

PLANNING, DESIGN AND DEVELOPMENT PHASE: REDEVELOPMENT OF YORK FARM COTTAGES FOR BERTHA NEW RETREAT				
Heritage	Archaeology	Architecture	Landscape	Social
Potential impact and risk:	Low	Very low	High	Medium
Nature of impact:	Impacts are possible to subsurface remains, should these occur, during developmental stage through trenching and earthmoving activities related to construction activities.	The cottages hold no architectural significance and no impacts will arise. Unsympathetic alteration could, however, result in the loss of a layer of the farm's history as expressed in the variety of architectural styles present on the farm.	Inappropriate landscaping interventions will interfere with the ability of the new development to sit in the landscape in an authentic, sympathetic manner, which is crucial to retaining the significance of the cultural landscape.	Redevelopment of former workers' cottages risks erasing traces of those people's lives and labour from the Boschendal landscape, negatively affecting the authenticity of the farm as a heritage site.
Extent and duration of impact:	Impacts are likely throughout construction phase while subsurface excavations related to construction or landscaping are undertaken	Impacts would arise during the construction phase.	Impacts would arise during construction phase	Developments serve as opportunities to redress social injustices. Where these opportunities are neglected, the extent and duration of impacts can be understood to be throughout the lifetime of the project from inception onwards.
Consequence of impact or risk:	Should construction activities uncover an in situ archaeological site, damage or destruction of that site would result	Renovation of all derelict buildings on the farm, particularly to reflect a standard aesthetic will obscure the layered history of the farm.	Unsympathetic landscape interventions will serve to increase the visual impact of the development, and set it outside of the surrounding landscape, rather than within and part of it.	Severing the landscape from its history of workers and the conditions and fact of their life and labour on the farm not only directly impacts those who occupied the cottages in the past, but permeates all aspects of the farm's viability.
Probability of occurrence:	Low	Low	Medium	Medium
Degree to which the impact may cause irreplaceable loss of resources:	Very High	Low	Low	High
Degree to which the impact can be reversed:	Not possible	High	High	Low
Indirect impacts:	No indirect impacts will occur to archaeological resources as a result of this development	Indirect impacts can arise to the associated cultural landscape and the authenticity of the farm more broadly	Indirect impacts can arise to the associated cultural landscape and the authenticity of the farm more broadly	Missed opportunities of achieving or implementing social redress have extensive indirect impacts that function at the site, farm and valley scale, and are felt throughout South African society
Cumulative impact prior to mitigation:	Medium	Medium	Medium	Very High
Significance rating of impact prior to mitigation (e.g. Low, Medium, Medium-High, High, or Very-High)	Medium	Medium	Medium	High
Degree to which the impact can be avoided:	Medium	High	High	Medium
Degree to which the impact can be managed:	High	High	High	Medium
Degree to which the impact can be mitigated:	Medium	High	High	Medium
Proposed mitigation:	Periodic site inspection by an archaeologist should be undertaken to ensure that no <i>in situ</i> , subsurface pre-Colonial archaeological material is located within the development area.	Retain a single example of the Amfarm cottage type in largely unaltered form to illustrate and inform about this period of Boschendal's history	Sympathetic landscaping and planting that recognizes the differences in the East Precinct landscape to the rest of Boschendal. Avoidance of orthogonal planting, lines and grids, and use of appropriate indigenous, endemic species.	Mitigation partly arises from the consultation of former inhabitants in the design phase and the retention of a single cottage in largely unchanged form as testament to the lives of former occupants. Most importantly, the future use of the site as a Bertha Retreat facility, and of the creation of spaces and opportunities for local communities to benefit directly and indirectly from the development offset the impacts.
Residual impacts:	Low	Low	Low	Medium
Cumulative impact post mitigation:	Low	Low	Low	Medium
Significance rating of impact after mitigation (e.g. Low, Medium, Medium-High, High, or Very-High)	Medium	Low	Low	Medium
Note on significance of impact	Should a site similar to that uncovered at Solms Delta be present on site, avoidance of that area, or mitigation through excavation might be necessary. The likelihood of such a site being encountered is very low, however.			Ongoing redevelopment of workers' cottages for the provision of highend tourist facilities cannot be seen as achieving the goals of social redress. Socially conscious initiatives such as Berth Foundation provide a vital key to unlocking development potential in a socially conscious way.

