interviews that this refreshed approach to wine farming arises from a perceived responsibility to acknowledge his own life privileges as a white South African.⁷⁷² Underlining the material element to these changes, a land equity scheme for workers has also been established which, unlike others established on Western Cape farms, does not require financial input from the workers whilst still enabling them to share in the estate's financial rewards.⁷⁷³ Solms Delta not only commemorates the past therefore, but works to overcome its legacies with socio-economic reform in the present. It is through this engagement with worker uplift that its discussion of the past develops greater meaning.

Two museums have been established at Solms Delta and form an integral part of this broad social enterprise.⁷⁷⁴ The original history museum is named Museum van de Caab with reference to Cape slave naming patterns and enables an understanding of the historical patterns which the estate's socio-economic reforms aim to overturn. A second, smaller museum opened in 2014, examining music at the Cape from the time of slavery to anti-apartheid songs and more recent composers. This effectively celebrates the ways in which music is an important element of the social lives of estate staff. Management staff have encouraged workers to express themselves in this way, and a women's choir, the Delta Soetstemme, has been established.

⁷⁷² P. Jackson, 'Solms-Delta: Transformation or neopaternalism' in Van der Waal, 95.

⁷⁷³ *Ibid*, 88.

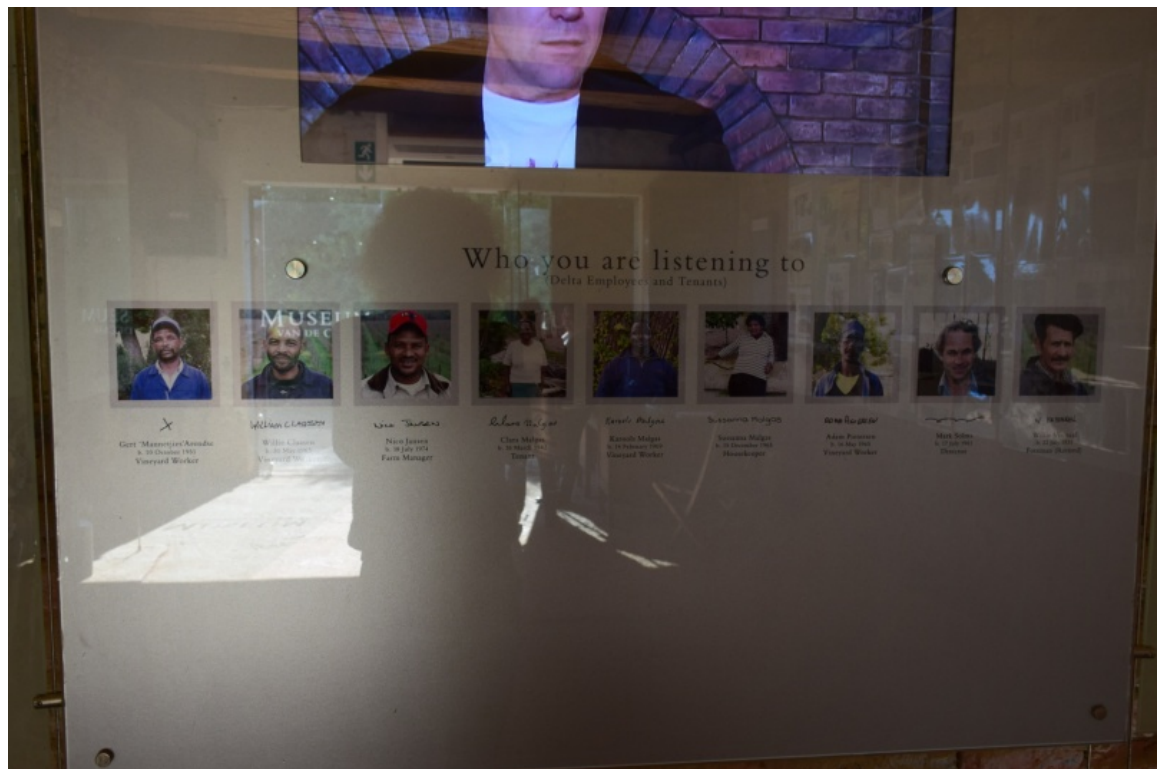
⁷⁷⁴ Comments based on 31 July 2015 and 25 May 2016 visits.

Museum van de Caab offers poly-vocal reading of the past, spread over two galleries in the former wine cellar. The first of these gives a chronological overview of the local and national past, beginning 4, 500, 000 years ago. The centrality of European settlement is eschewed as history is foregrounded not in the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck but with the origins of man. Though still constrained by similar archival biases as hinder representations of the past elsewhere in South Africa, multiple perspectives are accommodated. The different names given to hunter-gatherer groups are listed so as to problematise the discipline of colonial ethnography and explain the 'complex story' woven by these societies. A number of unflattering European descriptions of indigenous people are juxtaposed alongside a similarly derogatory anonymous indigenous view of European settlers recorded by J.G. Grevenbroek in 1695. This aims to demonstrate that misconceptions of difference grew mutually out of fear and ignorance which resulted in conflict.

Figure 5.6 Exterior of Museum van de Caab, former wine cellar, Solms Delta, 2016.



Figure 5.7 Oral history installation, Solms Delta, 2016.



Notes: the audio is played through speakers, and the interviewee is visible on the screen. The individual interviewees are pictured beneath the screen, with their dates of birth and position on the farm cited.

Figure 5.8 Slave memorial installation, Solms Delta, 2016.



Notes: the names of every person known to have been enslaved on the estate are displayed on this feature. 'Unknown male slave' or 'unknown female slave' are used where names are not known.

The research and conceptualisation of Museum van de Caab was led by Tracey Randle, a UCT graduate employed as the estate's resident historian during its first decade open to the public. The decision to create a permanent position for a historian demonstrates Solms' commitment to the estate's heritage. Randle self-critically suggests one reading of the museum could allege 'what we did was a book on the wall'.⁷⁷⁵ Indeed, the exhibition is typical of others which examine early Cape history in its text-heavy approach. In the first gallery, text is only really relieved by on-panel sketches, maps, and diagrams, a selection of archaeological items from the farm, and a centrepiece wall which serves as a memorial feature to people who were enslaved on the farm, inscribed as it is with their names. This criticism, however, negates the multi-layered nature of the text. Although slavery is contextualised by the well-rehearsed means of explaining naming patterns and VOC trading routes, it is also described as 'the hands that built these walls'. When considered alongside the memorial wall, this offers a sense of place and

⁷⁷⁵ Tracey Randle, interview, 5 August 2015.

immediacy, and of connection with those who are named. Two case studies of enslaved women develop the theme of voice. The life stories of Candaza and Philida van de Caap who were enslaved on Zandvliet are reconstructed from archival sources.⁷⁷⁶ These reveal the traumatic and differentiated experience of enslavement for women, including tales of master-inflicted brutality and, in the case of Philida, rape. Rather than necessarily encouraging moral enlightenment, the museum displays implore the visitor to 'make your own judgment'.

At the apex of the second gallery in Museum van de Caap is an audio-visual display featuring interviews with six farm workers. Perhaps aiming to convey the absence of a hierarchical power structure on the estate, Mark Solms is also interviewed. Whilst the workers discuss their personal experiences of life under apartheid, Solms aims to explain how he hopes the history project will expose these pasts and underpin positive change. The comments made by the workers in these interviews should be read as part of a continuous narrative involving voice. From the unnamed indigenous informant to the enslaved women to present day workers such as Nico Jansen and Clara Malgas, there is a clear narrative of intergenerational dispossession and trauma. Jansen, for example, comments that he will consider himself to be 'still a slave' until he is capable of financial independence. The symbolism of the museum rests in how it does not only consider the lived experiences of contemporary workers to be emblematic of the South African historical experience, but also brings the voices of their ancestors alive. This not only enables visitors to gain a deeper understanding, but also provides the historical context which must be understood by all involved in the transformative process if it is to be successful. Ingrid de Kok has suggested that the oral history and memory work carried out by District Six Museum heralds the possibility of 'new civic forms' based on reconstructing a past sense of community.⁷⁷⁷ In recalling a fractured pattern of inhabitation, perhaps the multi-layered memory work of Solms Delta is similarly suggestive of an alternative future model in the Winelands. This

⁷⁷⁶ The life of Philida formed the basis for Andre Brink's 2015 novel *Philida*. Brink's ancestors owned both Zandvliet and Philida.

⁷⁷⁷ I. De Kok, 'Cracked heirlooms: memory on exhibition' in Nuttall and Coetzee (eds), 70.

future would see the deeply-imbedded inequalities of the past discussed so as to form the basis of meaningful reform which reverses their legacies. There is a definite sense in Museum van de Caab that what is on display is not only a local past, but one which mirrors national history.

The workers themselves appear to value this investment in their history. In his interview, Jansen differentiates between Museum van de Caab and the traditional object-centric approach associated with a museum, suggesting that he values the interest in his own history. The encouragement of music as a pastime and staging of an annual harvest festival on the estate, which sees bands from neighbouring farms invited to perform, has likewise been highlighted by workers as valuable part of the transformative process.⁷⁷⁸ Randle recalls how an archaeological dig on-site involving both estate workers and managerial and administrative staff ‘allowed our spaces to have conversations about things and it opened up things that we were on the same footing’.⁷⁷⁹ In particular, it facilitated a discursive environment in which previously unspeakable pasts such as slavery were gradually brought into daylight.⁷⁸⁰ The artefacts discovered are exhibited in Museum van de Caab as material evidence of the ancestors discussed by the text panels. They formed part of a process of reconciliation between the typically exploited and subservient role of farm worker with the master stereotype of farm owner. Museum van de Caab is suggestive of a shared local and national past, referencing the possibility of slave ancestry amongst Afrikaner people to thus portray slavery as a universal, rather than ethnic-interest, history.

Randle explains that this embrace of a universal past was a by-product of telling ‘truth’.⁷⁸¹ ‘We don’t leave out the colonial history, or the colonial settlers, and actually when we explored it all we found that they were all tied together anyway, how could you separate them?’

⁷⁷⁸ Jackson, 91.

⁷⁷⁹ Randle, interview.

⁷⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸¹ *Ibid.*

she asks.⁷⁸² To build on discussions of race, slavery, and representation in post-apartheid South Africa in previous chapters, Museum van de Caab adopts this universal narrative whilst also forming part of a project which actively addresses the human legacies of slavery. This is not an approach to the past which silences potential points of contention, but exposes them for discussion. The task is perhaps made easier by the fact that the museum discusses the pasts of previously disempowered farm workers, in contrast to the contested environment of urban Cape Town. Nonetheless, Museum van de Caab points towards a form of both encouraging broader discussions of slave heritage, and recognising the legacies of slavery amongst people who live with them. 'I don't think even with Mark we set out to heal,' summarises Randle, 'I think it's those types of conversations that happened, and sitting around and looking at bits and pieces and learning about them, as we went.'⁷⁸³ By discussing the past step-by-step, people were able to come to terms with it, and consequently developed a greater understanding of the present. This is not to suggest that the relationship between Solms Delta and its workers cannot be problematised. Paula Jackson has argued that the approach taken by Solms retains the paternalistic qualities which have characterised worker-farmer interactions for decades. Though this paternalism is of a benevolent form, it remains true that power is concentrated in the interests of the estate's owners and managerial staff, with workers represented by fellow workers selected by Solms.⁷⁸⁴ The final content of the museum appears to have been dictated by more senior staff, and it is worth considering how the estate's fresh approach continues to be premised on paternalism. That said, involving estate workers in elements of the research does represent a starting point in opening discussions on painful histories which continue to impact detrimentally on low wage labourers across the Winelands and indeed South Africa.

A more frequent critique of Solms Delta's transformation follows that the estate is essentially exploiting the idea of social change for commercial ends. This is based on the idea

⁷⁸² *Ibid.*

⁷⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸⁴ Jackson, 89. See also Du Toit, 157.

that the estate aims to create an ethical wine label which can be distinguished from the product offered by competitors on the grounds of responsible sourcing. The argument has been dismissed, however, by management staff who outline how the estate continues to struggle financially as a means of refuting the possibility that it is making money from social transformation.⁷⁸⁵ The idea of Solms Delta as an ethical wine brand is worth bearing in mind, however the claim that it strives towards this recognition for purely cynical reasons is probably far-fetched. Likely difficulties arising from the anomalous approach taken by the estate became clear early in the transformation process. Randle recalls how, a marketing consultant asked revealing questions such as ‘why would you want to tell these stories and sell wine? The public isn’t interested’ when meeting estate management.⁷⁸⁶ Browsing the estate’s website, it is clear that the idea of ‘difference’ in relation to other wine estates is a key selling point.⁷⁸⁷ It also, however, refers to the familiar Winelands marketing tropes of ‘modern Cape cuisine’ and a ‘magical forest’ on site. The wine range fuses this typical marketing jargon and the estate’s respect for history, being described as ‘classical wines with a difference’. The common means of using a proud history of farming to create the idea of expertise through experience are inverted by text positing the wines as shaped by ‘the aspirations and sacrifices of innumerable ordinary people, past and present’. Solms Delta’s website also makes clear the ways in which the estate plays homage to history, and slavery figures prominently. Whilst the estate may on occasion refer to typical means of promotion, for the most part it seems to sell itself on the basis of its difference. This points towards using responsible sourcing as a selling point, even if this strategy may not yet have translated into material benefits.

Situated to the south-west of Stellenbosch, Spier is another wine estate which combines its visitor-facing activities with a sense of social responsibility. It achieves this using different methods from Solms Delta, and its reform programmes have not been quite so revolutionary,

⁷⁸⁵ Jackson, 95.

⁷⁸⁶ Randle, interview.

