AN INTRODUCTION TO THE MAN-MADE LANDSCAPE AT THE CAPE FROM THE 17TH TO THE 19TH CENTURIES

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Volume 1

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I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university for a degree.

Signed: G B FAGAN

DATE: 15.9.94
ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the urban and rural landscapes created at the Cape from the 17th to the 19th centuries, by the examination of drawings filed with transfers in the Deeds Office and plans in the Surveyor-General's Office, and relating them to landowners by further genealogical and archival research.

Attention is drawn to the importance of recording the different elements and the overlay of the materials of vertical structures (what could be called their vertical archaeology), by those working on old buildings. Such analyses as have been done during thirty years of practical involvement with restoration, recycling and conservation projects, have indicated that different mortars used before and after the 18th century, may be of assistance in the broad dating of Cape buildings. This finding served as a guide to the recognition of planned patterns of landscape elements.

This research indicates that official Dutch policy set the precedent for ordered geometrical planning in the 17th century at the Cape and that this trend remained virtually unchanged to the end of the 19th century, especially in the rural landscape.

It is shown that townscapes and individual urban properties were influenced by styles and new plants introduced by the arrival of British settlers from 1806 onwards, but that these changes remained within the confines of geometrical lay-outs where these existed, to the end of the 19th century. With a few notable exceptions, a lack of water and wealth prevented the development of large private or official pleasure grounds.

On the other hand official sanctioning and aid to botanical gardens from the 4th decade of the 19th century, first in Cape Town and then in towns throughout the colony, introduced new trees, crops, and interest in horticultural activities. But communication with the wider botanical world stimulated an interest in rare Cape plants, which lead to plant gathering on a scale so vast that many are now endangered species.

Because of the wide field covered, the research is regarded as an introduction to the subject, to be taken further by future researchers.
The area researched (Bergh J S & Visagie J C, *The Eastern Cape Frontier Zone 1660-1980*)
INTRODUCTION

PRELIMINARY

As a result of an earthquake in the Western Cape in September 1969, I joined my husband's architectural staff to assist in the many restoration, conservation and recycling projects with which his office had become involved especially as a result of the many damaged buildings. I was required to provide the historical and other information which would be necessary to do the work in a responsible way and also to assist in the recording of on-site findings and to publish, as far as time would allow, our experiences.

In the ensuing 25 years, our office has been involved with over 150 projects of this nature in the Cape as a result of which certain vernacular building patterns and historical sequences have become apparent to us.

IDENTIFICATION OF RESEARCH FIELD

The dearth of information available on the interrelationship between man and his environment at the Cape, prompted this research.

Publications on individual building types¹ have accentuated buildings rather than landscapes. Fransen, in his unpublished doctoral thesis, *Classicism, Baroque, Rococo and Neo-classicism in Cape Architecture* has drawn attention to the need for a more comprehensive survey of the pattern of farmyards and the UCT department of Archaeology has by excavation shown the pattern of some farm buildings at Vergelegen and Paradise. Hennie Vos of the Stellenbosch Museum has been involved with similar work in the Stellenbosch area.

But the present research investigated the nature of the decisions made by individuals when they were faced with a new, untamed piece of land. How did they set about organising their needs: the arrangement of buildings; the defence of humans and animals; the approach; the view; the access to and the setting out of lands; the organisation of water to crops, to animals and for domestic purposes; and lastly, the embellishments, or those extra features created for the sole purpose of enjoyment and display of status. (Three studies addressing these issues have recently been undertaken, one on Victoria West and another on Carnarvon both by the Department of Architecture in Natal, and the third on Montagu by the University of Cape Town Architectural Department under V and D Japha).

Further questions asked were concerned with whether decisions made on landscape organisation were based on a knowledge or philosophy of design principles - in other words was there a conscious effort to design according to an idea or precedent, or did the initial plan grow from a common-sense expression of basic needs.

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¹ Fransen and Cook, *The Old Houses of the Cape*; Dane *The Great Houses of Constantia*; Walton *Homesteads and Villages of South Africa, Water-mills, Wind-mills and Horse-mills of South Africa, Cape Dovecots and Fowl-runs, Old Cape Farmsteads*; Bodari, *Cape Dutch Houses and Farms*; Lowcock R, *Early 19th century architecture in South Africa*
These questions have become the subject of numerous recent publications both in Europe and America. But garden history itself has in the last ten years received the attention of many writers who have given us a better understanding of specific periods by using new sources of information and hitherto unpublished illustrations.

STATE OF RESEARCH
RURAL LANDSCAPES

As information on the history of rural landscape design is to be found in a diverse range of private and public sources, its preservation in various countries will vary considerably, depending on how such records have been exposed to the destructive forces of war, fire, earthquakes or similar hazards, from all of which the Cape has fortunately been singularly free.

Accessibility of such documents to researchers may be difficult if these sources are held by different archives or private institutions, as is the case in England where Lambert has, for instance, pointed out the widespread distribution of very valuable early estate maps.

Lambert is of the opinion that Ordnance Surveys are "possibly the single most important source of information about gardens", and notes that the first British surveyors' drawings were made only late in the 18th century. An official Land Registry was established in Britain by an act passed in 1862 and this state registry consisted of information voluntarily supplied by landowners for approval by the registrar. The system was reformed in 1875 and again in 1897 when the principle of compulsory registration was introduced for the first time.

Where there were no surveyors' drawings, properties transferred, usually from father to son or other family members (according to hereditary laws), were described by local authorities. In England these investigations of properties to be transferred by those local authorities who "walked the boundaries" are recorded in county archives but they are not accompanied by diagrams. In Holland and Belgium the same system was used, the "schepen college" being the responsible local executive body.

The lack of early surveyors' drawings in Britain and Europe has however been richly compensated for by the numerous art works executed for publications and commissioned by large landowners. Accurate detailing in these illustrations was not as important as displaying the wealth and opulence of the landowner or the magnificence of the projected or executed scheme.

At the Cape from 1660 - 1900 (the period of this study), private landowners received title of their grants. These had to be officially approved and were accompanied by surveyors' drawings, sometimes most

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3 Jacques D, Georgian Gardens; Elliott B, Victorian Gardens; Ed Fieldhouse K & Harvey S, Landscape design, An International Survey; Stuart D, The Kitchen Garden and many more
4 Lambert D, Researching a Garden's History from documentary and published sources. In association with the Centre for the Conservation of Historic Parks and Gardens, 1991
5 Everyman's Encyclopaedia, under "conveyance", "registration of title", "tenure"
6 Winkler Prins Algemeene Encyclopaedie, Amsterdam 1934
7 Refer especially to Humphry Repton's "Red Books"
skillfully executed, for retention in a central Registry of Deeds. Most of these, together with subsequent transfers, have been retained in the Surveyor-General's Office in Cape Town where they are readily accessible to the researcher with the necessary approval. They present accurate information of estate boundaries, topographical detail and landscape layout, not only of the large, but also of smaller properties, thus covering a wide social spectrum.

This, together with an equally comprehensive collection of other official documents covering the same period, stored and made available in the Cape Archives, has provided this study of landscape design with a unique basis of scientific material not always available in other countries.\(^8\)

In the numerous English books on the history of landscape design published recently, there are few references to surveyors' drawings. Thus Jane Brown in *The Art and Architecture of English Gardens* in which the course of English garden design over four centuries is traced, used water colours, drawings, plans, sections and elevations from the collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects for her illustrative material.\(^9\) As these drawings are to scale and many are by famous landscape designers like Lancelot (Capability) Brown and Humphry Repton, they are extremely valuable. But the collection is obviously not representative of all classes of properties, as only those of large landowners who were able to afford landscape architects, are shown.

Michael Young uses mostly modern photographs and a few old engravings to illustrate his *A Guide to the Botanical Gardens of Britain*.\(^10\)

Susan Lasdun in *The English Park*\(^11\) illustrates her history of English parks with early paintings and engravings, and only two drawings of Holden by a surveyor, John Leland, before and after it had been turned into a park in 1587.

Geoffrey and Susan Jellicoe in their discussion of the history, philosophy and architecture of the landscape of different cultures in *The Landscape of Man*, illustrate their work and draw their conclusions mainly from artworks associated with the great landscapes under discussion.\(^12\) Christopher Thacker does the same in his *The History of Gardens*,\(^13\) and so does Derek Clifford in *A History of Garden Design*.\(^14\)

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8 Margaret Cairns' interview with the eminent Dutch Professor de Smidt who visited our Deeds Office a few years back. He was of the opinion that our record of land-tenure and surveyor's drawings spanning over 300 years as exist here, is unique (M Cairns personal communication.)


13 Thacker Christopher, London, 1979

David Stuart, a well known British researcher and writer on the history of landscape planning, illustrates his books with often unpublished art work (for which he does not give references) and his plans fall into the same category of illustrations as the above.15

David Jacques who describes fully the contribution made by gardens and parks in the period 1730 to 1830 to the Georgian landscape, includes amongst his many illustrations, a number of well-detailed plans by contemporary landscape designers, all well referenced.16

The Victorian era is best covered by Brent Elliott who uses a few plans and many contemporary illustrations.17

Kenneth Woodridge in his magnificent book on the gardens of the 17th and 18th century covers a wide spectrum of visual records demonstrating the joint skills of architects, landscape planners and hydraulic engineers. Plans of grand scale gardens by le Nôtre and Pierre le Pantres demonstrate the expertise which was available to wealthy European landowners who landscaped on a scale which was never found at the Cape. Apart from the lack of wealth, professional expertise and horticultural material, lack of perennial water and maintenance labour would make such landscapes at the Cape impossible.18

In his Bibliography of British Gardens, Ray Desmond has brought to the notice of the serious researcher the vast amount of printed historical information available on landscape design in Britain, but his references do not include original material to be found in libraries, archives or record offices. He does, however, draw attention to the early 19th century county guide books and to the published guides to the estate maps in possession of widespread county record offices.19

Publications on the history of Dutch landscape design too (the most valuable source is the two volumes published by Bienfait in 1943) rely largely on plans and illustrations drawn for large estate-owners by contemporary well-known landscape designers and artists.20

A number of recent publications on Italian historical landscapes indicate that the best sources of information on early plans and illustrations are to be found in family archives although a number of very interesting plans is filed in the state archives of Venice and the Correr Museum. Some of these are reproduced in Ileana Chiappini’s introductions to The Gardens of Venice and The Gardens of Florence both by Mary Jane Pool.21

Gardens of Portugal by Patrick Bowe provides a short background to their historical landscape and was valuable in demonstrating certain similarities of design at the Cape, probably features derived from the East in both cases. Here the large square water tanks of Belem, Fronteira and Bacalhao were

18 Woodridge Kenneth, Princely Gardens, London 1986
20 Bienfait A G, Oude Hollandsche Tuinen, S’Gravenhage, 1943
reminiscent of those found in 17th century Dutch landscapes and the tank in the back courtyard of the Cape Town castle. 22

The history of American landscape development has received some attention in the last few years and three publications by Anne Leighton on early, 18th and 19th century periods are well researched and referenced and therefore valuable sources on the subject. Illustrations are, however, scarce and hardly any plans, paintings or other illustrative material showing landscape design are included.

Large tracts of land were given to nobles to whom royalty was indebted, or to small financial companies hoping to profit, or to land speculators, religious sects, merchants, traders and a variety of other entrepreneurs. Land was haphazardly occupied and abandoned and often owned by landlords living in Europe with no intention of living on the land themselves. Records of land-ownership over the centuries and especially before the 19th century is therefore not mentioned. 23

It appears therefore that the distribution of land grants in North America were not as orderly or officially controlled as at the Cape.

Hedrick in his well-researched book A History of Agriculture in the State of New York confirms the disorderly fashion of early land settlement and lack of information on early land tenure and landscape design. 24

Thomas Jefferson’s Garden Book contributes to an understanding of the influence that English landscape philosophy had on the upper class American landowner, and includes the very interesting (amateurish) drawings made by Jefferson as he continually replanned and adapted his garden plans after European visits. 25

Information on Australian early landscape history has not yet appeared in book form although there is a great deal of interest in the subject and articles appear regularly in their horticultural magazines. Two publications on the gardens of the landscape designer Edna Walling, give an idea of late 19th century trends. 26

Monique Mosser and Georges Teyssot in their recent magnificent publication on the history of garden design, have combined information from old garden plans, engravings, paintings, drawings and photographs with modern surveys, and have in this way produced a series of very interesting plans of each epoch’s most significant gardens. Their work is well referenced and as they have set a high standard of research and presentation, this is probably the most valuable book on the subject to date. 27

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22 Bowe P, Gardens of Portugal
26 Walling Edna, A Gardener’s Log; 1948, reprinted 1985, Ed Margaret Barret; The Edna Walling Book of Australian Garden Design 1943, reprinted 1986 Ed Margaret Barret, both published by Anne ‘O Donovan
27 Mosser Monique and Teyssot Georges, History of Garden Design

FIELD WORK

Analysis of building materials in buildings during 30 years of field work in the restoration of old buildings, had indicated historic building sequences and identifies patterns of conscious landscape design at the Cape. The thesis did not research similar patterns of vertical archeological findings outside the Cape.

Local archaeological publications were found to be disappointing not only through a lack of knowledge of building practice and building materials, but also due to misinterpretation of related historical facts. The field work done by Hennie Vos in the Stellenbosch district was an exception, as he correlates his findings with accurate archival research, but he does not use as much information in the Deeds Office, which might have assisted him in a better interpretation of his findings.

Landscape archaeology has also received the attention of Virginian archaeologists who have been able to identify garden features by excavation of different colours of soil layers and artefacts remnants. This has led to identification of fence lines and footings of old structures at estates like Montecello. Dating of findings were correlated with known plans and where these were not available one suspects that dating would have been much more difficult.

URBAN LANDSCAPES

Mumford qualifies his enquiry into the origin of cities by saying "that (it) would read more clearly were it not for the fact that perhaps most of the critical changes took place before the historic record opens".

At the Cape the information on the first appearance of towns has been recorded and, as with the history of private properties, this information is largely still available to researchers because every new town had to be officially sanctioned and its lay-out plan officially approved. These plans are obtainable from the Cape Archives and in the Deeds office, but as only some are indexed they are not all so easily accessible.

This thesis is specifically concerned with the origins and earliest patterns of small towns in the Cape, de wording van de verschyningsvormen as Taverne so succinctly puts it. The growth of these towns and comparative analyses of other colonial towns is beyond the scope of this thesis and therefore not followed. A superficial enquiry into the origin and appearance of contemporary European towns was made.

Winkler Prins provides an excellent article, with illustrations, on the types of European towns which had been established by the 19th century, and finds that they could be roughly classified into two types: the concentrated settlement where the houses formed a dense conglomerate surrounded by their cultivated enclosed land and the dissociated settlements.

28 Brink Y, Ph.D U.C.T. Historical Archeology in the Western Cape
29 Vos H, M A Thesis U.S. An historical and archaeological perspective of colonial Stellenbosch 1660-1680
31 Mumford L, The City in History
32 Earliest town plans are not readily available in the Deeds Office. In the Archives they are filed under different sections, but the computerised index is often helpful
33 Taverne Ed, In 't Land van beleefde in die nieue stad
The first group was the village a champs assolés or eschdorpen found in Drente, Overijssel and a large part of north-west Germany where the marshy surroundings allowed little arable lands. The land was divided into three sections, one for winter and one for summer crops and one used as fallow land. There was also provision for communal grazing. Crops and grazing were rotated annually on the the so-called drieslagstelsel already known to the Romans. After the 19th century this system as a result of higher crop expectancy was modified as the land came to be used more intensively.

A number of variations of this pattern occurred, changing to accommodate topographical features, the amount of arable land and needs for defence. In all the varieties illustrated and described in Winkler Prins, the plan lacks the formality of the Dutch and later English towns at the Cape. The European prototype has an organic configuration in contrast to the grid pattern described in almost every town in the Cape Colony. Only in those towns situated along the canals (Veenkolonien), and along roads (Strassendorf), the buildings were of necessity formally situated in rows and their lands in parallel plots.

A second group of towns (villages a champs dissociés) were those dissociated from the farms, both widely scattered throughout the countryside. These farms and towns were situated especially in mountainous areas (e.g. Norway) and were characteristic of Wales, Devon, Scotland and Ireland, parts of Flanders and France. In these instances the towns were sometimes very small and the farm buildings lay in the centre of the cultivated fields, which were enclosed. At the Cape this kind of dissociated settlement dominated: farms were too large to be grouped in close association with towns, and farmers had sometimes long distance to travel to reach their nearest villages. Their needs were catered for on their own "werfs" as has been shown at Coenradenberg or Meerlust (see pages 526 & 593).

Winkler Prins’ classification provided a valuable basis for the understanding of the early shapes of Cape settlements: the eschdorpen of Drent could for instance be compared to Montagu which the Japhas had found to be "a small mid-19th century Cape village ... an intensive agricultural settlement which functioned also as a religious centre", provided with commercial and artisan facilities. Their findings suggest that more Cape villages could fall into this group.

But most 19th century Cape villages were shown to have their origin as church towns and as these were widely scattered and dissociated from the very large farms situated between them, they could be compared to villages dissociés

A superficial study of the origin and significance of the simple grid plan which predominated in Cape towns was made, to understand the significance of the straight streets, the equally sized town erven, the public squares and the relation of these to the main buildings and monuments. Camillo Sitte’s classic analysis of the city square and its significance was found to be the most inspiring, together with Rasmussen’s Towns and buildings.
Ronald Lewcock in his book on early nineteenth century architecture in South Africa wrote a chapter on *The Character of the Early Nineteenth Century Town* which to date is probably the only authoritative work on the subject.  

He describes the Stellenbosch "baroque" plan and makes the same mistake about the "braak" which Biermann made. (This space was a ploughed field in the time of Simon Van der Stel and not an open public space.)

Lewcock also gives a short history of Cape Town's development but does not comment on one of the most important aspects of the plan - that the extended main walk of the Garden became the main street of the city. His remark about the haphazard placing of public buildings is not quite acceptable as they were all given positions of honour on public squares. Instead of placing public buildings in positions at the end of street vistas, streets were left open to the view of the sea and the mountains and Heerengracht had an ornate gate at the Garden entrance.

Lewcock's remarks about the placing of public buildings away from the market-place as a planning principle is not substantiated by the examination of other early town plans where the City Halls and even churches were situated on market squares. (e.g. Piketberg, Malmesbury, Port Elizabeth)

These discrepancies are mentioned merely to indicate that, valuable as his document may be, a wider study of further early town plans may lead to new visions and a deeper understanding of the general way in which settlers approached and landscaped the untamed environment.

**OBJECTIVE**

Having been faced repeatedly with the need to create a sympathetic environment for places of historical significance, and having found very little documentary evidence of landscape design in the 18th and 19th century Cape, it was resolved to make this a subject of study. It was hoped that a better understanding might be provided for landscape architects and other planners of the way in which past rural and urban landowners designed and used their surroundings.

**SOURCES**

*Researching a Garden's History* by David Lambert was found to be the most helpful guide to the sources that should be used in a research of this nature while Ray Desmond's *Bibliography* was used as a reference for obtaining relevant books.

**DEEDS OFFICE**

Most transfer deeds in the Cape Colony have been preserved in the Deeds Office and these together with the surveyor's drawings attached to them provide the most accurate information on properties and very often also of the people who owned them. Though surveyors are mostly concerned with the accurate
drawing of boundaries, they sometimes add rivers, mountains, trees, buildings, garden walls, roads, the situation of cultivated lands and descriptions of grazing.

Though this added information is stylised and out of scale, it does indicate landscape patterns which were, where practical, confirmed by visits to the locations or by interviews with property owners or family members.

The author had become aware of drawings done by the surveyor Michell towards the end of the 19th century which appeared not to have been published before. They are in colour, show landscape elements in detail, and are therefore a valuable new source of information on the Constantia and other Peninsula estates.

BUILDING MATERIALS

The most reliable confirmation of building dates and building sequence is however only possible by an examination of the building materials of the walls of structures. During the work of our office, it became increasingly clear that various colours of dark loam mortar were used in the construction of 18th century buildings and yellow clay mortar from the 19th century onwards. This helped to date which buildings had been built simultaneously and thus to confirm certain pre-planned lay-out patterns.

During the conservation of the Castle - a project that has taken 25 years - the dating of locally made bricks suggested a certain size sequence, but this study is not yet complete.

Most rural and urban land owners made their own bricks, so that these vary greatly in colour, consistency and material. The finding of similar bricks in different buildings or garden walls helped with the dating of structures. Clay or mud walls were used throughout the period researched, but dating could usually be done by looking at the overlay of materials.

ARCHIVES

For a better understanding of the transfer deeds, it was necessary to relate them to their human component and this was most successfully done by archival research mostly in the Cape Archives, but also in the Algemeen Rijksarchief and British Records Office. The most useful documents in this regard were the census returns, in spite of their limitations, for they gave information on people living at various places at various times, as well as their agricultural and other products, and cattle and vehicles. Reports of land commissioners were sometimes accompanied with useful drawings. Inventories, death notices, wills and insolvent estates gave added information.

The large map collections in the Cape Archives and Rijksarchief are well indexed and computerised. The most useful maps on properties situated along the Simon's Town - Cape Town road were drawn by Louis Michell Thibault in the early 1800s and were extremely useful especially when read with the preliminary drawings which he did for these maps. They give details of buildings, walls and garden features, but need to be carefully analysed to be understood. Divisional maps of the suburbs were useful for comparative studies.
Some information on the early landscape of villages i.e. their earliest plans, are sometimes available from the Surveyor General’s Office, but can also be found in the Cape Archives map collection or filed with correspondence files. These original drawings were sometimes most elusive and plans for a few towns were not found.

PRINTED MATERIAL

Descriptions by early travellers were cross-checked as their interpretation of what they saw was obviously dependent on their own experience. Valentyn, for instance, copied Kolbe’s descriptions of the early 18th century landscape, sometimes almost literally. Sparrman in the mid-18th century and Thunberg towards the end of the century gave valuable descriptions of plants but not much information on how they were used or on garden lay-out.

The Rev Latrobe’s descriptions were often coloured by his bias against the colonists. Burchell who travelled through the Colony in the first decades of the 19th century, was a fine observer and an accomplished writer. He made some astute remarks on the landscape potential of the Cape inhabitants, one of which may prove to be most revealing:

"...the art of ornamental gardening being quite unknown in the colony, unless a few places in the immediate vicinity of Cape Town should be allowed a pretension to it".

The diaries of the 1820 settlers gave first-hand information on the way they constructed their first buildings and paddocks but not much information on the gardens they created. Some relevant remarks on the beauty of the natural environment provided clues as to why they did not create the landscape gardens that they had left at home - that they found a natural landscape here which surpassed those "natural scenes" created by human hands.

Town histories were obtained from festival church publications, some of which were of an extremely high standard; but others had to be checked.

Numerous beautiful publications on garden history were studied to gain a general background of those philosophies on landscape design which over 300 years might have influenced planning at the Cape. The modern books were acquired, the older ones were read in the S A Public Library and the Botanical Library at UCT which has an excellent range of early 18th and 19th century publications.

The Garden History Society and their journal, Garden History, has proved to be a valuable source of information on international thought on historical landscape design.

PLANT MATERIAL

As it was impossible to research the origins and uses of the many plants used in Cape landscapes for the period covered, it was decided to confine this part of the research to one representative plant. The rose which had commercial, medical, practical and aesthetic uses was chosen. Specimens of old roses were
collected in small town byways and gardens, cemeteries, along old unused roads and historic homes. Material of these was vegetatively reproduced and planted in private and museum gardens. These were then identified during extensive travels to historic rose gardens in Britain, France, Denmark, Holland, Australia and New Zealand and with the help of a private library collected on the subject. Here the books of Mr Graham Thomas, a reprint of the three volumes of the original Rédoute rose monograph and an original copy of Miss Willmot's monograph were the most valuable sources of information as well as the publications of Ethelyn Keays in America and Nancy Steen in New Zealand.

PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTIONS

The various collections in the Cape Archives, South African Library, the Jagger Library and the Special Collection Manuscript section of the African Studies Department at UCT were examined for photographs.

A personal collection of some thousands of slides covering work over the last 30 years, was searched for relevant material.

RELEVANCE OF RESEARCH

No previous publication has been written on landscape planning at the Cape and in view of the new interest on the subject internationally, and South Africa’s unique situation mid-way between the West and East, a study of this subject becomes relevant.

As the subject covers a long time span and a large geographical area, it does not pretend to be a definitive work, but rather an introduction to stimulate further research.

When the research on the rose was published in *Roses at the Cape of Good Hope*, the first imprint was well received and followed by a second. It has had a wide distribution to Britain, America, Spain, Italy, France, Russia, Germany, Japan, Australia and New Zealand, showing the widespread international interest in the subject. As reviews on the research aspects have been very favourable, the relevance of this part of the study has been proved.
METHODOLOGY

The work has been set out in chronological order, but the original intention to divide the discussion into Dutch, Transitional and British periods proved to be impractical as these periods merged so imperceptibly.

The Cape had been occupied in 1652 by the Dutch East India Company whose trading ships passed the Cape on their way to the East. By establishing a victualling station at the Cape, they hoped to decrease the disturbingly high mortality rate on their ships.

In 1795 the Cape was temporarily occupied by the British until in 1803 the Batavian Republic took occupation.

In 1806 the British, this time after a short battle, again took possession of the Cape which they then occupied until 1900, the cut-off date for this thesis.

In chapters 1 - 6 various aspects of the official Dutch policy and how it affected the landscape at the Cape are discussed. Chapters 7 - 9 describe the landscape of Peninsula farms; chapters 10 - 13 that of farms in the various districts, covering the Western Province, Zwartland, Tygerberg, Overberg, the Eastern Province and the Karoo. Townscapes are described in chapters 14 - 20. The last, chapter 21, covers the extent of the British influence and Botanical Gardens on the Cape landscape.

Full names of people mentioned and transfer deed numbers are given as far as possible, to facilitate the work of further researchers.

Each chapter has been introduced and summarised separately.

The controversy about the Le Blond/Dézallier d'Argenville authorship of The Theory and Practice of Gardening, (see Garden History, Winter, 1993; Mark Laird and John H Harvey, p178) has been noted, but Le Blond has been credited here.

Drawings in the Deeds Office and Surveyor General's Office were photographed in colour but due to costs most have been reproduced in black and white.

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Dirk Visser who kindly read the draft.

KEY WORDS AND ABBREVIATIONS

_Landscape_ - the man-made environment.
_Weef_ - the part of the farm directly associated with the buildings and spaces around them.
_Formal Landscape_ - A landscape which has been planned with geometrical arrangement of its elements.
_Baroque_ - with an almost overwhelming display of ornament.
_Axial_ - with an emphasis on a central line e.g. of approach or related to a vista.
_Symmetrical_ - identical on either side of a central line.
_Caepman_ - a group of the Khoi Khoi people indigenous to the Cape Peninsula specifically the groups comprising the Goringhaigua and Goringhaikonas (Nienaber G S, _Khoekhoense Stamname, 'n voorlopige verkenning_, 1989 RNG)
_D.E.I.C._ - Dutch East India Company.
_C/A_ - Cape Archives.
_R/A_ - Rijksarchief.
_B.R.O._ - British Records Office.

References to the Deeds Office start with the transfer number followed by the date e.g. T578 21.2.1840.

Note: Direct quotes from Foreign languages are in italics.
Photographs not credited were taken by G Fagan.

DEDICATION

To the surveyors of the Cape Colony whose wonderful work has remained unpublished and largely unappreciated for over 300 years.
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- **BERGVLIET**
- **FIRGROVE**
- **RUST EN VREDE**
- **SILVERHURST**
- **CLAASENBOSCH**
- **GLEN ALPINE (KLEIN BENYDENSDAL)**
- **BUITENVERWACHTING**
- **TOKAI**

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### NATIONALITY OF EARLY PLANNERS

### COMMON DESIGN PRINCIPLES

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the urban and rural landscapes created at the Cape from the 17th to the 19th centuries, by the examination of drawings filed with transfers in the Deeds Office and plans in the Surveyor-General's Office, and relating them to landowners by further genealogical and archival research.

Attention is drawn to the importance of recording the different elements and the overlay of the materials of vertical structures (what could be called their vertical archaeology), by those working on old buildings. Such analyses as have been done during thirty years of practical involvement with restoration, recycling and conservation projects, have indicated that different mortars used before and after the 18th century, may be of assistance in the broad dating of Cape buildings. This finding served as a guide to the recognition of planned patterns of landscape elements.

This research indicates that official Dutch policy set the precedent for ordered geometrical planning in the 17th century at the Cape and that this trend remained virtually unchanged to the end of the 19th century, especially in the rural landscape.

It is shown that townscapes and individual urban properties were influenced by styles and new plants introduced by the arrival of British settlers from 1806 onwards, but that these changes remained within the confines of geometrical lay-outs where these existed, to the end of the 19th century. With a few notable exceptions, a lack of water and wealth prevented the development of large private or official pleasure grounds.

On the other hand official sanctioning and aid to botanical gardens from the 4th decade of the 19th century, first in Cape Town and then in towns throughout the colony, introduced new trees, crops, and interest in horticultural activities. But communication with the wider botanical world stimulated an interest in rare Cape plants, which lead to plant gathering on a scale so vast that many are now endangered species.

Because of the wide field covered, the research is regarded as an introduction to the subject, to be taken further by future researchers.
The area researched (Bergh J S & Visagie J C, *The Eastern Cape Frontier Zone 1660-1980*)
CHAPTER 1

PLANNING OF THE MID-17TH CENTURY ENVIRONMENT OF THE D.E.I.C. POST AT THE CAPE

In this chapter the influences which contributed to the landscape design of the initial Dutch settlement at the Cape of Good Hope from 1652 are examined. Lying halfway between the East and the West, the Cape was cut off from both, yet bound to both by the coming and going of ships hungry for fresh produce and the healing which it brought to desperately sick sailors.

Undoubtedly the most important single element in the man-made European environment in Table Valley was its garden, and how it was established, protected and integrated into the settlement which was created to protect it, is the subject of this discussion under the following headings and sub-headings:

1 THE PIONEER SETTLEMENT IN TABLE VALLEY

1.1 THE GARDEN IS ESTABLISHED AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
1.2 THE EASTERN INFLUENCE
1.3 THE EUROPEAN INFLUENCE
   1.3.1 Medieval Gardens
   1.3.2 Published garden plans
   1.3.3 Urban Gardens
   1.3.4 The Princely Gardens of Frederik Hendrik
   1.3.5 The Gardens of the Rich Merchants of Amsterdam and Environs
   1.3.6 The Ideal Dutch Garden as described by Jan Van Der Groen compared with the Cape Garden
1.4 THE IMPACT OF LOCAL FACTORS
   1.4.1 The South-Easter
   1.4.2 Inability to obtain cattle from the indigenous people

2 THE MILITARY DEFENCE SYSTEM AND EXTENDED SETTLEMENT

2.1 RELATIONS WITH THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE AND THE DEFENCE SYSTEM
2.2 COMPARISON OF THE D.E.I.C. POSTS IN THE EAST WITH THE ONE
AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

2.2.1 The Influence of the Leyden Academy

2.2.2 Comparison of D.E.I.C. Posts in the East with the one at the Cape

3 SUMMARY
1 THE PIONEER SETTLEMENT IN TABLE VALLEY

1.1 THE GARDEN IS ESTABLISHED AT THE CAPE

When on the 6th of April 1652, Jan Van Riebeeck dropped anchor in Table Bay, he had a clear idea of the purpose of his mission:

He was to grow a garden, build a hospital, establish a friendly relationship with the indigenous population and build a fort to protect the settlement at the Cape of Good Hope which was to act as a refreshment station for the D.E.I.C. trading ships on their voyages to and from the East.

Van Riebeeck was also of the opinion that the indigenous folk should be converted to Christianity and for this purpose he had requested a minister to be included in his party.\(^1\)

Although Van Riebeeck arrived with the title of *Coopman en Opperhoof*\(^6\) he had as a young man of twenty been appointed as *onder-schirurgijn* on the flute *Het Hof van Holland* where, together with the chief surgeon, he had been responsible for the health of some 250 crew on a voyage to Batavia.\(^3\)

Perhaps it was the horror of his work on this voyage, on which they were shipwrecked, and the poor pay which he had received for it, that prompted him to change his profession when they eventually reached Batavia, to that of a scribe.\(^4\)

Perhaps Van Riebeeck had by doing so hoped for a better chance of promotion, for *onder-schirurgijns* were classified in the lower classes of the social hierarchy together with boatswains and cooks.\(^5\) And even master-surgeons, because of the menial tasks they performed (blood-letting, amputations, dressing of wounds, post-mortem dissections, etc), were never regarded with the same respect as the academic physicians who had attended universities, even though these gentlemen did not have the intimate practical knowledge of disease which was expected of the members of the Barber's Guild.\(^6\)

The fact that his uncle, Antonio Van Diemen, was Governor-general of Batavia, would also have helped Van Riebeeck to establish a successful career in the East which unfortunately ended with his resignation when he was suspected of trading for his own gain.\(^7\) After four years sojourn in Amsterdam his successful application for the post of Commander of the victualling station at the Cape once again would have given him the chance to prove his worth to the D.E.I.C. and hope to qualify for a senior position in the East.

One likes to think, however, that not only ambition, but a genuine concern for the plight of seamen was to inspire Van Riebeeck to make a success of the post at the Cape, for by then it was known that fresh fruit and vegetables were of prime importance for not only preventing but also healing

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1. Godée Molsbergen E C, *De Stichter van Hollands Zuid-Afrika, Jan Van Riebeeck*, p41
2. Ibid, p41
4. Godée Molsbergen E C, *De Stichter van Hollands Zuid-Afrika, Jan Van Riebeeck*, p10
5. Schoute W, *East Indian Voyage*, (Amsterdam 1658)
Map of 1654 in the Cape Archives (M1/22) showing the earliest experimental garden (yellow) and the subsequent squares, all set out in quadripartite arrangement (pink).
scurvy, the main killer on long voyages. The lack of what we now know to be Vitamin C, retarded the healing of accidental and gunshot wounds, amputations, fevers of unknown etiology, pneumonia, dysentery, and also caused swollen, bleeding gums and joints, skin disruptions, malaise and eventually mental disorders. Many of these Van Riebeeck would have treated as ship’s surgeon and he would have been aware of the staggeringly high mortality rate on the Company’s ships. In 1625 Schoute in his Geneeskunde records an average of 15%, but very often ships became unsailable because of sickness on board.

No wonder then, that the Commander a few weeks after landing, was inspecting the various regions of Table Valley to establish the best place for a garden. But as the winter rains had obviously not yet started, the soil was hard and dry everywhere, although the deep spoor of animals indicated to him that the earth would be suitable for cultivation:

even er in de Taefjevalij omtrent de laeghte comende, vonden weder de schoonste cley gronden van de werelt, welke van verscheijde spruijten in de regentijt bevochtigt worden,...

Two days later he records in his dairy:

bij den tuijnier, ons uijt 't vader/ant mede gegeven, eenige parckjens aerde om voor eerst tot preuve wat te besaaijen..."11

Fortunately a map of 1654 in the Cape archives, shows how the garden grew in the first two years.12 The area shown between the completed fort and Fresh River was the remainder of the first experimental gardens which had been started around the fort by Hendrick Boom, the gardener "from the homeland", with two helpers:

...den hovenier ondertusschen besigh houdende met zijn twee om wat moes ende andere criujden te saijen tot een preuve voor eerst, ende allenskens eenigh lant dicht aen de grachten rontsom de fortificatie om te spitten...13

These first experimental plots had not proved very successful, because of the poor quality of the sandy soils14 so that the part on the mountain side had already been turned into an enclosed cattle kraal.15

The irregular area which remained is nevertheless shown divided by straight paths crossing each other at right angles to form four beds. In fact one notices that the three further plots of land which are by this time "filled with fruit and vegetables" as well as a larger area shown as a

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8 Burrows E H, A History of Medicine in South Africa, p23 quotes Schoute Geneeskunde p64. In 1602 orange juice had been used as an anti-scorbutic for the crew on Admiral Both’s return voyage
9 Refer Van Riebeeck’s diary on 14.2.1654: den Draeck...hadde alsdoen al over de twintig dooden gehadt ende meest al zijn volqc zieck te coy, iem oock den schipper, sult dat genoussen oumachig was ende te vreesen is door swackheidt qualijck vermooogens sijn "t schip laager te regeren ofte hier te brengen...
10 Bosman D & Thom H B, Van Riebeeck Daghregister gehouden by den Opperkoopman Jan Anthomie Van Riebeeck 27th April, p32 but coming again into Table Valley in the lower parts we found the best clay soil that one could wish for anywhere in the world which is kept moist by several streams
11 Ibid, 29th April 1652, p33 the gardener brought from the fatherland making beds to sow as an experiment
12 Cape Archives, M1/22
13 Ibid, 1 May 1652, p34 the gardener in the meantime kept busy with two helpers making beds to sow vegetables and herbs as an experiment and to dig round the fort next to the moat
14 Ibid, 2.4.1655 Van Riebeeck instructs men to clear the land higher up the mountain where the soil is not so sandy
15 CIA map M1/22, d; and map M1/25, f
The extended garden with agricultural land set out in parallel rectangles behind Table Mountain, defended by redoubt "Duynhoop", and the watch house at Rondebosch, 1656 (C/A, M1/14)
projected, incomplete garden, are all set out in the same manner: more or less in a rectangle with straight sides and divided into four by straight crossing paths.

Moreover those gardens identified as "private" which according to the records belonged to officials, and the small one indicated between Hendrick Boom's farmyard and the main garden which might have belonged to the master gardener and his wife, Annetien de Boerin, all show exactly this same pattern.

In trying to understand the influences which inspired the planning of this garden and its environment, it is necessary to examine the different experiences which Van Riebeeck himself had been exposed to, first in Batavia and then in Europe before he came to the Cape, and then to assess how these were reflected in the way he planned the settlement at the Cape.

From his diary we know that he personally determined the position and size of buildings and cultivated areas that he had an intense interest and good knowledge of the requirements of different crops, and a pleasurable satisfaction in their success. He knew how plants and seed should be packed for their long sea voyages and was continuously requesting seed and plants from the Fatherland and the East and in turn sending surplus seed from the Cape to the East. His interest in agriculture became even more evident when he was granted a farm of his own at Boscheuvel and an inventory taken of his estate when he left the Cape shows the variety of plants and trees which he was growing there as well as the scale of his activities.

As Van Riebeeck himself made decisions and gave instructions relative to agricultural matters, it is reasonable to assume that he was also responsible for determining the shape of the gardens, the pattern of the paths and beds, and the arrangement of the plants in them. He was fortunate to have a Dutchman, Hendrick Boom, as "master gardener" to implement his instructions, but one

16 Boeseken A J, Resoluutie van die Politiese Raad Deel 1, p60. It was hoped that by establishing these private gardens the owners would be able to provide not only for themselves but also to assist the Company in providing the visiting ships. It was decided to grant these loan erven only to the higher ranks, as the ordinary men did not even take the trouble to go to the orchards when fruit was abundant to gather for themselves
17 Annetien de Boerin was given the right to hire the Company's cows and sell milk products; later she was also allowed to keep an inn. Hendrick Boom in 1660 received a grant of one morgen, 168 square roods next to the fort and two years later another six roods next to his old land. Old Cape Grants Vol 1, Deeds office, Cape Town. He was, in fact, the first private farmer at the Cape.
18 Bosman D & Thorn H B, Daghregister gehouden by den Opperkoopman Jan Anthonisz Van Riebeeck, eg on 9.4.52 he supervised the setting out of the fort; 24.07.1657 he sets out the foundations for Coornhoop
19 Ibid eg on 08.06.1654 he supervises the setting out of a new square of garden land 34 roods long by 24 wide; on the 5th & 6th October 1657 he sets out land for the free-burgers etc
20 Ibid, There are many references to this, eg on the 16th and 23rd of November 1656, he goes behind the Lion Mountain with a spade to test the quality of the ground and finds it suitable for grain; on 31.09.1658 farmers are instructed to erect palisades around their lands to protect them especially from damage by pigs and he warns them that their lands would be inspected regularly
21 Ibid, 11.10.58 the entry notes that it was full moon and that the Commander had left quite early with the officers and their wives (probably all loaded onto a wagon) to show them for their pleasure the beautiful stand of corn in the new gardens behind the mountain, returning the same evening
22 Leibrandt C V, Precis of the Archives Cape of Good Hope Vol 1 1652-1662. There are many references to show this eg in a letter of 5.3.57 to the Council of 17 he points out that elder seed should be packed in sand and in a letter of the same date to Amsterdam he explains that horse radishes should not be packed in closed cases but in open casks in sand, exposed to air and regularly watered. In a letter to Batavia on the 14th August 1656 Van Riebeeck explains how he is sending them one tub of artichoke plants, one of rosemary and one of seven carnation plants packed in soil in small cane baskets. Between these were small borage plants of which the blue flowers could be used in salads
23 On 25th April he requests currant, gooseberries, cherry and other trees: in May he asks for apple and orange trees from St Helena
24 Boeseken A J, Memoriën & Instructien, p38
Map showing the extent of the Muslim Empire when Van Riebeeck landed at the Cape. Adapted from map on p103 Vollmer et Al, *Silk Roads China Ships*

Persian flower carpet with central pavilions and quadripartite arrangements of beds
suspects that the knowledge of this ordinary Dutch farmer would have been empirical and lacking in the esoteric insight of Van Riebeeck.  

Although the D.E.I.C. monitored the work of the Governors at the Cape by regular visits of Commissioners, it will be shown that as far as land organisation and planning were concerned, they preferred to follow the advice of Van Riebeeck who had the best knowledge of local problems and especially cost implications, of which they were very conscious.

1.2 THE EASTERN INFLUENCE

This quadripartite grouping of beds was a pattern prevalent throughout Europe by the early 17th century. It had its origin in ancient Persia where the figure four has important symbolic significance, representing the four rivers of life flowing to the four corners of the earth from a local central Spring or Source of Life. The Chahar bagh- symbolising man's paradise on earth, consists of four gardens formed by two crossing water channels which flow from a central tank often spanned by a pavilion from which the owner could gaze out over his garden, meditate eternity, or which after his death, could form his tomb.

Isfahan, planned on these lines, was approached from over the Zyande River along a rising fifteen metres wide walk with a canal of running water at its centre, and shaded by lofty chenars. On either side were many complexly quartered gardens, each with its own purpose and character. The Sultan, Shah Abba's successor, was still constructing one of these - the garden of the Nightingale in 1670, long after Van Riebeeck had left the Cape.

The widespread influence of the Muslims on the Mediterranean countries especially, can be gauged by a glance at a map of the mid-17th century which shows the extent of their empire when Van Riebeeck landed at the Cape. But also their flower carpets which were distributed by traders throughout Europe, remind us of their ordered arrangement of quadripartite beds repeating themselves symmetrically along strong geometric axes.

A few examples of remaining European Persian gardens well illustrate how they created gardens after their own image in the countries of their adoption:

A Muslim garden recently excavated in Seville, has four sunken beds and a central pool, which was unusual because it was circular.

25 Hendrick Boom, who arrived with Van Riebeeck as the Company's master gardener and supplier of produce to ships, was illiterate. His parents were farmers from Overtoom near Amsterdam.

26 The instruction that Commissioner van Goens gave Van Riebeeck to make an island of the Peninsula by cutting it off from the Cape Flats by digging a canal, was ignored by the Council of 17 when Van Riebeeck pointed out that 1500 shovels or spades alone would be needed to do the work! (dispatches 24.4.1657)

27 Lehrman J, in his Earthly Paradise pg 41 sums up the importance of the concept of order in Muslim gardens: In Islam mathematics is the language of the intellect and its abstraction reflects Divine Order. Man and nature are both created by God; mathematics links the structure of both and helps to explain their proportions. Shapes created by both men and nature can also be seen to share a common mathematical base. In such circumstances, geometry, symmetry, shape, surface and even line all reflect a natural process, and helps to relate the Muslim to Cosmic order

28 Brookes J, Gardens of Paradise, p79

29 Vollmer, Keall, Nagai, Berthrong Silk Roads, China Ships, p139

30 Wilbur D, Persian Gardens and pavilions, photograph of carpet p35

31 Brookes J, Gardens of Paradise, p46
Plan of the Alhambra

Two separate palaces meet on this line

Excavated garden in Seville showing four sunken beds around a central fountain
The ultimate Muslim garden in Spain, however is that of the Alhambra with its magnificent chahabar garden in the so-called "Court of the Lions", which was built in the middle of the 14th century.32

But it was not only in Persia or throughout their Mediterranean Empire but also in the East where the D.E.I.C. would have been able to appreciate the magnificence of the Persian gardens created by the Moguls of India, for it is here where they excelled themselves.

The tomb of the Mughul Humayun, which the author visited in 1986, was built under the supervision of his Persian widow. It stands on a large square in Delhi and has a number of squares in groups of four around central small square pools connected to each other with narrow canals not all with water. The formal pavilions allowing magnificent axial views of each other and the magnificent marble dome of the tomb remain immensely impressive.33

But it is of course the Taj Mahal, the tomb which Shah Jahan built for his deceased wife, which became the best known of all chahar bagh gardens. It deviates from the original arrangement by placing the main pavilion not centrally, but at the end of the vista so that it is reflected along the total length of the main canal.34

But it was through the revival of the early gardens of Greece and Rome in the later Italian Renaissance gardens, that the influence of the Persian 

paradaesi became most evident. And it was these gardens, especially those of the papal palaces and villas of the upper classes of Rome, which at the beginning of the 17th century, were to inspire and set the style for landscape design in the rest of Europe. Planned with mathematical precision and complete integration of buildings and landscape, they strove to express that same order which the Persians valued so highly.

For in spite of national clashes which led to continuous warfare, European nations had a common spiritual allegiance to Rome; Latin was the language of the academic, Rome the city of the cultured, and her villas with their magnificent gardens an inspiration to all who visited them.

In the plan of the Villa Medici, (circa 1550) situated on the Pinician hill, the main axis divides the villa into two symmetrical halves and is itself embellished with three magnificent fountains, the last of which lies at the centre of four flower beds. The bosco or green grove is arranged symmetrically on either side of a cross axis which runs at right angles to this main garden. It is also divided into four sections each in turn subdivided into four.35

A plan of the Villa Pamphilj Doria in 1644, ie eight years before the settlement at the Cape, shows the same basic pattern: the entrance along the main axis carries the eye through the centre of the main building, dividing it symmetrically. From the garden door this axis runs through a large basin which is the centre of a parterre consisting of three groups of beds in quadripartite arrangement.

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32 Ibid, Plan of Alhambra, p54
34 Ibid, Plan p152, Photographs, G T Fagan, 1985
35 This plan was obtained from E March Philips' The Gardens of Italy, p54. He credits Percier et Fontaine. He dates the plan to about 1550 which would have been six years after the building was built by Annibale Lippi. The birds-eye view is from Georgina Masson's Italian Gardens, (Antique Collector's Club edition) plate 86. She credits J. Laurus' Roma Vetus et Nova, (1614) which show the changes made by Cardinal Ferdinando de Medici after 1580
Humayan's tomb: plan (above)
photograph by G T Fagan 1985
The Taj Mahal as seen from the entrance (photo G T Fagan 1985)
Plans of Villa Pampijl, general and detail
The formal garden at Wilton House, Wiltshire, England.
The bosco on either side of the entrance and those at the far end of the garden also consist of groups of four beds, each group with a central feature.  

And while Olimpia Pampijl was building the Villa Pampijl and its garden according to plans drawn up by the architect Alessandro Algardi for her son, Camillo, on the outskirts of Rome, the Earl of Pembroke had just completed his formal garden at Wilton House in Wiltshire, England, according to the design of the anglicised Frenchman, Isaac de Caus. At the same time the Moghul king Shah Jahan in Agra completed the most famous of all Moghul gardens, the Taj Mahal in honour of Mumtaz Mahal and Van Riebeeck was building his formal kitchen garden at the Cape of Good Hope.

Though so far apart, typical features of a Persian garden were to be found in all of these gardens: they were situated on a slope, made use of quadripartite arrangement of beds symmetrically grouped on parallel axes, used water in canals and rectangular pools, integrated their buildings with their gardens, and though gardens were enclosed, allowed views of the distant countryside, a feature which was to become increasingly important in later Renaissance gardens.

The Cape garden, like most chahar bagh gardens, was entered from the lowest end of the slope, and was irrigated by parallel streams of mountain water. Though as yet it contained only the simple wooden cottage and hen-house of the master gardener outside the boundary of the organised garden, the magnificent view of Lion's Head with its huge flag on Signal Hill, the many sailing vessels lying in the bay with the Hottentot Holland mountains in the distance, and the backdrop of the massive Table Mountain, was regarded to be very beautiful. Many travellers described this "incomparable" garden to be of the most magnificent in the world. Its situation, layout and the incredible variety of both Eastern and European plants it contained, compensated for the lack of architectural structures and other garden embellishments found in its European and Eastern counterparts. Van Riebeeck left no record of the influences which determined the shaping of the Cape gardens. No reference to Eastern gardens in his diary or letters was found. During the time that he served as "onderkoopman" of the D.E.I.C. in Batavia (1640 - 1642, and in Tonkin 1643 - 1647), he would, however, have heard of the fabulous courts of the emperors of Siam, China, Hindustan and Persia where Dutch dignitaries were overwhelmed by the grandeur of their reception, the wealth and opulence of the exotic interiors and the variety of the entertainment they experienced there. In 1642 Van Riebeeck himself had been part of a mission to the queen of Atchin where he experienced such a ceremony. After the ceremony he attended a reception in the Queen's beautiful garden which was situated on the slopes of a mountain with two streams running from

36 Plan taken from Georgina Masson's Italian Gardens, p189; detail from Phillip's  The gardens of Italy, p107
37 The plan of Wilton House was taken from Formal Gardens of Scotland and England by Inigo Triggs, p16
38 Lehrman J Earthly Paradise, the plan of the Taj Mahal p152, photographs G T Fagan 1985
39 Like the view of the distant mountains from the Shalamar Bagh in Kashmir. Brookes p140
40 Kolbe P Beschrijving van de Kaap de Goede Hoop in the early 1700s says: "maar men kan ook de roostom leggende berge, zelfs die in Hottentot- Holland, nauwkeurig onderscheiden; en 't geen 't voornaamste, genoegelykste en aangenaamste is, men kan uit deze tuin den gantschen haven, midgaders alle dieraarliggende schepen zoo net overzien, "
41 Schreyer J, in 1668 found it a fine and excellent garden and F T de Choisy in 1685 found it to be one of the loveliest gardens in the world. Raven Hart Cape of Good Hope, p179 & p266
42 Conradi, Oud Batavia, p135
The vine was the most commonly used climber of medieval gardens, but here the virgin sits under a bower of white roses, probably to signify her purity.
grottoes in the mountain to a tank where carp were kept. Seven times they were served with Eastern dishes from gold plates, and then the guests bathed in the running water and were afterwards feasted with dancing and singing.

He was only twenty-three when this mission was successfully completed and it must have made a lasting impression on his mind. Perhaps the Queen of Atchin’s garden inspired him when he was laying out the Company’s garden at the Cape, but this we shall probably never know for sure.

1.3 EUROPEAN INFLUENCES

During the four years before his departure to the Cape, Van Riebeeck had lived in Amsterdam and there he would have become familiar with the urban Dutch gardens as well as the famous princely gardens and "lusthoven" or country estates of the upper classes.

A survey of some of these may contribute to a better understanding of Van Riebeeck’s European experience and the influence it might have had in the shaping of the initial Cape landscape. But the question remains whether Van Riebeeck, finding himself in a threatening environment, might not have reverted to those principles which governed decisions on planning when European settlements too were constantly under threat of warfare in the Middle Ages.

1.3.1 Medieval Gardens

Most of what we know of medieval gardens is derived from paintings and Flemish miniatures. We catch within castle or monastery walls glimpses of small enclosed gardens each consisting of a carpet of flowers on which a small group relaxes or very often the Virgin Mary with the Child in her arms reclines. Within these gardens one usually sees a fountain, turf seats, perhaps a trellis with a vine, or a tree. But distant views sometimes reveal a grouping of trees and shrubs which indicate a conscious organisation of the further landscape on a scale larger than that of the "hortus conclusus" or enclosed garden.

Thus the painting by the Meister des Marienlebens in 1470 shows the Virgin Mary with the Babe on her lap, a turf bench surrounding a flowery mead and a trellis overgrown with roses, the earliest form of castle garden.

Later the square or rectangular flowery mead was supplemented by an area divided by crossing paths to form rectangular raised beds for the cultivation of herbs and vegetables, but the whole was still enclosed by clipped high or low hedges, a brick or stone wall, wooden palisades or ornate trellis as seen in the Dire Bouts painting of the Mary and child and a painting of a castle or perhaps monastery garden by Rogier Van der Weiden (1399-1464) which has raised beds, turf seats, a flowery mead in the foreground and two shaped trees.

43 Godee Molbergen De Stichter van Hollands Zuid-Afrika Jan Van Riebeeck, pp13-16. His stay at Tonkin, Deshina (1644 - 1647)
44 Harvey J, "Medieval Gardens", plate 39
45 Bienfait, Oude Hollandsche Tuinen, plate 9
Dirce Bouts' painting of the Virgin and Child shows raised beds, each planted with one type of plant, and a mead with a variety of small flowering plants.
Castle gardens at Diepesteyn (top) and at the Cape (below) both situated outside the castle. Both gardens have quadripartite arrangements of the beds. The garden at the Cape had to adapt its shape to existing water streams (Bienfait, plate 39 and below C/A M1/22)
Two castle gardens: Tilleghem (above) and Kuilenberg (below) show formal gardens outside the castle walls.
Diir Bouts shows the Virgin Mary seated on a turf seat and behind her a herber with rectangular raised beds. In the distance a shaped tree.  

When these gardens grew in size they were placed outside the castle walls, but retained their simple rectangular bed pattern and were still protected on their own boundaries. But although they were in close proximity to the castles, they were geometrically unrelated to them. Examples of such 15th and 16th century Dutch castle gardens can be seen on old illustrations of Diepesteyn, Breda, Kuilenberg, Hendrikskinderen and the earlier gardens at 'S Gravenhage.

The garden which Van Riebeeck established at the Cape was too large to be accommodated in the fort and therefore resembled these castle gardens quite closely. For where he was faced with a threatening environment, he would naturally have reverted to the pattern of the late medieval castle gardens. So his garden, consisting of simple rectangular beds, is positioned next to a fort and is in itself protected on its boundaries.

The garden does however run parallel to the fort and so creates a sense of order which was manifested by most of the Dutch colonial posts and which will be discussed later under a separate heading.

As the urgent function of Van Riebeeck’s garden was purely to provide food and medicine not only for the men of his own settlement, but also for the many sick offloaded from passing ships and for those proceeding on their voyages, this garden included mostly herbs, vegetables and fruit-trees - as in the medieval herb garden.

At the Cape it is unlikely that the beds would have been raised as in Dutch gardens, where drainage was the main problem. The damage caused by flooding of Hendrick Boom’s initial seed beds by heavy winter rains, was averted by ditches constructed above the garden, but the beds themselves would probably have been sunken, like those of the Persians, to facilitate flood irrigation from the mountain streams during the dry summer months.

1.3.2 Published garden plans

By the late 16th, early 17th century a number of publications illustrating new designs for buildings and gardens had much influence on the way in which European and especially the Dutch organised their landscapes. Hans Vredeman de Vries (1527-1606?), through his publications awakened an awareness of the style changes of Renaissance Italy and his designs, like those shown here, had a far-reaching influence not only in Holland, for this remarkable man became very well known throughout Europe.

His Hortorum Viridariumque elegantes formae ad architectonicæ artis normam delineatae, published by Philippus Gallaeus in 1583, showed gardens designed to be used with classical

46 Bicauff, Oude Hollandche Tuinen, plate 10
47 Ibid, plates 37 & 38. The castle gardens of Tilleghem and Kuilenberg
48 C/A, map collection, M/25
49 Bosman D & Thorn H B, Dagregister gehouden by den Oppecoopman Jan Antoonisz Van Riebeeck
50 Winkler Prins, Vol 16, p264
Garden patterns by Vredeman de Vries
Another plan by Vredeman de Vries shows a garden surrounded by buildings, broken up into compartments, each surrounded by a balustrade; two arches held up by caryatids; a gazebo and beds with quadripartite arrangement.

Notice the "waterbedriegertjes" in the foreground - a feature which was to become very popular in Dutch gardens.

Breughel (de oude) provides a vivid picture of small farm garden activities in the middle of the 16th century.
David Vinckboons' engraving shows a multitude of pleasures in the garden.

This engraving by Crispijn van de Pass shows a spring garden full of exotic plants, shaped trees, and a surrounding berceaux supported by caryatids.
structures. One of these plates with caption "Corinthia" shows a strange arrangement of raised beds planted with a variety of plants, clipped hedges in the foreground, two gazebos over parallel paths and ornate garden plots, the far one with quadripartite arrangement on either side. Another plan by Vredeman de Vries shows a garden surrounded by buildings, broken up into compartments, each surrounded by a balustrade; two arches held up by caryatids and a gazebo and beds with quadripartite arrangement.

Notice the "waterbedriegertjes" in the foreground - a feature which was to become very popular in Dutch gardens.

In his painting of the history of Lazarus, he shows in front of the palace steps a garden divided into four compartments by ornate berceaux with an imaginative green cupola at the centre - again with a tree growing through its roof. The raised beds are still surrounded by low railings and geometrically arranged around an ornate fountain, but these beds are embellished with trimmed shrubs, are planted with a variety of plants and are obviously meant for pleasure.

Another glimpse of the ideal Dutch garden of this period is provided in an engraving of the work of the artist David Vinckeboons (1576 - 1629) which clearly depicts the multitude of pleasures which a garden could provide - walking, playing, dancing, picnicking, socialising, boating and flirting. This is obviously the garden of a rich man, but the older Pieter Breughel (1568 - 1625) had shown how even a farm garden on a much smaller scale provided the same possibilities: ornate raised beds planted with a large variety of plants for show, a berceau held up by caryatids, a flowery meadow with reclining figures in the distance before a strange tree-house which shades the picnickers, and a clipped boundary hedge and balustrade separating the pleasure garden from the farm activities and animals.

Crispijn van de Pass (1565 - 1637) was another artist, who by publishing with his son engravings of flower gardens and flowers in their Hortus Floridus of 1614, influenced garden design. His spring garden contains all the pleasures of the above gardens - ornate flower beds, berceaux, clipped trees and a collection of rare plants (note the tulips in the foreground).

These designs reflect the intense interest amongst the contemporary rich classes in exotic plant collections, and it was to be these people, some of whom were on the Council of 17, who were continuously requesting Cape plants to be sent to Holland. Van de Pass' flower beds seem unusually ornate, but an examination of urban gardens show that such beds may indeed sometimes have been used in the flower beds of city gardens to display rare plant collections.
Plans by Philip Vingboons (left) for Jan Hydekooper showing garden situated between the house and outbuildings, a "speelhuisie" and stables (right) for the Trippen huis in 1663, showing quite elaborate parterres.

Urban garden in Amsterdam, 1741 shows flower-parterre (right) and clothes on the grass (left) laid out for bleaching, a central walkway and galleries to right and left with fruit trees trained against the walls. (Bienfait, pl 183)
Van Breen plans (1624) of two adjoining houses showing the buildings on the moat and their narrow gardens at the back.
Above: From a plan of Leiden 1670 by C Hagen, showing gardens in the centre of street blocks, with parterres, formal planting, "speelhuysjes"; wide grachts and avenues

Below: Diemermeer as drawn by Brouenus van Nidek (1677-1743). The buildings are poorly drawn, but the gardens show much detail. Note quadripartite beds
1.3.3 Urban Gardens

Van Riebeeck would have known of all these publications which also had an influence on the plans of city gardens in his immediate environment in Amsterdam.

Henk Zantkuyl in his discussion of Amsterdam city erven, found that in the mid-16th century an engraving of Cornelis Anthonisz showed geometrically planned squares which he interpreted as herb and ornamental gardens and bleaching plots. He shows a plan drawn by Daniel van Breen in 1634 of two adjoining houses on the Anjeliersgracht, (where Van Riebeeck lived), one with a yard totally occupied by a "bleeckvelt", and the other composed of a "bleeckvelt", seven parallel beds probably for vegetables, and a small rectangular area probably representing a flower garden. These urban gardens, containing practical or pleasureable elements, or both, were severely restricted by the traditional narrowness of the erven and in their layout are reminiscent of the medieval meads and herbages of the hortus conclusus.

Another design, this time by Philip Vingboons (son of David above) for the house of Jan Huydekooper in 1639, shows a garden divided into four beds adjoining the house, two being simple parterres and two divided into narrow parallel beds probably for vegetables and herbs. Near to the back buildings are two open squares, probably the "bleeckvelt" All the squares are of the same size.

Philip Vingboons designed a number of houses and gardens like these for the richer merchants, the class to which Van Riebeeck belonged, and as some of these plans were published in Amsterdam by Jan Bleau in 1648, it is possible that Van Riebeeck was familiar with them.

A number of detailed drawings of Dutch cities as depicted by this renowned Dutch cartographer, who lived from 1596-1673 and who practised in Amsterdam, were studied in the Rijksarchief. The narrow urban gardens, situated at the back of the houses in the centre of the city blocks, are shown in some detail which, one suspects, may not all be completely accurate, especially the smaller gardens. They do, however, show a general trend of repetitive elements in both these smaller and the larger gardens as I have marked with different colours on the copies. The planning is always formal with beds often arranged in groups of four, and the main axis is usually geometrically related to the buildings.

Moreover, similar city maps by contemporary artists show, sometimes with more clarity, the same elements. An example is the illustration of Diemermeer by Brouerus van Nidek (1677-1743), where he has given more attention to the gardens than the houses, but nevertheless shows this relationship.

1.3.4 The Princely Gardens of Frederik Hendrik

Van Riebeeck would however, not only have been influenced by the immediate urban gardens around him, but also by a knowledge of the larger and more magnificent gardens of his prince.

56 Zantkuyl, Henk, Erf en Tuin in Oud Amsterdam, p8
57 Ibid, p11
58 Rijksarchief: Jan Bleau Tonneel der Steden van Westvrtesland Holland
59 Diemermeer drawn by Brouerus Van Nidek (1677-1743)
Rijswijk as drawn by Milheuser in 1644 shows three quadripartite compartments forming the main garden and four large water tanks on either side. The semicircular end to the vista was a feature later popular in large estates.
Frederik Hendrik and his French wife Amalia van Solms, both who had an absorbing interest in gardens, and were particularly impressed by the French Renaissance gardens of Francois 1 and Henry IV, such as at Fontainebleau.

Balthazar Florisz van Berckenrode in circa 1640 printed an engraving of a bird's eye view of Honselaarsdijk, the first palace and its gardens built by Frederik Hendrik, which provides a clear insight into those elements which made up the royal pleasure gardens.

The most striking aspect of the design is its geometrical organisation and the symmetry on either side of the main axis which runs through the centre of the main building. The castle thus becomes an integral part of the landscape as do all other lesser structures.

The castle and garden are surrounded by a moat and the entrance to its large forecourt is over a bridge. In the same way the garden is reached from the castle by a bridge on the central axis. The main walks are planted with avenues of trees and these avenues also surround the whole property on the banks of the moat.

The plan consists of two unequal rectangles. The first is subdivided into three sections, the castle with its moat placed centrally between two large parterres which had been designed for the prince by Andre Mollet. The second rectangle is divided into four, the squares on the right being identical to those on the left and each of these are again subdivided into four.

Oval paths inside the squares nearest the castle as well as crossing paths are all edged with high clipped hedges and there are summer houses in the outer corners of the squares. Clearly this part of the garden was meant for leisurely strolling and relaxation, (like the medieval flowery mead and herb garden) whereas in the next two squares the smaller beds are planted with rows of (fruit) trees and probably vegetables and herbs, indicating herb and moest gardens.

The main elements of Honselaarsdijk ie geometrical formality, symmetry, quadripartite arrangement of beds, integration of buildings and garden, ornate parterres near the house and enclosure of the garden and house with a protective barrier, are to be seen in all the subsequent gardens constructed by Frederik Hendrik, the later ones differing only in the multiplication of the more ornate elements like parterres, pavilions, berceaux, statues, vases and the addition of water features which were to become an important Dutch garden feature. Examples of these are to be seen on the engraving by J J Milheusser of Rijswijk in 1644 and the bird's-eye view of Huis ten Bosch and its gardens as seen by Pieter Post, the designer in 1655.

1.3.5 The Gardens of the Rich Merchants of Amsterdam and Environs

But these luxurious gardens were by no means confined to the Prince. As Amsterdam became increasingly important and eventually surpassed Venice as the premier mercantile city of the world, the Dutch merchant class reached that state of wealth which is always conducive to the arts.

60 Jellico Geoffrey and Susan, The Oxford Companion to Gardens, page p194 Birds eye view of Fontainebleau after Francini (1614)
61 Bienfait, Oude Hollandsche Tuine, plate 47
62 Bienfait, Oude Hollandsche Tuine, plates 49 and 52
Huis ten Bosch with four "English parterres" on the approach and four ornate parterres on the garden side
And garden art, together with the other arts, flourished in the Netherlands as they have never done before or since.

As the cities became overpopulated and oppressive, there was a movement to the country and, inspired by the magnificence of the late 16th century villas of Italy, lusthoven sprang up like mushrooms across the Netherlands. These were eulogised with poetry and illustration and inspired especially young people to take tours along the waterways and delight themselves in the wonders of the new landscape.\footnote{63}

These lusthoven or country estates will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Van Riebeeck, himself of the merchant class, would have been familiar with these estates. But when he reached the Cape, he knew that his priority was to produce food, and the frivolities of the Dutch lusthoven were not to be considered here. Even when he was granted his own farm, he diligently confined himself to experimenting with vines and other useful trees, and laid out a subsistence rather than an ornamental garden.\footnote{64}

1.3.6 The Ideal Dutch Garden as described by Jan Van Der Groen compared with the Cape Garden

Though there is no graphic detail of Van Riebeeck's garden in Table Valley, an analysis of the 1654, 1656 and a map of 1665 drawn three years after his departure, when the garden had reached its maximum size, together with information obtained from his journal and letters and travellers' descriptions, give a good idea of what the garden looked like and what it contained.

A comparison of the initial Cape garden to the "ideal garden" as set out by Jan van der Groen, gardener to William of Orange, in a book published in 1669, shows a remarkable similarity between the two. As this book was reprinted several times, one must assume that it was widely known.\footnote{65} It is a summary of the more practical aspects of garden lay-out in early Dutch Renaissance gardens and describes the elements of a garden as seen on his drawing V11 (see p36):

\begin{quote}
VII Is een gemeene Hof of Thyn, naer de Hollantse of Nederlandse wijse, verdeelt in 4 perken, met groote of kleyne palm beset; waer van men het eerste kan gebruyken tot Bloemen of Loof-werken; 't tweede tot allerley Moe of Salaet, 't derde tot Aspersies, Bloem- en Savoy- koolen, het vierde tot Peulen, Roomse- en Turkse-boonen, Wortelen, etc. Desen Hof is met hout -schuten rontom behyninght, tegen dewe/ke Moerelle, Karssen, Abrikoosen en Persike- boomen, gevlechten zijn, langs deselve oopt een Rabat, dat men met Aerdbesyen, besetten kan: de Appel, Pere, en andere groote Vucht-boomen plant men soo hier en daer, wijdt van malkanderen, op dat den Hof sijn behoorlijke open lucht magh behouden. De Quee- en Mispil-boomen plant men op de kanten van de slooten, over 't water. Voorts zijn de Perken rontom beset met Rosen, Aelbessen en Krusbessen-boomen.\footnote{66}
\end{quote}

\footnote{63} As for instance the publication of Leonardus Schenk's, Hollands Arcadia of 1730 of which a facsimile reprint was done in 1968. Jan Gousset's estate called Binnenrust, appears on p70
\footnote{64} A list of the fruit trees and vines with which he experimented, drawn up after his departure, proves this. Refer footnote 24
\footnote{65} Van der Groen Jan, Den Nederlantse Hovenier
\footnote{66} This book saw several publications, the last one in 1702. The copy from which I worked in the SA Library, was published in 1686
Van der Groen’s ideal garden compared with Van Riebeeck’s garden (below)
Van Riebeeck's garden shows the quadripartite arrangement of beds on the 1654 plan: at the Cape not edged with "palm" (box) but with herbs. The clippings of these could be used medicinally, to wash the sick and to strew on hospital floors. Clipped box as used in Holland was purely ornamental and especially useful for delineating the very intricate parterres as those designed for Honselaarsdijk by Mollet, but as it had no other use, Van Riebeeck avoided using it in favour of herbs like myrtle, rosemary, hyssop, and sage.

The first bed, van der Groen suggests, should be allocated to flowers and parterres, but Van Riebeeck had stated quite clearly to the Council of 17 that he was not to be sent flowers, as he had to provide food for the stomachs of men and as labour was scarce he obviously did not have time for frivolities like parterres.

There were, however, many beds of salad like radish, lettuce and cress which were sown soon after his arrival, so that by the 19th June, two months later there was enough greenery to supply the table and feed the sick.

In the third bed van der Groen advised the planting of asparagus, cauliflower and cabbage, all of which were being planted in the Cape garden at regular intervals. Different varieties of asparagus were found growing in the wild which looked and tasted as well as those in Holland:

\[ \text{ons thuijniers gevonden fraive soorte van asperges...wassende aen veele canten in't will, van seer goeden smaecke ende fatsoen als in 't patria wesende.} \]

Cabbage appears to have been one of the most useful of all the vegetables, especially for provisioning the ships and as food for the settlers during their first year.

In van der Groen's fourth bed various kinds of beans, peas, carrots and other vegetables were to be grown and here again we read about the monthly sowings of these at the Cape. (Turnips and beetroot, especially, were grown as abundantly as carrots, but the turnips did not thrive due to "hair root").

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67 Raven Hart R, \textit{Before Van Riebeeck} Abraham Van Riebeeck on his visit to the Cape in 1676 notices that the rosemary is cut into hedges like box. George Meister in 1677 writes \textit{...the squares are divided and bounded in part with rosemary which is cut at the new season like our current bushes, in part with hyssop and sage which I thought an oddity in this so large and long a garden.}

68 Dispatches 17th May 1657

69 Ibid, 19th June 1652 \textit{...Ant wij dagelijks voor onze taefel ende de siecken al cunnan genieten radijs, latou ende stercors}

70 Ibid, 16.7.1652, \textit{...wild asparagus...wasende aen veele canten in't will, van seer goeden smaecke ende fasoens als in 't patria wesende.}

71 Bosman D & Thom H B, \textit{Van Riebeeck Dagregister geïsoleerd van de Opperkoopman Jan Anthonisz Van Riebeeck.} Two beds of cabbages planted on 12.7.52 and four days later beds of cauliflower. Again on 1st August and the 17th December cabbages and other vegetables were being planted, and on the 6th January new land was being prepared to plant out more cabbage which grew so extraordinarily well (zie hier soo extraordinaire schoon shot ende tiet). On 2nd February 1653, the first white and red cabbages were eaten and found to be as delicate in taste as those of the fatherland. Cabbages continued to be sown throughout the year and formed a regular and important garden crop

72 Ibid, Sec entries for 8.7.1652; 20.7.52; 19.8.52; 15.8.52; 20.8.52; 25.8.52; 4th, 5th, 11th Sept.'52. This gives an indication of how often these vegetables were being sown. The first carrots een pink dick were being eaten by the 4th September as also the first peas. Compared to a variety of \textit{Pisum sativum} mentioned in Thomas Jefferson's garden diary of a century later (1767), which reached maturity in 63 days, these Cape peas were quick to mature (say 5 days).

73 Hair root is frequently mentioned at the beginning of the diary. It is thought that this may be a reference to the roots of Restionaceae which form a dense mat and that the area where the first gardens were laid out might have contained many of these plants. (Dr John Roukke agrees with this theory as expressed by Dudley D'Ewes)
Van der Groen’s citrus trees were warmed in winter in a heated room.
Van der Groen's garden was enclosed with a palisade against which cherry, apricot, mulberry and peach trees were espaliered, and next to this was a rabat\(^5\) planted with strawberries. But Van Riebeeck was short of wood, wagons and labour to transport logs from the forests behind Table Mountain, and so constructed a boundary ditch around his garden instead, and on its banks he planted, like Van der Groen, medlar and quince seeds brought from Holland. Both of these could be pleached, though there is no indication that this was actually done.

By 1655 indigenous thorn trees were growing well on the banks of this first ditch and successfully protecting the garden from wild animals which sometimes caused much damage.\(^75\)

Thorn trees were also planted on the banks of a second inner ditch with other small and large indigenous trees. Between the two ditches lay Van Riebeeck's rabat, but unlike Van der Groen, he had not planted strawberries in this bed,\(^76\) but avenues of apple and orange trees which were protected from the wind by the outer thorn trees. The 3 roods wide rabat ran right round the garden as is shown on the map of 1656.

Van der Groen's last instruction to plant roses, currants and gooseberries around the beds was also carried out partially by Van Riebeeck for when on his request he received roses from Holland in 1658, he planted them in hedges along the pathways;\(^77\) Currant plants were brought to the Cape from St Helena on the "Tulp" in April, 1654 but these died en route.\(^78\)

Elsewhere in his book, Van der Groen explains how citrus trees should be brought indoors in Dutch winters and artificially warmed.\(^79\)

Van Riebeeck found, however, that in the warm Cape weather these trees, so important for the treatment of scurvy, could be grown outdoors and he planted them in abundance not only to form the avenues along the boundaries and walkways in the Table Valley garden, but also in the secondary gardens at Rondebosch, Newlands and his own estate at Boscheuvel.\(^80\) Although he

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74 Van Dalen, *Groot Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, Rabat is the term used for a narrow bed running around a boundary wall. See diary entry for 10 September 1655, where Van Riebeeck notes that the thorn trees planted on the banks are successfully shutting off the garden from wild animals; The map of 1660 (C/A, M3/IV, p38) also shows this narrow boundary bed around the Company Garden

75 Bosman D & Thom H B, *Van Riebeeck Dagregister gehouden by den Opperkoopman Jan Anthonisz Van Riebeeck*. On 01.06.1655 a leopard killed 3-4 geese in the chicken run in the garden. On 26.4.1660 damage was caused by the pigs of the stadburghers, and it was decided that instead of a common herdman, in future every owner should lock up his own pig at night

76 A request for fresh seeds and plants in a dispatch of 10 June 1656, included currants and strawberries We are not yet sure of strawberries and blackberries, Van Riebeeck remarks. In a letter written by him on 05.03.1657 he notes that of strawberry seed sown, not one plant had came up.

77 R Raven Hart's *Cape Good Hope*: Johan Schreyer who visited the Cape in 1668, described the hedges of rosemary, Centifolia and Persian roses p139. Both Valentijn and Pieter Kolbe describe the hedges of roses growing along the paths in the Company's Garden

78 Refer footnote 75

79 Van der Groen, Plate 15

80 Bosman D & Thom H B, *Van Riebeeck Dagregister gehouden by den Opperkoopman Jan Anthonisz Van Riebeeck*: There are many references to citrus trees in Van Riebeeck's diary and letters: The first pips to be sown were of Spanish oranges on 20-25 August 1652. In April '54 one of the gardeners was sent with the Tulp on a voyage to St Helena to bring back apple, orange and other fruit trees but where these trees originally came from is not known. In May '55 orange and apple trees were again requested from St Helena to be transported in the hold with roots covered in earth. Citrus plants also came from India according to a dispatch of 10.06.1656; Apples and lemons from St Helena and India were thriving by 12.09.1660
Van der Groen describes how vines are layered. Van Riebeeck's diary often mentions young vines available from mother plants in the Table Valley Garden.
planted elms, the favourite avenue tree in Holland, these never proved to be as successful as oaks, but by using citrus trees for avenues, he was providing both shade and fruit.\textsuperscript{81}

Other crops which did not form part of van der Groen's above garden, but which were of vital importance in Van Riebeeck's initial garden, were the different varieties of wheat - the filling foods. And it was the destruction of these by the South-Easter that led to the failure of the Table Bay garden as an effective subsistence garden so that a search for wind-free areas to establish secondary gardens was soon initiated and it was found that the best place to sow wheat would be behind Table Mountain.\textsuperscript{83}

Further "filling foods" which occupied beds in the garden were sweet-potatoes (\textit{Ipomoea batatas}). A few brought from Brazil in 1653 multiplied so quickly that by 1658 there were enough plants in the Company's Garden for the Commander, because he regarded it as a nourishing food, to instruct the free-burghers to collect runners for their own gardens. A year later, however they had not yet planted much and the Commander again stressed their food value and urged them to plant them. However the burghers were only interested in quick crops like wheat and it is not clear when they eventually started planting sweet-potatoes on a larger scale.\textsuperscript{85} Van Riebeeck had learnt that sweet-potatoes liked sandy soil and had therefore also planted them on Robben- and Dassen Island, and at Saldanha.\textsuperscript{81}

Although Van der Groen does not mention the vine in the above quoted paragraph, he does elsewhere in his book describe how these plants could be multiplied by layering or planting of shoots.\textsuperscript{85} Van Riebeeck planted many vines not only in the Table Bay garden, but also in the subsidiary gardens at Rondebosch, Newlands and on his own farm, Boscheuvel.\textsuperscript{86}

He also encouraged the free-burghers to plant vines which they were loath to do, although some had one or two plants growing up against their houses.\textsuperscript{87} Again they proved to be more interested in quicker crops which would obviously be more lucrative and required less labour than viticulture. However, by September 1660 they had seen how well vines were growing in the official gardens and had seen the first successful pressing of wine the previous year (20.1. '59). They were consequently more eager to collect slips from those gardens to plant in their own.\textsuperscript{88}

Tobacco (\textit{Nicotiana tabacum}) is not mentioned by van der Groen, as this tropical or subtropical plant would not have been seen in Dutch gardens.

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{81} Boeseken A J, S A Argiefstukke, Belangrike Kaapse dokumente. Monorion en Instruktien 1657-1699.p187,188
\bibitem{82} Bosman D & Thom H B, Dagregister gehouden by den Opperkoopman Jan Anthoniz van Riebeeck 2 November 1656
\bibitem{83} Ibid, 11.10.1656, 03.10.1658 and 06.08.1659. The sweet potatoes came from Brazil
\bibitem{84} Ibid, 14.06.1655
\bibitem{85} Van der Groen Jan, \textit{Den Nederlantsen Houwier}, plate X1
\bibitem{86} Ibid, 26.08.58 the Commander was supervising the planting of 1200 vine slips at Boscheuvel. These were obtained from the primary plants in the Company's Garden
\bibitem{87} Ibid, 21.8.1658, Van Riebeeck was encouraging the farmers to plant vines
\bibitem{88} Ibid, 13.9.1660, The farmers noticing how well the vines were doing, started planting some themselves and were given material from the Company's gardens. The kinds of grapes grown were muscadel and andere witte, ronde dmyfen van seer goede geur ende smaack -
\end{thebibliography}
And though not a food, Van Riebeeck planted it on a large scale, for as a bartering medium it did indeed provide the settlement with meat - one of the most important of all foodstuffs for the settlers and for supplying the passing ships."

The similarity between Van der Groen's garden, which was also laid out in groups of four beds, "according to the Italian and subsequent French style" and Van Riebeeck's Cape garden is so close, that one must assume that the Commander's inspiration for his garden layout was derived mainly from his Dutch experience. But the flat, wet country from which he came was very different from Table Valley where he formed his settlement and he was to find that many adaptions would be necessary if he was to make a success of this victualling station. And this success was vitally important for his future promotion in the D.E.I.C.

89 Ibid. 11 November 1656, When the first free-burghers were granted land along the Liesbeek, the settlement known as the Hollandsen Thun was required to cultivate tobacco together with wheat, vegetables and fruit.
1.4 LOCAL FACTORS

1.4.1 The South-Easter

Van Riebeeck had determined the position, shape and content of his garden in Table Valley; he had protected it not only against domestic and wild animals, but also against vandalism and theft from his own soldiers and the indigenous population; He had tested and improved the different types of soil to suit his crops and he had learnt from experimentation the best seasons to sow these crops.

But there was one factor over which he had limited control, and because of this the Garden was a failure. The force of the south-east wind flattened the wheat crops, the barley, peas and beans - the food which filled and nourished his hard-working men.

For although the success of the low-growing European vegetables soon provided the new settlement with fresh green salads, by the 26th September, 1652 the stores they had brought with them were running out and barley, peas and pork had to be rationed.

Some plants growing in the Cape garden which would have been totally unknown to Van der Groen, were collected from the "wild" by Van Riebeeck's men to augment their diet and planted in the garden: sorrel, mustard, cress, garlic (Tulbaghia violacea) and the unidentified thorn trees which were used on the banks of the boundary ditch. Whether the Dutch learnt to know the edible plants from the Caepmans or whether they recognised them by their similarity to European plants is not recorded, but at times they helped to avert serious famine.

By the 8th October the men were so weak that it was thought that work would have to be stopped and on the 11th of February, 1653, nine months after his arrival, Van Riebeeck wrote in his diary that barley and bread would only last another fortnight and that a sheep or beast would have to be slaughtered now and again to strengthen the folk and keep them going on the fortification works.

1.4.2 Inability to obtain cattle from the indigenous people

The second problem that the Commander had not foreseen was the refusal of the Caepmans to trade their cattle with him and their blockage of trade with tribes further inland. The supply of

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90 Bosman D & Thom H B, Daghregister gehouden by den Oppenkoopman Jan Anthonisz Van Riebeeck 29.6.1654. It is recorded that Evert Barentz stole some barley from the magazine during the evening prayers and Hendrik Jurianisz and others stole barley intended for chicken feed. The one was keel-hauled, the other given a 100 thrashings before the mast and another dropped three times from the mast as punishment, showing how seriously Van Riebeeck regarded any form of insubordination.

91 Ibid, 14th April it is noted that the soil was improved with manure. One also notices a "dung-hole" on the 1654 plan.

92 Leibrandt H V, Dispatches 28.4.1655 "This year has been one for making experiments and we have found that September and the whole of October is the best season for sowing."

93 Ibid, 14.05.1653 Van Riebeeck reports "When the wheat and other crops grow high and start to ripen, the south-easter destroys them. Low growing and root vegetables do very well but hair root destroy some"

94 Ibid, 26.09.1652 Stores brought from Europe were running out and so were rationed: barley in morning, peas in evening.

95 Collector of wild plants, see footnote 98.

96 Bosman D & Thom H B, Daghregister gehouden by den Oppenkoopman Jan Anthonisz Van Riebeeck, 11.02.1653.
meat which they had depended on, was therefore not forthcoming and as Van Riebeeck needed the few animals which they did procure for breeding, they were loath to slaughter them. However by the 13th of February 30 to 40 people were sick in bed and therefore unable to work so that it was decided to slaughter two sheep and two cows per week to feed the men together with the remaining barley. 99

A second period of famine occurred from April - June 1654, when the garden could not produce sufficient greens to keep up with the excessive use of vegetables, and men were sent into the country to collect sorrel for use in a "bredie". 99 On the 24th April the men were so desperate that they ate a dead baboon found on the mountain. 100 During these times, before return fleets brought relief, fish, birds, (especially penguins), birds' eggs and the fresh products from the garden kept the settlement in Table Valley alive. 100

Van Riebeeck had seen that in spite of a lack of meat, sick sailors were soon restored to health by the fresh produce from the garden, but if the Cape was to be a successful victualling station, his garden activities would have to extend to the wind-free area behind Table Mountain where wheat and other more substantial food could be produced. 102

He realised that although the Council of 17 initially had had no intention of establishing a colony at the Cape, if the ships were to be effectively and economically supplied with fresh food, they would have no alternative.

On 28.4.1655 he makes the following significant comment in a dispatch to the Governor-General and Council in Batavia:

Maerdewijse wij nu sien dat UEd: tot colonie te stabileren schijnen gesint te wesen soo sullen wij ons gevoelen daervan verclaren, namelijck dat om vee ende coren hier aen te focken op verscheidene plaatsen cans genogh is niet jegetaande in ons vorigh schrijven seggen dat de granen hier niet succederen willen, maer dat verstaen worden hier in de Taeffel valeij vermits de Z.Z. Ooste winden hier soo fel over de Taeffel bergh vallen maer achter denselben bergh vertrouwen wij datte heel wel gaen soude doch met Comp's dienaers wat te oostelijck alsoo der volcqs soude moeten wonen tot bewaringh van de plantagies...

In Table Valley his small fort had effectively served as a citadel where all his men (except the gardener and his family), were safely locked up at night; the hospital in the fort had provided

98 Ibid, 13.02.1653
99 Ibid, 25.05.1654, "suring" and "mosterbburen" collected for a bredie
100 The men found a dead "Bosmanneken" on the mountain and cooked it with their vegetables
101 Ibid, Boats were regularly sent to the islands to collect penguins eg on the 6.5.1654. It was decided to feed the men only twice a day not to deplete the islands of birds, 14.4.1654
102 Leibrandt H C. Dispatches, "But now that I realise that you are willing to establish a colony, I will convey to you what I think about it, namely that to multiply cattle and corn in different situations is feasible, for although in previous correspondence I have intimated that corn will not grow here, it applies only to Table Valley where the South-Easter blows so badly but behind the same mountain I do believe that it will go well although with some of the Company's employees to live there to protect the crops"
asylum and healed the many sick offloaded from the Company’s ships. He had maintained a friendly relationship with the indigenous people in spite of their resistance to trade cattle. But if the settlement were to succeed by being enlarged, he realised that he would need more men, and slaves, an extension of his protective system, and landscape planning on a scale comparable to that of the D.E.I.C. posts in the East.

2 A NEW DEFENCE SYSTEM AND EXTENDED SETTLEMENT

2.1 RELATIONS WITH THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE AND THE DEFENCE SYSTEM

Once it had been decided that the Cape was to be changed from a victualling station to a colony, Van Riebeeck was faced with the problem of extending his defence system. For although the indigenous folk at the Cape were by no means as formidable as those with which the D.E.I.C. had to contend in the East, he had found them unpredictable, and "a brutal bunch without conscience", he also thought that they lacked intelligence, for which he was most grateful.

For should they have been more intelligent they could have stopped or destroyed all our garden and other work, he writes in a letter to the Council of 17, adding that he trusted God would not grant them more brains.

Van Riebeeck had conscientiously obeyed instructions to be kind, tolerant and friendly to the indigenous people, but had found the Caepman under their interpreter, Herrij, retaliated with hoorn smaad en overlast (scorn, abuse, and annoyance). Moreover he was obliged to take at least forty or fifty men with him whenever he travelled outside the fort, as he feared confrontation with these people, and as he could not leave the fort unguarded, he needed more men at the Cape than the fifty which had been stipulated by the Council of 17.

Apart from stealing the Company’s cattle, the "Caepman“ also prevented the friendlier Saldanhars from trading with the Dutch, so that in the year 1654 they were able to obtain only 29 cows and 11 sheep.

Van Riebeeck thought that to try and take back by force cattle stolen by the Caepman as instructed, would result in a war and that there were therefore only two alternative ways of dealing with them: He should either carry on being friendly with them and leave the stolen cattle, or

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103 Bosman D & Thom H B, Dagregister gehouden by den Opperkoopman Jan Anthonisz Van Riebeeck. In July 1654 sixty sick were offloaded and housed in a large tent "where they could be treated with fresh vegetables". By January 1656 a "het vijf steckelhuys met een steente muijren d‘en zijde buiten‘s fort voor in ‘t hoomwerk" was ready to accommodate those sailors who were not able to continue the voyage and had to remain until they were sufficiently recovered to resume their journey on the following vessel

104 Leibrandt H C V, Precis of the Archive Letters 1- patched Vol 11, p73

105 Ibid, Dispatch to Council of 17 on 14 April 1655

106 Ibid, Letter of 28.4.1655, p73

107 Ibid, Van Riebeeck was repeatedly told to decrease the size of his garrison although he explained the need for the number he was keeping at the Cape. In the letter of 28.4.1655 he assures the Council of 17 that once the building work had been completed, he could reduce the garrison to only 100 men. The building work referred to then was the replacement of decaying wooden fort buildings with more substantial brick ones

108 Ibid, Dispatch of 27.1.1655, p39
Surveyor Wittebol's map showing the free-burgher grants along the Liesbeek River all approximately the same size, parallel to each other and each one with a river frontage. The beautifully drawn mountains show the competence of the cartographer. Van Riebeeck supervised the setting out of these lands just as he had done with the new Company's garden at Rondebosch and his own estate at Boscheuvel.
perhaps with more effect, take possession of them and all their property which would include 10 - 12 000 cattle. This, he said, could easily be done without shedding any blood by bringing all the women and children into the fort and making them drunk, as had often been done as an experiment before. They could then be kept as hostages. 109

However he did not resort to these drastic measures, but instead set about planning a more effective defence system, for it was, when Van Riebeeck expanded his garden activities to behind Table Mountain and formed agricultural settlements in the traditional grazing lands of the Caepman, that serious conflict arose between the two groups.

In May 1656 he had sown his first quarter morgen of wheat, rice and oats at Rondebosch as an experiment which proved to be so successful (except the rice) that thereafter this area was clearly marked for agriculture. 110 But when in February of the next year he returned to clear a kraal for cattle, he took the precaution to protect it with a 10 ft high wall of branches, for he found 90 Caepman houses in the vicinity. 111

On the 20th February, 1657 Van Riebeeck was determining the situation for a new grant of land to a free-burgher when he was approached by Herrij and the "Fat Captain" (Gogosoa). They wanted to know from the Commander where they should live if new houses were erected where their huts were already standing and their cattle grazing. The answer that they could carry on living under the protection of the Dutch and share in the bread and tobacco which would be grown on their grazing-land, did understandably not pacify these two men. 112

By the end of February two areas had been settled by the free-burghers: the one called "Groenveldt" was situated opposite the "Amstel" River 113 and occupied by five burghers. This area was to be sown with wheat. The second settlement was on the other side of the river, known as "Hollandsen Thuyn" and settled by four who were to grow both wheat, vegetables, fruit and tobacco. Later they were also to breed cattle, pigs and poultry. 114

A map of this time, probably drawn by Van Riebeeck's surveyor, Pieter Potter, shows these grants lying parallel to each other on the river front. It also shows the position of the redoubts lying in a semi-circle on the outside of the Company's and free-burghers' properties and the connecting palisades and projected wild almond hedge. 115

Scarcely a month after the new land had been measured and marked out and the burghers were busy building their houses from local materials, the Caepman stole 100 lbs of green tobacco from them, and when a corporal and ten soldiers were sent out to amicably persuade them to pay the

109 Ibid, Dispatch of 28.4.1655, p87
110 Bosman D B & Thom H B, Dagregister gehouden by den Opperkoopman Jan Antthonisz Van Riebeeck Deel 11, p38
111 Ibid, p969
112 Later known as the Liebeck
113 Bosman D B & Thom H B, Dagregister gehouden by den Opperkoopman Jan Antthonisz Van Riebeeck Deel 11, pp99-103. The conditions of these grants are discussed in this entry as well as the help that the free-burghers were to receive from the Company
114 Cape Archives M/16 circa 1659
115 Bosman D B & Thom H B, Dagregister gehouden by den Opperkoopman Jan Antthonisz Van Riebeeck Deel 11, 12.3.1657, p110
The new colony along the Liesbeek with the defence line and forts (Redrawn from M1/16 of C1659, C/A)
damage, they had already fled into the mountains towards Hout Bay.\textsuperscript{116} When Commissioner Ryckloff Van Goens arrived later in the month, he agreed that two redoubts should immediately be built.\textsuperscript{117}

In July, 1657 "Coornhoop" was built halfway between the new grants of Jan Reyniers and Steven's Colonie at the foot of Devil's peak from where it looked onto the new farms and the Company's experimental garden at Rondebosch;\textsuperscript{118} in the same month Van Riebeeck set out the redoubt "Duynhoop" on the west bank of the Salt River with cannons placed to defend the beach.\textsuperscript{119}

At this time Herrij once again came to the fort and enquired where the Commander expected them to live and graze if all their land were being ploughed, and they were told to move further inland or alternatively move to Camp's Bay if they were afraid of being murdered by the Saldanhars should they move into the interior.\textsuperscript{120}

By May, 1659 the extensive ploughing up of their grazing land and the building of houses and outbuildings convinced the Caepman that the settlements of the Dutch were permanent and they retaliated by stealing the settlers' tobacco, ironwork from their implements and cattle, burning down their homes and murdering two of the free-burghers. Hostilities between the Dutch and the Caepman increased throughout the next two months and Van Riebeeck was to find that the people that he had regarded as unintelligent, had learnt to attack on rainy days when the white man's gunpowder was useless.

On the 20th May, three to four hundred of them attacked Boscheuvel, took 25 cattle, destroyed 1200 vines and 25 morgen of wheat. The Commander ordered the women to be brought to the redoubts and the fort for safety, the cattle to kraals that had been built of poles at Coornhoop, the slaves were taken from their chains and armed, and 100 guilders reward promised for the capture of the ringleader (the interpreter, Doman) of the uprising. Soldiers were posted to guard the houses of the free-burghers as well as the men who were steadily carrying on with the ploughing.\textsuperscript{121}

The defence system received renewed attention as further redoubts were hurriedly constructed: "Keert de Koe" at the confluence of the Liesbeek and Salt River where it guarded the ford;\textsuperscript{122} "Houd den Bul" on the northern boundary of "Boscheuvel";\textsuperscript{123} and "Ruyterwacht" in the centre of

\textsuperscript{116} Boecken A J, \textit{Memoiren en Instruction} 1657-1699, 17.3.16 57 p2, Van Goens to Van Riebeeck
\textsuperscript{117} Bosman, d b & Thom H B, \textit{Dagregister gehouden by den Opporukoopman Jan Anthonisz Van Riebeeck} Deel 11, p.148. On the 24th July the Commander went out to set out the square for the redoubt Coornhoop (Coornhoop) so that the builders could start as soon as possible
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid, 17.7.1657, p142. This redoubt was 16 ft (5 meters) square, built two storeys high and with a flat roof and breastwork for the cannons
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid, p149
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid, Deel 111, Numerous references to the war between the Dutch and the "Caepman" eg p38, 44 and on and off for the next year
\textsuperscript{121} Ibid, p132. The lower storey of "Keert de Koe" was built of brick, but the top storey and roof constructed of wood at the fort. On 2.9.1659 the Commandant was supervising the building work and noted that the woodwork could before the end of the week be brought to the site and the building completed
\textsuperscript{122} Ibid, p140. The setting out of the place where "Houd den Bul" was to be erected, was supervised by the Commander on 29.9.1659. This redoubt, 12 ft square and with a wooden roof, was constructed of wood by the foresters, and then dismantled for transport to the site for erection
\textsuperscript{123} Ruyterwacht was built in May 1660 and had two stables for the horses which were to be used to watch the cattle and monitor all the other posts
the burgher farms where armed cavaliers were stationed.\textsuperscript{124} In 1659 "Kyckuit" was built on the northern bank of the Salt River on a high sand-dune from where it commanded a good view over Table Bay.\textsuperscript{125} This was to be the place where everyone was in future to enter the Colony.

Between these little forts a wooden pallisade was constructed of 6" poles 8 ft (2.44 metre) high, planted 3.66 metre apart with burnt feet buried 0.915 metres deep. Connecting cross-poles of 150 mm were fastened at the top and halfway up these poles.\textsuperscript{126}

Wooden palisades like these are commonly seen protecting property boundaries on contemporary European drawings.\textsuperscript{127} However, at the Cape wood was scarce and difficult to transport due to a shortage of wagons and workmen, and cheaper methods of protection had to be planned.

Where the "Cripple-bush" (\textit{Leucospermum conocarpodendron}) made a good stand from "Leendert'sbos" to "Kromboom", this living hedge was strengthened with branches.\textsuperscript{128} Between Jan Reyniersens house and the sea was, however, only loose sand and here a pole fence like the above one had to be constructed. Later an area one rood wide was ploughed and thickly sown with "Wild Almond" from Ruyterwacht, past the Company's lands and those of the free-burghers up to Van Riebeeck's "Boscheuvel" and Leendert's forest inclusive for a distance of 2353 roods and later land one rood wide was ploughed up on either side to protect the hedge from the fires which the Hottentots were used to making in the dry seasons to stimulate young growth. In this way the Company's lands and grazing were effectively protected from the "Caepman" along a semi-circular boundary (begrepen sirkel) for a distance of 3673 roods (13.8 kilometres).\textsuperscript{129}

Commissioner Van Goens had also suggested that a water barrier as seen in Batavia, should be created by building a canal from False Bay to the Liesbeek River,\textsuperscript{130} but as Van Riebeeck had always to contend with severe manpower and financial constraints, this procedure would have been both impractical and too costly.\textsuperscript{131} The Council of 17 agreed that Van Riebeeck's circle of redoubts joined with a boundary fence of live plants and pole fencing to protect the Company's gardens and those of the free-burghers, would form an economic and effective defence system and no further thought was given to a canal.

By April, 1660, the ringleaders of the uprising, Herrij and Doman, realising the effectiveness of Van Riebeeck's defence system, met the Commander in the fort to negotiate for peace. They once again expressed their bitterness at the fact that the land which for centuries had been in their possession should now be taken from them against their will:

\textsuperscript{124} Refer drawing opposite page
\textsuperscript{125} Ibid, p116 9.8.1659. These poles were cut in the forest by Leendert at Company's cost, and the work was to be finished within three months
\textsuperscript{126} Merian \textit{M. Deutsche städte, Lubeck & Lunburg
\textsuperscript{127} Bosman D B & Thom H B, \textit{Dagregister gehouden by den Opperkoopman Jan Antionizz Van Riebeeck Deel 11, p119 from "Crommenboom" to the free-burgher forester, Leendert Cornelisz, the natural stand of Cripplewood and other strong thick wood for a distance of 1500 rood was so dense that no animals could get through and the open areas were easy to strengthen with branches
\textsuperscript{128} Boeseken A J, S A Argefstukke. Belangrike Kaapse dokumente. \textit{Memorien en Inschriften 1657-1699}, p38
\textsuperscript{129} Ibid. XI
\textsuperscript{130} Ibid, Van Riebeeck draws the attention of the Council of 17 to the cost of such a project where at least 1500 spades and shovel would be needed, apart from other tools
\textsuperscript{131} Bosman D B & Thom \textit{Dagregister gehouden by den Opperkoopman Jan Antionizz Van Riebeeck Deel 111, p198
The fort Kyckuyt on a 17th century map (R/A, Topo Collection)
(Leiden University, Bodel Nijenhuijs collection)
Hebben wij dan geen oorsaeken te beletten dat gij geen beesten krijgt, dewijl gij, veel hebbende, onse weyden daarmede comt te beslaen ende te seggen 't landt is niet groot genoegh voor ons beyden? Wie sal dan met 't beste recht wijken, den rechten eygenaer off den vremden innemert? 

(Have we then no right to stop your acquiring cattle where you, having many, would take over our grazing and then say that the land is not large enough for us both? Who has then the strongest right to go, the real owner or the new occupier?) This argument, to my mind highlights the real reason for the unwillingness of the Caepman to trade - the threat to their grazing and their territorial rights.

At which Van Riebeeck gave the same reply which all conquerors through the centuries have given to the conquered: That the battle had been fought and fairly won by the sword, and especially as they had not been prepared to repay the cost of the stolen cattle, they were to quit the land which the Dutch intended to keep:

...dat sij dat landt nu met den oorlogh verloren hadden ende daerom geen ander staet te maecken als hetselfe voortaen glad quijt te sijn, te meer dewijl sij haer niet costen laten bewegen 't gerooffde vee te restitueren, 'twelck sij ons onrechtvaerdigh ende buyeten eenige redenen hebbende affgenomen, ons dan haer landt, door diffenciven oorloogh rechtvaerdigh als met 't swaert gewonnen, wa$ toegevallen, ende 't welck wij oock voornemens waren te behouden.

They would be shown the Dutch boundaries, which they were to respect and they were to enter these only through the stipulated guarded posts at Kykuitj and Keert de Koe. They could use their old grazing only if they kept to the arrangement to trade ten sheep and ten cattle to each visiting ship and the Commander promised to punish any Freeman or sailor who misused them.

Soon after his peace negotiations with the Caepman, representatives of the Gorachouquas from behind the Tygerberg (also known as the "tobacco thieves") arrived at the fort on 27th April, 1660, to negotiate peace. Their captain, Choro with a following of 100 men, subsequently arrived on the evening of 5 May together with Herrij and Doman as interpreters, and were entertained in the courtyard with gifts, drink and food for the next two days after which they were led out of the fort and through the entrance gates of the colony, where they were shown the boundaries and boom through which they would be allowed to enter the colony.

After this various captains from the interior from time to time sent gifts and declared themselves willing to trade cattle, so that the Caepman became less and less of a problem.

As his experience of them increased Van Riebeeck's attitude to the Hottentots became increasingly tolerant during his stay at the Cape and in 1662 he could give a comprehensive report of the various tribes which were by then trading cattle at the fort and he could also advise his successor that it was imperative to stay on friendly terms with all of these different tribes ( who

132 Ibid, 5th & 6th April 1660, p198
133 Ibid, p199
134 S A Argiefstukke. Belangrike Kaapse dokumente. Memorien en Instruktien 1657-1699, p28. The memorial left by Van Riebeeck for his successor. Eventually the "Hottentots", as Van Riebeeck called them, entered only through the post at "Keert de Koe", so that on their way to the fort they would not be near the free-burghers' properties p38
Map showing van Goen's projected canal from False Bay to the Liesbeek (R/A, Map Collection)
were not always friendly with each other), especially if future expeditions into the interior were to be successful.\(^{135}\) Van Riebeeck himself continued his policy of friendship even to the unpredictable Herrij and Doman whom he continued to use as translators after peace had been established. He also attempted to defend the Hottentot people against those free-burghers or sailors who tried to take advantage of them.\(^{136}\)

But the success of Van Riebeeck's extended colony had not been due so much to his policy of friendship as much as to the successful planning of his defence system which, though primitive and inexpensive, had been amazingly effective. This success might also be ascribed to the fact that he alone could make decisions and form policies of action, for though he met regularly with the few officials who with him formed the Council of Policy, they were his subordinates. So were the competent surveyors who set out buildings, new gardens, grants and agricultural plots according to his instructions.

Nor did the Commissioners who were sent out to supervise his work from time to time, appear to influence his plans to a great extent: Ryckloff van Goens (1657) had made the impractical suggestion that a canal should be built from False Bay to join the Liesbeek River;\(^{137}\) Joan Cunaeus (1658) had shown his appreciation of Van Riebeeck's work by granting him a farm at Boscheuvel;\(^{138}\) Pieter Sterthemius had expressed approval of the live hedges on the boundaries, and Andries Frisius had also approved his initiative and agricultural and defence policies.\(^{139}\)

Van Riebeeck was therefore the initiator, supervisor and motivator of all planning throughout his ten years at the Cape. Ed Taverne has shown how imaginative city plans drawn up for ordered expansion by competent engineers, were thwarted by developers and city councils in the Netherlands during the 17th century. Here at the Cape ideas like these could be successfully executed because one man was making decisions.

And fortunately that man had intelligence and imagination, an intense sense of responsibility and discipline, commitment, but above all, compassion for his fellow-men.

2.2 COMPARISON OF THE D.E.I.C. POSTS IN THE EAST WITH THE ONE AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

2.2.1 The Influence of the Leyden Academy

Although Van Riebeeck had no official training in the arts of military design, he would most probably have known of the Academy which Prince Maurits had established nineteen years before his birth in Leyden. Here, under the guidance of Justus Lipius, official training in a disciplined military strategy was instituted and engineers and surveyors received instruction in military architecture.