OPERATIONAL PHASE: REDEVELOPMENT OF YORK FARM COTTAGES FOR BERTHA NEW RETREAT				
Heritage	Archaeology	Architecture	Landscape	Social
Potential impact and risk:	N/A	Very low	High	Medium
Nature of impact:	No impacts are anticipated to archaeological heritage during the operational phase	The cottages hold no architectural significance and no impacts will arise. Unsympathetic alteration could, however, result in the loss of a layer of the farm's history as expressed in the variety of architectural styles present on the farm.	Inappropriate landscaping interventions will interfere with the ability of the new development to sit in the landscape in an authentic, sympathetic manner, which is crucial to retaining the significance of the cultural landscape.	Redevelopment of former workers' cottages risks erasing traces of those people's lives and labour from the Boschendal landscape, negatively affecting the authenticity of the farm as a heritage site.
Extent and duration of impact:	No impacts are anticipated to archaeological heritage during the operational phase	Operational phase impacts relate to enduring loss of character that arises during the redevelopment	Impacts would arise during construction phase and continue to affect the cultural landscape throughout the lifetime of the facility.	Developments serve as opportunities to redress social injustices. Where these opportunities are neglected, the extent and duration of impacts can be understood to be throughout the lifetime of the project from inception onwards.
Consequence of impact or risk:	Very Low	Renovation of all derelict buildings on the farm, particularly to reflect a standard aesthetic will obscure the layered history of the farm.	Unsympathetic landscape interventions will serve to increase the visual impact of the development, and set it outside of the surrounding landscape, rather than within and part of it.	Severing the landscape from its history of workers and the conditions and fact of their life and labour on the farm not only directly impacts those who occupied the cottages in the past, but permeates all aspects of the farm's viability.
Probability of occurrence:	Very Low	Low	Medium	Medium
Degree to which the impact may cause irreplaceable loss of resources:	Low	Low	Low	High
Degree to which the impact can be reversed:	N/A	High	High	Low
Indirect impacts:	No indirect impacts will occur to archaeological resources as a result of this development	Indirect impacts to the associated cultural landscape and the authenticity of the farm more broadly can persist	Indirect impacts to the associated cultural landscape and the authenticity of the farm more broadly can persist	Missed opportunities of achieving or implementing social redress have extensive indirect impacts that function at the site, farm and valley scale, and are felt throughout South African society
Cumulative impact prior to mitigation:	N/A	Medium	Medium	Very High
Significance rating of impact prior to mitigation (e.g. Low, Medium, Medium-High, High, or Very-High)	N/A	Medium	Medium	High
Degree to which the impact can be avoided:	N/A	High	High	Medium
Degree to which the impact can be managed:	N/A	High	High	Medium
Degree to which the impact can be mitigated:	N/A	High	High	Medium
Proposed mitigation:	N/A	Retain a single example of the Amfarm cottage type in largely unaltered form to illustrate and inform about this period of Boschendal's history	Sympathetic landscaping and planting that recognizes the differences in the East Precinct landscape to the rest of Boschendal. Avoidance of orthogonal planting, lines and grids, and use of appropriate indigenous, endemic species.	Mitigation partly arises from the consultation of former inhabitants in the design phase and the retention of a single cottage in largely unchanged form as testament to the lives of former occupants. Most importantly, the future use of the site as a Bertha Retreat facility, and of the creation of spaces and opportunities for local communities to benefit directly and indirectly from the development offset the impacts.
Residual impacts:	N/A	Low	Low	Medium
Cumulative impact post mitigation:	N/A	Low	Low	Medium
Significance rating of impact after mitigation (e.g. Low, Medium, Medium-High, High, or Very-High)	N/A	Low	Low	Medium
Note on significance of impact:	As mitigation will occur prior to operational phase, no further impacts are likely to arise out of the operational lifespan of the site.			Ongoing redevelopment of workers' cottages for the provision of highend tourist facilities cannot be seen as achieving the goals of social redress. Socially conscious initiatives such as Berth Foundation provide a vital key to unlocking development potential in a socially conscious way.

## **Resident Interviews (Bertha Foundation, 2020)**

### **Introduction**

Bertha Foundation sought derive input into the New Retreat design process from various stakeholders. An initial phase of engagement was held with employees of the existing Retreat, Bertha Grantees and potential users of the site on completion. This group were provided an opportunity to advise on how the space succeeded and what its limitations and shortfalls were. Feedback from this phase of engagement was provided to the design team to inform decisions made in the design process. A second phase of engagement was with former York Farm residents now living at Lanquedoc, who were interviewed to provide their inputs.

This report provides the outcomes of the interveiws with the former York Farm residents.

### **Methodology**

- The former residents were identified by current Boschendal farmworkers, some of whom are family of former York Farm residents.
- A questionnaire was devised for guiding the interviews.
- Initially, questions were put to the interviewees via telephone, but once possible, Bertha employees spoke directly with the interviewees and completed the questionnaires in person.

### **Limitations**

The interview process was initially frustrated by limitations imposed by Covid-19 lockdown restrictions, but these limitations fell away as restrictions were eased.

## **Collated Interviews**

1. When did you live on the site

The York Farm cottages were built for the residents in 1980 and majority of them moved in then.

2. How would you describe the natural environment around the homes:

The natural environment was that of vegetation, be it flowers in front of the homes or food gardens at the back in front of the kitchen, most people had chickens and some had rabbits.

3. Did you sit together outside your home?

In warmer weather most people enjoyed to sit outside facing the open section of the site.

4. What did the recreational area look like:

Children played in the open space in the middle of the houses, swam in the dam even though it was prohibited, and swam in the river

5. Can you describe the homes, who was your neighbor:

The home all comprised 2 bedrooms, 1 bathroom, a kitchen and a lounge area, outside was a section to hang their laundry, neighbors were mentioned in the interviews.

6. Can you describe the interior,

The home were all made of 2 bedrooms, 1 bathroom, a kitchen and a lounge area, outside was a section to hang their laundry.

7. Did you drive? Where did you park your car?

None of the interviewees had cars, public transport was their method of transportation to town and other places.

8. Was there a fence around your holding:

Most homes were fenced.

9. What did you do for fun?

Swimming in the dam or river, playing in the open section between the houses and visiting other family member on the site.

10. What did you use to keep warm in winter and cool in the hot summer?  
The fire/coal stove in the kitchen was used for cooking and to keep the families warm, in summer fruit trees and others gave shade.

11. Did you use a fireplace during winter?  
The coal stove in the kitchen acted as the fireplace.

12. Where did you gather?  
The open space in the centre of the site was the gathering space.

13. Where did kids play?  
The kids played in the open space in the middle, by the river and by the dam.

14. What is your most fond memory you want to share with future users to know about the space?  
The space belonged to the people that lived there, everyone who lived there felt free, there was a good sense of community and togetherness, and kids were kids and were free.

15. Was there a garden?  
Every home had a veggie garden, there were fruit trees and flowers grown on site.

16. Would you share stories of life in those houses?  
Yes the stories vary but are of positiveness and good living on the farm.