⁷⁸⁷ Solms Delta, <http://www.solms-delta.co.za/> [accessed 17/11/16 at 12:47].

nor have they received the same level of media attention. As a modern business-stroke-tourist attraction, Spier pre-dates Solms Delta by several decades. Originally founded in 1692, its development as a proto-visitor destination was catalysed when Neil Joubert purchased the estate in 1965. The estate was one of the founding members of South Africa's first wine route, established in the Stellenbosch area in 1971.⁷⁸⁸ It was sold to the tycoon Dick Enthoven in 1993. Demhardt describes how Spier subsequently became a 'pioneer' in fusing traditional wine tourism with a range of leisure pursuits, noting how it has become 'Disneyesque'.⁷⁸⁹ The growth of the estate as a tourist destination has been underpinned by the owner's interest in responsibility in the spheres of business, environment, and labour relations. Spier has consequently been portrayed as an enterprise which uses 'sustainability as a brand identity'.⁷⁹⁰ Currently, its wine and meat production is organic, the majority of its water and solid waste is recycled, and it plays a leading role in a local partnership designed to protect biodiversity, including planting trees.⁷⁹¹ Numerous measures have been introduced to improve the daily lives of workers, including investing in education programmes for disadvantaged young people with a view towards later employment in the wine industry.⁷⁹² Additionally, it is policy to recruit as much as is possible from the local area both to reduce travel distance mindful of environmental damage, and provide more employment opportunities locally. The Spier Arts Academy has been established to facilitate discussion between internationally-renowned teachers and emerging artists, including black and coloured people.⁷⁹³ A number of art installations on the estate reflect this interest in the arts, whilst a craft market has been established to enable local producers to exhibit and sell their work. Spier's approach to worker uplift has been praised, and the ways in

⁷⁸⁸ Demhardt, 121.

⁷⁸⁹ Ibid, 122-123.

⁷⁹⁰ S. Pahwa-Gajjar, *Building Corporate Resilience: based on a case study of Spier Holding's search for a lower carbon future* (unpublished PhD thesis), University of Stellenbosch, 2012, 3.

⁷⁹¹ Spier, 'Making a difference everyday' (2016), 2-5.

⁷⁹² Ibid, 5.

⁷⁹³ Ibid, 7.

which it is making a positive contribution to alleviating poverty in the local area have been noted.⁷⁹⁴

Visitors can engage in this world of sustainability and ethics in a number of ways. Typical of the modern Western Cape wine estate, Spier offers wine tasting, two restaurants and two additional eateries, picnic space, and serves as a venue for weddings. It has also developed extensive accommodation facilities, a hotel, and a large space for hosting conferences. The way in which Spier trades responsibly is impressed upon visitors who choose to undertake the estate tour.⁷⁹⁵ This is offered either on Segway led by a guide, or downloaded as the audio tour 'Walk the Spier Farm' read by Mariota Enthoven – Dick's daughter - through the application VoiceMap. Interpretation panels have been added at important junctures on the tour to aid people without the facilities necessary to download or listen to the app-based tour. The tour depicts Spier as a liberal paradise where workers are content and at one with an environment which the estate allows to flourish in spite of its sizeable commercial activities. Estate features such as the solar-powered cleaner in the lake, its free-roaming cows, its programme of planting indigenous plants, and its waste water treatment plant are all noted as the visitor progress around the pre-determined route. People working on the land are depicted as an integral part of Spier's biodynamic farming methods, with the estate's policies such as not using artificial fertilisers portrayed as central to the general well-being of all concerned. The tour additionally situates Spier as an exemplar of post-apartheid restitution, describing how the estate aims to overturn the legacies of racial segregation by providing free healthcare for disadvantaged employees, investing in education, and encouraging promising black employees to apply for managerial positions. It is not only this image of the estate as an ethical paradise which is sold to visitors as they tour its premises. The act of walking has the advantage of taking people past commercial

⁷⁹⁴ G.N. Chifon, *The Role of Sustainable Tourism in Poverty Alleviation in South Africa: A Case Study of the Spier Tourism Initiative* (unpublished MA thesis), University of the Western Cape, 2011, 108-109.

⁷⁹⁵ Comments based on 2 November 2015 visit.

offerings such as the '8' restaurant, which the narrator suggests the visitor should enter if 'feeling peckish'.

History also figures as part of this leisure offering. A significant proportion of Spier's original buildings have survived, and are highlighted on 'Walk the Spier Farm'. The 2014 restoration of the *werf* area is noted, and the 1767 wine cellar – now used for hosting events – is described as the oldest in South Africa. The 1822 manor house has been restored and is now capable of hosting meetings or other events in period surroundings. The inclusion of the 1825 slave bell on the audio tour marks a useful point of departure for considering how Spier treats what is on many estates an unspeakable element of the past. The restoration of the bell frame by the current owners is suggestive of the way in which Spier is revealing a slave past which can often remain hidden. An interpretive panel has, for example, been placed in front of the bell, giving visitors an overview of Cape slavery and suggesting that 'formal employment equity plans' in place at Spier today help to overcome the legacies it has left. In 2012, an art piece named 'The Dying Slave' was designed by the South African artist Marco Cianfanelli and installed at the base of the hotel car park at Spier. This large and imposing structure consists of nine columns which, when the viewer stands at a distance, combine to produce an image which was inspired by Michelangelo's image of a 'Dying Slave'. Although the 'Dying Slave' image otherwise has little to do with the Cape, the interpretation panel alongside suggests that the art installation is a useful point of departure for considering slavery on Western Cape wine farms. The process of creating the piece involved members of Spier Architectural Arts, many of whom are budding artists from disadvantaged backgrounds. These people engaged with what is potentially a personal history for them, and the memorial could thus be interpreted as an exercise in symbolic restitution.

Figure 5.9 Marco Cianfanelli's 'The Dying Slave', Spier, 2015.



Notes: the artwork is prominently situated on the main thoroughfare between the car park (visible in the background) and main visitor attractions.

Spier introduced an audio tour read in the voice of a fictional enslaved woman in 2012. Set during the apprenticeship period in 1836, this tour is named 'Gables' in recognition of the unparalleled number of surviving gables (21) on Spier and is currently available through the same VoiceMap application as 'Walk the Spier Farm'. The fictional narrator is named Sannie de Goede, and the text was written by the acclaimed South African playwright Brett Bailey. Voiced by coloured actor Jill Levenberg, Sannie's character is a ghost, looking back at her time on the estate to remind visitors of the forgotten story of slavery. 'Gables' is a shorter tour than 'Walk the Spier Farm' and does not take the visitor around the entire estate, instead focussing on the historic *werf* and immediate surrounding area. 'Gables' begins by recalling the slave trade to the Cape. 19th century Spier is described as a mystical land in which 'big spotted cats' roamed and a 'place of food and wine and laughter'. Antithetically, Sannie also recalls how the estate was the site of 'our pain and our suffering, our loss and deaths, and our dreams', reminding the listener that these difficult memories are 'all forgotten now'. The tour progresses past the riverside rocks

where the bricks which built the estate were quarried, and calls at the cow sheds which Sannie recalls with some pride was built by her grandfather, 'an artist of love'. Further stops are then made at the slave bell, manor house, kitchen, wine cellar, and riverside.

Figure 5.10 Restored 1825 slave bell, Spier, 2015.



Notes: situated adjacent to the *werf* area, the bell features on both of the self-guided audio tours of the estate.

Narration provided by a fictional enslaved woman is symbolic in a number of ways. Though Sannie was living in the semi-real setting of 1836 Spier she narrates, the visitor is listening to the ghostly voice of someone who is long dead. The use of the ghostly personage was an important narrative decision given how the enslaved metaphorically haunt wine estates, their presence unspoken yet materially evident in built remnants of their existence which remain in situ, often without acknowledgement. Additionally, the tour can be situated within recent

interest in the female experience of slavery at the Cape. This has manifested in academic studies such as seminal works by Baderoon and Gqola which apply feminist methodologies to understand how slavery and its legacies have impacted upon women in unique ways.⁷⁹⁶ As a performance piece, 'Gables' can too be considered in light of trends in literary works which have latterly begun reimagining the slave past. There has been a perceptible shift from meticulously-researched archival-based books such as Andre Brink's 1982 *A Chain of Voices*, which uses the 1825 Galant rebellion as its centrepiece, to more recent novels and plays which develop fictional enslaved voices. In particular, Yvette Christianse's 2006 novel *Unconfessed* has been described as a work which takes an assumed historical reality and adopts a 'revisionist-historical' stance.⁷⁹⁷ Situated within an accurate historical framework, Christianse's protagonist, and enslaved woman named Sila, and her murder conviction, are, much like Sannie, entirely fictional. Jessica Murray has argued that the value of works such as *Unconfessed* lies in the way in which they give voice to the experience of thousands of enslaved women who are otherwise silenced by the circumscriptions of the archive.⁷⁹⁸ This work is of potential national importance given how women have been marginalised in post-apartheid memorialisation practices in relation to heroic men.⁷⁹⁹ Advancing these themes, Nicola Cloete has suggested that, by focussing on the everyday individual lives of enslaved people and their multi-layered emotions, novels such as *Unconfessed* often more readily confront violent elements of slavery than do other mechanisms of public remembrance.⁸⁰⁰ 'Gables' consequently follows a rich seam of fiction which relies on factually-based imagination to negotiate the limitations of the colonial archive in terms of individuality and agency amongst repressed people. These fictional works begin to fill some of the gaps in

⁷⁹⁶ Baderoon; Gqola.

⁷⁹⁷ D. Johnson, 'Representations of Cape Slavery in South African Literature', *History Compass* 10.9 (2012), 556; M. Lenta, 'A Chain of Voices and Unconfessed: Novels of Slavery in the 1980s and in the Present Day', *Journal of Literary Studies* 26.1 (2010), 100.

⁷⁹⁸ J. Murray, 'Gender and Violence in Cape Slave Narratives and Post-Narratives', *South African Historical Journal* 62.3 (2010), 456.

⁷⁹⁹ K. Miller, 'Selective Silence and the Shaping of Memory in Post-Apartheid Visual Culture: The Case of the Monument to the Women of South Africa', *South African Historical Journal* 63.2 (2011), 295-317.

⁸⁰⁰ Cloete, 'The Politics of Unspeakability', 70-81.

national memory of slavery left when memorial projects interpret slavery using language taken as reconciliatory which does not necessarily implicate the violence at the heart of this history.

Sannie becomes emblematic of the female experience of slavery not only on Spier, but at the Cape in general. Her narrative recalls her fears as the estate owner's son forced illicit sexual relations with her, and her longing for impending freedom which will allow her to leave Spier and move to live with her lover, a man from Macassar who visits the estate with a meal cart every two weeks. The use of a fictional narrator operating within a historical context assumed to be accurate consequently facilitates inclusion of dislocation and fear specific to slavery as experienced by women. The first person narrative offered by Sannie enables integration of emotive sentiments which would otherwise be restricted by archival silences. Pride is expressed over the contribution made by her ancestors to Spier, and, in particular, her grandfather and his 'masterpiece' of the manor house gable. There is a sense of community amongst the enslaved, who, through the lens of differing cooking styles in the kitchen, appear as constituent elements of a lively melting pot of cultures on the estate-as-microcosm of the Cape. Though optimistic about the ending of the apprenticeship period in 'only 16 months', Sannie describes with some sadness how the slave bell has dictated the daily lives of her and her ancestors. There is also sorrow from Sannie-as-ghostly-reflector over way their contribution to the estate has been forgotten over the centuries.

The format of the audio tour has additional utility for Spier, enabling the visitor to walk the estate and experience firsthand historical features such as the slave bell in a way which a museum could never do. For the estate, this has the added promotional bonus of advertising available leisure pursuits, much like 'Walk the Spier Farm' does. The voice of Sandile Magidigidi, Spier's guest relations manager, punctuates Sannie's narrative with directions and safety precautions. Adjacent to the cow house, he reminds visitors that this building is now used for wine tasting and can be booked for groups of a minimum of eight people. This blatant

commercialism interferes with Bailey's intricately imagined slave narrative. It becomes more problematic when the reuse of the 1812 slave quarters as a restaurant is not mentioned by Magidigidi, let alone problematised. Why sell the modern estate whilst failing to highlight another aspect of it which is relevant to 'Gables'? This raises questions as to what message the estate intends to promote through the audio tour.

For Magidigidi, the intention is fairly simple. When interviewed, he claimed that the estate wished to 'give people an opportunity to know more about Spier and what happened and knowing more about people who worked in Spier. Those people who were slaves, those people who were captured from various places, err, Indonesia, Madagascar, Malaysia, to come and work in Spier'.⁸⁰¹ He situated 'Gables' as part of a process of making the estate accessible, the end result of which enables visitors to roam unaided around large expanses of its grounds.⁸⁰² The tour can therefore be situated within the continuous development of Spier as a tourist destination. This is underlined by the fact that the tour falls under the responsibility of the estate's guest relations manager. Visitors may attend a conference, eat at the restaurant, and then experience the estate's heritage through an audio tour. That this heritage is a potentially uncomfortable and previously unspoken heritage in slavery perhaps reflects Spier's interests in responsibility and business ethics. '[A]s much as we want to move on with the times, we don't want to forget about our history', claims Magidigidi. Unlike the case of Solms Delta, this investigation of history is not explicitly linked to discussing the past as a means of empowering disadvantaged workers and helping them come to terms with the present by understanding the past. This is perhaps because Spier's programmes of worker uplift are not quite such a distinctive feature of the estate. Instead, an open discussion of a potentially problematic past takes place in the context of an estate which markets itself as responsible, with workers' rights being one of these responsibilities.

⁸⁰¹ Sandile Magidigidi, interview, 2 November 2015.