135 Bosman D B & Thom H B, *Dagregister gehouden by den Opperkoopman Jan Anthonizs Van Riebeeck* Deel 11, p207
136 Ibid, 29.9.1660, p274
137 S A Arjefstukke, Belangrike Kaapse dokumente. *Memorien en Instruktion 1657-1699*, p38
138 Ibid, pp1, 15 & 26
139 Ed Taverne *In 't land van belofte: in de nieuwe stad*
Vitruvius' "Ideal City" designed to exclude "noxious winds"
*(De Architectora* translated by Granger F, Vol 11, plate A)

Simon Stevin's model for the "Ideal City" was this military camp.
"De viersydige riehtoeck op een plat even landt is mijn bedunde
32 der Steden begnaemste form" *(Taverne E, In't land van beloofe)*
The principles used were based on the Italian concept that a knowledge of geometry, arithmetic and proportions was indispensable to military art. As military architecture became more and more dependent on an appreciation of symmetry and an understanding of the related measurements involved with attack and defence, a thorough knowledge of mathematics became increasingly important. The Leyden school did not only teach the art of military engineering, but also land surveyors received their training there, an integral part of this training being also the expertise today allocated to quantity surveyors, architects and builders.

These principles are set out in detail as it has been found that they were to have a far-reaching influence on the planning of the original settlement as well as the subsequent rural and urban landscape of the Cape Colony to the end of the 19th century.

The matter of planning a civilian city in relation to an existing military citadel or a citadel in relation to a city, was also considered as well as the planning of the "ideal city". Simon Stevin's *Van de ordeningh der steden* which appeared in 1649, during the time that Van Riebeeck was living in Amsterdam, was known at the Academy, had a widespread circulation and influence, also in countries outside Holland. His ideas formed a link between the Italian philosophy of city planning as set forth by Vitruvius and Cataneo, and his own ideas of the "ideal" Dutch city.

These principles are set out in detail as it has been found that they were to have a far-reaching influence on the planning of the original settlement as well as the subsequent rural and urban landscape of the Cape Colony to the end of the 19th century.

His requirements for an ideal city were as follows:

* A city should be situated near a river on a flat square of land.
* It should be divided into rectangular building blocks, erven and market squares.
* Streets should alternate with water channels and should be laid out on a grid pattern, crossing each other at right angles.
* The main square should be surrounded by the offices and shops of the most important merchants, the church and other important buildings.
* The residence of the ruler should be on an outside canal so that he would not have to cross the city should he wish to travel.
* There should be many bridges spanning the river.
* Arched covered sewers should run in the centre of the streets and inlets to these should be properly covered with metal grids.
* Building erven should also be square and of equal size and they should have open courtyards.
* Inspectors should control building activities to ensure uniformity of buildings each of which should be allowed two storeys and a basement.
* Markets should be situated near a canal to facilitate transport.
A plan for buildings and landscape of the Cingelgracht in Utrecht in 1664 by A van Lobbrecht. This "ideal city" was never seriously considered as the city grew incrementally, without a long term plan, according to the pressures and needs of speculators and city councils. In contrast at the Cape, planning was in the hands of the ruling officials and the only constraint to idealistic planning was of an economic nature (Taverne E, *In’t land van belofte*).

Batavia in 1625 showing formal layout of the city with its main street centred on the citadel poort on the axis of the "Stadhuis" (5). The city walls are geometrically related to the bastions of the fort. The coconut plantations in the foreground are arranged in rectangular blocks (Conradi P, *Batavia 1782*)
* Streets should be 18 metre wide but allow covered walks in front of the houses on either side, and be planted with avenues of trees.
* The linking of the city to a citadel should be by streets running perpendicularly to the bastions or curtains of the citadel.\(^{140}\)

An examination of the plans and sketches which still exist in the Rijksarchief suggest that these planning principles were the guidelines used by the D.E.I.C. officials in the planning of their trading posts in the East. It is interesting to compare their similarities and to establish to what extent these principles applied in the planning at the Cape of Good Hope.

2.2.2 Comparison of D.E.I.C Posts in the East with the one at the Cape

The centre of the Dutch Empire in the East was Batavia where Van Riebeeck first experienced the power and became conversant with the colonial policy of the D.E.I.C. He would have lived in the four-bastioned citadel like the one which he later built at the Cape. In this fort were the magazines, storerooms and workshops, barracks for the soldiers and more prestigious buildings for the Governor and officers in charge, a "raadssaal" and a church, all arranged symmetrically around a courtyard which was the social centre of the settlement. The courtyard was planted with grass and trees and provided with benches.

In this public place Van Riebeeck would have seen daily parades, weapon displays, triumphal marches and social gatherings, and listened to the public announcements. A parade, watched by the Governor from his balcony, was also held here every Sunday for everyone, including the cavalry.\(^{141}\)

Outside the citadel was the city with streets arranged on a grid pattern which fanned out slightly away from the citadel.\(^{142}\) Wide moats, situated between the city and fort and parallel to the streets, had drained the unhealthy marshes which surrounded the area and acted as waterways for the easy conveyance of goods. They were spanned by many beautiful bridges.

Governor-General Antonio van Diemen had planted rows of palms along both the waterways and the streets which were lined with beautiful Dutch houses, and in other areas by the homes of the Chinese, Malays, Javanese and other traders. The "stadhuis" which had been completed in 1626 lay on the direct axis of the citadel portal, an example of early axial "baroque" planning which Barrie Biermann apparently had not been aware of when he supposed the church in Stellenbosch to be the first Dutch Colonial example of such planning.\(^{143}\)

Van Diemen had also been responsible for the construction of a 3 metre high wall around the city. In this way the lay-out of Batavia corresponded in all its details with the principles of planning.

\(^{140}\) Vitruvius *De Architectura* translated by Granger F 1931. Vol I
\(^{141}\) Conradi, *Ou Batavia*
\(^{142}\) Refer 1625 plan, p64
\(^{143}\) Biermann Barrie, *Oor die bronse van ons volksbarok* in Architecture July/August, 1989
Colombo in 1659. The fort with eight bastions enclosed a large citadel where street blocks are set out in a grid.

The Galle fort on the outermost peninsula of "Ceylon" with fortified walls and bastions on the shore surrounding a large citadel. A number of streets on a grid divide the city into blocks more or less rectangular in shape. A wide gracht helps to separate the peninsula from the mainland as at Batavia.
advocated by the Leyden academy\textsuperscript{144} and according to Godée Molsbergen, Batavia was indeed designed by Simon Steven.

Even though Van Riebeeck might not have visited other Dutch forts which were planned according to the same principles, he must have become aware of the fact that Batavia was not an isolated instance of such planning.

The post at Colombo on the west coast of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) was composed of a large citadel with eight bastions enclosing all the official buildings and a small town laid out on a grid. Like Batavia, this fort has been totally demolished, but the Pettah or adjoining city has remained in part, and still shows signs of the original geometrical layout when a city wall with six bastions extended directly from the fort bastions to protect it from all sides.

Ceylon was the island reserved for the culture of cinnamon and these trees were planted in regular blocks outside the fort in the area known as the "Cinnamon Gardens" where the richer houses are today situated.\textsuperscript{145}

Galle at the southernmost point of Ceylon lies on a peninsula at the mouth of the large Galle Bay. After the Dutch had taken it from the Portuguese in 1640, they rebuilt the fortification following the Portuguese boundaries with bastions and connecting curtains right around its shoreline and a wide moat on the land side. This moat isolated the fort from the interior in the same way that Van Goens had wished to protect the Peninsula at the Cape with his suggested moat.

A small city containing all the necessary military buildings and streets with civilian houses, lay inside the fortified area and because there was enough space, it did not need to expand beyond the fortifications as in the above-mentioned trading posts. The streets followed a rough grid pattern which was adapted to the geography of the peninsula.

Coconut groves, not indicated on the plans, show outside the city walls on the Heydt views, planted in neat avenues or blocks, contrasting with indigenous jungle. Commissioner Van Goens had advised Van Riebeeck to plant palm trees at the Cape as he had come to know their value in the East where these plants not only provided food, thatching and sisal but also shade to the indigenous people.\textsuperscript{146}

The fort of Malacca, like all the others, lay on the shore, and was surrounded by bastions and linking walls. In its centre was a small mountain on which the Dutch built their church, while all the other military buildings were situated lower down around the periphery of the courtyard. Inside the fort the Company laid out a geometrical garden surrounded by a pallisade, and an orchard.

The town, which lies next to the fort, is again arranged in a grid and is surrounded by a moat which also separated it from the citadel. The outer streets of the town run perpendicularly onto two

\textsuperscript{144} Refer View of Heydt J W. (1734); Vel943, 944 & 951, Rijksarchief
\textsuperscript{145} Refer views by Heydt (1743); Vel943 (1659), Vel944 and Vel951 all in the Rijksarchief
\textsuperscript{146} Views by Heydt, plan by Heydt and plan Vel1054 (Rijksarchief)
The formal layout inside the Trincomallee fort in 1787 adapted to fit into the irregular shape of the peninsula (R/A Landsarkief H71)

The plan of Malacca: The symmetrical garden has converging walks and a central feature. Orchards are planted in rectangular blocks, all inside the citadel. The outside streets of the city run from the two outer bastions and all the streets are in a grid pattern. The formal garden of the governor lies in the foreground, below.
bastions. In it are the open squares, on which were situated the markets of the "moors" and Chinese as well as a mosque and pagoda.

Many palm trees were planted in rows along the streets and shore and in a block at the edge of the town. The Governor's small garden is shown outside the fort and city, with a canal leading to it. It is roughly rectangular in shape and the beds are laid out geometrically like those in the Table Valley garden. 147

When the fort Oranje was built on the island of Ternate by the Portuguese in 1522, it became their headquarters in the Moluccan Sea and its islands. In 1607 Ternate was taken by the D.E.I.C who made this island the centre of their clove trade.

A study of a plan in the Rijksarchief (Vel 1312) and two sketches, one by J.W.Heydt done in 1731 and one by Schley in approximately the same period, showed a four-bastioned fort situated on the shore and protected by a moat on the land-side. Inside the fort were geometrically arranged military buildings. From its four bastions protective curtains with further bastions stretched to either side to enclose the settlements of the free-burghers and Company's garden on the right and those of the indigenous people on the left. On the land side large parallel blocks of trees (presumably cloves) are seen on the plan. 148

A comparison of the plans showing the castle on the island of Amboina, as it was when conquered from the Portuguese, and again eighty years later, demonstrates graphically the orderly planning principles of the Dutch. The random groups of houses and trees of the original inhabitants seen on the first plan, has made way for a formal grid pattern where streets are straight and lined with trees on either side and house erven laid out neatly in parallel rows along these streets. It is noted that the main street of the city is on the axis of the citadel portal.

The newly constructed Dutch four-bastioned fort was geometrically linked to the surrounding city by an extension of an axis through the entrance portal along the main street. As in the other forts, the land side of the city was protected with a row of bastions and linking curtains.

Amboina, although a fertile island, where coconut, bananas, various citrus and sugar cane all flourished, was reserved only for clove culture. The indigenous people, regarded by the Dutch to be lazy and inferior, (they were also cannibals), were largely destroyed and plantations given to individuals who, with the help of slaves, produced cloves at a fixed price, just as the Cape free-burghers were required to produce grain at a fixed price. These estates were laid out with traditional neatness and symmetry as can be seen on Schley's view. 149

Jaffnaputam on the northern shores of Ceylon was taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch in 1658. They then built their fort in the same position where the Portuguese fort had been.

This fort in many respects resembled the castle which was built at the Cape eight years later. Both have five bastions, lie with one curtain against the shore, are surrounded by moats on the land side.

147 View by Joan Bleau. View by Schley J V. Plan Du Bois 1750, Plan Heydt (1730's)
148 Schley view. Plan Vel1312, View Heydt J W
149 Plan Portuguese fort and town about 1605, Plan of fort. 1687, View Schley J W
The fort at Ternata with four bastions and symmetrically arranged internal military quarters once again illustrates the close geometrical relation between citadel and city, for the two main streets are taken from the two bastions and the city wall also starts from one of these. The Company's gardens are arranged in parallel rectangles outside the citadel. View from the sea (du Bois).
and have an unfortified city built on a grid pattern near the citadel. At Jaffna the city is separated from the fort by a canal and glacis and at the Cape the small town was eventually to be separated by a parade ground from the citadel.18

A comparison of all these Dutch posts with, for instance, the Mohammedan stronghold at Bantam, clearly illustrates the difference between the geometrically controlled Dutch plan against the more relaxed, organic arrangement of the elements comprising the Eastern citadel. This is also seen above in the Portuguese stronghold of Amboina.

3 SUMMARY

Van Riebeeck had built his citadel and laid out and protected his gardens with the same attention to detail as he had seen at Batavia, but he had no need to plan a related fortified city to house the many officials and indigenous traders seen in the East. For the Khoi, with whom he was attempting to trade cattle, had no permanent residence, and lived near the fort or moved away as it pleased them, before the fortified boundaries kept them further afield. And the small garrison which he was allowed, was widely distributed (Robben Island, the west coast islands for seal hunting, those gathering salt at the mouth of the Salt River and those stationed at the various redoubts) so that even the small fort was large enough to accommodate all his men.

Some of his officials were allowed gardens adjoining the Company’s gardens, but these were not for living on.

A map of 1660 nevertheless indicates the orderly beginnings of a small Dutch town at the Cape. One sees the three short streets parallel to each other and to the garden cross-walks, and the houses neatly arranged in them with their narrow gable ends to the streets like in Holland, although there is enough space to lay out much wider even. As the small village was situated right next to the fort there was no need for a protective city wall.

But the group of farms which had been granted to the free-burghers and which lay parallel to each other along the banks of the Liesbeeck River, did need a protective “city wall” against those people who eventually proved to be more cunning than Van Riebeeck had at first anticipated. They had soon learnt to attack and steal on rainy days when the white man’s gunpowder was powerless, and they used a method of warfare then unknown in Europe and which today would be called “guerrilla warfare” i.e. they hid in the bush in small groups and from there attacked quickly and ran away into the mountains before retaliation could occur. Van Riebeeck had to devise an urgent, cheap defence system.

With not much manpower or money, he substituted live tree barriers, palisades and pega-tega hedges for solidly built curtain walls, and quickly constructed wooden and stone redoubts for bastions. These were arranged in an unbroken semi-circle or begrepen cirkel which embraced and protected the new colony.

A comparison of the plans of Amboina showing the island as it was when conquered from the Portuguese and again eighty years later, demonstrates graphically the orderly planning principles of the Dutch. The random groups of houses and trees of the original inhabitants seen on the first plan, has made way for a formal grid pattern where streets are straight and lined with trees on either side and house erven laid out neatly in parallel rows along these streets. The main street of the city is on the axis of the citadel portal.
Van Riebeeck had taken into account the particular problems of his attack and defence strategy and devised his own form of military architecture which in some strange and primitive way reflected the principles taught at the Leyden Academy. These principles of symmetry and order were the same which applied to the setting out of gardens and properties and as Van Riebeeck had an extremely competent surveyor in Pieter Potter, the small post which he had created at the Cape compared very favourably with the larger posts of the D.E.I.C. in the East. Because of the geographical restrictions of the Peninsula mountains there was not the close geometrical relation of fort and related extensions as seen in most of the Eastern posts eg Negombo, below (R/A, Vel989).
CHAPTER 2

THE LATE 17TH CENTURY LANDSCAPE AT THE CAPE 1662-1679

To what extent the formal planning commenced by Van Riebeeck had been maintained by succeeding 17th century Governors and how this affected the Company's Gardens, the village and castle in Table Bay, is now examined. These findings will be discussed under the following headings:

1 EXPANSION OF THE GARDENS AND MILITARY WORKS UNDER COMMANDER WAGENAER AND HIS INFLUENCE ON LANDSCAPE PLANNING

2 INTEGRATION OF GARDEN, CITADEL AND TOWN UNDER GOVERNORS ISBRANT GOSKE AND JOHANNES BAX

3 SUMMARY
EXPANSION OF THE GARDENS AND MILITARY WORKS UNDER COMMANDER WAGENAER AND HIS INFLUENCE ON LANDSCAPE PLANNING AT THE CAPE

Zacharias Wagenaer, who succeeded Van Riebeeck as Commander of the Cape, came from a cultured background and because of his experience in the West and East Indies and his talents as an artist, cartographer, builder and architect and administrator, was admirably suited to take responsibility for further planning at the Cape after Van Riebeeck.

Born in Dresden in 1614, he left home at nineteen and obtained work with Willem Jansz Bleau in Amsterdam. Bleau had just been appointed cartographer to the D.E.I.C. and his assistant therefore very quickly learnt to know the extent and excitement of the mercantile empire. But after a year Wagenaer found work as a clerk at Fort Ernestus in Recife, and when Count Johan Maurits of Nassau became Governor of Dutch Brazil, Wagenaer was, like many other artists, scientists and explorers who worked for and accompanied the Count, much inspired by this august leader. During his time in Brazil Wagenaer wrote his "Thierbuch" about his experiences, describing and illustrating the animals, plants and people of his exotic environment.

After seven years in Brazil and a short visit to his home town, Wagenaer left for Batavia where he was appointed cartographer to the Company. Trade missions to Tonking and Quinam as well as Canton were not successful, but would have broadened his diplomatic experience. On two occasions he represented the Company at Deshima and there amongst other achievements, he was responsible for stimulating the manufacture of Japanese porcelain by placing large orders and providing them with examples of Chinese blue and white porcelain to copy. Wagenaer actually placed an order for 200 pieces to be decorated according to his own design: "to be made curiously on a blue ground with small silver foliate scrollwork".

During his last years in the East, Wagenaer was appointed to the post of architect and master builder of Batavia. By then the fortification of the city had been completed, but special quarters had, for example, to be designed and constructed for the craftsmen scattered throughout the city. He was also appointed supervisor of all the Batavian slaves and member of the Council of Justice. His failing health led to the resignation of his post in Batavia, but he was willing to assume the less demanding post of Commander of the Cape in 1662.

At this time the strategic importance of the Cape was becoming increasingly obvious as hostilities between Holland and England increased and Wagenaer with his experience of cartography and military art was to play an important role in the planning of the new defence system. But his interest in plants, people and animals also made of him a valuable administrator when the Colony

1 Zandvliet Kees, Life and Work of Zacharias Wagenaer (1614-1668). Public Record Office, The Hague "His father was a man of considerable standing" and an artist
2 Bleau was a well-known publisher of art and literature. After his death his son carried on with the same work
3 Boeseken Dr A. J. Dagregisters en Briefen van Zacharias Wagenaer (1662-1666), pXV111
4 Ibid, pXV According to Dr Boeseken the "Thierbuch" has been preserved in the State Art-collection in Dresden and has been printed twice
5 Ibid, ppXX11 & XX111
7 Ibid, p25
This map shows the Garden in 1665 when it was 21 morgen in size. The first three streets have been set out parallel to the crosswalks of the Garden and the houses face these streets with their narrow ends. There are as yet no city blocks. Private gardens of the officials are situated along the eastern boundary (C/A M3/10)
established by Van Riebeeck, was grappling with the problems of local adaptations to European experience.

For although Wagenaer's Cape diary does not give the detailed information on agricultural activities that Van Riebeeck's had done, there are enough entries to indicate his active participation in determining and executing policies on these matters.

On the 12th December, 1662, for instance, he was to experience the strength of the Cape south-easter when it blew down trees and the "schilderhuijske" in front of the Company's Garden and damaged many roofs, but on visiting the farms behind Table Mountain he was, like Van Riebeeck, relieved to find no damage to the grainlands. This proved to him that agricultural activities could profitably be extended in this region.

A few days later when he was going out with his surveyor to set out a new grant of land, he noticed, on passing the wild almond hedge, that it was down-trodden in areas and elsewhere destroyed by the fires made both by the Hottentots and the farmers to stimulate young growth of grass. As Van Riebeeck had not stipulated who was to plough up and keep the area on either side of this hedge free of growth, Wagenaer resolved to bring all the soldiers, sailors, slaves and farmers to dig up an area 2-3 ft wide on either side, for he regarded the maintenance of this hedge to be important. Unfortunately on 5th March a fire again destroyed more than 1000 roods, leaving the boundary unprotected over this length for a time.

In June the Commander set out a new piece of land for a vineyard and a week later he went out with his secunde, Abraham Gabbemma and chief gardener to establish positions for planting 800 Spanish orange and lemon saplings: "om te ordenneren op wat plaatse deselve dienden in de aerdte gesteken te worden" (to establish where it would be best to plant these). It was then decided that half were to be planted at Boscheuvel and the rest in the Rondebosch garden.

In August of the following year Wagenaer had a new piece of land prepared behind the Company's orchard at Rondebosch, where 400 and 600 new vines were planted on two consecutive days. He had the vines planted "fraei achter malcanderen in lange rijen" (beautifully arranged one behind the other in long rows) in his typically neat and organised manner, and then surrounded it with a "hechte pagger van redelijcke dicke pale" (an impenetrable hedge of reasonably thick poles) to stop buck or wild pigs from destroying the young vines.

At Rondebosch he planned a new orchard with the same precision:

"Een tweede bogaert, dwers door 't Comps zaailant heenen tot aen de Revier Liesbeecq begrepen, sijnde voor en achter 60 treden breet en...roeden diep, mitsgaders deselve in thien vierkante percken verdeelt, gelijk ick uijt de gallerije van 't gemelte huijs vertoont hebbe". He planted seven beds with various
"Voorwerck" drawn and built by Commander Waginaer at the Cape
kinds of Indian and Dutch plants. The three remaining beds he wished to plant with olive trees. These ten beds, visible from the stoep of Rustenburg, and one, which apart from its geometrical order, also provided a pleasant view from the stoep, were to be the beginnings of a garden as well organised as the one in Table Bay.

Its pleasant situation, away from the bustle of the citadel, inspired Wagenaer to erect a more permanent double-storey house there in July 1662, using the material from the Company's demolished post at Coornhoop, which had fallen into disuse. The ground floor was used to accommodate the gardeners who, till then had lived in a stroijehuis, but the top storey was planned for official use. A musket shot from this building, Wagenaer later erected a second long outbuilding, een lanckoverpich laech boerenhuijs, doch met steene geuvels en schoorsteenen which was divided in two for the use of a free smithy and cartwright. These amenities were much appreciated by the free-burghers, and the lusthuijs or plaisierhuijs at the Rondebosch garden for the officials was to become increasingly important to successive governors as will be seen in subsequent chapters.

The precision with which he set out lands, orchards, vineyards and their related buildings became even more noticeable when it came to the planning of military and related structures.

On the afternoon of 28 June 1663 he describes in his diary, how he and other officials, together with Hendrick Lacus, the fiscal who was also the surveyor, set out poles on the beach side of the fort, to mark the position of an extension to the voorwerck of the fort according to his own drawing. In this area he planned buildings of which the most important was to be a new hospital. He indicated the positioning of this building and after the approval of the next visiting Commissioner, Overtwater, proceeded to build with all available men. On Saturday, 6 September, he describes the "roofwetting", where all involved with the building shared in the celebrations of the successfully completed plan:

The carpenters had tied their sign (a green tree branch crowned with a wreath) to the roof and the Commander on behalf of the Company, had supervised the setting out on a long trestle table the meat of a young ox, 60 flasks of wine and two barrels of Cape beer. This, he noted (obviously with much pleasure) the men had in his presence met groote vreucht(1) en gejoel verteert hebben.

Wagenaer was also concerned with the provision of clean drinking water for his own people and the calling ships and after receiving many complaints about the water, he himself drew up a plan for a new dam, and set everyone digging: thuijniersknechts en slaven mitsgaders aile de so/daten , arbeijts lieden, sloepgasten, boschieters tot schriebanen, jongens en meijden incluijs... It is noticeable

13 Zandvliet Kees, Life and Work of Zacharias Wagenaer (1614-1668). Public Record Office, The Hague. According to Zandvliet, Wagenaer drew up plans for these outworks which, on a smaller scale, resembled the craftsmen's quarters in Batavia
14 Boeseken Dr A J, Dagregistr en Briewe van Zacharias Wagenaer (1662-1666) p163
15 This water-colour, preserved in the Rijksarchief, is a testimony to Wagenaer's ability as an artist
16 Boeseken Dr A J, Dagregistr en Briewe van Zacharias Wagenaer (1662-1666) p86, 6 August 1663
17 Ibid, pp94 & 96
Waterback designed and built by Commander Wagenaar (R/A Vel 827)
that Wagenaer always employed a full force of workers when he wished to complete a project and in this instance he was working in rock which had to be broken up by crowbars, hammers and irons. By the middle of September the masons had completed the stone walls, the sluices could be closed and the waterback filled.\(^9\) The water basin was placed midway between the fort and the village and lay parallel to the fort curtains.

Whereas Van Riebeeck's fort had been built to withstand the attacks of the Hottentots, the Dutch Government in 1644 warned the D.E.I.C. that, because of its war with England, there was a danger of an English attempt to take the Cape. In October of that year Nieuw Amsterdam (later New York) which was in the possession of the Dutch West India Company, was indeed taken by the British and the Council of 17 agreed that a stronger fortification at the Cape was urgently necessary. A plan drawn up by Pierius Cool, was sent to the Cape together with Pieter Dombaer, surveyor and military engineer to supervise the construction.\(^9\) It was planned to construct a five-bastioned castle around the present fort.

Once again it was the local man in charge who realised that plans projected in Holland would have to be altered to meet local conditions, but this time it was not the Commander who made the decision. When Commissioner Isbrand Goske, on the outward voyage to assume his position as Commander of Cochin, stopped at the Cape in 1665, he found Wagenaer busy building the first bastion of the new castle outside the old fort.

Goske rejected this position and stopped work, for he found that, were the new castle to be built around the fort where the soil was rocky, a large section of the Company's beautiful garden, several burgher houses on the market square, both the lime kilns, the new water-basin, as well as the old hospital would be in the way.

No matter how much Wagenaer objected, Goske insisted that the new castle be built 60 roods east of the fort and though in a letter of May 22, 1666 Wagenaer expressed his disappointment that the old fort should be demolished, he had nevertheless to obey higher authority.\(^9\)

For three months 200 soldiers worked to clear and level the site, after which Lacus and Dombaer set out the points, the foundations of the first bastion were excavated and after stone had been quarried at the foot of Lion's Hill and Robben Island and shells burnt for lime, building work commenced. The ceremony of laying the first foundation stone was celebrated with much drinking and eating and the reading of a long commemorative verse.\(^2\) It was, however, to be many years after Wagenaer's departure before this castle would be completed.

Before he left, Wagenaer took his successor Cornelisz Van Qualbergen out to see the lands behind Table Mountain, showed him where new grants were possible near Boscheuvel, and where improvements were necessary to roads, bridges and buildings.\(^3\) Van Riebeeck's redoubts, Houd

\(^{19}\) Boeseken Dr A J, Dagberegister en Briefe van Zacharias Wagenaer (1662-1666) p202. Monday 8th June 1665
\(^{20}\) Boeseken Dr A J, Dagberegister en Briefe van Zacharias Wagenaer (1662-1666) p377
\(^{21}\) Ibid, 2nd January 1666, p238
\(^{22}\) Ibid, p280 25-9 1666
\(^{23}\) Boeseken A J, Memoiren en Instruction (1657-1699) pXV111
The map shows the old fort and the projected new castle (R/A Ve1828)
den Bul and Coornhoop had been broken down and Duijnhoop, Kijkuit and Keert de Koe were also in a sorry state. Ruijterwacht had also been replaced with a stronger building further inland. All these changes Van Quaelberg saw, but this Commander was hampered by ill health and in his short stay at the Cape (1666-1668) had very little opportunaty to influence local planning.

The same applies to Commander Jacob Borghorst (1668-1770) and Pieter Hackius, who died six months after his appointment as Commander on 18.3.1671.

2 THE INTEGRATION OF GARDEN, CITADEL AND TOWN UNDER GOVERNORS ISBRAND GOSKE AND JOHAN BAX

The Council of 17 considered Isbrand Goske, who had had experience as Commander of Galle and then of Cochin and also as Director of Persia, to be well qualified to take charge of the Cape during the bitter war which Holland was waging against Britain and France. Goske accepted the post on condition that he would not be subservient to visiting Commissioners, and served as Governor from May,1672 - March,1676. The changes that this dynamic Dutchman made at the Cape during his stay, apart from completing the castle, are highlighted in his memorie to his successor, Johan Bax:

The lower part of the garden was found unsuitable because of poor soil and therefore set aside for other uses; the many wooden bridges in the garden were being replaced with brick constructions; ten morgen of new land had been measured out above the Company's Garden to be planted with apples and pears; the hedges of alder and speek which acted as wind-breaks should be interplanted where they had died as result of drought; new wind-breaks should be planted with trees spaced closer to each other than in the fatherland ie 8 - 9 ft (2,7 metres) apart, to make them more wind-resistant; and he had made a roadway 18 ft (5,5 metres) wide around the garden, so that the free-burghers' properties should not encroach.

Because the castle took so long to construct, the fort remained the citadel, separating the new castle from the village and garden and even after the garrison had eventually moved into the castle in 1674, and the fort was demolished, the Governor's quarters in the fort were retained and Goske remained living there until his departure, when he recommended its demolition.

This was, however, not done as both Bax and Van der Stel were to live in these quarters and it was eventually demolished only in the early 1680s.

A map of 1678 shows the Table Valley settlement at this time: the new castle with bastions, curtains and some buildings in the completed courtyard; the open space between the castle and the village on which the Governor's quarters were still standing together with the outworks of the old

24 Boeseeken A J, Memorien en Instruccien (1657-1699). Letter of 15 March 1676, written by Commander Isbrand Goske to his successor, Johan Bax
25 Boeseeken A J, Memorien en Instruccien (1657-1699). In a Letter of 15 March 1676, written by Commander Isbrand Goske to his successor, Johan Bax, he notes that the lower part of the garden has been cut off because of the poor quality of the soil
26 This map is often dated 1695, but as it does not show the hospital opposite the church, which was constructed at the beginning of 1679 or the cross-wall in the castle, constructed in 1683, this dating must obviously be wrong.
This map probably dates to 1678, the year before the hospital at the top of the Heerengracht was built. It shows the foundation of the new church and surrounding cemetery and that of the planned slave lodge.

The main axis of the garden (planted with citrus avenues) extends towards the bay to form the main street of the new town. In this way the city is geometrically related to the garden and not the citadel as Eastern trading posts. Wagenaers dam is indicated and though the fort has been demolished the Governor's house and buildings in the voorwerck are still intact.

There are now seven streets to the right of the main axis and a row of house erven planned to compensate those free-burghers whose houses were demolished because they were too near the Garden boundary.

Private gardens have been granted further away from the citadel along the streams as there is no longer a threat from the indigenous people.
Wagenaer's dam next to another pool of "still" water, also on this open space; and two blocks of building erven arranged on a street grid.

These two groups of building lots lie on either side of the extended main walkway of the garden which would eventually become the main street of the growing village. The new erven on the south side were intended for those whose houses had been demolished because they were too near the fort.

One also notices that the part of the Company's Garden which used to lie west of the fort had now been granted in lots to private owners along the streams, and the garden itself was a narrower parallelogram still divided into rectangular symmetrically arranged beds. On the sea-side, in the disused garden, the foundations for the cemetery wall and slave lodge are shown. On the north side of the main garden walk are three parallel paths and on the south side two, but none of these walks have an exit on the mountain side of the garden. The rectangular symmetrical beds themselves show no detail.

For the next century this would remain the basic shape of the garden, and the popular idea that Governor Simon Van der Stel shaped the garden is therefore not correct. When he arrived at the end of 1679, his predecessor, Johan Bax, acting on Isbrand Goske's recommendations, which had been agreed to by Commissioner Nicolaes Verburgh, had already put into effect those decisions which determined the boundaries of the garden, the castle and their relationship to the city.

One may well ask whether Goske in taking his decisions about the relative positions of the garden, castle and new town had been influenced by the plans of either Galle or Cochin where he had lived for several years. Both these posts were, however, spread out along a coastline, with extended defence lines and many bastions which enclosed, apart from the military buildings, the city. They were, therefore, both a combined citadel and city.

At the Cape Goske had found hardly any city, and a very prominent garden, so he linked the two with a common axis (this would be the first instance of the use of an extended axis), setting out new erven in a grid pattern on either side. But because an old citadel had to be retained while a new one was being built, the later citadel was eventually totally divorced from the city and garden when the last buildings of the old fort were finally demolished.

The ensuing space was destined to remain a permanent open area, for on 10.3.1710, after discussing alternatives, the Council of Policy decided to extend the city around the garden instead of linking it to the castle and to keep the space between the town and the citadel permanently open.  

27 According to Theal, for instance
28 Boekeken J A, Argiefstukke, Resolusies van die Politieke Raad, Vol IV p147. The parade is still the largest open space in the city and now a national monument
This map of the French capital St Denis in Reunion. Here too the Governor’s Garden, set out with star forest, parterre and rectangular beds, extended its main avenue to become the main street of the small town as in Cape Town and the cross streets were set out at right angles to this main walk (Rev Beaton Six Months in Reunion, 1860)
SUMMARY

Commander Wagenaer, an experienced artist, cartographer and efficient administrator, continued to develop the Company's Gardens, newly-formed colony and military works with the same efficiency and precise planning of his predecessor, Jan Van Riebeeck.

Governors Goske and Bax had laid down the boundaries of the Company's Garden, its relation to the future city and the citadel. They had found the guide-lines laid down by the Leyden Academy for linking the city to the citadel, irrelevant, for at the Cape, where all the buildings were thatched, a better supply of water near the garden for fire-fighting was at that time a more important consideration. The administrative centre of the city therefore remained divorced from the growing town by an open plain which still forms the largest open square in the modern city.
CHAPTER 3

THE INFLUENCE OF THE VAN DER STELS ON THE PLANNING OF PIONEER SETTLEMENTS (1679-1710)

Simon and his son Willem Adriaan Van der Stel, made a considerable contribution to the formulation of a formal landscape pattern at the Cape at the end of the 17th century. The extent of their influence was examined under the following headings:

1 SIMON VAN DER STEL

1.1 THE SITUATION ON THE COMMANDER'S ARRIVAL

1.1.1 The Company's Garden
1.1.2 The Extent of the Colony
1.1.3 The Earliest Freehold Grants
1.1.4 The Planning of the First Village, Stellenbosch
1.1.5 The Influence of the Company's Posts on the 17th Century Cape landscape
   * Rietvallei
   * Hottentots Holland
   * De Clapmuts
   * De Cuylen
   * Elsjes Corael
   * Bommelshoek
   * Vissershok
   * Groene Cloof
1.1.6 Simon Van der Stel's Own Gardens
   * The Castle
   * Constantia

2 WILLEM ADRIAAN VAN DER STEL SUN KING OF THE CAPE

2.1 THE STATE OF THE FREE-BURGHERS BY 1700
2.2 THE EUROPEAN BACKGROUND OF W A VAN DER STEL
2.2.1 Country Estates of the Upper Classes
2.2.2 Lusthoven along the Vecht and Diemermeer
2.2.3 Princely Estates of the Stadhouder, William of Orange
2.2.4 Versailles
2.2.5 Het Loo
2.3 THE LANDSCAPES OF W A VAN DER STEL'S OWN PROPERTIES
2.3.1 Vergelegen
2.3.2 The Castle

2.4 ESTATES OF THE GOVERNOR'S FRIENDS AND OFFICIALS

2.4.1 Elsenburg
2.4.2 Leeuwenhof
2.4.3 Zorgvliet
2.4.4 Zandvliet

SUMMARY
I SIMON VAN DER STEL EXPANDS THE COLONY

Simon Van der Stel was born at sea on 14th October, 1639, while his parents were on a voyage to Mauritius where his father Adriaan had been appointed new Governor of the island. After six years his father returned to Batavia where Simon was then christened. Shortly after their arrival, Adriaan Van der Stel was sent to Ceylon where the Dutch were trying to establish themselves, and in a fight with the king, Radja Singa, he was captured and beheaded after which his head was displayed to his troops on the point of a sword. Simon then probably lived in an orphanage in Batavia before returning to Holland in 1660 at the age of twenty. On this return journey, he spent a few weeks at the Cape.

After his marriage to Johanna Six, the young couple lived in Haarlem but in 1668 had moved to Amsterdam, where Van der Stel ran a thriving business. He also owned vineyards in Muiderberg which he rented out, but supervised. While the Dutch were defending themselves against French invasion, Simon Van der Stel was in charge of a company of voetknechten and so he gathered experience also in this field.

This brief biographical summary is given to indicate the influences which shaped the man appointed to assume the post of Commander of the Cape on 12th October 1679. Whether he was seeking a life of adventure in exotic surroundings as he had known in his youth, or whether the Cape had had a special attraction for him after his short visit as a young man, or whether he was escaping from an unhappy marriage, one can only guess, but when he left Texel with his six children and sister-in-law in May 1679, his wife remained in Holland, and was never to see him again. He might not have realised how much he would grow to love the country of his adoption in the next twenty years, nor that he would have such a profound influence on its development.

1.1 THE SITUATION ON THE COMMANDER'S ARRIVAL

1.1.1 The Company's Garden

When Van der Stel arrived, he found the Company's garden, now 20 morgen in size, worked by one master and three ordinary gardeners, together with 75 slaves. It was no longer the main source of fresh produce, as the free-burghers in Table Valley alone owned almost double the acreage of land. His predecessor had actually suggested that the Company would find it more profitable to let out the garden on the condition that the produce be supplied to passing ships. Rondebosch at the time had, in fact already been let to Hendrik Evertse Smidt, although the plaisierhuis was kept out for official use.

Van der Stel liked to stay there and often came in to the castle only for necessary duties and functions. Even then his love for the natural environment was so great that he spent much of this time in the Company's garden. Kolbe describes how the Commander used to swim in the water.

1 These biographical notes are from A Boekeken's Simon Van der Stel en Sy Kinders 
2 Boekeken A.J., Memoires en Instructien, p150 
3 Because the garden in Table Valley was by 1673 providing enough produce for the passing ships and local consumption, Geske decided to rent out the Rondebosch garden to two free-burghers. V.C.6 C/A 11.11.1671, p198
Three summer houses on the Vecht

Amsterdam summer houses:
1. Morgenstond
2. Buitenzorg
3. Karssenhof
(Rademaker A, *Hollands Arcadia* 1730)

The pavilion in the Company's Garden (*Père Thachard Voyage de Siam*, 1686)

The summer house of Governor-General van der Parra at Weltevreden in Batavia J Rach c1780
furrows which he had had rebuilt in brick. He also had at his disposal a well constructed *Plaisierhuis* with an outside kitchen and small toilet. All of these buildings Kolbe draws in a comprehensive illustration of the garden and tells us furthermore that the field above the garden was used to graze cows to supply the Commander with daily milk.

Kolbe's drawing and description of the garden was repeated (with the same mistakes) by the traveller Valentyn and a drawing of the summer house was made by the Jesuit Pére Tachard. He also described the "little pavilion" with "open vestibule that looks to the fort and the garden, with two rooms on either side". His drawing was probably published the wrong way round, as in the illustration on page 96, for when reversed the castle and garden fall into their correct positions.

A comparison between the summer house at the Cape as it appears on these sketches, and those along the Vecht and at Diemermeer shows that it fell into a pattern often seen in Holland where most summer houses had either a cupola or hipped roof. In Batavia the summer house of Governor-General van der Parra at Weltevreden looked very much like the Cape one, but had only one storey built on stilts and lacked the stone ground floor with balustraded viewing platform which is seen on Kolbe’s summer house.

The Cape summer house was therefore, by ordinary Dutch standards, quite an impressive building and as Kolbe remarked, it had a beautiful view down an oak avenue in the garden and over the bay with all the sailing vessels. Pére Tachard had an unimpeded view of the stars from his telescope on its top storey.

1.1.2 The Extent of the Colony

Although the military importance of the castle had by this time become less, Commissioner Van Reede in 1685 still considered that the Cape of Good Hope was to be regarded as a frontier and the Castle as a place which was in constant danger.

But if this frontier was to be successful as a victualling station, the meat and grain supply would have to be augmented by extending farming activities beyond the Peninsula. As the Hottentots were no longer a threat and Van Riebeeck's defence lines were falling apart and becoming irrelevant, farmers had already moved beyond its boundaries by 1679:

Hunting and grazing licences, valid for a year, had been granted to hunters and stock farmers, but these pioneering explorers of the country further inland had no permanent impact on the environment. For they moved along frequently and would have constructed only temporary shelters for themselves and their animals.

Loan farms had been granted in Hout Bay to Willem and Schalk Van der Merwe; to Pieter and Jan Mostert in Tygerberg; Jochem Marquart and Hendrick Elberts were hiring the Company’s post

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4 Kolbe P, Caput Bonae Spei Hodiemum
5 Raven-Hart R, Cape Good Hope Père T, pp276-7. It was decided on 26 April 1679 that this pavilion should be built in the garden, using the material from the Governor’s demolished quarters in the old fort
6 Boeseken A J, Memoriaën en Instituten, p198
at Hottentots Holland, and Henning Huising had received grazing rights on the other side of the Eerste River a month before van der Stel's arrival. These settlers, because they occupied choice tracts of land, were preparing to settle and consequently erect permanent structures, which when their annual loans expired, could be sold, should they decide to move further inland.

The Company was also showing an interest in the presence of minerals and other profitable products so that the east and west coasts had been explored and expeditions sent into the interior, not only to trade cattle. In this way the farming potential of the country had also become better known, and the Council of 17 resolved that:

*Het grootste voordeel dat de E. Comp. verwacht alhier te lande bestaat in een goede Colonie te planten van onze natie en door haar deselve te bevolken.*

Simon Van der Stel was the right man to tackle this challenge, for not only was he a visionary, with a passionate love of the land and a keen sense of adventure, but also a strict disciplinarian and an energetic and effective organiser.

Within three weeks of his arrival, the Commander went out to inspect the Hottentots Holland area and from there, on his return he passed through a fertile valley where he spent the night on a small island in a river. He was so enchanted with the place that he gave it his own name, Stellenbosch, and within months granted the first farms in the area.

On his way back another area must have caught the eye of the Commander. This was the place which he called *De Cuylen*, situated halfway between the Cape and Hottentots Holland. On the 8th January, 1680, he convinced the Council of Policy that a small house should be built there to serve as a resting place when cattle were being driven to and from Hottentots Holland and Table Valley.

1.1.3 The Earliest Freehold grants

In March 1680 the important decision was taken by the Council of Policy to grant freehold farms in the outlying districts. The loan farm system which had been in use till then, whereby the land was leased annually but did not become the property of the farmer, obviously did not encourage the best use of the land and farmers often moved on to new pastures after the expiration of their leases.

Within two months of this decision the first nine farmers had been sent out to Stellenbosch and as each had been allowed to choose as much land as he thought fit to cultivate, there were some
Parallel grants in Groot Drakenstein (O.S.F. Vol II 1689-1707)

The Stellenberg grant to Jacob Vogel in 1697

Original grant of Groot Constantia (O.C.F. Vol II f14 in 1685)

The Witteboomen grant to Lambert Simons in 1697
disputes about boundaries so that the surveyor, Wittebol, was sent out to map the individual properties.\textsuperscript{14}

Van der Stel's shrewd insight into human nature paid quick dividends and soon there were numerous requests for freehold farms as farmers realised that they could become permanent property owners, farm for their own benefit, and that in the beginning the Company would help them to become established.\textsuperscript{15}

Within another four years Van der Stel had granted thirty farms in the Stellenbosch district; by 1685 there were twenty-four farms between the castle and Constantia, the farm granted to Van der Stel himself. All these were granted on condition that a tenth of their grain crop should be paid to the Company and that trees be planted wherever ground was cleared of indigenous bush.\textsuperscript{16}

On 5 October 1687, twenty three more farms were set out along the Berg River in Drakenstein under the personal supervision of the Commander and in the ten following years further farms were granted in this area and at Oliphantshoek to Huguenot refugees. During the same period grants were also made in the Tygerberg, Koeberg, Agterpaarl, Paarl, Wellington and Daljosaphat so that when Simon Van der Stel handed over the Cape to his son at the end of 1699 there had been a remarkable expansion of farms throughout the area now known as the Western Province.

An examination of these early freehold grants in the Deeds Office, all more or less 60 morgen in size, showed no uniform pattern, for although they were more or less rectangular, access to a water source and the situation of arable land determined the ultimate shape.

In Drakenstein, where erven were set out under the supervision of the Governor himself, the erven were narrow parallelograms like those which Van Riebeeck had set out along the Liesbeek to allow for a maximum number of erven on the river frontage.

In Stellenbosch where the erven along the Eerste River were, on the other hand, chosen by the farmers themselves, they were usually smaller, often parallel to the water and Van der Stel had to admonish the farmers who had greedily taken too much river frontage.\textsuperscript{17}

The Stellenbosch grants along the Eerste River were surveyed by J Mulder who was also the landdrost of Stellenbosch, and officially granted only from 1692 onwards, although the farmers themselves had by then been living there for several years. Maps of these grants, obtained from the deeds office, show the relationship to the river front and it is interesting to see the first farm buildings sometimes situated outside the boundaries of the drawn grant.

In the S A Library there are two original manuscripts by a certain J Mulder, dated 1662, perhaps the work of landdrost Mulder. In the first manuscript Mulder describes the mathematical basis from which he worked when setting out military works.\textsuperscript{18} This would also have been the methods

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid, 8.3.1680, p330
\textsuperscript{15} They were granted their land for three years after which they could sell if they wished. Farm implements were given to them on credit
\textsuperscript{16} These early Stellenbosch and Cape Town grants are filed in the Deeds office in the first O.C.F. and O.S.F. volumes
\textsuperscript{17} Boeseken A J, Resolucies van die Politieke Raad, p330. For this reason the surveyor Wittebol was sent out in May 1680 to determine boundaries for the farms
\textsuperscript{18} S A Library MSD 32
Grant of Vredenburg in Vlottenburg with house on a drawing dated 1686 although granted only in 1692 (O.S.F. Vol I)

(Left) long houses drawn at Blaauwklippen (O.S.F. Vol I) to Gerrit Visser in 1690 and Coetsenburg (O.S.F. Vol I in 1693 to D Coetse) (right) have high walls, and chimneys indicating inside hearths.

The Plattekloof grant showing two buildings in a line facing Table Valley in 1699.
used to survey and mark out the boundaries of grants, gardens and the foundations of buildings, for these early surveyors, as have been mentioned before, were trained to cope with all aspects of building and surveying processes including the drawing up of quantity and cost lists.

Some of these early grants show buildings, indicating occupation prior to official mapping and registration of grants:

On a plan of the grant to Gerrit Jansz Vischer of the farm Blaauwe Klippen on the Dwars River in 1690, which he had already occupied for about eight years, the grant runs parallel to the river. A thatched cottage is shown with windows on the long side, a door at the gable end and a chimney at the opposite end.

On the plan of the grant Coetsenburg in Stellenbosch to Dirk Coetse (Coetsee) in 1695, the boundaries of the rectangular portions also ran parallel to the river, and included small islands in the river. A thatched cottage with much smoke from the chimney, and centrally placed door with window on either side in the long wall is also shown. The house suggests that he had been living there before the grant was officially documented and that hearths with proper chimney stacks were not unusual.

The plan of the grant to Floris Meyboom in 1699 of the farm Plattekloof on the Cape Town side of the Tygerberg, shows two thatched buildings with hipped gables, again indicating previous occupation before the grant was officially issued. The larger building has a central door in the long wall, with a window on either side; the smaller one has a side door and one window, also in the long wall. A spring is shown as this land did not lie near a river.

The grants of Vredenburg to Vander Byl in 1680 and Mostertsdrift to J C Mostert in 1683 both show the same generous river frontage which had annoyed Van der Stel.

In the Peninsula, farms other than those on the Liesbeek, were set out along mountain streams and one finds most erven running east-west with the mountain on their highest end. This allowed for easy irrigation by gravity.

One sees this on the original Constantia and Witteboome grants, but the drawing of Zee Koe Valeyen granted to Simon Van der Stel in 1699 by Commissioner Daniel Heyns, although given in freehold, was measured and drawn out in a circle one hour’s ride in all directions from a central pole which had been planted by the Commissioner on the banks of the vlei. It is unusual that a freehold grant should have been set out like that of a loan farm.

On a section of the Divisional Map of 1903, Cape Archives, showing the Tygerberg area, in some of the earliest grants have been coloured to show how they related to water points and arable land. It will be noted that the farms lie along the Elsies River and its tributaries but because this river was often dry in summer, they were usually dependent on additional perennial springs or vlei’s. These farms were surveyed and drawn from 1698 onwards although many had been occupied before this.
Grants in the Tygerberg were situated at water points and rivers (C/A M3/2522)
Grants shown are that of Dooderkraal (Doodenkraal, Droogekraal) to Tryntje Theunissen in 1698; Aan de Tygerberg (now Altydgedacht, previously Elsjes Corael) granted to Elsje van Suurwaerdern in 1698; and Hoogeberghsvallei (now Springfield) to Ockert Cornelisen Olivier in 1698.

Onrust, granted by W A Van der Stel to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch, J Starrenburg, lay on a branch of the Elsies River and stretched along the river bank to include a strong spring near the north-west boundary.

At Maastricht the springs were so strong that they were able to feed a large vijver (dam) in which fish were kept.

From the 17th century inventories and annual returns it was clear that these pioneer farmers were concentrating largely on cattle and wheat farming which was dependent on winter rains. Valentyn found that by the end of the 17th century even the poorest of farmers would have 600 sheep and 100 oxen.¹⁹

A map of the Drakenstein, Paarl and Wellington areas shows the 60 rood long parallel grants along the Berg River, also surveyed and drawn by Johannes Mulder, where many Huguenot farms were set out under the Governor's personal supervision.

Most of these farms still have French names like Picardie, granted to Isaac Taillefer in 1691; "Le Plessis Marle" granted to Charles de Mare (Marais in 1693); La Dauphine to Etienne Nel in 1694; Bourgogne granted to Pierre de Villiers in 1694; and Lecrevent (Lekkerwyn) granted to Henri Lecrevent in 1690. Unlike the grants along the Eerste River, these do not show the river or buildings, but they do show how the maximum number of farms were given river frontage.

Very little information was found of the way in which the first freehold owners organised their land or placed their buildings and kraals, for even where a building is shown on some of the above grants, and these were probably reasonably accurately drawn, there is no information on werf walls, kraals or agricultural organisation which might have accompanied them.

One suspects that the first buildings for humans and animals would have been erected as quickly as possible of materials available in the vicinity in the same way that Van Riebeeck had used straw for the first house at the Rondebosch garden and thorny branches, wooden palisades or live hedges of local plants for kraals and boundaries in his first "defence circle".

The grant drawings mentioned above do however show properly constructed buildings and one suspects that they would have been built in the style which Dutch farmers had used in their homeland.

Gallée in his magnificent drawings and descriptions of Dutch farms which he personally measured from the 1860s onward, explains how the farm buildings were arranged and gives three typical site plans, one with buildings arranged formally in geometrical relationship to each other and two with
Gallée shows the earth mounds around a farm werf, planted with trees, at Twent. The buildings are not geometrically related.

H V Stade's drawing of Stellenbosch shows a ditch around the Oude Molen farm boundaries with trees planted on the edges (R/A, Topo 15-88)

The tall kraal wall at Sonquasdrift

High stone walls at Contermanskloof
buildings placed at random. Each Boerderij was surrounded by an earth wall on which oaks were planted, and the grassed area between the buildings was known as the brink.

Commissioner J Vosch in a description of the Cape mentions that here too farmers had been advised to surround their orchards, gardens and cultivated lands with a sluit of at least one rood, and throw up earthen walls next to them also planted with oaks, and to plant elms in the ditches where there would be more moisture. But these measures would hardly have kept out wild animals.

Commissioner Van Reede therefore stipulated that domestic animals should be protected by the construction of kraals from local stone and clay mortar.

On examining some of these Tygerberg farms, I found at Ongegund, granted to Nicolaas Oortman in 1704, the remains of very early solid high stone werf walls, and similar walls were also found at Contermanskloof in the Tygerberg, granted to Floris Slabbert in 1706; at Boschenal in Drakenstein, granted to the Huguenots Nicholas de Lanoy and Jean le Long in 1690; Nuwe Plantasie granted to Hermannus Bosman in 1717; at Sonquasdrift near Riebeeck Kasteel and at Buitenverwachting in Constantia, a part of Van der Stel's original grant, Constantia.

These impressive structures which are sometimes over two metres high, often linking one building to another, bear silent witness to a time in the 17th and early 18th century when domestic animals herded together in large numbers fell easy prey to lions, leopards, wolves, and hyenas unless they were well protected.

For unlike their homeland farms, the Cape farm did not have to provide under-roof accommodation for animals in winter nor store large amounts of hay. Outbuildings could therefore be smaller and open kraals larger.

We found that sometimes an adjacent dwelling would have a window looking out into a kraal for added surveillance. On Heydt's 1741 sketch of Groot Constantia windows from two outbuildings look out onto adjacent kraals.

At Nuwe Plantasie in Paarl the small shepherd's lodge was attached to and had a small window to the kraal.

Roggeland and Naaubepaald, both in Dal Josaphat, and both developed by Ernst Du Toit for his sons in the early 19th century had the same arrangement where windows from dwellings opened onto the animal enclosures. Also at Hartebeeskraal in Klein Drakenstein, settled by Albertus Laubscher early in the 19th century, we found that a window from the stable looked down into the large cattle kraal.

20 Gallée J H, Het Boerenthuis in Nederland en Zijn Bewoners. Plates XV111 and XI11 and p47, fig 28
21 Ibid, p39
22 Sleigh D, The Company Posts. Cattle were constantly being attacked in the kraals and killed in large numbers by lions, tigers and wolves eg on 17 Mei 1676, 120 sheep were ravaged of which 20 were killed Memorien en Instructien (1657-1699).
23 Boeseken A J, Memorien en Instructien (1657-1699), Van Reede to Van der Stel
Stade's sketch of Stellenbosch showing the church in the middle foreground and the wide wagon road to Cape Town, right.

Drawing by M C Stander of the town in 1710. The area in front of the U-shaped drosdy is planted with a grove of oaks and the first streets are set out on a grid.

B Biermann's drawing presumes that the "Braak" is an open public space, but it was actually the wheatfield of the farm Voorgelegen.
This early precaution was therefore still being used a century after the first settlers had been advised by Van Reenen to use it, showing that security for man and his animals remained of prime importance in the organisation of the landscape from the earliest times.

1.1.4 The Planning of the First Town, Stellenbosch

The first documented evidence of intentional landscape planning is however to be found in Stellenbosch, the first Dutch village to be established outside Cape Town after a visit by Commissioner Van Reede in 1684.

Van Reede, on setting out the guidelines for the development of the town, stipulated that a church be built together with a drostdy for the newly appointed landdrost, so that both the secular and administrative needs of the farming community would be met. Furthermore the land between the church and river should be granted in erven to provide for a priest, school teacher, cartwright, smith and others that would cater for the needs of the small community.

Houses were to be grouped alongside each other facing the river, allowing enough land behind them for gardens. This part of the Commissioner's instructions appears to be inconsistent with usual Dutch practice, where it would have been unthinkable for houses to have their back yards to the street, and as a sketch of H V Stade of Stellenbosch in 1709 shows that all the houses do, in fact, face the streets, this sentence in Van Reede's instruction may be due to some misunderstanding.24

Van der Stel himself supervised the setting out of the first two erven for the church and drostdy and the earliest cross streets which Stade shows at right angles to the wagon road.25 The artist also shows the church placed in the centre of a large walled erf facing an open area interpreted by Barrie Bierrmann as an open town square, but which actually was at that time the cultivated land of the farm Voorgelegen.26

The Stade drawing shows the real public square, planted with oaks and fronting the drostdy. This, the most important building in the village and the seat of local government, had been placed on the axis of the widest street, and the area under the oaks of the public square was probably the outspan for the farm wagons which came to Stellenbosch to attend church or do business, and perhaps the place where they sold their farm products to the villagers. The larger open area before the church, inside its walls, seems to have been the mustering place for the dragoons and infantry as for instance on the occasion of Van der Stel's birthday celebrations in October, 1688.27

In many ways Van der Stel's small village along the Eerste River reminds one of Simon Steven's "ideal city". The streets were laid out on a grid, houses arranged in neat rows to face the streets and their gardens situated in the centre of the village blocks. Van der Stel had planted trees along the streets for shade and beauty. In 1690 there were 16 000 young trees at the Rondebosch
nurseries and in August of that year he sent 12,000 of these to Stellenbosch and Drakenstein to be planted to embellish the town and public roads. In the following year a few thousand more were sent and a notice nailed to a pole warning tree vandals that they would be severely punished.\(^2\)

A water furrow ran along the north side of the town to feed the mill at its western extremity. It had its origin in the Eerste River in the Jonkershoek Valley from where it crossed the farm Mostertsdrift,\(^9\) and supplied water to those farms and erven which had no river fronts, like Callabaskraal.\(^9\)

A communal water furrow also supplied water to the erven on the south side of the town. This water was taken from the Eerste River into a furrow above the menagerie of the drosdy and then led across the drosdy land into furrows on both sides of Dorp Street. Its course can be followed from drawings done of the different lots when the drosdy was subdivided in 1846.\(^8\) And the street furrows can still be seen in O.S.F. Vol 7 in a drawing attached to a re-grant of part of Nazareth to Henry Moonham who had owned the farm since 1903.

But the small village lay at the meeting place of a number of farm roads, and served a small agricultural society. It was unpretentious, and turned in on itself. The only building planned to relate to a vista was the drosdy, representing the power of the D.E.I.C., seen at the end of of Drostdy Street, through a canopy of oaks.

1.1.5 The Company's Earliest Posts and Their Influence on 17th Century Landscape Design at the Cape

Although 17th century Company cattle posts might have been started as informal settlements, a certain pattern of planning seemed to emerge before the end of the century.

Of the eight posts described here, six maintained courtyard plans at least to the end of the 19th century; Hottentots Holland (Vergelegen), Rietvallei, Vissershok, Bommelshoek, Elsiekraal (Altydgedacht) and Groenkloof. This similarity of all six can hardly be chance and one must therefore conclude that they were originally built like this in the 17th or early 18th century to preconceived plans. An examination of these posts was done to find the origin of this concept.

Rietvallei

This Company Post was established before 1676 and was used to run the Company's cattle, to cut thatch which was plentiful in the area, and to gather salt from the large lake formed by the damming up of water flowing from the Tygerberg hills in the winter.\(^5\) In 1680 two shepherds and four salt gatherers were stationed at the post and a large number of cattle was kept there.

\(^{28}\) Boeseeken A.J., Memorieen en Inschrijven (1657-1699), Van Reede to Van der Stel, p187
\(^{29}\) See O.S.Q. Vol 21 which shows the mill stream and the farm buildings in 1903 when the town councillors were negotiating water rights with Anna Francina Roux, the owner, for the different lots that had been set out along Van Riebeek Street
\(^{30}\) O.S.Q Vol 2 S.G.304/1814
\(^{31}\) O.S.F. S.G.337/1846, lots 3-7
\(^{32}\) Sleigh, D Die Buitepost, p220
The Company's post at Rietvallei, from the map M4/3 in 1806 showing the courtyard lay-out.

Rietvallei, enlargement from the map M1/1671 in 1821 shows the same courtyard pattern.

Rietvallei in 1844 not so clearly drawn
S.G.376/1844
In 1691, on instruction of Rykloff Van Goens, only goats were kept here and he stipulated that there should be pens for a thousand goats because the danger of lions was considerable and even an elephant damaged the post-house in 1687. According to Sleigh, when no more thatching reed was available at Rietvallei, the salt pans were still in use and 16 cows were kept there for milking throughout the year. It was apparently the custom that Cape governors, including Ryk Tulbagh, kept their own breeding cattle and dairy cows at this post. When the financial affairs of the D.E.I.C. were at their worst Governor Van Plettenberg in 1781 conceded that he was keeping his imported stud animals there for cross-breeding.

In 1791 there was a post house for the man in charge of the milking as well as seven slaves and a large stable for the use of the different governor's stud horses and cattle. Under the stable was a cellar where milk and butter could be kept cool but the building is not described further than that.

The post was not sold, but kept for use of the different Governments, first Batavian and then British, who rented it out to the highest bidder.

The first picture of how the post had actually been planned around an enclosed werf is to be found on a beautifully drawn map showing the area from Paarden Eiland to Rodebloem and Vissershok. This map of 1806 shows many farms along the Salt River and it is significant how many of these have been planned with an enclosed werf. Perhaps Vissershok and Rietvallei had set the pattern as Van Reede had hoped they would, for they had preceded all other grants in the area.

In 1844 the surveyor Ruysch drew the post again when 2436 morgen of land, "being the late Government farm, Rietvallei" was granted in quitrent to the "Right Honourable Henry Ellis". This, the grant states, was in accord with an order conveyed in the dispatches of the Secretary of State dated 30.8.1821. Ellis was probably using the farm long before he received official transfer. His boundary stretched to 38 metres from the high water mark.

The post has a close resemblance to Vissershok in that its buildings are arranged around an open courtyard with a wall closing off the eastern side. Cultivated lands are shown outside both the eastern and western side of the werf and a fountain is conveniently situated next to the western garden. Sleigh’s surmise that the post was situated on the northern side of the lake is hereby confirmed.

This early post, as can be expected, was laid out in the way advocated by Van der Stel and maintained this appearance to at least the middle of the 19th century.

Hottentots Holland

When Van Reede visited the Company's post at Hottentots Holland, he found that *soodanigh de huijskens, kralen en stallen tegenwoonigh staan, is alles in confusie.*
17th Century Dutch farmhouse in Overijssel by Bloemaerts, from Gallée

Farmhouse in Stellenbosch, 1710 with high walls and front gable

Plan of farmhouse in Hilversum, with provision for a hay-stack, threshing floor, thirteen cows, pig-sty, chicken coop, grain and wood-store and a house with 14 bedsteads and two hearths. Gallée, plate X

Excavated plan of Vergelegen slave lodge almost identical to the above, but with less central space
This post had been established after Commissioner Overbeke had "bought" Hottentots Holland from the Hottentot captain Cuijper for 4,000 guilders in May, 1672.\(^3\) The Company found this to be a very fertile tract of land with a high yield of wheat.\(^4\) Soon after this a house of 17.5 x 8.54 metres, built of unknown material, and a wooden cattle kraal of approximately 128 x 50 metres, were constructed as well as a kraal which was big enough to hold 2,000 sheep,\(^5\) a grain store and a slave lodge.

In 1673, when it had become necessary to fortify the post against the Caepmans, a rectangular earth berm had been constructed around the house according to the surveyor Wittebol's instructions and later the house itself was rebuilt of stone.\(^6\) (Gallée draws similar earth berms planted with oaks on the boundaries of Dutch farms of the mid-19th century (see plates).) Hottentots Holland had been rented out to free-burghers for six years (under the direct supervision of a company official) but was taken back by Van der Stel in 1684, the year before Van Reede's visit.\(^7\) In spite of the long period under Company supervision, Van Reede found only a two-roomed house in poor repair, a number of huts for slaves together with the large granary and kraals. The earth berm was also in a poor state. It appears, however, that the Commissioner was more perturbed by the disorderly arrangement of the buildings "standing in confusion" than by their disrepair.\(^8\)

Van Reede advised Van der Stel that he should take a new piece of land further up the mountain where it seemed to be more protected against the south-easter and to take care that the new houses, stables and granaries be constructed in a square enclosure. He was of the opinion that, if these were built of local stone, of which there was an abundance, and clay mortar, and enclosed with a moat, the cattle would be better protected from predators. It is clearly stated here that the idea of an enclosed square was that of the Commander.\(^9\)

Furthermore it would be required of the Commander to set out, in person, the whole post including house, granary, stables, orchards, vegetable gardens, canals and sluits to the rules of mathematics and building construction:

_D E Heer Commandeur in persoon genoodsaakt wierd de proportionele verdeling van den oppgemaakten post en desselve huys, koornschuuren, beestenstalling en boomgaarden, moesthuinen, gragten en sloten na de regels der wis en bouwkunst op te maken en hun plan om voltoid te worden onder de opsigt van den landdrost over te geven._\(^10\)

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38 Boeseeken A J. Resoluties van die Politieke Raad, p25. According to D Slegh, the value of the goods which Cuijper eventually received in barter was 81 guilders and 6 "stuiwerts".
39 Boeseeken A J. Resoluties van die Politieke Raad, p25 een uitermate goet last is
40 Slegh D. Die Buitepost, p150
41 Boeseeken A J. Memoiren en Instruction, p93
42 Ibid, p181
43 Ibid, 200
44 Ibid, 200 Die sullen nodigh wesen gemaakt werden, op de wijze den E Commandeur voorgestelt, namentlyk in vierkante orden, ten einde de geheelen ommeleggh als een kort begrijp bij een getrocken
45 "It was necessary for the Honourable Commander personally to draw up the plan for the proportional division of the established post with its house, granary, cattle stables, orchards, vegetable gardens, canals and ditches according to the rules of mathematics and building principles. Boeseeken A J. Memoiren en Instruction" (1657-1699) 16.7.1685, p202.
The construction of a Dutch farm-house with high roof, low walls and wooden aisle supports, in South Holland at Benschop (Gallée plate XVIII).

Biermann's sketch of the construction of a typical Cape house from Boukuns in Suid-Afrika.
This post was later granted to Governor Willem Adriaan Van der Stel who added to it and called it Vergelegen. (The official grant, signed by Valckenier, was made on 1.2.1700. S.G.2/1700). It will be discussed in more detail later.

De Clapmuts

In 1683 Simon Van der Stel recommended that a new post should be established at Clapmuts to house the cattle from Hottentots Holland where the grazing was not satisfactory. Commissioner J Vosch in October 1684 found a "camp" in which almost a hundred morgen of land had in that year been sown. 

At a meeting of the Council of Policy on 28th November, 1684 Simon Van der Stel suggested that a large hok to house 2 000 sheep should be erected at Clapmuts.

When the high Commissioner Van Reede inspected this post a year later, he found a beautiful land had been brought under the plough and a grainstore had been built, which was a good enough building, but too long. He suggested that future buildings should be constructed of local stone and mud walls and "not so many wooden struts". The beams could then rest on these walls and this work could easily be done with unschooled labour like slaves and prisoners, as bricklayers were scarce. The buildings could then be made weather-proof with a layer of lime to the outside walls. Van Reede also instructed that oaks should be planted.

These building principles as laid down by Van Reede, were the ones followed thereafter for most 18th century buildings and other constructions. The use of local materials like stone, mud plaster and whitewash was to create a unique man-made landscape at the Cape, unifying all constructions and binding them to the environment from which they grew.

It was the lack of wood and expert carpenters which made the construction of the typical Dutch farm outbuilding difficult at the Cape, and though the archaeological findings at Vergelegen confirm that a wooden structure was used there for the Company's second post at Hottentots Holland as had also been done at the first Clapmuts buildings, Van Reede's suggestions for a new type of construction from local materials was to change the Company's building practice from then on.

This instruction gave birth to a new building style at the Cape totally different from the farm complexes of the Netherlands and one can therefore justifiably credit Commissioner Van Reede as the father of the now famous "Cape Dutch" building style.

It is to be noted that these buildings would have to be very much narrower if beams were to rest on outer walls instead of posts, as the width of the buildings would depend on the length of available

46 Ibid, p182  
47 Boeseken A J, Res van Politieke Raad Vol 111, p93  
48 Ibid, Res van Politieke Raad 111, p202, : in plantie van soo veel houte statten en gebisten, op welche muure het dorch kan worden gelegen en door dwarsbalke aan een gebonden, als wanneer niet alleen het gebouw voor de harde winden niet hoogker, maar soo veel houte saude wezen wijgenomen, aengestien dat wel de grootste moijie en arbeijdt inheeft...  
49 Historical Archaeology in the Western Cape Vol 7, Markell A B, Building on the Past 117
Plan of the Clapmuts werf as drawn on a grant to J P Watney (S.G.104, 1827)

Plan of Clapmuts by L M Thibault (C/A, M1/996)
trees. Because at the Cape the roof did not stretch beyond the outside walls, the buildings were higher from the ground and therefore more prominent in the landscape than those of Dutch farms where the roof stretched beyond the main posts to form side aisles under extended roofs. Comparative drawings showing Dutch farm buildings as opposed to typical simple vernacular Cape buildings of the 17th century show how the European structures blended with their environment in a much more organic way, because the roofs were so low.

In May 1706, the Council of Policy decided to sell the posthouse and the dilapidated hok for which the Company then had no more use. (The author's interpretation here was that both were to be sold as they were obviously not the same building). The public auction took place from the balcony of the Castle and was handled by the Secunde, Elsevier. Subsequent investigation of the sale revealed that he had actually sold the whole post, including the land to himself! As Elsevier had been granted the adjoining land which he called Elsenburg, this was obviously a very profitable acquisition.

After Elsevier's dismissal, Clapmutts came into the possession of the Company once again and in 1795 when the British took the Cape, the old post was used to quarter William Duckitt, imported to the Cape by them to advise on ways of improving the agriculture at the Cape.

In October, 1821 the farm was granted in quitrent to John Pigot Watney, in exchange for his farm Oosterwal in Saldanha. This grant is accompanied by a drawing which shows the Company’s buildings - the house, as it was drawn by Thibault in 1787 and a long parallel building opposite it; two smaller outbuildings at right angles to it, and another group of small indistinctly drawn buildings a little further away. Two larger rectangles may represent kraals. Although the buildings are arranged in a row and parallel to each other, there is no distinct enclosure as at Bommelshoek, Rietvallei or Vissershoek but there might very well have been an enclosed earlier werf if some walls or buildings had by that time disappeared.

There is a spring on the werf from which a stream runs to join the water course for Elsenburg. A condition of the grant was that the water course running from Uitkyk to Elsenburg should not be obstructed.

* De Cuylen

At De Cuylen (or Bottelary) Van Reede found that alwaer door den Commandeur een post is beslagen.... is een goed en prijsetijk werck, waar in moet worden gecontinueer. In 1684 a small house built of mud, and two kraals, one to hold 1200 sheep and the other for 1000 breeding ewes, are described and by 1699 there were also other buildings.
Plan of Altyd Gedacht as it probably was early in the 19th century with approach from the east

Aerial photograph about 1930 of Altydgedacht showing the old T-house before its demolition. A new one was built in the same place (courtesy Jean Parker, present owner)
Commissioner Vosch (on his visit of 1684) had also found this to be a beautiful place but unfortunately does not describe the lay-out. He noted a garden full of vegetables aert vrughten which had been fertilised from the large cattle stable. Soon after this a stable for 1,000 stud ewes and lambs was also constructed.56

When the post was sold to Captain Oloff Bergh in 1700, the property included a house, stables, a kraal built of mud and further buildings together with the land on which they stood for 13,000 guilders. But as he was one of the officials in favour with the Governor, he obtained all this property very cheaply and it was only in 1708 that Commissioner Simons discovered that the Company's lands had been included in the deal. The stable was held out for the use of the Company until it too was sold on 12.10.1762.59 Unfortunately no plan or description of the layout of de Cuylen was found.

Elsjes Corael (De Tygerbergen, Elsieskraal, today Altydgedacht)

A large number of Company cattle was grazing in the Tygerberg by 1862 under the supervision of two to three soldiers, but as they were being attacked by the many predators in the area, Simon Van der Stel himself determined the position of a wooden kraal, 91.5 metre square, to replace an earlier shrub-packed one, and a post house.60

This post was sold in 1699 to Piet en Jan van der Westhuysen seker comp Hock ende opstal mistgaders grond waar op het selven is staande, for 3,400 guilders.61 Again Commissioner Simons pointed out in 1708 that the deed of sale had not mentioned the cultivated lands that had gone with the sale of the post house and stables.62

In the meantime Elsje Van Suurwaerden, widow of Andries de Man, Secunde to Simon Van der Stel, had also received transfer of land in this region in 1698. By then Elsje was married to her third husband, Hendrik Munkerus, another official, who owned a luxurious town house. Elsje owned other farms in the Tygerberg and this one, Elsieskraal is probably named after her, although she never lived there. It is believed that she grazed her cattle there even before it was granted.64

After Elsje's death in 1713 the farm passed to her only child, Maria who was married to Jan de la Fontaine, later Governor of the Cape. But this couple immediately sold De Tygerbergen (as the farm was called now) to the German, Samuel Walters, a soldier/farmhand, who had come into a fortune by marrying the rich widow of Cornelis Van Niekerk, Maria van der Westhuysen, the sister of Jand and Pieter above.65 In an inventory of their belongings taken in 1734 after Samuel's death

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56 Boeseken A J, Memorien en Instructien (1657-1699), pp182 & 93
57 Ibid, p93
58 T540, 10.8.1701
59 Sleigh D, Die Buiteposte, p168
60 Ibid, p170
61 T541, 13.3.1699
62 Boeseken AJ. Memorien en Instructien (1657-1699), p171
63 O.C.F. Vol 1 ii, p268
64 Information from Margaret Cairns
65 T1004, 17.9.1714
The werf, then called the Tygerbergen, shown on the grant (S.G.119, 1835)

Photograph of Altydgedacht werf in the early 1900s (C/A AG7571)
the contents of the house, stable and cellar are described and it is obvious that the werf had already been established and that agricultural and wine farming was in full sway. Neither did he lack the staff to develop it to its full potential, for he owned 17 slaves, 7 slave women and one young boy and girl slave."

After Walter’s death the farm was transferred to Hendrik Valentyn Doman."

When Doman died, the farm was again described as consisting of a T-shaped house, on the loft of which a 100 muid of wheat and 30 of barley were stacked; in the cellar there was one leager of white wine and all the accoutrements needed for wine and brandy-making. In the wagon-house there were a number of wagons and a chaise. A foreman’s room is also described. Doman owned 15 slaves, and a foreman had been managing the farm. Stock farming at this stage took preference over agriculture, for on the werf 39 horses, 60 cattle, 680 sheep and 190 further cattle were counted."

The Schabort family owned the farm from 1757 to 1808. From 1817 to 1830 a political exile from St Helena, the Comte de la Cases, lived here with the owner at the time, Dr Liesching, first Dutch Reformed minister of the Tygerberg. When he was declared insolvent in 1835, a re-grant of the land was made to his trustees who sold the farm to J M Hill."

In 1851 an extra 382 morgen of freehold land were granted to Hill, and after this the farm became the property of G F Parker whose descendants still own the farm and make wine there.

Although the buildings have changed over the years, the arrangement of the werf has remained the same as confirmed by Elliott photographs and an aerial photograph taken in the 1930s. The T-shaped house, replaced with the present one in 1935, and four outbuildings, are arranged around an open werf in which a newly constructed "circular drive" brings visitors to and from the house. This probably is the same werf which is described in Samuel Walter’s time in 1734.

The outbuildings B and C that stand next to each other to the right of the house, are today under corrugated iron, but were thatched in Elliott’s time, each with its own simple, pointed gable. Both have thick walls constructed of unbaked bricks and clay mortar, and this together with a small casement window in the back facade and the overall proportions of the buildings suggest 18th century constructions.

66 C/A S8/5 no 18
67 T220, 10.11.1734
68 MOOC 8/6 no 79
69 C/A SG119/1835
Bommelshock aerial view of house in the 1930s (Courtesy of present owner)

Outbuildings A and F
A small building behind them consists of two rooms, each with its own fireplace and one with a baking oven protruding into the backyard. This is probably the old slave quarters.

The cellar and wagon house on the opposite side of the werf have undergone extensive changes, but appear to be old buildings on the 1936 aerial photograph.

The first entrance to the werf came from the west and here are still remnants of age-old garden plants - huge laurels and China roses, perhaps part of a hedge which enclosed the house garden in early days. There are still many old oaks outside the werf and the photographs show them also inside, to remind one of Governor Van der Stel's enthusiastic planting program in the late 17th century.

This then is another early 18th century werf which has kept its pattern though most buildings themselves have been rebuilt. Again the werf belonged to the same families for long periods of time which may account for the conservation of its formal enclosed courtyard - the pattern adopted for all the Company's 17th century posts.

Portions of stone ring walls, old oaks and an avenue of bay trees are further elements reminding one of the original 17th century landscape.

Bommelshoek (Today known as Welbeloond)

This farm was originally started as a cattle post for the D.E.I.C. before 1676 and is therefore one of the earliest farms at the Cape. Being only four hours' travel from the Castle by horse, it was conveniently situated to supply meat to passing ships at short notice. The farm was situated on the Zout River but the Koperfontein was probably another source of water.

There must have been good grazing, for by 1683 it required nine men to run the post. In 1683 further posts were established further inland at Clapmuts, Tygerberg and De Cuilen and some animals placed there to prevent over-grazing at the older posts. Towards the end of the 17th century cattle farming was gradually taken over from the Company by private individuals and in 1695 and 1699 the Council of 17 instructed Governor Simon Van der Stel to close the Company's cattle posts and leave cattle farming to the free-burghers.

However, the Company maintained Bommelshoek until 1807 when it was granted to Dirk Jacob Aspeling. With this grant, Aspeling would have received the buildings which the Company must have built on the farm, although there is no documentary evidence to indicate what they looked like or how they were positioned.

I visited the farm in the 1970s and found six buildings enclosing a rectangular werf. From their structure all apparently dated to the 18th century. The house was U-shaped with pitched and flat roofs, verandas and lean-to attachments, as can be seen in the adjacent sketch.
Original grant to Dirk Aspeling in 1807

Present plan of werf

The house and walled garden at Bommelshock, 1975
On inspection of the roof space in the eastern wing an original 18th century yellow wood ceiling which had been covered from below with new ceiling boards was found. It is thought that the house burnt down sometime during the 19th century, and that new roofs were then erected. In the U-enclosure behind the house was a very large fig tree which appears to be very old.

The other buildings were then inspected:

A. A lucerne store west of the house and parallel to it was built of mud brick and mortar, but the end gables were of modern brick and nothing remained of the original roof which had clearly been thatched before. No signs of earlier windows, confirmed the fact that this had always been a store.

B. This long building was constructed of stone up to window-sill height and then of mud bricks and mortar. In the walls were sawn-off ends of earlier round poplar beams, proving that here, too had been a thatched roof. Today it is covered with corrugated iron and the end gables are clipped. The floor was paved with flat stones. There are lean-to's at the back and modern silos in front of what had probably been a stable.

C. Opposite the house is this outbuilding with simple rectangular front and end gables, walls constructed as in B and also with signs of an earlier thatched roof now replaced with iron on a new structure.

D. On the eastern side of the werf, this building with a pitched iron roof was constructed exactly as the other outbuildings, proving that this werf was designed as a unit.

E. A small building was recently demolished here and according to the owners was constructed in the same way as all the others.

F. This is a small domestic building containing two rooms with a fireplace in the one; each room has a window away from the house and a door opening towards the house. The arrangement is typical of what we have found in slave quarters elsewhere, and so one can assume that this was probably where slaves were housed.

The werf is dry and unadorned with trees, for summers in this area are hot and dry and the passage of many animals across the werf not compatible with any plant growth. As with most of the farms in the Swartland, gardening was confined to small enclosures, well protected from animals and within easy reach for hand watering. Here the house garden is protected by white-washed walls.

If the buildings of this werf date back to the 17th century, and this is quite possible, the planning would be exactly in accordance with the principles of design as set out by Simon Van der Stel. Although no built walls link the buildings, excavations might reveal footings of such earlier walls, but kraals were at that time also packed with renosterbos, and such "walls" might have been used to enclose the early werf, for renosterbos was plentiful in the area then.
Vissershok photographed by Elliott early in this century (C/A, F1027)

The Vissershok gates almost like gates in Curacao (right)

Vissershok werf as it appears on the map M1/247 in the Cape Archives
Vissershok

This cattle post was established in the early 1680s by Simon Van der Stel, and the first evidence of its formal lay-out that was on a map showing the Zout River in 1788. Here a rectangular enclosure is shown with buildings right round. In the early 1900s the large werf is still shown on maps, with a ring wall and several buildings on the periphery.

Photographs by Elliott in the early 20th century, show the most impressive werf lying at the foot of a hill with its beautiful white wall enclosing the large werf. Three buildings then remained: the T-shaped house (the shape of so many of the post houses), still under thatch and with well proportioned end gables. And two outbuildings with pitched iron roofs, lying parallel to the werf wall.

The most striking elements which have been retained over the years are the three entrance gates in the werf wall. They probably date back to the late 17th or early 18th century, for they are almost identical to gates built at that time in Curacao. The gates of Valkenburg are also very similar.

Although the Governor had been instructed to transfer all posts to private individuals before 1700, the Company kept Vissershok and at a meeting of the Council of Policy in June 1711 it was mentioned that this was the only post that they then still owned and it was decided to sow rye and oats there in future.

At the end of the 18th century the farm was still in the possession of the Company and Sleigh shows that the Dutch governors including Tulbagh, Van de Graaff and Van Plettenberg were, together with the post-holders, farming there, mostly with wheat, on a large scale for their own profit.

In 1791 a commission of enquiry recommended the sale of the property and Hendrik Oostwald Loubser, who was a captain in the Stellenbosch Burgher Commando, became the first private owner.

Groene Cloof

This cattle post was established by the Company on 8.11.1700 on the west coast. According to an agreement with the Council of Policy on 17.2.1700 Henning Huising had been granted the meat monopoly whereby he was to supply the Company with meat for ten years after he had purchased all their cattle. But because his cattle were continuously being stolen, it was decided to build a post at Groene Cloof as it was known then.
Josephus Jones' drawing of the werf at Groene Cloof shows the U-shaped house in the middle of the werf with three outbuildings forming part of the ring wall parallel to it.

The same werf has now acquired an extra building, the church, in line with the house.
The plan of the post was drawn by Josephus Jones in 1791 and a sketch of the complex made by Robert Gordon at the same time. This once again illustrates the formal planning principles followed by the Dutch wherever they established a new complex:

Both these artists show the U-shaped posthouse standing free of the outbuildings which are arranged along the perimeter of the werf in line with the enclosing wall. The stable for the horses, the store and the shop, all of identical size and shape, lie in a row and so do the chicken run and pigstyes. Cattle kraals are also inside the werf at its far end, rectangular and in line. A smaller house, probably for the soldiers, lies against the werf wall opposite the postholder's house. All the buildings have fine, ornate gables and the house has a raised stoep, flower-boxes and a pergola.

The arrangement of the house and buildings for the various animals around a central open courtyard is reminiscent of the farm complex classified by Gallée under his Romeinsche Villa-bouw plan type. A comparison of the arrangement of animal quarters at the Zuid Limburg Hoeve or Hoeve te Houthem reproduced here, with the plan of Groene Cloof shows how similar they are. At Groene Cloof the house was situated in the middle of the courtyard. But the size of the open central courtyard at Groene Cloof was on a much larger scale and did not need to accommodate a covered walk or luif on the inside perimeter of the buildings from the house to the various outbuildings.

The werf at Groene Cloof itself is bare, but Jones shows the approach along an avenue of trees and indicates a garden outside the werf. Water was obtained from a walled fountain near the entrance. Gordon's sketch shows three entrance gates, each with its own pillars, topped with a coping and ball.

The property was in 1817 granted to the Superintendent of the United Brethren of the Moravian Church Mission by Lord Charles Somerset, together with Cruywagenskraal and Lauweskloof, two Hottentot stations, altogether over 4 000 morgen of land, which the Moravians were already occupying.

A drawing filed with this grant shows the same plan as before, but an extra building, the church, had been added in the werf next to the house and the spring is shown in a different position. Latrobe had noted that the foundation stones of this church were being laid when he visited Groenkloof on 6 -10 August and September 19th, 1816.

The grant drawing also shows the long strips of cultivated land along the river with a small cottage at the head of each, for it was the policy of the Moravians to teach their people to grow their own food, each household on its own strip of land. And to achieve this a strict pattern of landscape design was followed in all their settlements in the Colony:

Cottages were situated on the higher stony land and the arable land lay below this on the banks of a rivulet, divided up into parallel strips, separated from each other with quince, rose, or

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78 Gallée, *Het Boerenuithuis in Nederland en Zijn Bewoners*, plate XXX Hoeve te Houthem and Hoeve in Zuid Limburg, also p72
79 O.C.F., Vol 6, p180
80 Latrobe CL, *Visit to the South of Africa*, pp322 & 346
pomegranate hedges. These lands could be irrigated from a communal water furrow running along the upper boundary of the gardens, each owner receiving a turn of a few stipulated hours to irrigate his land. The resulting villages were therefore particularly attractive with the thatched cottages grouped together in an informal organic way, in contrast to the parallel gardens below them with their neatly shaped beds geometrically planted to facilitate the easy flow of the water. Examples of these villages are Wupperthal and Genadendal.

The missionaries exercised a strict discipline on their flock, and instilled a pride in their surroundings by planting trees along the streets and open spaces. They imported and supplied plant material to them for this purpose. Latrobe, for instance noticed a tree nursery at Genadendal situated behind the burial ground where Keurboom (Virgilia species), oaks and firs were being grown, and to this day large oaks afford a welcome shade to the visitor to these settlements.

Simon Van der Stel had suggested that farm buildings and kraals should be arranged around a square courtyard to protect their domestic animals from predators. Van Reede had, after his inspection of wooden buildings at Clapmuts, advised the Governor to in future replace wooden constructions with masonry ones and had endorsed Van der Stel's idea of a courtyard plan. By setting an example of such planning and building practice at the posts, he hoped to inspire the free-burghers to plan their farms in the same ordered way:

"en sulcx sal de vrije bouluijden almede aenwijsen hoedanigh sj haare affergelegene hoffstede behoren te begrijpen en steere te maaken."

Ende dewijhey het werk van de aentelinhg van vee, boome en aardvrchten plantagie, den acker en wijnbou van de Comp moet dienent tot voorbeelt, aenmoedigingh en lesse voor de borgers en bouluiden om by naevelghinge tot perfectie te komen.

This then was the origin not only of the 17th century farm werf plan but of the Cape Dutch building style. To what extent the example set by the posts had influenced the style for the free-burghers when they planned their own properties, will be easier to assess when individual farms in the different districts are examined.

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81 Boeseken A J, Memorién & Instructién, p202 "in this way the Company hoped to show the free-burghers how they should enclose and strengthen their own farms."

82 Ibid, p201 The Company should by their manner of cattle-breeding and their agricultural methods be an example and inspiration to the free-burghers and builders so that they, by copying the Company, would "come to perfection".
The Castle as Van der Stel would have seen it on his arrival, before a cross-wall was added to divide the courtyard. His "garden" with pool is seen in the back-courtyard of the plan below (R/A Vel 1829) Wittebol plan 1683 above.
1.1.6 Simon Van der Stel's Own Gardens

It has been shown how the Commander initiated and tried to promote orderly planning amongst the early free-burghers by setting an example of such planning in the Company's gardens in Table Valley and behind Table Mountain, and at the first Dutch village of Stellenbosch and at the Company's posts. An examination of the landscape organisation of his own two homes at the Castle and Constantia, suggests that these too were laid out with the same attention to orderly and geometrical detail.

The Castle

When Van der Stel arrived at the Cape in 1679 he moved into the old governor's quarters still standing alone on the parade after the demolition of Van Riebeeck's fort, but as this was regarded by the Council of Policy to be an unsuitable arrangement, the Commander moved into the rather cramped quarters of the Captain in the Castle a year later.83 He was appalled that the occupants of the Castle had op sulcke vullis nesten niet wat beter oogh heeft genoomen (had on such filthy nests not kept a better eye) and had the courtyard in the Castle properly cleared.84 After this he had eenige wilde en andere vaderlantse vruchtbomen planted in front of his house, adding in his journal that these would in time een aangenaem vermaek sall geven (provide a pleasant entertainment) An undated map of this period shows a square pond with regular beds in the back courtyard in front of the Commander's quarters.

He also constructed on the flat roof above his quarters in the Castle a small octagonal speelhuisje (pavilion) where he entertained visitors especially in the evenings.85 The view over Table Bay from here would have been particularly fine as the curtain wall on the sea-side of the Castle was lower than the one on the mountain side where the pavilion was situated. The remaining pavilion has two large sliding sash windows and a third in the upper half of the stable door, on the sea side. A smaller casement in the opposite wall allows a view of Table Mountain.

During restoration of this pavilion, very beautiful light blue flower swag paintings were discovered on the original plaster under many layers of later paint. This was an indication of the importance of the room. Perhaps Van der Stel displayed indigenous and exotic treasures here as was the custom in Dutch garden pavilions.

Constantia

Van der Stel's agricultural knowledge and skill as well as his love of the natural environment obviously impressed Commissioner Van Goens who approved Van der Stel’s request to be allowed to live in the country. Van Goens thought that there his talents would, through his

83 C/A, VC9 Diary pp74-5, 23 May 1680
84 Boesteken A.J, Memoriën en Instructiën June 18th pp83-84
85 There may have been three of these pavilions, one was on the Kat roof, above the Governor's quarters which van der Stel built in 1683.
Heydt's sketch of Constantia in the 1730s from *Scenes of the Cape of Good Hope 1741*.

IV Stade's drawing of Constantia 1710 (R/A Topo 15 - 90)
"arbeitsaamheid" (diligence) best serve the Company, as the writing work could be left to the secunde. 86

Commissioner Van Reede agreed that Van der Stel should be granted the nine hundred morgen of land which he had chosen, and on 31 July 1685 the farm, which he called Constantia, was granted to the Commander. 87

It is said that Van der Stel chose this position because his knowledge of viticulture assured him that excellent wines could be produced on the cool plateau with its fertile soil and mild weather. But the French traveller, Francois Leguat who visited the Cape in 1698 tells us that the Governor lived at Constantia for the greater part of the year "not only on account of the weather, which is excellent, the fine prospect and the admirable soil, but also by reason of the great amount of game which is thereabouts, Hunting being the greatest and most profitable Diversion of this Country". 88

Valentyn, who visited Constantia in 1705 and 1714, found it een ongemeen heerlyk plaats, op welcke men al het heerlykste heeft, dat aan de Kaap te vinden is. 89

He also informs us that the Commander had imported various kinds of grapes from Germany and elsewhere and was producing wine from the sieendruif, blaawe muscadel, of de Catalonier, witte muscadel, de kleine blaawe druif en de kristaldruijf. 90

Already experienced in wine making in Holland, the Commander through experimentation at the Company's garden at Rondebosch and Constantia had gained enough knowledge of local conditions to produce excellent wines, and by providing plants and knowledge to the free-burghers contributed greatly to their early farming prosperity. Annual returns show that farmers five years after receiving their grants had often planted up to 5,000 vines and more (eg Abraham Vivier at Schoongezicht in Dal Josaphat).

Valentyn confirms this when he writes of free-burghers who had started with nothing and within a short period had become so rich that they were able to build large brick houses and improve their estates considerably. 91 The widow Botma, for instance, was producing 100 leaguers of wine annually and Henning Huising dien men zegt, dat in 't eerst maar een verken of schaaphoeder geweest, (said to have been at first only a pig keeper and shepherd) had 100,000 vines at his farm at Stellenbosch. 92

But apart from vines, the Commander had planted during his ten years at Constantia 4,379 oaks, 154 orange, 79 lemon, 100 quince, 33 apricots, 63 peaches, 310 almond, 66 guava, 50 plum, 185 pomegranate, 140 pear, 329 banana, 100 olives, 66 fig, 26 chestnut, 42 walnut, pippeling, and
medlar. Five mulberry trees are also mentioned in this list of trees drawn up by his master gardener in 1695, for there were hopes of starting a silk trade at the Cape.93

A further 2 000 keurboom are included in this impressive list of trees at Constantia. This is probably a reference to the *Virgilia oroboides*, one of the most beautiful flowering and fastest growing trees in the Cape.

A plan can be projected of the earliest lay-out of Constantia from two sketches, one by H V Stade (1710) and another by Heydt (1740) and descriptions by Kolbe and Valentyn who, in spite of visiting Constantia twice, still used Kolbe's description and can therefore not be fully trusted.

On approaching the house, he said, one crossed approximately 200 metres of level courtyard planted with seven to eight avenues of widely spaced oaks. These oaks are shown both on the Stade and Heydt sketches and are reminiscent of the oak planted square which Van der Stel had created in front of the Stellenbosch drostdy. One notices a similar planting at the rear of the house on the level court which Valentyn also describes. A century later Latrobe described this same large grove of old oaks which he said had been planted in quincunx.94

It is to be noted that though Van der Stel had advocated the use of closed courtyard planning for frontier posts, his own forecourt was planned as an arrival point or a place of welcome rather than an enclosed area from where his house could be defended. The long wall from the gate to the house allowed a distant view of False Bay - a device popular with Italian Renaissance gardens and symbolic of the liberation of the human mind.

Simon Van der Stel's U-shaped double-storey house, according to Valentyn's measurements, is almost the same length as today. When Hendrik Cloete had the house and old cellar altered in the late 18th century, it is unlikely that they would have demolished the old to build the new. Kendall, who restored the house after a serious fire in 1925, traced the late 18th century alterations in the existing structure.95 So one can safely say that the basic plan of the house has, since Van der Stel, remained largely unaltered together with the back steps and enclosed courtyard with its stone-pillared gate, which Valentyn described.

It seems that Valentyn became confused about the situation of the foreman's house which he describes as being at the back and to the left of the house, whereas Heydt's sketch shows it as a U-shaped cottage on the right of the approach where the *jonkershuis* is still situated at present. On the Stade sketch, the foreman's house is hidden behind the stable.

Unfortunately the position of the original cellar is not quite clear either, as it does not show on the sketches. Valentyn places it behind the house on the left side, but the probability of it being directly behind the house in its present situation cannot be ruled out. Simon Van der Stel's grasp of symmetry and axiality, as shown in his design for the Stellenbosch drostdy and as we shall see later, at Vergelegen, makes it most unlikely that he would have missed this opportunity of placing

93 Boeseken A J, *Simon Van der Stel en Sy Kinders*, p209
94 Latrobe the Rev C I, *Visit to the south of Africa*, p342
95 Kendall F K, *The Restoration of Groot Constantia*
"Hottentot" kraal, consisting of a circle of huts, in the Tygerberg area (C/A M/273)
it on the axis of the present house where it is today. Valentyn describes *een uitenend groot en schoon steenen pershuis*, so even at that time it must have been a particularly large and beautiful cellar. It probably received its present height and embellishment at the time when Thibault and Anreith improved Hendrik Cloete’s house.

Stade shows Van der Stel’s vineyards on the hill behind the cellar separated into parallel blocks by hedges, *kleurlyke wynstokken, en verdere gewasschen, planten en heesters* in Valentyn’s words. One wonders whether Van der Stel in the two years before his death might have extended the vineyard north of the foreman’s house where shown on the Heydt drawing, or whether this was done by the next owner. Heydt also shows the kraals laid out parallel to the approach, between the stable-cum-wagon house and foreman’s house. He indicates palisaded walls for these. Today stone kraals are situated in the same position which shows the subsequent owners’ respect for the previous owner’s positioning.

The further development of Constantia will be followed in the next chapter, but at this stage it is clear that Governor Simon Van der Stel, who died on his farm in 1712, had planned his property with the same regard for "the rules of mathematical order" as he had used throughout his life at the Cape. At Constantia he farmed mostly with vines and fruit which he enclosed with hedges, and his plan therefore is more open, allowing views onto the magnificent surroundings.

Van der Stel’s common-sense idea of arranging buildings into an enclosed square to allow for a central safe space (i.e. a laager) was not only a practical one, but in contrast to the "wilde woesterny" of the surroundings, their neatness may have impressed the indigenous people with a certain sense of respect for the newcomers who were occupying their land.

They themselves had experience of a similar arrangement, for their own houses, constructed of bent saplings and covered with skins and grass matting, were also arranged in circles to allow for a central safe space for their animals. In contrast to the solid permanent buildings of the settlers, they were, however, mobile as settlements and animals were moved to follow the best grazing.

With energy and enthusiasm Simon Van der Stel had, during his twenty years reign, inspired the rapid expansion of the Colony at the Cape, and by his own knowledge of agriculture and his grasp of the fundamental principles of geometric layout, established a precedent for orderly planning which was to have an influence on the coming century of Dutch rule.

Simon Van der Stel on his own farm followed the suggestions of Van Reede that buildings should be constructed with walls of stone and mud mortar, plastered and white-washed, and with the roof beams resting on the walls. Constantia was probably the first farm complex where this construction method was fully explored. According to Valentyn it was the most impressive farm at the Cape and therefore obviously an example to be followed especially by neighbouring Constantia farms.

96 C/A Map Collection M/273 shows circular kraals in the Tygerberg area
His son, Willem Adriaan, who succeeded him at the end of the 17th century, was to add further dimensions to his father's ideas, and also inspire land-owners by his own example. This, however, occurred in spite of his unpopularity and the fact that he was recalled to the Netherlands for corruption after only seven years of rule.

2 WILLEM ADRIAAN VAN DER STEL, SUN KING OF THE CAPE

Willem Adriaan Van der Stel, Governor from 1700-1707, played an extremely important role in the foundation of a stable civil community at the Cape in the period when settlers were beginning to shake off the shackles of poverty and establish themselves as successful landowners. Their joint revolt against the Governor and their success in his downfall opened economic opportunities which they had come to recognise through both the Van der Stels' example of successful farming, and which they were then quick to use.

But at this stage it is perhaps necessary to assess who the so-called "free-burghers" were and how competent they were at the beginning of the 18th century to continue with the farming activities which were necessary to make a success of the newly established Colony.

2.1 THE STATE OF THE FREE-BURGHERS BY 1700

To show to what extent their success could be attributed to the Van der Stels, it is perhaps revealing to summarise the opinions of the different officials who had to deal with them up to that time.

When Van Riebeeck had suggested the first grants to free-burghers in 1657, he had no illusions about the type of settlers he would be using "poor, needy people of small reputation" who would soon be making their income from inns rather than farm produce, unless supported for a number of years."

Wouter Schouten who visited the Cape a year after the free-burghers had been settled, gives a vivid description of their reception by the "half-naked pregnant" German wife of a settler to her small home which had no glass or shutters in the windows."n

Commissioner van den Brouck in 1670 warned Commander Borghorst that he was to keep the number of inns down to seven. He had noticed that the free-burghers were only too keen to exchange the plough for an inn. There had been 20 around the fort before he had reduced them to seven."

When Commissioner Goske in 1671 had suggested that all the Company's gardens should be let out to private burghers to supply the ships at fixed prices and so cut the Company's costs,
Commander Hackius, too, had doubted that there would be any free-burgher capable of doing this.

Commissioner Nicolaes Verburgt, in 1676 had thought that the free-burghers should be treated with more sympathy, allowed more freedom, should receive better prices for their produce and more slaves to help them with the truly arduous task of breaking in new land. He also thought that a new hospital and school should be provided, and that in this way they would be more motivated. By his more sympathetic attitude to their problems he was able to assess the cause of their poverty and resulting lack of motivation.

Goske visited the Cape again in 1682 and then expressed the wish that only Dutchmen should be welcomed to the Cape and no "vreemde natie", that only the best type of settlers should be given land and that the Governor should set the highest moral example to the free-burghers.

When Simon Van der Stel arrived at the Cape he found a dwindling white population, and a continuing shortage of food as a result of poor harvests. He also found the free-burghers unmotivated and still poor as a result of debt to the Company. He decided in future to sell them cattle for cash instead of on a hire-purchase system and to grant farms in freehold rather than on loan. In 1679 there were 87 free-burghers, 55 women, 117 children including those of mixed parentage, 30 European farm foremen (mostly German), 191 slaves and 287 Company employees. The free-burghers were to pay 24 guilders for each draught animal provided them by the Company.

In this way he hoped to entice a better class of farmer. This strategy was so successful that within a few years farming had become more effective and there was enough wheat for local consumption as well as a surplus for exporting to Batavia.

The quality and quantity of wine had also improved under the personal guidance of Commander Van der Stel. "Those whose Poverty renders them unable to stock their Land, the Kindness of the Governour provides with Necessaries 'till their Abilities can reach a Payment..."

With the coming of the Huguenots, a new kind of settler, other than soldiers and sailors, some with a specific knowledge of viticulture, were given farms. Yet Simon Van der Stel thought that these, too, knew little about farming, behaved badly and had to be assisted in many ways, so that he also preferred to be sent only Dutchmen in future. Van der Stel was, however, not sympathetically inclined to the French and as a matter of policy scattered them amongst the Dutch, did not allow
Remains of an old Huguenot house in Fréch Hock (C/A, AG1005)

The original house erected by the progenitor of the Viljoen family at Idas Valley

The first house at Rhone
them their own church and encouraged them to integrate with the local settlers as quickly as possible.

He warned his son that many free-burghers were so addicted to drink that their agriculture suffered as a result. They slaughtered their cattle and then complained when they did not have enough with which to farm effectively and they continually moved on to new grazing once their own had been exhausted, instead of improving what they had. All they wished for was to get rich quickly and then return to Holland. 110

Most of the farmers used European knechts or overseers, on loan from the Company. These were usually German or Dutch soldiers or sailors and also not experienced farmers. 111

When Willem Adriaan Van der Stel became Governor of the Cape in 1700, a number of Huguenots had already been settled on their own farms for more than a decade, and the question may be asked: to what extent had these Huguenots affected landscape design at the Cape before W A Van der Stel's arrival?

The earliest returns for these farms, dating from 1692, show that most of them had already planted considerable vineyards and sown large areas of wheat, but no information was found on their organisation of lands, kraals, gardens and buildings.

One suspects that their small agricultural oases, situated in the threatening surroundings of French Hock and Drakenstein, would have been planned according to Simon Van der Stel's principles of fortified enclosures as already existed on the Company's posts, with protection of their werfs and kraals by ditches and berms. Kraals would have been built at first of packed shrub as at the Company's posts, palisades as used by Van Riebeeck and then of more permanent material like stone and/or mud as advocated by Van Reede.

In French Hoek where most Huguenots received farms, there were many wild animals and even elephant when their farms were granted. Very few of the Huguenots had the means to do anything but subsistence farming and it was to take two more generations before planning on a larger scale would be possible.

Recent restorations done of the Huguenot farms Idas Valley, La Rhone and Non Pareille, indicated that the earliest buildings, usually constructed of stone footings and clay or unburnt mud brick walls, consisted of single long structures, containing under one thatched roof, the house, stable, wine-cellar or other outbuildings, as was common in Europe.

When further buildings were added by subsequent generations, these older ones were retained for other uses and the newer structures placed in geometrical relation to the older. It is noticeable that most of the original Huguenot farms developed into formally planned werfs. These will be discussed in the following chapters.

110 Boeseken A J, Memoiren en Instructien
111 This becomes clear from an examination of the "Opgaafrolle" (census returns)
The long building on the Piketberg mountain has low walls built of mud bricks and the thatched roof lifted over the doors to provide headroom.

A long building in Overijssel at Staphorst (from Gallée plate X)
To sum up it would seem therefore that during the 17th century, most of the ordinary farmers, excluding some Huguenots, (Refer Taillefer in Chapter 11) had neither the background experience nor ability to plan their environments, and that because of poverty such planning as was done was based only on the need to make a basic living and to satisfy the expectations of the authorities.

By the end of the 17th century, however, those few who had the stamina and intelligence to emerge from their poverty, had become successful property owners and had already, according to Valentyn and the inventory of 1692, remarkably improved their surroundings.

Valentyn compared the lot of the farmers when they had first received their land, and were poor and naked:

Toen deze lieden eerst quamen, waren ze meest alle arm en naakt

When the Government had assisted them by giving each settler a span of oxen, a wagon, a plough, seed and what else was needed to set them on their feet, requiring repayment in instalments over a period of four years.

And then he notes the difference which he had seen on his last visit to the Cape in 1714, when a considerable improvement in the financial status of these same settlers had taken place and most of them had built brick houses next to their cultivated lands and turned their farms into beautiful, valuable estates.

By the time W A Van der Stel arrived as Governor, the farmers themselves were, in fact, not as exemplary as would appear from their own testimony. In his defence Van der Stel had stated that the free-burghers were basically lazy and produced only enough to enable them to lead "lazy jolly lives", and that for instance, they were "selling the smallest possible quantity at the highest possible rate" of meat which was plentiful.