17. What do you miss about the space and what did you like about living there?  
We miss picking flowers on the farm, swimming in the dam and the river, the peace and quite is also hugely missed

18. Where do you currently live?  
Lanquedoc

19. Was your family the only family to live in that house before the removal?  
Most families were the only occupants to live in the house. Only one family indicated that they were the second family to occupy that house

20. Do you or any other member of the family work on the farm?  
One family indicated that no one in their family works for Boschendal, however the rest have family members working in different departments at

Boschendal, such as in agriculture, wine tasting or similar.

## Interviewees

- Johanna Mathys, 61 yrs, her husband worked for Rhodes Food.
- Silvia and Siebritz Kock a couple, 66 and 64 yrs of age and Mr Kock worked for Rhodes Food.
- Sophia Classens, 78yrs, her husband worked for Anglo American.
- Cynthia Scheepers, 50 yrs, her husband works for Boschendal Agriculture.
- Lilian Van Wyk 51yrs, her husband worked for Boschendal.
- Lilian and Cynthia are in-laws and were neighbors on the site.
- Petronella Paulse, 56yrs.
- Hannelie Tromp, 31 yrs, grew up on the site, and is currently employed at Boschendal.
- Dinah Manuel, 89yrs
- Nopumzile Baleni, 56 yrs

## Outcomes

All the former York Farm residents occupy the same street in Lanquedoc. Most had moved to the site from the surrounding settlements of Kylemore or Lanquedoc, although some had come from Paarl. York Farm children went to nearby schools, including New Gate Primary, Solms Delta and Pniel Primary.

The general sense derived from the interviews is that people experience a very different lifestyle since being moved from York Farm and Boschendal.

Former residents miss the safety and peacefulness of the farm, and the freedom they all enjoyed, particularly for the children who are now more vulnerable in Lanquedoc. The absence of a safe meeting and community space was remarked on as something missing at Lanquedoc. The provision of such a facility would assist with keeping the children busy and away from the unsafe streets. There was a perception of a greater sense of community at York Farm, and that this is lacking from Lanquedoc.



Cynthia and Lilian van Wyk on York Farm picking flowers



Lillian van Wyk's father on York Farm making grass brooms for sale

Dinah Manuel



Sophia Classens



Johanna Mathys



Nopumzile Baleni



Siebritz and Sylvia Kock



PART B: SIGNIFICANCE, GRADING AND INDICATORS

5.0 SIGNIFICANCE: INCORPORATION OF SOCIAL AND ORAL HISTORY

5.1 Introduction

Traditional assessments of farms in the Cape Winelands, including those informing development proposals, have focused on the history and heritage of the farm owners, the Cape Dutch buildings and the managers' cottages. Similarly at Boschendal, emphasis has previously been placed on the enhancement and restoration of the Boschendal werf, Rhone and the Rhodes Cottage. In so doing, a practice valuing architectural material culture developed, which omitted the intangible heritage resources. This has established a building restoration language that informed the recently redeveloped former workers' residences, Orchards Cottages. These former living quarters now emulate the Cape Dutch farmstead buildings, with their original modernist appearance mostly erased.

While some consideration has been given, over the past 20 or so years, to the presence of enslaved people and their related lifeways on these farms, the identification of the worker is a co-habitant of these landscapes, has largely been omitted or not fully elaborated on in heritage assessments. The consequence of this selective recording—the history of the powerful—is that the spatial practices and heritage of the co-habitants of the valley remains disavowed.

This report explores Boschendal's spatial history with these considerations in mind and proposes a conceptual framework called **Restorative Redevelopment**. The vision for the farm involves a reinterpretation of the landscape, allowing a more comprehensive, inclusive and nuanced reading of Boschendal's past, including its landscapes and structures. This approach is applicable more broadly, to the Dwars River Valley and the Cape Winelands Cultural Landscape.

Restorative Redevelopment is, in essence, an attitude that informs a set of guiding principles that acknowledge and honour the various roles played by labourers in defining the regional landscape, as co-residents of the valley. This approach is considered to be more inclusive than other attempts at recognizing the complex and interrelated histories of the farm and the people who have lived on and around it. The framework establishes a new, and particular way, to read the archive and landscape, and inform ongoing study. It is an attitude towards future design and planning for Boschendal

and consists of several guiding notions. These exist to open conversation about the farm's past while remaining aware of the contemporary pressures of continued social exclusions and limited social cohesion. They aim fill the gaps and amend oversights that have characterised previous developments on the farm that have failed to meaningfully serve the valley.

5.2 Notions guiding Restorative Redevelopment

Wolff Architects has developed a set of notions that draws from various sources including key texts and interviews, historic maps and architectural drawings, and the interpretation of historic visual imagery and photographs. The objective in developing these notions is to promote social justice through thoughtful, sensitive and effective interventions for all Boschendal's future developments. Some of the methods are educational, some commemorative, but most affect spatial planning, such as the improvement of access and mobility in the valley for those most affected by spatial injustice.

Juanita Pastor-Makhurane's 2005 "Analysis of the Social Value of Heritage Resources in the Dwars River Valley" is a foundational study. Wolff Architects considers it to be the most comprehensive study of the social and spatial relationships of the valley from multiple perspectives of that time and this work continues the trajectory set out by Pastor-Makhurane.