⁸⁰² *Ibid.*

In both the cases of Solms Delta and Spier it is difficult to gauge how people respond to the ethical wine tourism which the estates strive to offer. At Museum van de Caab at Solms Delta, resident historian Tracey Randle suggests that there is no one definitive visitor, with the estate attracting interest from both international and local tourists.⁸⁰³ Some of the locals have embraced the historical interpretation on offer, making a virtue of the way the museum depicts a universal heritage which is seen to connect groups of people who were encouraged by apartheid to see themselves as separate.⁸⁰⁴ Qualifying how people engage with the responsible tourism encouraged by the estate through a combination of its heritage offering and socio-economic reform efforts is difficult. The same can be said of Spier, where Sandile Magidigidi admits too little effort has presently been applied to promoting 'Gables' to fully understand how visitors interact with it.⁸⁰⁵ We must, therefore, look elsewhere for likely explanations. Lennon and Foley suggested that one of the elements which formed a late 20th century phenomena they termed 'dark tourism' was the way in which exhibitions of tragedy and human rights violations question the project of modernity.⁸⁰⁶ This critique is similar to Williams' interrogation of the memorial museum and the way in which they say 'never again' to the atrocities they represent.⁸⁰⁷ In suggesting new socio-economic models for the Cape Winelands premised on an ethics of sustainability and workers' rights, both Spier and Solms Delta aim to encourage discussion of a traumatic past which – in certain cases – resonates in Winelands labour practices today. By discussing this past, they posit themselves as antithetical in the present, suggesting a new model of operating based on ethical business. But does this engagement with history really attract visitors, or do these visitors simply attend estates to participate in alternative leisure pursuits and end up discovering heritage as a result? A less complex answer, discussed in the case of Boschendal, points towards some visitors simply expecting to encounter heritage as part

⁸⁰³ Randle, interview.

⁸⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰⁵ Magidigidi, interview.

⁸⁰⁶ Lennon and Foley, 10.

⁸⁰⁷ Williams, 1-7.

of their experience, stemming either from personal interest or expectations of post-apartheid egalitarianism.⁸⁰⁸ This idea posits an estate as exhibiting historical content to cater for demand as part of a tourist experience. This seems to be an area where additional research is necessary before a conclusion is made.

Conclusion

Representations of an unspoken slave past are rare in the Cape Winelands which is marketed as an international tourist destination complete with accommodation, fine dining, and, of course, wine tasting. This chapter has developed ideas discussed in chapter four, questioning how representations of historical slavery can function in these exclusive settings where the legacies of this history are evident, often visibly so. With reference to academic studies of slavery's representation in the southern US – a comparably genteel post-slavery environment to the Cape Winelands – it has demonstrated how histories such as enslavement are uncomfortable for cultural elites globally. This is particularly true in spaces where the presence of this history may problematise the foundations of their wealth. Mindful of Araujo's discussion of Elmina and the way in which it ignores the impoverishment of the surrounding population as a direct legacy of slavery, the chapter has questioned whether basic discussion of the past is sufficient, or whether redress is required to achieve meaningful change.⁸⁰⁹

Three farms – Groot Constantia, Boschendal, and Vergelegen – were among the first wine estates to invest in history through fixed heritage installations. However, although they may cover slavery, history at these settings appears to be a Eurocentric offering aimed primarily at tourists without engaging with slavery's legacies of exploitative labour in the Winelands. This raises questions which have recurred throughout this thesis which focus on how historical slavery can possibly be discussed without reference to its potentially-divisive human legacies. Whilst worker exploitation may not be an issue acutely present on these three estates, they

⁸⁰⁸ Randle, 40-60.

⁸⁰⁹ Araujo, *Shadows of the Slave Past*, 50-53.

could still serve as appropriate platforms for its discussion. Solms Delta and Spier represent alternative approaches to discussing the past and linking such discussions with operational reform. Together, Spier and Solms Delta point towards fresh ways of representing slavery, doing so using interactive and reflexive methods which are unique in the Western Cape. They suggest ways of integrating the marginalised experiences of women, and of reflecting on slavery's legacies today. There has been an assumption throughout this study that discussing the marginalised distant past would bring new understandings of the South African present. The approach adopted by Solms Delta in particular suggests that museums and other heritage projects could function as part of a wider programme of therapeutic memory work which takes discussion of the past as a starting point for addressing the legacies of slavery and colonialism in material terms.

Conclusion

For nearly two hundred years, Cape slavery was in many ways a unique institution. As perusal of scholarly literature on slavery makes clear, there was no one form of slavery, and what constituted and continues to constitute enslavement varied from location to location under Dutch and later British rule. However, on a worldwide scale, there has tended to be greater remembrance of forms of slavery which conform to a transatlantic paradigm with its horrific middle passage and similarly-familiar iconography of African suffering. Though largely functioning as part of VOC trading networks, Cape slavery was an institution which embraced both Atlantic and Indian Ocean worlds. As was the case with slavery elsewhere in Southern Africa, it presents a complex past. The way in which Asian and East African people were brought to the Cape to service the Dutch imperial project does not easily coalesce into Atlantic narratives of African displacement as a lesson for humanity which have come to characterise popular representations of the institution of slavery globally. Additionally, and perhaps more importantly, it is a less straightforward history than that which depicts the story of South Africa as a polity which collectively struggled to overcome the racially-based oppression of apartheid and now basks in an age of democratic freedom having seemingly learned from its past.

By examining how national, local and community museums, heritage activists and slave descendants, and private enterprises frame the history of slavery, this thesis has built upon existing academic work which has documented and problematised how the past has been remembered in post-apartheid South Africa. It has demonstrated how elements of the distant past such as slavery do not easily give themselves to narratives which, since the 1980s, emphasise overcoming the more recent history of apartheid. Consequently, these histories have often been ignored in contemporary South Africa, in spite of their relevance to a sizeable percentage of the South African population in terms of ancestry and race politics. The approach of national reconciliation advocated across all state interests by the immediate post-apartheid

administration was in many ways a necessity in ensuring a peaceful transition to democratic governance. Exemplified by the TRC, it entailed a focus on more recent parts of the past, leaving the longer-term injustices introduced by colonialism and slavery largely unaddressed. It is these legacies which activists such as those in the #RhodesMustFall movement are now interrogating as part of calls to 'decolonise' a South African society which they believe has not achieved meaningful socio-economic transformation since 1994. By discussing how Cape slavery has been remembered by national museum projects in South Africa, this study highlighted the difficulties associated with recalling Cape slavery where these normative ideas of remembrance are employed. Evidence drawn from interviews with stakeholders has emphasised how individual actors in the memorialisation processes have grappled with the often competing demands of identity politics nationally, state legislation regionally, and personal interest locally to create markers to South Africa's slave past. The thesis has demonstrated that there is no easy answer to questions of creating appropriate memorials in the contested public sphere of South Africa where the legacies of racial segregation and ongoing socio-economic inequalities shape discourse. Indeed, speaking of an 'appropriate' memorial may itself be inappropriate.

By providing a comprehensive study of the politics of remembering slavery in South Africa, the thesis has also engaged with scholarship which seeks to understand how slavery is remembered globally. It has focussed on one of the few cases of a form of Indian Ocean slavery or slavery in Southern Africa which has been the subject of sustained commemorative engagement. Commemoration of slavery globally has focussed overwhelmingly on the transatlantic slave trade. Museum and heritage projects, films, the interests of descendant communities, and other forms of popular remembrance originating in the West have cast an image of slavery in the form of mass plantation enslavement in the Caribbean and Americas. Remembrance of slavery in Holland, for example, has focussed to a greater extent on the nation's past activities in the Caribbean and Latin America than its Cape and eastern slaving operations. In spite of the efforts of UNESCO, commemoration of other forms of slavery has not

gained similar popular resonance, shaped by local politics and priorities. In the case of various African nations, where these comments are particularly applicable, local customs and an association of slave history with shame are particularly relevant. The way in which slavery has sometimes been remembered globally as a 'never again' historical lesson and means of moving beyond a 'victims versus perpetrators' narrative has nonetheless been applied to the commemoration of the anomalous institution of Cape slavery.⁸¹⁰ Consequently, the case study of Cape slavery has provided the chance to further problematise both the unitary national reconciliation narrative which has often been visible in museums in post-apartheid South Africa, and the 'never again' message which has been used to recall slavery globally. Quite how both of these narratives function in relation to the politics of race and class in a post-conflict situation have been central themes of this thesis.

Historical slavery in South Africa has gained increasing public exposure over the past two decades. From a point in the late 1990s where the subject was only discussed in any detail in museums on the wine estates of Boschendal and Vergelegen, Cape slavery is now routinely discussed by museums and other heritage projects across South Africa. This history largely disappeared from popular memory owing to processes connected with formal racial segregation and its legacies under Apartheid. Slavery was remembered creatively by the former enslaved and their descendants through street parties and parades into the twentieth century. However, the trauma created by forced removal under apartheid, together with an apartheid state which largely limited its engagement with the past to interest in white settler history, resulted in people becoming separated from the reality of the slave past. Professional historians also did not seriously begin to reassess slavery as a fundamental part of South African history until the late 1970s and 1980s.

⁸¹⁰ Williams; Araujo, *Shadows of the Slave Past*.

Although there have been obstacles – most prominently the sense held by some state officials that slavery was not a unitary history, and was instead relevant only to the coloured population – the subject has gained increased prominence in post-apartheid memory politics. The 1999 NHRA explicitly identified sites of slave heritage as worthy of protective legislation; the Western Cape Provincial Government Museum Service has increasingly engaged with the subject through temporary and permanent displays at its sites from the early 2000s onwards; the City of Cape Town municipality adopted a revised cultural heritage strategy in 2005 which committed to respecting multi-layered histories in this urban environment of submerged slave memory; and, crucially, the exhibition ‘Remembering Slavery’ opened at the renamed Slave Lodge in Cape Town in 2006. Other national heritage sites, prominently Freedom Park in Pretoria, have also begun to engage with South Africa’s earlier past, moving beyond what was a myopic engagement with the more recent apartheid past at flagship sites where discussing trauma and building social cohesion are a driving interest. These trends look set to continue, epitomised by the recent inclusion of a statue of 1808 rebellion leader Louis van Mauritius in the protracted National Heritage Monument in Pretoria. Slavery has increasingly been recognised in genealogies, chiefly amongst people who were categorised as coloured under apartheid. As community museum projects in Elim and Pniel together with the work of slave descendants in Cape Town have demonstrated, this increased awareness of slavery in family trees has translated into visible commemoration in the heritage arena. Private businesses, both in Cape Town and in the Cape Winelands, have also engaged with the slave past where it is relevant to their interests, with varying degrees of success. Although all of these projects and initiatives can variously be read critically and problematised, they have nonetheless all contributed to a gradually-increasing awareness of colonial South Africa’s roots as a slave society. The type of understandings they have created and debates they have provoked has been one of the fundamental questions underpinning this study. The precise way in which slavery is remembered at these disparate sites varies depending on the remit of the site and motivations of the

individuals or groups behind the memorialisation project. All of these projects are operating in a society where activist calls for decolonisation as epitomised by contemporary movements such as #RhodesMustFall are increasingly drawing attention to South Africa's more distant past as both a means of understanding the present and of calling for its reform on the basis of a perceived lack of change in terms of racially-stratified social mobility.

Charting the increased visibility of historical Cape slavery in terms of heritage projects over the past two decades is a useful point of departure for considering how slavery has been and is remembered and commemorated in South Africa, and by whom and where. Since its renaming in 1998, the Slave Lodge has been conceptualised as a human rights museum, telling the story of past abuses both domestically and internationally. Museologists at the state-sponsored Iziko have borrowed from national discourses of reconciliation and an international museum aesthetic of using human rights infringements as a lesson for humanity. Slavery is portrayed as a history relevant to all South Africans as part of a broader universal human history. Pretoria's Freedom Park meanwhile adopts a pan-African narrative of human history, thus reflecting the influence of the African renaissance ideas associated with the presidency of Thabo Mbeki who instituted the site in 2001. With the politics of coloured identity less immediate over one thousand miles north-east of the Western Cape in the national capital, slavery at Freedom Park is presented as part of a pan-African story. History at Freedom Park takes a form of remembering which details the malign influence of European settlers on African people and their natural environment, and suggests that South Africans can return to pre-European prosperity by embracing the ideas of their common ancestors. Slavery is consequently portrayed in its transatlantic context, with Europeans removing Africans from the continent as a source of labour. This representation is at odds with how slavery was actually experienced in South Africa, where African and especially Asian people were forcibly imported to Africa in support of the colonial project. At a basic level, this highlights how Cape slavery does not seamlessly coalesce into a simplified narrative.

In the numerous local and community history museums scattered across Western Cape province, slavery where it features has become a currency of transformation; a means of conforming to provincial and national policies of producing a history that is inclusive of diverse pasts and population groups. Slavery here is not so much the explicitly contested heritage discussed in chapters one and two, but rather forms part of a common local history, both offering coloured people a stake in the local past and positing the enslaved and other actors as the common ancestors of modern inhabitants. Local museums in the Western Cape seem to subscribe to a mixture of global local museum practices of defining – or essentialising – communities and post-apartheid concepts of identity, and thus a balanced and inclusive depiction of the past is what revised exhibitions work towards.

The narratives of slavery displayed at museums across the Western Cape of the country are shaped and contested by increasing numbers of people claiming slave ancestry. In the cases of Elim and Pniel discussed in chapter three, communities of slave descendants have created their own museums which offer local interpretations of the past and operate with a high level of reciprocity between museum and stakeholder. The case studies of urban Cape Town which formed chapter two, meanwhile, demonstrated how slave descendants offer their own narratives as part of a process of reassessing coloured identity. These narratives are often based on an emotive connection with ancestors and directly challenge what is displayed in spaces such as the Slave Lodge and other established museums. They frequently provide a dual role of using the past to critique the present by suggesting that the socio-economic situation facing many slave descendants and working-class Capetonians has not improved significantly from the time of slavery.