A reading of the diary of Adam Tas, the Governor's chief accuser, indicates that he was continuously visiting or being visited by friends and how on each of these occasions the smoking and drinking, as a matter of course, continued for long hours of the day and often into the late hours of the night.

But the Governor did not improve matters by behaving in an arrogant and high-handed manner in his dealings with them. It is ironic that, when Van der Stel had been deported, some of those settlers who had been his greatest opponents eagerly bought sections of his divided farm and reaped the benefits of the Governor's previous corruption.

The background of the Governor should now be considered to clarify his position in the cultural scene at the Cape at the beginning of the 18th century.

112 Valentyn Francois, Beschrijvinge van Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien, Vol 1, p187
113 Leibrandt H C V, The Defence of Willem Adrianus Van der Stel, p108
114 Fouche L, Dagboek van Adam Tas
115 On the sale of 1711 the farm was sold in four sections to Barend Gildenhuys, Jacob van der Heyden, Jacques Malan, Catharina Harmans
The approach avenue at Zeist as seen today in the town of Driebergen (Modern postcard)

The old plan of Zeist with the same avenue in the foreground, consisting of a triple row of trees
2.2 THE EUROPEAN BACKGROUND OF W A VAN DER STEL

Born in Haarlem in 1664, Willem Adriaan Van der Stel spent his youth and received most of his schooling in Holland. At the age of 14 he came to the Cape with his father who soon afterwards employed him as assistant scribe, then quartermaster, and at the age of 17 he was made a bookkeeper and cashier. After six years at the Cape, he returned to Holland where he married Maria de Hase, the daughter of a wealthy merchant. They made their home on the Keizergracht in Amsterdam where Van der Stel became a successful and wealthy businessman.

He obviously gained the respect of Amsterdam citizens, for he became not only a church warden of the Zuiderkerk but also an alderman of Amsterdam. His maternal grandfather having been burgomaster of Amsterdam, would have placed him in the upper social hierarchy. He would have been conversant with the latest styles of behaviour, and as alderman, with the latest developments in city planning, and new building and landscape trends. He probably knew the most famous buildings and gardens of Amsterdam, especially those of the rich merchants along the grachten, like the well known voliere and menagerie in the garden of Jan Blauw on the Kloverniersburgwal.

In Holland the over-population of the cities in the 17th century, as in Rome in the previous century, led to an ever increasing interest and longing for life in the country: The virtues of country life were extolled by writers, poets, architects and landscape designers, and numerous books on gardens and garden structures were published and widely circulated. (Jan en Samuel Van Staden, Steven Vennekool, Simon Schynvoet and Daniel Marot were all garden planners and designers of this time). Consequently lusthoven sprang up like mushrooms all over the Lowlands just as the Italian villas had done around Rome and Florence in the previous century.

A description of some of these estates will indicate the type of landscape with which Van der Stel was familiar and the ideas which he would have brought with him to the Cape.

2.2.1 Country Estates of the Dutch Upper Classes

Zeist, a medieval Castle situated near Utrecht, was acquired by the Count of Nassau-Odijk in 1686. He was a relative and favourite of the Prince of Orange, and soon turned this fallen Castle into the magnificent estate drawn by Stoopenadal six years later (see p150).

There is the grand approach along the tree-lined avenue to the forecourt, entered through an ornate iron gate and railing (which has fortunately been retained), and enclosed on either side by symmetrical outbuildings. The main axis runs through the centre of the house and becomes the central broadwalk of the garden. On either side of the main walk subsidiary boundary carriage-ways planted with avenues lead the eye onwards to the horizon, increasing the visual strength of the perspective.

116 Biographical notes from Bocseken A J Simon Van der Stel en Sy Kinders
117 Bienfait A G, Oude Hollandsche Tuine, plate no185
118 Van de Bunt Aleit W, Het slot Zeist, Bienfait, plate 109
Zorgvliet, birds-eye view showing the extent of the estate and the mound and maze in the distance. (Bienfait: plate 97 above, plate 99 below)

Zorgvliet orangerie with central fountain, topiary and parterres
Extensive parterres, large water tanks, fountains, topiary, summer-houses and the berceaux formed by highly trimmed trees - all these and much more are shown on a scale which today can hardly be comprehended when one visits this palace, now shorn of all its glory by the fashion which brought to Holland the so-called English landscape garden.119

Zorgvliet, near the Hague was the property of Hans Willem Bentinck, friend and gardener of William of Orange towards the end of the 17th century. Fortunately several drawings exist to show the magnificence of this once famous garden, now totally destroyed by later changes made in the English landscape style.

We are shown the ornate, symmetrically placed parterres, fountains, topiary, berceaux and water tanks in the front garden and the orangery enclosed by a semicircular glass-house where exotics were nursed during the winter months as well as the renowned labyrinth and mount built by the previous owner, Jacob Cats. The overwhelming scale and opulence of a garden like Zorgvliet and the extent of the numerous embellishments could only have been created by a man with refined taste, an exceptional imagination and an endless source of capital.120

2.2.2 Lusthoven along the Vecht and Diemermeer

Van der Stel, a cultured and wealthy city dweller, would most probably have been aware of these famous country estates, but would also have had a good knowledge of estates along the Vecht between Amsterdam and Utrecht and of those at Diemermeer. One could travel along the river and enjoy the row of lusthoven on the banks, some smaller, others larger, with their ornate entrance gates, fountains, water basins, parterres, avenues of trees, volieres, grottoes, cabinets, berceaux, and summer houses often situated on the river bank.121

2.2.3 Princely Estates of the Stadhouder, William of Orange

But it was the Stadhouder, William of Orange and his wife, Mary, both keenly interested in the art of garden design, who were to be the inspiration for many of the merchants and upper class to indulge in ongoing improvements of their estates, just as the royal couple was doing in the gardens at their various palaces:

Honselaarsdijk was modernised by William of Orange with new broderies, fountains surrounded with painted lead or stone statues, a new summer-house, extended lattice work, a voliere and menagerie and the garden filled with many new and exotic plants and flowers collected from many parts of the newly discovered eastern and western countries.122

The palace and garden at Dieren, was also laid out with strict symmetry, and embellished with high clipped hedges along the broadwalks, a large square basin surrounded by a spectacular berceau
Honselaarsdijk as it appeared in the time of William of Orange in the late 17th century with the flower garden far left and the new enlarged parterres (Bienfait, 74)

Sight-seers took boat trip down the Amstel to marvel at all the beautiful riverside estates (Rademaker A, Hollands Arcadia p70)
The vast landscape of Versailles where Le Notre perfected the classical style of garden design. Below: Plan by Abbé Delagrie 1746 (Jellicoe, Oxford companion to gardens p585) above: plan in 1714 (Bienfait, p169)
Villa Castello near Florence: The manor house is situated between the forecourt and formal garden. It forms an integral part of the garden.

Fontainebleau (in 1614) as it was built by Francois I with the help of Italian architects, was a source of inspiration for the first Dutch gardens laid out by Hendrik Frederik. In the same way Versailles was to inspire Dutch princely gardens of the late 17th century (Jellicoe, Oxford companion to gardens p194)
and grottoes which provided views of the water through arched openings, and further smaller fountains and statues.\textsuperscript{123}

The palace and garden at \textit{Huis Ten Bosch} were similarly modernised in the French style with new broderies like those at Le Notre's Chantilly orangery, and a maze added.\textsuperscript{124}

\textit{Soestdijk} too was laid out with parterres, broderies, compartments, a canal, avenues, and a large deer park, to satisfy William of Orange's passion for hunting.\textsuperscript{125}

Although the royal family spent much time at each of the above estates, it was their Dutch palace and gardens at \textit{Het Loo} which became most famous and it was here where the garden at Versailles had obviously had a great influence.

2.2.4 Versailles

In essence Le Notre's garden at Versailles was still similar to the garden and villa which had been designed by Tribolo for the Grand Duke of Tuscany in the 1500s, at Castello near Florence (refer Chapter 1). But Le Notre had magnified the scale, increased the splendour and symbolically bound his garden through a wealth of statuary to the gardens of Greco-Roman antiquity. The purpose, as with the Medici, was to celebrate the greatness and artistic prowess of a powerful monarch and to express the symbolic association with this greatness throughout the garden. Louis XIV had chosen the sun as his emblem and Apollo, god of art and light, therefore became the inspiration for all the statuary in the garden.

As with the Italian villas, the main house lay between the forecourt and the garden, on the highest part of the property so that the view from there would be unobstructed; no planting was done near to the house for security and to prevent dampness in the building; the house was an integral part of the garden and the long vistas from the main entrance and windows were framed by clipped hedges backed by high trees; few flowering trees and shrubs were planted - instead water provided movement and the numerous statues symbolic interest.

The whole garden was a unit with the numerous parts related by mathematical formulae on either side of the central main axis to produce an infinite variety of details, which were never repeated. Parterres were of very intricate patterns, box-edged and filled with flowers to provide colour. And objects of interest in the distant surroundings were brought into the garden by opening long vistas towards them.

As with all Le Notre's gardens, one senses a restrained grandeur, where the embellishments are never allowed to confuse the totality of the grand plan.

When the \textit{Sun King} revoked the Edict of Nantes, Daniel Marot, a Huguenot who fled France, was employed in the Dutch court where he designed new parterres for \textit{Het Loo} as part of the

\textsuperscript{123} Ibid nos 76 & 77
\textsuperscript{124} Ibid no 81
\textsuperscript{125} Ibid no 82
Plan of Het Loo at the end of the 17th century as drawn by Romeyn de Hooghe after 1692 (Bienfait, p87)

Dolphin Pool at Het Loo (Bienfait, pl 89)
extensions made between 1692 and 1694 for the larger court when William of Orange became king of England and spent some time at Het Loo every summer.\textsuperscript{136}

For in spite of the bitter antagonism during the latter part of the 17th century between the Dutch and the French, and the difference between the more relaxed and homely Dutch court and the formal court held by Louis XIV, William of Orange was not averse to using Frenchmen to design improvements for his various gardens, in the style of his adversary. The French influence on Dutch gardens was therefore not only the result of direct copying of French examples, but also due to the direct involvement of commissioned artists and French refugees in Holland.

And thus the influence of Versailles was also to be carried to the Cape directly by Huguenots and indirectly by the Dutch through the influence which it had on the planning of Het Loo.

2.2.5 Het Loo

At Het Loo one sees all the glories of Versailles: the main axis running through the centre of the palace ends in a goosefoot of which the straight alleys disappear into the horizon; the intricate parterres on either side of the palace and in front of the house; many fountains, statues, berceaux, menagerie and voliere, water features, intricate treillage and high clipped hedges forming enclosed spaces - the embellishments are magnificent and endless.\textsuperscript{127} They are flamboyant and overwhelming. But they lack the restraint of Le Notre's classical gardens, and their spaciousness. For in the Dutch gardens one proceeds from one enclosure to the next, as if moving through a series of decorated green rooms.

2.3 THE LANDSCAPES OF W A VAN DER STEL'S OWN PROPERTIES

From the above it is clear that an intelligent man like W A Van der Stel brought with him to the Cape knowledge and experience of an extremely sophisticated landscape, for where it is generally accepted that wealth stimulates all forms of art, the art of landscape design was flourishing amongst the rich merchants of the Netherlands as it had never done before.

Like his father, Willem Adriaan Van der Stel proved to be a keen agriculturist, and on his arrival at the Cape, even before his official inauguration as new governor, this interest becomes clear when one reads in the diary of 26.1.1699:

\begin{quote}
..den nieuwen Ed.heer Goewemeur van de morgen geheel vroe op het hoofd besig geweeste, omme de cassen van de mede overgebragte jonge geboomtens en allerley verdere soorten van planten aan land en vervolgens na Comp's thuyn te doen brengen.
\end{quote}

The new Governor was busy at the wharf from early morning offloading young trees and various kinds of plants and taking them to the Company's Garden.\textsuperscript{128}

\textsuperscript{126} Jacques D & Van der Horst, The Gardens of William and Mary, pp57-58  
\textsuperscript{127} Bieffait A G, Oude Hollandsche Tuinen nos86 & 87  
\textsuperscript{128} C/A VC p23, 26.1.1699
Plan of W A Van der Stel's farm Vergelegen c1707: (Courtesy T Barlow)

(1) Manor house (2) farm house (3) orangerie (4) wine cellar (5) dovecot (6) slave house (7) horse stable
and corn mill (8) smithy and leather mill (9) granary (10) threshing floor (11) brick-kiln (12) river
It was, in fact, this enthusiasm for all aspects of agriculture and other farming activities coupled, perhaps, with a despotic nature and a driving urge for financial success that led to his downfall at the Cape and his enforced withdrawal to Holland after eight years.

For the purpose of this thesis it will not be necessary to repeat the well-known story of his corruption, where he and his brother Francois, together with a small group of officials, systematically acquired large tracts of arable land and thousands of cattle and used the Company's slaves and other employees to improve their own estates. The accusation against him was that he and his circle of officials had taken over the trade in meat, wool, grain, wine and even fish, in the process robbing the free farmers of their livelihood. The documentary evidence of his injustice and the cruel revenge he took on those who reported his misbehaviour, leaves no doubt about the despicable behaviour of the Governor, but does not detract from the great influence he had on landscape organisation, agriculture and animal husbandry at the Cape.\textsuperscript{129}

Willem Adriaan was undoubtedly an excellent farmer with an interest in plants and, like his father, took a great pride not only in the successful growing of crops and improvement of animal husbandry, but with the experience and sensitivity of a cultured man, meticulously planned his environment, using those principles of landscape design which he had learnt to appreciate in Holland.

Where his own finance was lacking, he made use of the Company's property and manpower and by corruption obtained land and animals which placed him in the privileged position of a prince above the ordinary farmers at the Cape.

It is not improbable that his success as a farmer and his beautiful estate, Vergelegen, must have been the envy of less successful farmers. And that there might be some truth in Van der Stel's defence that, as so often happens, they blamed those who had favoured them for their own failures.\textsuperscript{130}

2.3.1 Vergelegen

Fortunately detailed drawings of his estate at Vergelegen give a good insight into W A Van der Stel's planning abilities and his cultured taste.

Dr Dan Sleigh has drawn attention to P Kolbe's statement that the Company's abandoned post at Hottentots Holland eventually became part of Vergelegen.\textsuperscript{131} The buildings of the post which had been planned by his father in 1684, should still have been in a good state of repair when his son was given transfer 16 years later.

A plan done at the end of the 17th century shows all the buildings, orchards, avenues, canals and vineyards. The heart of the complex consists of manor-house, overseer's house and stables for cattle and sheep arranged symmetrically into an enclosed octagon according to the planning

\textsuperscript{129} Fouche L, Dagboek van Adam Tas pp284-304
\textsuperscript{130} Leibrand H C V, The Defence of W A van der Stel, P19
\textsuperscript{131} Sleigh D, Die Buiteposte, p163
Plan of Vergelegen as drawn by Van der Stel's accusers

Plan as drawn for W A Van der Stel's defence by Bogaert (Leibbrandt H C V Precis of the Archives; The defence of W A Van der Stel p108)
principles of his father who was probably responsible for the initial lay-out.\textsuperscript{132} Four other outbuildings are placed parallel to each other outside the octagon, symmetrically on either side of the main axis crossing the octagon, and parallel to it. The cross shaped granary with a threshing floor on two sides, the brick kilns and tannery are situated further towards the mountain also in formal arrangement.

According to the complainants, W A Van der Stel was himself building a "small town" at Vergelegen, but there is no evidence to establish how the son added to his father's original plan, or how the buildings were adapted for his personal needs. What is clear, however, is that they were both working according to the same rules of mathematical order - perhaps he built those structures which lay outside the octagon but keeping a geometrical relation to it.

The northern approach from Cape Town winds over the Lourens River, past the stable and mill building on the west and the slave quarters on the east; then over the mill stream before entering what appears to be a high walled fore-court. This was probably the area where the visitor tied up his animals or outspanned and from where the cattle or sheep could be led into their respective stables as one sees in many European medieval baileys. But where in Europe these baileys had changed their medieval function of first line of defence to a welcoming court, at the Cape this first court at Vergelegen would have reverted to that of the middle ages. From here one entered an enclosed octagonal courtyard through a gate. It is then surprising to find that the house is not on the axis of this main entrance where one would expect to find it, but situated to the one side in the western wall of the octagon.

On the engraving of J V Thiel drawn at the same time as the previous plan, the house is shown with tri-lobal central gable and dormers on either side. Six pilasters and mid-17th century "cross windows" shown on either side of the door with large fanlight, suggest that this was indeed an imposing building. W A Van der Stel had either extensively renovated or largely rebuilt what would have been the existing post-house to suit his needs.

The octagonal courtyard was divided into four equal beds, each surrounded by low clipped hedges and planted with oranges in quincunx. The central corners of these beds were cut away, but at the crossing of the paths no statue, fountain or other feature is shown, nor is there any sign of a parterre in the courtyard as one would expect. If there had been such embellishments, they probably would have been shown on a plan of this detail.

This was obviously W A Van der Stel's simplified version of a European orangerie, which had the advantage of the trees not needing to be moved indoors during winter, so that they formed a permanent attraction. The orangerie designed by Romein de Hooghe at Het Loo, for instance, is also in an enclosed courtyard where the orange trees in pots are arranged around the perimeter of an intricate parterre. In the centre of the parterre was an octagonal pool with a fountain. Octagonal pools were commonly used by garden designers. See also the fountain by Romein de Hooge in the Amphitheatre in the \textit{Perk der Nanen} and the amphitheatre of P Schenck as well as the
Ruins of the old mill shown in the "Complaint" (from The State, June 1912)
pool in another orangerie in the Queen’s garden all with octagonal pools. When Simon Van der Stel designed an enclosed octagon for his post at Hottentots Holland, he chose a shape which was commonly used by French & Dutch landscape designers.

The importance attached to W A Van der Stel’s preference for octagonal shapes by Brink is therefore probably not valid. Firstly the octagon at Vergelegen was probably the design of his father. It may be that the octagonal voorkamer at Newlands was not built by Van der Stel, but by Governor de La Fontaine (see Chapter 5). Lastly, if Van der Stel had really liked octagons, he did not use a golden opportunity of copying the octagonal pool with its dolphin fountain at Hete Loo in the enclosed space at the Castle when he designed his garden there in 1705 with a round dolphin fountain in a square pool. (During the restoration the footing of the fountain was exposed).

The hedges might have been of clipped roses as in the Company’s garden and Russeliana, which still grew in this courtyard recently, may have been the rose chosen for its value in conserve. Valentyn saw flowers in the courtyard on his visit in early November, which is the exact time that these or other contemporary roses would have been in flower.

Although the winding treeless approach to the main house was not impressive, the western cross axis extending from the river, through the house towards the mountain must have been in Van der Stel’s opinion the most important one, for this is the view which he illustrates in his defence. For although the Governor would have tried to play down the opulence of his estate, he could not afford to have the gentlemen of the Council of 17 think that he was not conversant with the elementary principles of 17th century landscape planning.

He shows this broadwalk with a canal on either side and planted with one row of camphor trees instead of the three as shown on the other two sketches. He also draws all his orchards symmetrically arranged on either side of this axis, though this was not so on the plan, and accentuates the hazards of the environment by showing lions on the mountain and armed Hottentots in the foreground.

Valentyn, who spent a night at Vergelegen, was amazed in the morning to see how beautifully the house dat, tegen ‘t wild gedierte, rondom in een agtkantige, cierlyke, hooge, dikke muur lag, had been planned. (The house that lay in an octagon with high thick walls)

Ik zag deze plaats met een ongemeen genoegen, aizoo daar alles wonderlyk fraai aangelegd was. (I saw this farm with an exceptional pleasure, as everything was so beautifully planned).”

Yet the grand garden vista, planted with a triple row of camphor trees on either side, stopped at the river and was not extended through the vineyards beyond, as one would have expected. And the avenue of trees along the mountain road was not of one variety to form a uniform alley, but, according to the plan, consisted of a strange combination of fruit trees of various heights.

133 Historical Archaeology in the Western Cape, p92 The octagon: an icon of Willem Adriaan Van der Stel
134 Valentyn F. Beschryvinge van de Kaap der Goede Hoop, Vol I p150
The pool built by W A Van der Stel in 1705, reconstructed on its old walls

A plan of 1710 showing the Dolphin Pool and surrounding buildings in the back courtyard (C/A M1/1103)

The pool and footings of surrounding buildings, which had been demolished in the 19th century, were excavated. Balustrades which had been pushed into the pool before filling it, were measured for reconstruction.
If Van der Stel had had ideas of grandeur and if he had wished to display his power as the "Sun King" of the Cape, one would have expected a more impressive approach and large water tanks, fountains or other water features which were such a popular part of Dutch estates. His father, according to Christoffel Lánghans, was building grottoes and fountains in the Company's garden in 1694, but unfortunately there is no reference as to where these were or what they looked like. At Vergelegen there was a constant supply of water and many canals, but these were obviously intended only for irrigation purposes and allowed not even a fountain at the crossing of the main axes in the centre of the octagon.

2.3.2 The Castle

In contrast, W A Van der Stel, as part of his garden at the Castle in Table Valley, built a large tank with a dolphin fountain, classical balustrade, ornate entrance pillars and a colonnade much in the style of similar tanks then generally popular in European gardens. Wherever the Dutch gardened, such large pools formed a prominent feature of their lay-out. Long water canals formed part of the Dutch garden of Westbury Court, Gloucester, England in the late 17th century, designed by Maynard Colchester, for instance. The garden has been restored by the National Trust together with the adjoining double storeyed summer-house.

The dolphin pool at the Castle proves that W A Van der Stel was not ignorant of the grandiose possibilities of water display, or that he lacked the expertise for such constructions. (When this pool was demolished in the 1860s by the British they pushed the balustrade and columns into the water before filling it with soil. Excavations during the restoration of the Castle revealed these artifacts and made it possible to restore the pool, the walls of which were still standing.)

Guy Tachard who visited the Cape in 1685 noticed gold and silver fish that came from China in the pool, adding that "The Japanese prize them greatly and keep them in their houses as objects of curiosity". He later saw such fish in the palace of the Governor-General in Siam and in the houses of some Chinese mandarins and for Van der Stel to have such rare fish at the Castle was therefore a reflection of his refined taste.

There is no record at Vergelegen of grottoes, statues, summer-houses or even tall, cut hedges which formed such an impressive sight in the Company's garden in Table Valley and which were obviously related to similar high clipped hedges in the many Dutch lusthoven. The Cape hedges were described by many travellers:

Chevalier de Chaumont in 1685 described the "handsome palisades of a plant that is always green" in the Table Valley garden.

135 Raven-Hart R, Cape Good Hope, p404
136 Refer the large "bassin" on the Het Loo sketch
137 Raven-Hart R, Cape Good Hope Guy Tachard, p279
138 Raven-Hart R, Cape Good Hope, pp296-297
The summer house of Governor-General van der Parra at Weltevreden in Batavia as drawn by J Rach c1780

Uittermeer, the house where W A Van der Stel lived after leaving the Cape, stood in unadorned landscape (Boesecken: Simon Van der Stel en sy kinders p227)
"The avenues are made of fine laurel hedges a pike length high and two ells thick, which are continually trimmed by the slaves working there" Christoffel Langhansz had noted in 1694 when he visited the Company's garden.139

Every Dutch city garden of any pretention, every country estate and especially the princely gardens of William of Orange, had parterres and topiary of various sizes and complexities. It was the one important element which typified Dutch gardens. Yet there is no indication of even a simple parterre at Vergelegen, although Kolbe's drawing of the time shows that there was a simple patterned flower garden in front of the Governor's summer-house in the Company's garden in Table Valley.

"Beautiful and pleasant as the garden of a Prince, and useful as that of a Peasant. The conveniences it abounds with may denominate it a Kitchen Garden, but its Delights a Garden of Pleasure". This is how Captain Ovington in 1696 described the Company's Garden which actually had more pleasurable elements in it than he would have seen at Vergelegen.140

Yet this would have been an apt description of Vergelegen. For though it lacked the water tanks, fountains, parterres, statues and numerous other embellishments of a European princely garden, Van der Stel had improved his father's "citadel" with further symmetrically placed outbuildings, orchards, vineyards and wheatfields with respect for the original geometry, and so created in its simple, mathematical lay-out an impression of grandeur.

It was not the self consciously designed stately garden intended to reflect the power of a monarch as at Versailles or Het Loo. Lacking in all flamboyant embellishment, and with a minimum of axiality and man-made opening up of vistas, it can hardly be called a "baroque" garden as is so often done. It was rather an economically planned utility or "Kitchen Garden" developed from an existing small, well planned citadel, situated on a magnificent site, which made of Vergelegen a Princely Garden of Pleasure.

For Willem Adriaan Van der Stel's Cape garden was simple when compared with the pomp and grandeur of the early 18th century gardens of D.E.I.C. officials in the East:

Heydt in a drawing of the 1730s, shows the garden of Governor Adriaan Valkenier as seen from the main hall: A grassed pathway, gravelled on either side, is flanked by rows of pyramidal clipped trees. On either side of this avenue are flower parterres and on the outside of these, orchards. A scalloped pool lying in the centre of the walkway is embellished with five fountains - Adam and Eve under a spouting apple tree in the centre and four figures on the perimeter holding instruments also acting as spouts. Four ornate vases on pedestals stand at the corners of this fountain square. Further on the pathway is covered by a lofty latticed pergola surmounted by a golden eagle, again flanked by urns on pedestals. At the end of the vista is a grotto on which Neptune and two dolphins are mounted.

139 Ibid. p404
140 Ibid. p398
This early 18th century plan of Elsenburg is based on inventories of 1722 and 1747. The lower plan is based on 19th century inventories and shows enclosure of a courtyard with further buildings and the house enlarged with a wing in front.

Elsenburg (Leighton S, Notes on a visit to S A SAL, MSB 308)

Trotter's drawing of the mill race
The garden of Petrus van der Parra, Governor-General of the Netherlands East India, was on the same lavish scale:

Viewed from the rear facade of the main house, one sees a bridge with ornate railing and Chinese grotto with fountain to the left. The main walkway is shaded with an avenue and on either side of the trees are cut hedges and arches overgrown with climbers surrounding enclosures which front on volieres. The latter have arched openings, stuccoed corners, moulded cornices and are topped with ornate urns.

Although both these officials were senior to W A Van der Stel, their eastern landscapes might have motivated at least some pretence of grandeur if Van der Stel had consciously tried to display his superiority as Governor of the Cape.

2.4 ESTATES OF W A VAN DER STEL’S FRIENDS AND OFFICIALS

Although Valentyn regarded Vergelegen to be the finest estate at the Cape and Constantia following on that, he stated that in addition to these, there were innumerable other beautiful properties in Table Valley and behind Table Mountain. These belonged mostly to officials, relatives or friends of the Van der Stels:

Bishopscourt, which at the time belonged to Guillaume Heems, was one of these. It later became the property of Willem ten Damme, the Company surgeon who was a friend of W A Van der Stel. Here Valentyn found a grove of orange and lemon trees, a fine vineyard and many other trees.

Undoubtedly the finest properties belonged to those officials who had shared in W A Van der Stel’s corruption:

2.4.1 Elsenberg

Two months after the Council of Policy had decided to sell the Company’s post, Clapmuts, the secunde, Samuel Elsevier sold this farm to himself at an auction in June 1706, together with two adjoining pieces of land. By then he had already been granted, in 1698, 110 morgen of land adjoining Clapmuts, which he had called Elsenberg.

According to the German soldier Mentzel, who worked for the D.E.I.C. from 1732 onwards for eight years, Elsevier’s farm was the most beautiful in the Joostenberg district and the only one to have a private water-mill, the Company having only a wind-mill and a communal water-mill.

Buildings on the farm are mentioned in inventories of 1722 and 1747. They consisted of two outbuildings, probably those still situated in a line along the mill-stream, and a U-shaped house set slightly back from these. A Norse mill straddled the stream.

141 Valentyn François, Beschrijvinge van Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien, p199
142 VRS 25 Mentzel O F, p16
143 Fagan G. Elsenberg, p30
Leeuwenhof grant shows the house that Blesius built, with a walled pool in the foreground, also drawn by H.V. Stade (below) O.C.F. Vol I p254 C/A M1/985

Mount at Villa Medici, Rome (Falda, 1683)

Zorgvliet as it was drawn on a grant in 1832 shows the surrounding oak and poplar forest and the formal placing of buildings.

(SG 272/1832)
According to a limited examination of the bricks and mortar of the farm buildings which in 1985, it appeared that the three outbuildings, shown on my diagram, which are still in good order, were built contemporaneously and they could in part date to the early 18th century.

The house, originally U-shaped, faces the mill-stream and has a view over the arable lands and distant Stellenbosch mountains. As more buildings were added by subsequent owners in the 19th century, they were so placed as to complete a square around a large courtyard, the areas between the buildings being linked by sturdy stone walls. A projected plan of the farm in the 1770s, when it belonged to Martin Melck, has been drawn. By this time the house had been extended with a front wing and a large cattle kraal had been built outside the courtyard. But Van der Stel's style still provided the psychological and aesthetic satisfaction of a green, tree-shaded, safe enclosure.

2.4.2 Leeuwenhof

Stade in 1710 sketched a view from the garden of Leeuwenhof on the slopes of Table Mountain, the property of Joan Blesius, W A Van der Stel's fiscal. It shows a small part of his garden, where a square pool with a central fountain is surrounded by a wall. Perhaps Blesius had copied Van der Stel's Dolphin pool at the Castle? Trees (probably oaks) are planted along the boundaries of the property according to Simon Van der Stel's instruction referred to earlier.

Further research did not reveal the position or appearance of the house that Blesius had built or the arrangements of his orchards, vineyards, or other structures at this early stage, but the square pool and fountain indicate an estate of some pretention.

Joan Blesius also owned Simons-valley (Simonsvlei) in Drakenstein, described by Valentyn as a *schoone plaats* (a beautiful farm) with many lovely fruit trees, vineyards and wheatfields, but no planning details are given.

2.4.3 Zorgvliet

This farm in the Banhoek Valley near Stellenbosch was described by Valentyn who found that the owner, Joannes Mulder, Landdrost of Stellenbosch, had laid it out with such fine taste, that it surpassed in beauty the Dutch estate after which it was named!

It is obvious that Mulder had a knowledge of the original Zorgvliet, for he had recreated on his own farm all those particular elements which had made its namesake famous. There was the house situated in a forest, and a number of exceptional gardens in which were orchards and flower gardens, one with a central fountain (probably a parterre). Numerous curious plants, also aloes, were to be seen.

There were two mounts *zeer vermufig gemaak*, on either side of an incomparable summer house of laurel; evergreen shrubs were cut into pyramids; and there was a grotto built of mineral stones wherein numerous different colours were observed together with all kinds of flowers growing.

144 Valentyn Francois, *Beschrijvinge van Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, p198
The north facade of the Zandvliet werf early this century

The south facade of the Zandvliet werf

Plan of the Zandvliet werf as measured in the 1980s
amongst them. In the hollows beautiful porcelain statues and animals and towers were arranged so attractively that everyone who saw this place had to admit that they had never experienced so much beauty brought together in such a confined area, nor would they know whether the natural environment or art contributed most to this beauty.\textsuperscript{145}

Of all the 17th century estates described at the Cape, Zorgvliet seems to have the most elaborate garden embellishments and is perhaps the one which best answers the description of a baroque garden.

Mulder was also the owner of the farm Muldersvlei, of which unfortunately no early lay-out information could be found, although a late 18th century drawing indicates a large square flower garden in front of the house and a very formal, neatly laid out werf approached through a straight avenue on the axis of the house.

2.4.4 Zandvliet

This farm had been granted to the Rev P Calden, another one of the officials who condoned the Van der Stel excesses.\textsuperscript{146} The werf of this farm in the 1960s was still one of the most impressive in the country, not only in the sensitive alignment of its different buildings, but in the sheer size of its werf. No early illustrations were found but in an inventory taken after the death of Willem Pas in the 1730s there was a richly furnished large house, a hok and a wine cellar where he was also making brandy. Pas had many slaves and over 20 000 sheep, so his werf must have been quite well developed at that time to cater for all these needs.\textsuperscript{147}

Unfortunately the farm has become largely derelict as result of squatter occupation after it was expropriated for a "coloured area" under the Group Areas Act. Examination of the wall material of the remaining structures suggests that many of them could date to the early 18th century, and the very formal arrangement of the buildings around a square, as was advocated by Governor Van der Stel, may be a further indication that the Rev Calden may have been responsible for the initial lay-out.

SUMMARY

Although the posts and farms of the 17th century were in themselves citadels, providing fortified shelter for humans and domestic animals in an environment threatened by predator beasts and unpredictable indigenous tribes, they were also required to be aesthetically pleasing and a source of pride to the D.E.I.C.

Anyone approaching a farm like Vissershok, which has retained what was probably its original plan, cannot help being impressed even from a distance by the white walled farm, its neatly arranged buildings and the magnificent entrance pillars opposite the T-shaped house. It is

\textsuperscript{145} Ibid, Part 1 pp160, 200
\textsuperscript{146} Ibid, Part 1 p198
\textsuperscript{147} C/A M00C 8/5 no134
The L-shaped house and four outbuildings at Welmoed shown on the grant of 1690 to Henning Huysing. They surround a courtyard.

(O.S.F. Vol I) The ground was promised to him in 1860 and he obviously occupied it from that time.

The buildings of A Maasdorp described as: (1) house (2) horse stable (3) store (4) slave house (5) wine cellar, are shown in a grant of his farm Kromme Rhee measured in 1698. These buildings are not as neatly arranged as one would expect but do enclose a central courtyard.

(O.S.F. Vol I)

The buildings on the farm Groenhof: (1) the old long house with (3) the wine cellar and (4) the wagon house on either side to form a row. The later T-shaped house (2) was built to the south of these three and a horse kraal at the southeastern side of the werf.

(O.S.F. Vol I, F125 1698)
reminiscent of Wittebol's drawing of the Cape Town Castle, where the entrance into the large enclosed courtyard, is directly opposite the main building containing church and raadsaal.

The Company's conscious organisation of the landscape elements into a formal plan in which the buildings themselves were part of the plan, "according to the rules of mathematics and architecture", appeared to have the desired effect on some free-burghers which Van Reede had hoped for, either because the Dutch were orderly by nature, or because they stood in danger of losing their farms if they neglected them or farmed them unsatisfactorily. And their Commander watched them with a hawk's eye on his frequent visits to the country districts, and sent out regular consignments of trees to assist each burgher to plant at least a hundred trees on his boundaries annually.

Two planning principles emerge from this study of the late 17th century man-made environment at the Cape: That derived from Simon Van der Stel’s need to create a protected environment for man and beast on frontier farms, which led to the definition and enclosure of space; and that derived from W A Van der Stel’s need to integrate the man-made environment with the beauty of the natural Cape landscape, which led to the emphasis on axial planning and the opening up of space to include distant vistas and views. Both of these were dependent on an underlying geometric order, and both were constrained by the lack of finance especially in the official buildings.

The baroque lusthoven of the Dutch homeland developed by rich merchants with advice from competent architects and artists became an impossible dream in this African Colony, where there was not the technical expertise nor the wealth to develop the landscape as monumental works of art.

It will be shown how the increased wealth and prosperity of the free-burghers during the 18th century was to affect landscape design in the last century of the Dutch occupation of the Cape.
CHAPTER 4

THE 18TH CENTURY LANDSCAPE IN THE NETHERLANDS: A PRECEDENT FOR LANDSCAPE DESIGN AT THE CAPE

In the previous chapters it was shown how strong-minded officials influenced the planning of the Cape environment by laying down guidelines for the formal planning of Company property and then implementing these principles at their own estates and in the planning of the first two villages and outside posts. These guidelines had been derived from the simple classical style of the early 17th century Dutch landscape which lacked the ornamentation and rich embellishment of Dutch estates and urban gardens towards the end of the century.

Throughout the 18th century Dutch landscaping continued to grow in lavishness and grandeur with little influence from the revolution which was taking place in England where geometrically laid out gardens were systematically being destroyed to make way for the so-called "natural" landscape. And even during the late 18th century, these formal "lusthoven" of the rich merchants and upper class Dutch citizens were still largely unchanged, so that officials of the D.E.I.C and new European immigrants to the Cape would have been inspired by these examples when planning their own colonial surroundings.

How these formal estates should be planned was amply described in Le Blond's *The Theory and Practice of Gardening: Wherein is fully handled All that relates to Fine Gardens...* This very popular French book saw several imprints, of which the 1728 edition was translated into English by John James of Greenwich. The English version was also reprinted several times. Le Blond described the practical aspects of garden making which reflected how most European gardens of note were being designed and constructed at the beginning of the 18th century. For the French style was followed by all the grandest estates in Europe.

It will be shown how the French architect Louis Michel Thibault was, for instance, still using some of the devices illustrated by Le Blond for his garden plans at the Cape after his arrival in 1783.

Before following the trend of landscape design at the Cape in the 18th century, the fabric of a number of these formal Dutch estates was analysed in order to identify those elements which were common to them. The landscape patterns of the 18th century Cape upper class could then be compared with those of their Dutch equivalents to establish what influence the mother country had had on them as well as on the Company properties at the Cape in the 18th century. And to what extent those design elements had been used or had to be adapted to accommodate local conditions.
The subject is discussed under the following headings:

1  THE AXIAL APPROACH
2  AVENUES
3  PARTERRES
4  WATER FEATURES
5  TREILLAGE WORK
6  HEDGES
7  TOPIARY
8  GROVES
9  SUMMER HOUSES
10 MAZES AND MOUNTS
11 MENAGERIES
12 ORANGERIES
13  STATUES, VASES AND GROTTOES
14  TWO EXAMPLES OF 18TH CENTURY "LUSTHOVEN"
   14.1 ROZENDAEL
   14.2 TE MEER
15  SUMMARY
(above) Soestdijk showing approach avenue with triple rows of trees

(left) Triple rows of trees forming the approach avenue to Zeist

(below) Velzerhooft
1 THE AXIAL APPROACH

The grand approach, sometimes from a great distance, along a wide tree-lined road on the axis of the front door of the main house, is commonly seen on engravings of late 17th century Dutch estates:

Thus at Soestdijk, built between 1674 and 1678 for the Prince of Orange, the approach is along an avenue planted with three rows of trees on either side; a gate on the axis of the main door of the house, with railings on either side introduces one to the rectangular fore-court which has a stable on the one side and wagon-house on the other together with accomodation for the workers, a common arrangement, followed also by Simon Van der Stel at the Company's post at Hottentots Holland. The triple row of trees on this main axis is also reminiscent of the camphor avenue on the west side of Vergelegen, which was however not the main approach.1

The long approach to Zeist is also lined on either side with three rows of trees. It ends in a square before the entrance gate to the forecourt. Again a gate with railings on either side, is on the axis of the front door of the house. (This railing and gate are still preserved as well as the long avenue, today a street in the surrounding town of Driebergen.) Similar tree-lined axial approaches can be seen at the Cape on 18th century farms like Boschendal, Rhone, Babylonstoren, Kronendal in Hout Bay where a modern road now separates it from the house, and almost all the Constantia farms which will be described in following chapters. These Cape examples have however only a single line of trees, but this was not unusual in Holland as can be seen at Huis ter Hooge.2

Sometimes several access roads converged at the front door as at Velzerhooft, but mostly the avenues ended at the gate of the forecourt in an open semi-circular or square area.3

2 AVENUES

In Europe straight avenues running through extensive groves, more than any other single feature, typified the French and Dutch landscape style at the beginning of the 18th century. The engravings of Johannes Kip (1653 - 1722) show the newly planted avenues on the large English estates which had been improved by London and Wise at the end of the 17th century in the style of Versailles.4

Apart from the long approach avenues to the forecourt, or those on the boundaries, there were the avenues which fanned out from semicircular garden theatres in goosefoot arrangement as seen at Hampton Court during the time of William and Mary and at Het Loo.5

And then there were the long avenues cutting through forests to form star patterns, or criss-crossing the country to form cobweb-like tracings across the landscape, as at Carlsruhe in Baden,

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1 Bienfait A G, Oude Hollandsche Tuinen, plate 82, p88
2 Ibid, plate 147 & p132
3 Ibid, plate 248, p189
4 Published in Britannia Illustrata, Vol 11 in 1715 & 1740 and Nouveaux Theatre de la Grande Bretagne, Vol 1 Part 11, 1716 and Vol 11, 1724
5 According to Loudon, An Encyclopedia of Gardening p310, Charles II was responsible for the semicircle at Hampton court as part of a grand design which was never completed
Approach avenues converging at the entrance to Nijveld, Utrecht (Bienfait, pl 303)

The avenues in the Company's Gardens in the late 18th century

The Cape in 1776-77 Schumacher Plate 50, 51 aquarelle

Avenues at Bretby Park, Derbyshire (below)
Approach avenue of single trees, Huis ter Hooge, Zeeland (Bienfait, pl 147)

Engraving of the Trianon de Porcelaine by Perelle circa 1685. Thibault uses the same style of drawing - compare the double avenue shown here with his drawing on pl 118.

Groves and avenues at Ten Duyne (Bienfait, pl 134).
which was laid out by the French architect Berceau in 1715, where thirty two avenues running through the natural forest of pine and oak, converged on the tower of the chateau.†

Tree-lined broadwalks would widen into clearings where pools, parterres, or cabinets of various kinds provided endless diversions like those seen at Rosendaal in Arnhem or as illustrated by Le Blond.‡

And even when the 18th century English fashion for a more natural landscape spread to Europe, stimulating more relaxed designs, the changes were often made with retention of older main avenues.

Le Blond describes two kinds of walks. The first was the double walk which was used for the main axis and which consisted of a central walk double the width of the counter walks situated directly on either side of it. So if a walk was altogether 120 paces wide, the central part would be 60 paces and the walks on either side of this 30. The walk would be planted with a central avenue of trees and the counter walks would have their avenues parallel to clipped hedges.† The engravings by Perelle circa 1685 of the Trianon de Porcelaine and the Trianon de Marbre at Versailles illustrate these double walks quite clearly.†

Le Blond’s second kind of walk was to be at least six feet wide to allow two people to walk next to each other, and planted with only one avenue of trees. He further noted that with longer walks, the width should be proportionately wider, but where walks were very long, this rule fell away.

By the beginning of the 18th century the Cape Peninsula, Stellenbosch and Drakenstein areas were planted with many oaks along the farm boundaries and public highways. For though the most popular avenue trees in Europe were Ash (Fraxinus excelsior), Elm (Ulmus procera), Oak (Quercus robur), Birch (Betula pendula), Walnut (Juglans regia) and Sweet Chestnut (Castanea sativa), Van der Stel had had the most success at his Rondebosch nurseries with oaks (Quercus robur) and he therefore distributed them by the thousand to the free-burghers at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein.‡

3 PARTERRES

"The Compartiments and Borders of Parterres are taken from Geometrical Figures. ...They take various Designs into their Composition, as Branches, Flowers, Palms, Foliage, Hawk-Bills, Darts, Tendrells, Volutes, Knots, Roots, Clasps, Chaplets, Beads, Stalks, Cartoozes, Strings, curtailed Leaves, Wolves-teeth or Trefoils, Plumes, Compartiments, Frets, or Interlacings, Wreaths, and Shells of Grass, Paths, Borders, etc. ...Formerly they put in Heads of Greyhounds, Griffins, and other Beasts, with their Paws and Talons; which had a very ill Effect, and made Parterres look very heavy and clutterly".

6 Loudon,An Encylopaedia of Gardening. p182
8 Le Blond A, The Theory and Practice of Gardening. p52
9 Woodbridge Kenneth, Privately Gardens. p230
10 Leibrand,Journal (1699-1732). Van der Stel was inspecting the Rondebosch forest on 15 July 1699 to identify open spots where thousands of young oaks could be planted. On 29 August the landdrost of Stellenbosch was ordered to instruct free-burghers from Drakenstein and Stellenbosch to send two wagons to collect 20,000 young oaks to plant on their properties.
Parterres in private gardens adjoining the Company's Garden in the middle of the 18th century (C/A M1/1167)

Parterres at the Company's post at Outeniqualand at the end of 18th century very similar to those at Tuynhuys (Jones J, 1791)

The parterre in front of Tuynhuys at the end of the 18th century as drawn by Josephus Jones (left) (R/A Topo 15-76)

The same enlarged (top) compared with Le Blond's design for a parterre (below)
Because parterres were such an important part of French and Dutch gardens, Le Blond's description is quoted here extensively. He also describes the different types of parterres, and found those of Embroiderie, so-called because the intricate patterns were often used for needlework, most beautiful. "Their Bottom should be sanded, the better to distinguish the Foliation and Flourish'd-work", he explained, adding that black earth or smith's dust could also be used. 11

Many examples of magnificent broderies could be seen at Zion, which lay between den Haag and Delft, 12 at Reigersburg, Meergenoeg, Diemermeer, Driemond, and Petersburg on the Vecht, to name but a few.

One of the most famous and intricate broderies was the one designed by Daniel Marot during the reign of William of Orange, for Hampton Court, which was executed in dwarf box. This parterre was enriched with pyramids, spheres, statues and 13 fountains as can be seen on Leonard Knyff's (1650-1721) engraving of c1700 (reproduced in The Gardens of Europe Ed Hophouse P & Taylor P) illustration of 1700.

Le Blond found "parterres after the English Manner are the plainest and meanest of all". These Parterres d' l'Angloise as they were named, consisted of large grass plots, "cut but little and be encompassed with a Border of Flowers, separated from the Grasswork by a path of two or three Foot wide, laid smooth, and sanded over, to make the greater Distinction". They are seldom seen in Dutch garden illustrations. 13

At the Cape, parterres were seldom seen, but the "flower beds" indicated by Kolbe in front of the Governor's summer-house in the Garden, developed into ornate parterres towards the end of the 18th century. A map of 1748 by Bellin shows quite intricate parterres in private gardens around the Company's Garden, always situated directly next to the house. Similar ones were also established at the Company's different outposts which will be discussed later. Further documented parterres on private estates occurred only at Papenboom, Feldhuisen and the Company's Newlands garden, towards the end of the 18th century as will be noted in the following chapters.

4 WATER FEATURES

Being surrounded by water, one can expect that water should have formed a most important part of the organised Dutch landscape and indeed, water basins, large pools, sometimes with intricate shapes, and canals are almost synonamous with the concept of a "Dutch garden".

"Fountains and Water are the Soul of a Garden", says Le Blond, "and make the principal Ornament of it. ..."Tis certain, that a Garden, be it in other respects never so fine, if it want Water, appears dull and melancholy, and is deficient in one of its greatest Beauties". 14

11 Le Blond A, The Theory and Practice of Gardening, p39
12 Bienfait, Oude Hollandsche Tuinen, pp137 and 144
13 Le Blond A, The Theory and Practice of Gardening, p49
14 Ibid, p280
The water canals at Zuylenstein, with a summer house at the end of one, (above) very much like those that have recently been restored by the National Trust at Westbury Court (right) (Bienfait, pl 68).
Large water canals and tanks are seen at Assumburg, Kennemer, Zijdebalen and Brittenrust near Alphen and in many other estates like them. The National Trust in Britain has recently restored the canals at Westbury Court, Gloucestershire, designed by Maynard Colchester in the early 18th century under Dutch influence. They closely resemble, for instance, the long water tanks with a summer house at the end of one, at Zuilestein.

It was not unusual for the enjoyment of these pools to be enhanced with pleasure boats, sometimes of considerable size and complexity as had been used at Fontainebleau and as one sees at Sion. At other times they were used for waterfowl and/or fish. But as they often superbly reflected the buildings and garden elements around them, one feels that this was probably one of their main functions. Especially in confined areas, they acted like mirrors which lent added dimensions and enjoyment to the landscape.

Perhaps the Dutch preferred reflecting rather than moving water, because the flatness of the country provided little opportunity for gravity-fed fountains as for instance at Rome or Villa D’Este at Tivoli. This would also account for the scarcity of cascades which were common in Italian gardens where they could flow naturally down the hillsides.

Fountains, not as elaborate as the French or Italian ones, were nevertheless common and usually had single spouts as at Zuidebalen (Utrecht), Wallestein (Vecht). The way in which water features should be constructed and waterproofed is described by Le Blond (see accompanying drawing).

During the restoration of the Dolphin Fountain at the Castle in Cape Town, the construction of the pool was found to be according to Le Blond’s drawing.

Though substantial brick water-canals were constructed by Van der Stel in the Company’s Garden, and we are told by Kolbe that the Governor swam in them, no fountains were recorded in Table Valley or elsewhere at the time except for the one drawn by H V Stade at Leeuwenhof and the Dolphin Fountain that WA Van der Stel had built in his garden in the Castle.

Père Tachard had noted of the Cape Garden that “Its beauty does not lie in flower beds and fountains, as in the gardens of France”. George Meister had described the gravitational pressure: "...there issues fine sweet water which flows to the Garden in the town and thence out to sea. Its source is so high that there is in Germany no tower so elevated but that it could not be led above it: even if the tower at Strassburg stood in the East India Company's Garden or near the Castle, the water could be carried to the top of it." If the Dutch had wished, therefore, they could have constructed fountains anywhere in Cape Town.
Treillage at Heemstede, (top) Zorgvliet (below) and Zijdebalen below that.

Below right, treillage patterns from Le Blond.
To what extent they made use of the water during the rest of the 18th century will be described in the following chapter.

5 TREILLAGE WORK: BERCEAUX, CABINETS AND HEDGES

At the beginning of the 18th century, lattice work for porticos, berceaux, summerhouses, niches and arbors were still being constructed of oak fillets of one inch square, but these became less popular with the advance of the century because they were expensive and difficult to maintain. According to Le Blond they "demanded a royal purse".

Cabinets and berceaux of the most elaborate and intricate treillage design are nevertheless seen on drawings of 18th century Dutch estates and one stands amazed at the amount of wood which must have been used for structures as seen at Zijderbalen (Utrecht), Ter Meer (Utrecht) and Heemstede (Utrecht) and at the excellent workmanship required for the erection and maintenance of such structures.

At the Cape, Kolbe had indicated an arbour in one of the squares in front of the governor's summer house in the Garden which might have been constructed of treillage-work.

Natural arbours and berceaux were sometimes formed by interweaving the branches of shrubs or trees aided by supporting batons, hoops or poles.

6 HEDGES

"Hedges, by the Agreeableness of their Verdure, are of the greatest Service in Gardens", says Le Blond. He stipulates that they should be of great length, even width and height and that the height should be two thirds of the breadth of the walk. High clipped hedges were extremely popular in Dutch gardens and are seen in many of the 17th and 18th century illustrations of Dutch estates. They were used in the Company's Garden in Table Valley not only for aesthetic reasons, but also to break the force of the south-easter, as will be described later.

Hedges served to divide the different parts of the garden, creating a variety of spaces for elegant leisure. They enclosed woods, accentuating the vistas and enhancing the axes. By being cut into colonnades, arches, niches and other shapes, they added sophisticated architectural detail and variety for human enjoyment.

On looking at 17th and 18th century illustrations of Dutch gardens one is struck by the lack of the openness found in the vast contemporary French gardens, and it seems that Dutch gardens were much more compartmentalised, leading the visitor from one enclosed space to the next. Though plans of these gardens seem to present the endless open vista, closer birds-eye views of the same, as at Dieren, suggest that visitors were surrounded by tall green tunnels allowing little view out.

24 Bienfait A G, Oude Hollandsche Tuinen, pp256, 222 & 301
25 Ibid, pp195 & 179
26 Ibid, pp259 & 224, 261 & 224
The hedges at Dieren (above) (Bienfait pl 78)

Clipped laurel hedges at the Cape and in Holland according to Kolbe (right) and at Heemstede (left) (Bienfait, p302)
Pliny's garden at Villa Laurentina on the Tiber outside Rome. The terrace was enriched with topiary (London, Encyclopaedia of Gardening p18, 1834).

Two views of the garden at Clingendaal showing clipped hedges, slim pyramids and large pools (Bienfait, pls 161, 164).
An example of ornately clipped hedge from Le Blond

Below Jones J - plan (R/A, Topo 1577).
The grove with star forest at Newlands in the 1790s. Notice the close resemblance to the Le Blond pattern.
except along the vistas of the pathways. Where the natural landscape was flat one can understand that the view would seldom open onto the spectacular prospects to be found in Italy, for instance.

At the Cape clipped hedges in the Company's Garden are described by Kolbe, Valentyn and many other travellers: Christoffel Langhansz, for instance in 1687 describes "fine laurel hedges a pike length high and two ells thick which are constantly trimmed by slaves working there".7

7 TOPIARY

Pliny in the first Christian century adorned the garden terraces of his villas outside Rome with box and rosemary plants cut into hedges and figures of animals and names. For by clipping individual trees and shrubs into shapes, the garden gains immensely in sculptural and symbolic interest. It was these evergreen forms which the French but especially the Dutch loved and which became associated with Dutch gardens of the 17th and 18th centuries. For most Dutch garden illustrations of this period are filled with green pyramids, which were particularly popular, as well as spheres, hemispheres and many other fanciful shapes. When the formal garden fell into disfavour, it was these rigidly disciplined plants which were most seathingly criticised and also the first to be banned as being unnatural and totally unsuited to a garden. The Jones drawings of the late 18th century parterre at Tuynhuys indicated round shapes in cut-away corners and in the squares. These were interpreted as topiary and restored as such.

8 GROVES

Groves, or little woods were, according to le Blond, all that is most "noble and agreeable" in a garden. These were crossed with walks and preferably had something "noble" in the middle, like water basins, cabinets, statues or fountains. Trees in these woods could vary from tall to small, could be planted in squares or in quincunx and could be crossed by paths arranged in star or goosefoot or other patterns. The charm of the star-forest was that a number of grandiose vistas could be enjoyed in different directions from the central position where the paths met.

Examples of groves abound in 18th century German, French and Dutch estates as can be seen on illustrations of Meerenberg,8 Ubbergen,9 Wirtemberg10 to name but a few.

At the Cape natural forests were soon cut down for firewood and building material, yellow- and stinkwood being especially popular for furniture and carpentry. But the Van der Stels, especially, had encouraged the planting of oaks on a large scale.11 Pines were also planted from the 17th century onwards, but more for accent than in forests. A star forest is shown on Kolbe's plan of the Company's Garden in Table Valley and on a plan of Newlands at the end of the 18th century. A grove of planted chestnuts were cut down near Tuynhuys at the end of the 18th century, so it appears that there was not much concern for the preservation of indigenous or planted trees.

27 Raven Hart R, p429. About 20 feet or 7 metres high
28 Bienfait, Oude Hollandsche Tuinen, pp223 & 191
29 Ibid, pp229 & 248
30 Loudon, Encyclopedia of Gardening p160
31 Refer Chapter 3
The summer house at the end of a long vista, with the mountain backdrop before UCT was built there (Edwards D, *Picturesque South Africa* 1899)

Most town houses had pavilions or "speelhuisies" in their gardens, like this one in Amsterdam. They were used for entertaining and the display of artefacts, but some rooms were used also for laundry and garden stores (Bienfait, pl 184)
SUMMERHOUSES OR SPEELHUISJES

Summerhouses are seen in most Dutch rural and urban gardens, varying from simple wooden structures to masonry double storey edifices of great pretention with large sashes and cupola roofs. They provided a secluded private space where members of the household could smoke, flirt, entertain friends, show off art treasures, or from where they could watch and converse with the passing world, because they were often situated on street boundaries of properties. One sees many pavilions of the houses on the Amstel as illustrated by Abraham Rademaker in 1730, looking down on the waterways and the passing traffic.37

In other instances they formed the end of a vista in the garden as in may urban properties or were reflected in a canal or pool as at Rozendaal described below.

But treillage, sometimes of great intricacy, covered in evergreen was, however, also used as summer-houses as at Heemstede.38

A few summer houses or pavilions at the Cape by the end of the 17th century have been described in the previous chapters: the one built in the Company's Garden in 1679 and the other built on the flat roof of the Castle, probably by Simon Van der Stel.

Tree houses have been in use since Roman times and serve the same purpose as summer houses. Huxley comments on the little attention given to this element of garden history and illustrates the only remaining one in Pitchford, Shropshire, England.39 They are however also seen in Dutch gardens e.g. in a drawing by Hans Bol, and at the Cape. Lady Anne Barnard describes one that used to be in one of the huge oaks in front of High Constantia.40

MAZES AND MOUNTS

The maze and mount are of the most significant, symbolic, and ancient features of the garden, and though they became less popular after the end of the 17th century, mounts at Zorgvliet in Banhoek have been described and one in the Company's Garden still in use in the early 18th century at the Cape, and so their use in Europe should be examined.

A thousand years back Pliny thought that mazes were "The most stupendous works on which mankind has expended its labours."41

Earlier mazes, intended for the pleasure garden, were planted with low growing herbs like santolina, winter savoury, hyssop and germander, but later they were higher and of clipped box, myrtle or other evergreen material, so that the path became obscured.

This "Doolhof" was a popular feature of Dutch gardens of note and the circular maze at Zorgvliet is a good example of such a labyrinth where the visitor was frequently turned back to try a new

32 Rademaker A. Hollands Arcadia Ofde vermaard Rivier Amstel, pp 54, 50, 28 & 18
33 Bienfait A G. Oude Hollandsche Tuinen plate 261, p224
34 Huxley Anthony. An Illustrated History of Gardening, p103
35 Bienfait A G. Oude Hollandsche Tuinen, plate32, p26
36 Sinclair Rhode E. The Story of the Garden, p12
Visitors strolling in an 18th century Dutch garden, lean on the rail around the large pond to admire the collection of waterfowl.

One of the few private menageries at the Cape was that of Mr. Stapleton.
way until he eventually reached the summit of the hill and end point of the maze. Two square geometric mazes are seen on an 18th century plan of Huis ten Bosch and at the Botanic Garden established by George Clifford at Hartekamp in the early 1700s.

Mounts, or man-made hills too, since time immemorial, have sacred connotations, (Ziggurats, Pyramids, the hanging gardens of Babylon) and were used in the landscape design of 17th century Italian garden artists. Inigo Triggs reproduces a drawing of the Villa Medici in Rome by G. Battista done in 1670, where a mount is shown with a spiral path to the top. Trees are planted along the path so that the view would have been revealed only on reaching the top.

Mounts were often seen in Dutch gardens, the most famous ones being those at Zorgvliet and Hampton Court.

11 MENAGERIES

With the Renaissance there arose in Italy a tremendous interest in natural history which stimulated the establishment of botanic gardens for exotic plants and the creation of dens and fanciful voliéres to house foreign animals and birds at the courts of the princes. In Italy where the weather was mild, animals could be kept more easily and were consequently bought from southern Mediterranean countries or received as presents from eastern sultans. Lions were especially popular, especially in Florence, where it was the emblem of the state, but also in Rome where they were kept in dens on the slope of the Capitol.

This interest spread amongst the large estate owners of 17th century Europe and they too designed voliéres, special open courtyards, sunken pits, ornate cages and their adjacent buildings, integrating them into the overall garden plan. Buck were kept in parks on the outskirts of the garden as at Hartekamp (planned by George Clifford together with a botanic garden), and the more exotic animals and birds accommodated for display as part of the pleasure garden. These all had to be protected during winter, so that open camps were adjacent to cages and buildings of varying degrees of grandeur.

Accommodation for domestic animals had always been an integral part of the Dutch estate, for chickens, cows, horses and pigs as well as their fodder had to be kept under roof in winter.

At the end of the 17th century the Company’s Garden at the Cape had a field towards the mountain where cows grazed, and a collection of stuffed wild animals in the summer house. A menagerie for live wild animals and exotic birds was to come later in the 18th century in the same area.

Borcherdts describes the position of the parsonage “menagerie” in Stellenbosch, but this was probably for domestic animals. The Cape countryside in the 17th century abounded with wild

37 Bienfait A G. Oude Hollandsche Tuinen, pp83 & 106
38 Ibid, p226 & 193
39 Triggs I. The Art of Garden Design in Italy plate 95
A part of the garden at Meergenoeg is richly embellished with pyramidal topiary, parterres surrounded with flower borders, a central fountain, variously shaped vases on high pedestals, and an archway topped with vases in which agaves have been planted (Bienfait, pl 203).
animals and hunting was not only a favourite sport but also a way of living, so that the keeping of live wild animals was perhaps not justified.

12 ORANGERIES

The first oranges to be brought to Europe from China in the early 17th century were protected in winter by being placed in heated, well-insulated rooms, insulating material consisting of reeds, chaff, or heather. But by the beginning of the 17th century special shelters, sometimes of great magnificence, were a part of the larger estates, where they harboured other tender plants like figs, and even bay.

By the end of the century the so-called "orangeries" were an integral part of the design of most large estates, warmed by free-standing metal "Dutch Ovens" and large windows facing south for maximum sun. These structures were often the pride of the owner and served not only to shelter plants, but were also used for entertainment and leisure.

The large French orangeries at Fontainebleau, Versailles, (1685) Chantilly were to set the style for European orangeries on a grand scale. The princely gardens and those of rich Dutch merchants were quick to follow with elaborate, magnificent structures, such as the semi-circular building enclosing a sunken gallery, pond and fountain at Zorgvliet.

That oranges could be grown out of doors at the Cape, was a source of great delight to European travellers, especially the avenues of orange trees in the Company's Garden. Chevalier de Beaumont for instance noticed that "...the main walk which has a length of fourteen hundred and fifty paces, is almost entirely planted with lemon trees." François Leguat too in 1698 was impressed: "'Tis true, you see there most charming Walks of Orange and Citron - Trees of all kinds, which reach to the end.""

Willem Adriaan's orangerie in an enclosed octagonal courtyard at Vergelegen was obviously inspired by those with which he was familiar in the Fatherland.

13 STATUES, VASES ON HIGH PEDESTALS AND SHELL GROTTOES

More elaborate embellishments such as these were obviously more common in the larger estates where they lent grandeur and importance and spelled out the wealth, "good taste" and superior status of the owner. The shell grottoes at Zijdebalen, Rosendaal and Zeist were just a few of numerous such extravaganzas. Apart from the grottoes which Langhansz saw Simon Van der Stel building, and one described by Valentyn at Zorgvliet, no record of other grottoes has been found. Statues were also not recorded until the end of the 18th century.

40 Huntley A. The Illustrated History of Gardening, p230
41 Woodbridge R. Princely Gardens, p215
42 Biefait, Oude Hollandsche Tuinen, plate 79, p105
43 Raven Hart R. Vol II, p297
44 Raven-Hart R., Vol II, p428
The estate Rozendael in 1700 (above) and at the end of the 18th century (below) (Bienfait pl. 310, 321)
14 TWO EXAMPLES OF 18TH CENTURY "LUSTHOVEN"

The elements described above are a few examples chosen from many and give only a glimpse of the incredibly rich and vast scale of landscape expression which wealthy landowners indulged in during the 17th and 18th centuries. Because this is one art-form which flourishes par excellence where expenditure is not a limiting factor.

Two of the best known 18th century lusthoven have been chosen to describe in more detail how the above elements were combined to form part of a larger geometrically disciplined whole. The first, Rozendaal, has recently been restored; the other, Zeist, was irretrievably changed by adaptations in the English landscape style in the 19th century, and later by city encroachment.

14.1 ROZENDAEL

Rozendaal in Arnhem, was the property of baron Johan Van Arnhem een zeer kundige Liefhebber van de Landmeet konst en Bouwkunde but a man who was also een groot liefhebber van de Edele Dijkkonst, and a friend of William of Orange. This highly cultured nobleman was continually changing and improving his garden as can be seen by comparing a map of 1700 with that published towards the end of the 18th century.

On the first, one sees the old castle surrounded by a moat with its original castle garden, also on an island. To the north of the castle are four square parterres with intricate patterns, flanked by four orchards arranged on either side of the main axis. On this axis there is a cascade, and a grotto with shell and glass inlay:

"Waar ben ik? op het land of een der zeespelonken?
Soo zie ik het alom met zeegewassen pronken;
Met schelpen, parlemoe1, zeehorens en koraal:
't Lyk alles na de Zee, dogh vol van konst en praat"^46

Thus the poet Outrein expressed his delight with this simulated undersea grotto.

For when the Dutch brought back exotic shells from the East, they found that an effective way of displaying these valuable objets d’art, was in garden screens and grottoes. This use of shells was, of course nothing new, for the Italians had already in the 16th century used them in exactly the same way. (Refer to photo of the famous grotto at the Villa Medici near Florence which the author visited in 1985).

We are told by Langhansz that, during his visit to the Cape, he had found Simon Van der Stel building a grotto, but as he gives no more information, we do not know whether the Commandant was using the many beautiful Cape shells to decorate this grotto, nor do we know where it was situated.^^45

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45 Bienfait A G, Oude Hollandsche Tuinen, p240
46 Raven Hart R, Vol 11, p404
A garden wall embellished with shell grottoes
(Bienfait pls 319)

Another part of the Rozendaal garden showing a
cascade emanating from a rockery in an arch, a
fountain (right) next to an aviary, vases, clipped
hedges and ornate grillwork in the foreground
(Bienfait pl 314)
But to return to the description of Rozendaal: On the far end of the long vista was a gilded lead statue of Fortune balanced on a blue globe. This area was backed by high clipped hedges.\(^7\)

On the right of this a star forest is shown with twelve diagonal paths meeting centrally at a mount, somewhat reminiscent of Van der Stel’s much simpler mount in front of the summer house in the Company’s Cape garden which is shown on Kolbe’s drawing. On the left, is a similar star-forest with only six paths that meet at the Konings Lusthuijs designed by Daniel Marot.\(^48\)

The 1774 plan shows the changes made by Baron Van Arnhem and those that followed him: the parterres are less geometric and more refined; the bed shapes are curved and curled and the patterns are in delicate swags, and feathered scrolls. Between the parterres and the star forest a spiralled maze fills a large rectangle and south of this a second forest is criss-crossed by diagonal pathways leading to cabinets, each of which seems to be different.

The large water tanks shown as rectangles with straight edges on the first drawing have had their corners rounded and the long sides slightly shaped and decorated with screens of shellwork.\(^9\)

When this garden became the property of Lubbert Adolf Torck, a relative of Van Arnhem in 1722, many more beautiful shells were obtained and used for the decoration of further grottoes, screens, fountains and other garden structures, for his wife was the daughter of the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies.

Rozendaal maintained its lay-out till the middle of the 19th century when J D Zoche jun. transformed it into a landscape park,\(^50\) but recently many of the early elements have been restored.

14.2 TER MEER

Another typical Dutch estate of the early 18th century is Ter Meer on the Vecht, the home of Baron van Lockhorst. Engravings published by Hendrik de Leth in the 1740s provide an image of this extensive garden:\(^51\)

There is the four-storeyed manor house reflected in an ornate pool. From its windows one looked down over a large broderie with feathery scrollwork, onto the Vecht. A nearer view of the river could be obtained from a small balustraded platform adorned with two large vases on high pedestals. But one could also take a more leisurely stroll through a long berceau which ran along the bank of the river, with views through trimmed arches onto the water.

On the left are four groves, criss-crossed by diagonal and straight walks which provide views onto two pools and a central fountain.

The kitchen garden seen in the middle of the engraving, is divided into separate compartments by high clipped hedges similar to those lining a long walk in the centre of the garden. Next to the
Plan of Ter Meer, the estate of Vincent Maximillian, Baron van Lockhorst, in the 1740s.

The berceau from which one could view the passing traffic on the Vecht.
But to return to the description of Rozendaal: On the far end of the long vista was a gilded lead statue of Fortune balanced on a blue globe. This area was backed by high clipped hedges.1

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47 Bienfait A G. Oude Hollandsche Tuinen, p240, see also illustration p267
48 Ibid. plate 241
49 Ibid. p245 & illustr plates 236, 237, 242 & 243
50 Oxford Companion to Gardens, p484
51 Bienfait, Oude Hollandsche Tuinen, p192
Plan of Ter Meer, the estate of Vincent Maximilian, Baron van Lockhorst, in the 1740s (Bienfait pls 227, 230 below)

Ter Meer: The berceau from which one could view the passing traffic on the Vecht
The kitchen garden seen in the middle of the engraving, is divided into separate compartments by high clipped hedges similar to those lining a long walk in the centre of the garden. Next to the kitchen garden is a menagerie and a circular sunken court with large round pool, in the centre of which is a fountain.

On the right boundary an imposing summer house faces another broderie surrounded by a circle of clipped pyramids. There are many rectangular orchards and groves which eventually merge with the surrounding forests, so that one can hardly tell where this garden ends.

In typical Dutch fashion each section of the garden is walled in by high hedges or avenues, and apart from one central axial walkway on the side of the house, movement through the garden is from one green room to the next.

15 SUMMARY

The most prominent elements of the 18th century Dutch landscape and how they were combined into perfect geometrical units having been described, the manner these acted as precedents for the D.E.I.C. when they developed their own properties at the Cape Colony during the 18th century, will now be examined. For it has been shown how they, as a matter of policy, tried to set an example of disciplined planning for the free-burghers who had become land-owners in the newly established colony.
CHAPTER 5

THE 18TH CENTURY GARDENS OF THE COMPANY

In the previous chapters it was shown how the properties owned by the D.E.I.C. in the Cape, had in the 17th century, specifically as a matter of policy, set the example for orderly planning, and an examination of 18th century Company Gardens and properties was therefore necessary to establish whether this policy was continued. It would then be possible to assess whether and to what extent they had had an affect on the planning of 18th century private estates.

In this chapter the gardens which the Company established in the Cape Peninsula will be discussed under the following headings:

1 THE COMPANY'S GARDENS IN THE CAPE PENINSULA

1.1 THE COMPANY'S GARDEN IN TABLE VALLEY IN THE 18TH CENTURY

1.1.1 A garden of necessity

1.1.2 Comparison of the Company's Garden with the Hortus Medicus in Amsterdam

1.1.3 The Company's Garden a repository for indigenous and exotic plants

1.2 THE COMPANY'S GARDEN AT RUSTENBURG (RONDEBOSCH)

1.3 THE NEWLANDS GARDEN

SUMMARY
The menagerie in 1767 (C/A M3/18) (plan left) consisted of birds and animals which were free-roaming. On the map (right), J Jones (R/A Topo 15-16) draws the birds and buck in the left camp, but on the right there are now cages for ferocious animals. Thibault had also designed a meandering stream, an octagonal pool and an avenue of trees around the animal camp which shows on the Jones drawing. Below is Thibault's design for the animal cages with a monkey house, and pole on either side in 1803.
THE COMPANY’S GARDENS IN THE CAPE PENINSULA

1.1 THE COMPANY’S GARDEN IN TABLE VALLEY IN THE 18TH CENTURY

1.1.1 A Garden of Necessity

The Company’s Garden in Table Valley, although not as richly embellished as the Dutch estates described above, retained its formality throughout the period of Dutch occupation and remained largely a kitchen garden.

Descriptions by 18th century travellers, illustrators and cartographers provide a clear picture of its development and the plants and trees which grew in the formal squares and the avenues along the walkways.

Mentzel who confirmed that the Garden was "more useful than ornamental" in the early 1700s, nevertheless noticed that it was most popular with seamen from visiting ships and that local inhabitants, too, enjoyed walking there. The Garden was open all day, but permission had to be obtained to gather clippings of the laurel, rosemary or myrtle hedges which were found useful for wedding decorations, for washing the sick and for strewing on the floors to act as insect repellents.¹

Mentzel described an experiment that he had carried out with dill to repel bed lice which had been very troublesome in his room. After putting bunches of the herb under his mattress and smearing the sap on the bedstead, he very effectively got rid of the pests which had caused him sleepless nights.²

The pleasure of walking in the shade of exotic trees and the sight of abundant strange flowers, fruit and vegetables must have been a wonderful experience for travellers after their long voyages, so that the Cape Garden was in fact a forerunner of the 19th century Victorian park designed to provide open city spaces for public enjoyment.

Although the various European herbs were plentiful, Mentzel remarked on the absence of spices in the Cape.³ Because of the very strict spice monopoly of the D.E.I.C, anyone caught growing as much as a single spice tree outside the area stipulated, could pay for this with his life.

On a map drawn of Cape Town by Bellin in 1748, the Company’s Garden and some of the private gardens around it are drawn in more detail. He shows the avenues of trees along all the walkways and quite intricate parterres in front of the summer house. These consisted of four beds cut away at the central corners grouped around a feature which was probably a round pool. Similar parterres are indicated in the private gardens adjoining the Company’s Garden and these are placed, as in the Dutch urban gardens, directly next to the houses on their garden sides.

Two other maps, one of 1760 by Wentzel and another by Brink in 1767 show the Company’s Garden divided into rectangular beds by a central broadwalk flanked by two lesser longitudinal

1 VRS 4, Mentzel O F, p119
2 VRS 25, Mentzel O F, p199
3 Ibid. p195
The entrance gates to the menagerie with lionesses by the sculptor Anreith. A similar entrance opposite this with lions, led to the aviary as drawn by S Krynauw c1835.

Two maps, one of 1760 (Wentzel) (top) and one of 1791 by J Jones, (R/A Topo 15-16) (below), show how the summer house grew from a simple square pavilion to a little palace with a wing on the Stal Plain side.
walks on either side and twelve cross-walks, all of the same width. Unfortunately no detail is shown other than that groups of four beds were cut away at the inner meeting corners. At the top end of the garden there is "the Company's menagerie" and "animal park" which is described a year later by the traveller Jan Splinter Stavorinus:

"...there is also a menagerie which is surrounded by high walls except on the side of the garden, where an iron railing admits the view of the animals that are confined in it. There are herts, elks, zebras, ostriches, cassowaries, and many others. By the side of the menagerie is an aviary, which contains most of the birds to be met with in the country, which can be kept".

Aviaries, as noted before, had been a very popular element of upper class estates since Roman times and during the late 17th and early 18th century were often of quite intricate design, as seen in the garden of Jan Westerhof in the Kloverniersburgwal, where a square sunken gallery with circular central cage, is surrounded by a colonnaded walkway.

When Stavorinus visited the Cape between 1768-1771, he found mostly fruit trees and vegetables growing in the forty-four squares of the Company's Garden. These were used for supplying the many ships that by this time were calling at the Cape, which suggests that its intended function was still that of a kitchen rather than a pleasure garden.

But apart from the aviary and menagerie, other decorative elements of this garden, although very much derived from the pleasure gardens in the Netherlands, were of more practical significance at the Cape:

The high clipped hedges, for instance, which Mentzel had disliked because they concealed the plants in the beds, not only gave shade along the walks, but also protected the crops against the south-easter. These hedges impressed various travellers, and were illustrated by Kolbe in the early 1700s and by Thibault in 1786. They were of clipped laurel like those found in Italy, where they also surrounded parterres and at the same time acted as wind breaks. In 1985, when we visited the Boboli Gardens in Florence, we walked through tunnels of green clipped laurel hedges, probably much like those described 200 years ago by Stavorinus, and could appreciate the cool shade thrown by the dark green glossy foliage. Sparrman in 1770 noticed that the oaks in the central avenue were allowed to grow freely for shade but that those in the side avenues were also clipped to form hedges.

The summer house which had been built originally to accommodate foreign visitors outside the Castle, but had also been popular with Simon Van der Stel during his stays in Table Valley, became larger and increasingly important for entertainment. On Wentzel's map of 1760 it is drawn as a square and seven years later, on Brink's map it is shown with a new wing on the west.

During restoration in the 1960s it was found that the pavilion drawn by Pére Tachard had, during the first half of the 18th century, been enlarged and given a thatched roof and trilobed

4 Stavorinus, Voyages to the East Indies, Vol 1, pp553-556
5 Bienfait A G, Oude Hollandsche Tuine, p150
6 Inigo Triggs, The Art of Garden Design in Italy, p10
Josephus Jones’ drawing of the garden facade of Tuynhuys and his drawing of the Company’s Garden below that (R/A, Topo 15 - 76)
gable on the garden side. This gable, seen on Schumacher's view of Cape Town in the 1770s appears, with variations, on a number of other Cape Town buildings drawn by Johannes Rach in the previous decade, was therefore typical of its time and indicated the accuracy of the Schumacher drawing.

But in 1791 Josephus Jones made a drawing of the garden facade of "Tuynhuys", (as the summer house came to be known when the Governors spent more time there), which showed further changes made by Governor Van der Graaff in the 1780s. The thatched roof had been demolished, a second storey added and the whole finished in the French Rococo style with balustraded flat roof, decorated with urns, swags and putti. Stone curved steps led up to a colonnaded balcony which was closed in on either side by single storey flat roofed "stoepkamers".

This small palace had on its garden side a fitting broderie parterre consisting of four squares cut away at the corners and embellished with topiary in the semicircular niches of the squares. Each bed had a different planting pattern and the walkways were planted with avenues of trees (probably oranges which in Dutch gardens so often formed part of the parterre).

On a map of Cape Town done by Jones in 1791, (Josephus Jones was the pupil of the French architect, Louis Michel Thibault who had in turn been the pupil of the famous Jacques Ange Gabriel, the designer of the Petit Trianon) this Tuynhuys garden is shown set out with geometrical precision around a central feature which was interpreted as a pond. When restoration of the garden was undertaken in 1968, we excavated the stone floor of this pond precisely in the position drawn, together with the wooden irrigation pipes which had watered it. These had been constructed of solid teak beams hollowed out in the centre.

Jones showed, opposite the parterre, a square grove crossed by four paths at right angles and in it two smaller squares with further crossed paths - again planned with geometrical precision around what was probably a central pond. This sundial is at present in this position and might have been in a different position then. This square later became part of a public Botanic Garden and therefore did not remain within the restoration area.

The rest of the Company's Garden in Table Valley, according to the Jones drawing, remained unaltered till the end of the 18th century, consisting as before, of rectangular beds usually divided into two, and each bed planted with one variety of plant. Avenues of oaks (as described by Stavorinus) along the three main longitudinal walks and laurel hedges also remained till the end of the 18th century.

The aviary and menagerie described by Stavorinus twenty years before, is shown by Jones in the same position on the mountain side of the Garden. But the four squares of the menagerie shown on the earlier maps were replaced with a double avenue of trees on two boundaries, although the octagonal pool shown on the earlier plan in the centre, had been retained.

7 As part of the restoration we set the garden out precisely in accordance with the Jones drawing and planted plants that we had recorded for the period. However the gravel paths were later narrowed, and paved with bricks, the pattern of the bed outlines changed, as well as the trees and plant varieties.
Thibault's drawings of the new entrance gates to the Garden (above) in 1791 and his design for a small sunken garden and colonnade (below) (C/A M1/990) c1788. Notice similarity to Le Blond's design (left).
The Jones plan furthermore indicated new structures at the entrance to the Garden (see the accompanying enlargement of this area) but these are more vividly represented in two elevations by Thibault who designed and supervised the building of a new gate in this position in 1786.

His first drawing shows the slave lodge to the left, the guard house to the right, the double gate pillars topped with ornate urns and connected with curving walls, on either side of the entrance. In the Garden the neatly clipped, high laurel hedges are seen parallel to the wall and the oak trees forming the main avenue. Two large pines (already described by Mentzel) are seen flanking the entrance gates.

The second drawing, looking up Wale Street, shows the beginning of the oak avenue and pine tree behind the wall as well as a clipped laurel hedge in the garden. The guard house with adjoining gracht and to the right a building in the position of the demolished Company's hospital, are also shown.

The Jones map of 1791 shows the enlarged officers' guard house, confirming that the building had been completed before this. Silip Schutte shows how this was done. Further information on the appearance of this guard house is provided in a sketch by De Meillon in 1832 and an unknown artist in 1804. It appears on maps of 1856 and 1862 but by 1891 there is no trace of this small building. Thibault's pillars were demolished in 1847 presumably when two new pillars were built in their place according to a new plan now filed in the Cultural History Museum.

Thibault also designed an extension to the Tuynhuys garden for a colonnaded walkway to a new corps de garde, together with an adjoining small sunken garden. Fortunately this drawing has been preserved and that it was actually carried out was proved during the 1960s restoration of Tuynhuys. The 5 columns in old Dutch "klompies" were discovered at regular intervals in a wall into which they had been incorporated at a later date. The design of this garden with its pool and fountain is remarkably like designs by Le Blond for "groves with cabinets".

Thunberg (in 1772) gave a detailed description of the plants which grew in the Company's and other Cape gardens at the end of the 18th century and provided a plant list. He described which of these plants were used for hedges, fuel, medicines, for tool-making and for making rope, tea, coffee, soap, candle-wax, brooms, thatching and fencing for kraals and boundaries. According to the list the plants were still being chosen for their usefulness rather than their beauty.

Thunberg was the first academic to collect and describe the indigenous Cape plants systematically and his descriptions of the Cape gardens and what grew in them, noted in later chapters, is of particular value.

1.1.2 Comparison of the Company's Garden with the Hortus Medicus in Amsterdam

It is interesting to make a comparison between the Table Valley Garden and the Hortus Medicus of Amsterdam, for one would expect them to show certain similarities of layout. The Hortus
Entrance gates to the Amsterdam Botanic Garden 1703, and plan of the same (below) (Commelin, *Rarioem Plantarum Horti Medici Amstelodamensis*)
Medicus was founded on 12.11.1682 by decree of the council of Amsterdam, where it is still situated today, although the present layout is not as formal as the original.

The Amsterdam garden was enclosed by walls and avenues of trees with an entrance through an ornate gate. Wijnands suggests that the structure depicted by F van Bleyswyk on the title page of *Praeludia Botanica* published by J du Vivie in 1703, could represent this gate.¹⁰

Kolbe describes the gate to the Cape Garden, which was surrounded by hedges and a wall on the sea side: "on the entrance gate is the V.O.C. monogram and the date 1679, when the gate was constructed" He indicated the position of the gate on his plan (incorrectly) but unfortunately did not draw an elevation.¹¹ Although Stavorinus in 1768 refers to the "gate that was closed after sundown", no illustration of this early gate were found. The gate drawn by Thibault in 1794 as described above, is therefore the earliest illustration of this important entrance, and the appearance of earlier gateways remains a mystery.

A plan of the Amsterdam garden by Commelin in 1685, reproduced by Wijnands, shows groups of four or six beds separated by high tree barriers and the narrow rectangular beds are each surrounded by a double line which probably are low clipped hedges. Kolbe and Valentyn show six groups of beds, each enclosed by high clipped hedges (see Bogaert's quotation below)¹² and though he shows no hedges around the smaller beds, we know from traveller's descriptions that these were bounded with clipped hedges of rosemary, hyssop, sage and roses.

Orange trees were planted along the Cape walkways to form avenues but in Amsterdam they were planted in pots which had to be brought into the adjoining large hot-house shown in the centre of the plan.

It appears that the basic elements and design of both gardens were very much the same, but that their plant use differed to accommodate the differences in climate.

1.1.3 The Company's Garden: a repository for indigenous and exotic plants

But apart from its stylistic affinity to the Amsterdam garden, the Cape Garden had another very important horticultural link with it and the Leyden Botanical Garden, and that was the supply to them of indigenous Cape plants.

For not a ship's captain left a Dutch port without specific instructions to bring back all the exotic plants which could be found. The botanic gardens in Leyden and Amsterdam had stimulated a tremendous amount of interest in botany, and large collections of exotic plants were to be found at the private estates of important citizens like Nicolaes Witsen, Burgomaster of Amsterdam (in whose honour W A Van de Stel named the Witsenberg range of mountains), Caspar Commelin,
Joan Huydecoper and Simon van Beaumont, secretary of the states of Holland and West Friesland from 1673. Medical plants were, understandably, of special interest.

The Leyden botanic garden had been started in 1587 as a "hortus medicus" under Carolus Clusius and gardener Cluyt. In 1599 a greenhouse was erected which in 1633 contained 1 104 plants. By 1720, when Boerhaave was head of the garden, it contained some 6 000 different plants of which many had been sent by Simon Van der Stel and later by his son Willem Adriaan.

At Amsterdam the botanical garden, was to concentrate specifically on medicinal plants. The first controlling Commissioners were Jan Commelin, a personal friend of Simon Van der Stel, and Joan Huydecoper, both of whom owned estates with their own private collections. Under the direction of the two Commelins, Jan and his nephew Casper, this garden became as famous as that of Leiden and was the first garden in Europe to grow the coffee plant (1690). By the end of the 17th century it contained numerous Cape plants which had been sent there mostly by Simon Van der Stel.

A letter from Huydecoper to Simon Van der Stel of December 1686 indicates that the Commandant himself had asked for a botanist to be sent to the Cape, but he had to wait till June 1688 before the botanist Hendrik (Heinrich) Bernard Oldenland actually arrived.

Heinrich Bernard Oldenland (1663-1697) had studied at the academy of Leiden for three years. He arrived at the Cape 25 June 1688 and took part in Isaq Schrijver's expedition of 1689. In 1690 the Council of 17, who regarded him to be a good botanist and knowledgeable herbalist, wrote to Simon Van der Stel advising him that Oldenland should be appointed in the garden to grow and collect medicinal herbs. They were hoping that in this way herbs could be exported from the Cape to Batavia and Ceylon. Oldenland was consequently appointed Master Gardener on 14th August 1691.

In October 1699 he accompanied Oloff Bergh on an inland expedition and sent seeds and bulbs to Governor Van der Stel. In October, 1705 he was sent on a journey with Johannes Starrenberg and in November, 1707 he undertook a journey eastwards on his own.

On all these expeditions he collected material which was grown in the Company's Garden, some of which van W A Van der Stel later sent to Nicolaes Witsen.

He collected plants throughout his time at the Cape and formed a herbarium as well as keeping a descriptive catalogue of each plant. According to Francois Valentyn this consisted of 13 - 14 volumes written in Latin. Valentyn sometimes perused these en heb er met veel vermaak nu en

13 Wijnandt, p208
14 Loudon, Dictionary of Gardening, p69
15 Wijnandt, p213
16 Ibid, p211
17 Ibid, p211
18 Karstens Mia, The Company's Garden at the Cape, p72
19 Valentyn F, Beschryving..., p109
20 Ibid Vol 1, p117
This herbarium eventually reached Professor (of Botany) Burman of the Amsterdam Academy and appears in his subsequent publications.  

Oldenland must have died early in 1697, but the exact date is not known. Having studied medicine in Leyden for three years, he was proficient in matters other than gardening and so one reads that he had also been the Company's surveyor and from 13.01.1693 onwards he was appointed to be in charge of all the Company's roads, bridges and buildings, i.e. town-engineer.  

It was during Oldenland's term of service as master gardener of the Company's Garden, that the extensive variety of Cape flora was brought to the attention of European botanists. According to William Erle, the 'doctor' Oldenland had told him that he had travelled over 400 miles into the country, presumably to collect plants. Valentyn in printing Oldenland's list of the numerous indigenous plants growing in the Company's various gardens, mentions that these were being sent to Amsterdam and other European cities and were being published by botanists such as Commelin. Oldenland was therefore, with encouragement from Simon Van der Stel, one of the first people to spread accurate scientific knowledge of South African flora.  

The magnificent herbarium which he collected was to add to this knowledge when it was eventually sold in Europe after his death. Some of these specimens are to be seen in Petiver's *Hortus siccus capensis*.  

With his knowledge of herbs in general and, one assumes of their medicinal use and preparation, this versatile master gardener was probably responsible for the preparation of the many herb products that were being used in the local hospital and passing ships. From the 1690s these herbs were being shipped to the East annually and these exports continued for the next hundred years of the Company's rule as can be seen from the following table.  

It was probably Oldenland who was also responsible for spreading knowledge on the local use of the indigenous herbs which he had gathered and was cultivating in the Company's Gardens. From the Hottentots living at the foot of Lion Hill and behind Table Mountain, as well as those with whom he came into contact on his inland journeys, he would have been able to gain first hand information on the medicinal use of indigenous plants such as "buchu" (Agathosma) or the indigenous absinthe "wilde als" (*Artemisia afra*). Oldenland's good work was continued by his assistant, Jan Hartogh who became the next master gardener.  

Jan Hartogh arrived at the Cape as midshipman on the "Pampas" at the beginning of 1691 and was recommended to Simon Van der Stel by the Council of 17 for his knowledge of herbs and the  

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21 Karstens Mia, *The Company's Garden at the Cape*, p95  
22 Boeckeken A J, *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, p312  
23 Raven Hart R, *Cape Good Hope*, p423  
24 Valentyn F, *Beschryving...*, pp117-127  
25 Karstens Mia, *The Company's Garden at the Cape*, p77  
26 Originally published in Fagan G, *Roses at the Cape of Good Hope*
Hot house for the ripening of pineapples as drawn by Bowler in the 1850s
cultivation of exotic plants and herbs. He was also the brother of the curator of the Leyden botanic garden, Willem de Hertogh. Twenty four water colour paintings of Cape plants, some included in a 1720 publication of Boerhaave, might have been done by Jan Hartogh, but Karstens believes that Oldenland was probably responsible for them.²⁷

Hartogh’s association with W A van der Stel cast some shadow over his good name, for the Governor allotted 117 morgen of land to him in Hottentots Holland which was transferred three years later to the Governor for a supposedly large sum of money (which Hartogh never received).²⁸ It was also said that Hartogh had been more busy in van der Stel’s garden at Vergelegen so that the Company’s gardens deteriorated as a result of neglect. Nevertheless when van der Stel was sent back to Holland, Hartogh continued his work in the Garden until his death in 1715.

Another gardener who was concerned with the collection, cultivation and acclimitisation of indigenous Cape plants, was Johan Andreas Auge, Governor Tulbagh’s master gardener, who arrived at the Cape in 1747 and was involved in several exploration trips into the interior, also with Thunberg.

He had trained as a gardener under Boerhaave in the Leiden botanic garden and although he was not highly regarded as a botanist, (Lichtenstein H, Travels in Southern Africa, “Mr Auge’s knowledge of botany was not very considerable, nor did his collections in general extend much farther than to the great and the beautiful” his collections of seed, bulbs and plants found their way to herbaria in Europe and formed the basis of the publication on Cape plants by Prof Bergius in 1767.²⁹ He retained his position until 1780 when blindness forced his retirement.

Rijk Tulbagh who came to the Cape at the age of 16 as a clerk in the service of the D.E.I.C. and rose to become the Governor, was himself a keen naturalist who regularly promoted expeditions into the interior to collect plants, insects and herbs which were acclimatised in the Company’s Garden under Auge’s care and then sent to the botanic gardens at Leiden, Amsterdam and Uppsala thus contributing greatly to the knowledge of Cape plants.³⁰

The Company’s Garden in this way became a repository and distribution centre for Cape indigenous plants in the late 17th century, a function it was to retain throughout the 18th century. Plants from the East were also grown at the Cape and generally did well except for the coconut palm which was tried repeatedly without success and the banana, the fruit of which, Thunberg tells us, would not ripen.

The extensive hot houses needed to grow exotics in Holland, were not necessary at the Cape, but from Thunberg we learn that the Governor in 1773 had had a hot house built in the Garden for the cultivation of pineapples:

²⁷ Karstens Mia, The Company’s Garden at the Cape, p158
²⁸ O.C.F.1 1703, p474
²⁹ Gunn M & Codd L E, Botanical Exploration of South Africa, p83
³⁰ Ibid. p352
The Company's garden at Rustenburg by J Jones in 1791, (R/A, Topo 15 - 77)
An early Bowler sketch of the Company's Garden shows what may be this building amongst the trees, like a small Chinese pagoda with glazed walls, and domed roofs.

1.2 THE COMPANY'S GARDEN AT RUSTENBURG (RONDEBOSCH)

After Jan Van Riebeeck had sown his first quarter morgen of wheat, rice and oats at Rondebosch in May 1656, and built a house there in the following year, this country estate was used regularly for entertaining important visitors.

The second Commander at the Cape, Zacharias Wagenaer erected a more permanent double storeyed house there in 1662, with the ground floor for the use of the gardeners and the top floor specifically for the convenience of the Company's officials, away from the heat of Cape Town. It then became the country "Villa" of the Governors and was to stay that for the next century of Dutch rule at the Cape.

It has been described how Wagenaer had in 1663 supervised the setting out of a new orchard by cutting out of the grainlands a rectangular piece of land between the house and the Liesbeek and dividing it into ten equal plots, each to be planted with its own variety of Dutch or Eastern fruit trees and olives. All of this was to create a pretty scene from the terrace of the house.

The foundations for a formal garden had therefore already been formed when the Company decided to lease the farm to private burghers. Hendrick Hendricks Tielmans and Hendrick Evertse Smidt were the rentees for three years from 1677 onwards, but the house was to be kept for the use of the D.E.I.C. officials. When Commissioner Van Reede visited the Garden in 1685 he found high hedges dividing the different beds, and an avenue of oaks almost 20 years old.

Kolbe gives a more detailed description of the Garden in the early 1700s: It was 30 morgen in size, worked by 30 slaves under the supervision of a master gardener and protected by a thick hedge of trees and a moat on both sides. The pleasure house was regularly used by the Governor who, when looking out on the Cape-Hout Bay road, which passed in front of it, had a beautiful view over the Hottentots Holland, and at the same time saw what came and went to the Cape.

A thorn hedge separated the road from the Garden and slaves in straw huts with dogs were stationed in the Garden for further protection. The lower part was divided into squares in which grew many kinds of wonderful fruit and lovely flowers and herbs. There were avenues of tall shady trees, indigenous and exotic.

The Garden above the wagon road had flower beds around the house and stretched further up towards the mountain with beds containing different varieties of grapes. Kolbe is known for not always being accurate, yet this description tallies quite well with a drawing done by Josephus Jones towards the end of the Dutch rule, a year before the Company was forced once again to let out this property as a result of their financial difficulties.

31 Boeseke A J. Memorie en Instruction, p53
32 Ibid. p136
Wooden fence at Lüneburg 17th century (M Merian, *Deutsche Städte*)
The gates at Rustenburg at the end of the 18th century as drawn by Lady Anne Barnard (top)
(Prof Bax negative)

Entrance gates to Stellenberg (above)
and Boshoff
(below) C/A
Amstelzigt Raderaker
(Hollands areadia pl 23)

Gynwens (Ibid. pl 87)

House in Curacao (Ozinga,
De Monumenten van Curacao)
Jones' drawing shows par excellence the strict geometry and axiality of the Garden which was completely symmetrical on either side of the main walkway. The u-shaped house with front facade facing onto the wagon road, lies on this axis which runs to the Liesbeek in the front and towards the mountain at the back. This very long inclined mountain axis, running mostly through vineyards, is terminated by a formal pavilion which, in its classic style, is reminiscent of Thibault's work. The pavilion still stands today unchanged except that its overpowering mountain backdrop is now compromised by the buildings of the University of Cape Town, and the strong axis broken by a recent cross road and new campus building. From the back courtyard of the 18th century house, the pavilion must have appeared small and distant, but none the less impressive with its heavy columns and cornice designed with such simplicity and strength.

The front facade of the house itself as drawn by Lady Anne Barnard in the last decade of the 18th century, suggests that the house remained double-storeyed throughout the 18th century, and a drawing of D'Oyly in 1832 shows imposing Ionic columns supporting a heavy entablature and "dakkamer" had been added in the early 1800s. Although no evidence of the designers of the various structures could be traced, the chances are that Thibault, who was at the time official surveyor and inspector of buildings, might have had a say in renovations to old and the planning of new building work.

The ornate gateway which Lady Anne drew at the time when Dundas lived there, remained unchanged on D'Oyly's drawing, but the wooden trellis between the plastered pillars had by then made way for low walls finished with a simple coping. This gateway consisted of two tall plastered brick pillars with heavily moulded tops, surmounted by large urns and supported by scrolled side walls. They are remarkably similar to Thibault's entrance gates in the Table Valley Garden but also to those which one sees on contemporary drawings of estates along the Amstel eg Gynwens and Amstelzigt. In all of these the gates themselves are constructed of wooden railings to match those between the brick piers of the boundary fence.

These wooden fences were very popular in Holland and one finds them also on the street boundaries of 18th century Dutch houses in Curacao. They consisted of delicate wooden uprights held in place by two more sturdy horizontal rails. Sometimes the top rail would be arched upward and sometimes downward, and the uprights were often finished with small ornate finials. The Rustenburg gates probably preceded those designed by Thibault for the Cape Town Garden and may even have inspired this design although the Cape Town gates appear more refined.

In Holland the gate and fence piers were often constructed of stone which lacked the more flowing relaxed lines of the plastered piers found at the Cape. These gates at Rondebosch were to be copied by a number of other estates in the Peninsula before the end of the 18th century.
Thibault’s guard house at the garden entrance, 1787

Small garden house at Versailles shows similar patterns of rustication
A small guard house which D'Oyly draws to the left of the manor house was probably designed by Thibault, for it is almost an exact copy of his design for the entrance gates to the menagerie in the Company's Garden, with its rusticated pilasters and front wall, arched door and flat roof.

Apart from two flower parterres in front of the house shown on the Jones drawing, the summer house and the ornate garden gates, the Rustenburg garden had no other embellishments and was, at the end of the 18th century, in essence, still a kitchen garden planned symmetrically on an axial system.

1.3 THE NEWLANDS GARDEN

In November 1699, shortly after he was installed as Governor, this new garden, 40 morgen in size, was started by W A Van der Stel to grow vegetables and herbs, as the garden in Table Valley and Rustenburg were not producing enough to supply the increasing number of ships calling at the Cape.¹³

Between Kirstenbosch and Rustenburg, on the slopes of Devils Peak, streams from the mountain brought an abundance of fresh water, running down the slope to join the Liesbeek River at the lower edge of the lot of land. A further fountain on the property had already in 1695 been granted to the beer-brewer, Rutger Mensing from Germany, on the adjacent land. The soil was fertile, there were no south-easters so that everything planted thrived and grew well. Thousands of oaks and vines were planted here to supply the settlers in the Peninsula, Drakenstein and Stellenbosch.

Soon after this Valentyn described the garden as being 30 morgen in extent, (it was actually 40 morgen) worked by 30 male and female slaves under the supervision of a foreman and experienced gardener. Although still producing vegetables and herbs, he noticed some experimental plants and trees.

Governor J De la Fontaine had in 1730 designed a new thuijnhuisje for het Nieuwe Land because the existing one was in such a poor condition that it could not be repaired.¹⁴ According to Mentzel, the "summer house" which Governor Rijk Tulbagh had built at Newlands in 1750, was more comfortable and imposing than the one at Rustenburg. Tulbagh had actually soon after his instalment in 1751 improved and enlarged this summer residence which his successor, Plettenberg subsequently improved and used as a full time residence.¹⁵

Stavorinus in the 1760s and Capt. Alleman in 1778 confirmed this and the former noticed an apricot tree at Newlands so large that twenty men could shelter under it at the same time.

On a drawing done by Josephus Jones in 1791, the house appears U-shaped like the one at Rustenburg and, like Rustenburg, it faced the road, with a view down along the main garden walkway to the Liesbeek River and across it to the distant Hottentot Holland mountains.

33 C/A V.C.15, pp.62-63
34 Roosken A J, Resolutions van die Politieke Raad Vol V111, p104
35 V.R.S4, Mentzel O F, Geographical and Topographical description of Cape of Good Hope, p121
The Company's garden at Newlands (R/A Topo 15-77)

The berceau at Zorgvliet
He showed the garden between the house and river divided into equal rectangles, each planted either with orchards, citrus groves, vegetables or vineyards. But the rectangles immediately in front of the house had cut-away corners towards the house and were planned as parterres and planted with flowers.

The straight walkways between the beds were lined with avenues of trees and crossed each other at right angles to form a grid. The irregular spaces between the beds and the boundaries were planted with oak forests, while avenues lined the side and mountain boundaries. Between the house and mountain were two further avenues and two large rectangular forests.

But the feature which immediately catches the eye to the left of the house, is a large "sterrenbosch", very similar to those illustrated by Le Blond in his book on gardening. Le Blond said in his chapter on Woods and Groves, that they contained "all that is most noble and agreeable in a garden, ...for no Garden without these can be accounted handsome, since they make the greatest Ornament thereof".

He continued to say, *Woods and Groves make the Relievo of Gardens, and serve to improve the Parts, as parterres and Bowling greens*. He explained that woods were varied in form and design, the most usual forms being star-shaped or like a goosefoot, but that designs allowed for cloisters, labyrinths, quincunes, bowling greens, halls, cabinets, chaplets, interlacings, halls for comedies, covered halls, natural or artificial arbours, fountains, isles, cascades, water-galleries and other. He illustrated many of these designs and on plate 4 there is a star forest which resembles the one at Newlands very closely in general pattern but is enriched by a central pool, fountain and small cabinets with their embellishments which apparently was not the case at Newlands, as Jones does not show it.

Le Blond furthermore suggested that a grove should be planted near a house "in that you presently find shade, without going far to seek it" and that it should be situated where it would not mar the view... "the prospect, which is the most valuable Thing about a Country-Seat". Jones shows that both these aspects had been carefully attended to at Newlands - the star forest is near the house, but not in the way of the view.

Another feature which was common to most Dutch pleasure gardens and which, according to the Jones drawing, was present in the Newlands garden, was a berceau. In the bed north of the parterres, a darker cross probably indicates such a covered walkway, situated in a vineyard and probably formed by a trellis covered by vines. Unfortunately no further information could be found to verify this assumption, for although all the letter references are clear, the letter M signifying the berceau, was not seen and my interpretation is therefore purely conjectural.

In another way the garden at Newlands would have met with the approval of Le Blond, for the planning on either side of the main walk differed completely "...for though their outward Form and Dimensions are equal", he said, "you should not, for that reason, repeat the same Design in both,
Thibault's drawing of Newlands showing Stoney Place north-west of the U-shaped house (C/A M3/41)

The subdivision of Newlands (C/A M1/1666)

J. Jones' drawing in 1791 shows no paths in the area of Stoney Place
but make them different within. ...This fault was formerly very common; but is not so of late, every one now being convinced, that the greatest Beauty of Gardens is Variety".

Between Newlands and Bodhoff, Thibault a few years later draws a large rectangular area where the natural forest is crossed by a system of concentric paths around a central feature. On its edge these paths wander off into the surrounding forest. The planning is a strange mixture of formal and "natural" styles and perhaps an attempt at an English landscape garden by someone used to formal planning! Latrobe gives an explanation:

"The gardens were laid out in the Dutch style with long avenues, covered walks, square compartments surrounded with high trees, enclosing orchards and kitchen gardens.....The principal walks are made with vermilion-coloured iron-stone beat into gravel, or brought in that state from the mountains. Near the houses, are groves of oaks, planted in quincunx, and a labyrinth of shady paths intersecting each other". 37

In November, 1791 Newlands was subdivided and the area mentioned above, which was seven morgen in extent and a portion of a portion of the divided farm, named no 3, was transferred to Dirk Jacobus Aspeling 38 who four years later sold to Timothy Wilson. 39 Wilson kept the property for only one year and then sold to James Marrison in 1809 40 who owned it till his death in 1839.

It is difficult to establish who the designer of the area known as "Stoney Place" could have been, for the obvious English influence could not be pinned to either Wilson who owned it for one year only, or Marrison who received it after Thibault had probably mapped the informal landscape. Perhaps Dirk Aspeling had been influenced by Robert Row from England who had married his sister Helena in 1800, to make the labyrinth of natural paths in the existing oak forest. Aspeling had two years previous to buying Newlands taken transfer of the Company's post Welbeloond, which, as described before, was laid out in the formal style of the Company. Further research may throw more light on this very interesting Jardin Anglais in Newlands.

Over 78 morgen of Newlands with the house on it, were sold to Hendrik Vos, deacon in the Reformed Church, on condition that certain water rights to neighbouring farms be maintained. 41 The Newlands spring with branch to the Papenboom brewery is shown on the drawing as well as the avenue of oaks and the house with three trees in front of it.

Hendrik Vos subdivided the land and in 1798 sold the portion containing the house to John Barrow, M A Maxwell and E Buckley. On the drawing with this grant, the house with its three trees is again shown as well as the Newlands Spring.

In 1806, Newlands was bought back from David Baird for the Government and Thibault was then asked to make alterations for Lord Charles Somerset.