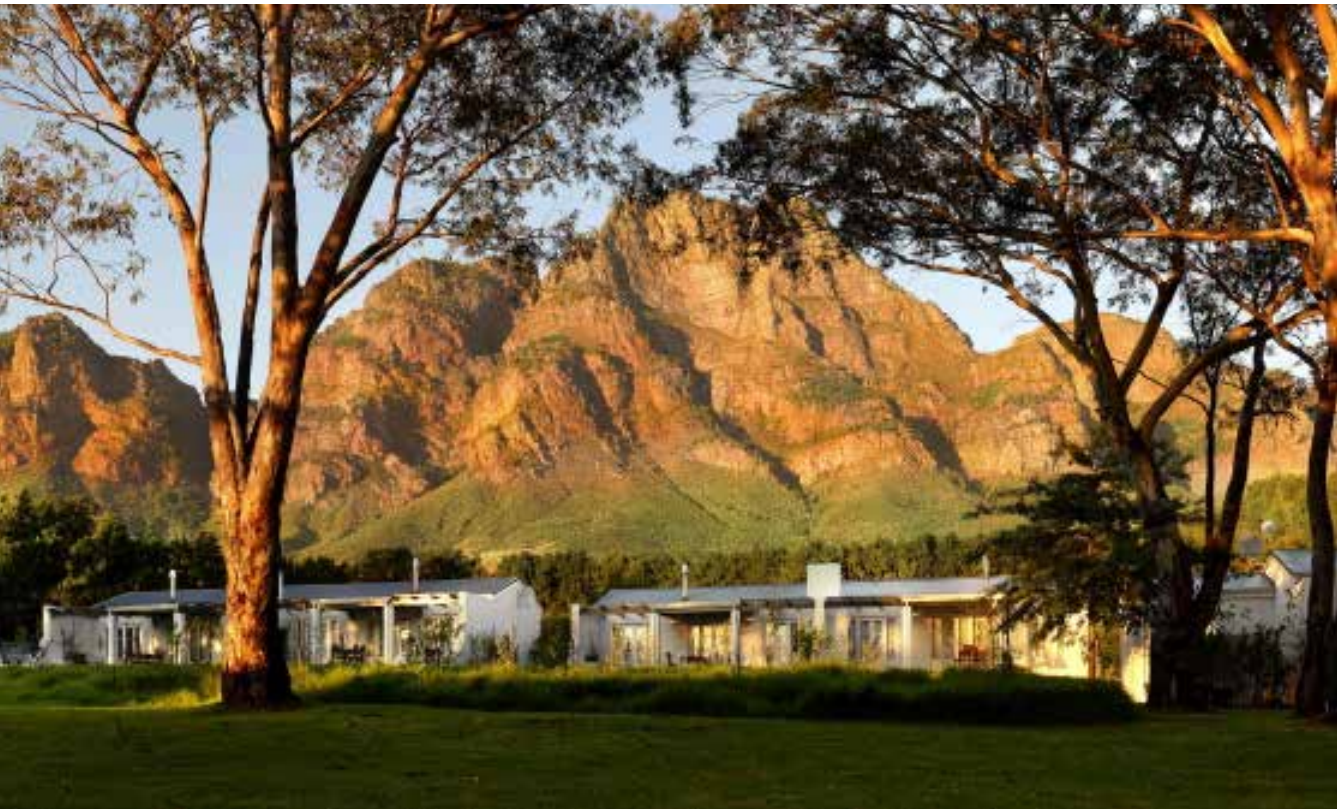


Figure 9. Orchards Cottages (Boschendal, 2019)



### 5.3 Notions of Home, Landscape and Servitude

Boschendal workers often dwelt permanently or temporarily in the space in which they worked. This was a convenience to farmers who could have a workforce in close proximity to places of labour and servitude. This spatial practice blurred the line between home and work and often defined the type of livelihood and lifestyle farmworkers could have. Early instances of this practice are evident in the design of the werfs (Figure 12) with a division between main house and slave accommodation. Subsequent worker housing typologies and developments were ordered according to the separatist spatial laws and operational needs of the farm at the time.

The notion of *aspects of home, the lived landscape and servitude* recognises this, and acknowledges the spatial legacy of the valley.

These notions of home, landscape and servitude were defined and inscribed for workers in the following ways, which are examined to understand what it means spatially; what are latent effects.

There is a pre-colonial layer to the spatial design that recognises the presence of the land's earliest occupants: hunter-gatherers and seasonal pastoralists who moved through this landscape, having free access to its food resources, fresh water and livestock pasturage (Figure 11). These indigenous peoples are recorded as having been present in the Drakenstein when Europeans first arrived. While centuries of extensive farm activity leaves little archaeological trace of their presence, their traditional practices have been passed down through the generations (Malan, 2017).

Laws enforcing land dispossession from indigenous people during the 1800s permitted the privatisation of land, making common grazing lands obsolete. Indigenous pastoralists relied on commonages to maintain financial independence. Losing access left some groups no alternative other than assimilation into the rural labour force (Malan, 2018). The displacement of the indigenous people from the Dwars River Valley area immediately initiated the imposition of spatial distinctions between master and slave, servant, or labourer. Slaves brought onto newly granted farms in the 17<sup>th</sup> century were not provided with their own accommodation, living instead in kitchens, lofts and other utilitarian spaces in the homestead (Winter, 2014).



Figure 10. Farm belonging to Jacobus van As, son of Angela van Bengale



Figure 11. Kolbe map of Drakenstein (1727) showing Khoen encampments; location of Boschendal indicate - note position west of road (Glatigny et al., 2008: 314)