Case studies including the 2003 Prestwich Place affair and Cape Town's 2008 'Memorial to the Enslaved' represent a culmination of the kind of contestations which historical slavery frequently evokes. Urban Cape Town is an environment in which the interests of private

business and global capital dictate development. This development is not always harmonious with the interests of respecting diverse histories. Businesses such as the V&A Waterfront thus usable discuss history – including slavery – on terms which are agreeable to their interests which, in this case, relates to using the past to encourage consumerism by depicting a timeless trading setting. The way in which the Truth coffee outlet at the Prestwich Memorial discusses its connections with slavery adhere to similar trends. The Prestwich affair set in motion a sense of distrust between state and private enterprise and individuals, and people claiming slave ancestry. This was based on an acute sense from the latter group that their perspectives were not being listened to, a sense which has been tied to perpetual exclusion from South Africa's public sphere from the time of slavery onwards. The interplay between economic exclusion and remembrance typifies an important point regarding the commemoration of histories such as slavery in South Africa where legacies are not fully addressed, and are only now fitfully beginning to enter discourse.

In the Cape Winelands, possible ways of negotiating some of these questions are implicitly suggested. The area is promoted to local and international visitors as a vital destination on any tour itinerary, featuring bucolic mountain backdrops, fine dining, and, of course, wine tasting. Several estates have also branched into providing luxury guest accommodation, spa facilities, and conferencing rooms as part of a recognition of their wider earning potential. The fact that the oldest estates were founded on the back of slave labour is scarcely mentioned. A handful of estates have commemorated historical slavery, and the way they represent this past must be considered in light of revelations as to the working conditions of contemporary labourers. Vergelegen and Boschendal are two estates which integrated a heritage element into their visitor offering whilst under the ownership of Anglo-American since the 1990s. Critically, alternative forms of engaging with the past have emerged more recently, moving beyond the static museum-based offering of the aforementioned duo. Two estates, Spier and Solms Delta, have implemented practices of labour reform and discuss these alongside historical slavery.

Visitor experiences offered by both farms are premised on the idea of encouraging responsible tourism, with an awareness of exploitation of workers both in the past and present being a prominent part of this. In the case of Solms Delta particularly, the two estates suggest fresh methods of dealing with the slave past in South Africa, premised on a style of potentially cathartic discussion of the past which has been mobilised regularly in relation to the living-memory apartheid past.

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the discussions of these sites which have illuminated this thesis. First, slavery undoubtedly remains a contested heritage which frequently proves problematic for stakeholders to provide closure upon. There are a number of reasons which can be identified as underpinning the disagreements which often emerge when the subject reaches public consciousness. Foremost is the sense that historical slavery holds different meanings for different communities. For some state officials, professional museologists, designers, and administrators, it is a history which is discussed where relevant, such as in Cape Town's Slave Lodge. Whilst the centrality of slavery to the South African historical narrative is clear, in order to move away from the idea that slavery is only relevant as a coloured history, certain aspects of its narrative are downplayed or ignored in order to present it as a universal past. In this sense, slavery can be distorted into a narrative of a united struggle against adversity in much the same way as the more recent history of apartheid is displayed in national museums. For coloured heritage activists meanwhile, slavery has been identified as a personal experience, and is often discussed using emotive terms which identify closely with the suffering endured by claimed ancestors, and with pride in being connected with such people. Elsewhere, slavery appears as a matter-of-fact local history where discussed in the Western Cape's many local history museums, seemingly detached from the debates which occur in urban Cape Town. Where commercial interests are involved, this potentially painful history can either be entirely marginalised, or distorted as best possible to serve commercial aims and encourage consumerism. In the Cape Winelands, a handful of estates which feature history exhibitions

portray enslavement in similar terms to local history museums. On other estates, alternative forms of representation are employed to challenge its legacies and encourage responsibility among visitors. In this sense, historical slavery becomes politicised, much as it often does when cited as part of a perpetual cycle of dislocation by activists.

Perhaps with the possible exception of the use of the imagery of historical slavery to encourage consumerism, these individual interpretations of the subject should all be considered worthy of merit. As is the case in general concerning contested pasts, when these differing meanings meet disagreements can occur. This can only work to further the sense that slavery is a particularly difficult heritage in South Africa, an impression which is likely to prevent consensus from emerging. Indeed, the sometimes explosive nature of the topic may in fact dissuade certain parties from discussing what is often a loaded subject. One reason behind these contestations is the way in which slavery has re-emerged in public discourse following decades of silence. This silence was encouraged by the selective public history programmes of the apartheid state, and then tacitly by the focus placed on apartheid-era struggle history by sections of the post-apartheid ANC administration and its interest in reconciliation. There is a perceptible sense amongst some actors – specifically those with commercial interests and some members of the white community involved in the memorialisation process as curators or designers – that slavery is not particularly a subject which has been internalised or identified as particularly pertinent to any lived experience. This impression can be attributed to the silence which previously worked to marginalise slavery as a history and which has only recently begun to be replaced by debate and discussion. The attempts to position slavery as a universal history, or to narrate the subject in detached, non-emotive terms attract criticism from predominantly coloured heritage activists who have internalised the subject and often react defensively when other people enter the discourse. These contestations have characterised memorialisation efforts in urban Cape Town, ranging from responses to the redevelopment of the Slave Lodge, the ‘Memorial to the Enslaved’ in Church Square, and, perhaps most explosively, the Prestwich Place episode.

The way slavery has been posited as a universal heritage as it has emerged in post-apartheid discourse are worthy of greater attention. On the one hand, perhaps the only way of attempting to expose the slave past in a way which resonates with the widest possible audience is to couch the subject in such universal terms. As Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace has cogently argued in the case of transatlantic slavery, representing the institution in a way which implicates white people only as perpetrators is likely to encourage inter-racial division.⁸¹¹ If following such an approach, any discussion of historical slavery could in fact encourage further silence on the subject if white people interpret accusations of complicity as a personal attack and accordingly respond either with hostility or indifference. Indeed, given the Cape's heterogeneous heritage, it is likely that enslaved people feature in the lineages of many families, regardless of skin colour and apartheid categorisation.

There are, however, difficulties inherent in this approach which must be addressed in the South African context. These considerations owe themselves to the country's long history of racial segregation and the way in which its frequently-unaddressed legacies continue to dictate socio-economic and cultural contexts today. With reference to Ana Lucia Araujo's discussion of Ghana and the dichotomy between the international human rights discourse employed by Elmina Castle's museum, on the one hand, and the poverty evident among the local population, on the other, representing slavery as a universal human history can marginalise the lived human legacies of the institution.⁸¹² Similar critiques can be levelled at Cape Town's Slave Lodge, where a combination of the same global human rights discourse and post-apartheid reconciliation discourse are employed to portray slavery as a lesson which South Africa should learn from.⁸¹³ With slavery having been identified by sections of the ANC administration as a potentially divisive history relevant only to the coloured population during the immediate post-1994 period, the existence of the aforementioned parameters at the Slave Lodge can be attributed to a choice

⁸¹¹ Kowaleski-Wallace, 21-23.

⁸¹² Araujo, *Shadows of the Slave Past*, 53.

⁸¹³ See also Williams, 133; 147-148.

to move away from such potentially restrictive rhetoric. As such, slavery becomes a universal history to negotiate issues of white complicity and guilt, with the result being a representation of the past which downplays the lived legacies of slavery amongst the coloured population, especially those people living in townships on the Cape Flats.

Commemorating slavery without referring to its legacies – as though it simply ended in 1834 – has been problematised. Whilst discussing the more distant past would bring about different interpretations of the South African present, a sense developed over the course of the thesis that such discussions could lose potency if not aligned with measures to redress deeply-ingrained inequalities. Such ideas are relevant to conversations which situate slavery as a universal heritage given that mobilisation of the latter discourse has sometimes resulted in slavery's legacies being absent from discussions of the topic in South Africa. Put simply, any moves to discuss and address slavery's legacies in the country would necessitate entering into the occasionally fraught area of coloured identity politics. Cape Town's 'Memorial to the Enslaved' highlighted the crux of the issues surrounding the positing of slavery as a universal heritage in a space where its living legacies are very much evident. On the one hand, the City of Cape Town and memorial designers intended to create a memorial which appealed to as many residents as possible, thus arguably highlighting the centrality of slavery in the history of Cape Town. On the other, the neutral language employed combined with the selection of white people as both memorial designers and competition judges to leave a handful of coloured people with the sense that they had been excluded from memorialising a history they identify as their own ancestral experience. In spite of claims of equality made by political parties including the ANC and DA, access to South Africa's public sphere remains defined by economic status which itself is linked with race. This reality can partially be traced to the long-term processes enacted by enslavement and colonial exploitation.

Similar debates also dominated Nadya Glawe's temporary slave tree installation in 2014. As much as slavery cannot simply be considered a coloured history if it is given justifiable importance in any South African historical narrative, it is also true that the concerns of activists who highlight the plight of slave descendants today could be given consideration. As chapters four and five emphasised, it is problematic to refer to histories such as slavery in spaces where the legacies of these histories continue to exert a painful influence on the lives of working-class people. Projects such as those under way at the Castle, or the behind-the-scenes work carried out by curatorial and educational staff at Iziko suggest a mode of working which both can commemorate the past and encourage discussion of identity and self in the present. How such an approach negotiates questions of slavery's status as a universal history will only become clear as these projects progress. The case of the wine estate of Solms Delta does provide a blueprint for a possible way in which slavery can be embraced as a South African history and one which relates to narrow identity concerns.

The 'ties that bind us' paradigm advocated by Patrick Tariq Mellet perhaps has utility here. Based on an identification of enslaved people and other early Cape actors as shared ancestors, this broad discourse facilitates space both for an identification of the enslaved as freedom fighters, and the possibility of slavery as a universal history, relevant to anyone who can trace their family origins to the early colonial era. It suggests using the distant past as a forum for discussions which encourage unity and reconciliation whilst honouring diverse pasts without identifying any one of them as problematic or divisive. Again, the way in which Museum van de Caab at Solms Delta both stresses the commonalities of white, black, and coloured people in terms of ancestries featuring European settlers, enslaved people, and indigenous people whilst also providing a space for disadvantaged estate workers to discuss the past points to how this approach could be adopted in other heritage spaces. This dual way of working arguably satisfies both the view of slavery as a universal heritage often advanced by

museologists and state officials, and the need to address the violence of slavery and its legacies proposed by heritage activists operating in the Cape Town area.

Regardless of how current projects conclude, there is certainly a sense that slavery is now a subject which is belatedly being discussed in many communities in South Africa. State-funded museums at both a local and national level are belatedly and fitfully investigating the more distant past, as evidenced by cases ranging from Freedom Park in the north, to sites affiliated with the Western Cape Provincial Government's Museum Service. Following decades of being considered a shameful heritage by some, slavery is now increasingly figuring in discourses which seek to reimagine the parameters of the apartheid racial category coloured. It is also commemorated in the urban environment of Cape Town, both by private enterprise and state-led memorial efforts, set against a cityscape in which reminders of enslaved people are encoded yet frequently silent. A handful of wine estates too are now reflecting upon the histories of enslavement which play out on their premises.

These initiatives to commemorate South Africa's slave past are the results of efforts by museologists, activists, artists and designers, and, on occasion, policy-makers. In cases, the aforementioned parties are mindful of the ways in which the more distant and colonial past in South Africa has been under-discussed. They are working to combat amnesia and silence encouraged explicitly by the selective interpretations of the past encouraged by the colonial and apartheid states, and later tacitly by the post-apartheid state under the veneer of open discussion. Moves are underway at locations such as the Castle, Slave Lodge, and in the Winelands to uncover both the legacies of slavery and how these influence the lives of people today. Using similar memory paradigms to those epitomised by post-apartheid processes such as the TRC, there is a sense that the distant past and its intergenerational traumas can be dragged into view and discussed as a means of coming to terms with it. Perhaps most notably, activists such as those who drove the 2015 #RhodesMustFall campaign are demanding what they term

‘decolonisation’. Placing the spotlight on the claimed negative effects of European colonisation, the demands of these activists include arguing that the post-apartheid state has not addressed these legacies and that restitution must be provided so as to further the interests of black and coloured people. Colonialism – with slavery a constituent part – is now the subject of fresh enquiry and rigour, and this fresh interest in the distant past looks set only to increase as South Africa enters a post-post-apartheid era with the idea of discussing episodes of the past which the original post-1994 regime did not address.

Does any of this ultimately matter? The answer must be a resounding yes. As this thesis has argued, commemorating a history such as slavery without addressing its often painful present-day legacies is problematic. Although slavery itself may have been abolished in South Africa in 1834, it is difficult to attempt to close the subject through an exhibition when many people who descend from the enslaved continue to live in conditions of socio-economic dislocation in the country. The case of Solms Delta points towards a way of speaking to these legacies which places emphasis on discussing the past to understand the present. Ways of working with the slave past which stress listening to people appear to be taking hold at other sites too, possibly in recognition of how previous didactic approaches have created disputes. The idea of using discussions in the present to come to terms with the past over a long period of time borrows from post-apartheid museum and heritage paradigms which have used similar methods to discuss the trauma of apartheid. This could form part of a wider programme of reform, and be linked with other means of citizen empowerment such as education or social activities which may help to address the legacies of slavery and colonialism. Central to this process would be listening, rather than dictating, particularly on the part of professionals. This provides not only a means of working which could function elsewhere not only regarding South Africa’s colonial and slaving past, but also may be applicable as a method of dealing with intergenerational trauma in other post-conflict contexts.