37 Latrobe Rev CI, Journal of a Visit to South Africa, p104
38 T104, 12.4.1804
39 T133, 8.4.1808
40 T197, 2.6.1809
41 O.C.P. Vol 5, S.G 43/1791
Newlands in the late 19th century. The old Dutch garden has now made place for a parkland with grass and clumps of oaks (C/A, E1066)

The 1791 grant to H Vos showing the Newlands Spring, the double avenue along the public highway and the U-shaped house with added back wing
Comment should be made here on the article written by Yvonne Brink in *The South African Archaeological Society* in which she assumes that the original summer-house built by W A Van der Stel could still form part of the matrix of the house before it burnt down in the 1980s. Brink ignores the fact that the building was newly built by De la Fontaine in 1730, because the old summer house could not be repaired. In the event it is most unlikely that De la Fontaine’s own new plan would have incorporated the matrix of such a derelict building. The octagon at Vergelegen too was not designed by W A Van der Stel, but by his father as discussed in Chapter 3. There is no reason therefore to think that W A van der Stel had a preference for octagons.

**SUMMARY**

Of the Company’s three gardens in the Peninsula, all planned in the formal Dutch style, Newlands with its parterres, berceau, star forest, asymmetrical axial plan, and the Garden at Table Bay with its different parterres, star forest, menagerie and voliere, were the most sophisticated. But compared to European gardens at the end of the 18th century, they lacked the grandeur and extravagance of “pleasure gardens” and their chief function was still to produce food, medicine and wine and to act as nurseries for thousands of trees.

Newlands was nevertheless a great source of pleasure and relaxation to the Cape governors, and though the D.E.I.C. had been forced to sell it at the end of their period at the Cape, it was acquired by the British governors as soon as they regained the Cape, for the same purpose.

Their importance as repositories of exotic plants gave them the added interest and excitement which impressed travellers and plant collectors, who commented also on the neatness of the gardens, their long avenues (especially of citrus) and high hedges of cut laurel, but found the gardens lacking in flower beds, fountains and other water features in spite of plenty of water.

To what extent the layout of these Company Gardens were copied on the neighbouring estates of the free-burghers, is difficult to prove. The European settlers themselves would have been conversant with the landscapes of their fatherland and perhaps used them as precedents. But trees, vines, seed for crops and other plants were obtained from the Company's Gardens and maps of the 18th century show that the axial planning and subdivisions of squares, the planting of avenues and the grouping of buildings on private estates, were very much on the same style as that followed by the Company in its own gardens at the Cape.
CHAPTER 6

OTHER PROPERTIES OF THE D.E.I.C.

Apart from its gardens, a number of other properties belonging to the Company in the Peninsula and further afield, have been examined to assess whether they too had been planned in the same formal way.

The following properties and posts will be discussed:

1. **THE COMPANY'S POTTERY IN TABLE VALLEY**
2. **THE COMPANY'S MILL AT THE TOP END OF THE GARDENS**
3. **THE COMPANY'S GORTMOLEN (BARLEY MILL)**
4. **GROOTE SCHUUR**
5. **WITTE BOOMEN**
6. **GANZEKRAAL**
7. **ZIEKENHUIJS**
8. **ZOETEMELKS VALLEIJ**
9. **RIETVALLEI AAN DE BUFFELJAGTSRIVIER**
10. **OUTENIQUALAND**
11. **MOSSEL BAALJ**
12. **PLETTENBERGS BAALJ**
13. **VON KAMPTZ BAALJ**

**SUMMARY**
The Company's pottery in Table Valley

The Company's mill at the top end of the garden
1 THE COMPANY'S POTTERY IN TABLE VALLEY

South-west of the Company's garden lay a property, two morgen in size where the Company had established a pottery. On it had been built a T-shaped house and parallel to this, long outbuildings, the one with an enclosed yard on the long side.

This property was sold to Jacques Gideon Tredoux who had arrived at the Cape in 1788 as a lieutenant in the service of the D.E.l.C. He became a freeman in 1790, and bought the pottery in 1804 for 15 000 guilders.¹

With this transfer a plan shows rows of trees planted in front of each building and along the walkways which divided the area into neat rectangles, each with its own long parallel beds.

The area on the mountain side of the erf was open and it is indicated that the clay for the pottery was obtained there.

Tredoux was allowed to take water from the mill stream from 6-9 a.m; the hedge between him and his neighbour was to be his responsibility and he was not allowed to put thatch but only flat roofs onto the buildings.

Again the planning and placing of the buildings and garden elements is geometrically precise and this precision is in strong contrast to the irregular ditch which forms the southern boundary about which nothing could be done.

2 THE COMPANY'S MILL AT THE TOP END OF THE GARDENS

This mill, the third one built by the Company in the Table Valley settlement, was completed by April, 1685 and towards the end of the century being run by Hermanus Augustinus Vermaak.² In 1803 he requested and was granted the one morgen on which the mill stood, by then in a dilapidated condition.

This grant was acceded to on condition that Vermaak rebuild the mill where it stood daar die thuns staat and continue to grind corn for the convenience of the general public. He was allowed to use the water which was obtained from the Platteklip Stream running down the lower side of Orange Street and branching off from there to form the mill race. The water was to run from there freely to the Government garden.

Every year Vermaak was to give an inventory of the number of muids of corn that he had ground and he must have found the business profitable because four years later it was transferred to his eldest son, Hermanus Johannes Josua.

The property which Vermaak bought was beautifully drawn in colour by Wernich³ and again shows the precise and formal arrangements of all the elements.

¹ O.C.F. Vol 5, p93
² Puyfontaine H R De, Louis Michel Thibault, p29
³ S.G. 56/1803 Vol 5, p66. probably a copy from Thibault, for this is very much more in his style
The Company's barley mill

Old stable at Groot Schuur (Fairbridge D, *Old Houses of the Cape*)
From the Platteklip Stream, the mill race runs down parallel to the projected Garden avenue, meeting the mill building at right angles. The mill is in line with an avenue of (probably) oaks which links it to the neighbour Arendse's building at right angles to the mill. Two outbuildings fit neatly into this geometry and are connected with walls parallel to the mill and mill race. Below the mill the water is taken into the Company's garden in a sluic at right angles to the Avenue. An open field on the south side of the property, apparently not in use, is informally criss-crossed by wagon roads.

3 THE COMPANY’S GORTMOLEN (BARLEY MILL)

This mill, lying in Oranjezicht, also received its water from a branch of the Platteklip Stream, which was led across the mill grounds and from which the mill race was in turn supplied. Again the buildings, trees, entrance and werf walls are placed in a formal relation to each other as can be seen in the drawing filed with the grant to Jacobus Johannes Smuts in 1805.\(^4\)

The Company stipulated that their old mill was to be kept in a working condition, that Smuts would be allowed to mill for private individuals, that his property was to be bounded with hedges or ditches and that he was not allowed to change the course of the water.

4 Groote Schuur

Commandant Jan Van Riebeeck in 1757 decided to build a magazine to store the Company's grain which was being grown at Rondebosch. An experimental plot which had been sown there, had proved that the south-easter which flattened the corn in Table Valley, did not blow in Rondebosch. Land was consequently given to free-burghers along the Liesbeek River and it was hoped that in time much corn would be harvested by these new farmers.

The granary was to be 108 Rhineland feet long (34.0 metres) and 40 feet wide (12.6 metres) and beams from the local forest were to rest on the walls at a spacing of about one and a half metres. The design of the building was done by Johan Van Riebeeck himself.\(^5\) The post was used to keep the Company’s draught animals, and the manure obtained from them was used in the gardens.\(^6\)

At the end of the 18th century when, in view of the financial problems facing the D.E.I.C., it was decided to sell most of the state-owned property at the Cape, the Company’s post at de Schuer was transferred together with over 40 morgen of land, to Hendrik Christiaan Herholdt for 53 000 guilders. A condition of the grant was, however, that he was to care for the trees which had been planted along the wagon road to beautify it tot Embelisement van dat Pad geplaat synde te onderhou en gaade te slaan. He was also not to disturb an old water furrow running to his neighbour’s farm from the spring in “Wolwegat”, and to keep the bridge in order.\(^7\)

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\(^4\) S.G. 89/1805 Vol 5, p103  
\(^5\) Boeseeken A.J., Notule van die Politieke Raad Vol 1, p107  
\(^6\) Sleigh, Die Buiteposte, p178  
\(^7\) O.C.F Vol 5, 21.11.1791
Thibault's drawing of the buildings at Groot Schuur (left). The drawing (below left) shows a projected subdivision of the site into erven in 1872. The house appears unchanged, but of the outbuildings behind it, one has been demolished and a new one erected at right angles to the house on the top entrance. A fountain is shown on this terrace, as is a circular drive in front of the house. There is also a change in the positioning of the buildings around the kraal, but this may be a drawing error. A large new fishpond is also shown in the glen area.

The plan (below right) shows the present Baker layout with multiple terraces where the old buildings behind the house have been demolished.
A few years after this grant, De Schuur was measured and drawn in detail by Thibault who shows the road with the avenue about which the Governor was so concerned. He also shows the well established werf which Herholdt had bought; the large house looking out over a forecourt to the Hottentots Holland Mountains beyond; the three symmetrically arranged outbuildings behind the house; the stable buildings to the south arranged around a walled kraal with a small separate building, probably the house of the cattle herd; and two long buildings parallel to the house lying next to each other east of the stables.  

A modern aerial view of the estate reveals the interesting fact that the buildings shown by Thibault may have been incorporated in the modern buildings which are situated exactly in the same positions - Groote Schuur main house where the long house (recycled barn?) stood, Westbrooke in the position of the two long outbuildings, and a group of staff quarters in the situation of the old kraal and its surrounding buildings.

According to Sir Herbert Baker who in the late 19th century changed the house for Cecil Rhodes, the outbuildings behind the house were so dilapidated that he had them demolished. These could have been slave quarters and other domestic outbuildings (dairy, butchery etc.) which appear on Thibault's drawing. This area was turned into a terraced formal garden on the axis of the back door by Rhodes.

Thibault shows the entrance to the forecourt from the main road planted with an avenue. Where it enters the forecourt the axis swings to the right to line up with the front door, running along the side of a neatly planted grove of what was probably fruit trees. On either side of the house and behind the stables this orchard is continued and some of these fruit trees, especially the saffron pears and plums, were still alive in 1957 when they were described by J H R de Smidt. Thibault showed the vineyards in parallel squares on the north boundary of the entrance road and on the western side of the werf on the mountain slopes.

The fountain on the north-west side of the werf can also be seen, which at the time supplied a pool not shown by Thibault, but appearing on a plan of 1872 marked "fish pond" in the area now known as "the glen". Previously this area had been known as "Wolwegat".

De Schuur was transferred in October, 1798 to Jan Pieter Baumgärt (later Boomgart), an official in the service of the D.E.I.C., who after the occupation of the Cape by the British in 1795, was appointed by them as Receiver of Revenue. He called the farm "Mecklenburg" but four years later, in 1802, sold it to Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld for 17,000 guilders more than he had paid for it. Perhaps he had improved the place even during his short tenure.

Van Ryneveld was to become Chief Justice of the Cape Colony and President of the Council of Justice. He applied for and received two further freehold pieces of land, 80 morgen in extent.
Water colour of Groot Schuur (Fehr Collection) c 1830 before the fire of 1836 (above)

Painting by van Huell in 1816 showing formal bed lay-out and clipped hedges (below) (C/A, AG6751)
adjoining Mecklenburg, thus enlarging the estate considerably. He apparently planted many oaks and firs."

Perhaps this was to reinstate those trees which he was chopping down to sell as wood, for on the census returns for 1810 he reports that this was his main farm product. The census does however also record that he kept 90 horses and 80 oxen for breeding purposes, so this must have been a considerable source of income as well. He was not making wine - at any rate not for the market, but Thibault shows vineyards.

After his death in 1812 his widow, Martha Cornelia van der Riet, sold a section of the farm known as Klein Schuur to M Cerff. Groote Schuur was transferred to David George Anosi who had also been a senior official in the D.E.I.C. before retiring as a free-burgher at the Cape. Anosi paid the considerable sum of 146 000 guilders for the property which has been described above with reference to Thibault's drawing.

Two almost identical paintings by Q M Rver Huell done in 1816 show the garden from the northeast laid out in parallel squares, each edged with a low hedge and containing one type of plant. There is a row of oaks in front of the house and an avenue on the north side. Further rows of pines and oaks are seen and fruit trees in the foreground amongst which, bananas. The house at this stage had a flat roof with plain central pediment and high stoep.

Anosi subdivided the farm in 1821 and sold the section which he named "Onderschuur", on which were the two long outbuildings, to Judge William Westbrooke Burton who called his section "Westbrooke". A drawing of this house shows a long thatched building with simple straight gables, which might very well have been recycled barns. By that time it had also acquired a front veranda with lattice work.

The house at Groote Schuur was again drawn in 1830 when it belonged to Anosi and is more clearly seen to be a double storey flat roofed building with single storey "stoepkamers" on the front facade, also with flat roofs. There is a balcony supported on four columns, with metal balustrade, between the stoepkamers. The windows are Dutch, but the front and balcony doors appear to be English. Round beds are shown encircling the large pine trees in front of the house and in the background, latticed trellis work suggests a Regency garden layout. (The original water-colour dated 1830-31 possibly by Lady Helen Walker, is in the Fehr Collection).

In 1832 Anosi sold Groote Schuur to Abraham de Smidt who in the same year bought the Westbrooke portion, so that most of the original farm was again united. In 1868 de Smidt became owner of his neighbour, de Hoet's estate by marrying his widow, in this way extending the boundaries of his property even further. De Smidt's father had come from Middelburg in
New gables and thatched roof in 1838, after the fire (below) and subsequent changes with round gable windows (above)

The early 20th century garden with beds of roses and cannaes edged with low clipped hedges, probably myrtle (below) (C/A E55561)
Zeeland in 1755, and had occupied important official posts at the Cape, so the de Smidts were people of means and social standing.

Abraham de Smidt removed the flat roof, and put up a thatched roof with simple central gable on the double storey, but keeping the balcony between the stoekamers which were also built up to become double storey. A drawing of the front facade at this period, shows doors and windows and balcony badly drawn, but clearly indicates the oak avenue on the axis of the front door and agaves formally positioned on either side of the front steps.21

More competent drawings of the same period show a double storey thatched building with Dutch windows on the ground floor but semi-circular and circular windows on the front facade of the stoekamers upstairs. Heavy mouldings under the semicircular windows and above the ground floor windows and decorative plaster work around the windows suggest a Thibault-inspired design and the high columns supporting the balcony are reminiscent of Papenboom. Perhaps this is where de Smidt's inspiration lay! After a fire in 1836 de Smidt had the thatch replaced with a Welsh slate roof.

The buildings at Westbrooke during this time had been renovated to accommodate the Cape Governor, Sir Harry Smith, at an annual rent of £300. A drawing of the house in 1869 reveals Westbrooke house still with thatched roof, simple front gable and Regency latticed veranda along the front facade.2 Perhaps this was one of the long buildings shown on Thibault's plan which had been recycled to rent to Governor Sir Harry Smith. One could also wonder whether these two long buildings had not been the original barns built by Van Riebeeck in 1657.

After marrying the widow Hoets, Abraham de Smidt had one daughter, but she died in early childhood and so after his death in 1868, Westbrooke was transferred to his younger brother, Willem Anne Janssens de Smidt, and Groote Schuur to Willem's son Abraham, who was his godson.

According to a plan made in 1872 for the subdivision of Groote Schuur, the long outbuilding on the mountain side of the house had been demolished and a new one erected at right angles to it. This plan also shows several terraces behind the house with a pond in the middle which, according to a description of J H R de Smidt, Abraham's second son, used to be supplied from a spout in the centre. He also describes a second circular fountain on the top terrace surrounded by a grassy courtyard and the small rose hedges and giant fig trees on these terraces. Here too was a green railing supported by tall conical pillars as already described at Leeuwenhof and Oranjezicht. These changes had occurred after the Thibault drawing and may be attributed to Anosi or either of the Abraham de Smidts.

Abraham jun was a well educated man who had grown up in a cultured environment, and who had had a thorough schooling. He had been taught to draw and paint by Thomas Bowler and became an accomplished artist. He spoke four languages and had travelled extensively in Europe as a

20 Department of Information, Groote Schuur, p18
21 Bull A, Abraham de Smidt, p54

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young man. At the time that he became owner of Groote Schuur, he was 39 years old and had been appointed Assistant Surveyor General of the Cape Colony. Four years later he was promoted to the office of Surveyor-General. (Bull M, *Abraham de Smidt*).

After his wife’s death, he rented out the house at Groote Schuur from 1873 - 1876 to Sir Henry Barkly and after that to Sir Hercules Robinson and Sir Henry Loch. In 1872 after subdivision of the estate, the plots on which the main house was situated was bought by Hester Anna Van Zyl in 1879, who called her part "The Grange".

Cecil John Rhodes, who had already rented "Groote Schuur", as he called it, since 1890, eventually bought the property and much of the surrounding land (Bel Ombre, Mount Pleasant, Welgelegen, Kirstenbosch, Rustenburg, Zorgvliet and Klaasenbosch.) But it was Groote Schuur where he wished to live, and he therefore appointed his architect Herbert Baker to redesign the house.

A painting done at this time shows that although avenues of oaks had been preserved, the garden was now laid out in the English style with a circular drive at the stoep and trees and shrubs planted informally in round beds. Abraham de Smidt's second wife, Gertrude Overbeek whom he married in 1875, was interested in the garden and planted white and Neapolitan violets amongst the maidenhair ferns in the glen under the tall pine trees. It was probably she who had done away with the formal beds and planned the garden in a more informal style.  

This was at the time when Robinson's book, *The Wild Garden*, published in 1870, had had a tremendous influence on garden design in Europe. He advocated informal planting in natural surroundings and criticised the formality of the Victorian gardens and especially the bedding out system then so popular. In the 1940s when the author used to walk through the Groote Schuur estate to Rondebosch, one was still able to pick bunches of white violets in the forest north west of the main house, probably planted by Gertrude Overbeek.

This was also the period of the "Fern Craze" in Europe, when a variety of ferneries were created and fern collecting became the fashionable occupation of many young ladies. Abraham de Smidt's son John noted that at Groote Schuur under an arbour near the fish pond was a rockery in which ferns had been planted.

Rhodes was to extend the terraces behind the house after demolishing remaining old buildings, the werf wall and the large fig and syringa trees. The glen or area north of the house, previously known as the "Wolwegat" had been cleared of its tall oaks and poplars after the area had been divided into plots in the 1780s. Later this dell was planted with hundreds of hydrangeas.

When Baker had finished his rebuilding of the house and garden at Groote Schuur, there was little left of the formal Dutch werf with its surrounding orchards and formal avenues, and the lay-out was that which was at the time prevalent in England and generally known as the "Gardenesque style".

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22 *Reminiscences*, Georgina Lister
23 Bull M, *Abraham de Smidt*, p74
Thibault's drawing of Paradijs in the early 1800s. The werf surrounded by forest is shown in the top left hand corner.

Mervyn Emms' drawing of the Paradise werf showing the slave quarters slightly out of line with the other buildings.
WITTE BOOMEN AND PARADIJS

Two posts were established in the Constantia area to supply the Company with timber. The one named Paradijs, situated next to the old indigenous forest, had been planted with 40,000 oaks on Simon Van der Stel's instruction; the other, named Witte Boomen (Witteboome) situated on Constantia's northern boundary, had been planted with 60,000 - 80,000 oaks according to an instruction of Governor Chavonnes. This Governor, concerned about the depletion of the natural forests, had passed certain regulations to forbid the burghers from felling trees in the Company's forests and appointed inspectors to supervise these forests.

A map of the post at Witte Boomen shows two T-shaped houses lying in a row next to each other both facing the valley, with an outbuilding at right angles to them. They lie in a neatly planted forest, probably of oaks, which is in contrast to the randomly drawn trees of the forest. On the mountain side are rectangular cultivated lands, probably surrounded by hedges or palisades containing different types of plants. Below the forest are further lands, also protected on their boundaries, but following the shape of the mountain stream in a less rigid manner.

Paradijs, as drawn by Thibault for the early 1800s report on the Company's state land and properties, consisted of a house and two buildings lying at right angles to it in the middle of a forest, but the planted and wild forest are not distinguished. Lady Anne chose this when they were offered one of the Company's posts "to be rural in". It could be reached only on horseback as there was no road and here the Barnards were snug and especially delighted with "a little hasty stream", a good many old orchard trees, a few orange trees and "a far extended view of mountain". There was also a grove of pines and many silver trees beyond them. Lady Anne took an obvious delight in the natural environment and flora as was very much the fashion in England at the time.

The drawing made of the werf lay-out by Mervyn Emms after a study of the surviving ruins, and confirmed by subsequent archeological excavations by the University of Cape Town, shows a more relaxed plan of what is basically still a formal lay-out.

During the Barnard occupation the buildings became so dilapidated that they were abandoned for other quarters.

GANZEKRAAL

In 1709 Willem Adriaan Van der Stel granted a loan place named Ganse Craal near the "Groene Cloove" to Martin Mecklenburg. This, according to Sleigh, is the first mention of this farm which was to become a cattle post for the Company before 1724. Here the Company's cattle were sent to graze and improve their condition.

In 1791 when the Company sold many of their assets to private individuals, the brothers Johan Gysbert, Sebastiaan Valentijn and Jacobus Arnoldus van Reenen took transfer of the 279 morgen

24 Sleigh D. Die Buiteposte, p257
26 Markell A, The Archaeology of Paradise, S A Archaeology Society Goodwin Series Vol 7, p43
27 Sleigh D, Die Buiteposte, p510
Josephus Jones' drawing of Ganzekraal (C/A M1/914)

Francis Dashwood's transfer in 1814

Ganzekraal dovecot (C/A E751)
and 350 square roods for 42500 guilders. They were the sons of Jacob van Reenen who eight years later took transfer from them. 28

The drawing of Ganzekraal which is filed with the 1791 deed, shows three long outbuildings and a T-shaped post house arranged around a rectangular werf. Where there are no buildings the werf is enclosed with a wall and in this wall are two gates, the one situated where roads from Cape Town and the coast line converge, the other on the north-east side to admit the traffic from Klaver valley and the Modderrivier areas. At the back of the buildings and attached to them are kraals.

A drawing done by Josephus Jones during the same period shows what each building was used for and he shows also that the post house and horse stables were connected by what appears to be a trellis supported by three rows of columns, probably for a grape-vine. He also shows the double-seater toilet next to the chicken run! Jones shows the large garden with parallel paths and beds outside the werf and enclosed by its own wall. 29

The plan is geometrically concise and neat and obviously planned to provide for maximum security for both man and beast. No embellishments such as trees are seen in the werf.

In 1799 the farm was transferred to the Burgher Captain, Jacob Van Reenen, father of the above three brothers, married to Maria Franke, and they then came to live at Ganzekraal where Jacob died fifteen years later, aged eighty seven. 30

In 1801, when Lady Anne Barnard visited Ganzekraal she sketched the werf showing an extra long building opposite the house and in line with the cow-shed. Jacob had obviously built this, keeping to the formal pattern that he had found. He also added a slave bell where the trellis had formerly been and a dovecot which was probably also a cow-shed with open stone piers on the werf side. A photograph of this building in the Elliott Collection suggests that the thatch sloped only in one direction, and this, appeared to be not unusual.

Jacob was a remarkable man who had travelled extensively in the unknown parts of the Cape Colony. He was therefore chosen to go and search for possible survivors of the wrecked "Grosvenor" in 1782, and though he found no survivors, he returned with the ship's bell which he hung in his newly constructed belfry.

When the traveller Lichtenstein visited Van Reenen in 1803, he thought Ganzekraal to be one of the most fertile farms in the Colony but perhaps that was not surprising as Van Reenen, who had large herds of cattle, had in the previous year according to him deposited sixteen hundred loads of manure on 240 acres of land! 31

Jacob's widow transferred Ganzekraal in 1814 to the Receiver-General in Lord Charles Somerset's administration, Francis Dashwood, who obviously had an interest in farming for he was granted large tracts of land along the west coast (15.9.1814). He also enlarged Ganzekraal by obtaining

28 S.G. 42/1791
29 A copy of this drawing is filed in the Cape Archives under M1/914, but the original colour version is in the Rijksarchief
30 T7537, 10.1.1799
31 V.R.S. no10; Lichtenstein H. Travels in Southern Africa, p31
Lady Anne Barnard's sketch of Ganzekraal

Drawing filed with grant to Francis Dashwood in 1814

The drawing of Zickenhuijs werf in 1823
over 3 000 morgen of adjoining land as a quitrent grant, and on the diagram filed with this grant, the stable had been more than doubled in size and an extension also made to the building on the northern boundary of the werf. These extensions were made parallel to existing buildings on their outside, so that the werf remained intact. A new large dam is shown outside his werf, presumably built by Dashwood.

But Dashwood held tenure for only four years and then sold Ganzekraal back to the Van Reenen in 1818, this time to Jacob, nephew of the previous Jacob, whose wife was Sophia Van Schoor. These two farmed until 1853 when their farm was transferred to their eldest son, Jacob Willem Van Reenen.

After having farmed Ganzekraal for over a century, it was transferred from the hands of the Van Reenen to a neighbour, Johannes Albertus Melck who bought the property in 1893 and came to live there with his wife, Elisabeth Duckitt. The Melcks all lived on farms planned like Ganzekraal, and would therefore have had respect for the old buildings. They obviously maintained the werf, for it remained unchanged into the 20th century.

Wherever farms remained for generations in the ownership of the same families, their formal Dutch planning and enclosed werfs were retained. Though the house had been altered by subsequent owners, it had retained its position in the werf for almost two and a half centuries when it was lost in a fire in 1965.

ZIEKENHUIJS

This farm had its origin as a Company post established in 1726 to facilitate the barter of cattle and to protect the Koina, who were already settled there, from being exploited by bartering burghers and theft from other indigenous tribes. The Company's cattle could be kept there for breeding purposes.

A year later, as a result of Governor Noodt's visit to the forests of this area, a second post was established only three kilometres away north of the Zonderent River at Zoetemelks Valleij so that the cattle could graze at Ziekenhuijs in summer and Zoetemelks Valleij in winter. One postholder, Johan Martin Lourens was in charge of both posts from 1751-1785 and Martijn Egedius Theunissen from 1786 - 1795. Theunissen, who had arrived in the Cape from Maastricht in 1764/5, was married to Lourens' daughter Anna Maria, and that was probably why he was made the next post holder. Lourens' other son-in-law, Johan Miller, was made post holder of Outeniqualand.

When these posts were inspected with a view to selling them in 1788, the commissioners Van Reede van Oudshoorn and O De Wet found at Ziekenhuijs only a hut for the horse herdsman and

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32 Cape Town Photographic Society, From the Days That are Gone, p26
33 Sleigh D, Die Buileposte, p554
34 Sleigh D, Die Buileposte, p549
The drawing with the grant SG158/1823 showing a number of farms with enclosed werfs
kraal. They recommended that this post should be let, but the main one at Zoetemelk be maintained for the Company's cattle and horses.\textsuperscript{35}

In 1793 later commissioners advised that all the different Company's properties which were being managed by Theunissen (Zoetemelks Valleij, Ziekenhuijs, Tijgerberg, Appelskraal, Bockerivier, Droogeboom, 't Warmbad and unnamed others) should be made smaller, but that a house which was being built at Zoetemelks Valleij should be completed. Theunissen was to remain as post holder without salary, but he given Ziekenhuis as a loan farm.

The inventory for 1813 reports that old Martinus and his wife, Anna Lourens, and their youngest sons Nicolaas, and Jacobus who was married to Wilhelmina Wium, all lived on the farm. Martinus' eldest son, Martinus Wilhelmus, in 1802 took transfer of portions three and four of the divided farm of Vergelegen, the part on which W A Van der Stel's farm buildings were situated. The descendants of this son, were to hold the farm to almost the end of the 19th century.\textsuperscript{36} There were 70 stud horses, 50 stud cattle as well as 40 draught animals, but apart from these there were also 350 stud sheep, and goats probably for domestic consumption.\textsuperscript{37}

A drawing of Ziekenhuis done in 1823\textsuperscript{38} shows a small kraal with two outbuildings on either side, an H-shaped house and another outbuilding parallel to it, all obviously built by Theunissen, as there had been only a hut and kraal when it was still a post. The long outbuilding would have been used to house his stud horses, three wagons and a cart, also mentioned in the 1813 inventory.

This 1823 drawing shows also the farm complex Leeuwenkraal (U) with its T-shaped house and group of 4 outbuildings arranged around an open square, and the farm complex Schutsberg (T) with four buildings around a courtyard. On the same drawing the buildings of Hartebeestkraal are accurately drawn encircling its courtyard, so that one can conclude that this whole group of farms had been planned in the same way on the larger principle. What is interesting, however is that the only nearby post, Zoetemelks Valleij, which by 1790 had a well integrated plan, had been designed with the accent on axiality rather than enclosure.

Marthinus Theunissen maintained Ziekenhuijs as a loan farm of 1395 morgen till 1831 when he obtained it in quitrent on 18.4.1831. He must have been 82 at the time!\textsuperscript{39}

By this time the werf was even better organised, for now the grant drawing shows a large walled courtyard surrounded by buildings, reminiscent of the neighbouring Hartebeestkraal which was granted in quitrent to Theunissen's son, Wilhemus Hendricus in the same year, after he had owned it as a loan farm for some time.\textsuperscript{40}

If the post at Zoetemelk, as drawn by Jones in 1790, is compared to Theunissen's werf, one sees the same order, although the arrangement of buildings differs. Theunissen may have been

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\textsuperscript{35} ibid, p568
\textsuperscript{36} Markell Anne B, \textit{Building in the Past}, Goodwin Series S A Archeological Society, p73
\textsuperscript{37} C/A, J60
\textsuperscript{38} SG 158/1823
\textsuperscript{39} S.G. 534/1831
\textsuperscript{40} Refer chapter on Ooberberg farms
Lady Anne Barnard’s sketch of Zoetemelks Valleij and its impressive mountain backdrop.

J Jones’ plan of Zoetemelks Valleij showing the formal garden lay-out and parterre next to the house (C/A M1/913).
responsible for the construction of both werfs, as we know that he built the post house and several
other buildings at Zoetemelks Vallei. This was not the house shown on the earlier Jones drawing,
which according to a drawing of S.G. 158/1823 was T-shaped."

On the 1831 grant of Ziekenhuijs the werf is more clearly drawn. The main house was situated
outside the enclosure but faced a passage through two outbuildings into the kraal, lining up with a
second gate on axis at its opposite side. Two small buildings are seen in the opposite corners of the
enclosure. A fourth building lies outside and at right angles to the kraal in the same situation as
the one shown on the 1823 drawing. It seems from this drawing that Theunissen had enlarged his
kraal considerably. 42

A rectangular vineyard in which were 6 000 vines 43 is attached to a garden outside the werf between
the river and the public road, as at Hartebeeskraal. Two roads converge at the front door of the
house, but the Genadendal-Swellendam road runs behind it to cross the drift over the Rivier
Zonderent.

ZOETEMELKS VALLEI

This post was established a year after Ziekenhuijs in 1727 on the banks of the Palmiet River where
it would be near to a large Khoi Kraal.41

In 1790 Josephus Jones drew a plan of the settlement, showing once again the formality and
geometrical precision of the design: 45

The T-shaped post house with a row of trees before it faces south but this time the house does not
look out over the garden which lies on the north side fitting into the back angle of the T. The
outbuildings form a front courtyard with the soldiers' quarters to the west and the T-shaped stable
to the east. A walled kraal is attached to the stable and in the one corner is the large flag of the
Company.

The garden, as in the other posts, has an ornate parterre next to the house and the central path
divides the orchards planted in quincunx, from the vegetables. A larger rectangle partially
surrounds this garden and was probably for the wheatlands and vineyard. A boundary wall, either
planted or of palings, surrounded both the planted area and a more irregular garden further south.

A mountain stream runs down along the garden wall to water the garden further down and a line
of trees has been planted on the banks of this stream.

Lady Anne Barnard visited the farm and made a sketch of the werf with its majestic mountain
backdrop. She includes many small huts on the werf, probably the homes of the workers which
Jones must have considered not worth drawing. 46

41 See also Lichtenstein II, Vol 11, p174
42 S.G. 534/1831
43 J60 census for 1813
44 Sleigh D, Die Buiteposte, p557
45 CIA. M1/1913
46 Ed Robinson A M Levin, The Letters of Lady Anne Barnard, p124
The Company's post Rietvallei on the Buffeljagtsrivier as drawn by R J Gordon (C/A, AG 7146.46)

The Jones' plan of Rietvallei (R/A, Topo 15, 32) showing the garden with the parterres nearest to the house.
RIETVALLEI ON THE BUFFELJAGTSRIVIER

This cattle post was established before 1729 and permanently occupied in 1734. Jones made a drawing of the post in 1789 and shows the T-shaped post house with a row of trees in front of it facing north towards the view. Behind the house and parallel to it is a smaller thatched cottage for the soldiers.

Planted sturdily in front of the house is the Company's large flag and further down the hill, on axis with the front door of the house, the central pathway of the enclosed garden - probably again hedged with aloes. The garden has two sections - a flowered parterre on the house side and beds containing rows of what were probably vegetables below this. A larger rectangular garden against the mountain slope is hedged in the same way and contains on either side of a central walk an orchard neatly planted in quincunx and a block with rows of probably vines.

Several rectangular kraals of different sizes further afield, again probably hedged with aloes, are more or less parallel to the buildings so that the whole settlement gives an impression of careful well considered and controlled planning. The road however does not approach the werf on axis but runs past the front of the house before continuing its meandering way further into the countryside.

Robert Gordon did a drawing of this post which confirms the arrangement described above. From this drawing, however it seems clear that some of the kraals were fenced with palings and not aloes.

This post was sold to Pieter Gerhardus Van der Byl in 1792 and on the transfer document it was noted that the water which had traditionally been used by the Hottentots should in future be allowed to them and their cattle as before.

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47 Sleigh D, *Die Buitewest*, p46
48 C/A, M908
49 C/A photographic collection AG no 7146.65 from original painting by R J Gordon
50 O.C.F. Vol 5 S.G. 20/1792
The Jones map of the Company's post in 1789. The post-house looks out over the parterres arranged on either side of a central garden path which is on the axis of the front door (C/A M1/911 "Oudniquas Land")

The post at Mossel Bay as drawn by Jones in 1789 (C/A M1/905)
10 OUTENIQUALAND

This post was established in 1777 to obtain wood from the Outeniqua forest, as the forests at Rietvallei by that time had been seriously depleted. On Jones' plan done in 1789 when the post was 12 years old, one sees a beautifully integrated landscape.

The T-shaped post house facing south-west, looks past four neatly planted trees in front of it down the central garden path of the rectangular garden to the view beyond. The first two garden beds on either side of the path, contain intricately designed parterres and beyond that are two rectangular orchards planted in quincunx on the north and two vegetable beds on the south sides of the path. The boundaries are probably planted with aloes on the short side and walled on the long sides. The garden is irrigated by a stream which continues further down the hill to irrigate a second cultivated area, probably of vines and wheat.

Behind the house is a kraal with an adjoining small building, probably for the herdsman, planted with what might be aloes, and next to it a square pond also surrounded by a planted hedge. A cartwright's shop-cum-smithy and small barracks are both placed in geometrical relation to the house. The road, however, meanders across the veld and there is no attempt at an axial approach.

In 1811 this post was acquired for the establishment of the town of George and how it was adapted to form a town is discussed in a later chapter.

It is interesting to note that though Outeniqualand was established at the end of the 18th century, it was nevertheless planned on the same formal lines as that of the earlier posts. There was however no attempt at an enclosed courtyard, but rather an accent on the axis which bound the house to the garden.

11 MOSSEL BAAIJ

In 1786 Governor J Van Plettenberg decided to have a large grain cellar constructed at Mossel Bay to provide a store for the grain of the surrounding farmers until such time as the produce could be loaded onto ships for transport. The D.E.I.C. hoped in this way to encourage them to sow more wheat.

At the time a military presence had already been established at Mossel Bay with a post-house and accommodation for a garrison, and the grain cellar was to be built behind these quarters, obviously to leave the view towards the Bay unobstructed.

The specification for this grain store was found in the archives, and used to rebuild the old store on its original excavated footings, as part of the Dias Museum for the 5th centenary festival of Dias' rounding of the Cape. The building was 150 x 20 x 15 Rhineland feet and had a flat roof.

51 Sleigh D, Die Buiteposte, pp590-91
52 C/A, M1/911
53 Sleigh D, Die Buiteposte, pp602-605
54 C/A, C173, pp277 & 214-315
The Jones drawing of the post at Plettenberg Bay showing the neat arrangement of the post-house and other buildings (R/A Topo 15-27)

The post at Von Kamptz Baaïj (R/A)
Jones' drawing of the area was found to be so precise that these footings could be accurately projected, as well as the old aquifer where the Portuguese had taken water for over a century, but which had over the years been levelled over.  

12 PLETENBERG BAAIJ

Plettenberg Bay was formally occupied by the Company at the same time as Mossel Bay when a similar flat-roofed stone building was constructed near the beach in 1786 for storage of wood which was being cut on a large scale from the Outeniqua Forest. From the store it was easy to transfer the wood down the slope to the anchorage.

Jones and Frederici made a detailed survey and drawing of this post for Governor Van de Graaff probably in 1790 which shows the above details as well as the position of a second store should that become necessary. The accommodation for the post holder (a T-shaped house) and the soldiers, together with an adjoining square garden are shown neatly arranged next to each other higher up on the hill near a stream. The planning was formal as with all the other posts, though this was one of the last posts that the D.E.I.C. established at the Cape.

13 VON KAMPTZ BAAIJ

The Company bought this farm, which had been established by Christiaan Otto Von Kamptz, in 1788 with the intention of keeping it as a post for supervising the Atlantic coast west of Table Bay.

A drawing filed in the Rijksarchief shows the neat lay-out of the werf as it probably existed two years after this transfer. A long house with short back wing lay at right angles to a large rectangular kraal which in turn lay in line with an outhouse, perhaps a stable. A further large rectangular kraal with small herd's room lay at right angles to the first kraal. The area around was planted with a neatly set out forest, probably of oaks and parallel squares of garden land lay next to this.

The werf was commenced by Von Kamptz, but the clearing of the surrounding areas and the building of kraals were probably completed by the Company in their typically ordered manner.

14 SUMMARY

The above enquiry into the landscape patterns used by the D.E.I.C. at the Cape indicates that there was undoubtedly a policy of formal planning of all their properties from those in Table Bay to those on the boundaries of the colony.

55 C/A, M1/905
56 C/A, M1/910
57 C/A, M1/910
58 Sleigh D, Die Buiteposte, pp285-286
Examples of Gailée's "Zuid-Limburgse hoeve" built around a central courtyard

The Company's stables with accommodation for the saddle maker, tanner, coach driver, coach-house etc
This formality was taken into the finest detail, where Jones shows the flower beds planted as quite intricate parterres, which after all had to be tended by ordinary soldiers.

The earlier posts consisted of a post house (usually built in a T- or U-shape) and outbuildings arranged around a courtyard, and the enclosure was often completed with connecting walls between the buildings as seen at Ganzekraal. This was a continuation of the plan established by Simon Van der Stel at Vergelegen as discussed in chapter 3.

This style of planning shows a resemblance to the so-called Zuid-Limburghse hoeve which Gallee describes: *altijd in een vierkant gebouwd, heeft de Limburghsche hoeve iets van een klein kasteel*. He found this plan both in rural and urban areas. Gallee remarks on the similarity of this style to a Roman villa, from which he thinks it is derived. His idea is based on the fact that the foundations of a number of Roman villas built on this plan were excavated in this area.59

A drawing of the Company's stables in Cape Town60 of which the ground floor is reproduced here, illustrates this principle most clearly where, apart from the large stables, the houses of the stable master and coachman, the tannery, saddle-maker, the coach-houses, and even prisons for the slaves, were accomodated around a central open courtyard. In this case all the buildings abutted.

Later posts were planned with less attention to enclosure and more accent on axiality and prospect, although post house, outbuildings and garden were still positioned with geometrical order so that these elements were usually parallel or at right angles to each other.

The formal approach to landscape planning as advocated and practised by the Company set a standard which could hardly have gone unnoticed by the surrounding landowners. On the other hand the post holders themselves, as shown, acquired large farms in the surrounding areas and developed them in the manner which they had found at the posts. In this way a son of Marthinus Theunissen, post holder of Zoetemelks Vallei, developed an enclosed werf on his loan-farm Hartebeestkraal61 and Marthinus himself planned a similar werf at Ziekenhuis after he had been allowed the use of the farm by the Company. As the eldest son of Marthinus had acquired Vergelegen in 1802 one must not overlook the influence which this plan might have had on the rest of the Theunissen family.

The free-burghers were to become increasingly disenchanted with the unfair competition from the posts where governors including Tulbagh, Van Plettenberg and Van de Graaff were farming for their own gain, as W A Van der Stel had done a century before. Commissioners who were sent to investigate the posts from time to time were wrongly informed as to the number of people at the posts and their activities. As a result of this, it was due to unofficial reports reaching the Council of 17 at the end of the 18th century that Van de Graaff was withdrawn and many of the posts closed before the end of the century.62

59 Gallee, *Het Boerenhuis in Nederland en zijn bewoners*, plate XXX and pp72-74
60 C/A, M2/77
61 See chapter on Swellendam farms
62 Sleigh D, *Die Buiteposte*, pp722-724

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The Company's posts were designed not only for protection, but also for beauty. Visserhok gates (C/A E1031)
These facts, which were uncovered by Dr Sleigh in his research of the Company's posts, are probably of the most significant contributions to our modern understanding of the decline of the financial situation at the Cape towards the end of the 18th century. They also provide a new vision of the social infrastructure of the time, and an understanding of the frustration of the ordinary farmer with the corruption of officials at the posts. 

For these posts were situated where the best soil, water and grazing could be found and post holders themselves were therefore farming very profitably for their own benefit. This may be the reason why Marthinus Theunissen's eldest son could afford to buy a farm like Vergelegen and Marthinus and his other sons could develop sophisticated farm werfs at Hartebeeskraal and Ziekenhuis.

In the following chapters the way in which private land owners organised their environments will be examined, and an assessment made whether the formal planning principles set by the Company had indeed effectively influenced them.

63 Ibid. A number of farmers handed in a petition complaining that posts, situated on the best agricultural land, were being utilised for the gain of highly placed officials, whereby the farmers were deprived of a market. p723
CHAPTER 7

PRIVATE ESTATES IN TABLE VALLEY IN THE 18TH CENTURY

After the principle of private land-ownership had been accepted by the D.E.I.C. and grants to free-burghers been given along the Liesbeek River in 1657, land was also granted to individuals who wished to settle in the Table Valley from 1660 onwards. Mentzel tells us that those officials who wished to build houses in Table Valley were given small erven free of charge and that these could be sold once the foundations had been laid and the walls were window-sill height. The earliest *hoeves* or small farm complexes thus arose along the foothills of Table Valley where there was no shortage of rock for foundations, clay or loam for mortar and bricks were no problem to make.¹

On the map M3/10 these early private gardens are seen situated on the boundaries of the Company's Garden, and watered by the same streams.

It is evident that some of these estates were quite close to the newly constructed Castle, especially on its southern side as can be seen on a map of about 1678.² More private estates had been granted along the boundaries of the Company's Garden and along the streams which ran down the valley from Table Mountain, Lion's Hill and Devil's Peak.

On these small holdings, vegetables, fruit and herbs were cultivated, much of which was sold by the owner's slaves on the streets of the village. Unfortunately early maps do not give details of the garden lay-outs but Valentyn at the beginning of the 18th century, praises the small farms:

...als men wat hooger na den Tafelberg en na de kloove van den opgaat nog verscheide anderen (tuinen) van de vryluiden, die wel veel kleiner, maar om de fraaije plantagien, wynbergen, en andere cieraaden, waardig zyn om gezien en bewandelt te worden.³

On a map of Cape Town done by Wentzel in 1760, nine of these gardens with the names of the owners are shown on the outskirts of the town, and seven years later C. Brink, probably working from the same map, shows nine gardens again, some new, as earlier ones had been subdivided to form town erven. The owner's names are not given on these erven, but the positions of buildings are shown, usually situated on or near their boundaries, presumably with gardens behind them.

A sketch of the Gardens in 1804 of properties along the foothills of Cape Town, shows some forty farms, each with its own buildings surrounded by trees. Most of the buildings are clearly distinguishable, some with thatched, pitched roofs, others with flat roofs. They face the bay, and are surrounded by trees. Some boundary walls are shown, but further details have not been attempted. The value of this map lies in the fact that the names of farm owners are shown and their relative positions recorded.⁴

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¹ Mentzel O F. *Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope*
² C/A. M2/17
³ Valentyn, *Beschryving Van de Kaap der Goede Hoop*, p110
⁴ Original in the Koopmans De Wet Museum
A few of these estates were studied in detail to try to form an idea of the way in which they were planned, how these plans evolved, to what extent they were planned on similar basic principles and whether these were related to planning elements used in the Company properties or Europe.

The examples chosen were those farms where the most influential families lived, but between these were smaller properties, about which there is less information, like for instance the one of the widow Moeder Antje. Her husband had built a small cottage after clearing the land and surrounded it with a mud wall, at Kloof Nek. She made a living by keeping a few cows and selling milk to the townsfolk.5

This section will be written under the following headings:

1. LEEUWENHOF
2. WATERHOF
3. THE MOUNT NELSON
4. ORANJEZICHT
5. ZONNEBLOEM
6. TAMBOERSKLOOF

SUMMARY
ASPECT
ARRANGEMENT OF BUILDINGS
CULTIVATED LANDS

5 Mentzel O F, Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope, p97
The re-grant of Leeuwenhof in 1696 to Joan Blesius, shows the house and two outbuildings that he constructed and the fountain in the foreground (refer also chapter 3)
1 LEEUWENHOF

One of the earliest of these farms is Leeuwenhof which was first granted in October 1693 to Guillaum Heems, a member of the Council of Justice and also owner of Van Riebeeck's estate Boscheuvel (now Bishopscourt).

He started a vegetable garden but did not live at Leeuwenhof and neither did the next owner, who was the Company's master gardener, Hendrik Oldenland. In 1697 Joan Blesius, the fiscal during the time of W A Van der Stel, became the owner and built a house which is shown on his copy of a re-grant of Leeuwenhof to him in June, 1696.

This house and two outbuildings are shown situated between two branches of a mountain stream. The house with central gable and two dormers in the pitched roof, appears to be very similar to that of Simon Van der Stel's house at Groot Constantia and W A van der Stel's house at Vergelegen. In front of the house is a square which probably indicated a pond, connected by a pipe or straight duct to another rectangle, probably a reservoir, higher up on the slope. This interpretation of the drawing on the grant is confirmed by a sketch of part of this garden done by H V Stade in 1710.

Stade draws the view from Blesius' garden onto the Bay. In the foreground is a square pond surrounded by a low wall with a gate. The pond is embellished with a central fountain which has four low spouts and one high jet above them. Around the pond Blesius' neat rows of vines are shown and on his boundaries are avenues of oaks probably planted by a previous owner, as they are quite tall.

The evidence suggests that shortly after it was granted, Leeuwenhof had been planned with some formality and to embellish the foreground with quite an elaborate fountain. A courtyard around the pool and fountain is in style with Dutch pools and fountains of the period, but at the Cape the wall might also have safeguarded the pool area against pollution and vandalism by wild and straying animals.

After the death of Blesius, the husbands of his two daughters, Christina, married to Jacob Cruse, and Deliana, married to Cornelis van Beaumont, inherited the farm. After Cruse's death in 1719 Deliana remained living at Leeuwenhof in her father's house until she sold it in 1728 to the widow of Jesse Slotsboo, the Company's surveyor. She must have brought about considerable improvements, for the value of the property doubled in her time.

The next owner was Daniel Carnspek, secretary of the Council of policy who owned it till his death after which his wife, Johanna Magdalena, daughter of Oloff Bergh and granddaughter of the slave Angela of Bengal, lived there for the next ten years. The Carnspeks apparently did not improve the property as the value had hardly changed when the next owner, Chistiaan Bresler took transfer.

6 O.C.F. Vol 1, p254, 28.3.1698
7 CIA. M1/85, De Stad, het Casteel en de Reede van Caap de Goede Hoop uit de Thuijn van de Fiscaal Blesius 1710
8 T994, 20.7.1714
9 T1663, 14.2.1725
10 T2486, 1.11.1740
Leeuwenhof (centre) in the 19th century showing its tree-lined boundary at the foot of Table Mountain (C/A, under G/A)

Plan of Leeuwenhof werf in 1978
During his tenure there were not only changes in the size of the property but also changes to the buildings and the werf in general.\textsuperscript{11}

In 1782 Bresler had sold three morgen on the city side of the property to J F W Bottiger, which became known as Waterhof and five years later he was granted 15 morgen of adjacent state land.\textsuperscript{12}

A few years before his death, Bresler built new slave quarters on the mountain side of the house and rebuilt the main house itself, probably changing it to a double storey flat-roofed structure, with a terraced garden between the two as will be described below. He must have been proud of his estate, for he was buried on it and a condition of the following transfer from his widow to Hendrik Fehrsen was that the grave should be respected and the family be allowed regular access.\textsuperscript{13}

Fehrsen paid 51 000 guilders for the farm and sold it 11 years later to Johan Michiel Elser for 80 000 guilders, which suggests that Fehrsen had continued with the improvements begun by Bresler. Johan Elser died three weeks after receiving transfer and the property was then sold for 90 000 guilders to Johannes Zorn who was to live there for the next 26 years.\textsuperscript{14} After him his widow and stepson Hendrik Cloete lived at Leeuwenhof for another ten years up to 1836.

Zorn's estate is described by both Burchell and Latrobe who found the house to be "a good Dutch building, delightfully situated among shady groves of various trees". The gallery over the stoep had an espalier roof covered with vines, "the grapes hanging down in great profusion and beauty". Latrobe saw a large variety of flowering shrubs and plants and an aviary containing both exotic and indigenous birds.\textsuperscript{15} In 1809 when Zorn became the first mayor of Cape Town, Leeuwenhof with its impressive house visible from most of Cape Town, its beautiful gardens, 35 000 vines and 40 slaves, would have been an estate indeed worthy of such a dignitary.

When Joseph Upjohn bought the farm in 1838, there were two extra cottages on the property which had been built by the Zorns behind the house, at right angles to it.\textsuperscript{16} Upjohn, a florist and seed merchant, lived in one of these and let the large house and the smaller one until he was eventually forced to sell Leeuwenhof from his insolvent estate. In 1840 Christoffel Joseph Brand bought the farm on a public auction, but he too lived in one of the smaller cottages and let the large house as he needed the financial assistance. Brand was to become speaker of the Cape Parliament, his son Johannes was later President of the Orange Free State.\textsuperscript{17}

Petrus Johannes Kotze took transfer of a portion, just over a morgen of Leeuwenhof in 1839 and there he built the house known as La Belle Alliance, and laid out a garden. He lived there until 1850 when he moved with his family to one of the small cottages in the Leeuwenhof back garden. When Leeuwenhof was subdivided in 1848 Kotze took transfer of the portion on which the original

\textsuperscript{11} T81, 30.4.1764  
\textsuperscript{12} T85, 10.6.1782  
\textsuperscript{13} T116, 29.7.1788  
\textsuperscript{14} T134, 8.3.1799 and T305 5.7.1799  
\textsuperscript{15} Latrobe Rev, \textit{Visit to the South of Africa}, p35  
\textsuperscript{16} T24, 7.9.1838  
\textsuperscript{17} T34, 7.12.1841
The remains of a teak railing which had been bricked up, provided the details necessary for restoring the colonnade.

The dark loam mortar identified the original columns and the yellow clay mortar (left) the later infill walls.

Imported Dutch bricks exposed under the infill wall, indicated where the original pathway had run.

Similar columns and wooden railing in Curacao (Ozinga MD, Die Monumenten van Curacao)
house stood. He let the large house to W de Smidt, but in 1854 when the lease expired the Kotzes moved into Leeuwenhof.

Kotze was a keen gardener and appreciated the many exotic plants which had been planted by previous owners. His son, in his memoirs lists white and pink oleander, (to which Kotze added the yellow variety), hydrangeas, snowballs (Viburnum opulus), very old scarlet bottlebrush, heliotrope, abutilon of various colours, honeysuckle, hedges of myrtle, plumbago and tecoma and a "jasmine tree". Petrus Kotze owned a set of Loudon’s books, which he had bought at a sale of Ludwigs effects and he also consulted his friend, the German botanist Dr Ecklon, so that the garden was greatly improved with many new plants at this time. He may be responsible for the Victorian fountain which appears in front of the stoep in photographs of the period.

In 1881 Marks and Lewis bought Leeuwenhof which by sales of different parts had dwindled to 2 morgen (9.5.1881). These famous tycoons let the different houses until Lewis in 1885 became sole owner when he made certain changes to the main house and the surrounding garden. He for instance built in a bay-window into one of the back rooms so that he would be able to fit in a billiard table. He probably changed the front garden, for Elliott photographs show a curving driveway to the house from the north whereas there had been an axial approach along an avenue of oaks before.

When the old slave lodge and the cottages were let out and eventually sold as separate entities, their back yards needed privacy and the open colonnades between them together with the axial link between main house and slave quarters were screened off with infill walls, so that Bresler's formal werf was no more discernable.

In the 1970s, during the restoration of the slave quarters at Leeuwenhof, a much better understanding was gained of the garden which had been established between the slave quarters and the main house in the 1780s.

As this garden lay on a slope, it had been designed on three terraces separated from each other by colonnades of plastered brick columns connected by wooden railings. When we started working there, the railings had been replaced with connecting walls, but as the mortar used on the columns and later walls were of different materials, we were able to distinguish the original pattern, and even to find embedded remains of the woodwork to enable us to restore the colonnade.

We also found the remnants of a "klinker" step and a stone-paved walkway both of which lay on the axis connecting the back door of the house to the front door of the slave house. Pintles in the columns on the same axis, indicated where earlier double gates had swung on one of the colonnade pillars and this too was on the axis of the earlier discovered pathway.

That this formal kitchen garden had probably been laid out by Bresler, the owner of Leeuwenhof from 1764 to 1788, was confirmed by the discovery of the date 1786 cut into a beam in the slave

18 T169, 25.10.1848
19 Kotze, Memoirs and Reminiscences, p16
Plan of the werf showing the buildings built of the same material (and therefore probably temporaneous) and projected garden plan for the area between the restored slave-house and the main house.

Plan for new railings at Leeuwenhof and similar railings at the house Mee-baal on the Amstel (below left) (Rademaker, 83)
quarters. With our findings it was possible to draw up a plan for the restoration of what had obviously been a formal garden, using plants of the period. But as the restored slave quarters became used for official entertainment for the Administrator of the Cape Province, the garden needed lawns for these functions and so our projected plan was not used.

It appears that colonnades as were found at Leeuwenhof, were highly fashionable in 18th century Cape gardens: a trellised colonnade is discernable on the estate north of the Company's Garden, on a drawing of Table Valley in 1795 by Dirk de Jong; an anonymous sketch done in the same year, shows a similar colonnade in the Oranjezicht estate which will be described below.

Fortunately remnants of 18th century colonnades still exist at nearby Ricezicht, at Martin Melck's town house next to the Lutheran Church and two other Peninsula farms, Boshof and Stellenberg, which will be described later.

The teak railings were all constructed in the same way (see accompanying drawing) although the finial details differed. The gates too were of teak and although details of design varied, they were all of similar construction.

Leeuwenhof's boundary wall was of packed mountain stone, parts of which are still discernable on the slopes of Table Mountain, and one notices that similar walls demarcated boundaries on all the farms in Table Valley.

Table Mountain sandstone being plentiful, it is understandable that owners of all these small farms would have built walls of the material at hand.

Because Leeuwenhof has always been associated with the most prestigious families in Cape Town and has been well maintained, it today remains one of the best preserved of the old garden farms of Table Valley and a fine example of the planning principles which determined the formal layout of estates in the 18th century. One should just bear in mind that the present confused modern garden in front of the house was once linked to the city by an oak avenue, and that a neatly planted vineyard on either side allowed a magnificent view over Table Bay and its anchorage.

2 WATERHOF

In 1782 the owner of Leeuwenhof sold just over 3 morgen of his land on the eastern side to Marthinus J Möller who three years later sold to the master of the orphan Chamber, Hendrik Justinus de Wet who erected the house and outbuildings still standing.

After the death of the next owner, Pieter Deneyes, "oppercoopman" and fiscal, Waterhof was sold to Johan Hendrik Hofmeyr, who had been the owner of the adjoining property, Welgemeend. The transfers after this are not given, but in 1866, when a new road between Waterhof and
The garden lay-out of Waterhof showing terraces and oak and quince boundary hedges (above)

The front wall of the Rev Fleck's parsonage (below) (Museum Africa, Dirk de Jong 1795)
Leeuwenhof was planned by the City Council, a drawing of the Waterhof garden shows the layout of this property. Here one also sees the oak avenue to Leeuwenhof.

There is a forecourt planted with trees where one enters the property from the east to the front door of the house, which forms a unit with its outbuildings. From a stoep on the city side one looks down to Table Bay in the distance. This garden has four terraces retained by stone walls and a central path with steps connecting the four changes in level. On the top terrace is a flower garden on either side of the path and on the lowest a vineyard, the terraces in between are labelled "Garden" and were probably intended for fruit and vegetables.

The side boundaries were planted with oak or quince hedges and as the water courses for irrigating the garden also ran on the boundaries, they would have been well watered. A "Waterhouse" is shown, which might indicate a bath-house.

This lay-out seems to be the basic one followed by all the garden estates in Table Valley throughout the 18th and 19th century, but nowhere is it so well detailed as in this document.

3 **THE REV FLECK'S PARSONAGE (TODAY THE MOUNT NELSON)**

The walls surrounding the estate of the Rev Fleck, situated on the mountain side of the Company's Garden, also appear to be of stone according to a sketch by Dirk de Jong who illustrated the street facade on the City side as well as the view from the parson's study in 1795.

In the enclosing werf walls he shows the entrance gates, topped with urns, on the town side with their double columns, one taller than the other, joined by downward curving walls.

This gateway appears to have been the vehicular access, closed by double gates probably of wrought iron, with solid panels below and arched rails above. Next to the large gate was a lesser one with smaller wooden gates under a raised wall, probably the pedestrian entrance.

The small gate is on an axis with the front stoep steps and door of the house, the larger gate with that of the outbuildings. There are two large pines on either side of the house steps and an avenue shades the drive to the outbuildings. North of the house is a colonnade at right angles to the house and behind that a neatly planted grove, probably of fruit trees, on a higher terrace. The house faced the Company's Gardens in the foreground and had a beautiful view over the bay.

4 **ORANJEZICHT**

On 1st December 1709, Durand Soullié, a Huguenot who had earned a living as a shoemaker in Drakenstein before moving to Cape Town, was granted a triangular piece of land, less than one morgen in size, on the slopes of Table Mountain against the Plattekloof Stream. Here he built a house and laid out a garden, but Governor Louis van Assenburgh stipulated that he would not be allowed to plant vines or to keep any four-footed live-stock *geen viervoeten vee.*

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23 C/A, A/69
24 O.C.F. Vol 2 p184, 1.12.1709
Thibault's drawing of Oranjezicht in 1792

Michiel van Breda (Burrows E H, Overberg outspan p111)
His widow, Johanna Strydom, inherited the property with the house, furniture and garden implements seventeen years later and in turn, in 1761 sold the house and garden with moveables to Pieter Van Breda who paid 2,230 guilders for the land and 280 guilders for the los goed or loose items. Pieter, the progenitor of this important South African family, was from Sas van Gent in Zeeland and the father of his wife, Catharina Smuts, came from Middelburg, also in Zeeland. Pieter therefore received a house and established garden with his property.

From this time onward Oranjezicht remained the home of Van Breda's descendants for more than two centuries as the farm was passed on from father to eldest son from one generation to the next. Thus Pieter's widow, Catharina Smuts, transferred the original grant together with an additional grant obtained by her husband in 1744, to her son, Michiel, married to Wilhelmina de Kock, whose father also came from Middelburg. He had to pay 6,000 guilders to the estate which indicates that his father had very much improved the property, at this time still described as a "house and garden".

When Michiel in turn bequeathed the property to his eldest son, Pieter, who took transfer in November, 1777 for 10,000 guilders, it was for the first time called "Oranjezicht". Ralph Pentecost, who did a study of Oranjezicht, argues convincingly that the orange groves which grew on the estate inspired the name.

By now the farm had increased to 38 morgen because Michiel had also requested further state land adjoining his property and received 33 morgen, so that its value was now 10,000 guilders.

Pieter was involved with some disputes as to the boundary limits of Oranjezicht so that the land was remeasured and a new title issued in 1779 for 40 morgen, incorporating a larger richer piece of ground, but in October 1781 this was annulled and remeasured and in 1793 a further 20 morgen was added, making the total extent of the farm 61 morgen 584 square roods. When Pieter married his second wife, the widow Hilletje Smuts (Versfeld) in September 1802, he also became the owner of her farm, Nooitgedacht, next to Oranjezicht. But as Nooitgedacht was not regarded as part of the Oranjezicht estate, it was sold to Jacobus Smuts at a later date.

Pieter Van Breda was responsible for the replanning of a new werf between 1792 and 1804, for the buildings and their surroundings as shown on drawings done at each of these dates, differ considerably:

The early farm landscape is very beautifully drawn by Thibault in 1792. It shows a U-shaped house lying south of the Platteklip Stream and behind it a rectangular enclosure formed by a wall and two outbuildings.
View of the Oranjezicht colonnade and orchards, late 18th century, anonymous

Remaining column

Lady Anne Barnard's drawing of the colonnade (Neg from Prof Bax. Owner Earl of Balcarras Scotland)
Before the house are two further walled courtyards with cut-away corners on the house side, which might have been for flower gardens. Further down the slope, are two parallel outbuildings on either side of two more walled yards. Even further down, a long building lies on the banks of and parallel to the Platteklip Stream and a small building shown on the opposite side of the river might have been a mill.

The approach to the farm on its south-eastern boundary follows the stream and it is interesting to see how the formality of the lay-out is adapted to accommodate the curve of the stream, and how a cross axis to the house over a bridge from the north is planted with an avenue of trees. Trees are also shown planted at regular intervals along the whole length of the stream which forms the northern boundary of the farm.

A drawing of the estate from the mountain side of the garden at the end of the 18th century indicates a number of terraces connected by two avenues and each terrace neatly planted with what may be orange or other fruit trees. A high hedge on the mountain side was probably planted as a wind-break. One notices a long boundary wall on the east and rows of small shrubs on the mountain slopes which may be vines.

A second painting, dated 1795, is probably a view from the stoep of the house. The only landscape element which is clearly shown is a colonnade exactly similar to the one already described at Leeuwenhof. The city and its surroundings are reasonably accurately drawn and the colonnade is therefore probably accurate. Lady Anne Barnard sketched the same view at the same time and she too draws a closer view of the colonnade and the pillars topped with what appear to be urns.

The second source of information on this garden comes from a closer scrutiny of the 1804 sketch of the farms at the foot of Table Mountain, already mentioned above. On the farm marked "Breda" one sees quite clearly a double storey house with adjacent L-shaped outbuildings and a long approach through an avenue to this front courtyard. A map of Cape Town drawn by Thom in 1888, shows exactly the same arrangement of buildings, so that one can assume that Pieter Van Breda's werf remained largely unchanged into the 20th century.

Thom shows a forecourt planted with oaks and a circular drive around a duck pond (according to Pentecost) in front of the front steps, probably a later addition. He also shows three walled areas on the City side of the forecourt with two pillars in one wall close to each other and two further ones giving access to one enclosure. The stone walls of these enclosures are still to be seen together with the double pillars which carry a bell and the pillar from which a gate once swung.

Pieter might have rebuilt the original house of Soullier, for the two houses seem to be in the same position, but the outbuildings were all demolished and rebuilt elsewhere. Perhaps further research

33 C/A E9188
34 C/A 2792
35 Robinsoi A M Lewin, The Letters of Lady Anne Barnard, p18
36 C/A M330
37 The original Thom map has been repaired and is filed in the library of the Surveyor General's office where I was kindly allowed to photograph it
Detail from Thom's plan of Cape Town showing the Oranjezicht werf. A slave bell and some garden walls shown here, are still standing (below)

(right) The werf as depicted on drawing of 1804 in the Koopmans de Wet collection
may reveal a fire as the cause of this unusual rebuilding program which must have taken a lot of capital.

Pieter sold to his eldest son Michiel, in 1804, both Oranjezicht and a new piece of land which he had obtained at Oude Kraal on the Atlantic coast.

This Michiel was a remarkable man who had much influence in Cape Town as Burgher Councillor, member of the first Legislative Council and as chairman of the first Council of Municipal Commissioners. We do know that though most of his land, earlier planted with vegetables "to supply the naval establishment" was by 1822 planted mostly with vines. He had reserved a part of his garden for all kinds of exotic plants and was regarded by Colonel Bird in 1822 as the most experimental horticulturist at the Cape and also very generous as he kindly distributed plants from his collection to visitors. He had even successfully planted a coffee tree which supplied his family with coffee of an excellent flavour.  

Further information on Michiel Van Breda will be provided in the next chapter on the Overberg farms, where he played a most prominent role in establishing the merino wool industry as well as the establishment of the town Bredasdorp, named after him.

Michiel's eldest son, traditionally bearing the name of his paternal grandfather, Pieter, probably died young, for in 1851 Oranjezicht and Oudekraal were sold to his second son, Dirk Gysbert Van Reenen van Breda, named after his wife's father.

Old Michiel Van Breda had stipulated as a condition of transfer to his son Dirk, that "the whole of the Estate Oranjezicht shall forever and for the utmost and longest time which the law of this country may permit such judiciary limitations to subsist, to remain an unalienable hereditary Family Estate of the family Breda to be possessed and succeeded to as herein mentioned". He then described how the direct line of succession should be from father to son and if there was no male descendant, the next brother and his male heirs after him, should succeed without payment of any sum of money prohibiting and forbidding deductions of any tribellion portion or any other portion at any time it may be considered legal to deduct.

According to Michiel's will (18.8.1847) a number of loose items were to be transferred as part of the estate: the brandy still and everything belonging to it, the large bell, the house clock, the scale, the barometer, the binoculars, the bureau in which all the books and papers were kept and of which the keys were to be handed immediately on his death to his eldest son. From this inventory it is clear that the Van Breda's were probably making wine and definitely distilling brandy, so that one of the outbuildings still to be seen on late 19th century drawings of the werf, must be a wine cellar and distillery.

However, his dreams for Oranjezicht as a permanent family home, were not to come true: in 1877 the Cape Town Municipal Council were empowered by a special act to buy twelve morgen from

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38 Bird W., State of the Cape of Good Hope 1822, pp157-8
39 T125, 13.3.1851
40 T125, 13.2.1851
Oranjezicht: The double storeyed main house with "stoepkamer" (C/A R1134) (left) and orchard which is also shown on an anonymous drawing of the late 18th century (below)

From the Oranjezicht gardens at the end of the 18th century (Cultural History Museum)
the estate to build reservoirs; in 1882 by further acts, the City Council acquired the Platteklip water for an annual sum of £832 per annum, and farming activities as a result were rendered impossible. The farm was subdivided and portions sold off until only the house with surrounding garden was left and though the Van Breda family continued to live there, the property was expropriated by the City Council in 1947.

The precious family heirlooms were sold at public auction and the house inexcusably demolished in 1955 by the City Council who had promised Capetonians a museum there.41

Photographs of the main house by Elliott taken in the early 1900s, a few garden walls, a pillar, the slave bell and a part of an outbuilding are all that today remind us of the glorious estate of the Van Bredas of Oranjezicht. A solitary column, with its gate rebate, confirms the accurate detailing of a magnificent colonnade by Lady Anne Barnard almost two centuries ago, but also reminds us of the fragility of the environment which man creates for his enjoyment with so much care.

Oranjezicht was one of the most important estates in Table Valley and owned for over 200 years by descendents of one of the most prestigious Dutch families. The sons born and reared on this property acquired their own properties in Table Valley, behind the mountain and in the Constantia Valley. They also acquired large farms in the Overberg. The basics of formal landscape design as they had experienced at Oranjezicht no doubt influenced them in the human environments which they in turn created further afield, as we shall see in subsequent chapters.

5 ZONNEBLOEM

Twelve morgen of land under the "Wind Mountain" were in 1706 given on loan to the burgher councillor Claas Hendrikz Diepenauw, who already had two other farms. As Diepenauw abandoned the land, it was granted in February the following year to Pieter Christiaans.42

Five years later, when the "tweede burgher" Jan Vlok took transfer, paying a sum of 600 guilders, the land is described as "thuynland".43 However he died in the same year and his widow sold it to Elias Kiena who obviously made some improvements for, sixteen years later, his widow received 3300 guilders for the same property, now described as a plaats of hofstede.44 The next owner, Transport Lieutenant Melt Van der Spuy, therefore seems to have received a well developed farm, probably with some buildings on it.

Nicholas Gokkelius, from Westerfoort in the Netherlands, who had been living on his farm Westerfoort in Rondebosch since 1717, took transfer of Zonnebloem for 1168 guilders in 1733, but he had no children and by that time was a widower, so it is not clear who was living at Zonnebloem during his five year ownership nor what this early farm werf looked like.45

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41 Pentecost R. *The Farm That Died, p110*
42 D/O, O.C.F. Vol 2 p90
43 T853, 17.11.1711
44 T1893, 13.4.1729
45 T2130, 21.8.1733
Perhaps it was his heir, Steven Ten Holder, the husband of his niece, Magdalena Taats, who farmed there. Gokkelius donated the farm together with four slaves from Malibar and one from Bengal to Ten Holder in 1738. Sheep, goats, one horse, five full and two half leaguers of wine went with the transfer and a condition that Ten Holder should free certain slaves at the time of his death. That whilst freeing some of his slaves, he at the same time donate them each their own slaves: thus Abraham and Dorinth were given the slave Evert from Bali, and Dannie and Hanna the slave November, and Abraham and Sara the slave Cupido.

Ten Holder became one of the wealthier and more important Cape burghers, was Burgher Councillor and Master of the Orphan Chamber. He eventually also inherited Westerfoort after Gokkelius' death in 1743 and was therefore in a very favourable financial position to develop Zonnebloem.

According to the transfer document he took transfer of a considerable number of buildings at Zonnebloem at this time: a manor house fit for the Burgher Councillor; kraals and stables for the animals; various living quarters for the slave families and a cellar for wine-making. But Ten Holder lived at Westerfoort and sold Zonnebloem a year later to Lt Alleman.

When Lt Rudolph Siegfried Alleman arrived at the Cape from Bergholtzhausen in Westphalia in 1720, he was in the service of the D.E.I.C. where he received quick promotion. After he had attained the rank of Lieutenant he took transfer of Zonnebloem and Mentzel describes the property then as a "pleasant dwelling standing in a garden that was watered by a little brook that flowed from the mountain".

Alleman was promoted to Captain in 1747, a position which he retained until his death in 1762, and his property, prominently visible from most places in Table Valley, probably reflected his importance, for he had paid almost double the price of Steven Ten Holder.

His farm was transferred after his death to his sons, Nicolaas Anthon and Frederik Wilhelm. In this transfer deed the sons received zyn thuyen met aile desselfs thuygereedschapen as well as cattle, sheep, horses, wagons, empty and full leaguers together with coopers' and cellar equipment. They also inherited their father's chaise.

Captain Alleman had obviously been a man of means and this transfer confirms the fact that vines were growing on the foot of Devil's Peak and wine was being made at Zonnebloem in the first half of the 18th century.

After two years of shared ownership Frederik Alleman bought out his brother's share of Zonnebloem, paying 4 000 guilders for the house and garden and 2 300 for the wine-making equipment and other implements, wagons and animals. He lived there till 1774 when Jan Hendrik

46 T2409, 15.9.1738
47 Mentzel, V.R.S. 4, p95
48 T2409, 28.4.1739
49 T3790, 12.11.1762
Thibault shows the werf lying at the top end of the military lines, and the rectangular surrounding lands set out in grid fashion. The map (left) from the end of the 19th century shows the remaining buildings (C/AM1/191).

The U-shaped main house as it appears on a transfer deed to Alleman (below left)

The relationship of Zonnebloem and District 6 is shown (right). Hanover Street ended in the farm werf (Longland Street Plan 1903)
Munnik (Mönnig), Adjudant of the Cape Cavalry exchanged his farm Uitwijk near Salt River for Zonnebloem, now described as a garden with the daarop staande gebouwen.¹⁰

Munnik paid 6 000 guilders for the property which now included 12 morgen of adjacent land granted to Alleman in 1743. But as the price did not include moveables, and more than half of the land was described as useless for cultivation, the higher price was probably due to improvements made by Alleman.¹¹

This farm gained an important strategic position in the late 1780s when it became the terminus of the defence lines constructed along the foot of Devil’s Peak by the French Mercenary regiments, and when Munnik became Captain of the Cape Cavalry.

As Zonnebloem was so prominently situated, there are several illustrations of it, so that a good idea of its appearance at the end of the 18th century can be formed.

An unknown undated water-colour in the Parliamentary Library shows an H-shaped house with simple straight gables and a high stoep with pergola overgrown probably with vines, and the garden in front of it enclosed with a high stone wall. In the garden are fruit trees which might be citrus and on the mountain side of this is a grove of high trees, perhaps poplar. The four outbuildings in a row south of the house, are all thatched. The end one has a chimney and would therefore probably have been the slave quarters. It has three doors and four windows onto the werf which is the pattern that we have found elsewhere for slave quarters (e.g. Boschendal and Hazendal).

A panoramic drawing of Cape town by Capt Robert Gordon at this time shows a row of buildings at Zonnebloem: the thatched-roof house slightly set forward from the other buildings, a double storey flat roofed building left of this (probably the wine cellar which has had a second storey added), and then a row of two thatched buildings. (Perhaps the wagon house /stables and slave quarters, again with a chimney). This drawing was done when the farm belonged to Munnik whose widow sold to Floris Brand in 1798.¹² Floris died before the end of the year and his wife then bought a small section of Tamboerskloof which was owned by her husband’s brother Hendrik, married to her sister.

Floris Brand therefore did not have much time to bring about changes to Zonnebloem and the farm was transferred to G F Goetz for 35 000 guilders who on the same day resold to Alexander Tennant for 50 000.¹³

A sketch done by Klein in 1804 copied by Elliott,¹⁴ during Tennant’s ownership, shows the same buildings, thus confirming Gordon’s details. But here the thatched manor house is shown as an H-shaped building with an ornate central gable, set forward from the other buildings and with a high front stoep and pergola. Two of the thatched outbuildings also have ornate gables and the entrance gates to courtyards between the buildings are through high walls decorated with scrolled,

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10 T3992, 12.10.1764
11 T4667, 4.11.1774
12 T7350, 16.3.1798
13 T176, 15.10.1800
14 Cart E1991
Anonymous sketch of Zonnebloem, 19th century shows stone garden wall, house with front pergola and the row of thatched outbuildings (Parliamentary Library)

Detail of the Zonnebloem werf from Gordon’s panorama of 1785 shows a flat-roofed double storeyed outbuilding not seen above

Klein’s drawing of 1804 of the Zonnebloem farm shows the flat-roofed building above and new gables on the outbuildings (CIA, 1991)
curved copings. This sketch shows a werf enclosed with wooden fencing instead of a wall on the city side and the road from the city curving round the palings to the side of the house. There appears to be a considerable walled garden in front of the house, but no detail is shown. Munnik must therefore be responsible for the ornate gables, which up to the 1790s were clearly shown to be simple and straight.

Thibault, on his plan of Cape Town done for Governor Van De Graaff in 1786-7 to show projections for new defence lines (never carried out) drew the layout of Zonnebloem in detail and shows the arrangement of the buildings to be similar to the above sketches.

A long building situated parallel to the outbuildings on the city side, is indicated on Thibault’s survey plan of 1814, but this building is not shown on the above sketches and may have been a later addition. A plan of 1897 does not show it either, although the other buildings shown in the early 1800s, are still indicated. It was presumably demolished by that time.

Thibault shows three branches of a mountain stream encircling the parallel rectangular lands on the mountain side of the buildings. These were probably the vineyards. No avenues of trees are shown on his drawings or on the sketches. On the rocky mountain slope with its constant exposure to the south-easter, most trees other than stone pines would have been difficult to cultivate. Gordon does show a short row of trees on one side of the access road which might have been pines.

From the above résumé of the history of Zonnebloem it appears that the Alleman family were probably responsible for the initial arrangement of the werf and its buildings which were so prominent on the mountain slopes above the city by the late 18th century, but that the werf was walled in and the buildings improved by Captain Munnik.

The Alleman and Munnik families, both German, had a common military heritage which might have affected their planning preferences. The buildings were laid out with imposing formality in a long, slightly curved row along the contour and the garden probably on terraces to accommodate the slope in front of the house.

Tennant was to live at Zonnebloem for the next 30 years. During his ownership further grants of land greatly enlarged his property so that at his death, the farm was 200 morgen in size. On this transfer certain conditions were laid down by the Government regarding the block houses and defence lines. They also retained the right to a quarter of the water from a spring and the right to collect iron-stone for road-making and the repairing of streets and roads.

Maps of the end of the 19th century show how the town had grown towards Zonnebloem and how the extended Hanover ended in the old werf. By that time the buildings had been transferred to the Rev Robert Grey (on 4.1.1860) and added to and adapted for a new purpose - that of a college intended to educate the sons of the Xhosa chiefs from the Eastern territories.
In 1795 twenty-one morgen of land de tuin van den burgheur H.Brandt genaamt Tamboer en Ambrahamskloof at the foot of the Lion Hill was remeasured and granted to Hendrik Floris Brand, who had inherited it from his mother, Adriana Jacobs, a daughter of the slave, Jacob from Koromandel. Adriana was then the widow of Floris Brand, son of the Norwegian, Robbert Brand. Floris had received transfer of Tamboerskloof from Dirk Batus.6

On the 1795 grant the surveyor, Wernich, draws the plan of the L-shaped house which faced north, and two small outbuildings, one in the walled enclosure behind the house. The werf wall in this case does not allow space for a forecourt but runs closely along the line of the front of the house and then at a right angle down to the boundary where the road enters the property. The boundary itself follows two water streams which run down from the hill on either side of the house.

The second outbuilding lies parallel to the boundary next to a walled enclosure which is open towards the house. This is an unusual configuration, but not a haphazard plan and one wonders whether Norwegian influence might account for the difference?

**SUMMARY**

Although the original Table Valley "gardens" usually started off as small farms, they grew in size so that Zonnebloem was, for instance 200 morgen in extent by the middle of the 19th century, Leeuwenhof 93 and Oranjezicht over 60 morgen. Development and extention of the city however led to expropriation of water and land and subdivision of the properties followed from the middle of the 19th century onwards, leaving eventually only a werf and a restricted garden in many cases by the end of the century.

An inquiry into the nature of these earliest settlement patterns in Table Valley revealed the following common planning principles:

**ASPECT**

The houses faced the view over the Bay and the distant Hottentots Holland Mountains beyond. In this way they were not only able to enjoy the prospect but could also be well informed on ship arrivals and departures which was important as they were all supplying these ships with fresh fruit and vegetables. But apart from this, Dampiers tells us of the brisk trading that the Table Bay inhabitants were involved in.

"The Dutch that live in the town get considerably by the Ships that frequently touch here, chiefly by entertaining Strangers that come ashore to refresh themselves ... besides they buy good pennyworths of the Seamen, both outward and homeward bound, which the farmers up the Country buy of them at a dear rate; for they have not an opportunity of buying things at the best hand..."7

56 T2233, 18.3.1735
57 Raven Hart R, Cape Good Hope, p382
Hope House in 1856 with oak avenue
7.2 ARRANGEMENT OF BUILDINGS

Buildings were usually situated around a rectangular enclosed courtyard with the larger cultivated areas (vines and wheatfields) lying outside the farmyard along the streams. Where the werfs were more open as at Oranjezicht, there were walled enclosures presumably to protect orchards, flower and vegetable gardens and these were situated on terraces in front of and on the mountain sides of the houses to accommodate the mountain slope. The terraces were retained with stone walls.

A comparison of the different farm "werfs" shows that each one consisted of a main house surrounded by various outbuildings arranged formally around or parallel to it. The main house is usually thatched with gables and the outbuildings either flat roofed or thatched. These buildings are often joined to each other with garden walls built of mountain stone with a brick coping plastered and white-washed, (see photographs of existing old walls at Oranjezicht) to form the enclosed courtyard which is usually roughly rectangular or square. The werf is usually reached through a formal gateway with pillars varying in complexity and grandeur.

This pattern is seen on the grant to Jan Jurgen Schreuder which adjoined his existing werf in 1754. The buildings constructed in an L as part of an enclosed courtyard, must obviously be older than the grant, which shows that this type of plan was in use early in the 18th century.

A popular way of enclosing terraces or garden areas was by the use of loose standing columns joined to each other with teak railings. The wooden gates used for such enclosures were of ornate design and comparable to similar columns, railings and gates used in Dutch estates.

By the middle of the 19th century most of the larger estates had been subdivided. They were planted on their boundaries with either quince or oak hedges. This can be clearly seen on the Waterhof drawings above.

But various other hedges such as myrtle and roses were also used. On the drawing of the re-grant of Hope House in 1856 to Pieter Hiddingh, one sees a wooden paling overgrown with greenery on one boundary, a wall on another boundary and an avenue of what were probably oaks along his entrance. This property was part of the subdivided estate of De Hoop, originally granted to Oloff Bergh in 1697, and so the trees might have been planted by Bergh.

7.3 CULTIVATED LANDS

These were usually rectangular or square in shape, lay parallel to each other, and were irrigated from the mountain streams gravitationally. Vines took up a great deal of garden space even in the late 19th century as is shown on the drawing of a re-grant of a property in Buitengracht in 1885.

According to Mentzel the owners of farms in the Table Valley grew somewhat, a considerable number of vines, and vegetables for sale on the Cape market. Most farmers also kept a few sheep and cows from which the town was supplied with fresh butter. Mentzel found that most of these
The larger part of this property in the Buitengracht was still planted with vines in 1885 S/G Office Bienfais: ten Duyne
farms belonged to the wealthier city-dwellers as they were not profitable enough to provide a good living. With their beautiful gardens, orchards and vineyards and sturdy, well-built houses, they obviously provided pleasant country homes away from the summer heat and bustle of the town centre.

One may ask whether their experience of estates and garden layout in Europe had influenced the way land-owners planned their Cape homes and surroundings. One might, for instance, compare descriptions and engravings of well known Zeeland 18th century Lusthoven to the environment which the Van Breda's created on the slopes of Table Mountain at Oranjezicht. Formal geometric plans with buildings arranged around open courtyards as seen for instance at Ten Duyne with four square flower beds in an enclosure near the house might have been the pattern for the small walled courts in front of the Oranjezicht house; long avenues running through plantations of trees in grid or star patterns at Ten Duyne might have inspired the long approach avenue to the Oranjezicht werf, but alas not through existing groves, for the slopes of the mountain were by then treeless. Watervliet, another estate in Zeeland, too, is drawn at this time with the house encircled by a canal and the courtyard around the house by wooden railings. Four simple parterres in an enclosure on one side of the double storey brick house could again have been the precedent for the enclosed flower gardens in front of Oranjezicht.

And as no separate outbuilding is shown at Watervliet, one must assume that they were part of the house. Perhaps this was why Pieter Van Breda rebuilt his new werf with house and outbuildings unified to form a beautiful forecourt. At both Ten Duyne and Watervliet, avenues of trees divide the surrounding land into rectangular beds and the orchards and vines in these are planted in even rows as at Oranjezicht.

The formality of the Zeeland gardens is evident at Oranjezicht, but as similar estates were found throughout the Netherlands, one may say that this was a general Dutch way of landscape design, not confined only to Zeeland. European settlers at the Cape therefore had numerous examples of formally planned landscapes to inspire them when they were able to buy their own properties at the Cape. But on the slopes of Table Mountain their plans had to allow for terracing with stone retaining walls where level areas were required and water canals were constructed to lead water to, rather than away from, planted areas as in the Lowlands.

58 Mentzel O F, *Description of the Cape*
60 Bienfait A G, *Oude Hollandsche Tuinen*, plate 135, p129
CHAPTER 8

THE PRIVATE ESTATES ON THE WIND-FREE EASTERN SLOPES OF TABLE MOUNTAIN

A description has been given of the development of the Company's first gardens which were set out on the eastern slopes of Table Mountain and the properties which were granted along the Liesbeek to various free-burghers in 1657. The Company very soon after started granting properties to individuals in the same area along the mountain streams which would provide them with water for crops and household use. These grants were larger than those in the Valley, varying in size from six morgen (Welgelegen) to over 100 morgen (Boscheuvel).

These farms are situated where today's southern suburbs have developed and were researched as a geographical group having similar landscape potential as those of Table Valley. They differed from those in Table Valley only in their advantage of a milder climate with no south-east winds, a slightly higher rainfall and a cooler climate.

1 ROODEBLOEM
2 WELGELEGEN
3 PAPENBOOM
4 WESTERFOORT
5 STELENBerg
6 VELTHUIZEN
7 BISHOPSCOURT
8 BOSHOFF, BOSBEEK
9 COORNHOOP
10 VALKENBURG

SUMMARY
The Thibault drawing of the Roodebloem werf showing the buildings, unfortunately smudged, and surrounding cultivated lands (C/A M3/41)
ROODEBLOEM

In 1666 sixteen morgen of land were granted to "second merchant" Hendrik Lacus, at the foot of the "Windberg" north of the Company's wagon road to the forest. South-east of him lay the Company's granary and to the north-west the gardens of "ensign" Johannes Coon. ¹

In the following year Lacus was found guilty of fraud and a few months later all his belongings were sold and he was banished with wife and family to Robben Island. Lacus was in 1670 demoted to the rank of soldier and deported to Batavia, so that he obviously never had the opportunity to develop his piece of land.²

His grant was lost and the land re-granted to M Coegman and J C Visser (31.3.1669). It was then transferred to the builder Diederik Putter, married to Visser's daughter, Zacharia, who constructed a house and "hok" which is mentioned in the next deed of transfer in 1705 to Johannes Pfeifer, a German from Frankfurt, who was a friend of W A Van der Stel. The farm by then was called "Roodebloem".³

Pfeifer was living in the town where his house was in use as a "tappery" or inn (he had since 26.2.1697 received the monopoly to sell brandy). As a friend and business partner of W A Van der Stel, he belonged to the wealthier class of burghers at the Cape. He also owned two pieces of land in Rondebosch ten morgen in size which had been granted to him by Van der Stel (see Westerfoort below).

In the author's student days in the 1940s, many "rooi pypies" (Homoglossum) were growing on the lower slopes of Devil's Peak, and this gladiolus, once so commonly seen at the Cape, probably gave the farm its name Roodebloem. It is one of the first gladiolus family to have been exported to Europe and one of the parents of the many modern hybrids.

For that is the name that appears on the next transfer from Pfeifer's deceased estate to another German, J J Coetse (Kotze) from Königstein, who had already bought it a year after Pfeifer's transfer but received his own transfer only in 1715.⁴

From Jan Kotze's estate the property was transferred to Jan Barentsz Sieker from Erfurt, in 1716, and to Hans Jes in 1723 who a few months later transferred it to his heir, Pieter Jurgen Van der Heyden.⁵ In this decade the price had more than doubled, (Sieker bought the property for 650 guilders and sold it for 1500) so that it is likely that Sieker had made some improvements to Roodebloem in the seven years that he owned it.

The Van der Heyden family, deliverers of fresh meat and live sheep to the Company and ships at a fixed price, would have found Roodebloem well situated as a disposal point for live sheep, usually kept at larger farms on the west coast. This beautifully situated farm with its view over Table Bay

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¹ O C F Vol 1, p31, erf1439
³ T659, 1.9.1705
⁴ T1027, 18.2.1715
⁵ T1560, 19.11.1723
A detail from the Gordon panorama of the cape, showing the Roodebloem complex in 1785 as developed by the van der Heyden family. It shows two buildings with chimneys and a small outbuilding in an orchard surrounded by a werf wall (Rijksarchief).

A sketch by HJ Klein in 1804 shows the front gable of the house and the entrance gate pillars of the werf in a more detail, as well as showing a new double-storey flat-roofed outbuilding, left (Museum Africa K31).

This gouache by Cecilia Ross in 1832 shows the same group of buildings as above.
The U-shaped house with extension to the south and the four outbuildings are clearly drawn as well as the rectangular orchards and cultivated land.

This map shows a simple parterre at Roodebloem, but the buildings are not clearly drawn.

Details of the parterre at Roodebloem. The buildings do not appear to be accurately drawn (Rijksarchief).
and the Hottentots Holland was to remain the property of the Van der Heyden family for the rest of the 18th century, for after his death, Pieter Jurgen's wife transferred the farm to her son Hendrik and after his death his widow Elisabeth Mostert, married Hendrik Oostwald Muller who in turn took transfer of Roodebloem in 1786. According to Dr Mary Cook, Muller rebuilt or substantially altered the house, but she does not give her reason for thinking so. An inventory taken after Muller's death does not indicate the larger house described in an inventory of 1817 when the farm belonged to Susanna van Breda and Hendrik Oostwaed Loubscher (MOOC 8117, p23).

The Van der Heyden family having occupied the farm for more than a century and being of the richer upper class, probably would have had a prestigious house and outbuildings, perhaps those which appear on a sketch done by Heinrich Joseph Klein in 1804. The plans of Thibault at the same time show a similar arrangement.

The Klein sketch shows one flat-roofed outbuilding and a hipped thatched-roofed building, lying parallel to each other on the south side of the approach to the thatched main house with its ornate gable. Another smaller flat-roofed outbuilding on the north, with a chimney, may have been the slave quarters. The farm-yard is surrounded by a wall which is broken by the entrance opposite the front door facing north-east towards Table Bay. On either side of this portal is an ornate pillar topped by an urn.

A guache by Cecilia Ross in possession of the Brenthurst Library confirms the details of the Klein illustration. This picture also shows a double storey farm house in the foreground surrounded by a werf hedge, and outside this, neatly planted orchards.

A clearer picture of the werf and surrounding orchards of Roodebloem is seen on the map M1/2210 of 1787 in the Cape Archives. Here the plan of the house is seen to be U-shaped with a wing extended to the south. This was obviously before the two front stoepkamers had been built. Orchards are shown on either side of the werf with the trees planted in quincunx, but on the mountain side the squares are each planted with five trees, one in each corner and one in the centre. Extensive vineyards stretch up the mountain slope and north of the house in long parallel rows. A small square building at the crossing of the vineyard and orchard axes might be a garden pavilion or cemetery vault, but unfortunately nothing further is known about it.

Thibault in his sketches of the werf in the early 1800s also shows the rectangular cultivated lands lying parallel to each other outside the farmyard, between the two branches of a mountain stream but does not show the detail of the above map. He does show an avenue on the city boundary and three avenues parallel to this one dividing the larger rectangles. Three other avenues cross these at right angles, the one running along the boundary of the public highway.

Thibault did not draw details of the squares which he indicated on either side of the werf. But on a map found in the Rijksarchief, it appears that the house and outbuildings were integrated into a
very intricately planned garden as can be seen in the accompanying photograph. The octagonal garden on the one side was divided into four beds around an oval central feature, probably a large pool. The rectangular bed on the opposite side with cut-away corners and surrounding flower border, enclosed a parterre with feathery scroll work, again around an oval central feature, at right angles to the one in the first bed. The paths around both these beds are planted with avenues and the whole is finished with a thick hedge. The approach is along the axis of the front door.

An earlier map of Cape Town also shows a garden divided into squares with cut-away corners and central features, but this is a much simpler form of parterre and one can only guess that the gardening ideas of the Van der Heydens were taken further when Roodebloem became the family home of the Louschers at the end of the 18th century.

Roodebloem was transferred to Pieter Louscher and his wife Johanna Eksteen (as the transfer could not be traced no date could be established). In their joint will dated 19.10.1781 they bequeathed their farm to their son Hendrik Oostwald, on condition that it should always remain in their family.9

When Hendrik Oostwald Louscher died in 1814, his wife Susanna Van Breda continued farming at Roodebloem and enlarged the farm by obtaining a grant of adjacent land of 93 morgen.10 The inventory of 1817 names the buildings on her werf: a house with eight rooms, a wine cellar, smithy, wagon-house and stable (C/A, MOOC 8/39, p17). The werf was therefore basically the same as the one drawn by Klein. Her eldest son, Pieter, in terms of the will, eventually claimed Roodebloem but it was only in April 1819 when it was decided in a court of law that Pieter was entitled to take transfer at the price of £1 500. Further family claims delayed his transfer to 1828 and he then immediately sold the farm to Adriaan Christiaan Deneys, married to Ida Jacoba Van Reenen.11

After Adriaan Deneys' death in 1856, the farm was subdivided and Roodebloem transferred to their son Jan Frederik, who still received over 125 morgen. It was approximately this time that the old thatched house with its gable was changed into a double storeyed mansion and the buildings on either side of the entrance demolished, leaving only the quarters attached to the house and the long building on the eastern border of the werf which at this time probably received a thatched roof.

Photographs taken in the late 19th century give only a glimpse of the surrounding werf, with roses growing informally in front of the stoep and pepper and blue-gums trees from Australia along the side, for by now the neatly planned formal Dutch estate had had to make way for urbanisation and all that was left of the farm which had been the pride of the Van der Heyden and Louscher families, was their werf and remnants of their family grave elsewhere on a suburban erf.
Roodebloem early in the 20th century when the house had been turned into a double storeyed building with front portico (C/A, E1283)
The landscape of Roodebloem was developed by German owners and their Dutch wives, from a group of two buildings, (house and hok) at the beginning of the 18th century into a complex of formally arranged buildings enclosing a werf. It was one of the few estates researched, where definite evidence of an 18th century sophisticated flower garden with broderie was found.

Like most Peninsula farms, Roodebloem was at its largest in the first half of the 19th century after which subdivision of the land and demolition of outbuildings started, until eventually only the werf as we see it today remains. The small erven formed by subdivision of this old farm formed most of the suburb of Woodstock.

2 WELGELEGEN

One of the earliest farmers at the Cape was Stevenz Jan Botma, a Dutchman from Wageningen. He had been given a tract of land to farm along the Liesbeek River in 1657 when it was decided by the Council of 17 in Holland that they would free a number of men from their service to try and grow wheat, vegetables and fruit behind Table Mountain where the wind would not be as destructive to crops as in Table Valley.

When this experiment proved successful, land was granted in freehold to individuals, amongst whom were Botma’s son Cornelis, in 1676. This grant consisted of only six morgen, but it was next to a stream and the ground was fertile. And it lay next to another piece of undeveloped land which he had acquired earlier, later to be known as Zorgvliet. By 1692 Cornelis noted on the census return that he had 16,000 vines which meant that he had planted an average of a thousand vines a year - a remarkable achievement if one thinks that it all had to be done by hand after clearing virgin land.12

He obviously farmed successfully and after 17 years sold the farm to Johannes Heufke from Hamburg who had married his daughter, Aletta.13 Johannes became a respected Cape burgher, first as lieutenant and later “Captain of the Burghery”, then as Master of the Orphan Chamber and Burgher Councillor. After his death his farm was sold in 1752 to Henning Joachem Prehn, also from Hamburg, and four years later in 1756 Jacob van Reenen took transfer.14

This transfer included Welgelegen (6 morgen), Altona (28 morgen granted on 24.9.1706) and a piece of arable land granted to Prehn on 19.10.1753. For these Van Reenen paid a total of 11,200 guilders which signifies some kind of a werf. Jacob was married twice and had fourteen children in 16 years, but that does not mean that his house necessarily had to be very large, for privacy was in those days not so important and many people slept in one room. Children also got married young and left the parents’ house early. But Jacob was a wealthy man who also owned farms in the Zwartland and could afford to build a stately mansion and copious outbuildings for his family and

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12 C/A J60
13 T593, 17.3.1703
14 T150, 12.10.1752 and T3249, 30.12.1756
Thibault's plan of Welgelegen in the early 1800s
(C/A, M1/194)

Welgelegen lies on the boundary between Mowbray & Rondebosch (Surveyor General's office 15231D)
A circular sunken rose garden, shown in this photograph, was situated in the same position where Thibault shows an irregular oval shape (Jagger Library).
animals, so he may be responsible for some if not most of the buildings which later formed quite an extensive farm complex.

When his youngest son Gysbert inherited Welgelegen together with the neighbouring farm, Altona and the extra piece of cultivated land, he had to pay 53 000 guilders - five times what his father had paid, which indicates that he inherited a very well developed farm in 1794. \(^{15}\) He enlarged the farm by requesting and being granted additional land adjacent to his property: 57 morgen in 1818; \(^{16}\) and 18 morgen in 1827. \(^{17}\)

Thibault drew a plan of the werf as it appeared in the early 1800s:

Although the house faced east towards the Hottentots Holland mountains, the approach from Cape Town was from the north, past Varietas and Zorgvliet.

On entering the estate one passed through a fine gateway with ornate plastered piers (which are now a declared monument) and found a small L-shaped house on the right behind which was a mill and threshing floor. To the left was a second L-shaped house with front stoep facing towards the Hottentots Holland mountains and with its own walled fore-courts. The road then passed between two kraals each with parallel stables on the east and west sides, and then bent east towards the front of the main house. A second bend took one past the north side of the house towards the mountain before it turned south to Rustenburg. Along this road was an L-shaped long outbuilding, its long wing parallel to the back wing of the house.

The date 1796 was found on a cog-wheel of the mill during renovations, which suggests that it was built during the time of Gysbert Van Reenen junior. Either he or his father built the later, larger house shown by Thibault and possibly it was at that stage that the entrance gates were constructed and the older farmhouse turned into a mill-house, today still known by that name. Gysbert had ten daughters and only one son so that the estate was transferred in 1820 to Sybrand Jacobus Mostert who had married his daughter, Johanna Petronella. \(^{18}\)

Sybrand Mostert's family continued to live at Welgelegen until the end of the 19th century when the farm was bought by Cecil Rhodes. Rhodes promised that Welgelegen should remain a home for John Currey's family, (John Currey had been his agent) and so it did until the death of the eldest daughter, Winifred in 1979. After this the homestead was returned to the State who eventually donated it to the University of Cape Town.

In the 1980s the author started visiting this very much neglected garden regularly as it contained old China roses which might have been part of an early 19th century garden. Once the plan had been measured and drawn, it was clear that the underlying geometric lay-out of the estate was still the same as Thibault had drawn it, although some outbuildings had been demolished.

\(^{15}\) T6839, 19.7.1794
\(^{16}\) C.Q.S.G.293 1818
\(^{17}\) O.C.Q. Vol 3, S.G. 103/1827
\(^{18}\) T65, 7.7.1820
AN OLD DUTCH MANSION. AT MOWBRAY. "HOSTERT'S FARM."

Sketch by J Brown 1891

The entrance pillars to the werf at Welgelegen (Jagger Library)

Baker's changes, north elevation (above) and east elevation (below) and as the house appears today (Jagger Library)
A sketch of Welgelegen done by the artist "J Brown" in 1891, was found in the Cape Illustrated Magazine. It was a representation of the house and garden lay-out before Herbert Baker changed it nine years later and, because graphic information in the realm of South African garden history is very rare, this is an extremely valuable sketch.

The house with its back to the mountain, faced the Hottentots Holland mountains as so many early Peninsula houses did. The front facade with front stoep and pergola, is symmetrical with three sash windows on either side of an elaborate double panelled front door, probably a 19th century replacement of an earlier Dutch door by the Mostert family.

A later extension of the house to the east with a forward wing under a lower roof, had a small veranda protecting the corner entrance to this portion which has its own stoep built out to the front with side steps. A similar veranda is seen on a D'Oyly drawing of Protea done circa 1830.

Because the garden is on a slope, it was planned on three levels or terraces. The stoep, with what appears to be a tiled surface, forms the first terrace from where the view of the garden and the distant mountains could be enjoyed.

Another interesting feature shown on the upper terrace is the high wall on its south edge which seems to slope downwards, to merge with a small vaulted building on a lower level. The vaulted building is no longer there, but the walls and pillar of the side steps leading down to it are. On the north the terrace is enclosed by a low wall and pillar with palisade to the stoep pergola.

The second terrace was divided into two small enclosed gardens placed symmetrically on either side of the gravelled path which formed the main garden axis. These two small gardens are bounded by plastered pillars joined to each other with wooden railings and palisades just as they are today (compare the similar garden squares in front of Meerlust). This pattern of garden fence was very popular in the early 1800s as can be seen on D'Oyly sketches.

Unfortunately the artist gives no indication of what the Mosterts grew in these enclosed squares - probably their most precious herbs and medicinal plants which needed special care. These enclosed flower gardens are reminiscent of the parterres which one finds in urban Dutch lusthoven, mostly situated near the front or back door of the house.

The third terrace reached by a steep flight of steps is only vaguely shown in the foreground although a clipped hedge is indicated on the left of the pathway where the plumbago hedge is still growing.

An Elliott photograph in the Cape Archives (probably copied from an older photograph) confirms most of the features drawn by Mr Brown and shows that though both the front door and windows had been Victorianised, the gable window was still that of an earlier Dutch house.

It also shows the pergola running round to the north facade of the house. Pergolas are not all that common and as they are so often added by owners who think it an essential part of an old Cape house, it is important that they should be recorded where they form a part of the original structure
A large oak tree in front of the house fell over in August 1926, destroying part of the garden walls (UCT Jagger Library, Special collections)
as here at Welgelegen and as was found at Zonnebloem above. On this photograph the enclosed gardens are full of flowers, there are climbers on the pergola and pots of flowers on the stoep.

On a photograph found amongst the Baker papers in the Jagger Library "Special Collections" section, two old oak trees are shown on the top terrace and more photos and a newspaper cutting illustrate how in August 1926, on a quiet day with not a breath of wind, the large oak tree on the right unexpectedly crashed down. As it fell across the enclosed garden on the right, one can assume that a large part of the garden, piers and railings had to be rebuilt.

When Baker changed Welgelegen, his plans show how a typical U-shaped house, which was common in the Peninsula, was changed around and how in the process much of the grandeur and meaning of the old Dutch house and garden were lost.  

Baker divided the original entrance hall by a wall with two fireplaces, and created a new front door in a side room on the north side. In this way the integration of garden and house along a strong central axis with symmetrical arrangement of rooms and garden beds on either side, was totally lost and the stoep with view towards the Hottentots Holland became a secondary place. The progressive approach from terrace to terrace to stoep to front door with vision through the "gallery" to the mountain was destroyed.

Thibault’s drawing indicates a circular area in the front garden, which today is overgrown with reed, and two photographs taken in the early 1900s in the Jagger Library show a circular stone wall in this same area with steps down into the garden, a raised circular feature in the centre and triangular beds with roses forming a wheel pattern. As both oaks are still on the photographs, they must have been taken before 1929.

During the clearing operations done under the joint supervision of myself and the Department of Archaeology in 1991, when a great deal of infill material was removed together with the stand of bullrushes inside this garden, a cobbled path was revealed about one metre from the outer wall and again around the central feature.

Cobbles occurred at random in other areas between these two paths as well, but had obviously been disturbed and therefore showed no definite pattern. One presumes that these were originally part of the radiating paths between the beds.

It is not certain whether Thibault’s circle indicated a dam or garden but if it was a dam the Victorian rose garden in the same spot is difficult to explain.

In 1990 a part of an old wall at the mill house collapsed and our firm was asked to advise about its restoration. We were then able to survey of the remaining walls and buildings and to compare this to Thibault’s plan of almost two centuries ago.

It was found that the mill and threshing floor had been preserved and the mill house had been extended to the mountain side; that the building east of this had been demolished; that the kraal
The Mill at Welgelegen early in this century (Fairbridge D, *Historic Houses of South Africa*, Cape Town 1922)

The cemetery of the Mosterts, recently restored
walls were all still there but that only one of the four stable buildings remained. The manor house was in essence still the same although changed by Baker as described above, but the long L-shaped building behind it had vanished.