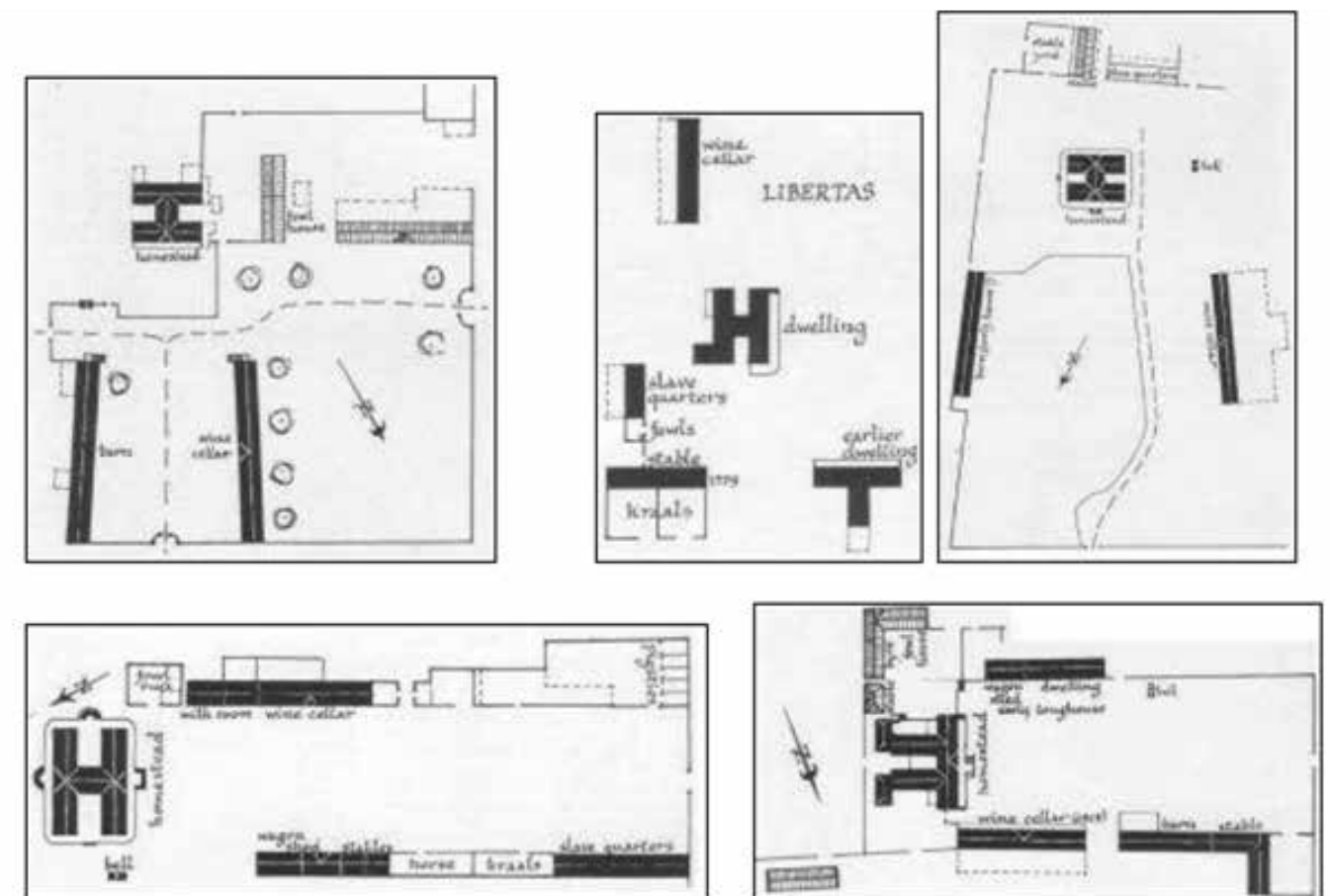


Figure 12. Slave accommodation in formal werf layouts (Walton, 1989)



While early agriculture in the area was largely mixed, throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries the rural economy in this area became increasingly tied to wine farming, with the de Villiers family, owners of Boschendal, one of the more prominent landowners of the Drakenstein area (van Zyl, 1975). An equally wealthy landowner in the area during the 18<sup>th</sup> century was Jacobus van As, The son of former slave, Angela van Bengale (Figure 10). His consolidated farms, sold to the de Villiers family after his death, formed part of Boschendal farm (Titlestad, 2008).

The de Villiers' wealth increased and with it, the desire to express that wealth through improvements to their holdings, with the construction of purpose-built slave accommodation. Enslaved people were moved out of farmhouses into structures that formed a component of the formal, ordered Cape Dutch farm werf. This spatial arrangement speaks equally of wealth and status as it does about the business of farming (Brink, 2008; Smuts, 2012) (Figure 12).

Following the emancipation of slaves in 1834/1838, former slaves from Boschendal settled at the mission station, Pniël, from 1843. This offered an opportunity to live away from the farms. However, economic opportunities were limited, and the system of apprenticeship and indentured labour remained firmly entrenched. Many freed slaves remained bound to the farms

and farmers who had previously owned them.

The landscape underwent its next great change at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century following the outbreak of *phylloxera*, which disrupted traditional farming practices in the Franschhoek region. With the wine economy in trouble and the value of the farms reduced, a gap developed in the market. Cecil John Rhodes, an entrepreneur in search of an opportunity to "stimulate the fresh fruit industry" (Aucamp, 1992), bought 20 afflicted farms for commercialisation. His company, Rhodes Fruit Farms (RFF), was established shortly after.

RFF moved workers off the land to a purpose-built workers' village near the farm, Lanquedoc. Its design was influenced by the British "garden village" model, shaped by the Arts and Crafts Movement (Todeschini et al., 2018).

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, existing racialised spatial practices were increasingly entrenched, and ultimately legislated under apartheid law. The provision of accommodation was achieved along racialised lines: separate villages were created to house workers of different racial "categories" as determined by the farm-owner or made familiar in society of the time.