Bibliography

i) Interviews

- Amanda Cloete, interview, 6 April 2016.
- Calvyn Gilfellan and Moeshfieka Botha, interview, 22 April 2016.
- Ella Odendaal, interview, 28 October 2015.
- Isabell Schneider, interview, 11 September 2015.
- Jaline de Villiers, interview, 6 May 2016.
- Joline Young, interview, 15 April 2016.
- Lucy Campbell, interview, 29 June 2015.
- Marianne Gertenbach, interview, 18 May 2016.
- Matthew Cyster, interview, 25 November 2015.
- Nadya Glawe, interview, 29 July 2015.
- Najumoeniesa Damon, interview, 31 May 2016.
- Patrick Tariq Mellet, interview, 12 April 2016.
- Paul Tichmann, interview, 26 May 2016.
- Sandile Magidigidi, interview, 2 November 2015.
- Sipho Mdanda and Lauren Marx, interview, 9 May 2016.
- Tracey Randle, interview, 5 August 2015.

ii) Policy documents

- Environmental Resource Management City of Cape Town, 'Cultural Heritage Strategy for the City of Cape Town' (April 2005).
- Provincial Administration of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope, 'Museums Ordinance 8 of 1975' (1975).
- Republic of South Africa, *National Heritage Resources Act* (1999).
- Republic of South Africa Department of Arts and Culture, 'Draft Revised White Paper on Arts, Culture, and Heritage, version 2' (June 2013).
- Republic of South Africa Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, 'White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage' (June 1996).
- Statistics South Africa, 'Census 2011. Census in Brief' (2011).

Western Cape Provincial Government, 'Western Cape Language Policy' (2013).

Western Cape Provincial Government Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport, 'Discussion Paper: Towards a New Provincial Museum Policy for the Western Cape' (March 2011).

Western Cape Provincial Government Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport, 'Western Cape Museum Policy' (August 2013).

iii) Press articles

'Birth of a movement that felled a statue', *Cape Times*, 10 April 2015.

'Capetonians critical of monument to slavery', *Cape Argus*, 14 March 2008.

'Coffee shop 'out of place' at memorial', *The Cape Towner*, 22 April 2010.

'EFF told to 'tone down' land reform claims', *Cape Times*, 2 December 2016.

'Exploring Slave Roots', *UWC Arts Faculty Newsletter* 2 (April 2001).

'Going back to my slave routes', *UWC Monday Paper* 20.10 (23-29 April, 2001).

'Important to rename Castle', *Cape Times*, 31 August 2015.

Marks, S., 'SA ignorant about its land struggle', *Mail & Guardian*, 2 March 2012.

'Museum eatery to change offensive name', *Cape Argus*, 7 December 2015.

'Plans to change Castle's image', *Cape Times*, 29 December 2015.

'R44 000 raised in crying waitress spat', *Cape Times*, 1 May 2016.

'Rhodes statue: students occupy offices', *Weekend Argus*, 21 March 2015.

'Shadows of the Old Slave Tree', *Mail & Guardian*, 29 November 1996.

'Slaves: South Africa's First Freedom Fighters', *Mail & Guardian*, 5 December 2015.

'Social ills the result of being removed from our culture – heritage expert', *News24*, 21 April 2016.

'South Africans honour slaves drowned in 1794 shipwreck', *Mail & Guardian*, 2 June 2015.

'Top wine estate 'betrays the poor'', *Weekend Argus*, 4 July 2015.

'V&A Waterfront contributes almost R200 billion to SA economy, retail sales grow again', *Sunday Times*, 26 January 2015.

'Walk in the night' enables reflection', *Cape Times*, 1 December 2014.

'WDC2014 pays off for city', *Cape Argus*, 9 June 2015.

'Welcome to The Whipping Post, have a seat', *Cape Argus*, 27 November 2015.

'You are walking on graves', *City Press*, 24 September 2014.

'Zille a 'cold-hearted racist'', *Cape Times*, 17 March 2017.

Zille, H., 'From the Inside: Lessons from Singapore', *Daily Maverick*, 20 March 2017, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2017-03-20-from-the-inside-lessons-from-singapore/#.WM-H72-LSUk> [accessed 20 March 2017 at 08:15].

iv) Museums and other heritage sites

Apartheid Museum, 30 September 2015.

Asirawan Siam Healing House & SA-Thai Slave Heritage Reflection Centre, 3 December 2015 and 12 April 2016.

Babylonstoren, 25 May 2016.

Bo-Kaap Museum, numerous visits between April 2015 and June 2016.

Boschendal, 18 September and 21 October 2015.

Castle of Good Hope, numerous visits between April 2015 and May 2016.

De Oude Pastorie Museum, 31 July 2015.

District Six Museum, numerous visits between April 2015 and May 2016.

Elim Heritage Centre, 6 April 2016.

Freedom Park, 29 September 2015 and 9 May 2016.

Genadendal Mission Museum, 13 November 2015.

Groot Constantia, 11 April 2015 and 10 May 2016.

Joline Young, 10 April 2015 and 14 May 2016.

Kleinplasia Museum, 15 July 2015.

La Motte, 25 May 2016.

Pniel Museum, 18 September, 21 October, and 25 November 2015.

Prestwich Memorial, 8 July 2015.

Robben Island, 16 April and 5 November 2015.

Sendinggestig, 18 June 2015 and 6 May 2016.

Simon's Town Museum, numerous visits between April 2015 and May 2016.

Slave Lodge, numerous visits between April 2015 and June 2016.

Solms Delta, 31 July 2015 and 25 May 2016.

Spier, 2 November 2015.

Stellenbosch Village Museum, 30 June and 28 October 2015.

Swellendam Drosty Museum, 1 June 2016.

Transcending History Tours (Lucy Campbell), 5 September 2015.

Vergelegen, 15 April 2015 and 30 May 2016.

Victoria & Alfred Waterfront, numerous visits between April 2015 and June 2016.

v) Web pages

Babylonstoren, <https://www.babylonstoren.com/> [accessed 9 November 2016 at 08:43].

Boschendal Franschhoek Winery, <http://www.boschendal.com/> [accessed 7 November 2016 at 09:17].

Hazendal, 'History', <http://www.hazendal.co.za/history/#history> [accessed 6 November 2016 at 11:57].

'History', <http://www.ozcf.co.za/about/history/> [accessed 8 March 2016 at 09:47].

<https://camissapeople.wordpress.com/> [accessed 8 July 2016 at 08:52].

<https://twitter.com/helenzille/status/842260539644497921> [accessed 20 March 2017 at 07:57].

<http://www.wosa.co.za/The-Industry/Overview/> [accessed 03/08/2017 at 08:22].

<http://www.wosa.co.za/The-Industry/Statistics/SA-Wine-Industry-Statistics/> [accessed 03/08/2017 at 08:29].

<http://www.hwc.org.za/> [accessed 26 May 2016 at 07:42].

Slave Wrecks Project, <https://www.slavewrecksproject.org/> [accessed 11 December 2016 at 10:40].

Solms Delta, <http://www.solms-delta.co.za/> [accessed 17 November 2016 at 12:47].

'Truth: Skeletons in our Closet', <http://www.truthcoffee.com/truth-skeletons-in-the-citys-closet/> [accessed 10 March 2016 at 11:00].

Vergelegen Estate, <http://www.vergelegen.co.za/> [accessed 7 November 2016 at 09:17].

Younge, G., 'The Cape Town Memorial to the Enslaved', 11 May 2009, <http://www.gavinyounge.com/the-cape-town-slavery-memorial/site-specific-installations> [accessed 11 March 2016 at 11:27].

vi) Documentary sources

Cape Town Partnership, 'Commemorating Emancipation Day 2009' (2009).

Castle of Good Hope, 'Official Newsletter' (December 2015).

City of Cape Town, 21/2/7/2/07/737, volumes relating to Prestwich Street.

City of Cape Town, heritage leaflet series.

Groot Constantia: S.A. Wine Museum (1974).

Heritage Western Cape, volumes relating to Prestwich Street ERF 202, 564, 566, 734-738.

La Motte, guide leaflet (2016).

Museums of/van Worcester (1981).

National Library of South Africa (NLSA), Cape Town Periodicals, P 13 392, Friends of the Stellenbosch Museum.

Oude Pastorie Museum, Paarl (1973).

Simon's Town Tourism, *Exploring Simon's Town* (undated leaflet).

Spier, 'Making a difference everyday' (2016).

Swellendam Drostdy Museum, *The Drostdy Muse News* 3.1 (January 2007).

UCT Special Collections, BAJ 326.05 SLA Slave Route Project Newsletters.

vii) Audio-visual and other media

Bitter Grapes: Slavery in the Vineyards, directed by Tom Heinemann [television documentary] (SVT, 2016).

Jacobs, R., *Tuan of Antonie's Gat* (South Africa: Riempie Productions, 2003).

The Koketso Sachane Show [Radio Programme]. (Cape Talk, 24 October 2016, 20:00).

viii) Personal communication

Haniem Paleker, email communication, 7 December 2015.

ix) Books and articles

Abrahams, Y., 'Disempowered to Consent: Sara Bartman and Khoisan Slavery in the Nineteenth-Century Cape Colony and Britain', *South African Historical Journal* 35.1 (1996), 89-114.

Adhikari, M., 'From Narratives of Miscegenation to Post-Modernist Reimagining: Toward a Historiography of Coloured Identity in South Africa', *African Historical Review* 40.1 (2008), 77-100.

Adhikari, M., *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005).

Adhikari, M., 'The Sons of Ham: Slavery and the Making of Coloured Identity', *South African Historical Journal* 27 (1992), 95-112.

Ake, C., *Social Science as Imperialism: the Theory of Political Development* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1982).

Akyeampong, E., 'History, Memory, Slave-Trade and Slavery in Anlo (Ghana)', *Slavery & Abolition* 22.3 (2001), 1-24.

Alderman, D.H., and Modlin, E.A., '(In)Visibility of the Enslaved Within Online Plantation Tourism Marketing: a Textual Analysis of North Carolina Websites', *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing* 25.3-4 (2008), 265-281.

Anderson, B., *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* third edn. (London: Verso, 2006).

Anico, M., 'Representing identities at local municipal museums: Cultural forums or identity bunkers?' in Anico, M., and Peralta, E. (eds), *Heritage and Identity: Engagement and Demission in the Contemporary World* (London: Routledge, 2009), 63-76.

Araujo, A.L., *Public Memory of Slavery: Victims and Perpetrators in the South Atlantic* (New York, Cambria, 2010).

Araujo, A.L., *Shadows of the Slave Past: Memory, Heritage, and Slavery* (Florence: Taylor and Francis, 2014).

Armstrong, J., and Worden, N., 'The Slaves, 1652-1834' in Elphick, R., and Giliomee, H., (eds), *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1988), 109-183.

Baderoon, G., *Regarding Muslims: from slavery to post-apartheid* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2014).

Baines, G., 'Site of struggle: the Freedom Park fracas and the divisive legacy of South Africa's Border War/Liberation Struggle', *Social Dynamics* 35.2 (2009), 330-344.

Baines, G., 'The politics of public history in post-apartheid South Africa' in Stolten, H.E. (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics: The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2007), 167-183.

Bank, A., *The Decline of Urban Slavery at the Cape, 1806 to 1843* (Cape Town: Centre for African Studies, 1991).

Basu, P., *Highland Homecomings: Genealogy and Heritage Tourism in the Scottish Diaspora* (London: Routledge, 2007).

Bekker, S., Leilde, A., Cornelissen, S., and Horstmeier, S., 'The emergence of new identities in the Western Cape', *Politikon* 27.2 (2000), 221-237.

Bellagamba, A., 'Reasons for Silence: Tracing the Legacy of Internal Slavery and the Slave Trade in Contemporary Gambia' in Araujo, A.L. (ed.), *Politics of memory: making slavery visible in the public space* (London: Routledge, 2012), 35-54.

Besteman, C., *Transforming Cape Town* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

Besten, M., 'Envisioning ancestors: staging of Khoe-San authenticity in South Africa', *Critical Arts* 25.2 (2011), 175-191.

Besten, M., "'We are the original inhabitants of this land': Khoe-San identity in post-apartheid South Africa', in Adhikari, M. (ed.), *Burdened by Race: Coloured Identities in southern Africa* (Cape Town: UCT press, 2009), 134-156.

Bickford-Smith, V., 'Creating a City of the Tourist Imagination: The Case of Cape Town, 'The Fairest Cape of Them All'', *Urban Studies* 46.9 (2009), 1763-1785.

Bickford-Smith, V., 'Mapping Cape Town: From Slavery to Apartheid' in Field, S. (ed.), *Lost Communities, Living Memories: Remembering Forced Removals in Cape Town* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2001), 15-26.

Bickford-Smith, V., 'Meanings of Freedom: Social Position & Identity Among Ex-Slaves & Their Descendants in Cape Town, 1875-1910', in Worden, N., and Crais, C. (eds), *Breaking the Chains: Slavery and its Legacy in the Nineteenth Century Cape Colony* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1994), 289-313.

Black, G., *Transforming Museums in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Routledge, 2012).

Blench, R., 'The Present in the Past: How Narratives of the Slave-Raiding Era Inform Current Politics in Northern and Central Nigeria' in Lane, P.J., and MacDonald, K.C. (Eds), *Slavery in Africa: Archaeology and Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 361-393.

Bonner, P., and Nieftagodien, N., 'The Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Pursuit of 'Social Truth': The Case of Kathorus' in Posel, D., and Simpson, G. (eds), *Commissioning the Past: Understanding South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2002), 173-204.

Boyer, M.C., *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996).

Bozzoli, B., (ed.), *Class, Community and Conflict: South African Perspectives* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1987).

Bozzoli, B., and Delius, P., 'Radical History and South African Society', *Radical History Review* 46.7 (1990), 13-45.

Bremner, L.J., 'Memory, Nation Building and the Post-apartheid City' in Murray, N., Shepherd, N., and Hall, M. (eds), *Desire Lines: space, memory and identity in the post-apartheid city* (London: Routledge, 2007), 85-105.

Buthelezi, M., 'Heritage vs Heritage: Reaching for Pre-Zulu Identities in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa' in Peterson, D.R., Gavua, K., and Rassool, C. (eds), *The Politics of Heritage in Africa:*

Economies, Histories, and Infrastructures (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 157-176.

Bundy, C., 'New nation, new history? Historical narratives, gender, and public education in South Africa in Stolten, H.E. (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics: The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2007), 73-98.

Buntinx, G., and Karp, I., 'Tactical Museologies' in Karp, I., Kratz, C.A., Szwaja, L., and Ybarra-Frausto, T., with Buntinx, G., Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B., and Rassool, C. (eds), *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), 207-219.