The Mosterts built a cemetery further up the mountain and surrounded it with a white-washed stone wall. This too has been preserved and we supervised the restoration of all the graves which were built of brick, some vaulted, and garden walls. An almond tree inside the cemetery probably dates to the 19th century as it shows on old photographs.

Of all the Peninsula farms, Welgelegen is one of the oldest and one with the most intact werf: kraal walls, three 18th century buildings, a mill, a threshing floor, a house garden and the plots where the orchard and vegetables grew on the south side of the house. A strong water stream runs through a well constructed water duct and the flower garden and orchard are filled with narcissus, old fashioned roses and other shrubs which probably date back to the early 19th century.

If all this could be well restored, correctly planted and cared for, it would indeed be a cultural asset for all Capetonians. For it is a graphic illustration of the formal Dutch landscape design which was so popular in most of the larger Peninsula estates during the 18th and 19th century. As a result of subdivision of Welgelegen land along the main road into urban erven, the Mowbray suburb was formed with its own municipality. The boundary between Mowbray and Rondebosch lies just south of the Welgelegen werf.

3 PAPENBOOM

In 1695 Simon Van der Stel granted 30 morgen of land, already called Papenboom, to Rutgert Mensing, a freeman who had expressly been sent from Holland to the Cape by the Council of 17 to start a brewery to make all kinds of beer for the *gerieven van d‘E‘Comp. en desselfs passeerende Scheepen*, as it is stated in the grant to the brewer. 20

He was to be assisted by the Cape Government and so a suitable place, 30 morgen in size, was chosen for him where there was the *schoonste en bekwaamste water* (the cleanest and most suitable water) that could be found. Here Mensing built a house and brewery where he lived with his family. After his death the beer licence was transferred to his wife and son, but as a result of her uncouth behaviour, taken from her and sold on public auction to Rudolph Hendrik Steenbok in 1713 who lived there and continued brewing beer. 21

Steenbok had requested and been granted 118 morgen of adjacent land with the buildings thereon three years after his transfer and when he sold all his property in 1725 22 he transferred with it to the next buyer, C Fyk, seven slaves, one wagon, six oxen, 25 empty beer barrels, 40 bags, 69 muids of malt and one of barley together with all the house furnishing and implements belonging to the farm, for 19 000 guilders. This was 14 000 more than he had paid twelve years before. Fyk had

20 CF Vol 1 p236, For the use of the Honourable Company and their passing ships)
21 T952, 8.11.1713
22 T1697, 27.8.1725
The 1833 Brewery advertisement showing the iron railing at the edge of the terrace, the double flight of stairs, with the arched grotto between them, the pines along the circular drive and the rusticated entrance gate pillars.
obviously bought a thriving business, but we have no record of what his house or brewery looked like or how he had arranged his farmyard or surrounding lands and garden.

Ten years later, in 1735\(^{23}\) when the farm again changed hands, apart from the ox-wagon and eight oxen, the transfer included a horse-carriage with four trained horses and a cart with its horse and harness, 20 empty barrels, a plough, harrow and other agricultural implements. The four slaves, Valentine, Bastiaans, Samson and Leander were part of the deal. But the new owner, J Rennebeek, who was the Company's so-called 'sick comforter', sold the property with moveables and four slaves within three years to the Dutchman, Hans Jurgen Hauk, who had come to the Cape eleven years previously as a soldier. Hauk bought the brewery as his predecessors had done, with all the slaves and moveables, and having obtained the beer licence, continued making beer at Papenboom.\(^{24}\)

Hauk transferred the brewery and everything that went with it to Jan Willem Hurter, who had married his eldest daughter, Barbara. Hurter asked for and was granted two additional pieces of land adjoining Papenboom altogether 40 morgen in size.\(^{25}\) He had come from Obercassel as a soldier in the service of the D.E.I.C., but had obviously shown talent as a gardener, for he was eventually promoted to head gardener. In 1763 he was freed from the Company's service to take up his brewery activities at Papenboom and in time became a respected member of the Cape society as member of the Council of Marital Affairs. After Hurter's death in 1783 he left Papenboom to his son-in-law, Dirk Gysbert van Reenen, who was an ensign in the D.E.I.C. and married to his eldest daughter, Alletta Catherina.\(^{26}\)

When Van Reenen inherited Papenboom, it had been in his wife's family for sixty years and probably had a substantial house, outbuildings and well established gardens and lands apart from the brewery buildings.

According to the writings of Lady Anne Barnard who lived at the Cape at the end of the 18th century, Van Reenen had had a new house built by his own slaves according to an Italian drawing, and it appears that he was aided in the building work by drawings and advice provided by Thibault.\(^{27}\) The illustrations which have remained of the house, which burnt down in the middle 19th century, show a marked similarity to the Petit Trianon, which Thibault would have learnt to know well during his architectural studies in Paris:

In his survey of the farm, done for the Government in 1812 - 1814,\(^{28}\) Thibault shows a circular drive leading from the main road to the house, and in the centre of the drive a circle which might be a large pool similar to the round pool in front of the Petit Trianon at Versailles. (Erected by Jacques Ange Gabriel (1762-1764). At the entrance to the circular
Papenboom as drawn by J Barrow (Museum Africa, B536)

The Petit Trianon (Bannister Fletcher)

Papenboom as it appears in Thompsons Travels, 1820
Lady Anna Maria Barrow's more romantic version of Papenboom shows the arched entrance to the backyard on the left (B66, Museum Africa)

The building with the wavy parapet may have been the brewery at Papenboom (Kennedy K, Museum Africa, K33)
Sir John Herschel's view of Papenboom across the circular drive.

Papenboom house, circular drive and outbuilding as seen by Lady Anne Barnard (negative from Prof Bax, owner: the Earl of Bakrras).

Pool as drawn by Lady Anne Barnard (original neg Prof Bax).
drive two rusticated gate pillars on heavy square bases, are topped with simple square capitals, all very much in the style of Thibault as seen in the entrance pillars to the Good Hope Lodge and entrance to the menagerie in Cape Town. These pillars can also be seen on a drawing by Thompson. A sketch by Sir John Barrow in 1800 shows avenues of pines on either side of the circular drive and these also occur on the advertisement and Lady Anne Barnard's sketch of the front facade.

The drive led to a wide terrace in front of the house and from here a double flight of stairs led down to a sunken area in front of the house probably to the pool area. An arched grotto was built into the retaining wall between the two flights of steps in truly Italian style.

Although the imposing front facade of the house with its four classical columns and window arrangement, was well illustrated by John Barrow and Sir John Herschel at the turn of the century, the plan is not so clear. Thibault's sketch could indicate a U-shape similar to most house plans in the Peninsula, and Herschel's sketch suggests single storey flat roof extensions at the back.

The house is surrounded by a walled courtyard which is closed off on the north side by a long outbuilding parallel to the house. The short end of this building is drawn by Lady Anne Barnard showing a pitched roof and a large arched opening in the end wall. As this is the only outbuilding shown by Thibault, it probably accommodated the stables, coach and wagon houses and slaves. On the axis of the back door there is a semi-circular alcove in the back werf wall, but no further evidence of what this represented could be found.

A square building is indicated by Thibault on the opposite side of the public highway and this was probably the brewery. Although no description of it could be found, there is a water-colour in the Africana Museum by Heinrich Joseph Klein (1767-1810) labelled The Brewery with the Steenberg in the Distance which is dated 1800. An inscription on the back gives further information Onderste gedeelte der Brouwerij. It lies near the road and could be the same building indicated on Thibault's plan in the same situation. He might have thought it not worth while to draw the smaller thatched cottages around this building - probably the workers' accommodation. The Brewery has a high ceiling and a wavy parapet. High round openings suggest that this is not a domestic building.

Lady Anne had said of Van Reenen's house, "I Reckon it the only building in Africa which has in it the smallest elegance". But it was to be in his garden layout where Van Reenen was to prove his superiority, for even with the little information available it appears that this garden was designed on a scale and imagination that made it superior to most of the others at the Cape including the Company's Gardens.

Thibault draws an oval garden feature south-west of the house just outside the walled yard. Here three concentric lines are vaguely drawn and were it not for Lady Anne's additional information, this garden area might have gone unnoticed. Fortunately she sketched what is probably this part...
Thibault's plan of Papenboom in the early 1800s shows the circular drive with central pool. On the left the drive continues to the back of the house. The house could be U-shaped. Next to the house is a long outbuilding and across the highway a rectangular building. Behind the house a semi-circular feature is shown and to the left of this an oval area which is probably the pool drawn by Lady Anne Barnard (C/A, M1/239)
of the garden which, it appears consisted of a circular pond fed by a water channel from a fountain emanating from a large sculptured figure reclining under a stone arch. Very likely this was a Thibault-inspired design and reminiscent of the River God fountains at Versailles. Clipped hedges in a scalloped pattern surround the pond and channel, which in turn is finished with half metre high walls.

Lady Anne also describes what seems to have been a parterre garden which they were shown by Van Reenen after they had dined with him one day. The beds of tulips, carnations and other flowers were sheltered by myrtle hedges, she said, and one wonders whether this area might have been part of the pond and fountain area. However no flower beds are shown on her drawing, and the myrtle hedges are surrounded by a grove of what appears to be pines continuing up the mountain slope alongside the vineyards.

A further examination of the landscape outside the werf as drawn by Thibault, shows a strictly formal lay-out of the agricultural lands, at right angles to the main walkway which was on the axis of the front entrance on the opposite side of the public road to Newlands. This walk was parallel to a similar one situated on the boundary between Newlands and Papenboom. Both were shaded by avenues of (possibly oak) trees.

The squares for the orchards, vines and vegetables were at right angles to these main walks and the paths dividing these were mostly planted with further avenues. A forest surrounded these lands except on the south where it was adjacent to the cultivated lands of Newlands. On the mountain side of the manor house the main axis was continued, probably through the vineyards which show on Lady Anne's sketch and these were surrounded by further forests.

It is interesting to see on the 1810 census returns that Van Reenen's only "voortbengsels" or produce, (apart from beer) was wood. He must therefore have cut down a great deal of his surrounding forest, not only to sell but also for his own domestic use (he had sixty slaves in 1810) and for his brewery. One does not know whether he grew his own oats for brewing or whether that might have been grown by his two brothers on their west coast farms. Dirk Van Reenen grew his hops at a farm called Poespas Vallei near Swellendam.

In 1818 van Reenen was granted over 57 morgen of mountain-side between Papenboom and Mount Pleasant on which was a strong mountain stream. On this stream he built a water-mill to grind corn but sold it again in the following year.

Dirk Gysbert van Reenen's grandfather Jacob arrived at the Cape in 1721 as a naval cadet. He was married to a Dutch orphan, but within his lifetime he became so rich that when he died his estate was valued at 180 000 guilders. The Van Reenen children married into the upper class Cape families. They were creative, intelligent and hard-working. Dirk Gysbert flourished
Plan of Papenboom as drawn by Wernich about 20 years after Thibault

The drawing with transfer T30 36.13.7.1753
financially because of his monopolies for beer, meat and wine. But when monopolies were abolished in the 19th century and a free enterprise system introduced by the British, Van Reenen's financial position deteriorated to such an extent that at his death his estate was found to be insolvent.

Dirk Gysbert had owned six farms, of which Papeboom was the grandest. But plans of his farms Rhenosterfontein, Poespaskraal, Kleynfontein, Cadysvallei and Vondeling all in the Overberg district, displayed the same respect for geometrically ordered human environments and his farms set a standard in the rural communities which probably had an influence further afield than can now be assessed. 35

4 WESTERFOORT

In 1706 Jan Pfeifer from Frankfurt who had come to the Cape as a soldier in the service of the D.E.I.C. in 1675, was granted two pieces of land situated between the Company's "Koornschuur" and the Brewery, eight morgen and just over two morgen in size, together 10 morgen 175 roods. 36 Pfeifer was, in fact, a friend of the Van der Stel family and even after Willem Adriaan had left the Cape in disgrace, was still in partnership with his father, the old retired governor, Simon Van der Stel. These two were granted the sole right to sell salted and dried fish to the Company as well as whale-oil from Saldanha. They were also allowed to keep a large flock of sheep on one of the islands and to sell this meat to passing ships. In 1696 he also had the monopoly for brandy sales, so that one can assume that by the time that Pfeifer was granted Westerfoort he already was one of the wealthiest Cape burghers. 37

In August 1717 Nicholas Gokkelius, who had arrived at the Cape as a soldier from Westerfoort in 1686, took transfer of Pfeifer's land, which he named Westerfoort and probably lived there from that time onwards. 38 He had also been granted the farm Kleigat the previous year. Gokkelius was married to Susannah Magdalena Botha, but had no children and after his wife's death, he bequeathed his farm to his niece Magdalena Teets and her husband Steven ten Holder, on condition that they look after him and see that he was properly buried when he died. Gokkelius had a licence to sell wine and brandy in Drakenstein and Stellenbosch and was permitted to barter cattle from the indigenous tribes. He also owned Zonnebloem which was transferred to Steven ten Holder together with Westerfoort.

Gokkelius had planted 130 000 vines by 1710, 39 so Ten Holder was obviously a rich man when he inherited his uncle's property, and eventually became a respected Cape citizen, especially after his appointment as Burgher Councillor and Master of the Orphan Chamber. He requested and was granted two further plots of land adjoining Westerfoort: 9 morgen in 1743 and two further small

35 Refer chapter on the Overberg farms
36 O.C.F.6 p120 and Vol 2, p60
37 Boesecke A G, Notite van die Politieke Raad, Vol 3, pp331, 322, 397-8, 442, 464, 467 various brandy and fish monopolies granted; Vol 4, pp26, 34, 216, 221-222, 226-130, 273, 353 various monopolies etc, granted
38 T204, 16.8.1717
39 CJA, ACC2250
Thibault's drawing of Westerfoort in the early 1800s (above) and his second drawing which accompanied the grant to Rudolph Cloete in 1808 (left)
pieces of land (198 sq roods) next to the Brewery in July, 1753. On one of these there was a
servitude which stipulated that he was to allow water to run undisturbed in a furrow to Papenboom
and on the other hand that he was to receive water from a furrow running over the Brewery land
to his water-basin on Westerfoort. A drawing indicating all these furrows accompanies this
transfer. 40

When the farm was transferred to Captain Johan Daniel Wieser, son of the part-owner of Groot
Constantia, in 1762, 41 a year after ten Holder’s death, it was just over 29 morgen in size - one of the
smaller Peninsula farms at the time.

Wieser kept Westerfoort for almost forty years and it is said that it may have been he who built the
H-shaped house which appears on Thibault’s survey, with one back wing extension. On the other
hand, it had been a family home for the ten Holders for almost twenty years and Steven ten
Holder would have built a substantial home and probably had outbuildings and an enclosed werf
as most other Peninsula farmers of the time.

Thibault’s plan of Westerfoort in 1814 42 shows a neat rectangular werf, which was entered through
gates in the centre of the wall bounding the main road. From these gates an avenue ran to the
front door of the manor house which faced east. On either side of the entrance, lie two long
buildings parallel to each other and at right angles to the main road. At the back of both buildings
are neatly planted groves, probably of fruit trees.

Behind the house two crossing pathways divide the land into four rectangular beds, the east-west
path running on an axis with the back door of the house. The back werf is planted with a grove of
trees. North of this lie another four parallel beds. Above these squares and the road to Newlands
on the mountain side, are three further lands - one triangular, the other more or less rectangular.
These were probably all vineyards.

A smaller enclosed werf lies on the city side of the manor house in the centre of the cultivated
lands and one presumes that this was probably the lesser house of the foreman and slaves; for the
wine cellar and stables were probably accommodated in the long buildings of the main werf.

A circle in front of the farm entrance, on the direct axis of the front door, might indicate a
fountain. Here Thibault also draws two pillars presumably those which were photographed in the
1950s by Dr C Pama before they were demolished together with the old house by Southern Life to
make way for their administrative headquarters. These are tall heavy constructions with ornately
moulded capitals topped with balls. The gate itself is of wrought iron.

One notices that both public roads in front of and behind Westerfoort are planted with avenues.

How much of this beautifully planned formal landscape plan can be ascribed to Wieser and how
much to his predecessor, we may never know. Wieser must have been responsible for considerable

40 T3036, f3.7.1753
41 T3753, 9.4.1762
42 C/A, M3/41
The Westerfoort gates (above) and house (below) photographs by Dr Pama before their demolition by the Southern Assurance Co Pty Ltd in the 1950s.
improvements, for when Westerfoort passed into the hands of Rudolph Cloete in 1801, the value of the property had more than doubled. (Wieser bought for 24,100 and sold for 64,000 guilders). Wieser and his wife, Anna Dorothea Hiebner were both buried at Westerfoort and a condition of the sale was that the cemetery should always be left undisturbed and the road to it, available to future Wieser relatives who might wish to visit it. Unfortunately Thibault does not indicate the position of this graveyard.

Rudolph Cloete in 1808 requested and was granted about two morgen of land which divided his property, and the coloured drawing for this grant by Thibault gives a very fine picture of his werf. It confirms all the elements seen on his previous black and white sketch but shows also the bridge designed by Thibault where it crosses the Liesbeek in front of Cloete's werf and the avenue on the road from Newlands to Cape Town.

5 STELLENBERG

This is another of the farms which was ostensibly granted to a free-burgher, Jacob Vogel in October 1697, and then within weeks transferred to one of the Van der Stels - this time Simon Van der Stel's son Francois, who owned the adjoining farm, Oude Wynberg, which was already 176 morgen in size. The grant consisted of over 57 morgen of land in two sections on either side of a stream.

From Francois Van der Stel's estate the property was sold in 1717 by his widow to Christina van Canarie, previously a slave, who had in 1712 been set free by her master, Simon Van der Stel. According to Margaret Cairns this was the first free black woman to own a large farm in the southern suburbs. There does not seem to be any clarity as to her place of origin.

Christina married her neighbour, the free black, Jacobus Hendricksz who through this marriage became the owner of Stellenberg, but it is not certain when they first lived there. According to the 1725 census there were 5,000 vines in that year at Stellenberg and it appears that he and Christina were then living there.

In December 1730 Hendriks sold just over 27 morgen of his property with everything that belonged to it, to the burgher Jacob Marik, who paid 3,300 guilders for his share. This was the section of the grant which lay west of the stream. Hendriks went on farming on the remaining 30 morgen which he called Weltevreden. Unfortunately there is no record of the buildings or werf at the time, but there obviously must have been at least a house.

On the next transfer two years later, where Marik's widow sells her share to Johannes van Marlo, the price has not altered much.

43 T464, 29.12.1801
44 O.C.F. Vol 6, p44 SG40/1808
45 O.C.F. Vol 1, p250 and T429, 11.11.1697
46 Cairns M, Free black Landowners in the Southern Suburbs during the 18th century, p24
47 T1970, 2.12.1730
48 T2084, 4.11.1732
Thibault's drawing of Stellenberg in the early 1800s shows the long avenue of trees to the front door of the house and the three long outbuildings situated around a back courtyard.

The Weltevreden werf (right) has the same formal layout.

Original grant of Stellenberg
The next owner, the retired burgher Councillor, Jan de Wit, obviously was in a better financial position to improve the farm during the time of his tenure from 1742 to 1762, for when he sold it to his son the retired master of the Orphan Chamber, Petrus Johannes de Wit, the price had risen to 10 700 guilders. Jan de Wit, previously John White, had arrived at the Cape in 1700 from New York, where his parents lived. He was married to Maria Adriaens, the illegitimate daughter of Anna Pieters of Batavia and the Dutchman Lambert Adriaans.

Petrus Johannes de Wit requested and was granted 16 morgen of land next to his own in 1772 and this in subsequent transfers was referred to as "garden ground". He also owned a loan farm of 59 morgen at Blouberg called Keert De Koe. Like his father, he had been in a privileged position and therefore was more liable to be favoured by the Company's officials who made decisions about land grants. Petrus de Wit had taken for his wife Aletta Jacoba Blankenberg who belonged to one of the wealthiest and most important families at the Cape, her father Johannes Hendricus having been secretary of the Orphan Chamber and member of the Council of Justice.

Although there is as yet no positive evidence, it is generally thought that the De Wits built the present house. When his father Jan de Wit arrived at the Cape in 1700, New York was still very much of a Dutch town although it had been taken over by the English, so that De Wit might have been influenced to lay out his Cape farm in the formal and precise way of the Dutch and as he saw around him at the Cape.

In fact it is not unlikely that Francois Van der Stel himself might have constructed most of the buildings and werf wall, for his brother had, after all, been responsible for a beautiful werf at Vergelegen and his father at Constantia, so why should he not have built as beautiful an estate on Stellenberg which after all carried his name?

The entrance gate with ornate pillars and connecting wooden trellis is similar to those at Boshof and as found at Leeuwenhof, built in the 1780s, not unlike many gates found along Amstel estates in the late 17th century. At Meerlevelt, for instance, there was a gate on either side of the house similar to those leading into the courtyard on either side of the Stellenberg house. The tall pillars of the Stellenberg portals were topped with ornate urns very much like those seen at Postwyk. Both of these have slatted wooden gates. Francois had had his education in Amsterdam and would have known the buildings along the Amstel.

After Petrus de Wit's death, his wife sold the farm to the firemaster, Charles van Cohman, who farmed there from 1780 to 1793, after which it changed ownership quite quickly: Cornelis Van der Poel, retired member of the Council of Policy owned it from 1793 to 1795, Isaac Johannes Rhenius who had been acting governor after Governor Van der Graaff had been recalled, then

49 T2527, 21.11.1742 and T3784, 14.10.1762
50 Borchers Petrus, An autobiographical Memory, p15
51 Pama C, Vintage Cape Town, p87
52 T5248, 14.4.1780
53 T6754, 2.10.1793
Entrance gate to back courtyard as drawn by Mrs Trotter. This sketch was published in the Cape Times of 1898, Xmas number

Entrance gates to Stellenberg
became owner of Stellenberg from 1795-1802. According to the census return of 1810 he was selling wood and vegetables from the farm and not wine. Yet there must have been many vines on the farm by then, for 20,000 had been reported in the 1767 census.

It is fortunate that at this time the farm was drawn by the Government Surveyor, Thibault, who shows the plan as we know it today. It had in 1802 been transferred to Myndert Adriaan Van Schoor who apparently had no problem in paying 75,000 guilders cash to Johannes Rhenius. Myndert (De Villiers Pama, Geslagregister calls him an assistant D.E.I.C.) had been living in Shortmarket Street in Cape Town with his wife, Catherina Everdina Cruywagen (whose father and grandfather had come from Zwolle) and whose brother Gerhardus Hendrik lived on the neighbouring farm, Velthuizen.

Although it has been surmised that Thibault, who was married to Myndert Van Schoor’s sister, had a hand in the planning or alteration of Stellenberg, the florid entrance gates and the gable of the house do not display the heavy more geometrical detailing which typified Thibault’s work. This is another reason to believe that de Wit might have been responsible for upgrading the werf which was during Van Schoor’s ownership still in a good condition.

Thibault shows the house and outbuildings arranged around a rectangular werf which in this case is situated behind the house. The approach to the front door, which faces north-east, is through a long avenue from the main Cape Town - Simon’s Town road. On either side of the avenue cultivated lands are set out in a grid system with hedges demarcating each bed. Bird tells us that the popular hedging material was quince, so one can imagine the fertile square vegetable plots surrounded with quince hedges on either side of the oak avenue, stretching up from the main road to the house.

In 1812 Stellenberg came into the hands of C Blair who received two pieces of quitrent land together with the farm and after a tenure of eight years he sold to a compatriot, J Amber for 100,000 guilders who after another five years added 15,000 guilders to the price when he sold to Sebastian Valentyn Cloete in 1825.

Sebastian Cloete had grown up on Groot Constantia and was married to Maria Johanna Van Reenen who had cousins living on many Peninsula farms. Sebastiaan had no male heirs but only two daughters and perhaps this is why he started subdividing Stellenburg and selling off one, two and three morgen erven from 1831 onwards. The buyers were English settlers with names like Batt, Waters, Moore and Arderne. They soon started building their own homes and so the suburb of Claremont gradually developed, as the farmland decreased.
Stellenberg when the house was occupied by Lt Col Wade, 1833.
(D'Oyly)

Stellenberg lies between Claremont and Wynberg. The werf is now surrounded by suburban erven (C/A, M4/1551)
In 1833 D'Oyly made a sketch from the stoep of Stellenberg, showing a large paved area adjoining a grassy mead which of course is typically English. But at its far edge an old hedge has been retained as an edge to the forest behind it. Tall pines and oaks in the foreground provided the shade which the new settlers loved and needed in the strong sharp sunlight.

It is interesting that the Stellenberg werf, which the author considers to be one of the most beautiful and symmetrical of all the 18th century Dutch werfs, should have stayed intact into the 20th century in spite of the frequent changes of ownership and families. One accepts that the house might have been rebuilt or altered by the different occupants to meet their various needs, but it remained in the same position and maintained its dominance on the main axis of the farm.

Fortunately the house, its outbuildings, gates and ornate fence and pillars have been maintained to this day.

6 VELTHUIZEN

Christiaan Bok had come to the Cape as a soldier in 1696. In 1713 he married a slave girl, Anna Groothenning from Bengal. They had six children, but it appears that Anna's second child, Maria, was by a man named Hans Casper Geringer who was Bok's partner in a bakery business. By 1717 Bok was a barman in Rondebosch, and when he died in 1718 his farm called Velthuizen, 71 morgen in size, "on the other side of the Liesbeek" was granted to Bok's heir, the same Geringer.61

In the following year Nicolaas Gokkelius, owner of Westerfoort took transfer for 5100 guilders, which indicates that there must have been some improvement of the land and perhaps some buildings. Gokkelius transferred Velthuizen two years later to Bok's eldest son, Michiel for the same price and this price remains about the same for the next three sales which occurred at short intervals.62

In 1731 when Steven ten Holder bought the property, it was probably run down, for he paid only 3500 guilders.63 Ten Holder had inherited the neighbouring farms, Westerfoort and Zonnebloem from above Gokkelius and lived at Westerfoort so probably kept a foreman at Velthuizen for the next thirteen years of his ownership. The farm was then sold together with the slave, Cupido from Temate, for 6000 guilders - 5000 for the farm and 1000 for the slave, who was probably the farm foreman.64

The new owner, Jacob Van Reenen, described as the "retired Master of the Orphan Chamber", also owned many other properties and it is likely that he too kept Cupido as foreman at Velthuizen for the next thirteen years, for when he then sells in 1762 to Lt Colonel Jan Meinerts Cruywagen, head of the "militie", Cupido again goes with the transfer and the price remains the same, suggesting that the farm was not changed much during this time. His grandfather had

61 O.C.F. Vol 2, p330 S.G.13/1718
62 T1429, 13.12.1721
63 T2025, 30.7.1731
64 T3121, 27.12.1754
The Thibault plan shows the approach avenue, parterre before the house and grid pattern of cultivated areas on either side (M3/41)

The possible plan of the parterre at Velthuizen

The front of the house, parterre in foreground and ancient oaks on either side of the steps (C/A, M132)
arrived from Zwolle in the late 17th century and was miller for the D.E.I.C. and later obtained the beer licence and so was a wealthy citizen. The transfer from Van Reenen was to Cruywagen’s estate from which it was two months later transferred to his widow, Susanna Meyer. In 1785 the widow transferred Stellenberg to her son, Gerhardus Hendrik Cruywagen.

The widow Cruywagen had in 1779 acquired from her neighbour, Jan Bruyns, a small part of his farm Questenberg which is described as "garden ground" and she had also received quitrent land in 1784 so that Velthuizen now measured a total of 103 morgen 500 sq roods. By 1790 the Cruywagens had owned Velthuizen for 18 years and judging from the valuation of 30 000 guilders in the next transfer, they might have made a number of improvements. In fact, it is most probable that they were responsible for the arrangement of the buildings around the werf as drawn by Thibault in the early 1800s:

He shows the house facing north-east, approached along a straight avenue which opens onto a large forecourt with a rectangular parterre in the centre. Another straight avenue runs perpendicularly to the north facade of the house, and on the south of the house is a second group of buildings, which probably consisted of stables and coach-houses, arranged around a courtyard. The house itself is basically U-shaped but the narrow passage between the back wings is enclosed. There is a second enclosed courtyard with outbuildings south of the house.

On either side of the main entrance, cultivated squares set out in a neat grid, each surrounded by avenues of trees, probably contained vegetables and orchards and on the mountain side further formal but larger squares are indicated, probably vineyards. All of this was surrounded by forest.

A small cottage lies at the entrance to the werf.

In 1790 Velthuizen was transferred to the Secretary of the Council of Justice, Cornelis van Aerssen and six years later, after his death, to his colleague, another member of the Council of Justice, Jan Frederik Kirsten, for the same amount.

Now in 1796 Kirsten was a wealthy man who owned many properties, (he owned six houses in Cape Town and the farm Imhoff’s Gift in Kommetjie) and he did not live at Velthuizen. Amongst other public activities, he also played an active role on the Lutheran Church Council after religious freedom was granted to the community in 1780. He maintained ownership of Velthuizen for fourteen years before selling to James Fichart who received transfer only in 1819.

In 1810 the farm was being worked by 21 male and 18 female slaves and three "hottentots" and the produce was wood and vegetables. Thirty six draught and twelve stud oxen are also mentioned in the census return for that year.

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65 T4169, 15.10.1767 and T4179, 2.12.1767
66 T5851, 10.2.1785
67 T6446, 6.1.1790 and T7050, 3.6.1796
68 T118, 23.4.1819
69 C/A, 142
Approach to the house along the avenue of pines with the parterre and oaks at the far end. (From Herschel at the Cape, Plate 15, camera lucida sketch by Sir John Herschel)

The double oak avenue on the cross axis along the north-west approach as seen by Sir John from the front stoep (Herschel at the Cape, plate 13)
When Fichart sold the farm fifteen years later, the price had jumped from 30,000 to 80,600 guilders. Some of the value increase could be attributed to extra quitrent land that Fichart had received in 1825, but it is more likely that Fichart had during this flourishing time at the Cape, generally improved Velthuizen.

After his death, his widow gave the next owner, Valentinus Alexis Schönbergh, a bond of 55,000 guilders and he received transfer in August, 1825. Schönbergh had arrived in the Cape from Trauenstein in Bavaria as a soldier in 1776 but ten years later became a freeman and then ran a shop and confectionary in Cape Town.

In 1835 he subdivided the property, donating to his son bearing his name, "the piece of land now called Herschel" (just over 4 morgen) and a portion of the quitrent land (3 morgen) on which was a cemetery. The father gave this property to his son, "in consideration for the particular love and affection which he hath for and beareth to his son".

The rest of Velthuizen, was in the same year transferred to the astronomer, John Herschel, who had been renting the farm since 1834.

John Frederick William, the son of William Herschell the renowned astronomer, was himself "one of the most celebrated scientists in Europe" when he decided to spend some time in the Cape observing the stars in the southern hemisphere. Fortunately he kept a diary whilst living at Velthuizen or "The Grove" as he called it, which has been published, so that there are reliable descriptions of the farm at this time.

After moving into The Grove, he set up his 20 foot telescope in one of the orchard squares in front of the house and confirms Thibault's plan by remarking that "this orchard which forms a small part only of the grounds belonging to the place, which are distributed into great squares by long shady avenues of Rich Oak or tall and solemn Pines, and either overgrown with trees or laid out in Gardens". His sketches inform us that the main approach avenue consisted of pines and the north-south one of a double avenue of oaks. Both the oaks and pines were then huge trees and were therefore probably planted by the first owners of Velthuizen, which suggests that the basic formal lay-out dated to the early 18th century when the farm was owned by the Van Reenens and Cruywagens.

Because Herschel was an accurate artist and worked with a camera lucida, he left a very reliable record of the house and its surroundings as well as a plan of the house which shows Thibault's plan in more detail. He draws four steps up to the stoep, the picket fence trellis on the stoep edge, the seats at both ends and the pergola on the west side of the house. On the plan he shows the large courtyard, with an avenue of oaks in its centre, south of the house. In the outbuildings around the courtyard the servants, laundry and smithy were housed as well as Herschel's study.

70 T209, 19.8.1825
71 T78, 27.2.1835
72 T79, 27.2.1835
73 Evans D S, & Betty Hall, Herschel at the Cape, pXXIV
The house and attached outbuildings and courtyard plan as drawn by Sir Herschel (Herschel at the Cape, fig 3). Notice the oak avenue in the courtyard and the veranda on the north east side of the house.

A view of Velthuizen, or "The Grove" as it was called at that time, showing a detail of the pillars and wooden railing at the front of the courtyard (From the Illustrated Times, May 5, 1860)
The 20 feet is erected in an orchard.."which are distributed into
great squares by long shady avenues of Rich Oak or Fall and
soleum pines. In the same orchard also stands...the Equatorial"
(from Herschel at the Cape, pl 1)

A view to the Stellenbosch mountains sketched by Herschel in
1837. Agaves, as seen in the foreground, had been imported to
the Cape in the 17th century and because of their popularity,
spread quickly to the country. (Plate 14, Herschel at the Cape)
The Thibault drawing of Bishopscourt showing the U-shaped use and parallel outbuildings forming a forecourt in the early 1800s. D'Oyly shows this view unchanged in the 1830s and details the sundial in its centre (C/A, M3/41)
A photograph of this house taken by Arthur Elliott in the early 20th century shows the front of the thatched house with its Dutch sash windows and shutters and a double front door with glassed top panels and fan-light. The front gable is holbol and the side gables straight.

On this photograph one also catches a glimpse of the parterre in the forecourt with its low clipped hedges, probably myrtle. Perhaps this was Herschel’s "bulb garden" for the indigenous bulbs which he collected wherever he travelled at the Cape and with which he was so enchanted. However, he did not lay out the parterre, which is already shown by Thibault in the early 1800s.

Herschel was evidently appreciative of the less formal way of landscape design, for he himself, according to his wife, 6 had "serpentine walks cut out of the wild brushwood with his own hand when tired of calculations". Along these paths he planted his collection of watsonias and Magnificent Fleur de Lis, following the "natural" style in vogue in England and Europe at the time.

"We shall leave this pretty place much prettier than we found it", she added.

Lady Herschel also tells us that her husband laid out a new plan for flower beds in front of the drawing room windows and sowed seed to plant there. 7 In a glimpse of these beds on the west side of the house, shown on two of his sketches, one sees the informal grouping of different plants together along the pathways but the shape of the beds is not clear.

During Herschel’s tenure, Feldhausen, as it was then spelt, was obviously not being farmed and the formal squares and orchards, set out by the earlier owners, were gradually lost in an overgrowth of saplings and brushwood.

Only the parterre in the front courtyard remained intact into the 20th century, to remind us of the love for order and symmetry which had inspired the landscape design of the 18th century Dutch owners.

By the end of the 19th century Feldhausen had been subdivided into suburban erven, so that even Schönberg’s tomb and outbuildings fell out of the remaining werf which then consisted only of the house with the adjacent outbuildings and the well on its west side.

BISHOPSCOURT

This piece of ground, which had been farmed by commander Jan Van Riebeeck from the time of its grant to him in March, 1658 until his departure from the Cape in 1662, had proved to be an extremely fertile track of land. In spite of the disastrous destruction of his crops and house by the indigenous Caepman in 1659, when they rose in battle against the encroaching white settlers, there was a list of 1 244 fruit trees and thousands of young vines flourishing at Boscheuvel when he left.

And the hedge of wild almond which he had planted on his boundaries for security against further attacks from the indigenous people, was flourishing as it still does in areas today.

74 Evans D S & Betty Hall, Herschel at the Cape, p326
75 Evans D S & Betty Hall Herschel at the Cape, vol175 & 297
A comparison of the Thibault map (top) with that of an early 20th century map (below) shows that the arrangement of the buildings remained unchanged during this time (C/A M4/1551, 1901)

D'Oyly's sketch of Bishopscourt, then known as Protea while it was being used as Governor Sir Lowry Cole's country estate
In 1665 Jacob Cornelis Van Rosendael bought the property on public auction and probably made wine from the vineyards planted by Van Riebeeck, for he owned a canteen in Cape Town and was allowed to sell wine to the passing ships. He owned Boscheuvel for ten years and after his death it was transferred to his widow's new husband, Tobias Marquart. In that year, 1685, a new grant was issued to Marquart after the land had been remeasured and found to be 101 morgen.\(^76\) Leendert Van Gysden in 1687 and Cornelis Pieterz Linnes, ex-landrost of Stellenbosch, in 1690, were the next owners, and in 1691 Guillaum Heems, a Fleming originally from Bruges, took transfer.

Heems was by then a prosperous wine and brandy merchant and a friend of Governor Simon Van der Stel who later also granted him a piece of garden land in Table Valley.\(^77\) He lived at Boscheuvel, and because he was an influential and rich burgher, would have built a substantial house.

In 1692 it was recorded that his wife and one daughter were living with him at Boscheuvel, but that there was also a foreman, 31 slaves, 1 900 sheep, 4 goats, 30 calves and 30 heifers, 40 oxen and 16 cows. He was sowing wheat, oats and rye and he had 40 000 vines. At that time Peninsula farmers did not have more than a few thousand vines each, so that Heems was one of the largest wine farmers, comparing very favourably with the wine farmers in Stellenbosch or Drakenstein who had planted vines on a large scale by then. It is obvious that Heems must have had a number of buildings to house all the humans and animals as well as corn and wine making on his farm.\(^78\) However the lay-out of Boscheuvel at this stage is not recorded.

After his death his wife's second husband, Hendrik Moller received transfer and by 1726 Guillaum Heems junior inherited the farm and lived there for the next 32 years. The younger Heems also belonged to the more influential burgher class at the Cape, for he was elected both a Burgher Councillor and member of the Marriage Board, and he too, would have lived in a lusthof of no mean appearance. After his death in 1758 the property was sold to the German, Jacob Frederik Nothling (Later Neethling).

Neethling, a hatter and bellmaker, after 15 years, sold to a fellow German, Johannes Roep from Hanau, married to Johanna Elisabeth Staff whose father came from Stockholm.

According to Dr Cook, Roep, who lived at Boscheuvel for 32 years, rebuilt or altered Heems' house between 1773 and 1785, but her reference is not given. After this, transfer went in 1783 to Peter Huckes, a tanner from Stellenbosch, and to Justus Nicoiaas Keer in 1800, who all might have changed the Heems house, if indeed, it was changed.

In 1805 Boscheuvel was transferred to Honoratus Christiaan David Maynier whose father had come out to the Cape from Leipzig as a soldier in the employ of the D.E.I.C in 1741 and later become a surgeon in Stellenbosch and Cape Town. The younger Horatus had also been an official in the service of the Company as "adsistent" before he bought the farm. In 1810 we find him living

\(^{76}\) O.C.F. Vol 1, S.G. 4/1685

\(^{77}\) See Leeuwenhof above

\(^{78}\) C/A J183
at "Boscheuvel" with his wife, T E Mentz, two sons and a daughter, twenty male and six female slaves, and one "Hottentot" worker. He produced vegetables and wood for the market and kept only draught animals."

In Thibault's 1808-1811 survey and detail drawings of Boscheuvel, the approach is shown from the south along an avenue, branching off from the road to Kirstenbosch. On each side of the entrance road are two long outbuildings which enclose a forecourt with U-shaped house on the north. A drawing by Sir Charles D'Oyly of 1832 shows a sundial in the middle of this forecourt.

The D'Oyly sketch shows the single-storeyed thatched outbuildings and a double-storeyed flat roofed house on the north, around this forecourt. Another of his sketches from the garden side shows the two wings of the U facing the garden with single storeys and flat roofs. At Leeuwenhof we had found that the double storey part of the house as well as the single storey wings or "stoepkamers", all under flat roofs, had been built at the same time, probably in the late 18th century. It is therefore not unlikely that this house had also been built as a flat-roofed double storey with single storey stoepkamers in the 1780s. The houses of Leeuwenhof and Bishopscourt are very similar: both farms were owned by Guillaum Heems and one wonders whether the original structures of both might not date to his time?

Dr Mary Cook had a theory that Maynier had put the second storey with a Welsh slate roof onto an earlier house, but D'Oyly shows a flat and not a pitched slate roof during Maynier's time. The slate roof was erected at a much later date and shows on photographs taken by Arthur Elliott in this century.

Apart from the formal lay-out of the buildings, Thibault draws the orchards, lands and vineyards lying in parallel rectangular beds alongside the Liesbeek river, all surrounded by forest. On the garden side of the house he indicates a formal grove of trees stretching down to the river which appears to be heavily wooded on its banks.

Maynier had in 1818 obtained on his request an extra 84 morgen of state land lying between Kirstenbosch and Boscheuvel, in this way almost doubling the size of his farm. He lived there for 32 years but during this time his financial affairs deteriorated to such an extent that he became insolvent. After his death the farm was sold to Andries Brink who owned it for five years before it once again became Mainier property by transfer in 1842 to Honoratus Frederik Willem, above Maynier's son.

D'Oyly did several sketches of the Protea (as it was then known) landscape in the 1830s showing a different picture from that of Thibault. His garden has none of the formality of the earlier Dutch period: paths meander through clumps of trees placed at random intervals in a smoothly trimmed mead; round or rectangular shaped beds contain a variety of indigenous and exotic plants grouped together and shrubs are planted in borders against the house. He was obviously intrigued with the river and a rustic bridge across it, for he sketched it a number of times from different angles,
The natural style with grassy slopes, clumps of trees, mixed planting in the remaining beds and a rustic bridge is drawn by D'Oyly in 1833.
showing the rushing stream, the gnarled oaks, the steep uneven banks and the wooden bridge with its crooked railings.

Maynier owned the property both at the time of Thibault’s and D’Oyly’s sketches and one must therefore deduce that he was responsible for the new garden style which had become extremely popular in Europe by the end of the 18th century. How he had been influenced to design in this so-called "English landscape" or "natural" style, one can only guess - perhaps he had made friends with the many new English settlers and officials after their occupation of the Cape in 1806, or perhaps the English garden that Lady Anne Barnard had created at her property "The Vinyard" nearby, had influenced him.

In 1851 the land was sold to the Trustees of the Colonial Bishop Fund, and Bishopscourt as it then came to be called, has been the home of the succeeding Archbishops of Cape Town ever since. In 1938 a further part of the land was sold to the Bishopscourt Estate Cape (Pty) Ltd, and after division of the land this area became the Beverley Hills of Cape Town, which was developed from the 1950s onward.

If a drawing attached to an amended title done of the estate in 1901 is compared to the Thibault plan of the early 19th century, there is a noticeable change in the landscape.

On the Fernwood/Bishopscourt boundary a single row marked "row of old oak trees" in 1901 is all that is left of the formal oak avenue shown by Thibault. The vineyards along the Liesbeek have on the later drawing been replaced with forest as well as the orchards between the house and river. The vineyards south of the house have been changed to orchards with irregular boundaries, irrigated by a branch of the Liesbeek, and a new vineyard planted further south.

Many new labourers’ cottages were obviously built along the road to Kirstenbosch during the 19th century as well as a second complex of buildings south-east of the manor house. Although the two larger of these buildings lie parallel to each other, the others are arranged in a more informal fashion.

Photos were taken in the early 1900s by Arthur Elliott, and descriptions written by Dorothea Fairbridge of the terraced garden at Bishopscourt. Wide steps built of river stone took the visitor from the rose-clad pergola past stone walls covered with red verbena down to the green lawn. A pergola on the right, again covered with rose climbers, and a lily pond completed this romantic garden.

In visiting Bishopscourt in the early 1980s Noella Nabbon and roses were found on the loggia pergola, the stone terraces with their colourful borders, the wide steps, lily pond blue with Nymphaea Capensis and the tall oaks and dark pines in the background unchanged, as Dorothea Fairbridge had described it in 1925 in her Old Houses of the Cape.
A drawing attached to an amended grant in 1901 shows a row of old oak trees which has been retained on the Fernwood-Bishopscourt boundary. The outbuildings have small extensions, a number of worker's cottages have been built and a secondary complex of buildings is shown, but the early farm werf in its forest is basically unchanged (CQ 1901, 40.20)
From a formal Dutch orchard the garden had in 300 years slowly been changed to a garden as English as if it had been designed by Gertrude Jekyll herself. It had evolved through its owners from an experimental pioneer's garden to a "natural" garden, to the garden of quiet inspiration for a spiritual leader.
Thibault's drawing of the house and farm outbuildings at Boshoff and Bosbeeck. Notice the two small square buildings south of the house on the same side of the road and the square enclosure south of this with an open trellised wall on the east, as shown by Mrs Trotter (below).

This more detailed Thibault drawing of Boshoff shows the entrance to and avenue along the farm road, the orchards next to the house and grid of cultivated lands as well as the slave enclosure (C/A, M1/239).

This has always been known as the slave enclosure and an entrance gate to the courtyard (left) was very similar to that of the main gate.
8 BOSHOFF, BOSBEEK

This farm was researched by Mrs Wilma Malherbe who gives the history of these farms as follows: When Willem ten Damme, the Company's chief surgeon obtained a grant of three pieces of land in 1688 and 1706, he consolidated them and called the farm Boshoff. By the end of the 17th century there were already a house, barn, vineyards and orchards on the property as well as wheatfields.

During the ownership of Debora de Koning, the widow of Jacobus Möller, from 1748 onwards, there was a T-shaped house for a foreman and perhaps the 16 slaves who worked on the farm and although she had a small number of cattle, horses and sheep, the main source of income was the wood felled in the surrounding natural forest.

At the end of the 18th century Boshoff, Bosbeeck and Paradise became the property of Alexander Van Breda, who had sold his Table Valley farm to his brother Arend. It was probably he who developed the werf which is drawn by Thibault in the early 1800s:

The entrance to the farm was through an ornate gate which is indicated on Thibault's plan. The farm road from here runs through a grid of cultivated lands and then passes the house on the east side of the road. The house is drawn as a square with another square extension on the east, and three parallel outbuildings west of the road. A little to the south of these on the same road, Thibault draws an enclosure surrounded by three buildings. This area has always been known as the slave enclosure and has a pair of entrance gates almost as ornate as those of the main entrance. The buildings surrounding this courtyard have long since disappeared but UCT archaeologist (Martin Hall) recently uncovered their old footings. On the mountain side of the enclosure a later house was built in the 1950s in an area which the van Bredas had used as a cemetery from the middle of the 1860s onwards.

The werf at Bosbeeck consisted of a long building with three short tails to the west, perhaps a house, and two small outbuildings to the south of this, not in line.

9 COORNHOOP

Most of the information on the transfers of this farm was obtained from Margaret Cairns, as it was most difficult to unravel all the intricacies of these early deeds.

According to her a grant of 45 morgen, on which the Company had built a granary in 1657, was made to Tielman Hendricks, from Utrecht, in 1661.

He had been the manager of Van Riebeeck's farm, Uitwijk and had acquired the same after Van Riebeeck's departure.

From 1722 to 1785 the farm was owned by free blacks: firstly by Hans Jacob Brits from Stein who was married to Dina Willemse from Mauritius (1722-1725), then to Robert Schot of Bengal married to Cecilia of Madagascar (1745-1751) and then to Christian Wijnants, married to Armosytjie who continued living at Coornhoop after her husband's death until her own in 1781.
Thibault's drawing of the two werfs at Coornhoop and Valkenburg in the early 19th century and surrounding cultivated lands set out in grid patterns (C/A, M3/41)

Biermann's drawing of the dovecot at Coornhoop (below) and Mrs Trotter's of outbuildings in 1883 (above)
Although she owned seven slaves, no agricultural activity is recorded for the farm during this period.

In 1785 the farm was subdivided into three: Francis Pieter de Necker received the area which became known as Ondereming, Gideon Roussouw received the part to be known as Westoe and Servaas Van Breda the remaining piece on which was the "opstal" of Coornhoop.

Van Breda was the son of Michiel, owner of Oranjezicht and his wife, Johanna Isabella Hurter, the daughter of Willem Hurter, the brewer at Papenboom. With influential wealthy parents it seems probable that these two would have had the means to develop the werf which is drawn by Thibault not many years later.

The house and its outbuildings form a well-integrated formal unit of which most remains. The approach is on a straight axis to the front door of the house from the east into a large forecourt. Two very long outbuildings at right angles to each other lie on either side of the house, the western one touching the front corner of the house, which consists of two sections with an adjoining courtyard. One outbuilding contains a very beautiful and extensive dovecot. The complex was recorded by Barrie Bierman before it underwent "restoration" in the 1960s.

**10 VALKENBURG**

The early history of this werf too was quite difficult to follow from the transfer deeds and was therefore not attempted. Jacob Vogel seems to have been the first grantee, but in 1721 the land was remeasured for Cornelis Valck who gave the farm his name. 82

Thibault’s plan of the early 19th century depicts a large enclosed werf lying south of Coornhoop with an access road from the west in line with the front door. Today a very fine gateway in the werf wall in front of the house probably dates from this time, but is not clearly indicated on Thibault’s drawing.

The house which is drawn as a square, probably already I-shaped, has an attached outbuilding and two enclosed yards on the east. These were probably the domestic gardens. Another road enters the large werf on the east between two long outbuildings. Two further outbuildings lie at right angles to the werf wall, but the walls of the two kraals lying between them enclose the south boundary of the werf.

During recent work on the old buildings, the architect Mr Dirk Visscher found an original flat roof on the building attached to the east side of the house.

This complex is to my mind one of the most beautiful in the Peninsula, although devoid of trees except for the one very large Ficus macrophylla next to the house. It is a perfect example of Gallée’s "Roman Villa" plan mentioned in previous chapters. Unfortunately recent developments have changed the simplicity of the original design.

82 O.C.F Vol2 p356
Valkenburg in the 19th century (C/A, AG3387)

Valkenburg house with thatched roof, Victorianised with a veranda and stoep railings, wooden trellis-work and a summer house. Later tiled roof (above) taken by G T Fagan before it was restored in the 1980s.

Walled family cemetery at Valkenburg (Fagan 1975)
A Cape Flats survey plan of 1897 shows the buildings surrounding the Valkenburg courtyard identical to those drawn by Thibault. A small building has been added behind the house & the walled spaces have been enlarged.

Mowbray Municipality plans of 1909 show the house and five outbuildings still in place, but a number of small new buildings has been added, probably to accommodate the asylum which was established here.
Farms along the Liesbeek and Salt River on a map of 1806 show neatly laid out werfs, many of which are built around an enclosed courtyard (C/A, M4/3)
SUMMARY

The farms discussed in this chapter were designed in the same way as those in the Table Valley: the werf buildings were arranged in a group, usually around a courtyard; the cultivated lands were set out in neat grids outside the werf; the houses, with a few exceptions (like Valkenburg) faced the Stellenbosch Mountains and most of these estates were developed by the wealthier Cape citizens. Parterres were recorded at two farms, Feldhausen and Roodebloem and almost all the farms had ornate entrance gates and made use of colonnades with wooden grills. Avenues along public roads, on boundaries and along farm roads were either of oak or pine and formed a prominent part of the landscape.

A colonnade with wooden grill in Batavia at the entrance to the hospital (Rach 1780s)

A colonnade with wooden rails enclosed the backyard of Vredenburg (Ross C, Museum Africa 2098)
CHAPTER 9

ESTATES IN CONSTANTIA VALLEY

This valley with its deep fertile soil, mild climate, abundance of water, natural forests and beautiful views, was where the choicest Peninsula farms were to be situated.

Some of the larger Constantia estates will now be described in more detail to see how they grew and developed, who was responsible for their organisation and what quality of human environment was established at each of them, and to what extent these differed from each other.

As the social history of these farms has been described in Dane's book on Constantia, this thesis concentrates on the physical development of these estates, and on the people and families involved only as far as they illustrate the interrelationship between the different landscape elements and those who created them.

The first main source of information for this chapter was the properties which Thibault mapped along the main road between Cape Town and Simon's Town. Here attention was drawn by Margaret Cairns to the preparatory drawings which Thibault made for this map filed in the Cape Archives.

LOUIS MICHEL THIBAULT

Louis Michel Thibault, who had arrived in the Cape in 1783 with the Meuron Regiment, and thereafter worked as official planner, architect and engineer for the D.E.I.C. during their last years at the Cape, was to have a great influence on landscape planning at the Cape at the end of the 18th and the first fifteen years of the 19th century.

Having been a student at the Royal Academy of Architecture in Paris, he was well equipped to supervise both the civil and military architectural and planning problems at the Cape. After arriving as Lieutenant Engineer, he was in 1785 invited to become a member of the permanent staff of the D.E.I.C. under Governor Van der Graaff, and after this was quickly promoted to Captain Engineer.

His integrity and professional experience soon impressed the succeeding British Government who in 1806, shortly after their second annexation of the Cape, granted him the right to practice as a land surveyor (October 1806). Soon after, he was asked to investigate the best route for a public highway from Rondebosch to Muizenberg, and after submitting his report, was put in charge of constructing the said road. At the same time he was to report on state buildings.

In 1811 the Government, wishing to sell or rent out land on this road which had now been completed up to Simon's Town, appointed Thibault as their official land surveyor and instructed him to survey the thousands of morgen of state land lying on the right side of the road between Cape Town and Simon's Town.

1 Dane P, The Great Houses of Constantia
2 Cairns M, Archives Journal Vol 28, 1986
The maps and drawings which he did for this survey, first on the right side of the road and then on the left, are of inestimable value for the study of landscape planning during a crucial time of the Cape's history.

For they record the plans of most of the large properties which were then still in the hands of the wealthier Dutch merchants and colonists, their planning based on the formal Dutch or French style with which Thibault was familiar, and which had in fact inspired his own planning of some of them.

In his draft drawings for each individual estate, Thibault shows a ground floor plan of the buildings together with cultivated lands and their relation to the irrigating mountain streams, as well as access roads and placing of buildings. As all these drawings were not incorporated into his final plan, their study together with Thibault's final maps, was essential for a better understanding of the wider principles used in the planning of these estates.

The second main source of information on the landscape organisation of Constantia farms was the plans found in the Deeds Office which accompanied the re-issue of grants as a result of the Lands Act of 1865. These drawings done with great attention to detail, and in colour, gave an exact picture of the lay-out of Constantia farms at the end of the 19th century. A comparison of these with the earlier Thibault drawings provided a great deal of information about the growth and design of the Constantia landscape in the 19th century.

This chapter has been written under the following headings:

1. GROOT CONSTANTIA
2. WITTE BOOMEN
3. ALPHEN
4. BELLE OMBRE
5. BERGVLIET
6. FIRGROVE
7. RUST EN VREDE
8. SILVERHURST
9. CLAASENBOSCH
10. GLEN ALPINE (KLEIN BENYDENSDAL)
11 BUITENVERWACHTING

12 TOKAI

SUMMARY
LAND OWNERS
DATING OF EARLIEST FORMAL LANDSCAPES
NATIONALITY OF EARLY PLANNERS
COMMON DESIGN PRINCIPLES
Facing
Arrangement of buildings
Cultivated lands
Access
Garden embellishments
CONCLUSION
Heydt's drawing of 1741 (above) shows the U-shaped house with a roof window, the foreman's U-shaped cottage and the stable surrounded by cattle kraals. An avenue consisting of four rows of oak trees leads to the front door and vineyards are planted in rectangular blocks in the foreground (Raven-Hart R, Scenes of the Cape of Good Hope in 1741).

Milbert's sketch done almost a century later when Hendrik Cloete owned the farm, shows the raised stoep, potplants and stoep seats. The house now has ornate front and end gables (from Milbert's Voyage Pittoresque, 1812).
GROOT CONSTANTIA

In the 3rd chapter it is described how Simon Van Der Stel was granted the farm Groot Constantia and how he developed the werf and laid out orchards and vinyards. After Van Der Stel's death in 1712 the farm was subdivided and 482 morgen sold to the retired secretary of the Council of Policy, Pieter de Meyer. The part with the buildings was transferred to Oloff Bergh, married to Anna de Koning, daughter of the slave Angela of Bengal. She lived at Groot Constantia for ten years after her husband's death.4

The farm was then transferred to Carel George Wieser who had arrived from Heidelberg as a soldier in 1728. He was soon promoted to the rank of corporal and in 1733 became a free-burgher a year after marrying the daughter of the owner of Hoop op Constantia, Johanna Jacoba Colyn. He bought Constantia in 1734 and after his wife's death married Maria Van der Poel, the widow of Melt Van der Spuy from Zandvliet. Her son Jacobus Van der Spuy became the next owner of Groot Constantia in 1750.5

In 1778 Jan Serurrier bought the farm for 53 000 guilders and sold it almost immediately to Hendrik Cloete for 60 000.6 Cloete's great-grandfather had been one of the first free-burghers to be given land along the Liesbeek in 1656. The Cloetes like the Van Reenens, were a farming family and owned many farms, not only in the Peninsula but in the Overberg and the Zwartland.

Hendrik set about improving not only the neglected vineyards but also the buildings, by using the expertise of Thibault and his sculptor friend Anton Anreith.7 In 1791 they redesigned the cellar, giving it a flat roof and a central triangular pediment which Anreith brilliantly decorated with putti playing between swags and bunches of grapes while Ganymede, astride a swan in the oval formed by the central swag, pours wine from an urn. No similar sculpture exists in the country and it was a fitting climax to the axial approach which took one from the entrance gates down an avenue of oaks to the front door of the house and from there through the back courtyard to the entrance of the cellar.

Milbert who visited the farm in 1803 has left a sketch of his impressions, showing a group of large oaks in the forecourt and the newly thatched house with its ornate front and side gables, stoep seats and pots of agaves or aloes. Cloete lowered the level of the ground in front of the house probably to give the stoep some height. But Milbert does not show the pergola along the south wall where Cloete had planned to plant red and white grapes.8

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4 ICV141/1685; T1143, 13.11.1716
5 T2190, 9.8.1734; T3417, 8.6.1759
6 TS033, 19.1.1778; TS141, 15.1.1778
7 V.R.S.11 Vol 13, Sixteen slaves were not sufficient to turn this neglected farm to good heart...Cloete to Swellengrebel, 30.3.1780, p331
8 V.R.S. 11-13, Letter from Cloete to Swellengrebel 30.3.1780, p331
A plan of the werf (above) showing the house, manager's house, stables and shed in the backyard. The roof of this shed rests on pillars on the south side. A water canal crossed by a bridge is shown between the cellar and house. The avenue leading to the bath is indicated (C/A.1:1312)

Site plan of Groot Constantia in 1924 with an enlargement of the werf. Two large new buildings have been added to the south of the cellar, but the layout is otherwise unchanged. No canals are shown in the backyard, but there is a new fowl run. The double front avenue, is planted in quincunx. Rows of trees are shown in the back courtyard and along the avenue to the bath

An enlargement of a map of Groot Constantia in the Surveyor General's office (S.G.32AY)
Watercolour by Lady Emily Hamilton, 1799

Steps down to the glen from the back of the cellar (Trotter, Old Cape Colony 1903)

Two views of the wine cellar in the early 20th century (C/A, E7950, E8329 (above))
Latrobe found a large grove of oaks "which affords shade to the premises". He found an "appearance of ancient grandeur about the place which pleased us much". Cloete had retained Van der Stel's initial lay-out but improved the different elements.

The Cloete family retained ownership of the farm until in October 1885 it was transferred to the Colonial Government from the estate of the deceased Jacob Pieter Cloete (19.10.1885). The size of the property transferred from the insolvent estate was 157 morgen 529 square roods and the price paid to the widow Cloete was £5 225.

Throughout this time the basic plan of the werf and the surrounding vineyards had remained unaltered as can be seen by a comparison of the drawings done by Boyes and Brown in 1924 with that filed in the Surveyor-General’s Office which is undated but in its style like those drawn for re-grants by the surveyor Mellville in the late 19th century.

The long approach along the oak avenue through a forest and then the prospect opening on the left to allow a view over the vineyards to False Bay; the closing in of the space on the right by outbuildings and kraals where they were initially positioned by Van der Stel and the arrival at the front door; from there the axis continued through the house down the back courtyard steps between two parallel courtyard seats in a grove of oaks to the centre of the cellar - all this was retained by subsequent owners as well as the cross axis at right angles to this one which led to the pool called "Van der Stel's bath" on the 1924 drawing.

The only difference between the two is the presence of two water channels in the back yard shown on the earlier drawing which are lacking on the later one, and a fowl run and later outbuildings on either side of the back courtyard shown on the last drawing, but not on the earlier one. The long flight of steps leading down into a dell behind the cellar is also shown on the last drawing only, though we were informed of their presence by lady Anne Barnard in the 1790s.

It seems a pity that modern constructions and landscape changes of this oldest Constantia farm which has surely inspired the orderly planning of most of the Constantia estates, has failed to maintain the most important cross axis to the pool, and the sylvan setting of the old buildings. For even when the hordes of visitors have left, the evening should still conjure up the magical atmosphere which was there in the time of Simon Van der Stel.

2 WITTE BOOMEN

Simon Van der Stel's grant of 67 morgen to Lambert Sijmansz in December, 1697 was six days later transferred to the Governor himself and farmed together with his own farm, Constantia. After Van der Stel's death Witte Boomen was subdivided and the larger portion (40 morgen) sold to J.G.Stoots in September 1714. The smaller part was sold to Johannes Franke and is discussed under Silverhurst. Stoots was married to Anna Mynen from Amsterdam, the widow of Jan Van Helsdingen. A drawing filed with his transfer shows the boundaries of the property with wings
The Witteboomen

Grant in 1714 to J G Stoots shows two cottages, two streams and two clumps of trees which were probably silver trees.
extending along two mountain streams, and two groups of trees at the top of each wing - presumably indicating the silver trees after which the farm was named. There are also two houses shown on this land - the one belonging to "Jan Graaf" and the other to "Klaas". These were perhaps where two of Simon Van der Stel's slaves lived.

In 1724 Jan Hendrik Van Helsdingen, Stoot's stepson, bought Witte Boomen for 6 000 guilders and from then on for the next century it remained in the Van Helsdingen family. Jan and his wife Elizabeth Snyman, lived at Witte Boomen and produced nine children in 24 years, three sons and six daughters.

After Jan's death and in accordance with his widow's will, the youngest son, Johannes Guilluam, inherited Witte Boomen in 1778 for 6 000 guilders, but the farm by this time would have been much improved during his father and mother's tenure. He produced eighteen children, which suggests that by this time there must have been a considerable establishment at Witte Boomen.

After the death of Johannes Van Helsdingen, his second wife, Leonora Loret, took transfer in 1800 of Witte Boomen valued at 60 000 guilder. She retained tenure till 1824, farming with 25 slaves, and selling wood and wine.

When Leonora sold the farm she moved to a nearby cottage, called Silvermine which is described by Latrobe when he visited Witte Boomen in 1818 as a pretty villa at the end of a narrow woody glen, which he thought belonged to one of her relatives.

Latrobe was invited to taste the different types of wine grown on the widow Van Helsdingen's estate and noticed the wine cellar, slave quarters, a wagon house large enough to accommodate an ox wagon, a horse wagon, a chaise and curriage. He also described an avenue of large oaks which provided shade near the house. The size of the oaks suggests that they were probably planted in the middle of the 18th century, perhaps by Jan Van Helsdingen after he took transfer in 1724, which would then date the werf to that period as well.

The next transfer went to William Ferdinand Van Reede van Oudtshoorn, the grandson of Pieter Baron Van Reede van Oudtshoorn who had been appointed Governor of the Cape, but had died on his sea journey to the Cape. William Van Reede paid 143 000 guilders for the original grant, and various other grants which the widow had received. He received a well developed farm, with 60 000 vines from which 20 leaguers of wine and one leaguer of brandy was being produced annually.

None the less after eleven years Van Reede was insolvent and Witte Boomen and Silvermine which he had acquired after Leonora's death, as well as the slaves and farm implements, were sold on public auction. Johannes Augustus Dreyer son of Thomas Frederik, his neighbour at Alphen,
The pine avenue to Alphen (Alphen photo collection)

The oak avenue on axis with the back door (Alphen photo collection)
bought the farm for the much lower sum of 90,000 guilders at a public auction on 27 September 1833. The advertisement for the sale described a five-roomed house with kitchen and pantry, a wine store, wagon-house, stables, slave quarters and other outbuildings. Different fruit and other trees and 40,000 vines as well as a good supply of wood are also mentioned.

After Dreyer’s death his wife in 1846 sold the two farms out of her husband’s insolvent estate to J W Brunt, who in turn transferred the properties six years later to William Stephanus Crozier Van Reede Van Oudtshoorn in 1852.

This Van Reede was able to enlarge the farm with a grant in 1855 and farmed with more success. He held tenure for 18 years before Witte Boomen and Silvermine were sold to the next owner, Danie Johannes de Kock in 1873.

Five years later de Kock sold to William Adriaan Van der Byl to whom a re-grant was issued in January 1881. On the surveyor’s drawing of this re-grant one sees a long house and outbuilding parallel to each other west of the Silvermine Stream and a third building west of and parallel to these. Four smaller buildings are shown towards the western boundary of the property, but unfortunately this surveyor did not draw the cultivated lands. The buildings are drawn very small and may not reflect their shapes accurately.

Van der Byl planted many pear and peach orchards and was the first to export peaches. His family still owns Witte Boomen.

The history of Witte Boomen and its owners again show that one family, in this case the Van Helsdingens, created a werf and formal surrounding landscape during their tenure in the 18th century and that the basic plan thereafter remained more or less the same in spite of frequent changes of ownership in the late 19th century.

3 ALPHEN

In October 1714 the old burgher councillor Theunis Dirk Van Schalkwyk, was granted on his request 5 morgen of garden land behind Wynberg, already named Alphen. North-east, south-east and south-south-west lay the wild veld, according to the deed. Two months later when he transferred this property to his son-in-law, the so called skipper and equipagiemeester Jan Brommert, a garden and house are mentioned, so the land had probably been settled well before he received his grant, according to Dr Mary Fransen & Cook, by Simon Van der Stel.

Jan Brommert in July of the following year requested and was granted over four morgen of additional land next to his own “garden”, and as he had bought in the previous year portions 2 and 3 of Constantia as well, he had acquired quite a sizeable portion of farm land in a short period of
The grant to Dreyer in 1812 (right) shows the new house drawn as a square, the old L-shaped house, three small buildings on the western side of the courtyard and a large building enclosing the eastern boundary of the werf.

Thibault’s drawing of about the same time does not show the buildings so clearly, but does indicate the grid of cultivated lands. Notice the pool in the courtyard and the farm road on axis with the back door of the house, crossing the stream (C/A M3/41).

Another Thibault drawing of the same time where the buildings are more clearly indicated, also showing the avenue of trees over the courtyard to the front door (C/A M1/197).
time. However, he did not seem to be interested in maintaining this property, for he sold the two pieces of Alphen land two years later to Hermanus Van Brakel, previously a heemraad in Stellenbosch.

Van Brakel probably could not pay the purchase price of 3 400 guilders, for in the next transfer it is mentioned that Alphen was sold by public auction from the estate of the deceased Jacob Leever, married to Brommert's only daughter Jacomina, and one surmises that Jan had in the meantime granted the property to his son-in-law.

Jacob Leever had risen quickly in the ranks of the D.E.I.C., starting as a book-keeper and having attained the rank of assistant-merchant and Secretary of the Orphan Chamber at the time of his death. He was therefore probably a man with the means to develop Alphen.

The next owner, Jan Van der Swyn, was a Dutchman from The Hague and Assistant D.E.I.C. He paid 12 350 guilders in 1738 - almost four times the purchase price of the last transfer sixteen years previously. From this one must deduce that some improvements to the existing buildings and lands had been made by the Brommert and Leever families.25

After Van der Swyn's death, his widow married Jan Serrurier, a member of the Council of Policy, who in this way became the owner of Alphen.

In 1748 he sold the farm to Abraham Leever (assistant in die D.E.I.C.), who a year later obtained three morgen adjoining Alphen.26 In 1753 he requested that this farmland should be granted to him in freehold, which was then done (27.7.1753). The Leevers this time owned Alphen for ten years and then all the land (13 morgen) was bought on an auction by Jan Serrurier once again in 1758.27

Serrurier, like those before him, soon requested extra adjoining land and was granted two pieces, together three morgen in size. On the surveyor's drawing of this grant an L-shaped building is drawn and labelled "woonhuis", situated approximately to the right of the present manor house. The absence of other buildings on the drawing does not mean that there were none, but the L-shaped house was obviously the main house and one can therefore deduce that the present manor house was built after 1765. On this drawing the rectangular werf wall is indicated by a dotted line in the position shown by Thibault in 1814 and where it still exists today, suggesting that the symmetrical werf dates from the early 1700s.

The L-shaped house is also shown by Thibault in the same position but with a different facing. As Thibault's drawing is much more detailed and shows all the other buildings as well, his version would be more trustworthy.

The next owner was also a rich Company official, but whereas all the previous owners had been Dutch, Johannes Friedrich Kirsten came from Eberstedt. He had arrived as a soldier, but received

25 T2416.2.10.1738
26 T2778.31.5.1748
27 T3363.28.9.1758
28 S.G. 20/1765
An old illustration of the main house at Alphen (above) and a sketch on an old bottle label. The pitch of the original two parallel thatched roofs and the "dakkamer" between them are indicated on the drawing (Alphen collection).

The chimney showed the oblique line of the lime plaster of the earlier thatched roof flashing. The marks of the thatch and bits of thatch were found embedded in the lime (Fagan).
rapid promotion to sergeant, ensign and post holder of False Bay in 1761 and negotie overdrager in 1775. Like all the other owners of Alphen, he belonged to the upper class of Cape families, possessing six houses in Cape Town and the farm "Imhoff’s Gift" at Kommetjie. According to Anders Sparrman, the Swedish naturalist who lived at the Cape from April to October 1772 and during that time acted as teacher to the eight Kirsten children, the family lived at Alphen. The farm had however been transferred in the name of the eldest son, Johannes Pieter, when he was only seven years old.

After fifteen years, in May 1780, Kirsten sold Alphen together with the various surrounding grants, to Focke Hendriks, the retired Commissioner of the Civil and Marriage Council. He in turn sold the farm after thirteen years to Pieter de Waal, Captain of the Burgher Artillery who was his brother-in-law and third husband of his sister Elizabeth de Waal. On the same day that de Waal received transfer of Alphen, he was also granted more than twenty morgen of adjacent land which he had requested.

Where Hendriks had paid 23 000 guilders, the purchase price for De Waal was 40 325 guilders, so it appears as if considerable improvements were made during the time of Hendriks’ ownership i.e. from May, 1780 to June 1793, but as this was a time of much prosperity at the Cape, that may account for some of the increased value.

After De Waal’s death in 1801, "the Honourable" Thomas Frederick Dreyer became the owner in November of the same year.

The great increase in the property value during the 42 years of Thomas Frederick Dreyer’s ownership, suggests that it was he who built the new manor house with its parallel thatched roofs and central "dakkamer". Although the house has long since lost its thatch, an examination of the roof space showed the line of the old thatched roofs and the remnants of the flat roof between them when Gabriel Fagan was asked to examine the roof in the 1970s.

Dreyer placed the new building in line with the older house along the boundary of the south werf-wall, where it still stands today. Thibault shows the new house in 1814 with a gate in the north werf wall opposite the front door and an avenue of trees joining the two. The larger house is also shown on the drawing which accompanied a grant of 147 morgen of land made to Thomas Frederick Dreyer in 1820. He was also granted 46 morgen of land adjoining Alphen in 1838, but the drawing for this grant shows no buildings.

In 1843, after 42 years, his son Hendrik Oostwald received transfer of the greater part of Alphen with most of the additional land which had over the years been received in grants and quitrent leases by succeeding owners. The value at that date was 300 000 guilders.

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29 De Villiers Pama Vol 22, p332
30 T4076, 2.12.1765
31 T5252, 5.5.1780
32 T5703, 14.6.1793
33 T47, 15.11.1801
34 S.G. 150/1820
35 S.G. 100/1813
The water mill in the orange grove and vineyards in the foreground

The water mill
The courtyard with simple mead and dam in the centre.

The house as a double storey, showing clipped myrtle hedges which surrounded the driveway.

The young Cloete's, wearing the latest English styles for their motor-car outing.
The back garden in the late 19th century had flower borders along the path on the axis of the back door.

The Cloete children on the back stoep with figurines on the stoep wall and a large oleander in the background.

All these photographs from the Alphen photo collection.
Mary Cloete’s drawing of Alphen landscape as it was in 1919
One notices with interest that a small piece of garden land, belonging to a so-called "Free Person" named Galant, is not included in the younger Dreyer's transfer, although it is stipulated that the land was to revert to the owner of the larger property at the decease of this freed slave.

The strange plan of the house resembles very closely that on the farm Dreyersdal, which Hendrik Oostwal Dreyer had acquired in 1831, and one is perhaps justified in supposing that the younger Dreyer might have copied the plan of Alphen when constructing a new house for Dreyersdal.

The son apparently was a spendthrift, not a successful farmer and eventually declared insolvent, so that he lost not only Alphen but also Dreyersdal. The property was then acquired by Johannes Albertus Munnik, his brother-in-law, in September 1850. Munnik unfortunately died four years later and it was then that the first transfer was made to the Cloete family, who after almost a century and a half, have remained the owners.

Dirk Cloete, the only son of Hendrik Cloete of Nooitgedacht in Stellenbosch, took transfer of Alphen for £2 000 in October 1854 and moved there with his family - wife Deliana Von Warmelow and four sons. Of these sons Hendrik or Henry, as he was called, inherited Alphen, now much enlarged by grants of land requested and received from the Government by his father.

By virtue of the 8th section of Act 9/1879 this transfer was annulled and a new grant issued in October, 1885. In this grant all the various grants of land were consolidated and the accompanying drawing, done by the Government Surveyor, Mellville, is in colour and meticulously detailed, showing buildings, roads, vineyards, avenues, water ways and owners on the farm boundaries.

Fortunately the landscape plan of Alphen could be followed into this century, for Henry Cloete’s youngest daughter, Mary has made a water-colour drawing of the farm as she remembered it to be in 1919. The detail is meticulous and unerring, so that a very valuable assessment can now be made of the development of the landscape plan of this important estate through the 19th century.

The most striking fact is that the basic 18th century geometrical lay-out as drawn by Thibault, had been preserved almost intact for a hundred years - the placing of buildings around a rectangular open werf is maintained although some are demolished and others added or changed. Thus the older L-shaped house is shown next to the square plan of the later house in all three sketches although the wing of the older house is not always shown in the same position: Thibault shows it stretching northwards, Mellville has it on the south side and Mary Cloete does not show it at all. Thibault shows a long building on the eastern werf boundary which is also shown on a grant to Thomas Dreyer of adjacent land in 1812. This long building is not shown on the other two sketches and therefore presumably demolished in the middle of the 19th century. (Perhaps this was the original wine cellar).

The watermill is shown on the two later sketches where it is still to be seen, and as a message and date of its construction was left on one of the mill beams by the builder, Johan Balthaser Breuning, it might date to 1792 although it might have been built later with the use of old beams.
The Alphen werf, orchards and vineyards as shown on a drawing of the 1885 re-grant.

The farm on the map SG1523 in the Surveyor General's office shows that in 1901 the layout was still the same.
The werf wall is unchanged, but the avenue that used to run from the gate to the front door of the later house, had been removed by 1885, leaving only the avenue to the left of the werf wall.

The axis of this avenue is carried on through the house, through the back garden, over the Diep River, through the orchard to the forest beyond. The lands are further subdivided by parallel paths and paths at right angles to these and this grid remained basically unchanged from the time of Thibault's drawings into the 20th century. Although the curving entrance road leading from the main road to the Alphen gate is the same on all the drawings, the avenue of pines described by Mary Cloete, is not clearly indicated by Thibault but as it is on the 1885 drawing it was probably planted in the early 19th century. Miss Cloete's oak avenue beyond the Liesbeek may be even later.

The position and size of the orchards and vineyards remained almost unaltered throughout this period, as one would expect, for the early owners already had the knowledge about the soil types best suited to vines.

The mountain stream and water course (which turned the mill) as well as the course of the river are shown in the same position in all three drawings. There is, however a round pond shown in the middle of the werf in 1885 which has since disappeared, now that animals are no longer brought into the farmyard in the evening for watering.

At the same time a formal square pond is indicated in the area described as a sunken garden and fountain by Miss Cloete. A later Victorian fountain might have supplied this pond at the turn of the century, but the water most probably came from the mountain stream which still takes its course to the Diep River just below this sunken area. Archaeological excavations here may reveal the stone walls of a dam which would have provided cleaner water for household use and bathing, as one sees on so many old farm landscapes.

Alphen is one of the most beautiful and well preserved farm complexes in the Constantia valley and proves once again that where one family owns a farm for a long period, the basic geometry of the human environment is respected and maintained, although buildings might be demolished and rebuilt and change their function to adapt and maintain the whole complex as a viable entity.

4 BELLE OMBRE (FORMERLY GOEDGELOOF)

In 1728 Jan Zacharias and Jan Christoffel Beck bought this land, yet unnamed, but Jan Christoffel sold his portion to his brother on the same day as he had a house at Varietas.38

Each of them owned another farm: Jan Zacharias owned Varietas and Jan Christoffel, Rodenberg in Rondebosch.39 In 1730 Jan Zacharias sold the land to Christiaan Maasdorp, master wagonwright who held the monopoly for retailing wine and brandy.40 Maasdorp in 1744 sold Goedgebloof to Jacob Van Reenen who already owned many other properties all of which were

38 T1880, 29.12.1728
39 See T1860, 29.10.1728 & T1835 15.5.1728, Here a house is mentioned
40 T1960, 7.11.1730
Thibault’s drawing of Belle Ombre in the early 1800s shows the werf surrounded by buildings, probably with a pool in the centre as at Alphen. The cultivated lands are set out in a grid outside the werf and around them is the forest (C/A M3/41)
beautifully planned and formally landscaped. It is probable that he laid the foundations for the formal planning of Goedgeloof during the decade that he owned it.

Jacob van Reenen who was by that time retired as chairman of the Orphan Chamber, sold the farm to the retired Secunde Johannes van der Sluys for 8 000 guilder cash in 1759 and six years later Arnoldus Maasdorp bought the farm for 9 600 guilder. Thirty years before his father had paid 6 200 guilder, indicating some improvement either in the buildings or cultivated lands.

In 1775 the farm was transferred to Josephus Anthonij Bekker and Jan Hendrik Greybe, second in charge at De Schuur who later sold his portion to Bekker for 18 000 guilder. In 1780 he was still living there with his wife Johanna Elisabeth Muller when he was granted two pieces of freehold land together 177 morgen, next to his farm. In the following year he received another grant of just over 6 morgen which he shared with Johan Hendrik Bekker, his partner in a Company. This Company did not last, so that Josephus Bekker became sole owner of this 6 morgen as well. At this point further transfers are not noted.

The 1810 Directory informs us that Francois Joseph Bekker is living at Goedgeloof with his wife, Johanna Magdalena Rauch (her father owned Tokai), one son and four daughters. A certain Domingo and Keitser were also living on the farm then. His main income came from wine and wood and business must have been brisk, for in 1810 Bekker owned fifty slaves as well as five "Hottentot" workers. He had 72 draught and 34 stud cattle, and 18 horses, which was more than any of his neighbours had. Apart from this he owned the two freehold farms, Voorduinen and Bekkerskraal.

In 1813 the widow of Anthony Joseph Bekker requested and received on 15th and 16th October 1813, two further grants adjoining Goedgeloof, but it is not clear whether she was the daughter-in-law of Francois above and whether her husband had in the meantime taken transfer and afterwards died. In the 1825 census returns she is still in charge of the farm and living with her were Francois Bekker, Carolina Liesching and Anthonij Bekker. By this time Goedgeloof was obviously a well established and flourishing farm.

In July 1831 Lt Col John Hickey Collette bought all Bekker's land (22.7.1831) and enlarged it with a grant given to him in 1833. He changed the name to "Belle Ombre" and sold it four years later to James Dunbar. After this Belle Ombre changed hands at short intervals and with each subsequent deed a second place, "Sweet Home" is included in the transfer. This house was built on one of the freehold grants.

41 T4739, 15.6.1775
42 Cape Directory 1800
43 18.1.1780, S.G. 14/1780, over 60 morgen, and 22.2.1780 also of 60 morgen
44 21.6.1781, S.G. 21/1781
45 Dane P, The Great Houses of Constantia, p158
46 C/A, J43
47 C/A, J43
48 T230, 13.2.1835
Drawing filed with the re-grant of Belle Ombre in the 1880s (CQ Vol 22, p28) shows the approach avenue, the rectangular orchards around the house and the vineyards planted in grids (above)

A drawing of the area in 1931 (below) shows much less forest and an increase in vineyards. The werf has remained unchanged although small buildings seen on the southern werf boundary, shown by Thibault, have disappeared.
Dunbar sold to Frederich Gottlieb Erich Landsberg who in the same year also received a further grant in the vicinity of Goedgeloof. But Landsberg was declared insolvent and Belle Ombre was sold to the "Maj General in the Honourable East India Company's Service", William Clinton Baddeley, who paid £2,000 for altogether 171 morgen and retained ownership for four years.

Johannes Frederik Dreyer, owner of Dreyersdal and Alphen, took transfer but sold again four years later to Dr James Hutchinson. The doctor also requested more land which he was granted, so that when he transferred Belle Ombre and Sweet Home together with all the other land to Johannes Rathfelder in 1872, the whole farm measured over 299 morgen.

Rathfelder had been living near Diep River where the Rathfelder's Inn belonged to his family. For the next thirty years he made Belle Ombre his home and left it to his son, Otto who took transfer in 1902.

A drawing filed with the re-grant of Belle Ombre to Rathfelder in the 1880s illustrates the carefully planned werf and the same formal arrangement of orchards and vines in the centre of a thickly forested area.

The approach is through the forest along an avenue parallel to the water course which brings water from the mountain through the vineyards to the orchards next to the house. A second stream meets the first one at right angles, then runs with it. The road is not on the axis of the front door, but passes the house on the north side and then runs straight up through the vineyards arranged on either side of it.

The buildings consist of a house, two smaller outbuildings at right angles to it and a long outbuilding with a short L wing on the one end. Although there is no werf wall connecting the buildings, they are arranged to form a rectangular courtyard, containing for its larger part, an orchard.

The farm roads between the planted squares form a perfect grid except where they curve around a circular forest and mountain vineyards. In one of the garden squares a circle indicates a tomb, but it is not certain who lies buried there.

The house called Sweet Valley lies on the boundary of its grant and has its own rectangular vineyard, but this has no geometrical relation to the rest of the lay-out.

The transfers of Belle Ombre were difficult to trace and ownership of the farm at various times had to be deduced from directories and grants. The earlier history even then has gaps.

What is certain, however, is that the Bekkers from Berncastel owned the farm for almost eighty years from the middle of the 18th to the first quarter of the 19th century and would therefore have had a great influence on its early planning. If the formal plan cannot be attributed to them, they at

49 C.F. Vol 26, 15.10 1839 & T338, 23.3.1839
50 T228, 17.2.1842
51 T112, 2.2.1846
52 T91 & 92, 7.11.1850
53 T105, 17.1.1872

405
least had enough appreciation for it, to maintain it. Nor did subsequent owners, some of British
descent, try to introduce a more "natural" style as was popular in Britain at the time, nor was the
land subjected to early subdivision, so that the 18th century formality and order remained to the
end of the 19th century. Even the new tennis court was placed amongst the vines where it would
not have an impact on the old werf.

What did change, however, was the forest, for as more and more wood was sold, vines were
established in the cleared areas so that very little natural forest survived the 19th century.

BERGVLIET

When Constantia was put up for sale in 1714, Pieter de Meyer bought two thirds of the land and
immediately subdivided and sold portions 2 and 3 comprising 620 morgen to Jan Brommert and his
friend Isaac Scheepers. Brommert, an officer (skipper) in the D.E.I.C., had sold his farm Alphen
the previous month and probably lived at Bergvliet for the rest of his life.

After his death it was transferred to Elbert Diemer whose grandfather had come to the Cape as a
soldier and waiter at the Commander's table, but who had improved his means quickly by working
as a tailor, then an inn-keeper, and eventually starting a shop of his own in 1662. In 1675 he was
granted a meat licence and as this was a most lucrative business, he soon became a wealthy
burgher. His son Abraham developed one of the best wine, stock and grain farms, Diemersdal in
Tygerberg and his grandson Elbert in turn took transfer of Bergvliet in August, 1726.°

Here he built a house, a cellar, wagon-house and slave quarters, and no doubt planted many vines,
for he was certainly making wine there. In the above transfer deed 17 slaves, 48 leaguers of wine,
all the necessary wine-making equipment, 27 cattle, 15 horses one "corn harp" as well as the
wagons, are all transferred together with the land, as well as all the furniture in the house. Clearly
Diemer had during his tenure of Bergvliet improved it a great deal and probably established the
basic plan of the werf and its surrounding lands as it still existed at the end of the 19th century.

A comparison of the werfs of Bergvliet and Diemersdal at the end of the 19th century, shows that
both of them had their houses, cellars, slave quarters, barns and other outbuildings arranged
around a formal rectangular courtyard, but the Tygerberg farm, lacking the water of the
Constantia valley, showed little plant growth except for a small almond orchard.

Johanna Roveen, Diemer's widow, married the master of the hooker "Hector", Gerrit van der Port
in 1740 and with him carried on farming at Bergvliet until she sold it in 1761 to Jacob Rohland or
Roeland.°

Rohland was a wine-maker from Obercassel who had arrived at the Cape in 1750° and eventually
became the chief vintager hoof van die wyngardeniers. Rohland, or Roeland, enlarged Bergvliet

54 T1756, 24.8.1726
55 T3687, 12.10.1761
56 De Villiers & Fama, Geslagesregisters van die ou Kaapse Families, p784
This drawing done in 1806 shows the Bergvliet enclosed werf with its buildings and kraals and the surrounding orchards and vineyards. Notice Eksteen's brass band playing under the oaks (C/A, E3867)

Early watercolour of Bergvliet with the lake in the foreground and avenue from the house. The holes in the gable of the outbuilding are probably for doves. (C/A, 627)

The colonnade with railing between the house and outbuilding is shown on this photograph (C/A, E710)
with a grant of over eight morgen of "garden land", and on the drawing accompanying this grant an L-shaped house is shown, presumably the main house at Bergvliet in 1764.57

After three years Roeland sold the farm to the Company's bookkeeper, Johan Schot in 1764 together with the eight morgen of quitrent land, again with all the house furniture, farm implements and vehicles, everything belonging to the cellar, the stock and slaves. He sold for the same price as he had paid, even though there was now more land, slaves, animals and other moveables, the latter being valued at 29 000 and the farm at 20 000 guilders.58

Schot died five years after buying Bergvliet, and his widow then in April 1769 sold to the Burgher Councillor, Petrus Michiel Eksteen, the son of one of the wealthiest men at the Cape, Hendrik Oostwald Eksteen from Lobenstein who had arrived at the Cape in 1702 and had acquired monopolies in wine and brandy and fish sales.59 He also owned the two farms Lobenstein and Elsjeskraal in the Tygerberg. Petrus Eksteen had married Sophia, youngest sister of Hendrik Cloete who was to buy Groot Constantia a few years later.

From now on Bergvliet was to stay in the Eksteen family for over sixty years:

After the death of Petrus his widow, Sophia Cloete, sold the farm plus garden land in 1783 to her second son, Hendrik Oostwald Eksteen referred to as the retired burgher luitenant. With the farm again went all the household goods, the stock, implements, vehicles and contents of the cellar as well as 25 slaves and one slave girl called Marianne. Hendrik also received the house on the loanfarm Pampoencraal in the Swartland.60

A sketch by an unknown artist of Bergvliet in 1806, gives one a good idea of the well-planned werf and the buildings around it, where Hendrik Eksteen and his family apparently lived in grand style. One sees the approach through the vineyards from the north entering the walled yard and then running parallel to the front of the house before swinging left to its exit in the south wall. From here the road runs through an avenue of probably oak trees to disappear in the distance.

The house is seen from the side where only one small window is shown, but the front facade is hidden behind a row of large oaks. Under these oaks the artist drew a group of musicians busy playing. The east facade of the long out-building is shown with a number of doors and windows and one simple gable - other gables probably hidden by a line of oaks, which form a parallel line in front of this building as well.

Along the eastern boundary of the werf wall are three parallel kraals, each with its own entrance gate through two capped pillars. Four horse riders are seen galloping across the werf as well as a horse-drawn carriage in the foreground.

Outside the werf-wall are the vineyards in the foreground, and an orchard on the east backed by a row of large oaks.

57 C.F. Vol 1, S.G.16/1764
58 T3986, 3.10.1764
59 T4272, 20.4.1769
60 T5643, 29.10.1783
The drawing with the Hertzog re-grant in 1880 shows the formal layout of the werf with its surrounding wall, the rows of trees in front of the buildings and the avenue along the approach. The circle in the werf may indicate a dam like the one at Alphen.
An early undated water-colour of the farm as seen from the east, has a large lake with a central island in the foreground. Here the house is shown with two parallel long thatched roofs running back from the front facade and a narrow flat roof between them (compare with Alphen and Dreyersdal). The out-building lies parallel to the house and has a dovecot in the end gable. An avenue of trees lines the axis from the back door of the house towards the lake.

The trees in both these illustrations are full-grown and one must therefore assume that the formally laid out werf dated back to at least fifty years before and therefore probably had been planned by Elbert Diemer. His L-shaped house had probably been extended by the Eksteens by the addition of an extra long wing.

For 29 years Hendrik Eksteen farmed at Bergvliet, selling mostly wine and wood, but he also had 70 breeding cattle, which made him one of the largest cattle farmers in Constantia. After his death his widow, Elisabeth Scholtz transferred the family farm to her third son, also Hendrik Oostwald, in November, 1812.6 By this time she had already sold 17 morgen of Bergvliet to William Dockitt in 1807.6 This Hendrik married Hester Anna, one of the Cloetes from Nooitgedacht, Stellenbosch.

He received with his transfer Jan Harmenscraal, described as an old Company's post, and he himself requested and was granted further adjacent quitrent land in 1814 and 1825 so that in 1830 Bergvliet was by far the largest farm in Constantia with 463 square morgen of freehold land. He then had 190 000 vines (whereas Constantia had 84 000)69 and was producing 100 leaguers of wine and two of brandy annually, almost double as much as any other farm in the valley.

But perhaps all this was more than he could manage, for in 1830 this third Hendrik Oostwald was declared insolvent and the part of Bergvliet on which the old buildings were, was sold to his nephew, Johannes Paulus Eksteen on public auction.64

This portion, Part of Constantia no 3, which was then renumbered no 4, consisted of 199 morgen and contained the old werf with the buildings. Johannes received with this the small piece of garden land originally granted to Roeland in 1764. However he was not in the direct line of descent and probably not as attached to the family farm, for on the same day he divided his property and sold the larger part (129 morgen) to one of the Cloetes, keeping only 70 morgen with the house and outbuildings on it, for himself.

In November, 1863 Willem Frederik Hertzog obtained transfer of Bergvliet and because the land was re-granted to him in December 188065 under the Land Beacons Act of 1865, it was re-surveyed at that time. The coloured drawing filed with this re-grant demarcates the boundaries of the remaining 127 morgen, 28sq roods and shows the neat lay-out of the house and parallel outbuildings, connecting werf wall, the approach along a straight avenue, the vineyards, orchards

61 T185, 6.11.1812
62 S.G. 7/1807
63 C/A, J56
64 T261, 7.9.1830
65 C.Q. Vol 23, p38
A plan of Bergvliet on a map of 1901 shows how little the layout has changed (C/A M4/1551).

The drawing with the Firgrove re-grant in 1886.
and what is left of the surrounding forest. In front of and to the side of the house are avenues of trees and a circular road surrounding a clump of trees. The Spaanschemat watercourse is shown running through the property to Dreyersdal and lesser courses to the vineyards and to the lake.

No doubt the great success of the Bergvliet farm was due to the plentiful supply of water.

If ever there had been a farm that cried out for a "natural" treatment of the landscape, it was Bergvliet with its beautiful lake and surrounding forests, but from the back door of the house a straight avenue runs down to the lake surrounded by a forest as seen on the water-colour above. And the formal werf and avenues remained unchanged into the 20th century.

Elliott photographs show a colonnade joined with a wooden trellis as seen at Leewenhof, Boshof, Oranjezicht and Stellenberg, between the house and the outbuilding and this is also indicated on the surveyor’s drawing.

In its general lay-out and its landscape detail, Bergvliet had clearly retained its 18th century Dutch style to the end of the 19th century. The families who had lived there since 1714 had all been of Dutch or German descent and they had had enough appreciation for the formality and ordered landscape which they inherited to keep it intact, changing the buildings only to such a degree as was necessary for their immediate needs.

Two years after taking transfer of Bergvliet, Willem Hertzog also bought three portions of land, together some 69 morgen, known as Sweet Valley, adjoining Bergvliet. Here was a cottage placed in the natural forest with no sign of human intervention except the winding road from Bergvliet as seen on a re-grant of the land in 1886.  

6   FIRGROVE

Another 103 morgen of Bergvliet which was sold in 1876 to William Rodgers, was re-granted to him in 1886, and on the drawing with this re-grant a very formal werf, very much like that of Bergvliet, is shown: a T-shaped house flanked by parallel outbuildings on either side of an open werf surrounded by straight avenues of trees and orchards planted in neat squares. The werf probably predates the subdivision, most likely created for one of the Eksteen children.

Apart from the extension of its vineyards the landscape and werf remained unchanged into the 20th century.

7   RUST EN VREDE

On 2.6.1817 twelve morgen of land was granted in quitrent to Bernard Wienand who had arrived in 1802 as a soldier in the second Waldeck regiment, when the Cape came into the hands of the Batavian Republic. The grant stipulated that he would not be allowed to sell liquor or to keep sheep or goats, but only as many cattle as were allowed the property. When the British took the

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66 C.Q. Vol 22, p35 on 6.7.1886
67 O.C.F. Vol 18, p29 15.4.1886
68 Actually Johannes Heinrich Bernhard in De Villiers Pama's Geslagregister and Hoge's Persontalia
The werf of Rust & Vrede in 1885 had a formal courtyard behind and a circular drive in front of the house which are still the same in the 1901 drawing below.
Cape in 1806, he was interned but allowed his freedom on recommendation of Dr Liesching, whose children he had been teaching German.\(^69\)

Wienand married Catherina Jacoba Rosina Stohrer (also Stohr) whose father (a German from Kircheim) owned a shop in 22 Loop Street, Cape Town and Silverhurst in Constantia. Wienand inherited the Cape Town business but when he obtained a quitrent grant of a piece of land in Constantia in June, 1817\(^70\) he changed to farming. He received this Constantia farm on condition that he sold no liquor and that he did not keep sheep or goats, but he was, however, allowed to run as many cattle as was permitted per morgen. He retained the land only till March the following year before selling it to Hendrik Bernardus Van Vollenhoven, for 12 000 guilders.\(^71\)

As the house is dated 1817, it is presumed to have been built by then. The price was high for such a small undeveloped property, and one can only guess that it had probably been developed before 1817, for Wienand could hardly have improved it to that extent in nine months. Experience has shown that dates on houses do not always refer to the building date, as they are sometimes changed by subsequent owners.

Van Vollenhoven was insolvent within three years and an inventory of his house does not throw much light on its size or shape and his few garden implements do not reflect much agricultural activity. Neither could Jacobus Johannes Mellet, the next buyer, pay his 8 000 guilders purchase price and so it was eventually sold in 1824 to Daniel Adriaan Roussouw for 19 000 guilders.\(^72\)

At this stage the property consisted of the original twelve morgen, an 1817 grant and another quitrent grant of over 46 morgen dating to 1814\(^73\), which may explain the higher price.

After 24 years, Rust en Vrede was sold by the Roussouws to Johan George Stadler\(^74\) who sold the two parts to separate owners - the 46 morgen quitrent went to G Blankenberg\(^75\) and Wienand's original grant was bought by J C Watney, married to Maria Josina Hungerford Vowe (31.7.1843). Mrs Vowe had the house insured for £120 pounds and in the insurance document it is stated that "the house is built of stone and brick under thatch and is detached from all other buildings". She kept the property for only three years and sold to Johan Frederik Cornelis Storm in 1846 who in turn sold to Marthinus Van Niekerk in 1854.\(^76\)

Marthinus farmed at Rust en Vrede for eleven years and then in 1865 sold to Carel Gerhard Van Reenen, a son of Sebastiaan Valentyn from High Constantia.\(^77\) At this stage the farm was re-granted in terms of the 1865 Land Beacons Act and the surveyor's drawing for the first time records the lay-out of Rust en Vrede.

\(^{69}\) Dane P, *The Great Houses of Constantia*, p161  
\(^{70}\) C.Q. Vol 2/70 T222, 2.6.1817  
\(^{71}\) T176, 13.3.1818  
\(^{72}\) T136, 21.5.1824  
\(^{73}\) I could not trace the original grantee  
\(^{74}\) T1054, 23.6.1838  
\(^{75}\) T1045, 7.9.1843, 18.12.1854, T228  
\(^{76}\) T12 & 14, 1.7.1865
An undated map (S.G.32AY) probably of the 19th century, shows the Silverhurst werf, but as the paper is broken, the house is not clear.
The drawing shows the typical formal lay-out of all the early Constantia farms: the house, and outbuildings behind it are set out at right angles to each other; the rectangular orchard is planted in quincunx; and vineyards too are parallel to each other and separated by hedges of trees.

A large part of the grant is uncultivated and has no forests like other Constantia farms, except for some trees unevenly scattered along two boundaries. In another aspect the plan deviates from its neighbours, for instead of a straight avenue leading to the front door, the approach is unplanted and soon splits to form a circular drive around a large bed of shrubs, a feature typical of the later Victorian English gardens.

One strongly suspects that an earlier straight avenue may have preceded this but that Carel van Reenen known as "Charlie" who owned the farm for 25 years and is said to have planted the vines and orchards, may also have been responsible for this drive. Perhaps he was, like so many of the 19th century Dutch families, keen on adapting to the English way of life which was then high fashion, but apart from the circular drive, a map of 1902 still shows no change in the Dutch landscape at all.

8 SILVERHURST

In December 1697 this land, called Witte Boomen, was granted to Lambert Sijmonsz. But six days later it was transferred to Governor Simon Van der Stel to become a part of his adjacent farm Constantia. This was the Governor's way of circumventing the problem that he could not grant land to himself.

After his death, when Witte Boomen was subdivided, 27 morgen of the farm was transferred in freehold to Johannes Franke in November, 1716. He had arrived at the Cape from Berlin as a soldier but in 1713 became a free man and started business as a shoemaker. He paid 400 guilders for his portion of over 64 morgen.

His two sons, Johannes Guysbertus and Jacobus Arnoldus and daughter Anna Catharina inherited the farm 27 years later in 1752. In 1811 the farm was subdivided and Jan Gysbert Franke received 1/3 of the share while the other two thirds went to Anna Catherina and her brother Jacobus Arnoldus. The farm then became known as "Frankengift", and had been enlarged with a previous grant of 38 morgen. The transfer was to Johan Michiel Stohrer for 40 000 guilders in 1814 (on 4.4.1814). He then had received a piece of adjoining quitrent on 15.10.1813.

As the farm had been in the possession of one family for almost a century, and considering the increase in its value over these years, one would expect it to be a well developed estate by this time.

78 Dane P, The Great Houses of Constantia, p161
79 The name was derived from the number of silver trees, "Leucadendron argenteum", which grew in the area
80 O.C.F. Vol 1, p252 S.O.5/1697
81 T2144, 13.11.1716
82 Hoge, Argief Jaarboek vir S.A Geskiedenis 1946, p101
83 T2940, 29.1.1752
84 T250/1811
85 T249/1811
86 Vol 5 p133, 1806
The re-grant drawing of 1872 shows the two outbuildings and the house clearly at Silverhurst.

Recent aerial photograph (below) with house in the foreground (before restoration). The lands are very much the same shapes, but vineyards have been replaced with cash-crops and housing (courtesy GAPP Architects)
Stohrer also enlarged the property by applying for further quitrent grants as a result of which he obtained in 1813 and 1814, an additional 74 morgen.

He probably changed the house at this time, exchanging old single and double casement windows on the front facade for sashes. It is thought that Thibault might have advised him and the heavy stucco work and geometrical gable decorations might be accounted for by this, as the gable is certainly strange and unlike other Constantia gables.

From 1821 the farm was owned by Petrus Wilhelmus van Druten who had paid 8 600 guilden more than Stohrer, probably explained by the additional land. He retained ownership until 1824 when Jacobus Johannes Van Reede van Oudtshoorn, the great-grandson of the original owner, Johannes Franke, received transfer of the farm which he called "New Constantia". He paid 140 000 guilders which was 100 000 guilders more than his predecessor, which perhaps indicated that a number of changes had been made by the Van Drutens between 1815 and 1824. At that time there were 45 000 vines on the farm.87

In 1833 Van Reede was declared bankrupt and an advertisement of the auction mentions a large house, a wagon house, servants' house and other outbuildings.

The next buyer, Carel Gerhard Blankenberg, paid only 65 000 guilders and received a further 30 morgen grant in 1843. He was perhaps related to Johannes Franke whose mother was Anna Blankenberg. After fifteen years he sold to James Vipan Gotobed for almost double the price which he had paid, which could indicate that he too made improvements, or that the extra land may have been quite valuable, perhaps planted with vines.

Gotobed, who came from the vicinity of Cambridge, lived at "Nova Constantia" for 15 years and then moved back to England after the death of his wife during the birth of their ninth child. Photographs of the house during his tenure show a typical English garden - herbaceous beds in front of the stoep and the beds in the foreground planted with a mixture of oleander, camelia, agapanthus, fern and other unidentified groundcover.

The H-shaped house had already been changed to its present appearance and the side court filled in under a lean-to. During the recent restoration by the architect Mr David Van den Heever, the discovery of relieving arches of earlier casement half-windows in the voorkamer, and double casements in the side rooms of the front wing, indicated an earlier facade which was changed by Van Druten before 1815. Mr Van den Heever also thought that Thibault might have had an influence on the design of this facade before his death in 1815 and the unusual geometrical pattern of the gable suggest that this may be the case.

After Gotobed, William George Gilmour became the owner of the farm which he now called "Silverhurst" and from then on for the next century the property was to stay in this family. After Gilmour's death 139 morgen of land comprising that which he had received by transfer in May 1872, was re-granted to the legal representative of his estate under certain conditions.
Informal planting of flower borders in front of the stoep and in beds in the foreground. Oleanders and Camellias were popular garden plants in the early 1900s (Baikoff J, Silverhurst p31 & 50)
He was not to cut down any trees, shrubs, bushes, rushes, reeds or the like, or root out or injure or destroy by or with the authority of the Proprietor except to bring such land immediately under cultivation. This had to be done with the consent of the Government in terms of Ordinance N5 of 1836.

The owner was furthermore required to plant the land with shrubs and other vegetation to arrest or prevent sand drift and the Government promised to provide seed free of cost for that purpose. And the Government promised to provide prizes of £100 annually for a competition amongst the proprietors involved in this exercise.

With this grant a coloured drawing of the estate is filed which shows the placing of the buildings, orchards, vineyards, avenues, roads and water streams. Once again one is impressed with the neatness of the overall plan: the buildings parallel to each other along the road, the long straight avenues of trees, the rectangular orchards and werf, the rectangular vineyards set out in grids as far as the topography would allow, and the stream parallel to the garden, house and vineyards.

Although the Gotobed photographs had shown the informality of an English garden around the house, the disciplined lay-out of the lands by the earlier German and Dutch settlers had been maintained into the twentieth century and is still visible on an aerial photograph of the estate in the 1980s.

CLAASENBOGCH (TODAY HOHENORT)

In September, 1693 a grant of 65 morgen was made in the Constantia valley to Hendrik ten Damme, seven-year-old son of the chief surgeon, Willem, who was in the service of the D.E.I.C. and therefore one of the highest officials. It is not certain who lived on the farm which was called Claasenbosch, but after fourteen years when the property was transferred to the chief surgeon himself for 1000 guilders, a house had been built on it.