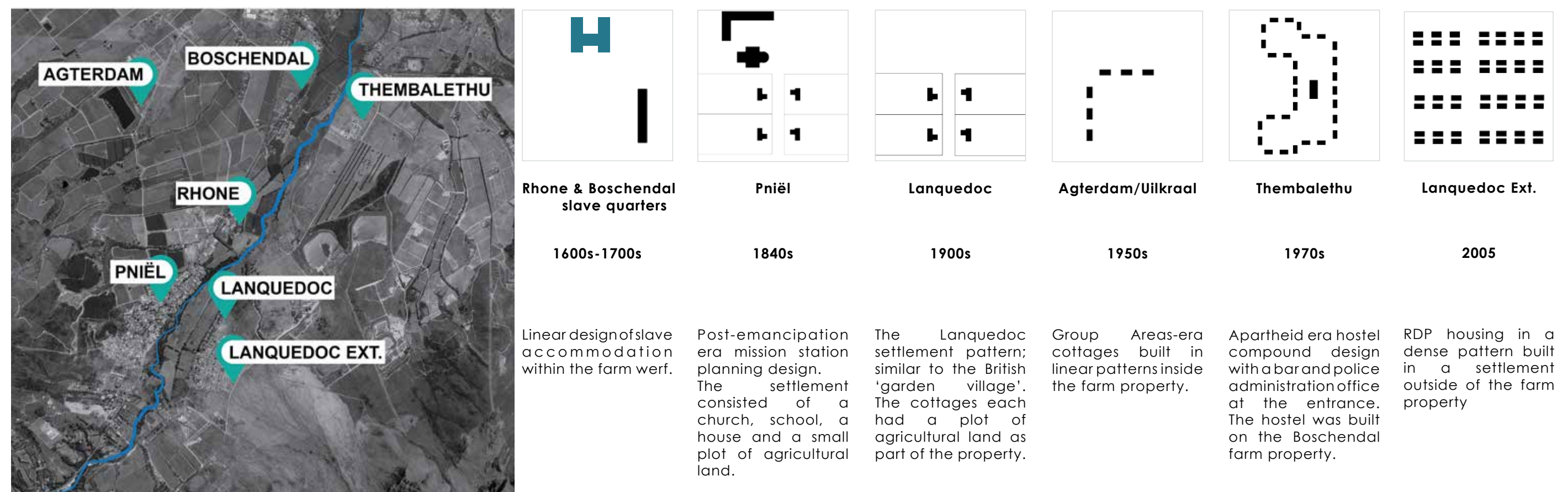


Figure 13. Settlement patterns, Restorative Redevelopment (Wolff Architects, 2018)



Early photographs of the RFF factory (Figure 15) show two separate enclaves of labour accommodation, each separate not only from the factory, but also from each other. Figure 15 shows the small Xhosa settlement arranged in a traditional layout within the industrialised, working landscape. It was during this period, the height of Group Areas planning, that the Uilkraal cottages and a school for black labourers and their children were built on the east of the R301. The settlement was constructed concurrently with, but across the road from, Cannery Row, a community for white employees.

A distinct example of the separate, racialised development in Boschendal farm is the single-male dormitory compound, Thembaletu. The Thembaletu Hostel or group farm worker residence, is significant as a building typology in its location. Procured in 1974 by the property owners, Anglo American, this building may appear to be a standard worker hostel. Hostels are a South African labourer housing typology characterised by the routinised surveillance of its (usually) black inhabitants. But within Boschendal, the 300 year old wine farm where Thembaletu is built, it embodies the parable of coloniality and the “construction” of a particular citizen.

Nationally, all hostels were designed to exist within a planned urban layout designed to isolate its residents from the society around them. Planning requirements by the Bantu Affairs Office even stipulated the exact distance a hostel should be should be from public and private roads and residences (RFF, 1974). An informal 19<sup>th</sup> century wagon dirt road alongside Thembaletu—not qualifying as public infrastructure—became a means for the farm worker community to connect with others and with the natural environment near the farm. There are undoubtedly many memories and worker histories connected to these sites, and to activities such as the weekly soccer matches played between workers from Uilkraal and Thembaletu.

In 2004, under new ownership, all farm residents were evicted and resettled into a township outside the farm property. Evictees, including the hundreds of Thembaletu workers that remained in the valley, were moved into RDP houses in Lanquedoc Extension, a newly-made settlement adjacent to the historic Baker-designed village. The move was contested by many former residents (Land Claims Court, 2006). It was the first mass resettlement in the valley in the period post-1994 democratic elections.

Thembaletu hostel is currently unoccupied and is occasionally leased out as a film set. The former worker cottages have been earmarked for or already adapted for use for corporate hospitality.



Figure 14. Cottages at Lanquedoc Village (Boschendal Archive)