Butler, D.L., 'Whitewashing Plantations: The Commodification of a Slave-Free Antebellum South', *International Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Administration* 2.3-4 (2001), 163-175.

Butler, D.L., Carter, P.L., Dwyer, O.J., 'Imagining Plantations: Slavery, Dominant Narratives, and the Foreign Born', *Southeastern Geographer* 48.3 (2008), 288-302

Buzinde, C.N., and Santos, C.A., 'Interpreting Slavery Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research* 36.3 (2009), 439-458.

Byala, S., *A Place That Matters Yet: John Gubbins's MuseumAfrica in the Postcolonial World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

Byala, S., 'The museum becomes archive: reassessing Johannesburg's MuseumAfrica', *Social Dynamics* 36.1 (2010), 11-23.

Cain, A., 'Slavery and Memory in the Netherlands: Who Needs Commemoration?', *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage* 4.3 (2015), 227-242.

Callinicos, L., (ed.), *Gold and Workers, 1886-1924: A People's History of South Africa* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1981).

Callinicos, L., *Working Life: Factories, Townships, and Popular Culture 1886-1940* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1987).

Camarena, C., and Morales, T., 'Community Museums and Global Connections: The Union of Community Museums of Oaxaca' in Karp, I., Kratz, C.A., Szwaja, L., and Ybarra-Frausto, T., with Buntinx, G., Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B., and Rassool, C. (eds), *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), 322-344.

Cash, C., and Swatuk, L., 'Boschendal: Politicisation or transformation?' in Van der Waal, C.S. (ed.), *Winelands wealth and work: transformations in the Dwars River Valley, Stellenbosch* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2014), 105-125.

Charmaz, K., *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis* (London: Sage, 2006).

Chisholm, L., 'The history curriculum in the (revised) national curriculum statement: an introduction' in Jeppie, S. (ed.), *Towards 'New' Histories for South Africa: On the Place of the Past in our Present* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 2004), 177-188.

- Clifford, J., 'Museums as contact zones' in Clifford, J., (ed.), *Routes: travel and translation in the late twentieth century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 188-219.
- Cloete, N., 'The Politics of Unspeakability in Yvette Christianse's Unconfessed', *South African Historical Journal* 69.1 (2017), 70-81.
- Coetzee, C., 'Krotoa remembered: a mother of unity, a mother of sorrows?' in Nuttall, S., and Coetzee, C., (eds), *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 112-120.
- Coetzer, N., *Building Apartheid: On Architecture and Order in Imperial Cape Town* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).
- Cole, T., *Selling the Holocaust: from Auschwitz to Schindler, how history is bought, packaged, and sold* (New York: Routledge, 1999).
- Colvin, C.J., 'Brothers and sisters, do not be afraid of me': Trauma, history and the therapeutic imagination in the new South Africa' in Hodgkin, K. and Radstone, S. (eds), *Contested Pasts: The politics of memory* (London: Routledge, 2003), 153-169.
- Coombes, A., *History after Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).
- Cornell, C., 'Whatever became of slavery in Western Cape museums?', *Kronos* 25 (1998), 259-279.
- Corsane, G., 'Transforming Museums and Heritage in Postcolonial and Post-apartheid South Africa: The Impact of Processes of Policy Formulation and New Legislation', *Social Analysis* 48.1 (2004), 5-15.
- Cubitt, G., 'Museums and Slavery in Britain: The Bicentenary of 2007' in Araujo, A.L. (ed.), *Politics of memory: making slavery visible in the public space* (London: Routledge, 2012), 159-178.
- Cuthbertson, G., 'Cape Slave Historiography and the Question of Intellectual Dependence', *South African Historical Journal* 27.1 (1992), 26-49.
- Cyster, L., Cyster, M., Damon, E., Simpson, F., *Pniel en Sy Mense* (Pniel: Matthew Cyster, 2008).
- Davison, P., 'Museums and the reshaping of memory' in Nuttall, S., and Coetzee, C., (eds), *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 143-161.
- Davison, P., 'Typecast: Representations of the Bushmen at the South African Museum', *Public Archaeology* 2.1 (2001), 3-20.
- Davison, P., and Folb, A., *Oranjezicht: Recalling the past; cultivating the future* (Cape Town: Oranjezicht City Farm NPC, 2015).
- De Certeau, M., *The Practice of Everyday Life* trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

De Jong, F., 'A Masterpiece of Masquerading: Contradictions of Conservation in Intangible Heritage' in De Jong, F., and Rowlands, M. (eds), *Reclaiming Heritage: Alternative Imaginaries of Memory in West Africa* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2007), 161-185.

De Kok, I., 'Cracked heirlooms: memory on exhibition' in Nuttall, S., and Coetzee, C., (eds), *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 57-75.

De Kock, V., *Those in Bondage: An Account of the Life of the Slave at the Cape in the Days of the Dutch East India Company* (London: Allen, 1950).

Delius, P., *The Land Belongs to Us: The Pedi Polity, the Boers and the British in the Nineteenth-Century Transvaal* (London: Heinemann, 1984).

Demhardt, I.J., 'Wine and Tourism at the "Fairest Cape"', *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing* 14.3-4 (2003), 113-130.

Denzin, N.K., *The Research Act in Sociology: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods* (London: Butterworths, 1970).

Deutsch, J.G., 'Memory, Oral History and the End of Slavery in Tanzania: Some Methodological Considerations' in Lane, P.J., and MacDonald, K.C. (Eds), *Slavery in Africa: Archaeology and Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 343-361.

Dicks, B., 'The view of our town from the hill: communities on display as local heritage', *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 2.3 (1999), 349-368.

Diptee, A.A., and Trotman, D.V., 'Ways of Remembering Many Africas, Many Diasporas' in Diptee, A.A., and Trotman, D.V. (eds), *Remembering Africa & its Diasporas: Memory, Public History & Representations of the Past* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2012), 3-19.

Dominy, G., 'The politics of museums collecting in the 'old' and the 'new' South Africa' in Knell, S.J. (ed.), *Museums and the Future of Collecting* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 93-104.

Dommissie, B., 'Vice-Admiral Sir Jahleel Brenton part 1', *Simon's Town Historical Society Bulletin* 23.4 (July 2005), 138-141.

Dooling, W., *Law and community in a slave society: Stellenbosch district, South Africa, c.1760-1820* (Cape Town: Centre for African Studies, 1992).

Dooling, W., *Slavery, emancipation and colonial rule in South Africa* (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2007).

Du Toit, A., 'The Fruits of Modernity: Law, Power and Paternalism in the Rural Western Cape' in Howarth, D.R., and Norval, A.J. (eds), *South Africa in Transition: New Theoretical Perspectives* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), 149-165.

Dubin, S., *Transforming Museums: Mounting Queen Victoria in a Democratic South Africa* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

- Ebron, P.A., 'Tourists as pilgrims: Commercial fashioning of transatlantic politics', *American Ethnologist* 26.4 (November 1999), 910-932.
- Eichmann, A., 'Representing slavery in South Africa' in Shell, R. (ed.), *From Diaspora to Diorama: The Old Slave Lodge in Cape Town, volume 3* (Cape Town: NagsPro Multimedia, 2013), 3175-3322.
- Eichmann, A., 'The Heritage of Slavery and Nation Building: A Comparison of South Africa and Mauritius' in Hamilton, D., Hodgson, K., and Quirk, J. (eds), *Slavery, memory and identity: national representations and global legacies* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), 63-77.
- Eichstedt, J.L., and Small, S., *Representations of Slavery: Race and Ideology in Southern Plantation Museums* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2002).
- Erasmus, Z., 'Re-imagining Coloured Identities in Post-Apartheid South Africa' in Erasmus, Z. (ed.), *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape Town* (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2001), 13-29.
- Essah, P., 'Slavery, Heritage and Tourism in Ghana', *International Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Administration*, 2.3-4 (2001), 31-49.
- Ewert, J., and du Toit, A., 'A Deepening Divide in the Countryside: Restructuring and Rural Livelihoods in the South African Wine Industry', *Journal of South African Studies* 31.2 (2005), 315-332.
- Fagan, E., 'The constitutional entrenchment of memory' in Nuttall, S., and Coetzee, C., (eds), *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 249-263.
- Field, S., *Oral History, Community and Displacement: Imagining Memories in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
- Fogel, R.W., and Engerman, S.L., *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (London: Little, Brown and Company, 1974).
- Forsdick, C., 'The Panthéon's empty plinth: commemorating slavery in contemporary France', *Atlantic Studies: Global Currents* 9.3 (2012), 279-297.
- Fransen, H., *Groot Constantia: its history and a description of its architecture and collection* (Cape Town: South African Cultural History Museum, 1983).
- Fransen, H., *Guide to the Museums of Southern Africa* (Cape Town: South African Museums Association, 1978).
- Frisch, M., *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990).
- Garuba, H., 'A Second Life: Museums, Mimesis, and the Narratives of the Tour Guides of Robben Island' in Murray, N., Shepherd, N., and Hall, M. (eds), *Desire Lines: space, memory and identity in the post-apartheid city* (London: Routledge, 2007), 129-145.

- Gevisser, M., *Thabo Mbeki: The Dream Deferred* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2009).
- Gibson, N.J., 'Making art, making identity: Moving beyond racialised perceptions of identity through collaborative exhibition in the New South Africa', *South African Historical Journal* 61.3 (2009), 594-620.
- Gilroy, P., *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993).
- Glanvill-Miller, S., 'Teaching Maths is Easier Than This!': PreService Educators Confront the Challenges and Opportunities of Teaching Emotive and Contested Pasts in Post-Apartheid History and Social Science Classrooms', *South African Historical Journal* 69.1 (2017), 52-69.
- Glaser, B.G., *Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis* (Mill Valley: Sociology Press, 1992).
- Glaser, B.G., and Strauss, A.L., *The discovery of grounded theory: strategies for qualitative research* (Chicago: Aldine, 1967),
- Goodnow, K., Lohman, J., and Bredekamp, J., *Challenge and Transformation: Museums in Cape Town and Sydney* (Paris: UNESCO, 2006).
- Gordon, A., 'The Highland Heart in Nova Scotia: Place and Memory at the Highland Village Museum' in Opp, J., and Walsh, J.C. (eds), *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada* (Toronto: UBC Press, 2010), 107-130.
- Gore, J.M., 'A Lack of Nation? The Evolution of History in South African Museums, c.1825 – 1945', *South African Historical Journal* 51.1 (2004), 24-46.
- Gourevitch, P., *We wish to inform you that tomorrow we will be killed with our families: Stories from Rwanda* (London: Picador, 1999).
- Gqola, P.D., *What is slavery to me? Postcolonial/slave memory in post-Apartheid South Africa* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2010).
- Green, L., and Murray, N., 'Private property and the problem of the miraculous: the kramats and the city of Cape Town', *Social Dynamics* 38.2 (2012), 201-220.
- Greenstein, L.J. 'Slave and Citizen: The South African Case', *Race* 15 (1973), 25-46.
- Grunebaum, H., *Memorializing the Past: Everyday Life in South Africa after the Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2011).
- Gutman, H., *Slavery and the Numbers Game: A Critique of Time on the Cross* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975).
- Gwyn, M., 'Wales and the memorialisation of slavery in 2007', *Atlantic Studies: Global Currents* 9.3 (2012), 299-318.
- Halbwachs, M., *On Collective Memory* trans. Lewis Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

- Haldrup, M., and Bærenholdt, J.O., 'Heritage as Performance' in Waterton, E., and Watson, S. (eds), *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2015), 52-69.
- Hall, A., and Kros, C., 'New Premises for Public History in South Africa', *The Public Historian* 16.2 (1994), 15-32.
- Hall, M., and Bombardella, P., 'Paths of Nostalgia and Desire through Heritage Destinations at the Cape of Good Hope' in Murray, N., Shepherd, N., and Hall, M. (eds), *Desire Lines: space, memory and identity in the post-apartheid city* (London: Routledge, 2007), 245-259.
- Hall, S., 'Introduction' in Hall, S. (ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage, 1997), 1-13.
- Hamilton, C., 'Against the Museum as Chameleon', *South African Historical Journal* 31 (1994), 184-190.
- Haron, M., 'The 'Cape Malay' Culture as represented in the South End Museum and the Dr. Nortier's Rooibos Museum', *S.A. Tydskrif vir Kultuurgeskiedenis* 29.1 (June 2015), 74-97.
- Harries, P., 'Middle passages of the southwest Indian Ocean: a century of forced immigration from Africa to the Cape of Good Hope', *The Journal of African History* 55.2 (July 2014), 173-190.
- Harries, P., 'Negotiating abolition: Cape Town and the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade', *Slavery & Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies* 34.4 (2013), 579-597.
- Hattingh, J.L., 'n Ontleding van sekere aspekte van slawerny aan die Kaap in die sewentiende eeu', *Kronos* 1 (1979), 34-78.
- Herwitz, D., 'Heritage and Legacy in the South African State and University' in Peterson, D.R., Gavua, K., and Rassool, C. (eds), *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, Histories, and Infrastructures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 37-50.
- Hewison, R., *The heritage industry: Britain in a climate of decline* (London: Methuen, 1987).
- Hlongwane, H.K., 'Commemoration, Memory and Monuments in the Contested Language of Black Liberation: The South African Experience', *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 2.4 (June 2008), 135-170.
- Hobsbawm, E., 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions' in Hobsbawm, E., and Ranger, T. (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1-15.
- Hofmeyer, I., *"We spend our years as a tale that is told": Oral Historical Narrative in a South African Chieftdom* (London: J Currey, 1994).
- Hoobler, E., "'To Take Their Heritage in Their Hands": Indigenous Self-Representation and Decolonization in the Community Museums of Oaxaca, Mexico', *American Indian Quarterly* 30.3/4 (2006), 441-460.
- hooks, b., *Yearning: race, gender, and cultural politics* (Boston: South End Press, 1990).
- Hooper-Greenhill, E., *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992).