The ten Dammes retained Claasenbosch for another 46 years during which time two ten Damme daughters had married into the prestigious Swellengrebel family: Engela had married Johan Swellengrebel, and Helena Willemina, Hendrik Swellengrebel who became Governor of Cape from 1739 to 1751. Claasenbosch would therefore have been visited by the most important officials at the Cape and one presumes that it must have been a particularly beautiful "hofstede".

After ten Damme’s death his widow, Helena Gulix, sold their farm to Hans Pieterz de Wit (also Witt) from the Isle of Röm, described in the transfer as opperstuurman or first mate, for 4500 guilders.

88 S.G. 1/1943
89 Cape Quitrents Vol 21, p13, S.G. 1/1943
90 C.F. Vol 1 p208, 1693
91 1692, 22.4.1707, land met opstal is mentioned
92 T3012, 8.1.1753
The Thibault plan of Claassenbosch showing the werf enclosed with buildings and what appears to be a U-shaped house with the Diep River on the north (C/A M1/191)

A map of Claassenbosch in the Surveyor General's office, probably of the late 19th century, shows the werf unchanged but many new vineyards
The 1886 re-grant drawing shows the same werf but the circular pool on the vineyard side of the house is now more clearly indicated. It is filled from a stream taken from the Diep River.

Plan of 1901 shows the werf, vineyards and orchards, as well as the water streams, unchanged.
The magnificent view of the mountains over the vineyards. The vine pergola over the main walkway was planted by the Versfelds (Courtesy Marion Robinson)

The Claassenbosch main house probably had a similar roof to Alphen, with two parallel thatched roofs and a dakkamer in the front centre. The two high windows in this Elliott photograph would then have been gable windows and the central one a window to the dakkamer. (See the Alphen drawing, C/A E119)

Mrs Trotter's drawing in the 1890's (Old Cape Colony, p260)
Hans de Wit retained the farm for 27 years and his widow, Johanna Schinke then transferred it to her son Christaan Adolph for 6,000 guilders, who sold it after another two years to Christiaan Herbst, a swordmaker from Koningsberge, East Prussia, in 1782.

From 1782 to 1809, the Prussian Herbsts farmed Claasenbosch very successfully, with 15 male and 3 female slaves, 3 male and one female "Hottentot" workers. They had 60 oxen and were selling mostly wood, from the indigenous forest. During their tenure the value of Claasenbosch increased tenfold, but as this was a prosperous period in the Cape history, one expects a general increase in land values as well.

The drawings which Thibault did of the farm at this time show a well-established werf with an approach from the Newlands side into the werf opposite the U-shaped house and therefore on the axis of the front door. The werf itself is enclosed by a very long outbuilding on the south and two parallel outbuildings at right angles to the werf on the north side next to the entrance. Walls connect a small building on the approach to the house, and the house to the long building. The two smaller outbuildings were probably the stables, for they are connected to each other with walls, probably for a kraal.

The next owner of Claasenbosch, Willem Ferdinand Versfeld, descended from one of the oldest Dutch families, received transfer from the deceased estate of Hendrik Herbst in January 1809. His father, with the same name, had arrived at the Cape in 1773 as secretary to his nephew, Pieter Baron van Reede, Heer van Oudshoorn, the newly appointed Governor. The younger Willem Ferdinand had farmed at Ganzekraal after marrying Maria Catharina Van Reenen six years before moving to Claasenbosch. His first four children were born there and the next three at Claasenbosch. His second eldest son, Jan Willem Janssens Versfeld bought the farm from his widowed mother's insolvent estate in January 1829.

Jan Willem Janssens Versfeld lived on the farm for over forty years, and though he too was declared insolvent in 1871, the family remained at Claasenbosch until the two sons, Jan Willem and Francis Ferdinand bought it from their mother, Frances Napper, in August 1881. Five years later the many pieces of adjoining land which had been granted to the family and previous owners, were consolidated and re-granted to the two brothers. The diagram made at the time by the Government surveyor, Mellville, is detailed and in colour, giving much information on the landscape lay-out at the end of the 19th century:

The road from Newlands through a thickly forested area, is shown still entering the werf opposite the house but a further road is shown leading to Alphen and there is also a road curving round to the vineyard side of the house. A semi-circular clearing is shown here with a pond or fountain in

93 T523, 25.2.1780
94 24.5.1782, This volume was not found in the Deeds Office
95 De Villiers Pama, p1017
96 T19, 20.1.1809
97 T3-10, 9.1.1829
98 T478, 16.8.1881
99 C.O. Vol 22, p33
The new house on the farm, now called Hohenort. A picket fence overgrown with roses encloses an informal flower garden. The old oaks on the werf have been maintained (courtesy of Marion Robinson)

Glen Alpine (Klein Benydensdal) on the 1886 re-grant to Jurgens, the drawing shows a U-shaped house and outbuilding at right angles to it in a clearing. The approach is along a winding path through the forest, but it is lined with trees from the forest to the house. The orchards and vineyards are planted in rectangular blocks but are not divided by a grid of paths
front of the house, now a closed U-shape with extensions on either side of the werf wing. The house now appears to face not the werf but the valley.

From the front of the house the vineyards, divided into four blocks, stretched down on either side of a farm road which lay on the axis of the front door and pool. This road, planted on its first stretch with an avenue, probably of oaks, led the eye further down the valley through a neatly planted orchard and then swings slightly to the right to pass through two further long vineyards.

The farm was richly supplied with water from two mountain streams running down on either side of the house and vineyards, and to the werf along a water course taken from the stream higher up where a marshy area is indicated.

Claasenbosch as one of the choicest Constantia farms granted to an official of the D.E.I.C. in the late 17th century, was thereafter developed by high-ranking Dutch and German families and its formal lay-out around an enclosed werf and axial arrangement of cultivated lands, remained virtually unchanged until the beginning of the 20th century.

When the farm name was changed to Hohenort and a new house constructed early in the 1900s, it was placed in the exact position of the old one and faced the valley as its predecessor had done. And a vine pergola, constructed by the Versfelds, was retained to shade the commencement of the walk into the vineyards.

10 GLEN ALPINE (KLEIN BENYDENSDAL)

In October 1813, 71 morgen of quitrent land between Witte Boomen and the so-called Houtbay Kloof were granted to Jan Gregorius Van Helsdingen and at the same time 26 odd morgen were granted to his widowed mother, Leonora van Helsdingen (Loret) next to his grant. He was to allow a free passage of her cattle to the mountain and not to disturb the flow of the streams.

Johan Gregorius retained the land for twenty years but lived at Klipfontein in the Swellendam district, for it was here that he drew up his last will and testament,(6.12.1817) bequeathing his farm then called "Klein Benydensdal" in Constantia to Johannes Frederik, possibly his son or nephew, for £100 (4 000 guilders).101

Ten years later in March 1843 the freehold of 71 morgen called Klein Benynendal to which now had been added an adjacent quitrent grant of 163 morgen received in 1832, was sold from the insolvent estate of Johannes Francois Helsdingen to I F Steyn, Jacobus' son.102 But Steyn sold it the same day to Sebastiaan Valentyen van Reenen, Nephew of Dirk Gysbert of Papenboom, without making a profit on the sale price of £520.103

Whereas the value of the farm had increased very little while in the ownership of the Van Helsdingens, van Reenen probably erected the buildings which are mentioned on the next transfer, and made other improvements. Within the eight years of his ownership the farm changed its name.
A detail of the previous map show all the landscape elements more clearly and one notices the hedges planted around the cultivated areas. These were probably quince or *Rosa laevigata*. Remnants of such hedges can still be found in Constantia.
to Glen Alpine and almost doubled in value. It has been noted elsewhere how many farms the
Van Reenen family owned throughout the Cape and how all of these were formally laid out with
care and precision. Sebastiaan was married to Catharina Christina Cloete, a daughter of Rudolph
Cloete of Westerfoort which also had a very formal werf. These two therefore had the precedent
of their parents’ farms to follow when they planned their own werf. They Anglicised the farm
name to Glen Alpine but as Thibault did not include this farm in his survey, it is not clear how they
laid out their werf.

In 1851 the farm changed hands twice when Hendrik Oostwald Dreyer sold it three months after
receiving transfer, to Johannes Tobias Jurgens, who bought it for his minor son bearing his name.1

But this farm never stayed long in the hands of one family: In 1858 it was transferred to Abraham
Colyn; in 1864 it is back with the Jurgens’ from the insolvent estate of Colyn; in 1864 the Strubens
buy it, and in 1886 a re-grant of the property is made to Johannes Tobias Jurgens who has in the
meantime again received transfer. At the end of the century J J D Buyskes owned the farm for ten
years and P J Kotze took transfer from him in 1896.

All the owners of Glen Alpine were Dutch or Dutch descendants, even the owner Sebastiaan van
Reenen, who changed the Dutch name and probably built the U-shaped house, a form typical of
Constantia houses. The drawing filed with the 1886 re-grant shows a haphazard arrangement of
buildings, orchards, vineyards and access roads, with very little attempt at a formal integration of
the buildings with the natural landscape and cultivated land.

The explanation of this may be that the late grant (1813) was made when the Dutch were
becoming more Anglicized and the formal lay-out therefore less popular. As buildings are first
mentioned in the 1851 transfer and this is also the time when the value of the property increased
dramatically, one can assume that Sebastiaan van Reenen was responsible for the landscape plan
as it appears on the re-grant drawing just as he was for the more romantic English name.

11 BUITENVERWACHTING

The ground on which this farm was developed was originally a part of Constantia and then of
Bergvliet. H O Eksteen, owner of Bergvliet on 19.11.1793 sold a portion of his farm to his son-in-
law, Cornelis Brink who had been living on the farm since 1786, probably on the werf of what was
later to be known as Buitenverwachting.

During the restoration of the buildings around the beautiful large werf in the 1980s, it was found
that two types of bricks and mortar had been used and this spelled out to us which buildings had
been built at the same time and which had preceded the others.

Thus it was found that the stables, wagon-house and cellar were all of the same half-baked mud
bricks and dark loam mortar, while the house and so-called dovecot were built of a larger well-
baked brick and yellow-coloured clay mortar.

104 T615, 3.6.1851 and T1075 11.9.1851
This anonymous painting from the Parliamentary library probably depicts the wagonhouse and stables at Buitenverwachting. Note the massive entrance gates like those drawn by Lady Anne Barnard (see chapter 1).

The werf in 1866 as it was drawn for a re-grant to J W Louw. It appears as if the positions of the house and outbuildings have been confused.
When excavations were done around the small building, the foundations of an older building were found on either side of it, built of the same material as the cellar, with similar dimensions and in a position directly opposite it. We thought that this might have been an earlier house.

This led us to believe that the present house was built in 1796 together with the dovecot which, because of its chimney, must have served also as a slave lodge. In that case the rectangular werf had been surrounded by a symmetrical arrangement of buildings consisting of house and cellar opposite each other and a wagon-house and stable at the southern end with a kraal between them. This kraal between two outbuildings has been noted also at Welgelegen and elsewhere.

A water-colour of outbuildings in Constantia by an unknown artist, in the Parliamentary Library may show these outbuildings and kraal. An entrance gate with its massive pillars as seen on this painting were found leading into the kraal between the stable and wagon-house. The kraal and buildings were refurbished as offices and restaurant when a new use for the farm elements was found in the 1980s.

A re-grant of Buitenverwachting to Johannes Wynand Louw in 1866 shows two houses where there should be one, and one outbuilding where there should be two, which might indicate some confusion on the part of the surveyor, as the rest of the buildings around the werf are correctly drawn.

The interesting aspect of this werf is that its initial plan was adhered to when quite major rebuilding took place in the late 18th century and that in spite of the many owners (Ryk Arnoldus Meiring 1797-1827, Pieter Lourens Cloete 1827-1832; Johan Gerhardus Cloete 1832-1850; Abraham de Smidt 1852-1853; J W Brunt 1853-1866; Johannes Wynand Louw 1866) the order and symmetrical arrangement of its buildings and the row of oaks in front of them has remained unaltered.

But a Norfolk pine planted right in the centre of this wonderful space has grown so large that no one has the courage to remove it! The person who planted it had not the vision to see how this tree would eventually shatter the simplicity of the werf and its low line of surrounding horizontal buildings.

12 TOKAI

This was one of the later Constantia farms, bought by the German gunsmith Andreas Rauch in 1792 but sold by him three months later to another German, Andreas Georg Hendrik Teubes, who again a year later sold to a compatriot, Frederik Herwig. Before a year had passed this gentleman was advertising the sale of his country residence with seventy thousand vines together with a number of moveables amongst which were slaves, wine, and furniture, indicating that there was at the time at least a house and cellar together with extensively cultivated lands.
Two 19th century drawings of Tokai (p38, PWD 2/272, 1833 and S.G.32AY) in the Surveyor General's office. Both depict the very fine arrangement of the werf elements. The approach along an (oak) avenue leads into a fore-court with outbuildings on either side shaded by rows of oaks and continues up the mountain slope through the orchards. Notice the star forest with three avenues through the forest in front of the werf. The Department of Forestry's Nursery is indicated to the left of the drawing.
One must therefore assume that Andreas Teubes was the most likely builder of the first werf and that Herwig probably continued improving it.

The next owner, Johan Casper Loos, who was the deacon of the newly recognised Lutheran church community in Cape Town, received transfer in 1797 and sold to one of the Eksteen children from Bergdiet, Petrus Michiel, aged 26, married to Hester Anna Cloete from Groot Constantia. He became the next owner in 1802.

It seems that the third generation, probably not used to hard work like their fathers and grandfathers, was unable to farm profitably, as was the case with Michiel Eksteen. Dane, in her book on Constantia describes the reckless life of this Eksteen and how he was eventually, after years of insolvency, forced to put Tokai up for sale. Sebastiaan Valentyn Cloete was the buyer and remained the owner until in 1883 the farm was acquired by the Government and eventually used as the home of Joseph Storrer, the director of their forestry department.

Storrer started an arboretum at Tokai, sowing seed of a large variety of exotic trees which today are fully grown. It was also here where vine cuttings from America, free of phylloxera were grown for distribution among the Constantia farmers who had at the end of the 19th century been stricken by this disastrous disease in their vineyards.

The lay-out of the werf at the end of the 18th century was along the same principles as those around it, with a U-shaped house facing east on the axis of the approach to a fore-court flanked by a long outbuilding on each side. The axis was extended through the back courtyard up along the back garden path with regular steps and accentuated with short round tapering pillars similar to those supporting the front pergola.

A drawing of the farm appears with correspondence in connection with the establishment of a Government nursery in 1884. This shows the orchards on either side of the access road, the cross axis before the fore-court, the avenues of trees on either side of the forecourt in front of the outbuildings, the kraals behind the stables on the left and the round pool of water behind the cellar on the right, filled by a mountain stream. The vines appear to be on the mountain slope behind the house.

The road on the axis of the back door crosses a small courtyard behind the house and then runs straight up the mountain slope over another two cross roads at right angles to it. What appears to be a courtyard behind the house is connected with a werf wall on the south side. Outside the wall is a small rectangular building, perhaps a chicken coop.

All the roads are planted with avenues, probably oaks as there are still old oaks on this werf. Higher up on the mountain slope was a forest of silver trees.  

106 Dane P, The Great Houses of Constantia, p118  
107 P.W.D. 2/272
The steps in the back garden of Tokai on the axis of the back door (Fagan 1975)
The house was built in a U shape to face the valley, and because it was situated on a steep slope, the front stoep or terrace was high and in this case reached by a double flight of curved steps as has been noted at Papenboom.

Because this farm came into the hands of the Government before the end of the 19th century and was away from the main road, it escaped subdivision and development, so that it has remained relatively unspoilt and a fine example of the late 18th century formal werf.

The arboretum of many different varieties of trees planted by Joseph Storrer in the late 19th century has now grown to maturity to form a fine forest.

SUMMARY

Research of Constantia farms has established certain factors common to most of them:

**LAND OWNERS**

In the first chapters it was shown how the largest grants containing the best agricultural land were given to the governors and their families: Van Riebeeck was granted Boscheuvel in 1658; Simon Van der Stel received Constantia in 1685; and Willem Adriaan Van der Stel, Vergelegen.

Where the Van der Stels were not allowed to grant land to themselves, they circumvented this law by granting sought-after land to a lesser burgher and then taking transfer of it directly afterwards. Thus Simon Van der Stel acquired Witte Boomen, Bergvliet and Alphen and Francois Van der Stel took Stellenberg. He also acquired Oude Wynberg which had a house on it, by paying the original buyer Albrecht Coopmen 275 guilders for the property on the day of the sale.108

Swellengrebel found in 1776-1777 that top ranking farmers were mostly connected by marriage or otherwise to the Company's servants in whose hands the government rested and that irregularities like these were the cause of the movement of farmers to the interior.109

Thibault confirms this in a letter written on 26.11.1808 where he says "The 2 500 morgen were divided among 36 landowners consisting of high ranking officials, rich citizens and no less rich merchants who also had properties in town".

And this is also confirmed by a look at the earliest grants where one finds that influential burghers who served on public bodies, e.g. the Council of Policy, Church board, Orphan Chamber, Court of Justice and Marriage Board, were amongst the first to be granted land. Thus Claas Hendrik Diepenauw, Burgher Councillor, for instance, who already owned two other farms, was granted Zonnebloem in 1706; and Theunis Van Schalkwyk, retired Burgher Councillor, was granted Alphen in 1714.

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108 T542, 10.8.1701 and T543 on the same day
109 V.R.S. 11/13, Briefszaaling van Hendrik Swellengrebel, p12
When these estates were sold, they were bought by the same class of people - the officials, the wealthy and the influential. As a result successful farms were often passed down from one generation to the next in one family, sometimes for more than a century. (The Versfelds at Claasenbosch; the Van Helsdingens at Witte Boomen; the Eksteens at Bergvliet; the Cloetes at Constantia; the Cloetes at Alphen and so forth.) And very often these same families owned huge tracts of land in the country further afield. Thus Jacob Van Reenen owned at one time not only his family farm Welgelegen, but also Feldhausen and Goedgeloof which he had bought in the Peninsula, and was later also to own Ganzekraal on the west coast.

Although many of the successful Peninsula farmers owned additional land in the country especially in the Tygerberg area, farms in the rural areas further afield were granted mostly to virtually penniless Dutch freemen and refugee Huguenots who were assisted by the D.E.I.C. to get started on their land. These farms were usually about 60 morgen in size, and situated in the Stellenbosch, Drakenstein and Waveren districts in the late 17th and early 18th century. Here the Company granted land also to so-called "free blacks" or freed slaves e.g. in the Jonkershoek valley.

Margaret Cairns has drawn attention to the fact that at least one freed slave, Christina van Canarie, who had belonged to Simon Van der Stel's household, had received a large farm in the Constantia valley, when she bought Stellenberg from the estate of Francois Van der Stel in 1717 and lived there for over twenty years.¹¹⁰

Jan Colyn, whose mother, Maria Everts, had also been a slave from Guinea, became owner of Hoop op Constantia by marrying the widow of the previous owner. Also in Table Valley, Angela of Bengal, who married Willem Basson was the owner of extensive property in the valley long after her husband's death. It was therefore not unusual for freed slaves or their children to own property of considerable value including slaves in the Cape Peninsula, during the 17th and 18th centuries.¹¹¹

**DATING OF EARLIEST FORMAL LANDSCAPES.**

Although there are very few direct references to or illustrations of the lay-out of individual estates in the early 18th century, inventories and census returns indicate that on most of the Peninsula farms the basic formal Dutch lay-out dates from the first half of the 18th century. Steenberg has a window in the house engraved in 1763, and a sundial dated 1756; Ten Damme had an established werf at Claasenbosch before the end of the 17th century.

But where buildings were added to existing werfs, or where they were demolished and replaced with new buildings, the pattern of the original werf was maintained or completed.

This was seen at Buitenverwachting where a dovecot was built with kraals on either side on the foundations of an earlier long building the exact size of the cellar situated opposite it. At the same time a new house was constructed probably on the foundations of an earlier one.

¹¹¹ Cairns M.
At Alphen a new house was constructed at the end of the 18th century in line with and adjacent to an older house which is shown on a plan of the mid-18th century. A new cellar also replaced an older one and a dower-house was newly constructed in line with the cellar early in the 1900s all in line with the original werf boundaries. This tendency was especially noticeable where families retained properties for a number of generations, so that even when farms had become very much reduced in size at the end of the 19th century, the werf itself retained its formal appearance into the 20th century.

NATIONALITY OF EARLY PLANNERS

The early planning of estates in the Peninsula was done almost exclusively by Dutch or Germans, who were the land-owners of the 17th and early 18th century.

COMMON DESIGN PRINCIPLES

A comparison of these plans has revealed a number of common design principles:

Facing

One notices that where the Peninsula estates are situated on the mountain slope, the main houses face the view onto the Hottentots Holland or False Bay or the Constantia valley and have their backs to the mountain. This applies to all the properties lying on the right side of the road between Cape Town and Simon’s Town as shown on Thibault’s map of the early 19th century. These include Zonnebloem, Roodebloem, Welgelegen, Zorgvliet, Rustenburg, Groote Schuur, Klein Schuur, Westerfoort, Papenboom, Newlands, Boshof, Boschbeek, Paradise and Boscheuvel. Those lower down in the valley like Valkenburg, Vredenburg and Feldhausen again faced west to the view of Table Mountain. Farms in Constantia faced east with an oblique view to False Bay like at Klein and Groot Constantia.

It would appear therefore that the view was the most important consideration when placing the house, as was also found in Table Valley.

Arrangement of buildings

The werfs and their surrounding cultivated lands were organised to satisfy human and animal needs. Therefore the first planning had to provide for a house, kraals, stable and wagon-house, but as vineyards increased, cellars were built and then distilleries. The concomitant trades, like cartwright and blacksmith shops followed. The more varied the crops and activities, the more buildings were required and the more complex the werf became. Cellars were extended and secondary accommodation for slaves and family members then became necessary.
Buildings were mostly arranged around a rectangular open space often closed between the buildings with walls as at Alphen and Bergvliet. All the outbuildings and usually the house faced into this space, but as the house was usually placed to face the view and the access road on axis with the front door, it sometimes had its back yard towards the werf as at Buitenverwachting and Stellenberg. Avenues of trees almost everywhere lined access roads and the front of the house was usually shaded with a line of trees.

A comparison of the different farm "werfs" shows that each one consisted of a manor house surrounded by various outbuildings arranged formally in geometrical relation to it. The manor house is usually thatched with gables and the outbuildings either flat roofed or thatched. These buildings are often joined to each other with garden walls to form the enclosed courtyard. The werf, situated in front or at the back of the house, is usually reached through a formal gateway with pillars varying in complexity and grandeur. The buildings around the werf were not placed symmetrically.

Where buildings were not arranged around the periphery of a werf, they were nevertheless placed in geometrical relationship to each other, so that the overall arrangement remained formal.

**Cultivated lands**

Cultivated lands lay outside the werf and were set out in rectangular blocks, in a grid pattern, mostly surrounded by avenues of trees (Tokai is a good example) which were also planted along the wagon road and side boundaries. The cultivated blocks usually were geometrically related to the werf.

Natural mountain streams were routed to fit in with the geometry of the cultivated squares for gravitational irrigation but were usually not constructed of masonry or stone-lined except where they ran into mill races. A number of werfs had pools or dams near or on the werf as at Alphen, Claasenbosch and Dreyersdal.

According to Mentzel the owners grew some wheat, a considerable number of vines, and vegetables for sale on the Cape market from the early 18th century. Most farmers also kept a few sheep and cows from which the town was supplied with fresh butter. According to the inventories of the 18th century many farmers were selling wood. Mentzel found that most of these farms belonged to the wealthier city-dweller as they were not profitable enough to provide a good living. With their beautiful gardens, orchards and vineyards and sturdy, well-built houses, they obviously provided pleasant country homes away from the summer heat and bustle of the town and were therefore in the early 18th century appreciated more for leisure than as a means of income.

But though initial incomes had been mostly from cattle farming and selling of wood procured from felling the indigenous forest, vegetable and fruit farming eventually became more lucrative. Versfeld was, for instance still selling four crops of vegetables per annum in the mid 19th century,
according to Archdeacon Merriman. He, also remarked on the prosperity of the Dutch farmers by that time:

"It was a pleasure to see some Dutch landowners who were really wealthy and prospering, as their fathers and grandfathers were before them." 113

By the end of the 19th century, most of Constantia was planted with vineyards for wine and brandy making, although much land was still planted with orchards. This is quite evident from a map of 1901. 114

As in the rest of the Peninsula farms, although they were sometimes small to begin with when they were granted in freehold, each owner in turn had requested and was granted more land until most farms were at their maximum size in the first half of the 19th century. Then subdivision, starting along the boundaries next to the main road commenced, and cultivated lands sold often to stave off threatening insolvencies especially when the phylloxera plague in the vineyards towards the end of the 19th century reduced incomes drastically. The large farms became smaller and smaller until by the 1930s original werfs were surrounded only by suburban erven instead of the once beautifully cultivated fields.

Access

The access road is usually on the axis of the front door and planted with avenues of trees which sometimes continue into the werf right up to the front door itself, as at Alphen. According to Thibault's drawings these avenues or walks formed an important part of the late 18th century landscape at the Cape. Where the access road is not axially related to the front door, it enters the werf parallel to the house as at Bergvliet.

Each house had a stoep which acted as both reception area and viewing terrace. This transitional area was sometimes accentuated by pergolas which also provided shade. Though they are not as common as is usually imagined, they might have occurred more commonly than has now been recorded because of their possible demolition and replacement with corrugated iron verandas as in Westerfoort, Westbrooke and Nova Constantia in the mid 19th century. A fine original pergola however survives at Tokai.

Garden embellishments

The wealth of the land-owner directly influenced the scale and intricacy of the landscape elements with which he surrounded himself. Just as the many lusthoven which were established in Holland during the growth of the Dutch mercantile power reflected the power and wealth of the royal family and the growing wealth of the merchant class, so the many beautiful estates which were developed in the Peninsula during the 18th and 19th century, recorded the growing wealth and stabilisation of an upper middle class community in the Table and Constantia valleys.

114 C/A, M4/1551 of 1961
Yet parterres, water features, other than dams for domestic use near the house, berceaux or other of the grander embellishments described in the Dutch lusthoven were not common in the Constantia valley. Hendrik Cloete constructed a vine pergola at Constantia and the Van Helsdingens at Claasenbosch, but these seemed to be more for special house use than adornment. The pool at Constantia is the only one of its kind recorded and then it is not certain who built it, for the ornate pools in the back werf were, for instance, constructed in the 1930s and were preceded by water canals.

Two garden embellishments which were found, were sundials (Steenberg dated 1756) and slave bells which formed part of the werf structures at Klein Constantia, Tokai, Hoop op Constantia and Silverhurst, the latter both dated 1815.

Plans are notoriously inadequately detailed as far as these garden features are concerned and one therefore has to rely on published and family histories for descriptions of plants and garden features. Although the present research has not revealed the presence of embellishments other than those described above, they might still have existed and been wiped out by the passage of time.

CONCLUSION

What is most remarkable about these Constantia farms is that they retained their formal landscape lay-out into the 20th century: and as the landscapes which men create are a reflection of the essential nature of their societies, one must assume that the monumental expression of power and strength which these strictly formalised environments created together with the innate sense of satisfying order which accompanied them, overruled all adventurous flights of fantasy as were being expressed in European landscapes during the 18th and 19th centuries.

This was not as a result of colonial isolation, for many of the more affluent families sent their sons to Europe to study and on their return they showed that they were not incapable of absorbing and putting to use what they had experienced. The arrival of many British settlers at the Cape after the second English occupation in 1806, also exposed them to new philosophies on environmental planning as will be shown later chapters.

Latrobe had said:

That vitiated taste" (he was referring to a stalactite which was thought beautiful by Hendrik Cloete) "however is fast declining among the Dutch and nature is no longer outraged as formerly, when trees and hedges, cut into all manner of shapes constituted a Dutch Garden. At this absurdity we English laugh, while we are committing a far greater outrage, in cruelly maiming our horses, dogs and cats, in cutting off their tails and ears, to improve their beauty".

But though they might have adopted English manners and styles in their way of living and in their farming methods, the structure of the landscape around them remained largely unchanged and formal into the 20th century.

115 These canals have recently been rebuilt
CHAPTER 10

FARMS OF THE WESTERN CAPE

In this area, commonly known as the Boland, where numerous freehold grants were made in the 17th and first decade of the 18th century, the soil is fertile and well watered. Fruit, vines and vegetables thrive and many of the most beautiful farm werfs were developed here in the shadow of picturesque mountain ranges.

A few groups are described where the author has been personally involved with the conservation of the werfs or where sufficient illustrative and other material has been found to make a meaningful assessment of the lay-out patterns and the people responsible for them.

The earliest conscious planning of landscape elements into meaningful patterns became necessary only when the fertility of the land and water-supply allowed for a variety of agricultural and pastoral uses. Apart from substantial accommodation erected for large families and an equally large labour force (slaves and so-called "Hottentots") the werfs usually consisted of at least one house, a barn and a cellar.

The farmers of the Boland were prosperous, often owning more than one property and they therefore had the wealth to construct beautiful werfs, on the land which had been granted to them in freehold and later in quitrent.

In analysing the patterns of farm werfs, one has to know the chronology of the different elements comprising them. Over the last thirty years during which the author has been involved with her husband in over 150 conservation projects, mostly in the area known as the Boland, it was found that careful examination of the materials of the walls of buildings gave the most information on their structural sequence. Those built simultaneously could then be grouped and patterns established. This in the first instance would reflect the intention of the farmer to build according to a preconceived plan.

The other source of accurate information is the transfer deeds and their related diagrams, which have been consulted in the deeds office and Cape Archives. In the Boland these drawings have in certain areas, like Dal Josaphat and Wellington, been extremely helpful, but as landscape elements are not usually drawn in detail and buildings, for instance, are mostly not drawn at all, one has to go through a great deal of information to find a small amount of usable material. The most useful drawings that showed accurate arrangement of buildings, were those filed with quitrent grants in the 19th century.

Inventories and census returns helped to establish the number of people living on specific farms at specific times and the different products produced on them, but this information was seldom comprehensive enough to establish landscape patterns at different times.
The following groups have been described:

1 **STELLENBOSCH & DRAKENSTEIN**
   1.1 BOSCHENDAL
   1.2 RHONE
   1.3 BABYLONSTOREN
   1.4 VREDENHOF
   CONCLUSIONS

2 **HELDERBERG**
   2.1 BONTERIVIER AND RUST EN VREDE
   2.2 GROENRIVIER
   2.3 GROENVLEI
   2.4 NOOITGEDACHT
   CONCLUSIONS

3 **DAL JOSAPHAT**
   3.1 KLEINBOSCH
   3.2 NAAUWBEPAALD
   3.3 DRUK MIJ NIET
   3.4 SCHOONGEZICHT
   3.5 GOEDE RUST
   3.6 ROGGENLAND
   3.7 NON PAREILLE
   CONCLUSIONS

4 **WAGENMAKERSVALLEI (WELLINGTON)**
   4.1 CHAMPAGNE
   4.2 GROENEBERG EN ONVERWACHT
   4.3 GROENENDAAL & VRUCHTBAAR
   4.4 OPPERHORST EN TWYFELING
   4.5 GROENFONTEIN
CONCLUSIONS

SUMMARY
The white walls demarcating the werf from the surrounding vineyards, and the towering Drakenstein mountains dwarfing the farm buildings, contribute to make Boschendal one of the most spectacular Boland farms.
A number of farm werfs in the Boland have been planned with obvious concern for symmetry and axiality. Similar werfs have already been described in the Constantia Valley and four farms in the Stellenbosch and Paarl district, three of which our office was concerned with restoring, viz Boschendal, Rhone and Vredenhof are now discussed.

1.1 BOSCHENDAL

This, undoubtedly one of the most beautiful farms in the Boland, dates back to 1690 and 1713 when two parallel pieces of land were granted to the Huguenots Nicolas de Lanoy and Jean le Long. In 1715 both grants were transferred to Abraham de Villiers who had been farming on nearby land with his two brothers Pierre and Jacques. Abraham by then also owned the farms Lekkerwyn and Meerlust and it is not certain where he lived, but as he had no male heirs, Bossendaal (this was the earliest spelling of the farm later known as Boschendal) was transferred to his brother, Jacques, after his death in 1719.

Jacques then transferred his own farm, La Brie, to his son-in-law, married to his eldest daughter, and built a home at Bossendaal for the rest of his family. Tax returns for the early decades of the 18th century record that Jacques had four farms at the time, that he owned 12 000 vines, many cattle and sheep, a few horses and was producing 7-8 leaguers of wine annually. He was also sowing various kinds of grain for his family and animals. After his death in 1736, his wife continued farming for three years before retiring to her eldest son’s farm and bequeathed Bossendaal to her youngest son, Jan.

Jan married twice and produced 22 children in 44 years. He built a house of his own in 1746, but it is not clear whether this was a new or the refurbished house of his father. (A sketch of this house with 1746 on the gable was still in the possession of the de Villiers family in 1946, but could not be traced).

Jan’s house, we discovered during the restoration process, had been built in the same position as the present one, on slightly sloping land and at a lower level than the present house.

Jan had been trained by his father to be a farmer from a young age - at nine he already possessed 25 cattle apart from a sword, pistol and gun, and four years later he had 30 cattle and a hundred sheep. He accordingly turned out to be a prosperous farmer and by the end of the 18th century was producing from his 180 000 vines three times more wine than the average farmer in the area.

His youngest son, Paul, inherited the farm from his widowed mother who remained living at Bossendaal even after Paul’s marriage. The present H-shaped house was built by Paul De Villiers.
Plan of the restored werf
in 1812 and the date appears on the gable together with his and his wife Anna Louw's initials. This date had been wrongly repaired to read 1818, but was restored by us to 1812, the date appearing on a Trotter sketch of the house.

When this house was restored, the white-washed walls of Jan’s house were found stretching one metre down below the floor level of Paul's house, which proved that Paul had built his house on top of the walls of his father's. A cellar was discovered below the floor level under the front rooms leading to an outside door through a vaulted passage. From here a steady stream of water flowed in the winter and we thought that this might have been one of the reasons why Paul raised his house.

When Paul built his house, however, he was forced to place it where it would maintain the symmetry of the werf established by his father, and by raising it and levelling the ground in front of it, he would have greatly increased the stature and accentuated the symmetrical facade of the house at the end of the long axial approach. This axis, seen from afar through a clump of pines, then through the ornate werf wall gates, then through the double avenue of oaks to the front door of the house, can be followed through the long dining room out of the north front door, down a second avenue of oaks to the gates of the werf wall on the north-west side. A cross axis to this meets at the precise position where the farmer would sit at the head of his dining table!

There is a great contrast between the front of the house facing north-east to a magnificent view of the distant Klein Drakenstein Mountains, and the back which looks in onto its own court. This space is enclosed with the stable/wagon-house, slave quarters and high-walled horse kraal on the north-west, and cellar and lower kraals on the opposite side. Openings between these buildings are closed with stone walls all plastered and white-washed, and a double row of oaks forms an avenue which accentuates the axis from the entrance gates to the back door. This double oak avenue binds also the front door to the gate in the ring wall on the north. In front of the house a cross axis is planted with another oak avenue leading to the north-western gate of the ring wall.

Once inside the courtyard one is able to appreciate Le Blond's remarks on symmetry, for here the buildings and kraals which surround the space are not identical on either side, though similar gables on the wagon-house and cellar strengthen and balance each other. But the sheep kraal walls opposite the slave house are low to give a glimpse of the distant towering Drakenstein mountain, bringing it right into the heart of the man-made haven.

The enclosing ring wall is perhaps the most beautiful element in the composition of the farm, for its straight white lines form a significant landmark in an otherwise natural green landscape and demarcate clearly the protected human and animal terrain from the formal agricultural landscape and the veld beyond. Its strong white lines form a marked contrast to the meandering furrow which marks the eastern boundary of the werf. This furrow had been made by Paul to bring water from the Dwars River over Rhone to Boschendal for irrigating the house garden and orange grove below it and shows on a grant drawing. 8
The east facade of the werf (top) and the west side (below)
The courtyard avenue was re-instated during the restoration.

The workers are cleaning *arundo donax* to use for ceilings.

The chicken coop restoration.
The slave lodge and horse-kraal with Simonsberg backdrop. The large chimney here was probably that of a smithy.

A previous opening in the cellar front wall under a brick relieving arch was bricked up in the 19th century. Notice dark colour of old mortar and light (clay) colour of later mortar. This kind of information helped with the dating of the werf structures.
Below the house, in line with the wine cellar, is a walled chicken coop with an arched gateway leading into a cobbled enclosure where rows of laying nests have been built in the walls. This ingenious design for accommodating what could otherwise be a very messy part of the farmyard, is not unique to Boschendal, for similar chicken houses were found at Idas Valley, Zandvliet and Groenvlei to name but a few.  

Boschendal was inherited by Paul de Villiers’ sons in 1840 and remained in the family until almost the end of the 19th century. That is undoubtedly the reason why the werf had been preserved so well, for apart from the replacement of thatch by iron and partial demolition of the gables on two outbuildings, the loss of some avenue trees and some kraal walls, the werf could be restored in 1973 and the buildings and spaces re-cycled without too much loss of original fabric and atmosphere.

The slope of the ground in the area which had been a house garden was re-instated by following the line of the white-washed plaster on the stoep wall. Here we found two old Pride of India and lemon trees probably dating to the mid-19th century. Bits of old rose hedges indicated where the boundary hedge had run and this was reinstated, but further plants had to be chosen from 19th century Cape plant lists, for none of these had survived.

Boschendal is the farm where most of the de Villiers family originated, of whom there are today thousands of descendents in the country. For of the 22 children that Jan de Villiers produced before the end of the 18th century, many lived on farms in the Groot Drakenstein area. One would therefore expect these farms to have much in common, but although we made a study of their gables, which were remarkably alike, I did not do an analysis of all the numerous de Villiers farms in the area to see whether werf designs followed the same patterns.

Of the three best known farm werfs with fore-courts, two were probably designed by sons of Jan De Villiers of Boschendal - Petrus Johannes de Villiers at Babylonstoren, Abraham de Villiers at Vredenhof, while the third, Rhone, lies next to Boschendal which probably inspired the werf designers, Magdalena Van Hoeting and her two husbands.

The wife of the subsequent owner of Rhone, Anna Geertruida de Villiers, was the daughter of Babylonstoren’s designer and grand-daughter of Jan de Villiers. Perhaps Rhone had been the model for Babylonstoren as Boschendal had been the model for Rhone. In two of these farms the axial approach is enhanced by splaying of the buildings framing the fore-court.

This indicates that a much more careful research of all the de Villiers farm werfs in Drakenstein might reveal a very interesting interrelationship between their different plans and the people responsible for them.

9 James Walton’s publication Cape Doves and Fowl-runs covers this subject. It must be noted here that Mr Walton made an erroneous assumption from a photograph taken halfway through the restoration of the chicken coop at Idas Valley. An infill wall covered the top rows of laying nests which were stepped back from the lower ones. We photographed the lower ones and became aware of the top ones only after demolition of the covering wall

10 We needed this information to assist us in reconstructing the remaining partially demolished cellar and wagon-house gables of Boschendal
Mrs Trotter's sketch of the chicken coop and cellars (the end one with later iron roof). Round steps lead down to the house garden, left and chicken coop, right

The cellar gable was identical to that of the wagon-house and is directly opposite it although the two buildings were not of the same length (Fagan 1973)
Today Boschendal is one of the best examples of an unspoilt formal Cape Dutch 18th century werf planned axially. It can in no way compare with the grandeur and magnificence of the restored Rosendael in Holland, but on the other hand, some may find the overpowering beauty of the natural environment at Boschendal superior to the most imaginative mortal creation.

1.2 RHONE

This is another one of those 60 morgen freehold grants which Simon Van der Stel had granted to Huguenot settlers. This one, in 1692, was to Jean Gardé who named his farm Rhone after his place of birth. On the same day Isaac Taillefer was granted sixty morgen in Drakenstein and he named his farm La Brie. Nine years after the grants Jean married Taillefer’s fifteen year-old daughter and within a year the first generation of this family was born at Rhone.

Very little information is available on the landscapes of these first land-owners, but Francois Leguat, who visited the Cape in 1698 gives a very good insight into the way the Huguenots adapted to their Cape surroundings and describes in particular Taillefer’s home and garden. "He found him to be a very honest and ingenious Man and curious above all things in these Particulars, has a Garden which might well pass for fine. Nothing there is wanting and all is in good order and so neat that it may very well pass for Charming. He has likewise a great Yard very well fill’d and a large quantity of Oxen, Sheep and Horses, which, according to custom feed all the year outdoors... This generous Man receives and regales all those that are so happy as to come and see him. He has the best Wine in the Country which is not unlike our small Wines of Champagne".

"All this considered ’tis certain the Cape is an extraordinary Refuge for the poor French Protestants. They there peacefully enjoy their Happiness and live in good Correspondence with the Hollanders who as every one knows are of a frank and downright humour".

When Gardé died in 1702, he had already sold Rhone and the adjoining farm, Languedoc, which he had acquired two years previously, to a fellow Huguenot, Jacques Malan. In this transfer deed the house and vineyard which Jean had planted, is mentioned.

Malan did not live at Rhone or Languedoc as he had other properties, and when he sold the farms six years later, the value had actually dropped by 75 guilders. Neither were the farms developed during the tenure of the next two owners, Pierre Jordaan or Daniel Malan junior, and the widow, Claudina Van Buisson, the next owner, appeared to have made Languedoc her home, for an inventory taken after her death in 1749 records a four-roomed house, a cellar and water mill there. She had married the Dutchman, Gerrit Van Hoeting and had had five daughters by him.

Her census records that she had eight male and one female slaves living at Languedoc. Her livestock consisted of six horses, 200 sheep and 20 pigs. All these people and animals would have
The oldest building at Rhone (top) now used as "taphuis". The later H-shaped house (middle) and both together (below) (Fagan 1973)
needed accommodation and kraals, so the widow Van Hoeting had undoubtedly laid the basis of the formal farm werf at Lanquedoc.

Two years before Claudina Van Hoeting's death, her 12 year old daughter, Magdalena was married to the 23 year-old Pieter Joubert. These two probably had been living with or near her parents, perhaps in the old Gardé house at Rhone, for two years after the widow's death Joubert took transfer of the two farms. They lived at Rhone for twelve years up to Joubert's death and were probably responsible for the present werf lay-out.

A few months after her first husband's death Magdalena married Gerrit Victor, but she outlived him as well, so that she was left to farm alone after his death in 1797 until 1803 when she sold the farms to Petrus Johannes du Toit.

The gable of the house is dated 1795 and carries the initials R and M. As the R has no reference to either of her husbands, it may be faulty and is most probably a P commemorating perhaps Magdalena's first husband who probably designed the buildings of the fore-court and the new house, but never lived to see them finished.

Du Toit paid the widow Joubert 70 000 guilders - an increase of over 63 000 guilders above the price that she had paid, indicating that considerable improvements had been made during her ownership. Her tax returns for preceding years indicate that she was well-off at the time, for at Rhone there were 40 000 vines from which 20 leaguers of wine were being produced annually. She also had 15 slaves - another indication of affluence.

But her successor, because of insolvency was forced to sell the two farms within a year to the German, Carl Albrecht Haupt.

Haupt had married Anna Gertruida de Villiers from Babylonstoren, granddaughter of Jan de Villiers of Boschendal. Of their ten children, the second son, Johannes was the one who inherited the farms in 1847 and after that the property passed to his eldest brother, Carl Albrecht in 1866.

While restoring the buildings on the farm in the 1970s, it became evident that the first house erected on the farm, probably by Jean Gardé, had been part of a long building, accommodating other uses. It had been constructed of clay and later, when a new house was built, the old building had been extended and altered by closure of the old windows and doors with soft mud bricks.

The walls of the later house, built as an H, consisted of a better quality soft burnt red brick and this was the material found in the front walls of the cellar, which suggests that these had been constructed more or less during the same period. As the farm had greatly increased in value when it belonged to Magdalena Van Hoeting and her two husbands, it was probably they who planned the new werf with it symmetrical fore-court. They took care to place the new cellar exactly

16 C/A, J189
17 T2920, 15.6.1751
18 T132, 18.9.1803
19 CA, J224
20 T144, 1.11.1804
21 T498/1847; T248/1866
The oldest building at Rhone, built of layers of loam. Early door and window openings were later enclosed with mud bricks and dark loam mortar (Fagan 1974).

The grant of Languedoc in 1831 to D J Malan showing the house and cellar which were probably built by the widow Claudina van Hoeting. Stellenbosch Quitrents Vol 8-11, p45.
opposite the old outbuilding, to make it the same length and what is more remarkable, to splay the cellar slightly to increase the sense of perspective. This could only be successfully achieved if the new house and cellar were planned at the same time. The illusion was accentuated by planting avenues of trees in front of the buildings.

The stables with its attached cobbled kraal and what is thought to be slave quarters south of the house are probably also 18th century to judge from their proportions and building materials and the fact that they are linked with an old stone wall to the earliest outbuildings.

In spite of its development over three generations, and not all by the same family, new buildings had been placed in geometrical relation to the old ones to eventually form a most impressive formal werf. Fortunately the Rhone werf has been preserved and the buildings recycled without loss of their overall geometrical significance.

1.3 BABYLONSTOREN

The farm comprising 33 morgen and 28 morgen was granted in two sections to Pieter Van der Byl, a Dutch immigrant from Overschie near Rotterdam. His father Gerhard, was at the same time granted the farm Vredenburg at Stellenbosch. The inference that Brink makes in her thesis that the name reflected the wrath (toorn) of the farmer with the Government, seems very far-fetched as the conical hillock next to the farm so obviously inspired the name.

In 1723 Van der Byl died, but his second wife, Hester te Winkel, remained living on the farm so there must have been at least one building to accomodate her family and farm implements, wine making equipment and vehicles. In 1744, after the widow’s death, Johannes Jacobus Louw bought the farm on a public auction, and Petrus Johannes de Villiers (Jan’s son) who had been born at Boschendal, bought it from his estate almost twenty years later in 1762. A month later Petrus, aged 21 married his cousin Susanna Maria de Villiers, aged 16, whose father owned La Motte, Zion and Vrede en Lust, all situated in the Drakenstein.

By that time the Boschendal werf was well established and one wonders whether Petrus de Villiers had that in mind when he copied his father’s werf on his own farm.

In an interview with the present owner of Babylonstoren, it was established what materials had been used in the construction of the different farm buildings and in this way could make an informed guess at the chronology of the different landscape elements.

The two oldest buildings appear to be the stable, marked A on the site plan, which is constructed of stone throughout, and the building marked B which accomodated the milk room, meat room, flour room, and chicken coop. It had walls of stone up to sill height and was completed with raw black mud bricks to the eaves. These two buildings are at right angles to each other, and the short facade of the one lines up with the long facade of the other. It is possible that these two formed

22 L.S.V.1, 1698 & 1692
24 T22618, 22.10.1744
25 T3757, 16.7.1762
A suggested first site plan (top) and present werf of Babylonstoren

The approach and cross axis (Fagan 1974)
the first werf together with a T-shaped house, now part of the present house, dated 1777. This could be confirmed by a careful examination of the materials of the front facade of the house.

The present H-shaped house and two long buildings forming a fore-court in front of it, all appear to be built of half baked red clay bricks and a yellow clay mortar, but the owner is not sure that this is the case throughout the front wings of the house. If my theory about the dating of mortar is correct, the outbuildings on either side of the fore-court and back wings of the house were built early in the 19th century and the buildings marked A and B and the front part of the house in the 18th century. The date, 1805 on the gable of the western courtyard building confirms this supposition. The ring wall with its ornate front and side gates is of the same material as the fore-court buildings and was therefore probably constructed at the same time but the material of the slave bell has not been investigated and therefore is at present undated.

When Petrus de Villiers had wanted to create a formal fore-court to his farm, like the one at Rhone, he did so by building a wine cellar and more extensive slave quarters-cum-jonkershuis of identical size, in front of it, spaying them to increase the perspective.

Petrus had three sons, two of whom died at a young age. Of his six daughters the youngest married Carel Albrecht Haupt whom we have already met at Rhone. Babylonstoren was consequently sold to his wife's cousin, Jan Daniel de Villiers and later to W A Marais. 26

The werf with its rows of oaks in front of the buildings has maintained its historical lay-out and is still unspoilt despite modern additions. The long pine avenue on the axis of the main approach has been separated from the entrance gates by a modern main road.

1.4 VREDEHOF

Vredenhof was granted in 1695 to the Huguenot Francois Bastiaans, 27 who probably erected some kind of building where he lived for 27 years from 1692 until 1717, when transfer was made to his son Johannes Bastiaans. 28 How long Johannes lived at "Freethof" as it was then known, could not be traced for the next transfer is from Johannes Guillaume van Helsdingen, owner of Witteboomen to Abraham de Villiers, the son of Jan of Boschendal, in 1778. 29 But how and when Van Helsdingen obtained the farm, could not be traced.

Abraham de Villiers transferred the farm to Gerhard Van Der Byl in 1806. 30 At the time he had, with the help of 65 slaves, produced 92 leagues of wine and 11 of brandy that year from the 150 000 vines. 31
Vredenhoef plan early 1900s
The original entrance gate was on the axis of the front door and in line with a central avenue of oaks (C/A E3726)

The stoep was the place for welcoming visitors and formed the terrace from where the view of the distant mountains could be enjoyed (C/A E3876)
The formal werfs of Calais in Dal Josaphat (top) and Zevenrivieren in Banhoek as drawn on grants of the 1830s (SQ. SG230/1833 & SG233/1833)

Examples of other farms in the Drakenstein area with formal werfs
The Good Hope enclosed werf (above) and the house dwarfed by the Simonsberg (below).

Good Hope is another example of a formal werf in the Drakenstein (C/A E4063)
When we were asked to work on the various buildings of the werf in 1972, we found that all previous thatched roofs of the outbuildings around the werf had been replaced with iron and the walls in the process built higher. The cellar which lay on the south side of the fore-court had been widened when a T-wing to the back was demolished. This wing is visible on early photographs.

The outbuilding on the north side of the fore-court had a gable which Dr Cook dates to 1778, the year that Abraham de Villiers obtained transfer (Fransen and Cook The old House of the Cape). This outbuilding which was a stable and wagon-house, was built of black mud bricks and dark loam mortar and would therefore appear to be an 18th century structure which suggests that de Villiers did indeed build it. Unfortunately much of the opposite building had been demolished and rebuilt although some old walls may still be part of the structure, but we did not examine them.

Presuming the fore-court was created by de Villiers, it is reasonable to suppose that he also built the H-shaped house at its far end as well as the ring wall connecting the buildings with the entrance gate opposite the front door. The earlier werf would then have consisted of a T-shaped house with adjoining stable and a small building behind the house which is said to have been the slave lodge. We found a vaulted structure west of and in line with the cellar which were old wine tanks, used in the distilling process, but could not elate these.

Old photographs show the milking shed constructed like those at Naauwbeertaal and Groot Constantia with the thatched roof supported by a row of stone pillars on the kraal side. Attached to the kraal is a walled vegetable garden behind the wagon-house/stable.

Rows of oaks were planted in front of the buildings and the whole werf drained to a central pond probably used for watering the animals. As a result vehicles drove around the perimeter of the werf and not on the axis of the front door of the house as one would expect in view of the splayed cellar and stables.

The werf was watered by a mountain stream which formed a small pool in the back yard as illustrated by Moerdyk in the 1930s. An aerial photograph of the 1930s shows an orange grove on either side of the approach road.

The H-shaped house was later turned into a double storeyed flat-roofed mansion, but the other buildings were retained with their thatched roofs and gables. In this way the fore-court was immeasurably improved.

CONCLUSIONS

This group of farms in the Drakenstein area remained in the possession of families for succeeding generations and the buildings of their predecessors were re-used by the younger farmers who not only altered them for their own needs, but by ingenious re-use of older buildings and placing of new ones, created axial approaches and fore-courts, accentuating the importance of their homes by the creation of artificial vistas. They all acquired plastered, white-washed ring walls which not only joined one building to the other but demarcated the more intimate space where human beings lived and animals sheltered, from the agricultural area fringing on the "woeste veld".
The gables, built over a period of 16 years are almost identical.
only joined one building to the other but demarcated the more intimate space where human beings lived and animals sheltered, from the agricultural area fringing on the "woeste veld".

The avenues of old oaks planted in front of all these buildings provided shade and a luscious green, breaking the starkness of surrounding white-washed walls. Some of these remaining old oaks still provide evidence of the age of these werfs, creating a feeling of maturity to which humans respond even more easily than to the buildings themselves.

2 HELDERBERG

A group of five farms in the Helderberg is discussed next. They are situated at the foot of the Helderberg Mountains on the fertile banks of perennial mountain streams. From the early 1970s we have been involved with conservation work on two of these werfs, Rust en Vrede and Groenvlei and to a lesser extent on the werf of Groenrivier. The first farm in the area was Bonterivier, and is therefore included in this group.

Most of these farms were not planned axially, but their geometry was more concerned with alignment of the various werf components.

2.1 BONTERIVIER AND RUST EN VREDE

Bonterivier, just over 54 morgen in size, was granted to the Dutchman, Willem Van de Wereld in 1694 by which time it had been in his possession for 12 years. After this the transfers went to Andries Voormeester in 1696, to Jan Sieker in 1713, to Willem Botha in 1721, and to Jan Lourens Rostok in 1726. Rostok planted vines and cultivated some wheat here, but as the value of the farm remains very low, it seems that few other improvements had been done up to that time, for Rostok sells back to Sieker in 1732 for only 800 guilders.

Three years later, when Sieker sold to Gerrit Vredenburg, the price was 2 000 guilders, indicating perhaps that a cottage of some sort had been erected in the previous three years. The Ex-Heemraad Hendrik Blankenberg, who next took transfer in 1747 also appeared to have used this farm only for grazing, as he lived elsewhere.

In 1753 Bonterivier was transferred to two neighbours, Adriaan Van Brakel of Brakelsdal, and Jurgen Christoffel Grommet of Blaauwklip, who probably grazed their cattle there. Grommet was repatriated to Germany in 1762 and sold his part to Van Brakel. Although Adriaan Van Brakel had bequeathed Bonterivier to two sons before his death, the son Hermanus Johannes sold his portion to his brother, Johannes Henricus, who thus became the sole owner in June 1780. The farm was then valued at 1 000 guilders and probably had a house of sorts at that stage. The Van

32 ISV1, 12.3.1694
33 T403, 3.11.1696; T922, 13.1.1713; T1410, 29.9.1721; T1727, 9.5.1726
34 C/A, 1187 and 15.9.1732, T2047
35 T2226, 12.1.1735
36 T2748, 15.9.1747
37 T3043, 14.9.1753
38 Hoge, p122
Comparative werf plans (Fagan 1973)
Brake! family home, Brakelsdal, which went to his younger brother, Adriaan, was on the other hand valued at 7 000.39

Johannes Henricus must have lived in a long-house which is described in an inventory taken after his death (12.9.1791, he was only 35 at the time). It consisted of a voorkamer, kitchen with pantry and bedroom. But he had obviously built a new cellar, which is recorded in the inventory together with all its wine-making equipment. He had also planted many vines, for in 1805 he counted 50 000.39

The price of 13 500 guilders which the next owner, Joel Daniel Herold, paid, confirms these improvements.40

Joel Heroldt apparently lived in the same house and used the same cellar as his predecessor, for they remain unchanged in the inventory taken after his wife's death in 1792. They were, however not only farming with wine, for six stud horses are also noted.

The inventory also records 19 yellowwood beams on the werf - usually the number required for a T-shaped house, or long house with four large rooms, or long cellar. At the same time 9 slave youths and 4 slave girls were recorded as well as some silverware, so he was a man of some means.42 Heroldt married again and lived at Bonterivier until his retirement to Stellenbosch in 1796, when the farm was sold to Andries, the descendant of the Huguenot, Andre Mellet.43

Mellet was married to Gertruida Johanna, one of Jan de Villiers' 22 children at Boschendal. They lived at Bonterivier for only five years after which they exchanged the farm for a house and erf in Cape Town. Both properties were then valued at 15 000 guilders which suggests that the new house had been built.

The next owner, Johann Lorenz Liebetrau, a German from Frankfurt, who moved into Bonterivier in 1801 with wife and two small sons, had been a cooper in Cape Town. In 1818 he had received 103 morgen of quitrent land, and in 1828 he requested and was granted further surrounding open state land in quitrent. By then he owned 15 slaves and 5 female slaves, 7 horses, 65 oxen and 3 wagons and a cart, as well as 150 000 vines and fruit trees together valued at 90 000 guilders.44

The farm was obviously a prosperous business and it appears that the h-shaped house which is still part of the werf, was built in 1824, the date on the gable.45 Liebetrau also owned a half share of a loan farm which he used as a cattle post and which was valued at 8 000 guilders.

During his life both sons lived at Bonterivier with their families - they were married to the sisters Susanna Louisa and Johanna Maria Joubert. After their father's death the farm was divided between the two sons, Hendrik Godfried receiving just over 32 morgen with the old house plus attached wagon-house, cellar, and new house on it; and Carel Wilhelm, 18 morgen which he called

39 C/A, 23.6.1780, T5261
40 C/A, J232
41 T6729, 9.7.1793
42 C/A, Stb.18/34, 6.4.1792
43 C/A 24.5.1796, T7049
44 Stb/1/39, fol 82
45 C/A J285
Elliott photograph of exposed walls of Rust en Vrede shows the darker brickwork of a later wing (E1043)
Rust en Vrede, and which probably was also provided with a house, cellar and wagon-house/jonkerhuis by that time.  

The father had died in 1831 but the gable of the h-shaped house at Rust en Vrede is dated 1824 like the one at Bonterivier and one suspects that the two sons each lived in a new house while their parents remained living in their old house next to the wagon-house.  

The Rust en Vrede house faces slightly east of north and is in a line with the cellar and jonkers-house cum wagon-house on either side of it. As all three buildings are built with the same mud bricks and have similarly styled gables and windows, they were almost certainly all built by the Liebertrau's more or less at the same time, but the house might have followed on the other buildings, as we found traces of an old fireplace in part of the wagon-house during its refurbishment. This suggested that, as in so many other farms, the first house had been under one roof with the wagon-house and stable.  

Rust en Vrede stayed in the ownership of this family till 1866 and the werf has probably remained unchanged to this day.  

A comparison between the two werfs shows a great similarity in the facades of the two wine cellars, but the Bonterivier house facade has been so much altered that they could not be compared. On the site plans, which the author has drawn, it can be seen that the Bonterivier werf consisting of three outbuildings and an h-shaped house, has a different arrangement to that of the Rust en Vrede werf which has two outbuildings in line with an h-shaped house, to which an extra wing was added in 1938.  

Elliott took photographs when this wing was being constructed and these show the difference in building materials. He had also taken photographs of the wine cellar before its central gable was demolished and end gables clipped to put up an iron roof, so that they could be accurately rebuilt when a new thatched roof was constructed in the 1970s.  

Bonterivier, now known as Blyehoek, still retains its house, though in an altered form, as well as the cellar and the outbuilding in line with the back wing of the house. But Sieker's original long house/cum outbuildings, which lay next to the existing cellar, was demolished a few years ago.  

2.2 GROENRIVIER  

Groenrivier was promised to Abraham Bastiaans in 1689 and granted to him on 20.11.1693. After Bastiaans, Groenrivier was transferred to Hendrik Frederik Klopper (1718), Jan Barend Sieker (1734), who at the same time owned Bonterivier, Bernardus Van Bilon married to Sieker's widow, Adriana Smuts (1747), Jan Davel (1750) and Petrus Roux (1777). In 1819 Roux divided his farm and transferred the portion subsequently known as Groenvlei to his son Jan, while his son Jacobus Daniel retained Groenrivier.
Groenrivier house in the early 1900s (courtesy Mr van Zyl)

Groenvlei house with Victorian woodwork before it was restored - front facade and backyard, showing the sloping ground, large oaks and gravel surface (CA E701)
The cellars on both Groenrivier and Groenvlei are very much alike, the former dated 1796 and the other unknown as the gable was demolshed when an iron roof was put up. Elliott photographs of both show the slight differences of the scrolls which slide off the side pilasters at Groenrivier, but are firmly supported by those at Groenvlei. The face of the Groenrivier gable is ornamented with floral wheels and swags, those at Groenvlei with a few stars only, but I these probably do not help to date the buildings, though they were probably constructed for the Roux brothers shortly after each other and long before they received transfer of their different portions.

The older family farm to this day consists of a larger complex of buildings situated on a north-facing slope. There is an H-shaped house with attached cottage east of it, lined up with a jonkers house on its west, both facing north. Opposite them a long cellar and attached outbuilding lie parallel to the house facing south, creating a very large courtyard between them. Rows of old oaks front the buildings although the present approach from the east is through an avenue of pines. There is a good supply of perennial water from two mountain streams.

The jonkershuis had been Victorianised and the house somewhat altered, but the basic structure of these buildings, the cellar and its adjoining store appeared to be late 18th century when measured in the 1980s. But as the early grantees all possessed this farm for long periods, one is led to think that good accommodation was probably provided for both animals and humans early in the 18th century as well as some kind of cellar space. These earlier buildings may still be part of the walls of the present structures, but as we were involved only with initial discussions before extensive alterations were done by the owner himself, we were unable to date the buildings accurately.

2.3 GROENVLEI

Jan Roux who inherited the portion of Groenrivier called Groenvlei, had probably been living on his portion long before it was transferred to him officially in 1819, for the house gable is dated 1808. In 1851 his son, Paul Johannes inherited the property and after this the transfers were not indicated.

In the 1980s we were involved with the refurbishment of the T-shaped house, cellar and stables, all lying in a row, and the chicken coop attached to a cottage situated slightly back from the house on its west side. A long outbuilding also in line with and east of the house had already been renovated under a new iron roof and so we could not examine the building material.

The arrangement of these buildings was very much like those of Rust en Vrede nearby, also built by a father for his son before subdividing his farm.

2.4 NOOITGEDACHT, TODAY NAVARRE

This small farm of over 4 morgen was granted to Daniel Josias Malan in December, 1796. It was described as Erf te Moddergat aan 't oude werf van Burger Jonas Van Bergen, so obviously had no
Groenrivier cellar. The simple long building with magnificent gables is surrounded by a grassy meadow (C/A F2428)

The Groenvlei farm complex consisted of an L-shaped house and an outbuilding on either side of it shaded by a row of oaks. The white werf wall has been built recently (Fagan 1982)
buildings on it. In 1813 Daniel's widow requested a further 13 morgen around the property and in the next year had an h-shaped house built with gable very much like the one already existing at Groenvlei.

The plan of her werf was like that of Blaauwklip with the approach to the house flanked by two long outbuildings, the cellar on the left and the stable cum wagon-house on the right. From her front stoep the widow Malan had a magnificent view westwards to False Bay and Blaauwberg beyond it.

From the widow the farm passed to her son Johannes Jacobus in 1830, and again to his son Hermanus Johannes in 1858. After this Nooitgedacht was transferred to the Mostert family where it remained for two further generations before being sold to the Dalrymples.

This werf is an example of how wrong deductions can be made unless the history of the werf has been established. The house was built in an h-shape and a back wing added in 1946 to turn it into an H. The cellar used to have a front gable onto the fore-court but in 1894 all the beams were removed because the place was in a poor condition and all the vats were taken out. These beams had been of silver wood, presumably growing in the vicinity.

At the end of the right-hand building is a slave bell between pillars attached to a high werf wall, but this bell, according to Mr Dirk Mostert, had previously hung in an oak tree, so the pillars are recent. Other changes were the addition of the stoep on the north side of the house by Dalrymple and the building of a retaining wall on the cellar side of the werf to level the slope in front of the house.

All these changes, though perhaps subtle in themselves, detract from the original simplicity of the werf and its natural relation to the surrounding fall of the land which is one of the most beautiful qualities of a Dutch farm.

CONCLUSIONS

In all these Helderberg farms the werfs are sloped, the houses face downward to the view so that those along the north banks of the stream face north and those on the western slopes of the hills face west. Water was plentiful, the soil fertile and initial stock-farming was soon changed to wine production so that cellars became a very necessary part of the werf.

The group is particularly interesting because buildings look so much alike on all four farms - the remaining gables of the houses and cellars are basically the same, differing only in small details, though the houses were built in 1808, 1814 and in 1824.

Bonterivier was in possession of the Liebetrau family for 65 years and during this time was divided so that two sons could each have a portion with an established house and cellar. Groenerivier, similarly was in the Roux family for even longer and was also during this time divided between two sons who each received with his portion a wine cellar and house.
Dal Josaphat with the Paarl mountains in the distance, Druk Mij Nict in the foreground and Kleinbosch amongst the trees with the grave stones right of this in the old Huguenot cemetery. The farm Helena which had belonged to David Petrus du Toit before he inherited Kleinbosch is in the centre of the picture. The T-shaped house had a building at right angles to it on either side (C/A, R1411)
This practice was not unusual as also noted at the Du Toit farm Kleinbosch in Dal Josaphat where Ernst du Toit built a house and outbuilding for each of three sons on his farm before cutting off a small portion for each one.

In all these cases the buildings looked alike, but the newer werfs were simpler than the older ones, consisting of only two buildings arranged next to each other. The son could then extend the line with a third building if he wished. At Naauwbeapaalt Daniel Du Toit added a jonker house with outbuilding in line with the old T house and cellar on it south. And Carl Liebetrau probably erected a new house in 1824 between his cellar and older house/cum wagon-house even before he received transfer of Rust en Vrede.

Rows of oaks were planted on all these werfs in front of the buildings, and poplars were grown along the streams and wet areas.  

3 DAL JOSAPHAT

A group of farms in Dal Josaphat which had been proclaimed as "Coloured area" under the Group Areas Act, were threatened with demolition in the early 1970s. Because it was felt that these farm werfs had particular tectonic value, we researched their history, drew their plans and together with other concerned parties brought the matter to the attention of the minister who eventually deproclaimed them and transferred them to the Monuments Council for conservation. We were appointed to conserve two of these farms and were also partially involved in the conservation of a third.

This is where some of the earliest Huguenots were granted freehold land and the du Toit, Hugo and Malherbe families had a great influence on the planning of their immediate environment. And because they all had large families, eventually spread throughout the country, this influence would in time have been distributed to the rest of the Cape and eventually to the furthest corners of the country.

The Afrikaans private school which was established at Kleinbosch in 1888, was attended by boarders from the whole country and these children too would have been influenced by the whitewashed, gabled buildings, the orderly werfs with their rows of ancient oaks, the luscious fruit from the orchards and the scenic beauty of the mountains, river and valley. Here writers and poets were reared and inspired, who were to have a great influence on the cultural life of the Afrikaans speaking people of South Africa. (Pannevis taught here and Totius, A G Visser, D F Malherbe all went to school at Kleinbosch. When the "Genootskap van Rege Afrikaners" was established in 1876 to promote the Afrikaans language, most of the members came from the "Dal").

3.1 KLEINBOSCH

The French refugee Francois du Toit arrived at the Cape in 1686 and applied three times for the land, today known as Kleinbosch, before the Government consented to the grant. At the time
The old cellar at Kleinbosch was adapted for use as an Afrikaans school in the late 19th century with classrooms on the ground-floor and dormitories upstairs (Henn MMT, *Die Gedenkschool der Hugenoten*, p99).

The old outbuilding north of the main house was refurbished with a tin roof and veranda when it was turned into a house. This followed on subdivision of the farm in 1865 (courtesy Mrs B Rossouw)
enlarged house is shown on a quitrent grant to Ernst du Toit of neighbouring land in that year. All the Du Toit's had large families and from the above it is clear that it had been customary for more than one family to occupy the house at the same time.

This overlapping of generations would encourage respect for established structures and practices and result in an ordered growth of the werf through repetition of accepted planning principles.

The 1830 grant drawing shows the extended house and two long buildings in line with its front facade. The one to the north, which was the stable and wagon-house, was L-shaped with a wing to the east. The building south of the house was a wine-cellar and a small building at right angles to this probably slave quarters, for slaves remained living on the farm after their manumission and were a very important part of the family.

We were told by the family that a small cottage situated behind the house was Francois Du Toit's original house, but after plaster removal we found that the original walls had been just under two metres high and had laying-nests built into them, thus spelling out the original purpose of the structure. This once again accentuated the unreliability of unverified family stories.

The house faced west to the view over the Paarl valley. Here again the placing of the house on a slope with its back to the mountain and front stoep to the view, was typical of what we found in most Dutch farms.

As his children reached adulthood, Ernst Du Toit started subdividing Kleinbosch to provide small farms for them. First he transferred about five morgen around the house called Druk Mij Niet to Petrus Jacobus Malherbe, married to his eldest daughter, Leonora, in 1818. Nine months later he transferred about the same size of land to his eldest son, Daniel Francois, who called his property, Nauw Bepaald "Cut Narrowly". In 1813 he promised a few morgen to his second youngest son, David Petrus, and in 1830, after being granted 356 morgen of land adjoining Kleinbosch in quitrent, he transferred 33 morgen of quitrent and freehold land to David, who called his place Helena after his wife. At the time of this transfer there was a T-shaped house on the land with outbuildings on each side at right angles to the house, probably built by Ernst du Toit.

David Petrus, after taking transfer of Kleinbosch in 1841, and living there for some time, divided it into two and the L-shaped outbuilding and a family cemetery on its north side were transferred to his son, Ernst Stephanus. This building was then refurbished and later Victorianised with a striped front veranda by the next owner, P J Malherbe (he received transfer on 19.7.1880). The northern end of the building however remained in use as a cellar. Information from Mrs Debora Roussoux, twin sister of D F Malherbe who was born and went to school at Kleinbosch.
Above, the grant drawing in 1830 shows only two buildings at Naauwbepaald (left). Below is the werf as it appears today with cellar (left) first house (centre) and second house plus wagonhouse and kraal (right) (St.Q Vol 8, S.G.165/1830)

The small building in the kraal was probably a monopitch thatched roof carried an stone piers on the kraal side

Plan Naauwbepaald (Fagan 1973)
Afrikaans writer, D F Malherbe was born and in the back wing of the house Pannevis lived for many years in a buitekamer.  

David Petrus maintained the part on which were his family home and the cellar. This long outbuilding was to become refurbished in 1882 as the first Afrikaans private school, with sleeping quarters in the loft for scholars from all parts of the country.

These students were taught to grow their own vegetables and fruit in a walled garden situated in front of the house. This garden contained a number of exotic trees amongst which was a mango. The family only realised that the fruit was edible after the tree had been in the garden for a few decades.

3.2 NAUWBEPAALD

After Daniel Francois Du Toit had received in 1818 his portion of Kleinbosch on which was a T-shaped house he constructed his own cellar (dated 1822) after four years, at right angles to his house with the short lining up with the front facade of the house. The house faced the view over the valley.

These two buildings show on a drawing with the grant of quitrent land which Daniel Francois received in 1830. A poplar grove is shown on his land next to the water furrow. Poplars grew quickly and formed long straight trunks which were useful for round untrimmed ceiling beams in less important rooms like kitchens and back bedrooms. These farms also had the so-called Spanish reed growing on the river banks which was cut and used for ceilings on the round poplar beams.

The water furrow carrying Daniel’s drinking water to the werf is also shown on this drawing. His father had given him a leibeurt of 30 hours from 12 o’clock Tuesday to 6 o’clock Wednesday from the furrow on the boundary, but during this time he had to let enough drinking water through the furrow to Kleinbosch. He was to keep the furrow clean and not pollute the water. Thus the distribution of water was amicably decided upon before transfer of the land.

Daniel must have built a house with adjoining wagon-house next to the older one probably for his sons, after 1830, because it is not shown on the quitrent grant drawing of that date. The gables, however had the beautiful proportions of his father’s buildings and therefore appear to be of an earlier date and the main gable is indeed dated 1801, but the date may be incorrect.

This building had a kraal attached to the back and milking stables constructed on the same pattern as we noticed at Ganzekraal, Groot Constantia and Nieuwe Plantasie - massive stone pillars on the open side of a building under a mono-pitch thatched roof.

63 D F Malherbe in Beeld en Woord by B Kok, P V Lategaan and R de Beer
64 This information obtained from Mrs Deborah Roussouw, who went to school at Kleinbosch
65 St.Q. Vol 10, p46
66 Anundo donor. We found both poplar and reed still growing on the banks of the "Dal River" in the 1970s

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The old T-shaped house at Naawbepaald which was changed into a double storey after a fire in the 1850s (top)

The second house (below) (Fagan 1973)

The 1830 grant of Druk Mij Niet showing the cellar (left) next to the water stream. Naawbepaald is on the right and Kleinbosch at the bottom
In 1853 the youngest son, with his father's name, inherited Naauwbepaald and at the same time took transfer of the neighbouring farm, Avontuur, thus making his farming operations altogether more viable. This Daniel planted an orange grove before the house and then changed the name of the farm, which was no longer so small, to Valencia. His grandson (also Daniel Francois, "Quintus") who gave me this information also remembered that his grandfather had planted kei-apple hedges along the farm boundaries, apart from the usual quince and pomegranate which were there already.

Two years after transfer, the older T-house burnt down and was then rebuilt as a double storey after removal of the thatch and front gable, though the old yellowwood ceilings and beautiful panel doors and wall cupboard of the original T-house were retained. The date of the changes, 1855, is to be seen on the facade. The younger Daniel then lived in the later house and his mother in the double storey.

When, towards the end of the century, the phylloxera plague in the vines led to his financial downfall, the farm had to be sold and Daniel moved to the Paarl while his old mother continued to live in her old house up to her death.

3.3 DRUK MIJ NIET

When Ernst Du Toit sold this small farm to his son-in-law, Petrus Jacobus Malherbe in 1818, there was already a T-shaped house which had been built in 1750 and a cellar and outhouse was probably built soon after by Malherbe. His father-in-law had been kind to him, for he received with the transfer an ox wagon with eight yokes, two buckets and a meat barrel, a bed and two door frames, indicating building intentions.

He was also allowed thirty hours of irrigating water from Monday at 6 a.m. to Tuesday at 12 midday, provided he let drinking water through for the farms lower down and kept the water clean.

Though Malherbe's three buildings which are shown on a quitrent grant drawing of 1830, have been somewhat changed and a swimming pool added in the back yard, the basic werf pattern has remained and water still rushes down the old water furrow which was constructed very neatly of mountain stone.

A comparison of these different du Toit werfs reveals that they were remarkably similar: all the houses were on a slope built to face the valley view, westwards; all had T-shaped houses, although Kleinbosch itself had a double T, and all the buildings had very fine convex-concave gables; in all the werfs the outbuildings were situated in line with the front facade of the house although they were built at different times, and all were watered by mountain streams, each having a specified number of hours of leading time.
An 1833 grant which shows that the long building to the south was the original "dwelling house"
3.4 SCHOONGEZICHT

Three Vickers brothers, Abraham, Jacques and Pierre from Normandy, started farming in Dal Josaphat shortly after their arrival in 1688. Because they were penniless the D.E.I.C. provided them with a few basic implements - an axe, three scythes, some smithy implements, three spades, sixty nails, three shovels, four pounds of lead and an iron pot. They were also provided with some planking and food for a few months, and from a poor fund each received a small amount of money.68

Armed with these necessities the Frenchmen had to clear the land, dig the soil and create a living environment. Fortunately those colonists who had settled in the Drakenstein before them were helpful with seed, the loan of draught animals, advice and moral support. Within three years their inventories recorded that the three "friends" had planted 5 000 vines, that they had sown in the previous year 6 muids of corn and gained 40, that they possessed two cows, two calves and 21 oxen.69

Having proven their worth, they were each granted an own farm of 60 morgen. Pierre called his Non Pareille, Jacques' farm was named Goede Rust and Abraham's Schoongezicht.70 Of the three brothers Abraham was the only one to marry and to own a cattle farm, Menie at Companje Post. He had built houses on both these farms, but there is no description of either in an inventory taken after his death in 1714.71

Schoongezicht was then transferred to a neighbouring Huguenot, Abraham Bleuset and shortly afterwards in 1723 to Francois du Toit who had been hiring the farm from him.72 Andries du Toit, Francois' son took transfer after his father's death in 1733 but sold it three years later to a relative, who also did not live there and sold it back to the du Toits in 1749.73

Old Andries du Toit’s fourth son, Stephanus now moved onto the farm with wife and baby and perhaps improved Viviers' old house or built a new one where he lived for 33 years, his wife, Elisabeth Catharina Louw inheriting the farm after his death. She then married Carel (Charl) Celliers in 1793 and gave birth to a boy, also named Carel who was later to become one of the most prominent Voortrekker leaders.74 The Celliers moved to Graaff Reinet in 1806 and the farm was sold once again to a du Toit from Kleinbosch, this time with the name of Daniel.75

The opgaaf during the ownership of Daniel shows an increasing number of vineyards and a large number of slaves, many of whom remained with him after their manumission in 1836.76

In 1833 Daniel was granted 79 morgen of quitrent land adjoining his own and on the grant drawing two buildings are indicated, parallel with each other and at right angles to the public road.77 From

68 Botha G, The French Huguenots at the Cape, p132
69 C/A J183
70 O.S.F. Vol 1, p365, 22.2.1694
71 MOOC 8/2 no98
72 T181, 22.6.1717; T1516, 19.5.1723
73 30.12.1749
74 Sarel Arnoldus, her fourth child, born 20.9.1801
75 T205, 31.10.1806
76 C/A J233
77 S.G.231, 1833
The house and outbuilding of Schoongezicht in a line shaded by a row of oaks (C/Λ, E800)

The house at Goederust with its flanking outbuildings - the thatched wagon-house (left), and cellar with iron roof (right) and vineyards in the foreground (Fagan 1984)
this it appears that the H-shaped house with its ornate gables, was built between 1833 and 1848 when it shows for the first time on another grant, although the front gable is dated 1826. This again is one of those mysterious gable dates that cannot be explained without further investigation. When the owners restored the house, they did not examine the date carefully. This may be another one of those instances where one of the numbers may have deteriorated and been wrongly restored, in which case the date might be 1836.

In 1848 the werf was subdivided and on the drawing of this subdivision the II-house is seen for the first time on the part which was transported to Daniel's son-in-law, Cornelis Hendriks. What is certain, however is that when the H-house was added it lay in an exact line between the two outbuildings, so that the two short ends of the latter and the front facade of the house lined exactly. The previous house had been situated in the southern outbuilding which, as we discovered while working on the building, had been constructed of clay. At one stage two families were living in this long building which also housed a wagon-house at the end. In the late 19th century another wing was added to this building in line with the front of the house. At the same time Victorian doors and windows and a veranda on the south side were improvements made to the old living areas.

The northern outbuilding was probably the cellar where the du Toits produced wine throughout the 19th century until at the end of the century they too fell prey to the phylloxera vine disease.

In the early 1970s the farm werf was restored and the house and the outbuilding refurbished for use as a restaurant.

3.5 GOEDERUST

After Jacques Vivier had been farming with his two brothers for five years, he was granted his own farm next to theirs. He called it Goederust. The three brothers died at the same time in 1713, of an unrecorded cause, but as it was the year of the small-pox epidemic, that may have been the reason. Jacques' inventory mentions only a horse, saddle and bridle, a box of oddments, a musket and sword, and three leaguers. He had probably been living with his married brother, Abraham, for no house is mentioned at Goede Rust.

In 1724 Jacobus Coetzee whose father lived at the farm Coetzenburg just outside Stellenbosch, obtained transfer of Goede Rust as well as the neighbouring farm Non Pareille, where he lived with his family for the rest of his life. He must therefore have built a house and the necessary farm buildings on Non Pareille.

Jacobus Coetzee had been a well respected Stellenbosch citizen - church councillor and member of the Heemraad. He had had a ten year long liason with a half-caste woman, Lijsbeth Louis. Her father, Louis, had been a slave of Commander Wagenaer, and her mother, Lysbeth, a West
The Goederus farm as it was remembered by Hester Hugo, daughter of Pietie Hugo known as "Pietie Veldkornet", who lived here in the early 1900s
African negress. Louis of Bengal had bought his freedom in 1672 and in 1683 also the freedom of his wife and their daughters, Elizabeth and Maria. This was the Elizabeth who Coetzee eventually married and with whom he set up home in Dal Josafat. Their family then consisted of three daughters, Maria, Jacoba and Elizabeth. Another girl, Sara and two sons, Dirk en Jan, were later born at Non Pareille.82

After Coetzee's death the daughter Maria's husband, Gerrit Pretorius, and the sister, Elizabeth received joint transfer of the two farms. In 1769 they sold Goede Rust to Maria's son, Dirk, while they continued living at Non Pareille.83

A house was then built at Goede Rust probably with the help of money which Dirk inherited from his slave grandmother, Lijsbeth Louis, who left a considerable estate.84 The house was under one roof with the wagon-house, according to family tradition, and during work on the building this was proved by the removal of pieces of early 19th century wall-paper from inside walls of the north end of the building. Servants of the family were still living there into this century.

After Dirk's death in 1786, his wife Martha Cecilia Theron inherited the property and when she married Johan Ricke, he automatically became the next owner and sold the farm two years later to Pieter Celliers, married to Petronella Louw. His brother Charles was married to his wife's sister, Elizabeth Louw who lived at Schoongezicht.85

Pieter Celliers immediately sold to his brother-in-law, Johannes Rossouw, married to Beatrix, a third Louw sister.86 Because farms in this area were small and the country flat, houses were within easy walking distance of each other and neighbours and different family members formed a close social community so that it often happened that several members of one family would marry into a neighbouring family. As a result one would expect their werfs to be similar.

George Stephanus Hauptfleisch bought Goederus in 1794 paying 10 000 guilders more to Rossouw than had been paid eight years earlier. Hauptfleisch had two sons and two daughters married to the children of Petrus Jacobus Malherbe who lived on the nearby farm, Vlakkeland.

At the time most of the Dal farmers were making a good profit from their wine and Hauptfleisch commenced planting vineyards on a large scale. By 1803 he was working with three "Hottentots" and five slaves and his opgaaf mentions three wagons, thirty draught oxen, eight draught horses and sixteen stud cattle.87 Hauptfleisch therefore needed room for his slaves, his wagons and cattle and he must have improved the werf, for when he sold it in 1814 the price was more than double that which he had paid. Perhaps he built the long cellar which we restored in the 1970s.

The next owner, Pieter Malan, who had also married one of the Vlakkeland Malherbe girls, four years later sold more than half of Goederust to his wife's uncle, Stephanus Malherbe, owner of

83 T4285, 8.1.1769
84 MOOC 8/6, no11; MOOC 7/13 no2; MOOC 14/26 no14
85 T749, 25.7.1784
86 T621, 12.4.1786
87 C/A 1229

499
In 1833, when Andries Bernardus du Toit was granted 14 morgen of quitrent land next to his old farm, there were only two buildings - the h-shaped house and long outbuilding south of it. A cellar was later built in line with the house to the north and an extra wing added to make the house H-shaped. The outbuilding also received a back wing.
Vlakkeland. Malan was then left with only 21 morgen at Goederust, but he seemed to find this large enough, for in 1823 he counted 25 000 vines on his farm and sent 13 leaguers of wine to the Cape Town market as well as an eighth of a leaguer of brandy. 88

At this stage the werf consisted of the old house-cum-wagon-house, the cellar and a new T-shaped house between them, their front facades all in a line facing east. The werf was separated from the vineyard by an unplastered brick wall topped with a plastered white-washed coping.

On the west side of the house was a long thatched cottage parallel to it with two fireplaces where the servants and before them the slaves, had lived.

On a list of damage done by the severe 1822 gales, for which he hoped to receive government compensation, Pieter Malan stated that his house had lost two gables and his cellar one gable, that his kraal walls had been damaged and a part of his vineyards swamped. 89

The kraals for the sheep and for the cattle lay south of the farm werf in the position shown on the accompanying plan, which was drawn for me by Hester Hugo, who grew up on the farm. When we discovered the ruins of the walls in the 1970s, it was clear that they had been built of clay. The cattle used to graze in the marshy area indicated on the plan and the vinyards lay between this and the house. Wheatlands and orchards of apricot and peach lay west of the public road. 90

In January, 1832 Malan sold his farm to Jan Gysbert Hugo and from then on the werf remained in the possession of the Hugo family in an almost unaltered state until it was expropriated by the government in 1948 for "coloured housing".

3.6 ROGGELAND

This was one farm in Dal Josaphat which was granted not to a Huguenot, but to Pieter Beuk, a German from Lübeck. The grant of 40 morgen, then named Driekant, was made in September, 1693, but transferred to Beuk's heir, Francois du Toit, only two months later. 91 After Francois' death, his son Andries inherited his father's farm Kleinbosch together with Driekant, but he continued to live in his father's house and after his death, his widow transferred Driekant and Kleinbosch to her son Guillaume who farmed both farms and lived at Kleinbosch.

When Guillaume's eldest son, Andries Bernardus turned twenty-one in 1778, Guillaume transferred Driekant to him, but he was probably farming there before that time. In the following year he married Martha Elisabeth Marais and by then he had probably built a house. 92

According to the returns of 1800, Andries Bernardus had a flourishing farm, for in that year he owned ten slaves, two wagons, two saddle horses, twenty draught oxen, a number of cattle and goats. He had probably started planting vines, for a year later he produced 6 leaguers of wine and

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88 C/A J54 and Register of Wines 1817 and 1823, W T 14 & 17
89 Inventories of damages were sent in by farmers who were paid compensation
90 The accompanying site-plan was drawn from a rough plan which was made for me of the farm by the sisters Hugo
91 O.S.F. Vol 1, p343; T337, 9.11.1693
92 T5091, 13.8.1778
The oldest outbuilding at Roggeland which was at first a simple long structure until an L-wing was added after 1833. There was accommodation for stables, wagons, grain storage (in the loft) and a small house at the end of the front wing. In the wagon-house there were nesting holes for chickens as well (C/A E1264, C/A 2505)
by 1810 he had 50,000 vines from which he made 15 leaguers of wine. In the same year he had sown 44 muid of wheat and harvested 300.93

His needs at this stage must obviously have been for a house for himself, another for his workers, a granary, wagon-house and a cellar. The present house and east wing of the outbuilding on its south with their front facades lining up exactly, were probably built by Andries Bernardus. The long outbuilding would have served as worker's quarters, stable and cellar.

His son, Guillaum Johannes, who inherited the farm in 1821 was also satisfied to carry on farming as his father had done with only one long outbuilding.94 It was he who changed the name from Driekant to Roggeland.95 His son Andries Bernardus inherited Roggeland after Guillaum's death.

A quitrent grant in 1833 to Andries Bernardus junior of 14 morgen next to his farm, shows two buildings - an h-shaped "house" and a long outbuilding in line with it marked "stable", all facing east.96 This outbuilding at the time must have accommodated all the farming needs of Andries Bernardus.

After more than a century and a half in the possession of the du Toit family, Roggeland was sold in 1858 to Francois Jacobus Hugo, the descendent of another Huguenot whose family had been living in the Drakenstein valley since the 17th century. He was the thirteenth child of Jan Gysbert Hugo from the neighbouring farm, Non Pareille.

Roggeland was to stay in the Hugo family for almost another century and as their wine and brandy production increased, a new cellar was built in line with and on the north side of the existing house. The earlier outbuilding received a wing to the back to serve as a wagon-house, so turning it into an L-shape, and a kraal was added behind it with a later lean-to milk-shed.97 In the south end of the front wing, existing living quarters were Victorianised with new doors, windows, ceilings and a veranda to form the home of an artist named Shephard.98

A fourth building west of these three buildings and parallel to them was also built by Francois Jacobus Hugo, probably retaining the walls of an old chicken coop during its construction. For in the walls of one of the rooms of this cottage, we discovered old laying nest holes while working on the building in the 1970s. The kitchen with large baking oven appeared to have been added under a flat roof at a later stage to the southern end of the cottage.

In the late 19th century when the farm passed to Jacob Hugo, son of Francois Jacobus, his widowed sister Kootjie Le Roux, lived in this cottage. At that time, according to her grandson, Frans Theron, there was a row of large oaks before her front door in which she had suspended many baskets of ferns, for fern collections were at the time very much in fashion.

93 C/A J43
94 T228, 7.11.1821
95 The name Roggeland means wheatlands - Driekant had referred to the shape of the grant
96 S.G.232/1833
97 Elliot photographs 1264 and 2505
98 Shephard pointed many of the farms in this area, see Non Pareille
Frans Theron, there was a row of large oaks before her front door in which she had suspended many baskets of ferns, for fern collections were at the time very much in fashion.

South of the cottage was the earth farm dam, filled from a communal furrow carrying mountain water to a number of Dal farms, each of which had a specified number of hours use of the stream. A furrow running along the south boundary of Roggeland, passed the kraal and wagon-house and then ran into a small bath-house before emptying itself into a cross furrow below the werf. Inside the bath-house three steps led one down into a tank with chest-high water where one could wash in summer, the water escaping through an outlet in the lower wall.

A branch of this stream supplied water to a small dam in the back yard, spilling into the dam through a higher funnel under which a bucket could be placed to collect water for the kitchen. Here was a stone used for slapping the washing before it was soaped and laid out on the grass for bleaching.

Another furrow taken from the dam passed the widow Le Roux's cottage where it could be led into the walled garden between the cottage and the main house. This garden was divided into regular rectangular beds in which grew all kinds of seasonal vegetables, herbs, flowers and fruit. There were quince and pomegranite hedges, tea roses, various herbs, gardenias, and bulbs like narcissus, belladonnas and agapanthus or "blou lelies".

In front of the house and behind it were rows of oaks and an avenue of "Jambos" or rose-apple (Eugenia jambos) south of the kraal along the water furrow.

The werf in front of the house was cut off from the vineyard below it by an unplastered brick wall one metre high and whitewashed only on the plastered coping. Against this wall was a ditch and here grew a few fruit trees, pomegranites and sweetly scented Tea roses. Boundary hedges elsewhere were of pomegranite and quinces and a rambler rose with small loose pink flowers.99

The werf itself consisted of natural mead which was cropped regularly by the sheep that needed special attention - ewes ready to lamb and "hanslammetjies" or those that had to be hand reared.

In front of the cellar were two brandy-stills and behind the house the lye- kettle built into a raw-brick base. The round threshing floor lay in the field west of the cellar and next to it, in the late 1900s an iron-roofed shed was constructed to protect Jacob Hugo's threshing machines, for the Hugo's of Goed Rust and Roggeland ran a company which threshed corn throughout the Drakenstein and up to Calvinia.100

This farm werf has been described in some detail as an example of the organisation of most of the farms in the Drakenstein.

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99 Remnants of these roses were found growing in hedges near the ruined kraals
100 This information obtained from various members of the Hugo family who grew up or visited the farm regularly as children, but mostly from Japie Hugo son of Johannes and grandson of Jacob Hugo who lived at Roggeland at the turn of the 19th century. 
Present plan of the Non Pareille werf (below) showing T-house extended with a wing at the back to form an H. The earlier building (right) has also received a back wing to the part used as a house. Non Pareille in the 1830s shows a T-shaped house with simple long buildings on either side (SQ14, 12½)

Fagan 1978
3.7 NON PAREILLE

Pierre, one of the three Viviers brothers who had been farming together in the Dal since their arrival at the Cape in 1688, was granted his own farm in 1692, but it appears that he lived with his married brother, Abraham at Schoogezicht.\textsuperscript{101} At the inventory taken of his belongings in 1714 after all three brothers had died, he was found to have only 14 oxen, an old wagon, a plough, harrow, a horse, a few cooking utensils, a musket and sword.\textsuperscript{102}

The farm was bought by Jacobus Coetsee from Coetzenberg who at the same time bought Goederust.\textsuperscript{103} As it has been shown, Coetsee lived at Non Pareille where he must have constructed some kind of house for his wife Lysbet Louis and their three illegitimate children when they settled in the Dal. An inventory taken after his death in 1738 values Non Pareille at 1500 guilders and Goederust at 400 guilders. His 50 cattle were worth 270 and his wine 50 riksdalers.\textsuperscript{104}

His wife carried on farming after his death with much success, for she left a good inheritance after her death in 1760 for both children and grandchildren. Lysbet had been granted her mother’s personal slave girl, Grietjie and her six children on condition that she be properly housed and cared for at Non Pareille for the rest of her life, so it was not unusual for a freed slave to possess her own slaves.\textsuperscript{105}

The two farms were transferred jointly to her daughter Maria’s husband, Gerrit Pretorius, and her daughter Elizabeth.\textsuperscript{106} Goede Rust was then sold to Maria’s son Dirk and in 1770 Elizabeth transferred her portion of Non Pareille to her sister’s son, also Gerrit, who in this way inherited the whole of Non Pareille.\textsuperscript{107} He carried on planting vines and by 1773 there were 12,000 vines on the farm.

Gerrit junior sold the farm a year later to David Van der Merwe who after farming there for 27 years and still living in the old house, transferred to Jeremias Nieuwoudt who lived elsewhere.\textsuperscript{108}

In 1804 Jan Gysbert Hugo, aged 21, bought the farm and moved into the old house with his sixteen-year old wife, Magdalena Retief.\textsuperscript{109} These two who raised a family of eleven on the farm, were to develop it to its full potential. Jan Gysbert became an influential figure in the community and of his children six were to own farms in the vicinity.

But Jan Gysbert, according to the census returns, was providing accommodation for people other than his own family and so a number of outbuildings on the werf at the time served as homes for labourers and "bywoners". In 1828 the old Jacobus Malherbe lived there and in 1838 Daniel Hendrik Celliers and his whole family. Later in the 19th century two white workers, the one

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\textsuperscript{101} O.S.F.367 on 22.2.1694
\textsuperscript{102} MOOC 8/2 no98
\textsuperscript{103} T1580 on 26.2.1724
\textsuperscript{104} C/A.J183
\textsuperscript{105} MOOC 14/23 no 14
\textsuperscript{106} T4285 on 9.5.1769
\textsuperscript{107} T.4378 on 13.9.1770
\textsuperscript{108} T.4640 on 1.7.1774 and T296 on1.5.1801
\textsuperscript{109} T59, 31.5.1804
Shephard painting of the old house at Non Pareille

The old house stoep with the owner Stephanus Hugo, his wife and daughter Bessie

The ring wall, said to have been built by slaves, and Hester Hugo in her garden

(painting and photographs by courtesy Bessie Hugo)
George King, "outa Jors" who did all the farm's coppersmith work and Harry Grey who later turned out to be the eighth Earl of Stamford, were both living there with brown women.

In 1821 Jan Gysbert sent a wagon to George to buy yellowwood to build a new T-shaped house between the old outbuilding on the north and the cellar on its south. The front facade was in line with the other buildings and faced east to the mountains.

A long worker's cottage was constructed behind the house for Hugo's 17 slaves. Census returns and information in the slave registers give an idea of the farm activities at Non Pareille in the mid 19th century: vineyards were being planted (in 1833 there were 50,000 vines), wine was being made, brandy distilled, various kinds of corn were being sown and ground in a water mill on the farm. Cattle were being bought and sold and as grazing became scarce in the Dal they were transferred seasonally to the farm Rhenosterfontein at Saldanha in which Jan Gysbert had a share.

When his heir, Petrus Jacobus died young, Jan Gysbert took this son's family into his home and helped to rear his grandchildren. It was probably at this time that he added a back wing to his house which then had two kitchens. His daughter-in-law, Hester Elizabeth Hauptfleisch inherited the farm after Jan Gysbert's death and she then divided it between two sons in such a way that the boundary ran through the middle of the werf.

A drawing of this division shows Jan Gysbert junior's portion with the old house/wagon-house. This house was soon to be extended with a wing to the back as can be seen on a painting by the artist Shephard. The remaining portion with the new T-shaped house and cellar went to her other son, Petrus Jacobus. In this way the two sons and their families lived next to each other on the old werf till the end of the century. Petrus Jacobus added a new wing to his T-house and turned it into an H-shape.

A long building west of the house, accommodated the slaves and after them the farm labourers as well as a smithy in the end room.

On this werf oaks were planted in a row in front of the buildings and they flourished because a water stream ran in a furrow along their feet. The werf was extensively bounded by a brick wall plastered and white-washed only on the coping.

On the hill above the house in a peach orchard lies the graveyard which was built by Jan Gysbert Hugo after the death of his first wife, Magdalena Relief in 1863. The white walls and graves have recently been restored by the Hugo family, but the lost graves outside the white-washed boundary wall where the slaves and labourers were buried, remain unmarked and are now part of the orchard. When the farm worker, George King became ill, the Hugo family realised for the first time that he was white when they saw him lying clean and washed on his death bed surrounded by the brown faces of his wife and children. They were then thrown into a quandary because his wife wanted him buried outside the graveyard wall so that she could one day be buried next to him!
Grant drawing of Rust en Werk, Nederburg and Hexenberge all show formal lay-outs and water-courses bringing drinking water to the werfs.
The I-shaped houses of Non Pareille (top), Vlakkeland (middle) and Schoongezicht (below) (C/A R1405)
The simplicity of white-washed buildings, sloping werf and rows of oaks contributes to the peace and tranquility of the werf at Rust en Werk.

The H-shaped house and outbuildings (see previous page) of Rust en Werk, were demolished in the early 1970s after expropriation to make way for "coloured housing".

The View of the distant du Toitshoof mountains (Fagan 1974)
CONCLUSIONS

The growth of this group of farm werfs was successfully followed by the examination of successive transfer deeds and grants, but could only be understood by linking these to the people who lived on the farms and tracing their interrelationship by genealogical research.

Though populated by Huguenots in the first instance, these settlers soon lost their French identity and became an integrated part of the Cape community.

Their close family bonds, their public responsibility, their religious fervour and their pride of language and culture were characteristic of these farmers. With great compassion they cared for their old, and provided for their children. Existing houses were extended and new houses built to accommodate older parents or widowed daughters, and land subdivided after homes and outbuildings had been erected for sons or daughters. The result on the organised environment was evident in the uniformity of both the werfs and their buildings, notwithstanding their individual differences.

The formal grouping of buildings followed similar patterns: The earliest dwellings were built under one roof with stables and wagon-house, and later cellars and separate houses were built to line up with the original, sometimes forming rows, at other times lying at right angles. Early long houses and T-houses were extended with back wings for extra accommodation. In the Dal the farms lying on the mountain slopes looked west and those in the valley looked east towards the view of the mountains. This facing to the view seemed to be preferred wherever Cape farmers planned their werfs.

Extensive walls which formed a characteristic part of the Dal landscape, (the farm Langerock has a similar wall) demarcated the large werfs, separating the human and animal areas from the orchards, vineyards and grazing. But they were never obtrusive because often only their copings were plastered and white-washed. House gardens were also walled, but fields were protected with quince, rose and pomegranate and houses and outbuildings shaded with rows of oaks.

The werfs were planned with formality and their orchards, vines and fields set out with the same order. There was nothing haphazard about these farms and one feels that this order stemmed from a society which itself had a high regard for moral order in their daily lives.

A cursory look at Dal werfs other than those described above in detail, showed the same formal placing of buildings at Rust en Werk, De Hoop, Avontuur, Weltevrede, Calais/St Omer and Kykuit where an L-shaped house lies slightly out of line with its outbuilding. Further study will confirm whether families other than the du Toit’s, Hugo’s and Malherbe’s were involved either directly or through example, with the planning of further farms in the area.
(Top) watercolour of the Wagenmakersvallei by an unknown artist (Parliamentary library)

The drawing with the grant (SG273/1831) to Gabriel Hermanus le Roux of 63 morgen
In the fertile valley known as the Wagenmakers Valley a number of farms was granted by Van der Stel to Huguenots in freehold from February, 1699 onwards. The soil was fertile and well watered by the Kromme River and other mountain streams. Wine, brandy and fruit, especially oranges were produced here, but grain was not cultivated other than for home use. These were also cattle farmers, but their animals were driven to loan farms in the Breede River and Saldanha areas which were shared by a number of farmers. This was the area where the Malan, Roussouw, Roux and le Roux families flourished.

The group is very well illustrated in drawings accompanying quitrent grants in the area and that is one of the reasons why they are included in the research.

4.1 CHAMPAGNE

The original grant of some 30 morgen was made to the Huguenot, Hercules Verdeaux, in February, 1699 and thereafter transferred to Ettienne Cronje in 1713, and Jacob Naude in 1725. After such a long tenure it is probable that Cronje built a house and outbuildings there. The farm then quickly changed hands - in 1728 to Mathys Strydom, in 1752 to Barend Booyens, in 1768 to Daniel Retief, in 1799 to Johannes Marais, in 1801 to Petrus Jacobus Malherbe and in 1808 his son Stephanus Malherbe sold Champagne to Francois Paulus Marais.

In 1831 when Gabriel Johannes le Roux owned the farm, he received 63 morgen of quitrent next to his farm and the attached drawing shows the neat werf consisting of a row with T-shaped house in the centre of two outbuildings. They all face south of west to the view over the Spruyt River. A stream which has been taken from the river runs across the front of their werf to provide water for their neighbour, F P Marais. The stream runs through and probably irrigates the garden which appears to have a surrounding wall. Marais' T-shaped house and outbuildings are shown on this drawing and it is probably one of the very few werfs where the buildings have no geometrical relation to each other.

It is interesting to see that both the older and newer public roads ran past the back of the Champagne werf, and that the owner was therefore more concerned to face the view than that visitors should arrive at his front door.

Francois Paulus Marais on the 18th May, 1840 gave transfer of a part of Champagne to the Society for Establishing a Building for Religious Purposes, and the formation of a village which was called Wellington.

Marais had three years before received a quitrent grant of over 42 morgen next to his farm and in 1838 he agreed with the Directors to sell 15 morgen of this land together with 42 morgen of his freehold to the Society for £1 575.
Drawing of the house at Onverwacht by J J Greeff "as it was in the early 19th century" (C/A E652)

The Onverwacht werf with its H-shaped house and flanking buildings. Notice the informal arrangement of buildings at Groeneberg (above)
The agreement drawn up between Marais and the Society on 5.2.1838, gives information on the type of buildings on the werf. The freehold contained his house, which he was allowed to occupy for another year. He was also allowed to use the cellar and wagon-house and a room next to it, for a year. The Society reserved the right to use the large wagon-house excepting the loft. Marais also retained the right to his cultivated fields, except those that were sold as erven. The Church Councillors stipulated that Marais was not to damage or fell any trees.

4.2 GROENEBERG AND ONVERWACHT

Pieter Erasmus, a Dutch immigrant who had arrived at the Cape in 1691 received 30 morgen in the Wagenmakers Vallei in February, 1699. At the time of the grant it was named De Groenebergh aan de Kromme Rivier. Erasmus lived there for 39 years together with his wife Catharina and family of six children and after his death his widow remained living there, eventually marrying Roelof Van den Bergh. One presumes that a proper house and outbuildings would have been erected for this family at an early stage. Catharina outlived her second husband too and eventually sold the farm to Daniel le Roux in 1770.

Daniel Le Roux's widow, Helena de Koning, (daughter of the slave, Angela of Bengal) divided the farm, selling 25 morgen to her son Bartholomeus Johannes in 1800. This part was then called Onverwacht.

In 1827 Bartholomeus requested and received a quitrent grant of just over 21 morgen and on the drawing with this grant both the new Onverwacht and the old Groeneberg werfs are shown. It is quite evident that the werf established by the Dutch immigrant Erasmus, consisting of three long buildings, is not as well-ordered as that of the le Roux's at Onverwacht.

The Onverwacht werf consists of an H-shaped house, probably built in that form, placed slightly back from two long outbuildings lying symmetrically on either side of it, all on a south facing slope looking over the Kramme River and public thoroughfare. A third building is situated behind the house in line with the southern front one.

In a report on Lands in the District of Stellenbosch where various questions on the water supply, crops planted, transport to nearest market, amount of land cultivated and so forth, were answered, it was noted that 25 morgen of land on Onverwacht were being cultivated and that 12 - 14 morgen could be irrigated. Land on each side of the thoroughfare was planted with vines, but grain was not sown for the market. The rest of the farm was used for pasturage.