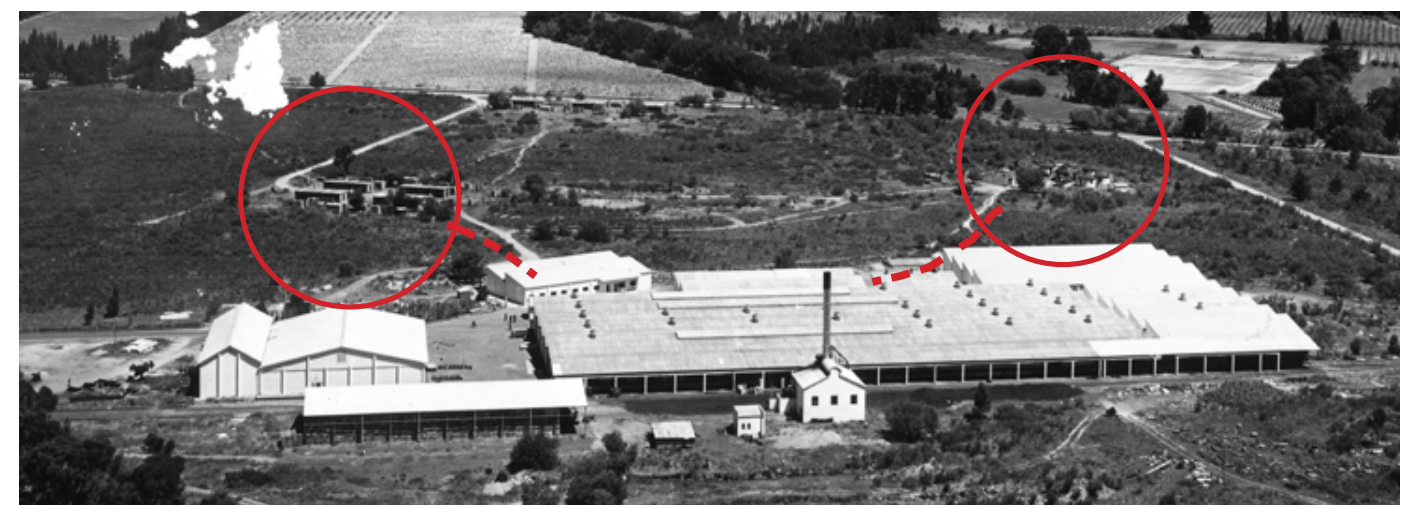


Figure 15. Aerial of extended RFF cannery, 1960s; insets show the coloured (l) and black (r) settlements (Manning Catalogue, RFF).





Figure 16. 2005 Uilkraal (right) across the road from Cannery Row (left) (Google Earth, 2018)



Figure 18. Boschendal's mid-century modernist worker cottage typology (Wolff Architects, 2018)



Figure 17. Unoccupied Thembaletu dormitory units (Wolff Architects, 2018)



Figure 19. Lanquedoc Extension resettlement (Wolff Architects, 2018).



#### 5.4 Black Leisure Landscapes

Prior to the legislative racialisation of space in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the workers of Boschendal and the surrounding areas had relatively free access to the natural features of the Dwars River Valley. The recreational use of the valley, whether for relaxation, ritual or foraging, was a significant aspect of non-work life for the villagers in the valley.

The notion of black leisure spaces can often be reduced to only places of cultural practice and activities related to non-farm economic skills and work. However, while these are significant to the spatial history of Boschendal, there was a range of other leisure activities related to the landscape. Maps, photographs and oral narratives indicate that the historic recreational use of the land existed both in formalised and informal activities. This reading of the archive allows us to re-imagine the landscape as a more egalitarian space—accessible to all and enjoyed by all.

The image below shows a row of farm workers in sports uniform, standing behind a rugby ball, with “1930” written on it. Behind, is a clearing lined with trees, a house, and in the distance, the mountain range outlined. This image speaks of the formal organization of team sport and structure within the Boschendal farm. The repeated activities: practice, matches and interaction with other similar clubs in the area, speaks of social networks and commonalities.

It is symbolic of the farm labourers’ free movement and occupation (or even perhaps the temporary possession) of a space that was otherwise labour landscape.

The 1967 issue of the publication, *Alpha*, shows a cosmopolitan couple, described as “city dwellers” visiting Pniël’s riverside to picnic. The space was not only a place of leisure for the residents of Pniël but a source of income for the village. An entry fee was charged to visitors, who, in peak season amounted to 300 people, (Steyn, 1967) enjoying the natural beauty on the banks of the Dwars River. The river was also, historically, used for refrigeration and fishing and remains in the collective memories of the people in the valley, holding significant emotional and cultural relevance. The book, *Pniël en sy Mense*, is an intimate account of the history of Pniël by members of its society. It has stories and photographs of the relationship its people had with the river: children swimming in the river, in pools built each year in the same spot to dam the water; women gathering to wash clothes along its banks.

The mountains were also sites of leisure. Their natural beauty and spatial distinction from the integrated work/home landscape established the mountain areas as places of rest. Both the waterfall and Silvermines at the Drakenstein and Simonsberg mountain ranges (respectively) were, according to residents, weekend destinations (Pastor-Makhurane, 2005).



Figure 20. Rhodes Fruit Farm Rugby Team, 1930 (University of Cape Town Archives, 2019).



The mountains were also a popular destination for holiday-makers, who have been photographed camping there. Some of the informal routes and footpaths leading to these public areas were considered to be social connectors to other villages, in addition to being recreational destinations.

Vast parts of the landscape have since been privatised, restricting access to historic routes and activities.

### 5.5 Notions of Labour as Living

Although often policed, places of work offered some opportunity for socialisation, where labourers sharing time, space and duties allowed for friendships, networks and relationships to develop. The capacity for people to forge bonds with their fellow workers is an enduring aspect of human social interaction that transcends the nature of the tasks at hand. We see this in the images of women doing laundry in the Dwars River; although it is an act of labour, there is a perceived sense of a community. Viewing labour through this lens lends workers agency, individuality and independent humanity by recognising those essential human traits common across social divides.

Agency is further evident in the extensive records of inhabitants of Pniël working for non-farm wages for their own ends. Pniël residents were able to establish social networks and senses of personhood that are plural and diverse because it was not solely tied to them being labourers at Boschendal. In addition, the small plots assigned to each property when the mission was established were tended by residents of Pniël, allowing them to grow their own produce, and even sell it in times of surplus (Cyster, et al., 2008). Indeed, many inhabitants of the village were not permanently employed by the farm, but worked there seasonally to supplement the living they could eke from their own allotments (Scully, 1986: 13).

Further to this, the social cohesion fostered through life in Pniël as opposed to on a farm, allowed for the establishment of generational practices such as the gathering of local natural resources, ranging from firewood to foraging for indigenous, edible plants, veldkos, flowers and medicinal plants. These are resources considered to be crucial to their heritage and health, by the labourer community in the Valley (Pastor-Makhurane, 2005).



Figure 21. Historic image of the picnickers on the banks of the Dwars River (Alpha Magazine, August 1967, Boschendal Archive).



Figure 22. Historic image of child swimming at Faniedam in the Dwars River (Cyster et 2008).