- Huyssen, A., *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and The Politics of Memory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).
- Hyslop, J., 'E.P. Thompson in South Africa: The Practice and Politics of Social History in an Era of Revolt and Transition, 1976–2012', *International Review of Social History* 61.1 (2016), 95-116.
- Jackson, P., 'Solms-Delta: Transformation or neopaternalism' in Van der Waal, C.S. (ed.), *Winelands wealth and work: transformations in the Dwars River Valley, Stellenbosch* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2014), 82-105.
- Jackson, S., 'Coloureds don't Toyi-Toyi: Gesture, Constraint & Identity in Cape Town' in Robins, S.L. (ed.), *Limits to Liberation after Apartheid: Citizenship, Governance & Culture* (Oxford: James Currey, 2005), 206-225.
- Jacobs, R., 'Near the mountain, near the sea', in Faber, P. (ed.), *Group Portrait South Africa: Nine family histories* (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2003), 156-180.
- Jappie, S., 'From the madrasah to the museum: the social life of the "kietaabs" of Cape Town', *History in Africa* 38 (2011), 369-399.
- Jeppie, S., 'Reclassifications: Coloured, Malay, Muslim' in Erasmus, Z. (ed.), *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape Town* (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2001), 80-97.
- Jethro, D., 'An African story of creation: heritage formation at Freedom Park, South Africa', *Material Religion* 9.3. (2013), 370-393.
- Jewsiewicki, B., 'In the Empire of Forgetting: Collective Memory of the Slave Trade and Slavery' in Araujo, A.L., Candido, M.P., and Lovejoy, P.E. (eds), *Crossing Memories: Slavery and African Diaspora* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2011), 1-15.
- Johnson, D., 'Representations of Cape Slavery in South African Literature', *History Compass* 10.9 (2012), 549-561.
- Karp, I., 'Introduction: Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture' in Karp, I., Kreamer, C.M., and Lavine, S.D. (eds), *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 1-19.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B., *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
- Klein, M., 'Studying the History of Those Who Would Rather Forget: Oral History and the Experience of Slavery', *History in Africa* 16 (1989), 209-217.
- Kowaleski Wallace, E., *The British Slave Trade & Public Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).
- Kreamer, C.M., 'Shared Heritage, Contested Terrain: Cultural Negotiation and Ghana's Cape Coast Castle Museum Exhibition "Crossroads of People, Crossroads of Trade"' in Karp, I., Kratz, C.A., Szwaja, L., and Ybarra-Frausto, T., with Buntinx, G., Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B., and Rassool,

C. (eds), *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), 435-469.

Kros, C., 'Public History/Heritage: Translation, Transgression or More of the Same?', *African Studies* 69.1 (2010), 63-77.

Kros, C., 'Teaching the Past in All Its 'Messiness': Slavery in the Grade 7 Curriculum', *South African Historical Journal* 69.1 (2017), 32-51.

Kros, C., and Wilkins, D., 'Introduction: Repairing the Legacies of Harm', *South African Historical Journal* 69.1 (2017), 1-11.

Legassick, M., 'Legislation, Ideology, and Economy in post-1948 South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 1.1 (1974), 3-35.

Legassick, M., and Rassool, C., *Skeletons in the cupboard: South African museums and the trade in human remains 1907-1917* (Cape Town: South African Museum, 2000).

Lehrer, E., and Milton, C.E., 'Introduction: Witnesses to Witnessing' in Lehrer, E., Milton, C.E., and Patterson, M.E. (eds), *Curating Difficult Knowledge: Violent Pasts in Public Places* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 1-19.

Lemanski, C., 'Spaces of Exclusivity or Connection? Linkages between a Gated Community and its Poorer Neighbour in a Cape Town Master Plan Development', *Urban Studies* 43.2 (2006), 397-420.

Lenta, M., 'A Chain of Voices and Unconfessed: Novels of Slavery in the 1980s and in the Present Day', *Journal of Literary Studies* 26.1 (2010), 95-110.

Lennon, J., and Foley, M., *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster* (London: Continuum, 2000).

Levi-Strauss, C., *Tristes Tropiques* trans. John and Doreen Weightman (London: Cape, 1973).

Levin, A.K., 'Why Local Museums Matter' in Levin, A.K. (ed.), *Defining Memory: Local Museums and the Construction of History in America's Changing Communities* (Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2007), 9-27.

Light, D., 'Heritage and Tourism' in Waterton, E., and Watson, S. (eds), *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2015), 144-159.

Loos, J., *Echoes of slavery: voices from South Africa's past* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2004).

Louw, F., 'No place like home: The complexities of resettlement and development in Lanquedoc' in Van der Waal, C.S. (ed.), *Winelands wealth and work: transformations in the Dwaars River Valley, Stellenbosch* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2014), 59-82.

Lowenthal, D., *Possessed by the Past: the Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Lowenthal, D., *The past is a foreign country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

Lucas, G., *An Archaeology of Colonial Identity: Power and Material Culture in the Dwars Valley, South Africa* (New York: Springer, 2006).

Macdonald, S., and Fyfe, G., (eds), *Theorising Museums* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996).

Maddison, S., 'Postcolonial guilt and national identity: historical injustice and the Australian settler state', *Social Identities* 18.6 (2012), 695-709.

Malan, A., and Worden, N., 'Constructing and Contesting Histories of Slavery at the Cape, South Africa' in Lane, P.J., and MacDonald, K.C. (eds), *Slavery in Africa: Archaeology and Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 393-421.

Markall, A., Hall, M., and Schrire, C., 'The Historical Archaeology of Vergelegen, an Early Farmstead at the Cape of Good Hope', *Historical Archaeology* 29.1 (1995), 10-34.

Marks, R., 'Palaces of Desire: Century City & the Ambiguities of Development' in Robins, S.L. (ed.), *Limits to Liberation after Apartheid: Citizenship, Governance & Culture* (Oxford: James Currey, 2005), 225-243.

Marks, S., and Rathbone, R. (eds), *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa: African class formation, culture, and consciousness, 1870-1930* (London: Longman, 1983).

Marks, S., and S. Trapido (eds), *The Politics of Race, Class, and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa* (London: Longman, 1987).

Marschall, S., *Landscape of Memory: Commemorative monuments, memorials and public statuary in post-apartheid South Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

Marschall, S., 'Visualizing Memories: The Hector Pieterse Memorial in Soweto', *Visual Anthropology* 19 (2006), 145-169.

Martin, D-C., 'Cape Town's Coon Carnival' in Nuttall, S., and Michael, C.A. (eds), *Senses of Culture: South African Culture Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 363-380.

Mason, J.E., *Social Death and Resurrection: Slavery and Emancipation in South Africa* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003).

Maylam, P., *South Africa's Racial Past: The history and historiography of racism, segregation, and apartheid* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

Maylam, P., *The Cult of Rhodes: Remembering an Imperialist in Africa* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2005).

McGee, J.L.M., 'Restructuring South African museums: reality and rhetoric within Cape Town' in Marstine, J. (ed.), *New Museum Theory and Practice: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 179-199.

McEwan, C., and Bek, D., 'Placing Ethical Trade in Context: WIETA and the South African wine industry', *Third World Quarterly* 30.4 (2009), 723-742.

Meyer, S., 'Group Portrait: Self, Family, and Nation on Exhibit' in Coullie, J.L., Meyer, S., Ngwenya, T.H., and Oliver, T. (eds), *Selves in Question: Interviews on Southern African Auto/biography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 409-436.

Miller, K., 'Selective Silence and the Shaping of Memory in Post-Apartheid Visual Culture: The Case of the Monument to the Women of South Africa', *South African Historical Journal* 63.2 (2011), 295-317.

Minardi, M., 'Making Slavery Visible (Again): The Nineteenth-Century Roots of a Revisionist Recovery in New England' in Araujo, A.L. (ed.), *Politics of memory: making slavery visible in the public space* (London: Routledge, 2012), 92-106.

Modest, W., 'Slavery and the (Symbolic) Politics of Memory in Jamaica: Rethinking the Bicentenary' in Smith, L., Cubitt, G., Wilson, R., and Fouseki, K. (eds), *Representing Enslavement and Abolition in Museums: Ambiguous Engagements* (London: Routledge, 2011), 75-97.

Modlin, E.A., 'Representing Slavery at Plantation-House Museums in the U.S. South: A Dynamic Spatial Process', *Historical Geography* 39 (2011), 147-173.

Modlin, E.A., 'Tales Told on Tour: Mythic Representations of Slavery by Docents at North Carolina Plantation Museums', *Southern Geographer* 48.3 (2008), 265-287.

Mountain, A., *An Unsung Heritage: Perspectives on Slavery* (Cape Town: David Phillip, 2004).

Murray, J., 'Gender and Violence in Cape Slave Narratives and Post-Narratives', *South African Historical Journal* 62.3 (2010), 444-462.

Murray, N., and Witz, L., *Hostels, homes, museum: memorialising migrant labour pasts in Lwandle, South Africa* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 2014).

Nanda, S., 'South African Museums and the Creation of a New National Identity', *American Anthropologist* 106.2 (2004), 379-385.

Newbury, D., 'Living Historically through Photographs in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Reflections on Kliptown Museum, Soweto' in Lehrer, E., Milton, C.E., and Patterson, M.E. (eds), *Curating Difficult Knowledge: Violent Pasts in Public Places* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 91-108.

Newton-King, S., 'Family, Friendship and Survival Among Freed Slaves' in Worden, N., (ed.), *Cape Town Between East and West: Social identities in a Dutch Colonial Town* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2012), 153-176.

North, S., 'Museums as Tools for Understanding Slavery and its Legacies in South Africa', *South African Historical Journal* 69.1 (2017), 82-100.

Nuttall, S., and Coetzee, C., 'Introduction' in Nuttall, S., and Coetzee, C., (eds), *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 1-19.

Nuttall, S., and C.A. Michael (eds), *Senses of Culture: South African Culture Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Okudzeto, S., 'Emotive histories: the politics of remembering slavery in contemporary Ghana', *Atlantic Studies: Global Currents* 9.3 (2012), 337-361.

Osei-Tutu, B., 'The African-American Factor in the Commodification of Ghana's Slave Castles', *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 6 (2002), 115-133.

Papageorgiou, G.C., 'Heritage in Consumer Marketing' in Waterton, E., and Watson, S. (eds), *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2015), 478-492.

Passerini, L., 'Work, Ideology and Consensus under Italian Fascism' in Perks, R., and Thomson, A. (eds), *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 1998), 53-62.

Patton, M.Q., *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods* (Newbury Park: Sage, 1990).

Penn, N., 'Robben Island 1488-1805' in Deacon, H. (ed.), *The Island: A History of Robben Island 1488-1990* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1996), 9-33.

Portelli, A., 'The Peculiarities of Oral History', *History Workshop Journal* 12.1 (1981), 96-107.

Posel, D., 'Social History and the Wits History Workshop', *African Studies* 69 (2010), 29-40.

Posel, D., 'The TRC Report: What Kind of History? What Kind of Truth?' in Posel, D., and Simpson, G. (eds), *Commissioning the Past: Understanding South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2002), 147-173.

Price, J., 'The Small Town We Never Were: Old Cowtown Museum Faces an Urban Past' in Levin, A.K. (ed.), *Defining Memory: Local Museums and the Construction of History in America's Changing Communities* (Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2007), 97-109.

Randle, T., 'The inheritance of loss' in Van der Waal, C.S. (ed.), *Winelands wealth and work: transformations in the Dwaars River Valley, Stellenbosch* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2014), 27-55.

Rasool, E., 'Unveiling the heart of fear' in James, W., Caliguire, D., Cullinan, K., Levy, J., and Wescott, S. (eds), *Now That We are Free: Coloured communities in a democratic South Africa* (Cape Town: Institute for Democracy in South Africa, 1996), 54-58.

Rassool, C., 'Community Museums, Memory Politics, and Social Transformation in South Africa: Histories, Possibilities, and Limits', in Karp, I., Kratz, C.A., Szwaja, L., and Ybarra-Frausto, T., with Buntinx, G., Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B., and Rassool, C. (eds), *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), 286-322.

Rassool, C., 'Human Remains, the Disciplines of the Dead, and the South African Memorial Complex' in Peterson, D.R., Gavua, K., and Rassool, C. (eds), *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, Histories, and Infrastructures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 133-157.

Rassool, C., 'Introduction: recalling community in Cape Town' in Rassool, C., and Prosalendis, S., *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001), vii-xii.

Rassool, C., 'The rise of heritage and the reconstitution of history in South Africa', *Kronos* 26 (August 2000), 1-21.

Rassool, C., and Prosalendis, S., (eds), *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001).

Read, A.E., 'Ebrahim Manuel traces his roots', *Simon's Town Historical Society Bulletin* 21.4 (July 2001), 152-5.

Reinhardt, C.A., *Claims to Memory: Beyond Slavery and Emancipation in the French Caribbean* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006).

Rhoda, E., *The Strand Muslim Community, 1822-1966: A Historical Overview* (Firgrove: Ebrahim Rhoda, 2013).

Rhodie, N.J., and Venter, H.J., *Apartheid: A Sociohistorical Exposition of the Origin and Development of the Apartheid Idea* (Amsterdam: De Bussy, 1960).

Rice, A., *Creating Memorials, Building Identities: The Politics of Memory in the Black Atlantic* (Liverpool University Press: Liverpool, 2010).

Robins, S., 'City sites' in Nuttall, S., and Michael, C.A. (eds), *Senses of Culture: South African Culture Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 408-426.

Robins, S., 'Silence in my father's house: memory, nationalism, and narratives of the body' in Nuttall, S., and Coetzee, C., (eds), *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 120-143.

Rodney, W., *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Washington: Howard University Press, 1972).

Ross, R., *Cape of Torments: slavery and resistance in South Africa* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983).