A small chapel lay in a morgen of land next to the public road, inside the farm boundary.

Two other groups of buildings are shown on this drawing - the H-shaped house and L-shaped outbuilding next to it belonging to the farm Groenendaal and another group of buildings belonging to the farm Vruchtbaar. These consist of an H-shaped house, a T-shaped building next to it and an outbuilding at right angles to the house.
The buildings on Vruchtbaar (top) and a drawing showing the relative positions of Vruchtbaar and Groenendaal and the arrangements of their buildings (below) (C/A, St.11/39)
The remaining Groeneberg werf is depicted in greater detail on a drawing accompanying the quitrent grant to Daniel Jacobus le Roux (Daniel son) in 1830. This grant which increased his land tenfold, must have made a considerable difference to the viability of his farm which up to then had consisted of only 4 morgen 414 sq.roods running along either side of an irrigation stream. There was also a strong spring on this grant.

A new h-shaped house with a small extra back wing is now shown parallel to the two previous long outbuildings noted above. It lay in line with one outbuilding. A branch of the public road runs to the front of the werf which is surrounded by a grove of orange trees. The buildings all face south.

This house quite clearly was built between 1827 and 1830 by Daniel Jacobus le Roux, who had probably lived in a house in one of the long buildings on the werf received from his mother, Helena de Koning, in 1800.

The census return of 1827 reports that he had 70 000 vines worth 25 000 guilders at that time. He also had seven male and four female slaves with their four children, and his animals consisted of nine horses, 60 oxen, 19 cows and 20 goats. He probably had many more animals on the four outlying loan farms which he shared with other farmers in the neighbourhood. His shares in these farms were valued at 43 000 guilders. It was obvious that le Roux by that time was prosperous enough to afford a new house.

4.3 GROENENDAAL AND VRUCHTBAAR

Groenendaal had been granted to Barend Blum (Blom) from Wagenau in 1699 and was transferred by his widow to Jan (Jean) Louis du Plessis in 1742. During her forty year's stay at Groenendaal the Bloms must have had some kind of home there. Jean transferred the farm the same day to his son Charl who fifty years later, in 1792 transferred to his son, Gabriel, what had obviously become a family farm. Gabriel du Plessis divided Groenendaal in 1800 and sold 21 morgen to Pieter Louis le Roux, who called his part Vruchtbaar.

On Vruchtbaar there was already an H-shaped house which must have been built by Gabriel, for the gable is dated 1794. Next to the house and in line with its front facade was a T-shaped building and west of the house was another outbuilding lying at right angles to it.

Le Roux was granted 209 morgen in quitrent in the 1820s which increased the size of his farm tenfold. At the time there were 55 000 vines on the farm worth 30 000 guilders which could be watered from a perennial stream. He also owned shares in three other loan farms on the Breede River and at Saldanha, worth 24 000 guilders.

Groenendaal itself was acquired by Gideon Malherbe in 1800 and he subdivided the land into two sections of just over 4 morgen each in 1826.
Opperhorst (top) was drawn in 1830 when quitrent land of 56 morgen was granted to Hermanus Lambertus le Roux (SG174/1830). The Twyfeling werf is also shown on this drawing (right)

The grant of Twyfeling (bottom) (SG129/1827) to Gabriel Andreas Hauptlieisch
4.4 OPPERHORST AND DE TWYFELING

In February 1699 thirty morgen of land named Opperhorst were granted to Jan Henske, a Stellenbosch burgher, who twenty five years later sold it to Johannes Vosloo. Vosloo was married to the daughter of the slave-girl Lysbeth Louis (compare with Non Pareille in Dal Josaphat) named Gerbecht Herbst who after her husband's death lived on the farm until 1760. She had in the meantime taken a second husband, Godfried Schoester, who sold Opperhorst to Pieter le Roux sen. Le Roux's widow married George Stephanus Hauptfleisch from Goede Rust in the Dal who in 1812 subdivided the farm, selling nine morgen, then named De Twyfelning, to his son Gabriel Andries. The latter requested 56 morgen of land next to his farm in 1827, thus making it a much more viable proposition, and on this grant drawing the werf created by Gabriel is shown. The H-shaped house fronting westwards onto its approach road, had two long outbuildings to the right and one to the left, all lying parallel to its axis. Behind the house lay a dam fed by a mountain stream and from the dam a stream ran to one outbuilding and a second stream to the side of the house. The house, dated 1818 and one outbuilding dated 1824, both built by Gabriel Hauptfleisch, are still in good condition although altered. Very old oaks in the front courtyard of the werf in the 1970s, were probably planted when Gabriel Hauptfleisch established his werf. The werf of the remaining farm Opperhorst passed to Hermanus Lambertus le Roux who in 1830 followed the fashion by requesting quitrent adjoining his farm and was granted 43 morgen. The drawing of his werf is shown on this drawing. It consisted of a T-shaped house in line with two outbuildings, all facing west with a view to the Kromme River, the approach road being on the axis of the front door.

4.5 GROENFONTEIN

This farm of 30 morgen was granted to the Huguenot Philip Drouhin and after his death in 1702, transferred to his compatriot, Gideon Malherbe who owned the neighbouring farm Ilexenberg. His widow in 1740 sold Groenfontein to Christoffel Botha who immediately sold to Maria Jacobs, widow of Pieter Barend Blom from Groenendaal next door. She married Stephanus du Toit, but outlived him as well and as her son Barend was married to du Toit's daughter Debora, he inherited the farm in 1757. Debora's second husband, Jacob de Villiers, sold the farm to Jan Minnaar, married to his daughter Debora, so Groenfontein had remained in the family for seventy years when it was sold to Jacobus Francois Malan in 1810.
The Groenfontein werf and its orange grove are shown on this grant to Jacobus Francios Malan of 220 morgen (C/A, St.11/39)
The lower photograph shows the broad road which was allowed for the common passage of cattle from one place to the other
In 1831 Jacobus Francois Malan requested 220 morgen which he was granted, so that Groenfontein then became one of the largest farms in the area. The werf at the time is drawn on this grant and consists of two T-shaped buildings and three outbuildings.

The T-buildings lie at right angles to each other lining up with the short facade of an outbuilding. Two other long outbuildings lie parallel to each other on either side of the access road to the werf. A stream which has been led out of the Krommerivier brings drinking water to the werf, running past the fronts of the T-buildings. A large orange grove is situated behind the buildings and is irrigated by a branch of the drinking water stream.

The T-building facing the werf was probably the main house, the other one the jonkershuis. Not only the unwedded sons lived in so-called jonkershuise, but very often the older parents, as in this case where the various widows might have occupied it. Slave quarters would also have been necessary, for Jacobus had eight male and two female slaves with their seven children to accommodate, probably in one of the outbuildings.

With its neatly lined, whitewashed buildings, arranged to form a partially enclosed fore-court, and backed by the dark green of citrus, the arrival on the Groenfontein oak-shaded werf with its view over the river, must have been very beautiful. (Rows of very large oaks, still part of the werf now, indicate the age of the formalised werf).

Two portions of the farm were deducted for two sons in 1839, and the remainder on which was the werf, went to a third. The main house is today a rectangle with two rows of parallel rooms under a high thatched roof and the gable is a simple rectangular one. The old T-shaped house of the 1820s may be part of this building.

As was the practice in the Dal and the Wagenmakers Vallej, the cattle were grazed for only a short period on these farms before being sent further afield to grazing elsewhere, and Jacobus Malan too had a half share in the loan farm Olyfboom, which was valued at 10 000 guilders.

4.6 NABYGELEGEN

Arnoldus Krutsman from Kreutzmann arrived in 1699 as midshipman in the service of the D.E.I. Company. He was given a 60 morgen farm which he called Kryushof at the corner of the Limietberg in the Drakenstein in 1708 and four morgen of land in the Wagenmakers Vallej in 1712, called Nabygelegen. He also owned another 60 morgen farm, called Standvastigheid, but it is not known on which of these properties he lived. In 1732 they were all transferred to the Huguenot, Pieter Joubert (sen) who had many other properties in the area, and from his estate transfer of the three farms went to his son Gideon in the following year.

Gideon immediately sold Nabygelegen and another Joubert farm called Olifantskop to Jan Loots from Amsterdam, married to his sister Maria.
The quitrent grant of 59 morgen to Jacobus Retief (senior) in 1820 was accompanied by this drawing showing the werf of Wel van Pas - an H-shaped house at the end of a courtyard formed by two long outbuildings (left) and a stable with attached kraal (right). The outbuildings are slightly splayed.

The one farm that proved the exception to the rule was Vondeling, shown here on a grant to Daniel Johannes Retief (senior) in the 1830s with its four buildings placed at random.
A neighbour Francois Retief, in 1742 sold Nabygelegen to Jan Blignaut.124

4.7 WELVANPAS

This farm, situated in the top corner of the Bovlei was granted to Pierre Mouy in 1712 after he had been settled there for seven years. By that time he had probably built a house of some kind.

In 1784 Jacobus Retief received transfer and in 1820, a year before his death, he requested and received 589 morgen of adjoining land in quitrent. On the drawing with this grant, the werf is shown:

The H-shaped house faces west towards the river and has a fore-court flanked on the north with two parallel long outbuildings, the one with a short wing to the back. South of the fore-court is another shorter building with a kraal behind it. The house lies on the mountain slope and has a beautiful view down the valley to the west. The buildings of the fore-court are slightly splayed on the drawing, a device used to accentuate the sense of perspective as has been shown also at Rhone and Babylonstoren in Drakenstein and Vredenhof in the Paarl.

CONCLUSIONS

The farm werfs in this area as in the Dal, were commenced by Huguenots who, though they started penniless, by dint of hard labour improved themselves very quickly, so that within a generation they had planted numerous vines and acquired sometimes three to four extra farms or shares in loan farm cattle posts. The first buildings appear to have been multipurpose long buildings. New H-shaped houses were built towards the end of the 18th century. Most farms had more than one outbuilding sometimes forming quite large werfs like the one at Welvanpas.

The placing of the different buildings in each of these werfs was formal with an underlying geometric order, although with each werf the arrangement of the buildings differed. In two werfs, the buildings are not geometrically placed which confirms the belief that the buildings were drawn accurately, especially as some of these are today still in the positions shown on early 19th century grants.

The social structure of a community like this where farms are near each other, and where families retained ownership for several generations, became closely interwoven. This was obviously strengthened by marriage bonds, where children started married life at a very young age. Other bonds were their communal ownership of loan farms where animals were sent for grazing, sometimes in herds from several farms together.125

An acceptance of certain standards of planning and building would be expected in such a community and this is what was indeed found, for although not always symmetrical and though not

124 I could not trace how Retief obtained the property, perhaps he married the widow Maria Loots
125 Miss Hester Hugo who grew up at Goede Rust wrote at my request her memories of the departure of these herds early in the morning.
Two views of the Myburgh family farm in 1798 by Frederici shows the many buildings of the beautifully planned werf (courtesy Hannes Myburgh, present owner).

An anonymous sketch of an 18th century Boland farm in the Stellenbosch district. White walls surround the rectangular orchards. Buildings, axis roads, and orchards are geometrically planned although one outbuilding in front stands obliquely to the whole pattern.
planned axially, there was an underlying order where facades lined and buildings were placed either parallel or at right angles to each other.

In this group again it became evident that buildings were built to face the view, no matter the orientation or public approach.

As the soil here is deep and fertile and there is a perennial source of water which could be led out in streams to the different farms, many oaks were planted and today these farms are still rich in trees.

Orange groves were apparently highly regarded, for they are the only fruit trees shown on some grants, and although the census reports large vinyards and orchards, these are not drawn.

SUMMARY

The presence of a mild climate, perennial running water, luxurious indigenous plant and tree growth and impressive mountain ranges provided the Boland farmer with a naturally beautiful environment even before he commenced planning his own immediate landscape.

His sensitive approach to his surroundings, the way he integrated his formal werf with the natural environment, using distant elements to enhance the atmosphere of his own werf, can still be appreciated in those werfs which have retained some of their original lay-out.

For the original landscape lay-out of most of these farm werfs was done with a care and precision which is not always evident at first glance. Most of them consisted of a number of buildings which are arranged into geometrically designed units often with the help of low walls to demarcate the domestic from the agricultural and pastoral areas.

The arrangement of this core is sometimes around a central courtyard partially or fully enclosed by assymetrically arranged elements, with the approach often along a strongly accentuated axis. Avenues of trees around the perimeter of the courtyard or along the axes emphasized the formality of these plans and exposed the visitor to the unfolding beauty of the place before the final arrival. This was particularly effective where the approach avenue along the main axis stretched far beyond the boundaries of the courtyard.

The second treatment of this domestic core was with less finesse and it is almost as if the landowner wished to display at a glance the opulence of his estate. Buildings were lined up often with their long sides in a row to form an impressively extended facade visible from a distance. A line of trees before the buildings continued to the sides, could stretch these dimensions even further. The approach in these circumstances was usually parallel to the buildings and the sense of arrival not as dramatic.

Compromises were sometimes made by lining the short facades of outbuildings on either side of the main house facade for effect and when these buildings projected forward they could then partially form a fore-court or when projecting backwards, a back courtyard. This kind of
Walls were not only built for practical needs, but also to be beautiful. Mill race at Elsenberg (C/A E2948)
arrangement was naturally more commonly used in villages as in Paarl, where lateral space could be a problem.

The few farms which have been described form only a small percentage of similar farmsteads remaining in the Boland. Many of these have lately undergone changes which have not only obliterated the original designs but destroyed their powerful simplicity.

Arrangement of werf buildings of Land en Zeezicht in a row with the approach from the side. Rows of trees surround the werf. Notice the kraal between the two outbuildings.

This drawing was done in 1879 (OSQ Vol 19) but the original grant of 124 morgen in 1818 was to Hendrik Hendriks. The land was previously part of Vergelegen
CHAPTER 11

FARMS OF THE TYGERBERG, KOEBERG AND ZWARTLAND

A: TYGERBERG AND KOEBERG

This area consists of rolling hills and deep fertile soil suitable for grain crops dependent on winter rains. In the 17th and early 18th centuries the grazing was found suitable for stock farming and from the earliest times vines were planted, in some areas on a large scale. Mentzel however found this early wine bad and acrid, that it was therefore mixed with better wine which, however made men bilious and drunk and incited them to quarrel.

It has been shown how some of the Company's cattle posts were established in the Tygerberg/Koeberg area from 1683 onwards at Elsieskraal, Vissershok, De Tygerberg, Bommelshoek, Rietvallei and de Cuylen. The area therefore became well known before the end of the 17th century so that some of the earliest land outside the Peninsula was granted in freehold there from 1688 onwards.

Water was scarce and Mentzel found that there was scarcely enough for the animals in summer and that which there was, was brackish. Vegetables were grown for own use only and for the rest the farmers grew almonds and a few apples and pears of indifferent quality.

Early grants were watered by the Zout, Stink or Mosselbank Rivers, but many were dependent on perennial springs for their water supply. These early grants have been coloured in on a Divisional Council map dated 1901, to show the relation of the farm werfs to their water supply. The shapes of these grants were not simple rectangles, but often had a number of arms stretching in various directions to include springs or suitable arable land.

Sixteen of the earliest farms were researched in the Deeds Office and Archives and then visited to assess their landscape and remaining structures. The deeds were not always easy to follow as some farms were transferred collectively and the author must thank Margaret Cairns with her help in this regard.

Several quitrent grants were however found which had attached drawings showing werfs and these were of great help in identifying the dates and positions of landscape elements while inventories threw light on the number of people living there, the farming activities and possible buildings.

The following farms were studied:

1. DOORDEKRAAL
2. BRAKKEFONTEIN
3. BLOEMENDAL
4. CONTERMANSKLOOF
5. FISANTEKRAAL
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The original grant to Tryntje Theunissen in 1698

This old building might have been Tryntje’s granary, 1970s

The T-shaped house at Doordekraal undergoing renovations, 1970s
Tryntje Theunissen (Catharina Ganzevanger) widow of Gijsbert Verwey was granted this farm of some 60 morgen in 1698, but according to the 1692 census return she had then been in possession for 12 years and had by then planted 5 000 vines and produced 15 leaguers of wine annually. She was therefore of the earliest landowners in the Tygerberg. She also possessed seven slaves, a large number of cattle and reaped both wheat and rye. From this the chances are that in the 1690s she had a house, cellar, slave lodge, stores and stables for her animals, in other words a fully fledged werf.

Tryntje had before her death agreed to sell the farm to Dirksz Van Schalkwyk and after her and Van Schalkwyk's death, transfer was given to Jan Brommert, his son-in-law who also received his father-in-law's second Tygerberg farm, Klipheuvel.

Now Jan Brommert had been an officer in the D.E.I.C. and had been the owner of Alphen and after that of Bergvliet where he probably lived from 1714 onwards for the rest of his life. His only daughter was married to Abraham Lever who owned Alphen and his only son, Nicolaes, inherited his Tygerberg farms in 1733. Three years later Nicolaes married Sara Krugel, daughter of the German, Matthys Krugel from Nurenberg. Amongst Tryntie's estate papers there is an agreement drawn up and signed at Doordekraal to sell Doordekraal to Jan Brommert, which suggests that she did live on the farm.

Jan Brommert sold both the Tygerberg farms to his son, Nicolaes who in 1740 again sold both to Jan Van der Swyn who had two years previously taken transfer of his sister's farm Alphen. Van der Swyn had come from Den Haag as an officer in the service of the D.E.I.C. His second wife, Catharina Chrytsmar received transfer after her husband's death and in 1747 sold to Anthony Maartens.

Gysbert Verwey who bought Doordekraal and Klipheuvel in 1748, obviously intended them for his son Dirk Verwey, who received transfer in the following year, 1749. After this the farms were sold to Dirk's brother, Cornelis Verwey in 1756 who in turn sold to his younger brother, Gysbert Verwey in 1761. After 33 years in the Verwey family, the farms passed to Jan Carel Horak, who at the time was 14 years old. In the following year his father sold the farms on his behalf to Johan Christiaan Smook, who was also a minor. The farms were then valued at 12 000 guilders.

In 1978 the author visited Doordekraal and found a T-shaped house and two old outbuildings standing in a row, surrounded by more modern outbuildings.

1 O.C.F. Vol 22, p270
2 J183
3 T2113, 29.4.1733
4 MOOC 8/3 no15 dated 13.9.1715
5 T2113, 29.4.1733 and T244467, 6.4.1740
6 T2731, 6.6.1747
7 T2821, 8.3.1749
8 T3201, 28.7.1756 and T3585, 26.1.1761
9 T5383, 10.1.1781
10 T5487, 22.11.1782
Doordekraal

(above) The front door and ceiling of the house indicated 19th century changes.

The stable (below), with stone steps to the left, was probably a fodder store.

(below) The stone walls of the old granary and the later iron roof. Earlier round ceiling beams had been sawn off at the walls.

Fotos J Rennie 1975
The Brakkefontein werf in the 1970s. The original T-shaped house had been extended at the back.

New buildings and a silo have been added to the back of the old werf.

The stable with outside stone loft-stair at Brakkefontein
A drawing with the quitrent (CQ 12, p9) in 1846 shows an L-shaped house at Bloemendaal.

The entrance to the Bloemendaal werf shaded with bluegums (Fagan 1970s)
The T-shaped house had been altered by the addition of verandas and steel windows. Inside the plan had been Victorianised when a narrow entrance hall was constructed, and a double front door and sliding sashes had been added on the front facade. Inside, six yellow-wood panel doors indicated a much earlier building date - perhaps the house that Tryntjie Theunissen built for her family in the 17th century? According to the 1692 census returns, her two daughters, both married to Olivier brothers, were living on the farm in that year with their families.

The long outbuilding in line with the house, had thick walls of solid stone and sawn-off round beams in the walls, indicating a previous thatched roof construction.

The second outbuilding had obviously been an earlier stable. Its walls were also thick, of stone and here too were signs of an earlier thatched roof. Side wing extensions had been added and the whole building put under one corrugated iron roof.

Although there was unfortunately no record of where other early buildings had stood, the house and outbuildings were placed in a neat line suggesting that the whole werf had been planned as a geometrical entity.

Modern development have caused all these buildings, which could very likely have dated back to Tryntjie Theunissen, to be demolished.

2 BRAKKEFONTEIN (ADDERLEY)

This farm was granted to Johannes Wessels jun. in 1714. In 1800 David de Villiers and his wife, Maria Elizabeth Malan lived there and after his death his widow received transfer. In 1805 Alexander Van Breda bought the farm for his son, Michiel.

At the end of the 19th century, the farm was transferred to the first Van der Spuy and this family has owned it now for more than a century.

Yellow-wood ceilings define the original 18th century T-shaped house which lies in front of a row of three outbuildings. These buildings relate to each other in a formal way and partially enclose the werf. Three inventories taken in 1738, 1745 and 1753 refer to a T-shaped house, a stable, cellar, a granary, 14 slaves who would have needed accommodation, and a later cellar, indicating that the present buildings probably date from the early 18th century. They are situated on a slight eminence with a view across their fields towards the Tygerberg hills.

3 BLOEMENDAL

This farm consisting of 60 morgen, was granted to Cornelis Van Niekerk in 1702, and transferred twenty years later to his daughter's husband, Anthony Van Rooyen. Another twenty years went by before the farm was sold in 1742 to Jan Meynderts Kruywagen who owned a number of properties, amongst which were Rooseboom, and Kersefontein and St Helenafontein in the
The front of the house now a U-shape but before that L-shaped (1974)

The back yard showing the multipurpose long outbuilding (1974)
Zwartland. By that time the Van Niekerks must have erected some buildings although there is no documentary evidence of them.

After this Bloemendal was transferred together with the farms Maastricht and de Grendel, so that it was difficult to assess when buildings were erected by comparing price increases.

The next owners were Oltman Alhers and JG Lochner, from whose insolvent estate Bloemendal was sold to Jacobus Johannes Vos, a very wealthy silversmith. His son, Jan Diederik, bought three of his father's farms - Bloemendal, Hoogebergsvallei and Maastricht but sold after three years to Hendrik Behr. No inventories of these were found.

In 1978 when the author visited the farm and made a drawing of the remaining old buildings, the owner Jan Van der Westhuizen, proved to be the son of Jan who bought the farm in 1913 and he could give information on the present buildings. It appeared that the house, presently with a U-plan, had previously been a simple long building with a yellow-wood ceiling and thatched roof, the other wings and gables having been added in the early 20th century. Here he was probably wrongly informed as a drawing filed with a quitrent grant of land to the owner in 1846, shows an L-shaped house.

An Erich Meyer sketch done in the early 1900s, shows the previous house with half-hipped side gables and a centre gable which is now missing. The back wing of the L (probably the kitchen) was by that time probably demolished.

The long outbuilding marked B, consisted of several rooms used for storage of fodder and harnesses, a stable for sixteen horses and a chicken run. This building was under an iron roof which had been thatched before.

The building C, has been in constant use as a wine-cellar since 1913 at least, if not much earlier, and although now under iron, previously also had a thatched roof. It was extended by the previous owner with a lean-to roof at the back when the cellar became too small.

The farm dam lies near the house and is fed by a perennial spring. There is a small enclosed garden in front of the house.

Like so many of the Tygerberg farms, the buildings are situated near the water source and have been planned to lie parallel to or at right angles to each other, but in this case do not form an enclosed yard. A row of four very large oaks were chopped down when a veranda was added to the house shortly after 1913. These must have been planted in the early 19th century and may indicate that there used to be more formal planting on the rest of the werf and also that the werf was probably at least as old as the oaks.

14 Refer later chapter on Zwartland farms
15 T4724.6.5.1775
16 T6594.9.9.1791
17 T6633.9.7.1794
18 T266, 12.12.1806
19 C.O. 12 15.1.1846
A quitrent grant of 1814 shows a T-shaped house at Contermanskloof. Since then it has undergone a lot of changes and is today L-shaped.

Part of the house in the foreground and a new pergola at the back erected in front of the slave quarters (1970s)
CONTERMANSKLOOF

Floris Slabbert and his wife arrived from Middelburg at the Cape at an unknown date with seven children. He was granted 60 morgen in the Tygerberg. Its water source was a spring situated a short distance from the house. Why this farm should have been called Contermanskloof is not sure. Obviously Johan Jacob Conterman who had arrived at the Cape in 1696 and settled at Stellenbosch where he had two farms, one in Bottelary and one in Jonkershoek, must have had a connection with this "kloof".

The farm was transferred after Slabbert's death in 1730 to Burgert Van Dyk, in 1759 to Eduaard Christiaan Haumann and in 1761 to Pieter de Villiers, David's son, who farmed at La Motte in French Hoek. His brother David was at the time owner of the nearby farm De Groot Brakkefontien.

According to the opgaaf of 1800, Pieter de Villiers' widow lived at Contermanskloof after her husband's death in 1788. At the time her daughter, Susanna Margaretha, with husband Cornelis Mostert, stayed there too. After her mother's death the farm was transferred to her son Izaack and by that time there must have been a house and well established werf.

On a quitrent grant of the farm to the then owner in 1814, a T-shaped house is shown facing north toward the spring.

The farm has now been in the ownership of the Starke family for three generations. While refurbishing the building always known as the "slave quarters" in 1953, the present owner found a piece of blanket covering a roll of drawings on which was Arabic writing, built into the north-east corner of the building. His information was that this had been built into the walls to protect the slaves against evil. Mr Starke also discovered a stone with Izaack de Villiers' name engraved on it, probably his grave-stone. A further discovery was a slate sundial, dug out in the garden.

The werf itself is composed of a free standing house looking north and much changed over the years, and a continuous row of outbuildings with a kraal in front of the one furthest from the house.

The house, previously thatched but now under corrugated iron with veranda and 1930s stoep walls and pillars, has 19th century sash windows and front door but also earlier yellow-wood ceilings, panel doors and large 430 mm square clay tiles in one back room, all probably dating to the 18th century.

The old part of the house was constructed of stone to window-sill height and from there upwards with unburnt clay bricks and mortar. The outbuildings and kraals were constructed of stone and the outbuildings had been thatched.

20 O.C.F. Vol 2, p52
21 T1965, 18.11.1730; T3403, 10.4.1759 and T3580, 10.1.1761
22 S.G 275/1814
The fowl-run with nesting holes (left), sundial and grave-stone of de Villiers (right) at Contermanskloof.

Fisantekraal house (top), outbuildings and plan (below); original grant (right). The "werf" falls outside this.
A particularly fine chicken run with laying-nests in the walls and an arched entrance gate is in line with the other outbuildings and reminiscent of similar chicken runs on other de Villiers farms like Boschendal and Idas Valley.

5  FISANTEKRAAL (PHISANTEKRAAL OR GRANENDORP)

Olof Bergh was a Swede who came to the Cape as a soldier in the service of the D.E.I.C. and was soon promoted to higher ranks. Because of fraud he was for some time banished to the East, but on his return was promoted to Captain of the Cape Garrison and he was also appointed as a burgher councillor on the Council of Policy and member of the Court of Justice.

He eventually owned several farms, amongst which were Saxenburg and the Company's old post at de Cuijlen. After Simon Van der Stel's death he bought part of the subdivided farm of Constantia in 1715.

He was granted several farms and also "Granendorp" in the Tygerberg in 1698. It is not known to what extent he farmed there or sowed wheat as the name implies, but in 1712 he transferred the farm to another Swede, Matthias Bergstedt, who the year before had married his daughter Christina.

This couple retained ownership for 47 years, and then Granendorp was sold to Johannes Louw, the first of the Louw family who were to live there. Louw retained it for the next sixteen years after which his son Jacobus took transfer. After Jacobus' death, his wife Anna Margaretha du Plessis transferred the farm to their son Adriaan who in 1800 was still living there with his wife.

By this time a considerable farm werf must have provided the necessary amenities for the Louw family, but no inventory was traced for Fisantekraal.

The author visited the farm known as Fisantekraal in 1978, and drew a plan of the werf lay-out. The house appeared to be a very old construction, probably early 18th century: the plan was U-shaped with the front facing north and the area between the back wings probably covered in at an early stage with a flat roof. All the outside walls were 450 mm thick and the floors of the central rooms and kitchen were originally all of clay tiles. The woodwork was of two periods: the back door with sashes on either side were 18th century as well as some of the yellow-wood window-sills, but the front door and windows and interior doors were late 19th century.

Three outbuildings - two on either side of and in line with the house, and one behind and parallel to the house, were all 18th century constructions - in fact the one on the east had been dated 1767 with iron numerals built into the walls. These were discovered when the building was replastered a few years after my visit and the owner asked me to come out and look. This building had had yellow-wood roof timbers and ceiling boards which had burnt down a few years before my visit. A
Hoogekraal

(top) Grant drawing in 1835 showing a T-shaped house, which still forms the matrix of the present much extended one (below). Today the outbuildings are difficult to recognise amongst the many new additions
di visional plan of Tygerberg of early this century shows that the werf had two more outbuildings which have now been demolished.

A walled garden in front of the house, probably built at the same time as a veranda, was planted with mixed shrubs and annuals, but the rest of the werf was bare except for random eucalyptus trees.

6 HOOGEKRAAL

This farm was an early mustering place for the Cape Garrison. For instance when Jeronymus Cruse proceeded to punish Gonnema who was encamped on the Kleine Berg River, Cape Hottentots and freemen all collected at "a certain high place" about an hour's ride from the Castle, called "Hoogekraal".27

This farm, just over 60 morgen, was granted in 1707 to Susanna de Klerk, the widow of Jacob van der Iloeven.28 She retained tenure for 66 years, after which it was transferred to Adriaan de Necker in 1773.29 De Necker's widow married Francois de Villiers who thus became the next owner and he sold the farm to Johannes Andreas Grundlingh, eldest son of the German settler Jan Christiaan Gründling, married to Elizabeth de Villiers, above Francois' sister.30 In 1801 Francois' younger brother, Jan Daniel de Villiers bought the farm - his father owned Contermanskloof, but lived at La Motte.

No inventories were found for any of these 18th century owners but it is certain, however, that as the farm had been occupied from before 1707 onwards by one family, there must have been a house and outbuildings from that time.

In 1835, when Hoogekraal belonged to Diederik Pallas, a drawing was made to accompany a grant made to him of 738 morgen adjoining state land. It is interesting to note on this drawing that the T-shaped house shown, had been built just outside the original freehold grant which had a long arm to include the spring near the house. A large dam is shown near the house, also outside the freehold grant. Many large cultivated lands are shown on this drawing, but were obviously situated at random wherever the land was suitable for ploughing.

When the author visited the farm in the 1970s, the old buildings on the farm were arranged as indicated on the accompanying site-plan, but the owner knew that the original werf had consisted of more buildings. As can be seen, the remaining buildings were very carefully lined up with each other, but can now only be distinguished from a number of later buildings and additions, arranged with no pattern whatsoever around them, by their 18th century proportions and massive stone walls.

The T-shaped house had been Victorianised, but an 18th century ceiling in the front wing had been retained.

27 Boeseken A J, Minutes of the Council of Policy, 26.3.1674
28 CV11.88 30.1.1707
29 T4541, 15.2.1773
30 T5907, 26.7.1785
A drawing of Maastricht on a grant of 1846 shows the house, with three outbuildings in a row and a wall opposite them, around a courtyard. A semi-circular dam is situated behind the house.

Above: plan in the 1930s

Right: original grant

An aerial photograph of the 1930s shows the house and some remaining outbuildings as well as the dam and many oaks (courtesy present owner).
After the house burnt down Gideon van der Westhuizen refurbished this outbuilding to serve as a home for his family (CIA, Elliott E790 & 788)
MAASTRICHT

In 1702 sixty morgen of land was granted to Hendrik Seegers who thereafter owned the farm for 73 years. It was then transferred to Oltman Ahlers who lived there for the rest of his life. After his death in 1790, his wife, Dorothea of Bengal, a freed slave who had borne him seven children, was left with a considerable estate of which an inventory was made.

Various buildings are mentioned at the time: a house with seven rooms, which probably indicates an H-shape, a cellar and storage in the loft, and a number of outbuildings - a cellar, distillery, slave kitchen, smithy, two stores, cartwright shop, stable and wagon-house. There were also 66 slaves who included smiths, cartwrights, coachmen, masons and house maids, indicating the wide range of activities on this werf and therefore the number of buildings required to accommodate them.

Fortunately a drawing of this werf is attached to a quitrent grant of 226 morgen to Jacobus Wilhelmus Uys in 1846. On it are shown the house, not detailed, but its fat shape suggests an H-plan, and three very long outbuildings which probably housed all the above-mentioned activities. A forecourt is formed in front of the house by the line of outbuildings on the one side and a werf wall opposite to this. This wall also links the house to the outbuildings and closes the top of the werf.

A family graveyard is also mentioned in Ahlers' inventory, but today there is no sign of it. It is perhaps indicated by the pink rectangle lying some distance from the werf on the grant drawing.

That the original werf retained its formal layout into this century can be deduced from descriptions by the present owner, Mr Gideon Van der Westhuizen, of where previous buildings were positioned before they were demolished. My adjoining plan shows these with the oak avenues which were positioned in front of them. Only one of these outbuildings is still extant, but Elliott photographs show an earlier outbuilding which was temporarily used as a home while a new house was being built.

An areal photograph taken in the 1930s, shows the old stable, and avenues of old oaks show the line where demolished buildings demarcated the extent of the previous werf.

The Elsies River has its origin in three very strong springs on Maastricht, which still supply the house and large dairy with water. According to the owners, there used to be a 4.5 metre square "vyver" (fish tank) on the farm, but this is no longer there. It is however shown on the 1846 drawing as a blue half-moon.
An inventory of 1739 after the widow Meerendal's death also listed the contents of the cellar (extract from C/A, St 8/6)

552
MEERENDAL

Meerendal was granted to Jan Van Meerland, previously a boatswain in the service of the D.E.I.C., who had obviously been farming on the land before it was officially granted to him in 1702, for on the deed it already had its name.\(^{34}\)

As Van Meerland also owned a town house and the farm Ecklenburg in Rondebosch, he would not have lived in the Tygerberg, but probably kept a foreman there. Van Meerland died on his voyage back from Holland where he had been to put the case of the colonists to the Council of 17 in their argument with Governor Willem Adriaan Van der Stel. His wife then inherited the Tygerberg farm and at her death an inventory was made of Meerendal.\(^{35}\)

This inventory shows that in 1739 there was already a considerable farm werf: A house which appears to have been U-shaped, a cellar, slave quarters for 42 slaves, and a barn are mentioned.

The author visited the farm in the 1970s and was told by the present owner, J C F Starke that his father had bought the farm in 1929 from a certain Van der Westhuizen and that he then had built the present house in 1935 on the foundations of a previous U-shaped house. From his description of the older house, it appeared to have been the same one described in the 1739 inventory. It had very thick walls and yellow-wood ceilings and floors. The outbuildings B and D, used for a wagon-house and a stable, presently have iron roofs, but substantial walls and signs of previous thatched roofs suggest an earlier date. An earlier barn in the position marked C, was demolished by the present owner. The cellar situated on the lower side of the werf in line with an old quince hedge, is also an old building with thick walls. The original thatch was replaced first with Welsh slate and then with corrugated iron.

A perennial spring lies below the house, below the road to the cellar. An orchard was watered from this spring as well as a vegetable garden, both of these were enclosed by quince hedges. Behind the house is at present a row of blue-gum trees which do not require irrigation. These Australian trees were introduced to the area in the late 19th century and were ideal for growing in dry areas where they provided both shade and firewood.

The landscape lay-out is formal, with the outbuildings arranged around a werf, in line with and at right angles to each other. If ever this werf was enclosed between the buildings in the early pioneering days of the farm, by either walls or dry renosterbos, there is no record of these at present.

PLATTEKLOOF

In 1699 Jan Dirksz De Beer received Plattekloof.\(^{36}\) He was quite an important property owner, who had a number of town houses and Ecklenburg in Rondebosch. Two years later he sold

\(^{34}\) O.C.F Vol 1 iii, p406
\(^{35}\) MOOC 8/6 no26 dated 5.10.1739
\(^{36}\) O.C.F: Vol 11, p278, 24.1.1699
The original grant in 1699 to Jan Dirk de Beer (top left)

Remains of "werf" 1970s

A Trotter drawing of Plattekloof house and garden path in the 1890s and the footings and veranda columns of the demolished house in the 1970s
Plattekloof to Hendrik Bouwman, owner of Mosselbank who after sixteen years sold to Nicolaes Meyboom, owner of De Grendel and Oortmanspost.\textsuperscript{37}

From the estate of Meyboom thirteen years later the farm was sold to his son Floris who lived there, for after his death, the werf is described in an inventory taken in 1738.\textsuperscript{38} In this inventory it is mentioned that Meyboom had four farms, apart from Plattekloof. Two were in the Piketberg area, both called Klippefontein, one in the Verloren Vallei called Klaverfontein, and De Grendel which lay near Plattekloof.\textsuperscript{39}

Judging from his inventory, Floris was a wealthy man, for his house lacked nothing and everything was of the best. In his loft there was a large amount of wheat, rye and peas next to a tent, horse gear, discarded furniture and wooden planks. And his cellar contained 11 leaguers of white wine, one of red wine, 39 empty leaguers, two half leaguers and all the necessary equipment for wine and barrel making. Interestingly two pipes of beer are also counted and one wonders whether Meyboom had bought these or was brewing his own beer. There were also stables, a wagon house, shop, shed and 35 slaves who would have needed substantial accommodation.\textsuperscript{40}

All this indicates that there were a number of vineyards on the farm and that wheat was being sown on a reasonable scale. But on the werf 734 sheep, 69 cattle, 36 horses also tell of stock farming.

The shape of the house as described in the inventory is not quite clear, but appears to have been L-shaped. The shed was apparently used as a granary, for in 1731 when it burnt down there was a large quantity of wheat stacked in it together with wagon makers' tools, indicating the other use of the space.

In 1734 the Council of Policy passed a resolution concerning official "Zeijnposte" on certain farms:

\begin{quote}
In the event of enemy attack, the message was to be conveyed inland by means of cannon-shots from one outpost to the next.\textsuperscript{41} Floris Meyboom was given 200lbs of gunpowder to be fired from a cannon placed on the hill above his farm when necessary. There he had also to hoist a large red flag in times of danger.
\end{quote}

\textbf{After 21 years in the ownership of the Meybooms the farm was sold to Paulus Artois on 28.7.1738.}

On a visit in the 1970s, before the present development in the area had occurred, it was found that the large rectangular werf wall was largely unbroken, with entrance gates on the north, and west. The foundations of the house were still visible enough to be measured and proved to be about 14 metres long on the front facade.

Only a few toppled columns remained along the pathway which led to where the front door should have been, judging from the few demolished steps still visible. These columns were round, but
The view of Table Mountain from Platteklip, probable slave quarters in foreground

The granary stables and kraals

Inside the granary with its old stone walls but new iron roof

Photographs John Rennie 1970s
The Victorianised "slave quarters" and other outbuildings

The 19th century grave-yard with cast-iron fence
The stables on the sloping werf of Zondagsfontein (Fagan 1976)
squared off at the top. On either side of the steps were two huge magnolia trees. The house and columns had been sketched in their hey-day by Alys Fane Trotter when this had still been a fine thatched and gabled building with a magnificent view towards Table Mountain.

The columns suggest a grander garden than the normal, and it is a pity that an archeological excavation could not have been done here to expose what might have been an exceptionally well-structured, fine garden.

In the south-west corner of the werf a kraal had been formed between two outbuildings, similar to that at Welgelegen. One of these long outhouses, still in a reasonable state of repair, was built of substantial stone walls and showed the ends of poplar loft beams sawn off at the wall, indicating an earlier thatched roof construction. It could very well be Floris Meyboom’s wagon-house.

The other long building on the north side of the kraal had a flat roof and was divided into living units with an old Dover stove in one. The thickness of the walls and proportions of the buildings indicated early 18th century structures which probably also had thatched roofs.

A row of labourers’ cottages in the north-western corner of the werf were still standing in line with the werf wall. These had been Victorianised, but their proportions and substantial walls spoke of a much earlier construction date when they probably had thatched roofs. There were also old yellow-wood lintels and an old window frame which probably dated to the 18th century.

A cemetery on the eastern side of the werf against the hill enclosed a number of Victorian graves and a vault, but the names on the stones were not recorded.

All the remaining remnants of Plattekloof indicated that this enclosed werf had been planned very carefully in a formal style and had probably been one of the finest in the Cape. One felt sad that it had been allowed to fall into such a ruinous state.

10 ZONDAGSFONTEIN (PREVIOUSLY KNOWN AS RONDEBOSJEBEUVEL)

In August 1705, just over 80 morgen of land "Rondebosje aan Tygerberge" was granted to Elsje Van Suurwaerd, also spelt Surwürden, as her father came from Surwürden in Oldenburg. By that time Elsje had already been married successively to Albert van Breugel, junior merchant, Andries de Man, secretary of the Council of Policy, and Hendrik Munkerus from Haarlem, also a junior merchant and cashier in the service of the D.E.I.C. It is not known whether Elsje ever lived in the Tygerberg, but early maps indicate the farm with a circle of trees.

After nine years, in 1714, the farm was sold out of the widow’s estate to Hermanus van Brakel whose eldest son, Adriaan was born in that year.

It was this son who sold the farm thirty-six years later, so he had obviously inherited it.
The new T-house was built on the foundations of the old one.

Zondagsfontein, present house
The next owner was Aletta Van der Heuvel, married to Bernardus Van Niekerk whose father came from Niekerk in Gelderland. She retained tenure for sixteen years and after her death the farm was sold to Daniel Louw. 46

Daniel Louw's widow, Judith Catharina, gave transfer after twenty three years in 1791 to Hendrik Albert Van Niekerk for 15000 guilders. 47 Van Niekerk and his second wife in their will left the farm to their eldest son, Hendrik Albert, who was married to a Hester Petronella Louw. 48

Van Niekerk junior kept the farm for only five years and then sold to A J Reits and J J Cruywagen together. 49 When Reits became insolvent three years later, the farm was divided but both pieces were again bought by the next owner, Daniel Jacobus Theunissen, whose wife came from Lekkerwyn in Drakenstein. 50 At this time considerable improvements were done to the farm because when the son, Jacobus Stephanus bought Sondagsfontein in 1872 it was worth £2 900. 51

As most of the previous owners had retained tenure for a reasonable period, there must have been at least a house and some other facilities from the earliest times and it is not known what additions or changes were made at this stage. In 1908 the farm once again came into the Louw family when A A Louw received transfer. He was the grandfather of the present owner.

In 1979 the author visited the farm and drew the accompanying site plan of the werf. The present house was built by the present owner in the same place as an earlier T-shaped house the mud walls of which had become unsafe. Perhaps this might have been the house of Elsje Van Suurwaerden.

The three simple long outbuildings, standing next to each other to form an L, were all constructed of thick stone walls and had previously been thatched, although they now have iron roofs. The slope of the werf had not deterred the original planner from placing one building at the top and the two others on the slope in a row, very formally at right angles to the top one. Consequently the two lower buildings are placed in a line one slightly lower than the other, with steps up to the doors.

There used to be work and store rooms as well as mule stables in these buildings, which could all be 18th century structures.

Today the motor car has called for its own building which the owner has added in line with the older ones, decorating it with his own version of a gable. More modern outbuildings are in scale with the older ones and have been placed in line and parallel to them so that the original order has been maintained.

The werf has a bare, hard surface developed, one feels, by years of trampling animal hooves. No avenues of trees are to be found here, and shade is provided only by a few eucalyptus and seringa

46 T2894, 5.11.1750 and T4230, 29.1.1768
47 T6541, 10.3.1791
48 T291, 6.6.1834
49 T165, 8.2.1839
50 T851, 25.6.1847
51 T1911, 5.3.1872
On the quitrent grant of 1845 (top) the house is drawn as a U-shape which it has retained in spite of newer additions (middle). Back view and cellar (below).
trees. Even the house at the lower end of the slope has no garden. Below it lies the water source - a spring that fills a dam and provides a view for the house.

The simplicity of this werf makes it for me one of the most beautiful farm complexes in the Tygerberg.

11 SPRINGFIELD (DE HOOGEBERGSVALLEI)

Ockert Cornelissen Olivier received a grant of over 67 morgen of land in September, 1698 and farmed here for seven years. In his inventory of 1705, his "plaats" in the Tygerberg is valued at 9 000 guilders but not detailed.

In 1721 Nicolaas Van der Westhuizen received transfer and in 1733 A Hasselbart became the owner who, after five years, sold to H V Doman when the farm fell into group ownership and was difficult to identify further.

An examination of remaining buildings in 1978 revealed an H-shaped house and three outbuildings arranged as on my drawing.

The owner was doing renovations to the house at that time and the oldest walls were seen to be constructed of alternating layers of "koffieklip" (laterite gravel) and slate to one metre, and half-baked bricks further up, with the use of dark brown mud mortar. This was the same construction that Barrie Biermann had recorded at Coornhoop and which we have seen in the walls of Klein Zoar when we restored the house. All these dated back to the 17th and early 18th century so it is likely that this house may be as old.

Two buildings enclosing the back yard had the same thick walls, were previously thatched and could date back to the same period. One of them had been a cellar and still had its arched wooden windows with bars. It is connected to the house by a wall. A third outbuilding, till recently the cow-shed, is situated some distance from the house, but still lies parallel to it.

The water source of this farm is a fountain on its Altyd Gedacht boundary.

In November 1845, quitrent land was given to the then owner on his request and the drawing of this grant shows buildings around a courtyard at the back of the house, but the buildings were drawn on such a small scale that their shapes were not accurate. It does however verify that the two outbuildings behind the house are at least 150 years old.

12 MOSSELBANK

In 1664 Mosselbank was already mentioned as a resting place for Gabbemma and his party when they undertook a bartering trip inland, and in 1698 "Mosselbank aan de Mosselbankrivier noord-oost na Paardeberg", was granted to Claus Hendrik Diepenauw, who had already been farming in
The Mosselbank house (top) acquired an iron roof and veranda in the 19th century as well as a garden wall (C/A, E2412).

The outbuildings (below) and the bare werf
the Tygerberg since 1685.\textsuperscript{56} He was at the time already a wealthy man who owned several farms (Zonnebloem, Klipheuvel and Eensaamheijt). He lived at Eensaamheijt.\textsuperscript{57}

In the opgaaf of 1692,\textsuperscript{58} it appears that he owned 12 slaves and employed a foreman. He had 3,400 sheep, two horses, 40 calves, 30 oxen, 30 heifers and 50 cows. But he then owned also Joostenberg and Waalberg.

In 1714, Mosselbank was transferred to the estate of Maria Everts, the slave girl who was the mother of Bastiaan Colyn’s children, and her son Evert Colyn became the next owner ten years later although he immediately sold it for a profit of over 700 guilders.\textsuperscript{59} During Maria’s ownership the value of the farm had increased by 8,000 guilders and one can therefore conclude that Maria had erected some buildings perhaps to create a home for her youngest son.

Hendrik Du Plooy was owner from 1724 to 1728; Gerrit Van Niekerk from 1728 to 1763; Bernardus de Vries from 1763 to 1772; Adriaan Van Reenen from 1772 to 1787; Daniel Brink from 1787 to 1802 and Nicolaas Willem Loubser from 1802 to 1828.\textsuperscript{60}

An inventory was taken of the farm after the death of Hendrik Du Plooy in 1728 at which time there was a house, 3 slaves, 97 cattle and 889 sheep, which does not suggest a prosperous farm.\textsuperscript{61}

The present werf of Mosselbank is built on a bare, rocky eminence and consists of a house and three outbuildings behind it, two in a line and parallel to the house and one at right angles to it.

The house, today with a corrugated iron roof, previously had a T-shaped thatched roof, of which the sawn-off structure and the yellow-wood ceilings could still be seen in the roof space to confirm this earlier shape. Additions on either side of the back wing were subsequently made: the joinery Victorianised except for some internal doors, and a veranda added on the front facade, all at various stages. The front gable which Dr Cook thinks in style dates to the 1780s/1790s, could be a later addition to an earlier, simpler T-house. In this case the house was not necessarily built at the same time as the gable, as she thinks, but much earlier, perhaps dating to 1728.

The garden wall with entrance gate to the front door shows on an Elliott photograph which predates the veranda, but without examining the wall material, one cannot know when it was built. Any garden on an open werf where many animals were herded in the evenings, would have to be enclosed. In this case plants would have had to be watered by hand.

The outhouse A probably stables and a wagon-house on the accompanying sketch, consists of two contiguous buildings with thick walls and thatched roofs. The buildings B and C are of similar construction and proportions. C could have been a slave lodge and B might have accommodated a smithy according to information passed by word of mouth.

\textsuperscript{56} O.C.F. Vol 11, p274
\textsuperscript{57} Leo Fouche Dagboek van Adam Tas, p13
\textsuperscript{58} J183
\textsuperscript{59} T1622, 3.10.1724
\textsuperscript{60} T1864, 9.11.1728; T3858, 10.5.1763; T4464, 1.4.1772; T5357, 21.8.1781; T6217, 9.11.1787; T196/1802 and T175/1828
\textsuperscript{61} MOOC 8/5; no21 in 1728
The Lovenstein H-shaped house with its half hipped side and back gables (top). The front gable (middle) was more ornate but the house was demolished by fire. An outbuilding wall with laying nests photographed by G T Fagan in the 1970s, has also now disappeared (C/A, E2437 & E5103)
13 ELSIESKRAAL AND LOEVENSTEIN

Elsieskraal, presumably so called because Elsie Van Suurwaerden, owner of the neighbouring farm, grazed her cattle on this land (without owning it) was being used by Johannes Phyffer and Pieter Van der Westhuizen who had occupied the land since 1701, but were granted it in 1714.62

Van der Westhuizen sold Elsieskraal in 1721 to Hendrik Oostwald Eksteen, member of the Burgherraad and Orphan Chamber and holder of the wine and brandy monopoly. He also owned a fishery at Saldanha Bay and supplied fish to the Company. Eksteen had arrived at the Cape as a midshipman in the service of the D.E.I.C. in 1702, became a free-burgher in 1704 and because of his monopolies soon became one of the wealthiest Cape citizens.

Lobenstein which had been granted to the Huguenot, Maarten Poussion was bought from him by Eksteen in 1710, i.e. eleven years before he acquired Elsieskraal, and this is probably where he lived. He was also granted Evertsdal in 1714.63

One can presume that his Tygerberg werf would have reflected his wealth, but unfortunately, only a few Elliot photographs of the H-shaped Lobenstein house before and after it burnt down and another of chicken nests in a derelict wall at Elsieskraal taken by Gawie Fagan in the 1970s remain to testify to the earlier glory of this once famous werf of which nothing now remains.

14 ROOSEBOOM

This farm was granted to Jan Meenderts (also spelt Myndertse) Cruywagen in 1714.64 He also received the neighbouring farm, Stinkfontein six years later.65 During the period that he owned these two farms, he must have constructed some buildings on them.

The farms were transferred by Cruywagen's widow, Aletta Verwey to J M Meyer in 1747, to P J Voorwerk in 1761 and to Taute in 1785.66

The very beautiful werf of Rooseboom had become sadly neglected by the owners - a company who had bought the farm for quarrying. The owners were requested to maintain the buildings for recycling as site offices and amenities, but instead demolished the whole complex. Before this, however the werf was examined and a drawing made of what remained:

The complex of buildings lay in a neat row on the slope of a hill looking north onto the public road. It consisted of a house with outbuildings on either side and a dry packed stone kraal a little lower down to the right of the access road.

It was difficult to see what the earlier shape of the house had been as the back part appeared to be a later construction. The sturdy thick walls of the front wing, however were built of soft mud bricks and mud mortar, and large quarry tiles in the voorkamer pointed to a structure of the 18th or early

62 O.C.F. Vol 2.6, p252
63 O.C.F. Vol 2, p248
64 CV11 258, 22.8.1714.
65 CV11 334, 31.12.1720
66 T2755, 20.12.1747; T3589, 27.1.1761; and T5922, 1.8.1785
19th century. The dimensions here, were those of a thatched roof of which the front and side gables had been clipped when a new iron roof and pine ceilings were built in together with Victorian windows and doors, probably in 1881, the date on the remains of the front gable.

On either side of the house lay long outbuildings both constructed of stone and black mud mortar. The one on the right had had a full length extension added to the back and the whole then covered with an iron roof. However squared-off yellowwood beams spoke of an earlier construction and a thatched roof over the front barn. Here there was also a wide bricked-up door in the short end of the building suggesting a wagon-house or cellar entrance, and the yellowwood frame of the front door confirming the possibility of an 18th century building.

The complex of stone outbuildings to the left consisted of a small flat-roofed building with adjacent hen coop provided with laying nests in the walls. Adjacent to this was a stable with cobbled floor and stone manger.

An interesting flat-roofed building behind the house had a large fireplace and huge oven built out towards the back and was obviously meant for baking and cooking on a large scale, perhaps for the farm workers as this was usually the function of the kitchen staff.

15 DIEMERSDAL

In 1698 Hendrik Sneewind received this farm of just over 66 morgen in freehold and as he and his wife Catherina Steens lived on their Liesbeek farm up to his death, they probably used their Tygerberg land as a grazing out-station. Notice the two springs indicated on the original grant drawing.

His son-in-law Abraham Diemer, bought it from Sneewind's estate in 1701. Abraham was the son of Elbert, Van Riebeeck's "tafel bediende" (table waiter).

At his death it transpired that the earlier stock farm had been developed into a stock, grain and wine farm, for the inventory of 1713 describes a six-roomed house, a barn, wine cellar and slave quarters for 21 slaves. Diemer had stock totalling 2905 head.

Jan Van der Westhuizen bought Diemersdal from Diemer's estate when the Van der Westhuizen family was already settled in the area. His father Pieter had been in possession of Elsieskraal since 1701, his sister Maria was married to Cornelis van Niekerk, owner of De Tygerberg and his brother Nicolaes was to buy De Hoogeberghsvalei in 1721.

Subsequent owners were Jan Van der Westhuizen, Anthonie Visser, Abraham Thomas Van Bondyk Innens, Andries Greeff, Albertus Johannes Myburgh and several others until Diemersdal came into the possession of the Louw family where it has remained for three generations since 1880.
(top left) The drawing with the 1848 deed shows the house, probably an H-shape, and three buildings in a row north of this.

(top right) The original grant indicated on a Divisional map of 1901, showing approximate position of buildings and two fountains.

(below) Aerial view in the 1930s.

(left) Probable plan of Diemersdal of the 19th century werf.
During Myburgh's tenure, 728 morgen of quitrent land were requested and granted to him and on the drawing with the deed, the werf is indicated - three long outbuildings lay in a row and opposite them a square house (almost certainly indicating an H-shape but the scale is too small for details) facing south-east.

In spite of the changes which the house and some of the outbuildings have undergone, one cannot help being impressed by this magnificent werf lying amongst its vineyards. For the buildings are still arranged in that orderly fashion around its central space, which is the hallmark of the 18th century farm werfs.

Unfortunately the house has lost its earlier simplicity and openness by being enclosed in an ornate garden wall. The present owner's father rebuilt the gable in 1903 as the previous one had been demolished when a corrugated iron roof was put up. The present tiled roof is again a later change. According to the owner, this had been an H-shaped house, but the side courts were closed in and some of the woodwork modernised, except for yellowwood ceilings which remained but were covered from below to prevent dust filtering down from the existing brandsolder, still on top. A few 18th century yellow- and stinkwood interior doors remain and a yellowwood floor in the entrance.

The house described after Diemer's death appeared to be T-shaped with two lean-to or flat roofs ("afdak kamers") at the back on either side of the T-wing. The walls of this early house were probably taken up in the later H-shape, in which case the basis of the Diemersdal house would now be 270 years old.

The buildings forming the rest of this large werf are no less interesting.

B is a thatched building with a back gable which, according to the present owner, is original. The proportions and thick walls mark it as an 18th century building. Early in this century it was a jam store for the present owner's mother, who maintained a thriving home industry from the farm. After 18 years of teaching, she attended courses at the Elsenburg college, bought three Bolinder stoves for her house kitchen and cooked for clients in the city. She made jam, canned fruit in specially imported glass jars, sausage, bread, butter and buttermilk. The present owner remembers how he was kept from school on Tuesdays to deliver produce in town and how on Saturdays he walked with trays laden with roasted legs of mutton or pickled chickens in Adderley Street for Mrs Darters or rich clients in Sea Point.

Apart from his mother's cooking fame, the farm also served as a hunting place for especially the professors from Groote Schuur Hospital. If there was still enough game left on this farm at the end of the 19th century to make hunting enjoyable, one can imagine what an important part hunting played on the farm in its earlier history.

C This building, obviously 18th century although now with an iron roof, was the old cellar.

D This is a thatched-roof building which in the late 19th and this century was used by the previous owner as a vinegar store, for he made a great deal of vinegar.
The original grant of Kuyperskraal (top) and probable original plan. The old werf surrounded by newer buildings (below).
This is the wagon house, apparently also an 18th century building.

This 18th century building was a hay-loft also used as a fodder store. The threshing floor was situated behind it.

This building was erected by the previous owner to serve as a cow-shed for his dairy business.

The workers' houses, at present under iron, were previously thatched and the gables are still original.

The horse stables are also under iron at present, but were thatched before and are probably 18th century constructions.

The family cemetery is passed on the way to the house, as so often happens in Cape farm werfs. This one was walled and used to have a very large almond tree growing in it like the one at the walled cemetery at Welgelegen. Later it was used as a pigsty and later as a cement mixing area, much to the concern of the workers who worried about how the dead would rise through the layer of cement.

Diemersdal is richly supplied with water from three springs, shown on the 1848 drawing running towards a dam north of the werf. Probably one of the earliest 18th century werfs, Diemersdal again proves how the formally arranged buildings were retained and re-used when new uses were required, and how new buildings erected by subsequent owners maintained the geometry which had been established by the first Dutch owners.

16 **KUIPERSKRAAL**

This is probably one of the oldest farm complexes in the Tygerberg, the group of buildings surrounding the open werf forming a beautiful sight in the middle of the surrounding wheat fields as one looks down on it from the approach.

In 1702 the first grant of Kuyperskraal of 60 morgen was made to Hendrik Christoffel Moller, a German who had arrived in the Cape in 1682. But Moller, according to his estate inventory, lived in the "Caapse Vlek" where he took an active part in the civil life of the community also as a member of the Burgher-raad. His farm in Tygerberg is only mentioned in the inventory. After his death in 1720 it went to his wife, Margaretha Marquart and on her death in 1729 her son, Johannes, who had been running it while his mother lived in town, took transfer.

An inventory filed with her estate describes the first werf: a house, hok and coornhuis or granary, all probably built by Johannes. The house consisted of three rooms, but the plan cannot be ascertained from the description. There were also seven slaves, who might have had their own quarters, but if there was nothing to invent in the building, it would not necessarily be described.
(top) The U-shaped house, now with iron roof at Kuiperskraal

(middle) The old sloping unplanted werf

(below) Some of the outbuildings and the bluegum grove fenced off (Fagan 1970s)
From Johannes Moller the farm passed to David Malan whose father had owned La Motte in French Hoek and Morgenster in the Hottentots Holland. David retained the farm until the end of the century when it was transferred to his son, Stephanus. The Cape Directory in 1800 informs us that the whole Malan family was living at Kuyperskraal - Stephanus with wife, two daughters and a son and his widowed mother.

When the author visited the farm in 1978 the old buildings appeared very little changed. The outhouses and house appeared to be largely 18th century buildings.

The original house is U-shaped with the front facing south away from the werf to the prospect. The present iron roof had previously been thatch and the veranda was probably added with the roof. The space between the back wings was more recently roofed in to form a sun room.

The front wing of the house has retained its original yellowwood ceilings but the rest of the woodwork had been largely Victorianised in the middle of the 19th century. One teak and yellowwood panel door and a yellowwood batten door with strap hinges in the kitchen spoke of an 18th century origin. There was also a loft door with old strap hinges of the same period. One wonders whether Johannes Moller’s original house still forms part of the present Kuyperskraal dwelling. All the gables are simple triangular ones.

The outbuildings too had the proportions and roof structures of 18th or early 19th century buildings. The long building on the western side of the werf is today used as a cottage but is said to have been the original slave quarters with a horse mill at its northern end. Two old mill stones were discovered here by the present owners.

The two long buildings on the north side of the werf are used today as a dairy and store respectively. They might have been earlier stables and wagon houses. Old ceiling beams indicate previous thatched roofs today replaced with iron.

In line with the house the werf is further enclosed with another long building, perhaps an earlier cellar also previously under thatch but now iron. Although the earlier uses of these buildings are now no longer clear, they have been retained, are still being used and the werf in spite of a few lean-to and other more modern additions, has retained its informal charm with the natural grass spilling up against the white-washed walls.

17 RONDEBOSSIEBERG

The name of this farm appears on the earliest Tygerberg maps, in one instance indicated with a circle of trees.

When the author visited this farm in 1978, there were four buildings on the werf, one of which was a modern house. Next to it was an h-shaped older house and two long outhouses. Plaster had been removed from the house for renovation work which gave me the chance to examine the wall structure. This proved to be a very old construction of dark grey mud bricks and mortar. Old
(top left) The original grant with buildings of Rondebosch in the early 1900s and plan in 1973

(middle) The front facade of the house shows the stone construction of the stoep and old bricked-up casement window-openings in the front wall of the house at Rondebosch

(below) The Rondebosch indicated on a 17th century map (C/A, M1/273)
Casement windows had been bricked up when sliding sashes were built in probably in the later 19th century. During my visit the sashes were being removed to turn the old house into a store.

A yellowwood ceiling in the front room to the right and two yellowwood panel doors in the front rooms convinced me that this was an 18th century house, especially when the owner said that he had removed similar doors before.

The proportions and thick walls of the two outbuildings also seemed to date from the same period. All these buildings were under iron, but had obviously had earlier thatched roofs.

**CONCLUSION**

Because the Tygerberg was so near to Cape Town, the first farms were granted there in freehold at about the same time as those in the Peninsula and one finds that here too, the land is requested by and granted to favoured upper class Cape citizens - the highest officials or their widows or influential burghers serving on public bodies or possessing lucrative monopolies.

Thus Elsje Van Suurwaerd, widow of the Secunde, Andries de Man, received De Tygerbergen in 1698 and Sondagsfontein in 1705. (She also grazed her cattle on neighbouring government property).

Oloff Bergh had been in great favour with the Company and had been chosen as the leader of an exploration party to Namakwaland in 1682/83. He had fallen into disfavour as result of some misconduct and been banished to the East, but on his return was made Captain of the Cape Garrison and granted more than one farm. Thus he received Fisantekraal in 1698 and in 1700 he bought the old Company's post, de Cuylen. He also owned Saxenburg. But the farm where he lived was Groot Constantia which he bought after Simon Van der Stel's death.

Those who already had been granted lucrative monopolies, were also favoured with further land grants. H O Eksteen, for instance, who had the wine and brandy licence, was granted Lobenstein, Elsieskraal and Evertsdal, and Claus Diepenauw who had the meat licence, was granted Mosselbank, Klipheuvel and Eenzaamheijt.

Apart from the above, there were other families who owned more than one farm:

Jan Meenderts Cruywagen, for instance owned Rooseboom in 1714 and De Grendel as well as Bloemendal which he bought in 1742. He also owned a house and "pakhuise" in the Keyzergracht, where he probably lived. And Theunis Dirksz Van Schalkwyk was granted both Blommestein and Klipheuvel in 1714 and he also bought Doordekraal from Tryntje Theunissen.

This trend to own several farms continued to the end of the 18th century: Jacobus Johannes Vos, for instance owned Bloemendal, Maastricht and Hoogebergsvallei from 1794, and Rooseboom and Stinkfontein from 1797.

Oltman Ahlers owned De Tygerberg, Bloemendal, Maastricht, De Grendel, Hoogebergsvallei and Maastricht, where he lived from 1775 onwards till his death in 1791.
1. Farm at Walcheren, Zeeland: (1) manure storage, (2) pig sties, (3) threshing floor, (4) hay stores, (5) stalls for 11 calves, (6) shed for 15 cows
2. The house
5. Section through 1
Gallée, Plate XX111

A farmstead in Gelderland, Utrecht at Kampereiland
The numbers indicate (1) hearth, (2) cupboards, (3) bedsteads, (4) rooms, (5) chimney, (6) pot for cattle feed, (7) passage, (8) middle-house, (9) well, (10) churn, (12) shed for 15 cows, (13) crib, (14) back courtyard, (15) front courtyard (16) stable for 8 horses (Gallée, Plate XVI)
Again it was not only rich European immigrants who owned property in the Tygerberg, however. Oltman Ahler's wife, the freed slave, Dorothea of Bengal, inherited Maastricht which was then a considerable estate with a large well-planned werf. She also inherited 66 slaves!

Maria Everts too, the slave woman who lived with Bastiaan Colyn, received transfer of her husband's farm Mosselbank in 1714 after his death and sold it only ten years later.

From the 17th century inventories and annual returns it was clear that these Tygerberg farmers were concentrating largely on cattle and wheat farming which was dependent on winter rains. Valentyn found that by the end of the 17th century even the poorest of farmers would have 600 sheep and 100 oxen.75

Also Dirk Swart, mentions the wealth of the Cape farmers in the early 18th century:

*De Boeren zyn meest alle heel ryk van Vee, onder dezelve Zyn die honderden van Schaapen en Runtvee hebben.*76

By Dutch standards this would be many more than any ordinary farmer could handle, for his stables, according to Gallées drawings, had to provide room not only for all his animals, but also for their winter fodder and their manure.

On plate XVI, for instance where a Halle type of farm building is drawn at Kampereiland, Gelderland, he has room for 17 cows, 9 horses. In his plate XXX11 showing a farm at Walcheren, Zeeland he has room for 15 cows, 11 calves and some pig-sties. The house, which was under the same roof, had 3 rooms.

Some of the oldest documented werfs are in the Tygerberg, for inventories provide positive evidence that many of the Tygerberg werfs were built in the first three decades of the 18th century. Brakkefontein's inventories of 1738, 1745 and 1753 describe a number of buildings, and so does the Plattekloof inventory of 1738, the Meerendal inventory of 1739, the Kuyperskraal inventory of 1729 and the inventory of Altyd Gedacht at the same period.

One cannot be certain that the buildings referred to then are the same as those which were found on the present day werfs. But where it was possible to examine the matrix of the walls, the woodwork and the proportions of the buildings, they appeared to be 18th century structures. As we know from experience that buildings were not readily demolished, but refurbished for later uses, the author personally does not doubt that the werfs as we see them today have maintained at least the basic patterns of their early 18th century lay-outs, if not the buildings themselves as they were originally built.

In this area the T-shaped house seemed to dominate, and from the interpretation of inventories it seems that they had been built in these forms from the beginning of the 18th century. Inventories can however be notoriously difficult to interpret in terms of building shapes, and often a lot of guess-work is involved. In the end personal interviews are the most valuable, especially if the farm

75 Valentyn Francois, *Beschrijvinge van Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, Vol 1, p74
76 Swart D, *Beschryvying van Batavia...*, p7
has belonged to the same family for a long time. So is the interpretation of remaining structural elements.

The first T-houses were probably built without front gables, or with leg-of-mutton gables as one sees on the Elliott photographs of Maastricht outbuildings and the Fransen photograph of Swellengift. The farm Bosplaas in the Malmesbury district (now demolished) had no gable at all and the early Tygerberg houses might have looked like this. The simple triangular gable of the Plattekloof house was also seen scaled down at Kuyperskraal. The concavo-convex gable at Mosselbank, though undated, is regarded to be of the style fitting a date of about 1799, so it must have been added to an existing house, or a new house was built in the same position as an older demolished one, which is unlikely.

Establishing the building date of houses by reference to their gable dates or styles, is usually not accurate, as gables speak only for themselves and not for the buildings they adorn. That is why a house may have two gables with different dates. And, as in the Tygerberg, houses could be much older than they may appear to be from the dates on their gables.

Where water was abundant, oaks seemed to be planted in avenues in front of the buildings around the perimeter of the werf. Thus large oaks are seen on photographs taken early in this century at Altyd Gedacht and Maastricht for instance. A number of farm werfs were, however situated on stony eminences, where tree culture was difficult, as at Kuyperskraal, Zondagfontein and Mosselbank. Buildings in these werfs therefore stood bare in the surrounding fields with the natural grass growing up against the white walls.

On the whole the Tygerberg werfs were found to be as large as those in the Constantia Valley, but they were not surrounded by the luscious growth of forest, avenues, orchards or vineyards as seen where water was more plentiful.

The layout was, however, always formal, with the arrangement of the buildings often arranged into a rectangular enclosure which was in strong contrast to the soft rolling hills of wheat and fynbos.

The Vissershok and Bommelshoek werfs which the Company had constructed in the 17th century as examples to be followed by surrounding farmers, are still today, in spite of severe neglect, of the most impressive manmade landscapes in the Boland. They could have been the inspiration for the enclosed Plattekloof, Altyd Gedacht or Maastricht werfs, but most Tygerberg farmers seemed content with a formal arrangement of buildings and trees, but did not build extensive ring walls like those of the Company's cattle posts.

The Tygerberg area seemed to attract many German settlers: Heinrich Ostwald Eksteen at Elsieskraal and Lobenstein, Heinrich Ostwald Muller at Kuyperskraal, E C Haumann at Contermanskloof, Claus Diepenow at Mosselbank and Joostenburg, Hendrik Seegers at Maastricht, Heinrich Sneewind at Diemersdal, to name but a few.
It was therefore not only the Dutch but also the German settlers who laid out their farms in geometrical order and it is indeed impossible to distinguish in any way between the lay-out patterns of these two nationalities.

High stone "werf" walls at Contermanskloof (Fagan 1974)
B: ZWARTLAND

An examination of the divisional maps on which the original grants and names of owners in the West Coast area are shown, makes it clear that the first loan farms were granted nearer to the coast and that the farms further inland had been granted at a much later date. The latter were used as cattle posts and Lichtenstein in 1803 found them very poorly developed because they were entrusted to the care of herdsmen - old slaves or Hottentots, who lived in huts or small houses.78

This winter rainfall area was found fit for the cultivation of wheat, barley, oats and rye, on which the return was for one muid of wheat sown, 10 gained, for barley 15, for oats 15 and for rye the same. But as the grazing was good, cattle and flocks of African sheep and goats were kept. These sheep were prized because their tails provided a great deal of fat for soap which was a profitable product because it could easily be transported.79

Governor Janssens and Commissioner De Mist were, however concerned in 1804 at the agricultural apathy and lack of industry of the Cape farmers and that there were no export products to stimulate a growth in the economy, so that farmers remained entirely dependent on a fluctuating garrison in Cape Town for a market.80

As a result of the industrial revolution there was a need for wool in Europe and Janssens therefore asked the chief civil magistrate, W S Van Ryneveld, to advise him on how sheep farming at the Cape could be improved so that the export of wool might become a profitable source of income.

Merino sheep had been imported by Captain Gordon to Grootepost and three of these in 1792 were bought by the Van Reenens who had started experimenting with cross breeding both on their Zwartland and Overberg farms.81

Further experiments had also been made at Groote Post under the supervision of William Duckitt and a Commission appointed by the Commissary-General, J A de Mist "for the Improvement of Stock-breeding and Agriculture, chiefly for the conversion of this Colony into so-called Spanish or wool-producing sheep".82

The prejudice of the farmers against anything with which they were not acquainted, made them reluctant to acquire a different breed of sheep. Farms were far apart and often uninhabited as it was usual for land-owners to own more than one farm. They could therefore not see for themselves the benefits of cross breeding with imported animals on those few farms where such animals were being used.

It has been shown how merino sheep farming in the Overberg by the agricultural company of Van Reenen, Reitz and Joubert had led to great success and how their affluence had led to the establishment of well laid out farm werfs in the whole area. Their success stimulated farmers from further afield to buy

78 V.R.S. 10, Lichtenstein, Vol 1, p67
79 This is often mentioned by travellers e.g. Burchell & Lichtenstein
80 V.R.S 23, Van Ryneveld, Aanmerkinge over de Verbetering van het Vee aan de Kaap de Goede Hoop, 1804, p41
81 Ibid, p57
82 V.R.S 23, Van Ryneveld, Aanmerkinge over de Verbetering van het Vee aan de Kaap de Goede Hoop, 1804, p191
breeding stock and so the industry gradually grew and made farming possible in areas not found profitable before.

As many of these farms were given in loan, the first drawings of them were made when the loan tenure was converted to freehold or quitrent from the early 19th century onwards. In a search for information on farm werfs in this area, these volumes were examined for the Zwartland but proved disappointing because the surveyors at the time, Leeb and Hertzog, had both used very pale colours and that buildings were poorly drawn. Examination of these grants were therefore not as helpful in establishing werf patterns as those of the Overberg.

A number of loan farms described in the reports of land commissioners for the period 1825-1827 were examined, but drawings attached to them for the Zwartland district were not all photographed as they showed little of the man-made landscape features and the buildings were drawn too small. However, their shapes did vary and it was therefore assumed that these were probably accurate and so an analysis of those features that were clear could be made.

Most of these werfs contained only one building which, one presumes, would have been the house. Of the houses, most were simple long buildings, perhaps again catering for different functions under one roof.

The following nineteen farms were studied:

1 KERSEFONTEIN
2 ST HELENAFONTEIN
3 GEMSBOKFONTEIN
4 WATERBOERSKRAAL
5 TWEE KUILEN
6 MORGENWACHT
7 GROOTVERLANGEN
8 KRAANEVALLEI
9 GROOTE POST
10 COENRADENBERG
11 THEEFONTEIN
12 BOKBAAI
13 KLAVERVALLEI
14 ALLES VERLOREN
15 SONQUASDRIFT
16 BOTMASKLOOF
17 ONGEGUND
18 LUCASFONTEIN
19 KLIPVLEI

SUMMARY

CONCLUSIONS

83 Refer chapter on Overberg farms
84 C.A.L.B.D.21
Gordon's two watercolours of Kersefontein as seen from the west (top) and east (below)

From Raper, P E Boucher M, Robert Jacob Gordon Travels at the Cape Vol 2 p399

The slave bell photographed by Elliott early this century (C/A, Elliott)
Amongst some of the earliest loan farms granted along the west coast were Kersefontein and St Helenafontein which had both been occupied for some time by Lt Col Johannes Myndert Cruywagen "oud burgherraad" when they were granted to him in freehold in 1744.\textsuperscript{85}

After his death in 1770 the farms were sold to Martin Melck junior, son of the owner of Elsenburg.\textsuperscript{86} Because Melck paid 30 000 guilders for the properties, one presumes that they must have had some buildings on them. But as Cruywagen had farms elsewhere (Roozeboom, Bloemendal, Maastricht, De Grendel, De Hoogebergs Vallei as well as property in the town) he certainly would not have lived in this place and probably had only minimal accommodation for his foreman on each farm.

Martin Melck's widow married Johannes Frederick Kirsten, whom we have already met as wealthy owner of Alphen and Feldhausen. He consequently became the next owner of St Helenafontein and Kersefontein or (Kirstenfontein) in 1795.\textsuperscript{87} Lichtenstein spent a night in his house on the farm in 1803, but though he does not describe the farm, two water colours done by Gordon in 1790, give a very good impression of the planning pattern.

A T-shaped house faces west to a fine view over the Berg River. A courtyard is formed by the rear wing of the house with its large "bakoond" and an adjacent small flat-roof extension on the south, two long outbuildings in a line to the south and the white-washed parallel walls of the large kraals on the opposite side. Each kraal is entered through a pillared gate and two further outbuildings, lying parallel to each other, are situated next to the kraals. In the foreground Gordon draws three small buildings connected with a small courtyard - probably the chicken coop and dovecot.

On a public auction Marthin Melck the third bought Kersefontein from his stepfather, Johannes Kirsten in 1808 and he was the first owner to live on the farm permanently and as such probably had the greatest influence on the planning of the werf as we know it today. He was married to Anna Jacoba, daughter of Gysbert Van Reenen of Welgelegen, so here too the Van Reenen influence might have played a part.

The census of 1825 gives a good idea of the various farm activities and the buildings which would have been necessary to accommodate them at that time: a wagon house for 4 wagons and two carts; a granary for storing 30 muid of rye, 250 of oats, 800 of barley and 30 of wheat; a piggery for 20 pigs; a kraal for 50 goats; a kraal for 2 asses and 112 draught oxen; and then a special kraal for Melck's 8 Spanish wool sheep, 200 wethers and 180 breeding stock; and a stable for 80 breeding horses. He also had to accommodate some 65 slaves.\textsuperscript{88}

Once again the size of the werf, the number of buildings and the type of buildings were a reflection of the different activities that had to be catered for on the werf and of the wealth of the owner.

\textsuperscript{85} C.F.2 472, 13.10.1744
\textsuperscript{86} T111 & 119,13.8.1770
\textsuperscript{87} T6924, 11.7.1795
\textsuperscript{88} C/A, J.57
Site plan (left) and plan of house and garden walls (below) at St Helenafontein in the 19th century.

(Above) The two paintings of St Helenafontein, the top one from the front and the other from the rear of the house (courtesy Gideon Roché).

Outbuildings A, B, C and D from the back (left) (Fagan 1970s).
A drawing by Poortermans in the 1840s shows how the house was extended with a second back wing and the courtyard more effectively enclosed by the addition of two further long outbuildings on the north. A cross wall now enclosed a smaller section of the courtyard to form a back yard for the house. He indicates a number of small cottages in the distance, probably for the labourers.

Kersefontein has passed down from father to son and is still today, after two and a quarter centuries in the possession of the Melck family. Though buildings have been adapted for modern needs, the basic layout of the werf has remained unchanged. For though the graves in the whitewalled cemetery may be silent, the family have been aware of and respected the contributions that each of their preceding fathers have made.

2 ST HELENAFONTEIN

As mentioned above, this farm was originally granted to J.M Cruywagen together with Kersefontein and the two farms together transferred to Martin Melck in 1770. The wealthy Jan Frederik Kirsten (owner of Alphen) by marrying Melck’s widow became owner in 1795 and sold St Helenafontein to Jacobus Arnoldus Van Reenen in 1801 who owned it to 1808. He was one of the three brothers of Dirk Gysbert Van Reenen who were farming at Ganzekraal, so it is not unlikely that he too might have had some influence on the planning of the St Helenafontein werf which, like Ganzekraal, has its buildings arranged around a werf, but without an enclosing wall.

When Van Reenen sold it to Pieter van der Byl together with quitrent land which he had obtained in the meantime, the price was 28 000 guilders which does not suggest that further improvements had been made as Van Reenen had paid 30 000 guilders. In 1835 the farm came into the hands of Pierre Rocher and has remained in this family ever since. In the Piketberg Quitrent Volume of 1821 there is a re-grant of St Helenafontein and on the drawing annexed to this deed a house is shown between the sea and the St Helena spring and this is the earliest record of buildings on the farm.

When St Helenafontein was visited in the 1970s, the werf consisted of a house and three long outbuildings, arranged one on each side of the werf. Though the original walls of these buildings were still standing, they had been added to and their previous thatched roofs changed to corrugated iron. The arrangement of the buildings around the central space is not symmetrical as the buildings are of different lengths, but they do allow pleasant framed views out to the surrounding veld.

The house had received a second storey and an iron roof and the whitewashed wall which used to enclose a garden in front of it has long since been demolished, though the row of pepper trees shown in front of the house on an old painting, still throw their dappled shade on the roughly plastered walls.

89 T11 & T119, 13.8.1770
90 T313, 11.3.1795
91 T194 & 195, 22.5.1801
92 T138, 22.7.1808
93 T286.7.8.1835
Coenradenburg based on a drawing by Willem Malherbe.
(The watersource was a spring in the river bed)
3 COENRADENBERG

This old loan-farm was granted to J Smit in quintrent in 1804, and also has the initials J S on the house gable. One must presume therefore that J Smit owned the farm from before 1804. It still belongs to the same family.

Five buildings are arranged around an open courtyard, but as the age of the different buildings have not been determined, it is difficult to know whether the werf was originally designed or gradually extended to its present form. A T-shaped building is said to be the original house. The present house is much larger and has a TT-shape. Both these have small enclosed gardens in front of them on the courtyard side.

In line with the "old house" is a short outbuilding and behind it, at an angle, a horse-mill.

Two long buildings and a threshing floor closes the north-eastern side of the werf.

Lichentenstein described a nearby farm Langriet Vallei belonging to Jacob Loubser whom he thought to be one of the richest farmers in the colony. Jacob had grown up at Roodebloem and when his brother Hendrik Oostwald inherited Roodebloem, he inherited Langriet Vallei and made it his home. Here he had, apart from his house, a werf with numerous buildings which Lichtenstein called a "state in miniature" (as was Coenradenberg). His wife Cecilia Bauermieister was granted the farm in quitrent in 1833 but no buildings were indicated on the grant drawing.

4 WATERBOERSKRAAL

Johannes Barend Bester's house and outbuilding are shown on the quitrent grant of his loan farm Waterboerskraal of 3 054 morgen. The two buildings lay in a straight line next to a rainwater dam at the crossing of the road to Maatjiesfontein and Leliesfontein.

5 KRAANEVALLEI

This loan farm has the typical features of the Zwartland farm environment: a T-shaped house situated at the midpoint in a treeless landscape used mostly for grazing; arable blocks of land situated at random; and in this case two rainwater dams and a "drooge riviertje." The "doordrift," 75 roods broad, was to be left open for the general public along which they could take their cattle to the Cape market. Sheep were also driven along these ways to the Cape market. William Bird wrote in 1822:

"There is little attention paid to sheep in the farms on the Cape side of the mountains... The great supply of sheep consumed in Cape Town and its neighbourhood is from the distant country... from the numerous flocks driven down by the Hottentos for the butchers of Cape Town".
(top) The grant of Groote Post to P J Rens in 1836 shows the house drawn as a rectangle and the extensions at the back made by Somerset

(middle) The house from the front and a thatched outbuilding at right angles to it at the back to the left (C/A, E697)

(below) The house and its flat-roofed extensions of the back stoep and veranda (C/A, E696)
These cattle-ways criss-crossing the open veld, trodden down by the hooves of many animals, formed part of the landscape well into this century, until slaughtered meat could reach the market by overnight rail.\textsuperscript{95}

These cattle-ways were also used by farmers who moved their herds to alternate seasonal grazing from one part of the country to the other, from Wellington to their west-coast farms.\textsuperscript{96}

\textbf{6 \hspace{1cm} GROOTE POST}

Groote Post was one of the farms used by the meat contractors who supplied the D.E.I.C.'s ships and hospital with meat until the monopolies were ended when the British occupied the Cape permanently from 1806 onwards.

During the short time that the Cape was under Batavian rule Commissioner de Mist tried to improve stock farming by promoting the use of Spanish sheep for the production of wool. Colonel Gordon had imported a small flock of merino sheep before his tragic suicide in 1795. Some of these were bought by the Van Reenens in 1792 and taken to Zoetendalsvlei, the others were bought by the Commission of Agriculture and kept at Groote Post which had been set aside by the Batavian Government for the purpose of breeding them for distribution to the farmers countrywide. The Commission also acquired good European bulls and of the best cows and horses of "pure-bred stock from the Hantam" for the Grootepost breeding program.\textsuperscript{97}

William Duckitt had come to the Cape in 1800 on the instruction of the British Government to form an agricultural department at the Cape with the purpose of improving farming and stock-breeding methods. He was the secretary of the Board of Agriculture established by de Mist and stationed at Groote Post till 1815 when Lord Charles Somerset dissolved the Board and took over the running of the farm himself, under the management of Henry Crowcher. The Governor imported thoroughbred horses and started a breeding program at the farm which he visited often because hunting was very good there.

After Somerset's return to England, the farm was let and in 1836 granted in freehold to P J Rens. On the drawing accompanying this quitrent\textsuperscript{98} in 1836 a rectangular house and one outbuilding behind it with a kraal is shown as well as a dam in front of the house from where a stream runs across the front of the werf.

Two years later Groote Post was sold to Frederik Duckitt who had grown up on his father's nearby farm Klavervallei. Hildagonda Duckitt, Frederik's youngest daughter, in her diary gives a description of the farm at that time:

"Groote Post.. had been built in the old Colonial style with its quaint high gables, and neat brown thatch, and long wings of flat roofs on either side, a mixture of Dutch and Oriental, built in 1808..."
(top) The plan of the house as drawn by R Page in the 1960s

(above) A sketch by Mary Frere of the house showing the coach-house on the ground floor

(below) The cow-shed at Groote Post under a monopitch thatched roof resting on stone columns. Compare to sheds at Groot Constantia and Nauwbepaald (C/A E698)
very likely by masons from Batavia. This dear old place was prettily placed on a slope, which necessitated a high stoep and cellars underneath...most useful for storing wine, fruit and winter pumpkins, etc. The rooms were all on the same floor, and above were spacious lofts for storing grain and winter pears and quinces."

She describes the incomparable view from the stoep which once again confirms the importance that was placed on the facing of the house - situated on a slope backed by hills or mountains with the distant view over the valleys and fields.

Hildagonda also describes the farm's gardens, and as these are never drawn in detail in the grants, her description is a valuable reference to the type of fruit and flowers that were being grown in the Zwartland where spring water was enough to allow a garden. One must remember that though her grandfather had been English, all the Duckitts married Dutch girls and it was her mother who tended the garden. Her list would also indicate what could be found in the gardens of Claassenbosch and Constantia where her mother's family lived.

Next to the house there were mignonette, stocks, poppies, cornflowers, and hedges of blue plumbago. On a wall next to the pond were pink and scarlet geraniums and further away white arums and nasturtiums. She also mentions long hedges of sweet old pink Huguenot roses (R.damascena semperflorens) as well as the sweetly scented Odorata (R x odorata).

Below the pond was the vegetable garden obviously irrigated by the stream shown on the quitrent plan, from where the house was supplied with "relays of crops", legumes and cauliflowers and sweet melons. Apart from these there was an orchard with different types of apples and pears and a poplar grove with undergrowth of nasturtiums and arums.

There must have been a vineyard of both muscadel and green grapes for Hildagonda describes the preparations that were done before wine was pressed in the cellar.

When the farm was visited in the early 1980s it was found the house as drawn by R Page and reproduced in Vertue's book. It appeared that this was no conventional T-shaped house, but one which has obviously been added to and changed, probably in the time of Lord Charles Somerset with extensions under a flat roof on the south side and north of the original structure. A high stoep with a double flight of stairs used to lead from the public road to the front door, but the road now runs past the back of the house between it and the outbuildings. A sketch by Mary Frere shows the double wooden door leading to the coach house under the house as described by the Rev C I Latrobe in 1816.

The outbuildings consist of a thatched stable at right angles to the house on its south side and a long wagon house parallel to and west of the house, at present under iron. A drawing of the werf in 1827 by Knobel, before Somerset's extensions had been added, shows what looks like a T-house.

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99 Kuttel M, Quadrilles & Konfyt, p10
100 Ibid, pp10-13
101 Cape Town Photographic Society, From the Days That are Gone, p114
102 Latrobe C I, Travels to the South of Africa, pp304-305
Kraals with walls of "renosterbos" like this one at Bokbaai, are still used in the Zwartland.

The drawing of Groote Post by the surveyor Knobel in 1827 before Somerset's additions (S.G.1/3/2)
The T-shaped house on the farm Klaarefontein and its outbuildings lying parallel to it are situated on an eminence from which the ground falls quickly away. The fenced-off house-garden in front of the stoep has a few geraniums planted under two forlorn-looking oaks. For the rest the sloping werf is covered in natural grass.
(above) Klaarelontein as drawn by Lady Anne Barnard in the late 18th century. The fine ornate gables have subsequently been destroyed.

(below) Theefontein as sketched by La Vaillant at the end of the 18th century, and below that the quitrent grant drawing of 1814 showing a different arrangement of buildings. The surveyor is more likely to be correct, or perhaps Le Vaillant sketched the two older buildings also shown on the grant.
and two parallel outbuildings behind it enclosing a kraal. The date on the Groote Post front gable is 1808 and the house seems to have been built as a square, so what looks like a T-wing may indicate the flight of steps. There are still Elliott photographs of the stable of which the thatched roof was supported on stone piers along the one side, but the horse-mill which Hildagonda described is no longer there.

**7 KLAAREFONTEIN**

According to Dr J Walton, Klaarefontein was first granted as a loan farm in 1727. In 1800 Lady Anne Barnard sketched the beautiful house which unfortunately has now lost all its ornate gables. The T-shaped house with its high front stoep and parallel outbuilding behind it, lying on a bare hill, still has an air of grandeur in spite of the lack of its earlier embellishments.

**8 THEEFONTEIN**

Le Vaillant stayed at this farm near Saldanha Bay on several occasions in 1796 and he also made a drawing of the werf, showing two parallel thatched buildings, two threshing floors, two square kraals built of wooden palings, the one planted with a hedge as well, some round huts, and some tall structures which would have looked more like haystacks, if they did not have doors. Mr D Visser in discussing this painting, thinks that these might have represented cooking shelters. Lichtenstein in 1803 was taken to visit John van Reenen at Theefontein by Coenraad Hendrik Loubscher who then lived on his neighbouring loan-farm, Uylenkraal. Another farm in the vicinity was Langeriet Valley belonging to Loubscher's father-in-law, Jacob Loubscher. These Loubschers were sons of Pieter Loubscher of Roodebloem and all their farms were formally planned and self-sufficient.

In a quitrent grant of Theefontein in 1814, almost twenty years after Le Vaillant's drawing, an accompanying drawing shows two buildings in a row and a longer one at right angles to them forming this werf plan. But it is not certain which one is the house, for they are all called "gebouwen". Further along the road which passes this werf another two smaller buildings are drawn and labelled "oude gebouwen" and it is clear that the road ran between the two. A "sand fountain" completes the information which the surveyor wished to convey on this rather barren landscape. The grant of 3552 morgen made to Coenraad Hendrik Loubscher is dated 8.4.1814, but the drawing had been done four years before. The "oude gebouwen" referred to might be those which were drawn by Le Vaillant, but even then the plan of the earlier buildings does not match the plan of the grant drawings and one wonders whether Le Vaillant took a bit of artistic licence in the placing of the two buildings, perhaps in view of his difficulty in drawing perspective. Lichtenstein criticised the trees which Le Vaillant had drawn, saying: "In the shade of high trees these parts are wholly deficient", and those which are to be seen in Le Vaillant's engravings are probably introduced there only with the idea of embellishing the landscape.

103 S.G. 1/1/3/2 Groote Post was sold at a public auction on 6.10.1835
104 Ibid. p12
105 Francois Le Vaillant, Vol 1 plate 15, p117
106 C.Q.2.44
The buildings at Bokbaai:
(top) Plan of the house and adjacent long building as drawn by R Page in the 1960s
(middle) An old painting hanging in the house at Bokbaai and view from the sea (Fagan 1980s)
(below) View along the house towards the flat-roofed outbuilding
BOKBAAI

On the 2nd May 1845 this farm with its buildings was transferred to the brothers Lourens Johannes and Jacobus Petrus de Jongh. This had been a place of outspan and the rights of the public in this regard were to be maintained as well as the rights of their cattle to be watered from the stream.

In January, 1858 Gerhardus Jacobus Visser became the owner and in January 1866 Johannes Brink. He was married to a Cloete girl from Alphen whose sister Hester Anna was married to one of the next owners, William Ferdinand Duckitt. The other brother, Frederik Duckitt was married to Anna Jacoba Melck. When William Ferdinand died his widow took transfer of the whole farm and held it until in 1894 it was transferred to her son Frederik. It has remained in the Duckitt family till today.

When the author visited the farm in the early 1980s the werf consisted of two buildings placed in a row along the beach front separated from the breakers only by a bank of shells.

There was a small square building with exceptionally thick walls built of limestone and with a flat limestone roof all white-washed with many layers of lime. The long house consisted of two sections. There was the main house with central holbol gable and symmetrical facade fronted with a stoep with seats at both ends. Attached to it was a long building with slightly lower roof, several doors leading onto the stoep and the entrance to a wagon-house in the one gable end.

The flat roofed building is said to be the room where the slaves who collected shells in this spot for the D.E.I.C., were locked at night and the oldest part of the long building with its short kitchen wing at the back is where the overseers were housed.

The placing of the two white-washed buildings against each other to form an extended facade along the beach in line with the squatter flat roofed lock-up room makes this farm group one of the most beautiful in the Zwartland. The Norfolk pine which has been growing behind the house for some time, spoils the horizontal lines of the landscape and is most unfortunate.

The sheep are still grazed at Bokbaai and the kraal where they are locked up at night is as ancient in its style as the buildings, for it is of packed renosterbos, obtained from the surrounding veld (See p598).

KLAVERVALLEI

It is strange that William Duckitt who had started his agricultural experiments in the Company's garden at Simon's Town soon after landing, and then owned Newlands, Witteboome (the old Company's post in Constantia) and then lived at Groote Post, should have chosen what might be regarded to be a rather unattractive farm like Klaaverallei to settle for the rest of his life. He had exchanged Witteboome for Klaaverallei and his family thinks that this choice was for the
Klaver Vallei:
(top) The grant to William Duckit in 1815 shows a T-Shaped house and long building in a row and a long building opposite the house parallel to it.
(below) Two Elliott photographs show the old house and long outbuilding with later buildings between them in a row.
The slave bell rises like a sentinal above the large granite boulders in the foreground (C/A E1394, E1393)
The different stages of the house at Alles Verloren:

(A) Three rooms with all ceiling beams running in one direction

(B) A T-shaped house, with added walls in the front rooms

(C) A T-shaped house with two wings added at the back with a kitchen on the left

(D) A narrow passage created in the voorkamer and another at right angles to it for access to the front side rooms

NB The arrows indicate white-washed plaster surfaces running through the walls; the X, soot marks against the brickwork after plaster removal

The house in the 1980s has a front veranda
The outbuildings at Alles Verloren
exceptionally good hunting there. And yet this farm, situated on the west coast road to Cape Town in those days, has a special charm.

The complex consists of a T-shaped house, built by the previous owner, Sebastiaan Van Reenen in about 1800. This building and an adjacent outbuilding in a row facing north and another long outbuilding opposite and parallel to them is shown on a plan of the farm drawn on a Divisional Map of the Zwartland at the beginning of this century. But Elliot photographs taken some years later show how buildings had been added in the open spaces and how they all seem to grow out of the granite ridge on which they have been built. The formality of the buildings is strangely set off against the large irregularly spaced boulders between them with the solid piers of the slave-bell at the highest point.

11 ALLES VERLOREN

Gerrit Cloete was the earliest stock farmer in the Riebeek Kasteel area, but it was only in 1704 that his widow received a grant of sixty morgen. In March 1701 it had been noted in the official diary that the Ubiqua Hottentots had gone to Riebeek Kasteel and stolen 40 cattle from Gerrit Cloete. As a result of this and further cattle thefts, it was decided to establish a third Company's post between Riebeek Kasteel and the Honingberg. In 1717 the farm was transferred to a cousin of his daughter-in-law, the German immigrant, Samuel Walters. In 1720 Jan Jacobs received transfer; in 1761 transfer went to Coenraad Hendrik Feyt; in 1774 to Samuel Walters, grandson of the above Walters; in 1819 to Johannes Tobias Laubscher, whose widow applied for and was granted in quitrent 1410 morgen next to her farm in 1815. In 1821 transfer went to her son, Johannes Albertus Laubscher and in 1860 to Francois Jacobus Retief.

In 1861 Daniel Jacobus Smuts bought part of the property which had been subdivided, and received transfer of 32 morgen of freehold and 875 morgen quitrent. On this drawing an H-shaped house is shown.

In 1872 Daniel Francois Malan took transfer and five years later sold off 164 morgen to Daniel Brink. In 1901 the remaining land was sold to Stephanus Francois Malan who sold off over 357 morgen to Jan Gerhard Van Reenen Malan. In 1951 Daniel Francois Meerendol Malan becomes the owner. The farm has gained some fame because his son Daniel Francois Malan, who was to become prime minister, was born on it.

Our office was responsible for refurbishing the house in the 1970s and from an analysis of the structure it then appeared that the house had probably been built in three stages:

108 Kuttel M, Quadrilles and Konfit, pp10 & 25
109 C/A, Elliott collection E1392 & 1403
110 O.S.F; Vol 1, p498
111 Boeseken A G, Resolusies Van die Politiwe Raad, p381
Sonquasdrift, probably early plan

The drawing of Botmaskloof in 1817 when it was granted in quitrent to J P Coetzer shows a square for a house (probably indicating an H-shape) and two outbuildings in line with it (above)
First it had been a simple long house with three rooms, then a T-shaped house and lastly an H-shape as shown on the 1861 drawing. The earlier thatched roof was replaced by one of the Malan family with corrugated iron and a later veranda added, all in the late 19th century.

The werf consisted of an H-shaped house, with a front stoep overlooking the valley below, a parallel outbuilding close behind it on a higher level, and a cellar in line with this on the north side.

Rows of oaks were planted in front of the buildings and along the entrance road to the werf which lies at the foot of the Riebeek Kasteel Mountain.

The town of Riebeek Kasteel was laid out on a section of this farm.

12 SONQUASDRIFT

This farm lying near the banks of the Berg River, was granted to Dirk Coetzee in 1718. The farm changed hands frequently at the beginning until it was transferred to Pieter Wiese in 1763 who retained it for 25 years before selling it to Petrus Johannes Louw in 1788.

The next owners were Christoffel Lombard in 1798 and Daniel Stephanus Lombard five years later, then Jacob Redelinghuys who retained tenure till 1847.

The H-shaped house and outbuildings behind it enclose an open werf, but as we have never worked on the farm buildings their material could not be examined. The thick walls and proportions however indicate an early 19th century structure.

13 BOTMASKLOOF

In 1817 this old loan farm situated in the Riebeek Kasteel area, was converted to quitrent for Johan Petrus Coetzer. On the grant drawing three farm buildings, marked "kelder", "woonhuis" and "stal" are seen lying in a row next to the 50 rood wide road kept open for the "slagers vhee". A lot of information on the quality of the land is given and a weak spring shown which was dry in summer.

14 ONGEGUND

Two inventories were taken at Ongegund in Riebeeck Kasteel, one on 19.5.1750, after the death of Aletta Nobel, wife of Sybrand van Dyk and the second in 1781 after the death of Sara van der Westhuizen. According to these Sybrand van Dyk had taken transfer of the farm in 1727 (17.3.1727). By 1750 there was already a T-shaped house, a cellar and a granary and in 1781 the same buildings are described.

112 S.F.3,43
113 S.Q.3,p42
114 C/A, MOOC 8/7/51 no 1750
The house where General Smuts was born was probably an old outbuilding refurbished as a home for the use of his father.

(below) The other outbuildings on the werf were built of similar clay walls like this one which was the hen house.
An assortment of windows was used and built in with mud bricks.

(below) The garden wall of mud and stone, appears to grow out of the surroundings.

The walls of the Smuts cottage, stripped of plaster showed old mud walls and an assortment of later bricks.
The T-shaped farm-house, now demolished, at Bosplaas in the Malmesbury district, has no front gable.
Michiel Nicolaas Smuts was granted the farm Ongegund in freehold on 15 October 1813, paying £40 to the previous owner, P Burger for what were probably improvements made by him, which one presumes, were buildings. Five years later Michiel received a quitrent grant of 1 472 morgen around his farm and in 1831 a further 182 morgen. After his death the farm was inherited by Michiel’s five sons. Various subdivisions followed until early in this century the original farm had been subdivided into three sections - De Gift, Ongegund and Delectus, all in the possession of the Smuts family. The name Ongegund was retained for the central part of the farm containing the old werf.\footnote{This history of the farm was provided to me by Pieter Smuts who has done a great deal of research on the farm.}

It was on this farm that Jan Christian Smuts, one of South Africa’s greatest statesmen was born on 24.5.1870. At the time his father, Jacobus Abraham was living in a small house near the main house of the werf as he was at the time working for his uncle, Pieter van der Byl Smuts, who had bought his father’s share of Ongegund after his death.

The large werf at the time accommodated five families, for Pieter van der Byl Smuts had seven sons, some of whom lived on the Ongegund werf. From old photographs and interviews with family members and other occupants of the large house, it was possible to draw a plan of the werf as it appeared before buildings were demolished by the Cape Portland Cement company who later acquired the farm.

Long outbuildings were arranged around a large open werf, and in the centre stood the main house. When our office started restoration work on some of these buildings in 1985, this house had already been demolished, but a photograph showed the old H-shaped house under a later iron roof and Victorian verandas.

A chicken coop with laying nests in the walls and parallel outhouse containing a wagon-house, school-room and stables with a kraal behind it, lay parallel to the house front. These buildings were all built of mud (opgeklei) but had lost their roofs and were in a bad state of decay. During their restoration, walls were patched and they were given new flat roofs on poplar beams placed in original holes in the old walls. Their floors had always been of clay except the school room which had a stone floor. This was where Jan Smuts had received his first schooling together with the other farm children, and as such was regarded to be an historically significant space.

More important, however was the humble building where this great man had been born. The long thatched house had been kept in reasonable repair and when we started with restoration work, the structure of the walls illustrated once again the phenomenon I have found with so many of these old werfs - the unwillingness of the old farmers to demolish old buildings.

For this had obviously been an old outhouse built of mud, probably at the same time as those described above, but adapted to serve as a dwelling by Smuts’ grandfather when his son got married and needed a home. Various second hand windows and doors had been used and new boarded floors laid in the lounge and bedrooms but in the kitchen and pantry the mud floors of the outhouse were retained, and of course finished with regular smearings of dung.
In line with this house there used to be a long cellar, but this had been totally demolished, although it still showed on old photographs.

On the opposite side of the werf two further long buildings had also been demolished by 1985, but were described by Mr Pieter Smuts who told us that there had been a horse-mill in one. A further outbuilding, also used as a dwelling, lay in line with these but outside the immediate werf. This was also repaired and provided with a new thatched roof so that the space could be re-used for meetings or conferences. New uses were found for the various buildings on the remaining werf.

The history of the old werf and especially of Jan Smuts has been displayed in the restored wagon-house, and the Smuts cottage furnished in the simple way which he knew when he lived in it. Two small walled gardens in front of the house have been planted with the herbs and Victorian flowers beloved by the late 19th century Zwartland house-wife - geraniums, statice, four'o clocks, linarias, petunias, antirhinums, daisies, mesembrianthemums and the old Rosa Laevigata.

But CPC have unfortunately established shrubs and flower beds in a trimmed kikuyu lawn, destroying the simplicity of the grass surface which spilled into the werf between the buildings from the surrounding natural veld. For it was in these simple buildings and their natural surroundings that one of the world's most remarkable thinkers spent his impressionable childhood days.

LUCASFONTEIN AAN DE KLIPHEUVEL

Christiaan Burgert Van Dyk had owned this farm in loan for some time when he received it in freehold on his request in 1756. The drawing filed with the grant shows a well planned formal werf, consisting of a house and four outbuildings around a courtyard. It is another example of an early 18th century courtyard farm perhaps influenced in its planning by nearby Company posts.

KLIPVLEI

This farm is situated about three kilometres out of Moorreesburg.

The werf consists of a Victorian main house and next to it a smaller jonkershuis in line with it, situated on a slight eminence facing east. Parallel to these and below them to the right, were the wagon-house and stable in one long building with an "afdak" for the horses and milking cows against it and a sheep kraal below that. This long building was used for many purposes depending on the time of the year: In winter the farm implements and wagons were stored there; in summer the harvested corn was stored there after the implements and wagons had been moved outside; and at Christmas the building was swept and whitewashed for the Christmas tree service on the 24th of December.

116 Information from Pieter Smuts
117 O.C.F.3, p76. S.G. 6/1756
This door opening was broken into the old clay walls of an outbuilding when it was refurbished as a house in the late 19th century.
The simple *volkshuisies* where the farm labourers lived were situated further away from the house in a small group of four houses in a line.

This werf has remained unchanged for over a century, except that a "bywoner" and his family were housed for many years in a refurbished end of the wagon-house.