## 5.6 Notions of labour as servitude

The fourth notion that requires consideration is the notion of labour as servitude, which is perhaps the conceptualisation of workers in and on the land, an image that comes most readily to mind when imagining labourer histories of Boschendal. This notion denotes the physical hardship of labour, the repetitiveness of policed menial tasks associated with factory work and the authoritarian structures in place.

While these conditions certainly do not warrant celebrating, they were, from the earliest days of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the lived experience of the majority of workers in the Dwars River Valley. The rapid expansion of Rhodes Fruit Farm introduced more mechanised methods of production. Corporate farming was instituted and with it a change in land use and farming practices. Systems of labour thereafter comprised of re-assigning roles and working relationships.

Hierarchies remained racialised, and labourers were assigned repetitive tasks that were generally performed indefinitely, whether full-time or seasonally, in some instances over several generations (ref Pniël). This type of labour is associated with the absence of opportunities for betterment and other factors common to manual labour and menial tasks of corporate production.

The outcomes of these changes are recorded in numerous images from the time that depict series of rows of people and machines, often under the watchful eye of white overseers, with the tasks of an entire day reduced to a tiny, restricted component task of a production line.

## 5.7 Mining Practice within the Winelands

Boschendal farm has a legacy of being operated by individuals and businesses related to the mining industry. The origins of the trend can be traced back to Cecil John Rhodes, a mining entrepreneur who purchased Boschendal and 19 other farms in Drakenstein (Aucamp, 1992) to form most of what is now known as the farm estate. Consolidating smaller mining claims in Kimberly into larger conglomerates was how Rhodes made his wealth in mining (Rotberg, 1988) and he applied this strategy when he established the farm.

Sir Abe Bailey, a Randlord who made his wealth in diamond mining, purchased the farm in 1937 from De Beers, the mining corporation that had run Boschendal farm from 1925. From 1940 to 1968, the farm was run by various businesses before it was purchased by Anglo American and De Beers to form Amfarms in 1969 (Winter & Baumann, 2013). In 2010, a mining conglomerate, JCI Holdings,



Figure 23. Women performing labour as a communal activity (Gribble, General: Boschendal Archive)



Figure 24. Women performing labour as a communal activity (Gribble, General: Boschendal Archive)



founded by Barney Barnato (yet another mining mogul) in 1889, acquired the controlling 62% share of the farm (JCI, 2010).

The significance of this observation lies in the effect of the transference of mining spatial practices onto Boschendal farm's landscape and the Valley. Both the mining and agricultural industries require ownership of large tracts of land. With it, owners have the ability to define the sub-cultural identity of the large groups of the labourers they employ. These "communities" in which labourers were organised, were spaces produced with powerful constraints to social mobility. Further, the mining hostel, an "enduring feature of the South African urban-industrial landscape", (Crush, 1992) was introduced to the rural agrarian context of Boschendal. Hostels were mediums of industrial discipline and surveillance, and a highly developed spatial practice that compounded existing paternalistic practices. Boschendal's Thembaletu Hostel was procured by Amfarms to accommodate black, single-sex migrant labourers. Introducing housing for hundreds of new male residents in the farm, could have, we assume, caused a societal shift to an existing community of family units.

The hostel construction came on the heels of major infrastructural and physical changes to the natural landscape. Modifications and developments included man-made dams, increasingly productive landscapes, mechanised transport and labour cottages amongst others. Thembaletu, the dense 5500m<sup>2</sup> housing development was an additional alteration to land use.

This notion of corporate, regimented organisation of space is something to be explored further.



Figure 25. Food Industries of SA, April 1949, (Boschendal Archive)

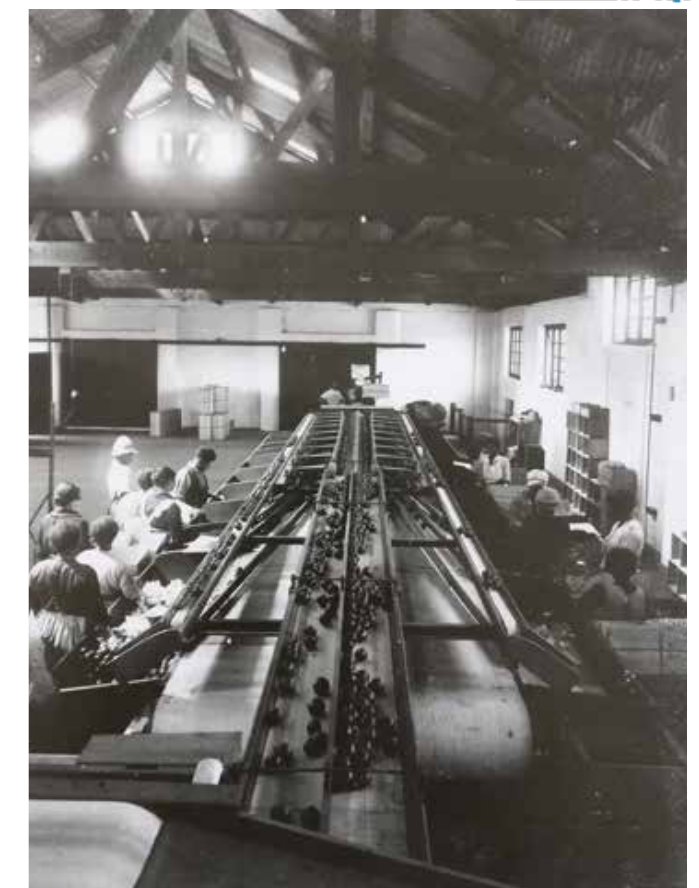


Figure 26. Historic images of mechanised systems of labour depicting women sorting fruit and in the pack shed under supervision (RFF, Boschendal Archives).



Figure 27. Men quarrying stone (Gribble Collection)