Ruffins, F.D., 'Revisiting the Old Plantation: Reparations, Reconciliation, and Museumizing American Slavery' in Karp, I., Kratz, C.A., Szwaja, L., and Ybarra-Frausto, T., with Buntinx, G., Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B., and Rassool, C. (eds), *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), 394-435.

Ruiters, M., 'Collaboration, assimilation and contestation: emerging constructions of coloured identity in post-apartheid South Africa' in Adhikari, M. (ed.), *Burdened by Race: Coloured Identities in southern Africa* (Cape Town: UCT press, 2009), 104-134.

Said, E., *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1977).

Saumarez Smith, C., 'Museums, Artefacts, and Meanings' in Vergo, P. (ed.), *The New Museology* (London: Reaktion Books, 1989), 6-22.

Saunders, C., *The Making of the South African Past: Major historians on race and class* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1988).

Schoeman, K., *Portrait of a slave society : the Cape of Good Hope, 1717-1795* (Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2012).

Schrire, C., *Tigers in Africa: Stalking the Past at the Cape of Good Hope* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2002).

- Scully, P., *Liberating the Family? Gender and British Slave Emancipation in the Rural Western Cape, South Africa, 1823-1853* (Oxford: James Currey, 1997).
- Seremetakis, C.N., 'The Other City of Silence: Disaster and the Petrified Bodies' in Brandstetter, G. and Volckers, H. (eds), *ReMembering the Body* (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2000), 302-332.
- Shell, R.C.-H., *Cape slave trade, 1680 to 1731: towards a consensus* (1983).
- Shell, R.C.-H., *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838*, reprint (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1997).
- Shell, R.C.-H., and A. Dick, 'Jan Smiesing, Slave Lodge Schoolmaster and Healer, 1697-1734' in Worden, N., (ed.), *Cape Town Between East and West: Social identities in a Dutch Colonial Town* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2012), 128-153.
- Shepherd, N., 'Archaeology Dreaming: Post-apartheid urban imaginaries and the bones of the Prestwich Street dead', *Journal of Social Archaeology* 7.1 (2007), 3-28.
- Shepherd, N., 'Heritage' in Shepherd, N., and Robins, S., (eds), *New South African Keywords* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2008), 116-129.
- Shepherd, N., and Ernsden, C., 'The World Below: Post-apartheid Urban Imaginaries and the Bones of the Prestwich Street Dead' in Murray, N., Shepherd, N., and Hall, M. (eds), *Desire Lines: space, memory and identity in the post-apartheid city* (London: Routledge, 2007), 215-33.
- Simon's Town Historical Society, 'Chairman's Report', *Simon's Town Historical Society Bulletin* 13.2 (July 1984), 43-45.
- Simon's Town Historical Society, 'Chairman's Report – 23rd Annual General Meeting', *Simon's Town Historical Society Bulletin* 12.4 (July 1983), 122-125.
- Simon's Town Historical Society, 'Simon's Town Historical Society: Twentieth Annual Report', *Simon's Town Historical Society Bulletin* 11.2 (July 1980), 42-49.
- Simpson, M.G., *Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era* (London: Routledge, 1996).
- Sleigh, D., and Westra, P., *The taking of the slaver Meermin, 1766* (Cape Town: Africana Publishers, 2013).
- Small, S., 'Still Back of the Big House: Slave Cabins and Slavery in Southern Heritage Tourism', *Tourism Geographies* 15.3 (2013), 405-423.
- Smith, L., *The Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2006).
- Smith, L., and Fouseki, K., 'The Role of Museums as 'Places of Social Justice': Community Consultation and the 1807 Bicentenary' in Smith, L., Cubitt, G., Wilson, R., and Fouseki, K. (eds), *Representing Enslavement and Abolition in Museums: Ambiguous Engagements* (London: Routledge, 2011), 97-116.

- Soudien, C., 'Emerging discourses around identity in new South African museum exhibitions', *Interventions* 10.2 (2008), 207-221.
- Spivak, G.C., 'Can the subaltern speak?' in Nelson, C., and Grossberg, L., (eds), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988), 271-313.
- Stilwell, S., *Slaving and Slavery in African History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
- Strauss, A.L., *Qualitative analysis for social scientists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
- Strauss, A.L., and Corbin, J., *Basics of qualitative research : grounded theory procedures and techniques* (Newbury Park: Sage, 1990);
- Tassiopoulos, D., Nuntsu, N., and Haydam, N., 'Wine Tourists in South Africa: A Demographic and Psychographic Study', *Journal of Wine Research* 15.1 (2004), 51-63.
- Tayob, A., *Islam in South Africa: Mosques, Imans, and Sermons* (Florida, 1999).
- Tayob, A., 'Muslim Shrines in Cape Town: Religion and Post-Apartheid Public Spheres' in Bompani, B., and Frahm-Arp, M. (eds), *Development and Politics from Below: Exploring Religious Spaces in the African State* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 56-73.
- Teeger, C., and Vinitzky-Seroussi, V., 'Controlling for Consensus: Commemorating Apartheid in South Africa', *Symbolic Interaction* 30.1 (2007), 57-78.
- Theal, G.M., *History of South Africa under the administration of the Dutch East India Company [1652 to 1795]* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1897).
- Trotter, H., 'Trauma and memory: the impact of apartheid-era forced removals on coloured identity in Cape Town' in Adhikari, M. (ed.), *Burdened by Race: Coloured Identities in southern Africa* (Cape Town: UCT press, 2009), 49-79.
- Van Daalen, I.T. 'Dutch Attitudes towards Slavery and the Tardy Road to Abolition: The Case of Deshima' in Suzuki, H., (ed.), *Abolitions as a Global Experience* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2016), 72-112.
- Van der Waal, C.S., 'Researching the social experience of transformation in the Dwars River Valley', Van der Waal, C.S. (ed.), *Winelands wealth and work: transformations in the Dwars River Valley, Stellenbosch* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2014), 3-27.
- Valentine, G., 'Tell me about...: using interviews as a research methodology' in Flowerdew, R., and Martin, D. (eds), *Methods in Human Geography: A guide for students doing a research project* (Harlow: Longman, 1997), 110-127.
- Vallance, E., 'Local History, "Old Things to Look At," and a Sculptor's Vision: Exploring Local Museums through Curriculum Theory' in Levin, A.K. (ed.), *Defining Memory: Local Museums and the Construction of History in America's Changing Communities* (Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2007), 27-43.
- Van der Merwe, M.P.S., *Groot Constantia 1685-1885: Its owners and occupants* (Cape Town: South African Cultural History Museum, 1997).

Van der Ross, R.E., *Up from slavery: Slaves at the Cape, their origins, treatment, and contribution* (Cape Town: Ampersand Press, 2005).

Van Duin, P., and Ross, R., *The Economy of the Cape Colony in the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: The Centre for the Study of European Expansion, 1987).

Van Onselen, C., *The Small Matter of a Horse: The Life of 'Nongoloza' Mathebula, 1867–1948* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1984).

Van Tonder, D., 'From Mausoleum to Museum: Revisiting Public History at the Inauguration of MuseumAfrica, Newtown', *South African Historical Journal* 31.1 (1994), 165-183.

Verbeeck, G., 'Structure of memory: Apartheid in the museum' in Stolten, H.E. (ed.), *History Making and Present Day Politics: The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2007), 217-227.

Vergo, P., 'Introduction' in Vergo, P. (ed.), *The New Museology* (London: Reaktion Books, 1989), 1-6.

Visser, G., and Kotze, N., 'The State and New-build Gentrification in Central Cape Town, South Africa', *Urban Studies* 45.12 (2008), 2565-2593.

Vollgraaff, H., *The Dutch East India Company's Slave Lodge at the Cape* (Cape Town: South African Cultural History Museum, 1997).

Ward, K., 'The Road to Mamre', *South African Historical Journal* 27 (November 1992), 198-224.

Ward, K., 'The "300 Years: Making of Cape Muslim Culture" Exhibition, Cape Town, April 1994: Liberating the Caste?', *Social Dynamics* 21.1 (1995), 96-131.

Ward, K., and Worden, N., 'Commemorating, suppressing, and invoking Cape slavery' in Nuttall, S., and Coetzee, C., (eds), *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 201-221.

Weil, S.E., *Rethinking the Museum: and Other Meditations* (Washington: Smithsonian Press, 1990).

Werbner, R., 'Smoke from the Barrel of a Gun: Postwars of the Dead, memory and Reinscription in Zimbabwe' in Werbner, R. (ed.), *Memory and the Postcolony: African anthropology and the critique of power* (New York: Zed Books, 1998), 71-102.

Western, J., *Outcast Cape Town* (California and London: University of California Press, 1996).

Wicomb, Z., 'Shame and identity: the case of the coloured in South Africa' in Attridge, D., and Jolly, R. (eds), *Writing South Africa: Literature, apartheid, and democracy, 1970-1995* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 91-108.

Wilkins, D., 'History, Truth Telling and the Legacies of Slavery in South Africa', *South African Historical Journal* 69.1 (2017), 12-31

Williams, G., 'Black Economic Empowerment in the South African Wine Industry', *Journal of Agrarian Change* 5.4 (2005), 476-504.

- Williams, P., *Memorial Museums: The Global Rush to Commemorate Atrocities* (Oxford: Berg, 2007).
- Wilson, G., 'Simon's Town Historical Society Eighteenth Annual Report', *Simon's Town Historical Society Bulletin* 10.2 (July 1978), 41-46.
- Witcomb, A., *Re-Imagining the Museum: Beyond the Mausoleum* (Abingdon: Taylor and Francis, 2003).
- Witz, L., *Apartheid's Festival: Contesting South Africa's National Pasts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003).
- Witz, L., 'Museums on Cape Town's Township Tours' in Murray, N., Shepherd, N., and Hall, M. (eds), *Desire Lines: space, memory and identity in the post-apartheid city* (London: Routledge, 2007), 259-277.
- Witz, L., 'Transforming Museums on Postapartheid Tourist Routes' in Karp, I., Kratz, C.A., Szwaja, L., and Ybarra-Frausto, T., with Buntinx, G., Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B., and Rassool, C. (eds), *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), 107-135.
- Witz, L., Rassool, C., and Minkley, G., 'Repackaging the past for South African tourism' in Corsane, G. (ed.), *Heritage, museums and galleries: an introductory reader* (Routledge, London: 2005), 308-320.
- Wolpe, H., 'Capitalism and cheap labour power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid', *Economy and Society* 1.4 (1972), 425-456.
- Wood, M., *Black Milk: Imagining Slavery in the Visual Cultures of Brazil and America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- Wood, M., *Blind Memory: Visual representations of slavery in England and America, 1780-1865* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).
- Wood, M., *The Horrible Gift of Freedom: Atlantic Slavery and the Representation of Emancipation* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010).
- Worden, N., 'Revolt in Cape Colony slave society' in Alpers, E.A., Campbell, G., and Salman, M. (eds), *Resisting Bondage in Indian Ocean Africa and Asia* (London: Routledge, 2007), 10-24.
- Worden, N., *Slavery in Dutch South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- Worden, N., 'The changing politics of slave heritage in the Western Cape, South Africa', *The Journal of African History* 50.1 (March 2009), 23-40.
- Worden, N., 'Unwrapping history at the Cape Town Waterfront', *The Public Historian* 16.2 (Spring 1994), 33-50.
- Young, J.E., *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

Malan, A., 'Unearthing Slavery: The Complex Role of Archaeology', Iziko Museums Freedom Day Lecture (April 2008),
http://media1.mweb.co.za/iziko/education/pastprogs/pdfs/2008freedomday_malan.pdf
[accessed 27/05/16 at 16:08].

xi) Reports

Freedom Park, 'Annual Report 2016' (2016).

Human Rights Watch, 'Ripe With Abuse: Human Rights Conditions in South Africa's Fruit and Wine Industries' (2011).

Iziko Museums of South Africa, 'Annual Report 2014/2015' (2015).

Lillie, A., 'Heritage Statement provided in respect of an application in terms of section 27 of the National Heritage Resources Act – Proposed Slave Memorial, Church Square, Cape Town' (2008).

Kahn, F., 'The Elim Slave Route pilot project: report on a project executed on behalf of the department of environmental affairs and tourism' (February 1999).

Seemann, U., 'The ground floor and courtyard of the 'Residency', Simon's Town: An archaeological / historical enquiry' (November 2001).

Western Cape Provincial Government, 'Annual Report 2013/14 Cultural Affairs and Sport' (2014).

xii) Theses

Abrahams, Y., *Colonialism, dysfunction and disjuncture: the historiography of Sarah Bartmann* (unpublished PhD thesis), University of Cape Town, 2000.

Chifon, G.N., *The Role of Sustainable Tourism in Poverty Alleviation in South Africa: A Case Study of the Spier Tourism Initiative* (unpublished MA thesis), University of the Western Cape, 2011.

Cloete, N., *Memory, Slavery, Nation: An Analysis of Representations of Slavery in Post-Apartheid Cultural and Memory Production* (unpublished PhD thesis), University of the Witwatersrand, 2015.

Dondolo, L., *The Construction of Public History and Tourist Destinations in Cape Town's Townships: A study of routes, sites and heritage* (unpublished MA thesis), University of the Western Cape, 2002.

Pahwa-Gajjar, S., *Building Corporate Resilience: based on a case study of Spier Holding's search for a lower carbon future* (unpublished PhD thesis), University of Stellenbosch, 2012.

Randle, T., *Grappling with grapes: wine tourism of the Western Cape* (unpublished MA thesis), University of Cape Town, 2004.

Rayner, M., *Wine and slaves: the failure of an export economy and the ending of slavery in the Cape Colony, South Africa, 1806-1834* (unpublished PhD thesis), Duke University, 1986.

Shepherd, N.J., *Reading the Past: Archaeology at The Residency, Simon's Town* (unpublished BA honours thesis), University of Cape Town, 1989.

Ward, K., *The Road to Mamre: Migration, Memory, and the Meaning of Community c.1900-1992* (unpublished MA thesis), University of Cape Town, 1992.