On restoring the main house recently, it was discovered that it had originally been a long outhouse parallel to the jonkershuis, built of clay walls. The building had been widened and received a corrugated iron roof in the 19th century and was again embellished with new windows, doors and a veranda early in this century, again indicating how existing buildings were re-adapted for new uses, rather than demolished.

**CONCLUSION**

The werfs in this area consisted of fewer buildings and had a certain starkness compared to the farms of the Boland and the Peninsula.

Houses were usually placed on a slight eminence to give a good view over the fields from the front stoep. The thatched buildings stood in the middle of the treeless fields with the grass spilling up against their white-washed walls unsweetened by gardens or trees until late in the 19th century when pepper trees were planted for werf shade and blocks of gum trees for firewood.

As in the Overberg, the buildings are situated at cross roads, near waterpoints and at the midpoint of the loan farm.

When new outhouses were added over the years, they were placed in geometrical apposition to the existing ones, but the Zwartland werf and its surrounding landscape remained virtually unchanged till the end of the 19th century. Mixed farming with both sheep and grain assured a balance between ploughed and unploughed land and so large areas of the natural fynbos survived as they were allowed to lie "braak" in alternate years. House gardens were small and enclosed usually with white walls. Plants growing in them had to be hand-watered.

It was the simplicity of the natural landscape that is so memorable and the close human involvement with the natural rather than man-made elements - the weather patterns, which ensured a successful harvest or not. And the changing seasons which turned grainlands from brown to green and from green to harvest gold, always with the cobalt blue mountain backdrop on the horizon. And of the fields in spring where the sweetly scented flowers all knew so well, were gathered - "blou bobbejaantjies", "kalkoentjies", "rooi pypies" and "aandblommetjies" such as no man-made garden could provide.

And though the sun was harsh and hot in summer on a treeless werf, small door and window openings and inside shutters kept the buildings cool and dark inside. And on the stoeps the quiet evenings and the distant crimson sunsets brought contentment and rest to all.
These three farms in the Zwartland taken from a 19th century map in the Rijksarchief, Paapkuyls Fontein, Dromel Valley and Sederblad, were all laid out with geometrically arranged buildings and cultivated land.

Sederblad's approach is on axis of the front door and the main walkway in line with the back door is planted with an avenue.
SUMMARY

The landscape of the Tygerberg and Zwartland farms, through lack of water and poorer soils lacked the luxurient growth of trees, orchards and vineyards of Boland farms, but were planned on the same formal patterns with werf elements arranged either to form enclosures or rows of buildings. Their beauty lay in the simplicity of their buildings, the surrounding open spaces with distant mountain views and their natural floral wealth in the spring.
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE MAN-MADE LANDSCAPE AT THE CAPE FROM THE 17TH TO THE 19TH CENTURIES

GWENDOLINE ELIZABETH FAGAN

Volume 2

THIS THESIS IS PRESENTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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CHAPTER 12

FARMS IN THE OVERBERG

In the previous chapters some of the estates in the Peninsula and Western Cape have been described, most of which were granted in freehold in the 17th and early 18th century, and have shown how they were enlarged by regular further grants of land and how their werfs and cultivated lands were mostly planned in the early 18th centuries and remained formal till the end of the 19th century.

Farms in the rural areas were now examined where they were granted on the loan system, to establish whether the same system of orderly landscape design was used where the tenure was, perhaps, uncertain.

For although structures erected on a loan farm could be sold for the benefit of the rentee to his successor, one would have thought that the incentive to improve the farm extensively would have been lacking if he did not own it on a permanent basis.

When loan places were converted into quitrent lease following the institution of this new form of land tenure by Governor Caledon in 1813, all these farms had to be remeasured and drawn. Examination of the earliest Quitrent Volumes, especially those containing the finely detailed drawings by the conscientious surveyor Hopley in the Caledon/Swellendam/Bredasdorp areas, showed that the many loan farms in these districts, which had been granted from the early 18th century onwards, contained more than one building and that these appeared to have been very carefully integrated into an orderly, planned environment.

Examination of the loan farms registers further revealed that these families, too, most often retained their farms for many decades and that they too enlarged their lands by requesting and being granted further tracts of Government land between the circular farms, in quitrent. It seems therefore that one had the same sentimental attachment to "family farms" as has already been noted in the Peninsula.

Good colour photographs of the quitrent grant drawings show up the different elements which farmers used to organise their surroundings, more clearly than photostats as normally provided by the Deeds Office, where the small buildings, for instance, sometimes become blurred and difficult to interpret. The author therefore obtained permission from the Registrar of Deeds, and was able to photograph thirty-eight random farms on which the drawings showed buildings in the Overberg by Hopley, for closer examination. For economic reasons, only a few have been reproduced in colour.

By giving a short description of each farm, I have tried to find points of similarity which might lead me to understand the basic planning principles used by these early farmers in the Overberg when they organised their needs in terms of environmental expression.

Because these descriptions are short they do not pretend to cover social, genealogical or historical aspects, as this is an area which should be researched on its own. But as many of these farms belonged to the same or related people, this interrelationship has been noted. And the influence of certain families
on stylistic landscape expression is obviously a field of great interest which in my thesis is noted but which is too extensive a subject to be expanded on, though it warrants research in its own right.

The following farms are discussed:

1. OUDEKRAAL
2. RIVERSIDE
3. APPELBOSCH
4. DROOGEOOM
5. KLIPRIVIER
6. KLIPPEDRIF
7. DE HOOP
8. BOKKERIVIER
9. RIETVALLEI
10. AVONTUUR
11. POESPASVALLEI
12. DONKERHOEK
13. RHENOSTERKOP
14. KLIPPEDRIF
15. DIEPEGAT
16. WAAGSCHAAL
17. ZANDDRIFT
18. HELDERFONTEIN
19. HARTEBEEKSRAAL
20. VOGELSTRUISKRAAL
21. KLEIN STEENBOKSRIEVER
22. MATJESGATT
23. LANGEFONTEIN
24. WAGENDRIFT
25. DASSENKLIP
26. KLEINEFONTEIN
27. UITVLUCHT
28 SPEELMANSRIVIER
29 ROODEBLOEMSKRAAL
30 SERGEANT'S RIVIER
31 KLIPHEUVEL
32 KLIPPEFONTEIN
33 PRINCEKRAAL
34 AAN DE ZWARTE RIVIER
35 RHENOSTERFONTEIN
36 ZOETENDALSVALLEI
37 KLEINEFONTEIN
38 ROTTERDAM

SUMMARY
De Kleyeriviersvaley in 1801 (above) and in 1813 (below)
OUDEKRAAL

This old loan farm of 260 morgen was granted in 1817 to Honoratius David Maynier, the ex-landdrost of Swellendam, at the time living on his farm Bosheuvel. When he received it, there was already a formal werf surrounded by two T-shaped buildings opposite each other and an outbuilding at right angles to these.

A water conduit is taken from the Slange River to irrigate over four morgen of cultivated land and then runs past the werf into the Zonderent River. Maynier had about 550 morgen of good grazing.

RIVERSIDE (DE KLEYNE RIVIERS VALEY)

Over 2 816 morgen of land was requested by and granted to John Andries Truter, chief-justice of the Cape Colony, in September, 1813, around his existing farm, Riverside, situated on the Klein River near Stanford. This was the same land where Christoffel Brand had been granted grazing rights in 1769, and which had been granted to him in 1801 and been transferred to Daniel Louw in January 1813. The loan farm had then contained only 185 morgen.

Between these two grants there had been a considerable improvement of the werf lay-out, for on the earlier grant a U-shaped house is flanked by two parallel outbuildings. On the second grant, the house has lost its two back wings, but two further buildings have been added to enclose the werf.

The later grant shows Truter's "plaats", a group of five farm buildings situated around an open courtyard. The werf is placed between a lake called a "fountain" which is not shown on the first grant and the Klein River on its north is shown in the same place as on the first grant. South of the buildings are a number of cultivated lands crossed by two roads which eventually ford a stream from the fountain and a branch of the river near to the farm complex.

A "dorschvloer" (threshing floor) is shown on the first grant, but not on the second.

These two grants show how a formal linear alignment of buildings grew into an enclosed werf when new buildings were added in the space of twelve years. But it is not possible to say which of these buildings were retained and which added.

Truter acted as independent fiscal from 1809 and during this time he delivered a report on a new system of land ownership. His recommendation of a system of perpetual grants was accepted by Sir John Cradock and the loan farm system was as a result abolished. He himself benefited from this new system when he received in the Overberg the farm Springfontein, (1 503 morgen), Middelberg (729 morgen) and 927 morgen in the Kleyne River Valley called Zilvermynsbosch, all in perpetual quitrent. He was given a further grant of 1 863 morgen next to Riverside ten years later.

2 S.G.97/1813
3 S.G.51/1801
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2 S.G.97/1813
3 S.G.51/1801
Applebosch in 1818

Droogeboom in 1818
For his great service to the judiciary profession at the Cape, Truter was knighted by King George V in 1820, the first South African to be honoured in this way.

3 APPELBOSCH

Adam Kuntz requested and was granted his loan farm, Appelbosch in September 1818. At the time there was a T-shaped house, situated at the meeting place of three roads, but no other buildings are shown. The house faced 10 morgen of garden on the river bank and a further 17 morgen of cultivated land are shown west of this. Gordon when he travelled through these parts in the late 18th Century had noted that the ravine at Appelbosch had been well wooded, but that all the wood had been felled.

Kuntz was growing mostly vines at Appelbosch, for the opgaaf of 1812 reveals that he had 60,000 vines and that though he was sowing wheat and barley, it was not much. He had 100 sheep, 40 draught oxen and 28 stud horses. His outbuildings were most certainly a cellar and a stable.

Three years earlier another grant, at the River Zonderent, also called Appelbosch, was granted to Jacobus Theunissen, with all the wood and timber thereon, but no buildings were shown on this farm and it should not be confused with the previous farm.

4 DROOGEBOOM

This 1,880 morgen of land was given to the widow of Johannes Jacobus Hamman in quitrent in November 1818.

According to the inventories of 1813 he was already farming there, mostly with various types of wheat, stud cattle, horses and sheep, though these were not merinos or "Wool producing sheep". Apart from he and his wife, twelve other people were living on the farm. When the Lands Board Commissioners visited the farm in 1826 to assess its value for the purposes of rates, they found two male and three female slaves working for Hamman which was more or less the same number noticed on all the neighbouring farms. Separate slave quarters for so few slaves would probably not have been found necessary, as they would be accommodated in part of the outbuildings or in the house, if they were domestics.

The werf lay between the Zonderent River and the wagon road. It consisted of a T-shaped building, presumably a house, and two outbuildings in a row at right angles to it. The house faced east onto the werf which in this case was not enclosed and slightly splayed. Some twenty morgen of cultivated land are shown, which presumably were not irrigated as they are situated some distance from the river. But a rectangle of four morgen of arable land is indicated on the river.
This water colour by an anonymous artist in the Parliamentary Library is labelled "Mr de Kock's farm". The date is presumed to be about 1838. It is very likely that this was Kliprivier, shown here as an H-shaped house. Note the hedged garden with gate pillars in the foreground. Outhouses were often painted a clay colour to save the cost of lime.
bank around the two morgen called "garden". The latter was irrigated by a stream taken from the river.

Jacobus Hamman’s werf must have had considerable kraals, which are not shown on the drawing perhaps because they were of vegetable material. The two outhouses were probably a stable for his horses, and a wagon-house for his six wagons.

5  KLIP RIVIER

When this loan farm of some 1 239 morgen was converted to quitrent for the owners, Hermanus Steyn and Frederik Willem Kok in 1819, they had possessed it for some time and the grant shows their T-shaped house facing two outbuildings parallel to it, one with its short side to the werf. The public wagon road ran through the middle of this werf passing in front of the house.

The Leever River is shown running on the side of the werf and a branch of it, called a "water course" passes on the river side of the outbuildings. A second water course is indicated on the other side of the river and 18 morgen of cultivated land lie between the river and these watercourses.

The fact that the present H-shaped house probably stands exactly where the original T-shaped house was situated, proves once again that old buildings were often either re-cycled for new use or enlarged, but retained in the position which in the first instance had been regarded as the most suitable.

6  KLIPPEDRIF

Petrus Stephanus du Toit was the occupier of this loan farm when, on his request, it was granted to him in quitrent in 1822. It was then 2 308 morgen in extent and lay on the Hartebeeskloof River.

Three buildings are shown lying in the centre of his cultivated lands stretching to either side of the river. Two roads meet where they cross the river in front of the house. The house is U-shaped and faces north; the two outbuildings lie parallel to each other one in front of and one behind the house.

7  DE HOOP

This is a very old loan farm of 2 837 morgen, already in 1753 occupied by David Senekal but recalled by the Council of Policy in 1768. After this Lourens de Jager obtained occupation and he probably built a house and outbuildings there which were bought from him when Pieter LourensCloete obtained the farm.
De Hoop as drawn on the 1820 quitrent grant and as drawn by Fransen in the 1950s

De Hoop in the 1980s
For it is mentioned that Cloete bought the "opstal" from Lourens de Jager when the farm was transferred to him and was converted into perpetual quitrent in 1820 on his request.13 At the same time Cloete received transfer of two adjoining farms, Papiessfontein and Molenpad without which, it was stated, the farm De Hoop would have scarcely any value.14

Cloete's eldest daughter, Charlotta was by then married to Harry Rivers and his eldest son to Christina Graham, daughter of Col John Graham, after whom Grahamstown was named. His wife, Catherina Maria was the granddaughter of the wealthy Jacob van Reenen, progenitor of this family. He should therefore have had no difficulty in obtaining this wonderful farm where he was to establish his famous horse stable with the Colony's first Spanish horses.15

On the 1820 quitrent grant to Cloete a dwelling house is shown facing the werf with a short wing to the back, looking like a T-house but the buildings are drawn at such a small scale that it is not clear where the house stops and outbuildings start.

Two outbuildings form one side wing of the large courtyard which is closed on the fourth side by a row of kraals parallel to each other. Two wagon roads converge on the one side where the entrance to the werf obviously was, although it is not shown.

A drawing of the werf by Fransen in the early 1960s shows that its structure had remained unchanged since the 18th century and that the house was indeed flanked by separate buildings in a row, one west of and three east of the house. One of these used to be a horse mill. Fransen shows no side buildings, but only walls 1.5 metres high. He shows none of the kraals indicated on the 1820 drawing so these were obviously demolished by 1960. As the side buildings are not clear on the earlier drawing, they may not have existed.

The werf lies next to 550 morgen of what is described as a "Salt Rivier Lake". Between 70 morgen of rocky land on its one side and 160 morgen of the same on the other, lies good pasturage which is however "flooded" in winter! Fortunately there are 8 morgen of cultivated land shown and a great deal of common grazing ground. A weak spring is also under water in winter so that one is left wondering where fresh water for man and animal was obtained in winter.

In 1812 Cloete was already well on his way with his horse farming, for in that year he owned 90 stud horses, apart from his 250 stud cattle and 1200 wool sheep, which at that stage had not yet been crossed with merinos. He was also getting a good return on his wheat and oats.16

His horses seemed to be Cloete's main concern, however, for he imported the country's first Spanish horses and greys from South America to prevent interbreeding of his stock. According to Burrows17 he was one of the most eager competitors at the regular turf club meetings at Swellendam, and he had tough competition from the Reitz stud at Rhenosterfontein and landdrost Faure's stud at Rotterdam.

13 Sw.Q. Vol3, p11
14 L.B.D.21 1826, Land Board Commissioners report
15 Cape Agriculture May 1857, F.W.Reitz
16 C/A.1329
17 Burrows E H, Overberg Outspan, p94
Rietvallei, the farm of Aletta Nel in 1820. The small square could indicate an H-shaped house, or two parallel outbuildings.
8 BOKKERIVIER

In April 1820 Charles Van Helsland's loan farm Bokkerivier on the Zonderent River, 1,852 morgen in extent, was converted to quitrent. In 1813 he was already living on the farm together with some 15 other people. He kept stud horses, cattle and sheep as well as draught animals, goats and pigs. He sowed various kinds of wheat and cultivated 20,000 vines and made wine. He had two wagons and one cart.

His needs are reflected in the plan of the werf - seven buildings are drawn on the grant, six around a rectangle connected on three sides by garden walls. The seventh building lies in its own walled rectangle which shares a wall with the first werf. Behind the buildings is a garden three morgen in size and surrounded with a dotted line, probably indicating a hedge.

The Bok River splits behind the garden, one stream running straight down outside the garden and the second stream running to the centre of the rear garden boundary where again it splits into two streams, probably used for irrigating the three morgen of garden land from the back and two side boundaries. A weak spring is shown in the lower end of the garden with a run-off passing close to the house before joining the irrigation stream below the werf. It probably supplied the house water.

Rectangular cultivated lands were situated outside the werf but probably also irrigated from the river by their own branch, indicated with a dotted line which also ends in the irrigation stream.

There is nothing haphazard about this farm werf with its two neat adjoining rectangles, one forming a forecourt surrounded by the house and outbuildings, the other probably for use as a kraal. The water streams too have been well routed for efficient irrigation.

9 RIETVALLEI

Aletta Nell, the widow of Piet Willem Moller, on her request, received her loan farm, Rietvallei on the Klaas Voogds River, in perpetual quitrent in April 1820.

Her farm werf consists of four buildings, two lying parallel to each other at right angles to another two parallel buildings very close to each other. It is not clear which one is the house.

The irrigation system here, too, is very efficiently planned. A stream taken out of the river, runs parallel to it and then passes through the werf between the buildings to supply water for domestic and animal use.

Between the river and stream lie 30 morgen of cultivated garden.

The werf is situated near to the drifts which take the wagon road across the river and stream. Outside of this domesticated area lie 750 morgen of grazing, making it clear that this was a stock and agricultural farm.

18 S.G.235/1820
19 C/A.159
20 S.G.243/1820
Avontuur, later Stormsrivier, in 1820

Poespasvalei and enlargement of werf (below) in 1822
10 AVONTUUR (NOW STORMSRIVIER)

This loan farm belonging to Adriaan de Waal, was granted to him in perpetual quitrent in April 1820. 21

At that time, the drawing of the grant shows us, there was a T-shaped house and two parallel outbuildings forming a forecourt on the approach. The werf lay between the main road and the river and the house faced a drift over the river.

Three rectangular areas of cultivated garden are shown near the farm complex, the one of three morgen the other of two and four morgen each, but apart from this it is noted that there are 32 morgen of "good arable" land.

The garden land appears to be irrigated by streams taken from the river, marked in dotted lines, but crops for the arable land were probably dependent on winter rains.

11 POESPASVALLEI

This farm was situated in one of the ravines near Swellendam which had been well wooded, but had been denuded of its forest when Gordon visited the area. 22

This was one of the many farms which belonged to Dirk Gysbert Van Reenen and which he had received in loan many years before. In 1803 he made it over to his son-in-law, Jan Frederik Reitz, who had arrived at the Cape nine years before and married Van Reenen’s eldest daughter, Barbara Jacoba.

Dirk Gysbert at the time had the beer monopoly and was brewing at Papenboom, probably using oats coming in from the west coast where his three brothers had wheat farms. The fertile Poespas Valley was richly supplied with water and here Van Reenen was able to grow the hops which is a necessary ingredient to beer and which cannot be grown in the Cape Peninsula.

The farm was, according to Buchenröder, "well suited to all kinds of farming, animal husbandry especially horses, and for cows". According to this traveller, hops thrived here "as nowhere else in the Colony". He also informs us that Dirk Van Reenen had greatly improved the farm. 23

Jan Fredik Reits owned this loan farm until 1812 when it reverted to Van Reenen, after which his son Jacob received transfer.

In November 1822, Frederick Kuunn, who owned Poespas Valley on a 15 year quitrent grant, was on his request granted the 285 morgen in perpetual quitrent. 24

The farm lay at the meeting place of two wagon roads and near to the drift over one of the branches of the Poespas Valley River.

21 S.G.238/1820
22 Gordon, Cape Travels, p52
23 Von Bouchenröder, Rote in de Binnenlanden van Zuid Afrika gedaan in den jare 1803, p124
24 S.G.287/1822
(top) Two different drawings done in 1822 of Donkerhoek. The top one is filed in the Archives, (SG1/1/2/2) and the lower one in the Deeds office (Sw.Q.SG60/1822). Both show a similar arrangement for the buildings and kraals.

(below) The buildings and garden at Rhenosterkop in 1822.
The werf consisted of two parallel outhouses and a dwelling house (marked on the plan as such), at right angles to them. Next to the house the foundation of an older building is drawn and marked. The two wagon roads meet almost inside the farm werf and continue from there as one road, which crosses the drift. Past the drift a second foundation is drawn lying parallel to the road. It is difficult to say who built the neatly planned werf, but as Frederik Reitz and Barbara van Reenen lived here before moving to Zoetendalsvallei, they are probably responsible for its neat lay-out.

12 DONKERHOEK

In September 1822, Joseph Neave received a perpetual quitrent grant of the loan farm Donkerhoek, situated on a branch of the Zonderent River. The farm complex consisted of two very large rectangular kraals lying at right angles against each other, and in an oblique row of buildings behind these consisting of a T-shaped house and two outbuildings in a row, with a third outbuilding parallel behind them.

A rivulet from a spring runs through the werf between the house and outbuildings and continues to join the river. Two wagon roads, one from Elandskloof and the other from Genadendal, join to form a single road which passes over a drift, past the werf and over a second drift before continuing to French Hoek.

13 RHENOSTERKOP

Mathys Johannes Lourens in 1822 received in perpetual quitrent the farm Rhenosterkop, consisting of 2 482 morgen in the Zoetendals Valley, bounded by Government land all round. This loan farm in 1813 was one of those belonging to Jacobus Johannes Swart who also owned Ruggefontein, Koksrivier and Princekraal.

Lourens' uncle, Johannes Mathys, had been the postholder at Zoetemelksvallei and he might have known the werf there, but apart from the fact that both have T-shaped houses and that the buildings in both are arranged in geometrical relation, one can hardly deduce that the layout of the one affected the other.

The werf lay at the end of the "Cape Road" and consisted of a T-shaped building, probably the house, with an outhouse next to it looking down onto a rectangular garden irrigated by "a very small spring". A second outbuilding lies almost parallel to the other buildings between three rectangular areas described as "common arable".

A "small salt pan" lies to the one side of the werf, but a note says that it is "extremely uncertain in its product." The surrounding area was not much more inspiring, for it contained "brakish Heathly flats of little or no utility", while the pasture was situated in bushy land.
The drawing of Klippedrif in 1822, shows Petrus Stephanus du Toit's neat werf in the middle of his wheat-field.

The formal werf, garden and vineyard at Diepegat in 1831.
14 KLIPPEDRIF

Adolph Groenewald and Johannes Petrus Mathee received their loan farm Klippedrift, of 2 794 morgen, in perpetual quitrent in 1831.27 It had earlier in the century belonged to Johan Moolman who lived there with his son, Louis Johannes. But according to the inventory of 1813, they owned only a few cattle, sheep, goats, 18 breeding horses, a wagon and were sowing wheat and barley on a small scale.28

Again one finds the werf situated at the meeting place of two roads, the one to the Cape and the other to Kars River, a prime position for trading with travellers. The house in this case is a long building and on either side of it are the outbuildings, one in line with it, the other at right angles. A second house is shown situated amongst a number of rectangular lots of arable land, probably where first the son and then the second owner lived.

The roads meet on either side of the werf, one of them separating it from the river. Arable lands are drawn in rectangles of different shapes and sizes and situated haphazardly.

15 DIEPEGAT

In April 1831, Stephanus Petrus du Toit received his loan place, De Diepe Gat, of 2 643 morgen, in perpetual quitrent.29 Of this 2 643 morgen most were for pasture, some 24 morgen arable and just over 2 morgen planted with vines.

The werf was made up of four buildings consisting of a long house and three long outbuildings lying parallel to it on either side of a central courtyard. South-east of the werf lay a rectangular vineyard and a second rectangle containing the garden.

The werf lay between two branches of the Hartebeest River, which the drawing tells us, is "standing in summer". A stream, led out of the river north-west of the werf, carried water to the werf and garden, but ran only in winter. Various springs also are marked as "standing in summer till in the mountain." So one wonders what arrangements du Toit made for water in summer.

A red circle, seen also on other grant drawings, indicates the loan farm's midpoint. A number of rectangular blocks of arable land are shown arranged at random.

The roads from Hemel en Aarde, Cape Town and the Ruggens all meet outside the werf and from them a short entrance road has to cross two drifts to reach the house.

16 WAAGSCHAAL

This loan farm belonging to Hendrik Gildenhuis and Johannes Petrus Matee was granted to them in perpetual quitrent in 1831. Notice that Matee had in the same year also been granted the farm Klippedrif, mentioned above, which he shared with a different partner.

27 Sw. Q. Vol 6ii, p41
28 C/A. 360
29 S.G.528/1831
30 Sw. Q vol 6, p29
Zanddrift was one of the few werfs in the Overberg where the buildings were not arranged geometrically although the garden and vineyard are drawn as a neat rectangle in 1831.

The Helderfontein werf in 1831 appears to consist only of a house which might be H-shaped. It lies next to the garden and orchard.
Again we find the farm werf situated at the meeting place of a number of roads, this time the one to the Cape, the one to Zoetendalsvallei and the one to Rattel River. It consisted of a long house, a parallel outbuilding and a third building at right angles to these two. A fourth small building lay next to the stream at right angles to the first outbuilding and as the water ran between these two buildings, one suspects that the small one might have been a mill.

Four of the rectangular arable lands are arranged parallel to each other, the fifth one is turned at an angle, perhaps to facilitate irrigation as a branch of the Blomfonteyn runs to it.

The grazing varies from "sandy" to "Marshy" to "no utility for pasturage"!

17 **ZANDDRIFT** (Called "De Zanddrift en de Quarry" in the 1813 inventory.)

A number of the Swarts were living here in 1813 on the farms De Zandfontein, De Kleyne Zanddrift and Melkboschriver, all situated in the Kars River area. At the time Jacobus Johannes, married to Maria Swart, occupied De Zanddrift and with them was their mother, Pieter Swart's widow, as well as their daughter Maria married to Dirk Hermanus Swart, and several other members of the family. ³

Johan Swart, de Oude, who occupied Zanddrift in 1813 was granted the farm of 2 377 morgen in perpetual quitrent in 1831. ³² It consisted of grazing described as "very indifferent broken grazing" to "hilly pasturage". The Swarts sowed wheat, kept stud horses, cattle and sheep, but this was not on a large scale. ³³

The werf is situated where two roads cross, one "to the Mill" and one to the Cape. They meet inside the courtyard contained by the T-shaped house, the outbuilding in line with it and two other outbuildings parallel, but slightly out of line. The house faces the Zanddrifts River ("weak in summer")

Two rectangles of arable land one "good" and the other "indifferent" are shown and a small rectangular garden, probably irrigated from the river.

18 **HELDERFONTEIN**

This farm of 2 616 morgen, occupied as a loan farm by Daniel P and Pieter Johan du Toit, was granted to them in June 1831 in perpetual quitrent. ³⁴ In 1813 Hendrik Taljaard and his family had lived here and farmed mainly with cattle, sowing only a little, probably for own use. ³⁵

The werf lay at the meeting point of the Cape and Zoetendalsvallei roads. At this point there was a spring from which an orchard and garden were irrigated.

³¹ C/A Returns, J60
³² S.G.557/1831
³³ C/A, J60
³⁴ S.G.563/1831
³⁵ C/A, J60
Hartebeeskraal as drawn in 1831 shows the werf exactly as it is on our measured plan of the 1980s except for two kraals which have been partially demolished.

Plan in the 1970s
The pasturage was described as "cold sour Summer pasturage, rather hilly" and "Sour heathy Mountainous ground. Very indifferent broken"

The werf is not clearly drawn and could consist of only a house or square courtyard surrounded by buildings.

19 HARTEBEESKRAAL

This is one of the oldest farms in the Overberg, for in January, 1748 a grazing license had already been granted to Hendrik Geldenhuizen, in 1749 to Jacobus Fourie, in January 1792 to Arend van Wieligh and in 1795 to Coenraad Nelson, who still owned it five years later.36

In 1813 Wilhelmus Hendricus Theunissen lived there with his wife, three sons, a daughter and a dozen others. He was the son of old Marthinus, the post holder of Zoetemelksvallei, who owned the neighbouring farm, Ziekenhuis. Willem requested and was granted Hartebeeskraal in quitrent in April, 1831.37

Of this land, 1 252 morgen was "ordinary" pasturage, 300 morgen was sandy soil, sour, heathy pastorage, 38 morgen was "common arable land", 3 morgen were planted with vines and 560 square roods were planted with garden and orchard. Theunissen had 60 "aanteel perde" and 50 stud cattle apart from 400 sheep, some pigs and goats. He sowed quite a large amount of wheat and owned four wagons, so obviously owned a flourishing farm.38

The werf which shows on the grant drawing, reflects these many needs and although buildings have been altered, the werf has remained unchanged till today. When measured and drawn by our office in the 1970s, the accuracy of Hopley's drawings more than 150 years ago, was proved.

The house is H-shaped with an extended wing on the east; an old wagon house and slave quarters on the west; a cellar (in 1813 the opgaaf shows 6 000 vines on the farm) and stables on the north with the werf gate between them; and a number of kraals on the east side of the enclosure. In one of these kraal walls are arched laying nests and a small building, probably for the herdsman.

The H-shaped house bears the date 1813, which does not necessarily exclude an earlier house, or date the outbuildings, but probably indicated that it was built by the Theunissens who built a similar house at Ziekenhuis.

The Swellendam-Genadendal road runs along the north side of the house outside the werf, but branches off to enter the werf at two places, from the east and from the south. The latter access road enters the werf between the cellar and stables and then runs directly to the front door between two small gardens situated in front of the house.
(top) The transfer drawing of Vogelstruiskraal to the Moravian Missionaries in 1831
(below) The werf of Klein Steenboksrivier in 1829 with 2 morgen of vineyard and one of garden
A spring "rising from the place Eisenkloof" runs around the werf on the south side where it probably irrigates two rectangular vineyards and an orchard. A second spring runs past the kraal side of the werf, but is "standing in summer till near its source". The Zonderent River, it is noted, runs all year but, as so often happened with Cape rivers, the cartographer noted that the water could not be led out, probably because it lay too low.

Bowler sketched the werf from the north-east, showing the threshing floor in the foreground and the farm werf with its extensive kraals and buildings in the valley below.

20 VOGELSTRUISKRAAL (LATER ELIM)

This farm on the Nuwejaarsrivier, consisted of 578 morgen of sour pasturage, 867 of summer pasture, 1 439 of indifferent sour heathy land and 5 morgen of common arable land. Orchards and vines were planted on 500 square roods.

The established farm werf consisted of a house and two outbuildings, one parallel, the other at right angles to it. Before the house lay a rectangular garden divided into three equal squares, irrigated from a water course taken from the Nuwejaars River.

All this was transferred to the Rev H P Halbech in April, 1831 in Perpetual Quitrent and developed into the missionary station of Elim.

21 KLEIN STEENBOKSRIVIER

Presumably this is the same farm which in the 1813 opgaaf is called "Aan de Steenboksrivier", at that time belonging to Hendrik Christiaan Van der Merwe. He was then farming with 20 000 vines and sowing wheat and barley on a large scale though he also owned a number of stud sheep and cattle."

Abraham Theodorus Spengler, the son of the German, Frederik Wilhem from Budingen, occupied the farm in 1829 when it was converted to quitrent. "It then consisted of 1 188 morgen of ordinary pasturage, 609 morgen of sour pasturage and 33 morgen of cultivated land. Spengler was married to Anna Johanna Everdina Alleman whose grandfather and great uncle and great grandfather had all been owners of Zonnebloem. Might the planning of this farm have influenced the planning of Klein Steenboksriver? Both had a similar werf arrangement as regards the placing of the buildings:

Surveyor Hopley's drawing of the werf shows a long house and three long outbuildings in a row at the meeting place of two roads - the one to the Cape and the one to Caledon. Two branches of the Klein Steenboks River meet on the werf, then run past the last outbuilding where the road passes a drift. It then forms a second drift over the Cape road before making a right angle to run through arable lands and further. We are told that this part of the river is dry in summer.
The large werf of Matjiesgatt as it appeared in 1831 next to an adjacent rectangular piece of garden and vineyard (dark green)

The Langefontein werf consists of a house, a garden and three outbuildings formally arranged around a rectangular courtyard
Several rectangular pieces of arable land, each from two to ten morgen in size, are shown and also a rectangular garden of 400 square roods which could probably be irrigated from both branches of the river.

In 1812 quite a lot of wheat was harvested but there were also 1,200 vines. This probably necessitated both a cellar and a granary, but a stable would also have been needed for 150 stud horses. Kraals for stud sheep (there were 300 in 1812) are not shown on the plan, but as these were often of packed bushes or aloe hedges, they would not be drawn on a grant.

22 MATJESGATT

Christoffel Johannes Groenewald's loan farm, Matjesgatt of 2,039 morgen, was granted to him in perpetual quitrent in 1831.\(^4\) The farm lay next to Hartebeeskraal and Ziekenhuis and has the same neatly planned human environment.

Two roads, one from Genadendal and the other from Cape Town, meet in the forecourt of the house. This forecourt is surrounded by what appears to be a werf wall and is situated right next to the "ordinantie" point. Three outbuildings lie in a row, two lengthwise and the third at right angles to the other two. A rectangular piece of cultivated land lies parallel to the outbuildings and inside it is another rectangle, the larger part probably indicating a vineyard and the smaller a garden.

The water coming from a "very weak" spring divides into two, one branch for the house and the other for the cultivated area. No arable lands are shown, but both summer pasture and winter grazing are indicated suggesting that this was also a stock farm.

23 LANGEFONTEIN

This loan farm of 2,918 morgen, occupied by Willem Jacobus Odendaal, was granted to him in perpetual quitrent in 1831.\(^4\)

The T-shaped house and three outbuildings are arranged around a werf, and a rectangular garden lying in front of the house forms part of the werf boundary.

Two branches of the road "from the Strand country and Cape Town" enter the werf taken from each direction of the coming and going traffic.

The farm complex is watered by the Langefontein, described as "rather weak in summer".

24 WAGENDRIFT

The loan farm was occupied by Cornelis Petrus Lourens who received it in quitrent in 1833.\(^5\) His brother Mathys Johannes had received Rhenosterkop in 1822.

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41 S.G.535/1831
42 S.G.567/1831
43 Swellendam Quitrents Vol 6
The house and three outbuildings at Dassenklip surround a rectangular courtyard.

The werf at Uitvlucht in 1833 consisted of a long house and three outbuildings forming an open courtyard between them.
Kleynefontein lies in the bend of the Duivenhoks River in spectacular natural surroundings
The quitrent grant of Kleinefontein at the mouth of the Duivenhoks River to Dirk Gysbert van Reenen. The circular boundaries of the old loan farm and those of its neighbours are shown
This is one of the few werfs where the buildings are placed haphazardly. There are five long outbuildings and one U-shaped house. No garden or cultivated lands are shown and no stream taken from the Duivenhoks River to the werf.

As with other farm complexes, this one is placed where the wagon road crosses the Duivenhoks River.

25 DASSENKLIP

Nicolaes Johannes Janse Van Rensburg received his Joan farm, Dassenklip of 2 530 morgen in quitrent in April, 1833."

Hopley shows the very neat farm lay-out lying next to the Duivenhoks River. The werf consists of a long house and three outbuildings arranged around an open court with the road to Swellendam and Port Beaufort crossing the werf between the house and the outbuildings.

The river here is in a deep ravine and salt as it is "subject to the sea tide". On its banks lie 266 and 148 morgen of what is known as "Baiting Place". As the road here could not have crossed the river through a drift, there was possibly a pont at this point.

26 KLEINEFONTEIN

A grazing licence for this farm at the mouth of the Duivenhoks River was granted to Jacob Van Reenen in March, 1787 and after this the Van Reenens maintained it as a loan farm until it was granted in quitrent to Dirk Gysbert Van Reenen in 1824. The boundaries of his circular farm and those of his neighbours (Vermaaklikheid, Melkhoutkraal, Blomboschfontein and Assegaaibosch) are shown on the accompanying grant and Van Reenen's property is the only one where a house is shown. It was T-shaped, faced west and lay next to a spring and a road which came from the Breede River mouth.

The old T-house was still recognisable though it had been enlarged when we measured it for intended restoration in the 1980s. Its thick stone and clay walls, the yellowwood ceiling and roof timbers, window proportions and window cill patterns convinced us that this was the same house which the Van Reenens had built in the late 18th century and which appears on both the Van de Graaff (1785) and Frederici (1789) maps.

The house faces a magnificent view over the river and its green belt on the banks where the van Reenen cattle used to graze.

27 UITVLUGT

Three friends, Stephanus Jacobus Botha, Jacob Rittert and Barend Petrus Geldenhuys received their loan farm, Uitvlugt, in perpetual quitrent in 1833.\textsuperscript{45}
The neat arrangement of the house, two outbuildings, vineyard and garden at Speelmans River in 1833.

Roodebloemskraal in 1833 had a large werf consisting of a T-shaped house and seven outbuildings. It also had a rectangular grove of poplars, a garden and a vineyard.

The Sergeant's River werf in 1813 consisted of a house and three formally arranged outbuildings.
A house and two outbuildings are arranged around an open werf and a fourth building stands further back, but at right angles to the others. The road from the Boschesveld to Caledon, after crossing the river and "high" road to Cape Town, runs through the middle of the werf. Rectangles of arable land are shown, but no gardens or cultivated areas.

28 SPEELMANS RIVIER

Where the road from Swellendam to Caledon crosses the Speelmans River lies the farm Speelmansrivier which was occupied by Jurgen Johannes Pas in loan until 1833 when it was granted to him in quitrent. It consisted of 1 471 morgen.

In 1813 Pas was farming with cattle and sowing wheat, but not on a large scale.

The werf, therefore was small but the buildings and rectangular garden are nevertheless placed in complete geometrical order with the T-shaped house parallel to an outbuilding and another outbuilding at right angles to the back of the house. A branch of the highway runs into the werf, and on the far side the rectangular garden is divided into two, probably indicating a vegetable garden and vineyard. The Speelmans River runs along the north side of the werf and probably supplies irrigation water to the garden although this is not seen on the drawing.

29 ROODEBLOEMSKRAAL

Cornelis Christiaan Bredenkamp received his loan farm, Roode Bloemskraal in quitrent in April, 1833.

It was a large werf, consisting of a T-shaped house and five outbuildings around a courtyard and two buildings outside of this, one in line with the back wing of the house and one at right angles to it. A cultivated square, divided into three sections, are for an orchard, a garden and poplar trees. A branch of the Great Cape Road runs through the werf next to the garden and the Steenboks River runs parallel to it with the garden plots situated between the two.

Several rectangular plots, described as "arable ground", lie without relation to the rest of the werf.

30 SERGEANT'S RIVIER

Petrus Hermanus Maree obtained his loan farm, Sergeant's Rivier in quitrent in April 1833. He had occupied it before 1813. His sister, Maria Magdalena had lived there earlier with her husband Daniel Swart, and Maree presumably bought the farm from her. It was 1 776 morgen in size and lay where the Cape Town and Genadendal roads met at the drift over the Sergeant's River.

46 S.G.304/1833
47 CJA.360
48 S.G.401/1833
49 S.G.424/1833
50 J60
(top) Klipheuvel in 1833, showing the house and formal grouping of outbuildings around an open courtyard

(below) The surveyor shows only an old and new house at Klippefontein in 1829
The werf consisted of three parallel outbuildings with a long house lying at right angles between them. A branch of the road ran past the house and the river split into two in front of the werf, the two branches joining each other again at the place where a rectangular garden was situated with another outbuilding next to it. A number of rectangular arable pieces of land are drawn outside the werf.

Maree had a number of stud horses, cattle and sheep and sowed wheat, barley and oats from which he had a good return. The outbuildings were therefore probably used as a granary, stable and wagon and implement store.

31 KLIPHEUVEL

Klipheuvel is known to have been a good sheep farm, for in 1813 Marthinus Theunissen, the postholder at Zoetemelkswallei was farming there with 200 wool and 500 ordinary Cape sheep. In 1833 it was still a loan farm of 2 396 morgen belonging to J J Geldenhuys, G S Kock and Daniel du Toit, but the layout of the werf reminds us of Theunissen's other werf at Ziekenhuis and was probably constructed by him. The four buildings face a common courtyard open on the south-west overlooking the Bokke River.

The farm lies at the meeting place of several roads where they cross the river. This river is dry in summer except for some pools of which the water is brackish.

32 KLIPPEFONTEIN

This was an old freehold farm criss-crossed by many roads. In 1829 it was measured for Dan B Lombaard and granted to him in quitrent.

The werf itself lay at the meeting point of four of these roads, one from George, one from the Wyders River, one from the Cape, and one from the Gourits River. An outspan is provided here and the Drooge River runs through the farm, but it is noted that it runs only after heavy rains. The werf consists of a T-shaped house and an older long house again confirming the simpler shape of first houses.

Seven rectangular cultivated areas of different sizes are shown lying at various angles to each other. On the rest of the farm there are 1 600 morgen of winter pasturage and a further 705 morgen of pasturage in the hilly area where many aloes grow. Patches of aloes are also noted in the flatter areas.

33 PRINCEKRAAL

This loan farm in 1813 was occupied by Hendrik Jacobus Lourens (Mathys' son), younger brother of Johannes Mathys, the post-holder of Zoetemelksfontein. With him were living his old mother,
Princekraal in 1833

Aan de Zwarte Rivier (Boontjieskraal) in 1833
his brother Dirk Cornelis senior, two daughters and various other family members. It was one of the many farms in the area belonging to the Lourens family. (They also owned De Koks Rivier, Rhenosterkop and Rugtefontein)

In 1833 the Lourens family still occupied Princxekraal and the two brothers, Hendrik Jacobus (he died at the farm in 1858), and Cornelis Johannes, together with their sister's husband, Jacobus Francois du Toit, were granted the farm in perpetual quitrent.54

A building marked "house" and another at right angles to it, make up the werf situated at the crossing of two roads - one to Cape Town and the other to the "Ruggens" and "Strand Country".

The water supply for the werf comes from a small spring and a dam. No garden, but 25 morgen of arable land are shown, where they cultivated wheat, rye and oats. They also kept cattle, horse and sheep breeding stock.55

34 AAN DE ZWARTE RIVIER (TODAY BOONTJIESKRAAL)

This loan farm of 1906 morgen belonging to Michiel Daniel Otto was granted to him in quitrent in 1833.56

It lay at the crossing of the roads to Cape Town and the "Boschesveld" and between two branches of the Swart River. The T-shaped "dwelling house" and two outbuildings are arranged in a rectangle to enclose a courtyard, while a fourth building, parallel to the house, lies opposite the river. This river was "standing in dry seasons".

There are five pieces of arable land, three lying between the river branches and a small rectangle between them supplied by a stream from the river, which is marked "garden". The road to the Boschesveld crosses both branches of the river next to the werf and has a turn-off to the werf.

35 RHENOSTERFONTEIN

When describing this, the most important farm in the Overberg in the first half of the 19th century, one’s mind goes back to the German settler, Jacob Van Reenen, who arrived at the Cape from Memel in 1721 as a midshipman and four years later married an orphan from Amsterdam. He was to have a considerable influence on the land of his adoption through his children and their progeny.

For the diligence which quickly brought him recognition and promotion to important public positions, also brought him wealth and prosperity, so that he was a rich man when he died in 1764.

The fortunes of his eldest son Jacob have already been followed in the Peninsula who owned first Feldhausen (1744-1762), Belle Ombre (1744-1780) and Welgelegen (1756-1794), the farm which he turned into his family home. It is most likely that the basic planning for all these farms was laid

54 S.G.401/1833
55 C/A.160
56 S.G.423/1833

659
This magnificent drawing shows the circular boundaries of Dirk van Reenen's loan farms: Vondeling, Brakkekuyl and Rhenosterfontein at the mouth of the Breede River.

Details of this map show:

P Lime Pit,
Q "Spot among the sandhills where good water may be found by digging three feet deep",
W "Sand Banks dry at all times"

(lower right) The large werf enclosed by several buildings and a long wall
by Jacob. He had the means to build and plant, for he possessed the wine and meat monopolies since 1742, and was thus assured of a regular, steady income which is nearly always reflected in the landscape that such an owner creates for himself.

On the west coast he had obtained transfer of the old Company's post Ganzekraal in 1791, and it was here that his three sons Johannes Gysbertus, Arnoldus Jacobus and Sebasian Valentyn raised the cattle which supplied him with the slaughter animals for the ships and the rest of the Company's meat needs.

But it was to be his most enterprising son, Dirk Gysbert, who was to excel as an agriculturist, stockfarmer, experimenter with the merino to produce a flourishing wool industry, and who might also have had the greatest influence on landscape design far beyond the Peninsula.

For Dirk's income too was assured because he possessed the monopoly not only for wine and meat like his father, but also for the beer which he was brewing at Papenboom, his magnificent Peninsula property. And like his father, he owned many farms along the west coast and in the Overberg.

Along the fertile valley of the Poespas River he grew the hops that he needed for his beer and along the banks of the Breede River at Rhenosterfontein, Cadysvallei, Kleinvleli and Vondeling he reared his Dutch cattle, experimented with merino sheep and bred his famous horses from his stud imported Arabs.

Because he had an inquiring mind, was well read and could assess objectively the results of his farming experiments, he was respected by the Company as well as his fellow men and therefore can be regarded as a leader of his time and a man of great influence in agricultural matters. (He was chosen to accompany Governor Janssens on an inland trip in 1803 to assess the agricultural potential of the rural areas, and it was he who kept the diary which has been published.)

His influence was felt from the Zwartland where he owned 100 000 acres, to the Overberg where he owned not only Rhenosterfontein and Poespas Valley, but also Cadys Valley, Vondeling, 25 000 acres at the Breede River mouth and the farm Kleynefontein on the Duivenshoks River. In 1824 alone he was granted 1 270, 1 276, 5 980 and again 894 morgen of land next to Rhenosterfontein and Kleynefontein near Vermaaklikheid. All of this was good pasturage and by the use of imported Dutch cattle he upgraded his huge herd which was his main source of income throughout the time that he retained the meat monopoly.

In his reply to the agricultural commissioner, W S Van Ryneveld's questionnaire about his animals in 1801, he replied that he had started farming with imported Spanish sheep in 1798 and with imported Dutch cattle in 1796. Both these had been far superior to the old Cape animals. He found that the cross-bred cow produced more milk, butter and cheese than the old Cape breed on less pasturage.
(top) The old stables at Rhosterfontein, now derelict
(middle) The long stone wall of the werf (Photos R Erskine)
(below) Entrance to the werf (from Overberg Outspan)
In the planning of his home environment he had proved to be both innovative and unafraid. His Papenboom house was based on a design which he himself had seen in a book, though he was probably assisted by Thibault in the execution of his ideas. The werf was by far the most sophisticated one of its time, with its sweeping pine planted drive to the raised stoep and grand double stairways to the front door. The garden, like his house spoke of formality and order. A man like this, one suspects, would leave his imprint on every property that he owned. And that imprint would speak of calculated order and organised efficiency.

Rhenosterfontein was the centre of his Overberg kingdom. Soon after taking transfer of the farm he constructed a dairy from which the first 400 lbs of Cape cheese was exported in 1803 and 1804.

Because he regarded the lack of water to be the Cape's most pressing perennial problem, he set about improving his own irrigation by building a dam wall across the Slang River at Rhenosterfontein.

But it was his horse stud, improved with the help of imported Arab stallions, which was to bring most fame to Rhenosterfontein, for according to Lichtenstein, Van Reenen's riding horses were much in demand in Cape Town. The 1812 opgaaf shows 162 horses used for his breeding program, when he had only 60 stud cattle and 400 "wool" sheep (not Merinos).

The werf which he developed at Rhenosterfontein has been drawn on a map which the author discovered amongst Colonial Office correspondence files in the Cape Archives. A photograph of the map is reproduced here and can be analysed as follows:

The land lying along the northern banks of the Breede River is shown, stretching from the farm Brakkekuyyl in the west to the mouth of the Breede River to include the area today known as Witsand and Sebastian Bay.

The circular boundaries of the three loan places, Rhenosterfontein, Brakkekuyyl and Vondeling (Fondeling) are shown. These all belonged to Dirk Gysbert Van Reenen. What is interesting is that Vondeling seemed to have been measured out three times and the various midpoints of each circular area are shown. No werf buildings are shown at any of the Vondeling grants, which were probably used only for grazing, but at Rhenosterfontein and at Brakkekuyyl the werf buildings are drawn.

The werf at Brakkekuyyl consisted of a T-shaped house and an outbuilding lying parallel to it. The only road shown to the farm runs from the river, so it was presumably reached by boat or on horseback.

The werf of Rhenosterfontein was enclosed by a long high wall with an entrance between two massive pillars. This entrance must have been quite impressive because it was drawn by Lady

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60 See Chapter 8 under Papenboom
62 Lichtenstein
63 J329
64 C/A, CO 4375
Map in the Surveyor General's Office of the mouth of the Breede River, showing Port Beaufort and Malagas
Anne Barnard when she visited the farm on her inland travels. She gives a glimpse through these pillars into the enclosure where she shows the smaller house. The main house is unfortunately not visible on the surveyor’s drawing due to damage of the paper along a fold which cuts across it, but it does appear to be an H-shape.

Apart from the two houses there were three further long outbuildings, probably the stables for the Van Reenen stud horses, the dairy and wagon house and store. Van Reenen, according to Burrows did not keep his merinos at Rhenosterfontein, for these were kept on his west coast farms until 1819 when his son Daniel was farming at Rhenosterfontein and he started with a small flock. By 1840 this flock had increased to 4 500 and by 1851 the Colony’s best wool came from Rhenosterfontein. In 1828, after the death of Dirk Gysbert, the farm was acquired by his grandsons, F.W. Reitz married to Cornelia Deneys, Michiel Jacob Van Breda married to Catherina Geesje Van Reenen, and Johan Frederik Joubert married to Aletta Catherina Van Reenen. Both Reitz and Joubert had, as young men grown up in the affluent surroundings of their fathers’ estates, Oranjezicht and Nooitgedacht and both had received further education overseas.

Reitz had settled at Rhenosterfontein after his marriage in 1835 and continued to improve both the horse stud and the quality of the wool. In 1851 this Company broke up and Michiel Van Breda moved to Zoetendalsvallei while Reitz and Joubert continued to farm at Rhenosterfontein, with Joubert living on the adjoining farm, Jakkalsfontein and Reitz at Rhenosterfontein.

Reitz broke up his flock of 8 000 into units, each under the care of a coloured shepherd. These units were permanently installed at various places on the farm where the shepherds lived in small thatched cottages and the sheep were herded in kraals made of planted aloes strengthened with brushwood. On the grants of this period the surveyors often noted the presence of aloes not only for their crop value, but also for their value as hedging material. For even large aloes can be transplanted easily to form almost instant kraals. Further protection of the sheep was afforded by the construction of wolf houses - small thatched buildings which could be baited with meat and caught the predator by a trapdoor connected to the bait.

Reitz probably enlarged the house and outbuildings, for he had to provide accommodation for a governess, horse trainers and imported smiths. His workers lived in thatched cottages, but these are not indicated on the drawing.

In the 1860s a number of setbacks - horse sickness, the drowning of his partner, John Joubert, drought and the death of his two imported English stallions ruined Reitz, so that he decided to sell the farm in 1869. Fortunately it stayed in the Van Reenen family for Thomas Barry, married to

65 Burrows, Overberg Outspan, p150
66 Ibid, p155
67 Ibid, quotes from Overberg Courant, p155
68 Ibid, p104
69 Ibid, p156
A map in the Surveyor General's Office showing the boundaries of some of the old loan farms. The mid-point of Zoetendalsvlei lies on the lake edge and this is where the werf has been placed.
the granddaughter of Dirk Gysbert became the next owner. After the death of Thomas Barry in 1876 the farm passed to Marthinus le Grange and then to the grandson of the surveyor Hopley. In 1930 the farm was subdivided and today most of the buildings on the proud werf at Rhenosterfontein have fallen into ruins. Two of the massive stone outbuildings, now with iron roofs and sections of the long stone werf wall are all that remain.

36 ZOETENDALSVALLEI

"With the exception of Constantia, there is no other werf in southern Africa that has played as crucial a role in the moulding of the agricultural pattern of the country". This is how Edmund Burrows describes Zoetendal in his book on the Overberg.

Jan Frederik Reitz, a lieutenant in the Dutch navy, arrived at the Cape in 1794, a year before it was taken over by the British, and settled in Cape Town after marrying Dirk Gysbert Van Reenen's eldest daughter, Barbara. He became acquainted with the Overberg after he had received the farm Poespas Valley from his father-in-law. Here, amongst other activities, he grew hops for Van Reenen's brewery in Newlands.

But in 1812 he bought some 5 500 morgen of land from Louis Taillard in the Zoetendal Valley and a year later the opgaaf shows that he had 1 300 "wolgeevende" sheep on his farm, and no other stock. In all the other returns for the year 1813 no one else had any wool sheep except Marthinus Theunissen, the retired postholder of Zoetemelksfontein, who had 200 wool sheep and 500 ordinary stud sheep at his farm Klipheuvel on the Swart River.

By importing merino rams, Reitz started cross breeding and after a few years was producing good wool and because the price at the time was high, was soon making a profit of over 16 000 rix-dollars annually.

Reitz requested and was granted more and more land in the Overberg: In 1816 he received 5 000 morgen next to the Nuwejaars River, called Hazevlakte; also 325 morgen on the Klip River called Vissersdrif; also the farm Zoudendaals Valley, 2 725 morgen, next to his farm.

In 1817 he offered a share of the farm Zoetendas Valley to his brother-in-law, Michiel Van Breda, who was married to Catharina Geesje Van Reenen. Michiel Van Breda was the owner of Oranjezicht, where he lived and played a prominent part in many aspects of the Cape Town civic life, also as burgher senator and later as one of the first of the five unofficial members of the country's first Legislative Council.

70 Burrows E H, Overberg Outspan, pp168-9
71 Ibid, p95
72 C/A, J329
73 C/A, J60
74 Burrows E H, Overberg Outspan, p96
75 See Swellendam Qui rents Vol 1, S.G.355/1816; S.G.1830/1816; S.G.1816
Van Breda carried on with the wool-sheep breeding program at Zoetendals Valley which was in the care of his "kneeg", Johannes Jacobus Swart. He was particularly concerned that his buildings and kraals should be kept in good repair and neat and left instructions to Swart in this regard.

For Van Breda was an extremely methodical man and his werf consisting of a house, outhouse, a small stable and a kraal when he started farming there, was soon improved by adding four large kraals of brushwood, a shearing pen for 100 sheep and by creating a place at the lake where the wool could be washed.

Every year at shearing time he visited the farm and accompanied the wool wagons to the Cape. He improved his flock by acquiring three Spanish rams from the Government experimental farm at Groote Post, for he was very conscious of the benefits of a better bloodstock. Whereas he could earn 7 000 rixdalers by transporting the clip of 5 000 sheep on three wagons drawn by thirty-six oxen and six drivers, he would have needed 70 wagons, 140 drivers and 840 oxen to earn the same amount with a wheat crop.

Van Breda proved on Zoetendalsvallei that sheep farming could be extremely profitable. He divided his flock into three, each with its own kraal and herdmaster living in his own pondok, making each man responsible for his own flock, though the stud ewes and imported rams were permanently stabled.

A plan of the 19th century Zoetendal werf was not found, but on a Divisional Map in the Surveyor General's office, reproduced here, its position at the foot of the large Zoetendal Valley lake is indicated where it lies at the midpoint of the old loan grant.

Zoetendalsvallei was in 1830 inherited by Michiel Van Breda’s son, Michiel Jacob, as well as Reitz’s youngest son Frank, and John Frederick Joubert, married to Reitz’s daughter, Catharina. The Company formed by these three was to become the “greatest agricultural combine the Cape ever knew” according to Burrows, for they owned between them 176 000 acres of land between Bredasdorp and Swellendam and by 1838 they owned 30 farms in the area.

It was here that the system of herding sheep into kraals at night was first abandoned and free running in large enclosures was practiced. This system had its own impact on the landscape where miles of stone walling was built to enclose the huge paddocks, and can still be seen in places.

As the success of the merino sheep became more obvious, stock farmers from further inland came from 1825 onwards to Zoetendalsvallei to buy stud ewes and rams and in this way the werf and farming methods would have influenced farmers as far afield as Calvinia, Beaufort West and Victoria West.

76 Burrows E H, Overberg Outspan, p101
77 Commercial Advertiser, GH23/6, p21
78 Burrows E H, Overberg Outspan, p108
The farm Rotterdam showing the formal approach to the house along an avenue of oaks, the garden with wooden palisade (right) and the stable (left), slightly splayed, perhaps to enhance the vista. Details of a bamboo clump and kapstyl house on the right top are present on the original but have not reproduced here (Drostdy Museum, Swellendam dated 1804)
In 1851 the alliance came to an end and Michiel Van Breda inherited Zoetendalsvallei while Reitz and Joubert retained Rhenosterfontein where they each continued with their progressive farming methods.

All the early pioneers of the merino industry referred to above, were sons or grandsons or sons-in-law of Dirk Gysbert Van Reenen of Papenboom. The influence of this remarkable individual not only on the economic development of the Colony but also on its landscape organisation can therefore hardly be over-estimated. But his own financial strength was very much dependent on the meat, wine and beer monopoly, and when new brewing licences started to be granted by Governor Janssens, and a free enterprise system introduced by the British, Dirk Gysbert’s income started waning and at his death in 1828 he was found to be totally bankrupt.

**ROTTERDAM**

In 1802, when the Cape was in the hands of the British, the acting Governor, Francis Dundas granted the farm known as Rotterdam, to the landdrost of Swellendam, Anthony Alexander Faure. His grandfather had been a Huguenot refugee who had arrived at the Cape in 1714 and his grandmother was the daughter of another Huguenot, Abraham de Villiers, who farmed in the Drakenstein at Boschendal.9

Faure had already been farming at Rotterdam, a loan farm like those around it, for some time, and he could be responsible for building the house of which the gable is dated 1791 as well as the werf lay-out shown on the grant drawing - a T-shaped house and stable at right angles to it. Faure had become a soldier in the Company’s service at the age of 19 and been promoted after that to bookkeeper and secretary in the Stellenbosch landdrost office. For his good services there, he had been appointed landdrost of Swellendam in 1789.

The Rotterdam werf was again drawn by an anonymous artist shortly after the grant and one notices that there are many points of similarity between it and the Boschendal werf: The approach is along the axis of the front door through an avenue of oaks, the stable is situated at right angles to the house on the left and the werf further enclosed by an avenue of oaks in line with it. A large paddock surrounded by a picket fence lies opposite the stable and here was an orchard and vegetable garden as well as a clump of bamboo still to be seen in the same position. A "Kapstyl huisie" is noted in the background and a small shed between the house and stables. One also notices that at the one end of the stables there is a fireplace, which suggests that this was also a house and stable under one roof and probably the earliest building on the farm.

When our office restored the house in the 1980s, the building material of the outbuilding was of mud bricks and that of the house of half-baked bricks, confirming an earlier building date for the stables. At the back of the stables was a room of which the walls had been built of mud. It was
here that Lichtenstein visited the old botanist, Auge, retired master gardener of the Company's Garden in Cape Town, who was living there at the time.  

**SUMMARY**

An interesting pattern of basic similarities in the landscape organisation of farms in the Overberg (Swellendam, Riversdale, Bredasdorp, Caledon districts) during the first quarter of the 19th century was revealed by the study of the above 38 farms.  

As in the Peninsula, one notices that many of these farms belonged to prominent Capetonians who lived in the Peninsula from where they managed their Overberg and west coast farms (Michiel Van Breda at Oranjezicht and Dirk Gysbert Van Reenen from Papenboom). But also retired company officials, in this case postholders (Martinus Theunissen) became prominent land-owners and farmers. As has been shown, huge tracts of land were granted to these families and some of these farms stayed for generations in their ownership.  

Gordon had noted that in this area the vegetation consisted of "virtually nothing but grass and a few shrubs". He also noticed that there was very little water "and that brackish". Yet on most of these farms considerable areas of arable land are shown on the grants and the inventories show that various amounts of different kinds of grain were being grown on most of them.  

And on some, where water was available, vines and vegetables were grown, probably only for home use and for sale to passing travellers.

The grant drawings show that farm werfs were almost always situated at the midpoint of the loan farm (also called the "Ordinantie" point) and near to the meeting place of prominent roadways. As travellers were dependent on the hospitality of these outlying farmers, the werfs became the outspan places and the owners in turn were put in contact with the outside world in this way. They also sold their produce to travellers as noted by Dirk Van Reenen when he travelled through these parts in 1803.  

The farms were usually placed near a river (usually dry in summer), or a strong spring or rainwater dam. Where possible irrigation water was led in a stream taken from the river to irrigate gardens or vineyards, but these were never larger than a few morgen. Very often a stream would be led to the werf, which was obviously intended for drinking water and other household use such as bathing and washing.  

From my own childhood experience of outlying farms in the Piketberg district, the author remembers that these streams were usually led to the backyard near the kitchen. The stream would be led to a pool by a spout placed at a height which would allow a bucket to stand under it for collecting water. The pool had a large flat stone on which washing could be slapped to clean it. And this is where we children were often soaped and washed. From here the stream would run

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81 Gordon R J, *Cape Travels*, Vol 1, p51  
82 Gordon, p64  
83 V.R.S, DG. Joermaal, 1803, P31
The derelict buildings of the farm Meerust where earlier thatched roofs have been replaced with iron, now rusted away.

Many old farm buildings in the Overberg have been abandoned, like these. Those werfs that have been retained are losing their initial simplicity by being over restored and unnecessarily prettified.

(below) The sloping werf of Kliprivier before its recent rebuilding

(Swellendam Museum)
past oak or fruit trees on its way back to the river or into a collecting dam. Sometimes this same stream would run past the distilling kettle to cool it.

The deeds show that gardens were entities on their own, always rectangular in shape and either hedged or closed in with a stone or mud wall. They were seldom attached to the house although the house sometimes had a view onto the garden. Hartebeeskraal was exceptional for here small enclosed gardens on either side of the front stoep steps are shown.

In 22 farms, the buildings were grouped around a courtyard which was sometimes enclosed by walls. In only two farms were the buildings placed in a haphazard arrangement, but in all the rest there was a geometrical relationship between the various structures, which were either parallel or at right angles to each other and very often to the kraals and gardens, where these existed.

Most of the farms described here had T-shaped houses and a cursory examination of other grants, not discussed here, revealed that this was the predominant shape on most farms. Long houses were, however almost as frequent, and H-shaped houses were only found at Ziekenhuis, Kliprivier and Hartebeeskraal.

Arable lands were not laid out with the symmetry and the integrated order which one sees in the Peninsula and Stellenbosch estates where the soil was fertile and water more plentiful. In the Swellendam quitrent grants, rectangular cultivated areas are shown in a haphazard arrangement, obviously following the pattern of arable soil.

Although the Van Reenen, Reitz, Joubert and Van Breda families owned many farms in this area, there was no repetition of the Papenboom or Nooitgedacht or Oranjezicht werfs on any of these farms, though the principles of formal lay-out seen in the Peninsula werfs are obvious also in the Overberg.

From this study it appears that the form of land tenure did not affect the basic planning principles used by farmers and that the landscape lay-out of loan farms did therefore not differ from those granted in freehold. The initial formal lay-out of the loan farms was already established by the early 19th century as could be clearly seen on the drawings done for their conversion to quitrent.

No evidence was found of the original construction dates of these loan farm werfs, but as many of these had been occupied by the same families sometimes for many decades, some might have been established early in the 18th century when the first landowners would have needed at least a house and perhaps one outbuilding.

The houses in both freehold and loan grants were positioned to face the prospect, and the outbuildings placed around them in geometric relationship as in the Peninsula. It also appears that the werfs created by their family forerunners were respected and enlarged with due regard to the existing formality.

84 See also S.G.325/1819, Van der Wattkraal; SG.214/1819 Avontuur; S.G.327/1819 Kaffirskuil Rivier; S.G.242/1820, Uitnoodi; S.G.575/1831, Paapjesvallej; S.G.615/1831, Langverwacht; S.G.613/1831,Geluksheep
It is also clear that the size and number of the werf buildings was in accordance with their needs and financial capabilities and that in this area there was a high percentage of larger werfs, some with quite sophisticated layouts, because of the success of the horse and merino sheep industry in the 19th century.

No unnecessary embellishments were however recorded, and it appears that functionalism was the most important consideration in the design of the werf in this area. It was, perhaps, this functional simplicity making a clear, formal statement in the undulating landscape, which charmed those who lived there and those who passed through.
CHAPTER 13

A: THE EASTERN CAPE

Before the arrival of almost 5 000 British Settlers in the second decade of the 19th century, Dutch farmers had been settled in the area west of the Fish River on the Eastern Frontier of the Colony for half a century.¹ These farms had been granted in loan, but were converted to quitrent from 1814 onwards, by which time they had become firmly established.

During the 1813 Frontier War many farms had been burnt down and the cattle driven away by the Xhosas and these farmers then had to camp in groups while their homes were being rebuilt.

Fortunately three artists who travelled through the Eastern Cape before the end of the 18th century left pictorial records of the way the farms had been organised and other travellers left good descriptions of their impressions of the people with whom they stayed and their man-made environments.

In the Graaff Reinet quitrent volumes, existing werfs of loan farms were sometimes indicated on grant drawings, but details shown by surveyors were poor. However, dwellings did vary in their patterns and sometimes outbuildings were indicated by the same surveyors. One presumes therefore that these reflected the actual state of affairs.

The two surveyors responsible for these drawings showed that many of the farms had only one permanent building, which one presumes, was the house, like the one described by Burchell at Zeekoevlei, perhaps with accommodation for slaves and agricultural uses in temporary structures not found worthwhile to draw.

Cultivated land was also shown on the drawings as well as gardens and vineyards, and the relationship of these to the house, water source, roads and prospect. Outbuildings, perhaps of poor quality, and kraals made of temporary material, might understandably have been omitted. The findings were considered to be sufficiently significant, however, to be able to form at least an impression of the elementary principles governing the settlement patterns of these rural habitations, which were remarkably alike.

These findings are discussed under the following headings:

1 THE DUTCH FARMS

1.1 PICTORIAL INFORMATION

1.1.1 Schumacher

1.1.2 Gordon

1.1.3 Le Vaillant

1.1.4 Burchell

1.2 TRAVELLERS' DESCRIPTIONS

¹ Bergh J S & Visagie J C, The Eastern Cape Frontier 1660-1980, Refer Map 5 on page 23
Map showing the extent of the Cape Colony by 1785 and the areas occupied by white settlers on the Eastern Frontier. The arrow indicates the area occupied by the Xhosa (from The Eastern Cape Frontier Zone 1660 - 1950, Bergh & Visagie)
1.2.1 D G Van Reenen
1.2.2 W J Burchell
1.2.3 H Lichtenstein
1.3 DEEDS OFFICE RESEARCH

   General
   Slecht Gelegen
   Onverwacht
   Melksrivier
   Twee Fonteinen
   Niet Te Na
   Obedacht
   Eensaamheid
   Buffelskloof
   Brakkefontein in the Aberdeen district
   Uitkyk
   Zeekoegat
   Melkhoutkraal
   Piesangrivier
   Keurboomsrivier

2 FARMS OF THE BRITISH SETTLERS
2.1 PICTORIAL INFORMATION

2.1.1 Anonymous
   Pigot Park

2.1.2 WA Harries
   Chelsea

2.1.3 Thompson
   Glendour
   Thornhill

2.1.4 T Baines
Map of the Albany and the Baviaans River Settlements on the Eastern Frontier (from *The Eastern Cape Frontier Zone 1660 - 1950* Bergh & Visagie)
On the Kroomie River
Klaas Smits River
Great Table Mountain
Camp at Mr Painters

2.1.5 E Bowker
Tharfield

2.2 JOURNALS

2.2.1 Thomas Pringle, His Life and Times
2.2.2 The Journal of William Shaw
2.2.3 Harry Hastings Journal
2.2.4 Reminiscences of Thomas Stubbs
2.2.5 The Journal of John Ayliff

2.3 PRIVATELY PUBLISHED SOURCES

2.3.1 W Booyse Jonathan
Stoneyfields
Sidbury Park
Barville Park
Sephten Manor
Lombard’s Post

SUMMARY

Johannes Swanepoel’s farm werf
Botha's T-shaped house and outbuildings. Notice the round kraal of aloes in the foreground.

(above) Prins senior's wort at Boschberg
(below) Koeckemoer's farm in the Sneeuwbergen
1 THE DUTCH FARMS

1.1 PICTORIAL INFORMATION

1.1.1 Johannes Schumacher

Johannes Schumacher travelled through the Eastern Cape with Swellengrebel in 1776 - 1777 and gives a good impression of four farm werfs, one on the banks of the Gourits River, one in the Boschberg, one at the Camdeboo and one in the Sneeubergen. The fact that the buildings on all four farms were small, unpretentious and even primitive, makes it more remarkable that there was nevertheless a certain orderly arrangement of the farm elements in some:

*Botha’s T-shaped house* stands rather starkly on its bare werf with a small attached picket fence probably to enclose the house garden. A small outbuilding stands next to the three rectangular kraals with their whitewashed walls and another similar outbuilding stands opposite it to guard the animals in the large round kraal protected by a hedge of aloes.

*Johannes Swanepoel’s farm* in the Camdeboo is composed of four kapstyl houses, probably for his workers, a main house with very low walls and roof raised over the front door for headroom, one small outbuilding, an outside baking oven and a round shelter, perhaps for cooking in. His orchards follow the contour of the hill, but his cultivated gardens are rectangular parallel spaces enclosed with growing shrubs. His werf resembled a camp rather than a settlement.

*Prins senior’s werf at Boschberg* consisting of five buildings, two with low walls, were neatly arranged around an open courtyard and his parallel lands behind them were fenced with plants.

*Koeckemoer’s farm in the Sneeubergen* had two permanent buildings—a house and outbuilding at right angles to it and three "kapstyl huisies" at random on the werf.

1.1.2 Robert Jacob Gordon

*Willem Prinsloo’s werf* nestling at the foot of the Boschberg consists of a house, apparently with no windows, surrounded by a few kapstyl structures and an outbuilding lying parallel to it. On either side of the house are palisaded gardens and further away a threshing floor and kraal probably of packed branches. There is a third garden in the foreground also surrounded by a palisade, and the cultivated lands are set out in neat rectangles. A straight water furrow runs from the mountain ravine between the house and its garden and beyond.⁴
Kweekvallei where Prince Albert was established

Griqua houses near Kuruman (C.D. Bell)

Vermeulen’s house at Krieglers Fontein (Burchell Vol 11, p120)

Gerrit Suyman’s Karoo habitation (Burchell Vol 1, p169)
Karoo Farm Kweekvallei (Prince Albert was later established here)

This very neatly laid-out werf consists of seven thatched, white-washed buildings. Two are in a row, the one with a lower roof, and another lies behind and at right angles to them and may be a back wing of one. A row of trees (probably conifers) planted in front of them indicates that at least one of these was the main house. Two outbuildings, one with a small mill attached to it, lie at right angles to the first two buildings to form a fore-court in which is a small walled garden. A number of kraals with white-washed walls, lie parallel to each other and the vineyards and orchard too are separated by hedges into rectangular parallel lots with grainfields on either side of them. In front of the werf is the seventh long building, probably the stable, as it is near two smaller walled kraals, the threshing floor and hay-stack.

The water furrow runs from the mountain in a straight line down to the werf where it forms a dam after a branch has been taken off to the mill.

Buildings for the farm workers, consisting of kapstyl structures and round huts, have been placed well away from the main werf and are not arranged with the same formality.  

1.1.3 Le Vaillant

Camp at Kamdeboo

Two adjacent thatched buildings are drawn standing at right angles to each other - the one seems to be the house with double front door in the centre of its long facade, the other the stable with entrance on the narrow gable end. Near these is a conical thatched structure which Dirk Visser interprets as a cooking shelter. The access roads are winding and informal, but the rectangular garden behind the house, surrounded by a wooden palisade, is neatly divided into unequal squares. The cattle kraal is next to it and shares one palisaded wall with the garden. Round huts are scattered about the property. It is obviously a small werf, yet is planned with a certain order.  

1.1.4 Burchell

Burchell sketched Vermeulen’s long, low, thatched house and outbuilding at Krieglers Fontein lying in a barren plain with the Kleine Tafelberg Mountain behind it. The buildings make no attempt to extend themselves into or soften the bleak environment with trees or shrubs, and the small garden described in front of the house in which he found mostly vegetables - maize "dakka", cabbages, pumpkins, lettuces, and tobacco, is hardly visible. Wheat and barley were grown in small quantities but it was too cold for grapes and other fruit.

Another farm werf drawn by Burchell was of the simplest kind, consisting of only a small house, probably built of wattle and daub and two round huts, one with a pointed roof, next to it. This house resembles very closely the Griqua hut drawn by Charles D Bell, near Kuruman.  

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3 Raper P E and Boucher M, Robert Jacob Gordon, Cape Travels 1777-1786, Plate 11, p65
4 Le Vaillant R, Reisiger in Suid Afrika, plate 14
5 Burchell W, Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa, Vol 11, pp84 & 121
6 Ed Lye W F, Andrew Smith's Journal, p173
Camp at Camdeboo
These nine farms give an impression of the primitive conditions of the settlers in the Eastern Cape at the end of the 18th century and show too that notwithstanding these conditions when permanent buildings were built, they were placed in geometrical relation to each other. Less permanent buildings were placed at random.

1.2 TRAVELLERS' DESCRIPTIONS

1.2.1 Dirk Gysbert Van Reenen

Dirk Gysbert Van Reenen in 1803 travelled with Governor Janssens through this area and described the farming potential of the different areas and the farms which they visited. He found that articles produced locally like bread, meat, butter, wine, fat and soap could be absorbed by the local market which included of course the military, and concluded that no export trade was possible. This of necessity kept the farms small and unpretentious.

He describes the area between the Gamtoos and the great Fish as *de heerlykste en de beste landstreek*en, (the loveliest and best of regions) most farms in this area being suitable for sheep and cattle. But farms in the Krom River, Zeekoe River, Van Stadens River, Zwartkops River, Sundays River, Bushmans River, Little Fish River, The Zuurveld, Zwagershoek, Ventershoek, Bruintjieshoogte, Baviaans River and the Great Fish River had all been destroyed and totally burnt down and the cattle driven off by the Xhosas, leaving 500 families destitute when Van Reenen arrived there.

Van Reenen names the farms and their owners passed in their travels, but does not describe their buildings or their immediate landscape. He does however remark that:

*Aan de overblyfse kan men zien dat deze plaatsen fraay en welbeboud moeten geweest; limoenboomen en wyngaardstokken die nog daar staan overtuigen my daarvan.* (From what is left one can see that these farms were well planned and planted. Remaining orange trees and vineyards convinced me of this).

1.2.2 W J Burchell

Burchell, who travelled in these areas nine years later in 1812, described some of these stock farms which according to him were situated about 40-50, miles apart.

Sheep, according to Burchell, provided the staple diet for the farmer and his family and mutton formed the main part of every meal. The fat from the tail of these indigenous sheep was used to make soap, using a species of indigenous salsola shrub for alkali. Soap was taken to Cape Town annually where the farmer exchanged it for his household necessities and clothing.

At Krieglers Fontein, in the Achter-Sneeuberg division of Graaff Reinet, occupied by Piet Vermeulen, for instance, there were 4 000 sheep, but the owner had a second so-called "legplaats"
- a warmer farm for the winter, for his cattle. Burchell states that on these legplaatsen there was an immense number of cattle which was their chief means of income.

A farmer's needs were therefore confined to a house for himself, accommodation for his servants and smaller kraals for a few animals as most of the cattle ranged freely. At Van Niekerk's farm near the Zeekoei River Burchell found "all the buildings were of the most miserable description" and the Hottentot servants lived in huts while the farmer and four adult relatives lived in a house which consisted of only one long room. Burchell did however admire the view of the Sneeuwberg from the front of the house. His description of Jan Viljoen's house was also not complimentary: "The principal dwelling hardly deserved the name of 'house'... it was a most forlorn and miserable hovel".

At Coenraad Herboldt's farm he found a garden, but this consisted of poplars, pines, willows, roses and peach trees. His opinion of the Dutch in this area was that they were poor gardeners.

Yet some farms were of a better quality, like the one of Cootje Van Heerden who, because of his affluence, had built a substantial house "equal to the best in the Cape District". The werf of Burger on the Buffels River was found to be as well appointed and in fact better than he had seen in any district of the Colony. It had a "comfortable, respectable dwelling, built of brick in the Cape Dutch style" and surrounding buildings in which were a smithy, wagonwright, carpenter, a watermill and an excellent garden. The farm was an obvious expression of Burger's wealth, for he was recognised to be the greatest sheep grazier in the Colony, having 30 000 sheep as well as other cattle.

Lichtenstein describes the natural environment and type of farming, the game and the people he met in the Eastern Cape but does not describe the farms themselves except for the fact that they had been destroyed over a wide area by the inroads of the "Caffres". As a result 4-5 families were living together "in miserable huts" while their houses were being rebuilt. He described how almost all the the farms between Mossel Bay and Algoa Bay had been put into a state of defence by the construction of high earth walls around the house at a distance of about 5-6 ft from them. At the corners were bastions with shooting holes, so that the whole appeared like a fort.

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8 Burchell Vol 2 Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa, pp86-87
9 Ibid, p126
10 Ibid, p88
11 Burchell Vol 2, Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa, pp80, 120
12 Ibid, p122
The quitrent grant of Slecht Gelegen to Maria Stockenstroom in 1817

Onverwacht on the Klein Zondags River, granted to Pieter Van der Berg in 1815
Of thirty farms examined, granted in 1814-1817, the following each showed only one T-shaped building: Komskloof, Langefontein, Babylonstoren, Klippefontein, Welgevonden, Aanteelfontein, Elandskloof, Klippgat, Driekoppen and Letskraal.

Other farms had single buildings which were simple long structures like Klippedrift, Klippefontein, Goliadskloof, Maaström and Oude Muragie.

Some of the grants were photographed and analysed. The choice fell on those which gave the most information, where the drawing was clear and legible:

*Slecht Gelegen*

This loan farm of 3 000 morgen had been occupied by Gerrit Coetzee but was granted in 1817 to the widow of Andries Stockenstrom for the services he had rendered at the landdrost of Graaff Reinet. On Surveyor Aling's drawing of the grant a T-shaped house is seen lying between the Melks River, of which the banks were overgrown with an impenetrable mass of high thorn trees, and the public road. These banks were also covered in a sward of green grass but in the dry season little water could be seen in the river. Yet there was a perennial spring in the river bed.

The house was surrounded by 25 morgen of cultivated lands and three morgen of garden. The hills also were partially covered with good grazing so "Slechtgelegen" appears to be not so badly situated after all.

*Onverwacht*

Onverwacht, consisting of 3 000 morgen of land along the Klein Zondags River, was granted to the widow of Pieter Van der Berg in January 1815 in perpetual quitrent. The long house lay next to the 3 morgen of cultivated land and two morgen of garden land in a horse-shoe bend of the river where its access road crossed the drift. Behind it along the foothills of the koppies were another 15 morgen of cultivated land.

13 S.G.110/1815
14 S.G.279/1815
15 S.G.284/1816
16 S.G.285/1816
17 S.G.290/1816
18 S.G.293/1816
19 S.G.294/1816
20 S.G.295/1816
21 S.G.298/1816
22 S.G.299/1816
23 S.G.274/1815
24 S.G.308/1817
25 S.G.297/1816
26 Gr.Q. Vol 2
27 S.G.211/1824
28 Swellendam Q, Vol 1, 1.1.1817
29 Graaff Reinet Quitrents Vol 1, 17.1.1815
Melksrivier, later known as Wheatfields, has retained its original landscape plan and the original 1815 houses (below) shown on the grant (above).

Plan of present werf by present owner

Scale: 1 cm = 1.62 metres
The river was mostly dry in winter, but a perpetual fountain is indicated, this time quite a distance away from the house on the river bank.

*Melksrivier*

The widow of Jan Hendrik Fouche received the farm Melksrivier, 3 000 morgen in extent, in quitrent in June 1817. The drawing shows her house situated between the wheatfields on the Melks River bank and the 4½ morgen of vineyard and one morgen of garden. The last two areas are arranged into a formal rectangle, possibly surrounded with a garden wall or planted hedge.

The landscape surrounding this farm is graphically described on the drawing:

"Almost the whole surface of this farm", the surveyor tells us, "consists of dry, barren karroo veld because of the shortage of water, for all cultivation unsuitable and furthermore very bad grazing so that the river in the dry season delivers only enough water to irrigate the wheatfields and gardens".

These green fields in contrast to the dry surrounding veld must indeed have felt like an oasis around the owner's dwelling. No wonder they chose to situate their house amongst the gardens and cultivated land.

In 1849 the farm was acquired by Thomas and Emma Parkes whose descendants are still farming there. A short history of the farm, written by Marjory Parkes, tells how the farm passed from one Fouche to the other until in 1844 it was bought by Michael Joseph Adendorff and John Thornhill who five years later again sold it to Thomas Parkes. According to the family, brandy was at the time the main source of income. By reducing the bulk of the product, it was, of course easier and more economical to transport than wine. Raisins and vinegar were, however, also made from the grapes.

Quince hedges surrounded the different blocks of the vineyards, lucerne fields and orchards and pomegranites surrounded the gardens of the homestead.

*Rosa rubiginosa*, the common English hedge-rose with the apple-scented foliage was also used as hedging material and patches are still to be found on the werf. The roses were probably introduced by the British settlers and it is possible that the quince and pomegranite, which had been a traditional Dutch fencing material, had preceded them.

The two long thatched houses lying adjacent to each other, which the Parkes had found on the Melksrivier werf, had obviously been built by the Fouches in the style of the Dutch houses which they had known in the Klein Drakenstein where Jan Hendrik's Huguenot grandfather Philippe, had lived after his arrival from France in 1688 (he was living with wife and family at De Wilde Paardenjacht in 1699).

An 18th century photograph of these houses shows the typical security measures which were taken later by the British settlers to protect themselves from black attackers. The look-out platform on
tion of a porch on the front and back would give a destructive taking-fire along the principal walls; while the windows of the ground floor in the gables, being blocked up, and one left open above, would enable all parts of the exterior to be defended without exposing the defenders. As houses are now built on the frontier, the inmates are obliged to go outside to fire with any effect, thus exposing themselves to great personal and unnecessary risk.

To secure the roof against the fire-brand is an important point. Thatch ought never to be used on the frontier, if tiles, or Kafirboom shingles, can be obtained. There is also abundance of zinc in the colony; a roof covered with plates of this metal is not expensive, (in a town it is even less so than thatch,) and cannot be set on fire. The difference of insurance is also to be noted; for zinc roofs 2s. 6d. per cent is charged, for thatch 15s.

If soil walls, six feet high, were to be built round farm houses, and at a little distance from them, with an interior step to enable one to fire over the wall, and an exterior ditch all round, farms would be rendered as secure as military field works usually are.

Drawing by Capt J Alexander in the Grahamstown Journal August 1835

compare with the Melkrivier house

Twee Fonteinen in the Camdeboo as it appeared on the 1817 grant drawing
top of the roof and the porch covering the front door to the one cottage were probably added by John Thornhill or Thomas Parkes.\textsuperscript{32}

A drawing done by the present owner's wife of the werf and the dates of the various buildings, shows how the landscape design of the farm has remained remarkably the same since the time of the 1815 grant. The vineyard and garden are exactly in the same position, so are the lands, the road and the position of the werf. The building indicated in 1815 which now turns out to have been two very closely spaced buildings, are still standing with their mud walls and reed ceilings but under tiled roofs.

Buildings added by the Parkes in the mid 19th century were placed at right angles to the old buildings around a formal courtyard and the road shifted to run outside of them. These buildings were built of stone to window-sill height and bricks further up, and have reed ceilings, like the original buildings.

In this way the simple old Dutch werf had been developed by English settlers into a formal one and the rest of the landscape pattern maintained as they had found it.

\textit{Twee Fonteinen}\textsuperscript{33}

The widow Christoffel Dippenaar was the recipient of the 3 000 morgen of land "In De Camdeboo" called Twee Fonteinen, in June 1817. It had been occupied as a loan farm by her husband for some time and was now, at her request, converted to quitrent.

The farm was situated on the Klein Zondags River, which as we have seen before, was mostly dry in winter, but there are a number of irregularly shaped cultivated areas along its banks and a small garden of half a morgen also on the riverbank. The T-shaped house (not clearly drawn), lies at the "ordonnante" point in the centre of the cultivated areas.

Quite a large percentage of the cultivated area is a vineyard and the rest, 40 morgen, probably wheatfields. A public road crosses the drift below the house and then passes the werf before crossing a second drift.

In the Karroo great masses of water could come down very quickly and unexpectedly in river beds if it rained in an area further up, and these drifts could under such conditions be extremely dangerous.\textsuperscript{34}

The situation of farmsteads near to the drifts was therefore of benefit not only to travellers, but also the farmers themselves who traded their products with those passing by their farms on the public roads. Hilgart Muller, on the Vet River, made a good living by selling his produce to passing travellers.\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{32} Refer the article in the Graham's Town Journal 20 August 1835, where a drawing of such a porch looks remarkably like the one at Wheatlands
\textsuperscript{33} Graaff Reinet Quitrents, Vol 11, 2.6.1817
\textsuperscript{34} Refer Kathleen Mc Magh, A Dinier of Herbs, p51; Journal of John Ayliif, p22; Journal of William Shaw. p42 "and the great and sudden rise of the rivers is almost incredible"
\textsuperscript{35} Van Reenen D G, Journal, p52
Niet te Na along the Melks River

The neat werf of Onbedacht in 1815

The established werf of Eensamheid, granted to J A Theron in quitrent in 1815
Niet Te Na

Barend Van Blerk received his loan farm Niet te Na, (Not Too Near) in quitrent in 1817. It was then 3 000 morgen in size.

The surveyor Leeb noted that the farm consisted of a chain of high rocky hills interspaced with ravines which nevertheless provided reasonable grazing, but the top of these hills consisted of rock masses and so was totally unsuitable for any use.

The Melks River, which ran in one of these ravines, dried up in the dry season.

The house (poorly drawn) lay high up in the ravine, surrounded by and facing its garden and river amongst rocky ridges. No road is shown and access to the house must therefore have been along a very rough farm track along the river bank.

On the one side of the river lay 210 morgen of good grazing and on the other side 30 morgen of wheatlands. The view from the house over garden, river, wheatlands and stony ridges must indeed have been very beautiful.

Onbedacht

This loan farm of 2 448 morgen was granted to Petrus Pienaar in quitrent in 1815.

Surveyor Leeb does not usually draw the different elements of farm werfs but in this case he must have been impressed with the neat werf for he drew it in detail.

The house and outbuilding, both long buildings, are shown lying in a line with an avenue of trees planted in front of them and on the approach road from Graaff Reinet. The house faces 19 morgen of cultivated land planted in a trapezium which seems to be bounded by a garden wall or perhaps a hedge. A double row of trees is planted at the house end of this area and another line of trees along its road boundary.

The two morgen vineyard, surrounded by a hedge (indicated by a broken line) and with avenues on the river and far sides, lies behind the house along the river bank.

Eensaamheid

This old loan farm was granted to Jacobus Arnoldus Theron in quitrent in 1815. Of the 2 252 morgen only 1 000 were useful as reasonable grazing. The rest, because of the mountainous character of the land, was useless for farming.

The werf on this farm did not lie at the "ordonnantie" point but next to its orchard and cultivated lands in the bend of the river. These lands covered more than ten morgen which seem to be walled, or hedged, in and another 6 morgen of fine arable land is shown.

36 Graaff Reinet Quitrents, Vol 11
37 S.G.280/1815
38 S.G.276/1815
The three buildings at Buffelskloof were not arranged in geometrical relation to each other.

Brakkefontein in the Aberdeen distrik in 1815

Uitkyk in 1816 showing the T-shaped house and outbuilding in line with it
The main wagon road passed a drift below the house, then went past the orchard and crossed a second drift before going on its way, only to cross the river once again further along, which suggests a very rocky environment.

**Buffelskloof**

Jan Bastiaan Rabie received his loan farm, Buffelskloof in the Camdeboo on 6.4.1818. The 2 400 morgen lay on either side of the Camdeboo River.

This is one of the few farms where three buildings are shown on the werf and leads one to think that all the other farms described above actually did have only one building, perhaps for all their needs under one roof.

The T-shaped house lay at the mid-point of the farm and looked down over its cultivated fields. In the back yard was a long building parallel to the back wing of the house and in front of the house was a smaller building almost at right angles to it.

There were over three morgen of garden and vineyard and 39 morgen of cultivated land (probably wheatlands). The rest was stony ground with grass grazing, the largest part of which was, however, sour in winter.

**Brakkefontein in the Aberdeen district**

Johannes Francois Smit received his loan farm Brakkefontein in quitrent in 1815. It was situated on the Brakke River which is said to be "altoos standhoudend" (perennial).

The house and one outbuilding at right angles to it are situated at the mid-point near to 29 morgen of cultivated land on the river bank. The river forms a large island of four morgen in one area which is also cultivated. A further note on the drawing states that with labour and diligence more land can be made arable!

The high road to Graaff Reinet passes close to the house, which probably faces the river, looking over part of the cultivated lands and the drift where the road crosses the river.

**Uitkyk**

Jacobus Van der Berg’s old loan farm was given to him in quitrent in 1816. It consisted of 2 373 morgen of which 1 000 morgen were "skraale Carroo voor Schapen" (poor Karroo for sheep).

The water came from a perennial spring as well as a second weaker one so that there were only 3 morgen of cultivated land and one morgen of garden.

The T-shaped house and an outhouse in line with it lay at the mid-point facing the cultivated areas below it.

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39 S.G.263/1815
40 In the same year he was also granted the farm Allemanskraal in Quitrent, S.G.261/1815
41 S.G.278/1816
42 S.G.274/1816
Zeekoegat in 1817 showing a house and two parallel outbuildings forming a fore-court

The drawing of Melkhoutkraal in 1821 showing a row of outbuildings behind the house
Zeekoegat

In 1817 this loan farm was granted in quitrent to Joachim Wilke (Jan's son). It was situated on the Camdeboo river which was mostly dry in winter. Situated at the mid-point, the werf consisted of three buildings - a house and two outbuildings at right angles to it forming an open court. A number of roads come together at this point and the one to Brakkefontein runs through the werf. No cultivated areas are shown here.

Melkhoutkraal

This farm was first granted in loan to Stephanus Jesias Terblans (Terblanche) in 1770 and farmed by his wife when he died twenty years later. The widow in 1798 married Johann Von Lindenbaum, a German from Alsace, who in turn sold it to Richard Holiday in 1801. Holiday had to pay for the house which had been built either by the Terblanches or Von Lindebaumn.

It was at this time that the second war with the Xhosas was being fought and the black warriors overran the Lange Kloof, the indigenous forests to Knysna and Plettenberg Bay, taking cattle, burning down farm werfs, looting and murdering along their route. Melkhout Kraal fell into their path of destruction and was accordingly razed to the ground.

Lichtenstein described the werf when he passed that way in 1803. Judging from the large area over which ruins were spread, it seemed to him that a well developed werf had been established as well as considerable vineyards, a vegetable garden and a large variety of fruit trees including oranges, peaches, bananas, almonds and apricots. There were also rose and jasmine hedges. Though he had the feeling that he was "wandering in the pleasure gardens of some enchanted prince", Lichtenstein unfortunately does not describe the lay-out of this fertile spot. Latrobe however does tell us that though "the garden was well stocked with a great variety of produce, but no attention had been paid to ornament".

To this paradise came the British settler, George Rex and his wife, Johanna Rosina, a manumitted slave girl, in 1804 and commenced rebuilding the ruins and re-establishing the gardens. A drawing of the werf and its magnificent natural surroundings appears on a map of 1821 drawn by A C Petersen, where four outbuildings are arranged in a row with the house parallel to them but slightly forward towards the lake.

From the accompanying report it was clear that Rex was using the island for grazing his cattle and charging villagers hire for their grazing, while it was found that the island was state land, and that he therefore had no grazing right there or the right to hire out the grazing. Rex however soon bought up surrounding land and by 1830 owned almost 10 000 hectares, which included the land around the Knysna basin.

43 S.G.1/1817
44 R.L.R.22/2
45 Lichtenstein, Travels in Southern Africa, Vol 1, pp242-3
46 Latrobe C I, Visit to the South of Africa, p159
47 C/A, P.W.D. 2/119, dated July 1821
48 Storrer, George Rex: Death of a Legend, pp126-7
In her description of Melkhout Kraal, (she has two references for this: an insurance policy of December 1830 and a description by Captain John Fischer, son-in-law of George Rex) Georgina Storrer notes "a private dwelling house with thatched roof in two wings.. 21 metres across the front and 15.2 metres deep". This was built of brick and had a fireplace in the sitting room as well as the kitchen and could have been old Terblanche's T-house.

The outbuildings consisted of a brick building housing store-room and offices; a brick building containing a servants' kitchen with fireplace as well as a carpenters' shop and servants' bedroom; a stone building containing bedrooms and loft; a brick building used as a wine cellar at one end and a slaughter-house and iron store at the other, and a wagon-house with storerooms and a granary in the loft. These were all long buildings and one notices again the multiple use of each. A water mill was also mentioned.

A drive through an avenue of oaks terminated in front of the house which was fronted by a row of giant oaks. If the oaks were so large, they were obviously planted in the middle of the 18th century when the first house was built by Stephanus Terblans, thus confirming the date of the original formal werf.

From the house an avenue of pear trees ran westwards to the garden and oak plantation. The oranges and naartjies were planted on the one side and the vineyard on the other but George Rex after restoring the garden, planted further fig, quince, apple and mulberry trees from the house to the lagoon. The P W D. map shows two rectangles of cultivated land, both of about 15 morgen, but no avenues or other detailed information is shown.

Piesangrivier

This farm of 60 morgen which was situated on the Piesang River at Plettenberg Bay, was given in freehold to Cornelis Botha in 1810, but the drawing with the grant shows a well established werf, which suggests that the farm had been occupied before then. Cornelis Botha also owned the farms Brakkefontein and Leeuwenkuil on the Klein Visrivier in 1803.

The T-shaped house faced west to the public thoroughfare which crossed the river south of the werf. A forecourt was formed by two outbuildings lying at right angles to the house and a large cultivated area is shown on the opposite bank of the river east of the house.

One seldom sees any reference to the people who occupied the land before the white settlers, but here a Hottentot kraal is shown and a condition of the grant was that they should be allowed to remain here undisturbed.

Keurboomrivier

This was an old loan farm which Johannes Moolman received in quitrent in 1820.

49 Storrer P, George Rex: Death of a Legend, p128
50 S.G.80/1810
51 Van Reenen D G, Journal, p200
52 S.G.239/1820
Keurboomrivier in 1820 had a neat werf with three outbuildings and almost 20 morgen of land under irrigation.

In 1820 Cariega, a cancelled loan farm, was on request granted to Pieter Retief. At the time there was an L-shaped building, but two years later when this same farm was promised to the settler Miller the "old house" is shown as a long building. Presumably one wing had been demolished.
By that time a neatly established werf already existed. It consisted of a T-shaped house and two
outbuildings, one shorter than the other, the one parallel to the house, the other at right angles to
it.

Two rectangular gardens, one of five and the other of four morgen lay in front of and to the side of
the werf and there were also 9½ morgen of cultivated land, probably under irrigation, as this is a
well watered area. Botha could also keep cattle, for 400 morgen of summer grazing is indicated
along the banks of the Keursboomriver.

When Van Reenen visited the Plettenberg Bay area in 1803, he noticed that several settlers were
living there and that they all had fine gardens planted with vines and fruit trees and whatever else
they needed. Their income was, however derived from selling wood to the Government and to
merchants who shipped the wood from there.  

2 FARMS OF THE BRITISH SETTLERS

Although a great deal of information has been published on the lives of the 1820 settlers, and some
pictorial information provided of their farms, a great deal of further on-site research would have
been necessary before a worthwhile assessment of the common landscape design patterns could be
made. As this was beyond the scope of this thesis the author has relied on the evidence obtained
from the deeds office, photographs and private publications of individual farms. As mentioned
above, though numerous quitrent grant volumes from 1820 onwards were examined for the various
areas where the settlers were given farms, apart from indications of derelict buildings on some of
the grants, very little other information was obtained on their landscape elements.

The lay-out of a few farms have therefore been assessed in order to compare the approach of the
British settlers to landscape organisation with that of their Dutch predecessors.

When the British Government decided to bring out large numbers of immigrants and to settle
them along the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony, their sole objective was to minimise the
expense of maintaining numerous military forces on the frontier by replacing them with a dense
rural population. Each family or individual was allowed 100 acres of land which was to be
measured and registered in their name after three years, a condition of the grant being that no
employment of slaves would be allowed. They were to be supplied with food until their crops were
mature.

Settlers from Guernsey were placed in the Zwartkops area, east of Fort Frederik, the Scotch party
along the upper Baviaans River, 240 kilometres inland in the mountainous area, and the rest were
allocated land in the so-called Zuurveld.

The findings on the farms of the British Settlers will now be examined:

53 Van Reenen D G, Journal, p69
54 Mr John Rennie has very kindly spent some time showing me his slide collection and also lent me some for
reproduction
55 Hockley H E, Story of the British Settlers of 1820 in South Africa, p24
(above) Two "old buildings" are shown on the grant to Mr Pigot in 1820
(below) The mansion built by Mr Pigot on the side of a hill overlooking the Cariega River

Chelsea, near Port Elizabeth in 1885
2.1 PICTORIAL INFORMATION

2.1.1 Anonymous

_Pigot Park_

The anonymous pencil sketch shows a narrow valley with steep banks overgrown with shrubs and trees. Next to the stream is the kitchen garden set out in rectangular beds and on the side of the hill Pigot Park rises out of the undergrowth like a round castle, with shooting holes and a turret. This is the position which Maj Pigot chose for his new house when he arrived at the Blauuwkrantz Post and which was built in 1820 under his supervision by the artisans and men who had accompanied his party, whilst his family lived nearby in temporary accommodation. He himself had been impressed with the beauty of the situation: "The whole place is like a highly-dressed park, plenty of good wood, pasture, water and stone. I have since found good slate and clay". Little did he know that this whole area had been abandoned by the Dutch farmers after the disastrous raids of hordes of black warriors in August, 1819 and the same fate awaited the house of which he was so proud.\(^\text{52}\)

For Pigot's house was as dramatic as the surroundings and his whole family obviously enjoyed the beauty of the natural environment according to the diary of his daughter Sophia, who repeatedly refers to the "delightful", "beautiful" or "very picturesque" or "very parkish" countryside where they loved to walk.

Maj Pigot brought two large hogsheads of vine cuttings and trees from Cape Town, also to distribute amongst the other settlers.\(^\text{57}\) It is obvious that he was intent on turning the ready-made park which he had found into an English estate.\(^\text{58}\)

And when the initial intention to establish agricultural farms was later, from 1826 onwards, changed to merino farming as a much better economic option, Maj Pigot was one of those who switched from cultivating the land to sheep farming, thus adding the charm of grazing sheep to the other natural beauties of Park.

2.1.2 WA Hurries

_Cheelsea, near Port Elizabeth in 1855_

This pen and wash sketch\(^\text{59}\) shows the homestead and surrounding landscape of the Government farm near Algoa Bay. It lies on a hillside softened by many clumps of trees and shrubs and according to Sophia Pigot a nearby waterfall and lake which was much enjoyed by visitors to the farm.\(^\text{60}\)

The single storey house, probably with tiled roof, has a double-storied towered entrance with a hexagonal roof, probably of slate as it is black. A low outbuilding lying parallel to the house behind

56 Rainier M, _The Journals of Sophia Pigot_, p17
57 Harry Hastings, p81
58 Ayliff Rev J, _The Journal of Harry Hastings_, p81
59 Owner Mrs F A Smith, published in _Journal of Sophia Pigot_, p95
60 Rainier M, _The Journal of Sophia Pigot_, p58
Glendour, near the mouth of the Kowie River (Mr Thomas Phillips' farm in 1824).

Thornhill near the mouth of the Kowie River in 1820.
it, appears to be a of a wattle and daub construction with thatched roof. In contrast to the very prominent whitewashed house, this shed is insignificant, almost fading into its surroundings.

The two rectangular gardens, surrounded by widely spaced wooden railings, are neatly laid out, in strong contrast to the winding paths, informal plants below the stoep and the clumps of trees on the werf.  

2.1.3 Thompson

Glendour near the mouth of the Kowie, 1824. This farm belonged to Thomas Phillips who had arrived in 1820 with Crause’s party. His house which lies just below the crown of the hill, appears to be double-storeyed with windows only in the upper storey, probably for security. Two doors on the ground floor could probably be barricaded. The roof which appears to be thatched, is hipped with the two hips sweeping low down, creating a most unusual appearance.

A picket fence left of the house is hardly visible and if there are outbuildings they are not shown. A clump of trees behind the house is probably part of the natural plant growth, for they are too large to have been planted by the settler. The beauty of the natural environment is further shown by the addition of aloes and euphorbias in the foreground amongst other unknown shrubs.

Thornhill, near the mouth of the Kowie, was the farm which belonged to Charles Thornhill, the leader of his party who arrived in 1820.

This farm is situated on the side of a hill, and consists of a cluster of five buildings which do not appear to be placed in geometrical relation to each other. A round hut behind the house may again be the cooking shelter.

The house is single storeyed and may be either L- or T- shaped. A small lean-to is attached to one side. The most conspicuous element of the werf, however, is the wall which enclosing the cultivated area in front of the house. It has five sides and though a straight path with four rectangular beds on either side of it runs from the gate towards the house, this path is not on axis with the front door. In fact the angular garden wall cuts up the parkland around the house into most unusual shapes.

2.1.4 T Baines

On the Kroomie River - Inn at Leuwenfontein

Five farm buildings - three in a group together and two a little further away forming a second group, are placed informally with no geometrical relation. They lie in the natural landscape on a rising and there is no planting around them.

61 See also pp58 and 141
62 Thompson G, Travels and Adventures in South Africa, p332
63 Ibid, p20
64 Caruthers J, Eastern Cape Sketches, p148
**Klaas Smits River**

This farm belonged to Edward Turvey, an 1820 settler. The werf is situated on a bare plateau and consists of what appears to be a cluster of five buildings. They are not of the same height, not in a straight row and though four appear to be constructed of plastered walls, the fifth with, a domed roof, is probably a wattle and daub construction. Another similar hut is near it, placed slightly forward and another one right in the foreground. The informal arrangement has not been enhanced with any planting.  

**Great Table Mountain**

The farm drawn in the foreground is heavily defended with a high ring wall with shooting holes. Inside the enclosure is a cluster of buildings and a few trees and outside the wall there is the bare treeless veld.

**Camp at Mr Painters**

The group of farm buildings situated on an eminence in the bare veld is drawn with a camp of colonial forces situated on the nearby hill. The three farm buildings are right next to each other but not in line, and one appears to be of wattle and daub. Further up the hill is a shed also of wattle and daub. There are no trees and no cultivated fields.

**2.1.5 E Bowker**

**Tharfield**

This farm, situated between the Rietrivier and Kleinemonde River, was granted to Miles Bowker adjacent to his earlier farm, Oliveburn, in 1822. He had arrived with his family of eight sons two years before at Oliveburn, the farm granted to him in 1820 and remained living there until 1839 while his two eldest sons built the two houses at Tharfield for themselves.

The farmyard, including these two houses, an outbuilding, hut and kraal were drawn by Julia Eliza Bowker in the early 1880s.

The smaller of the two houses, known as the "Boys House" is the older one of the two and was built of stone soon after 1822, with gabled ends and thatched roof. At the west end the building had been widened to accommodate a stable.

The second or "Bertram House", also built of stone, was larger and originally consisted of four rooms in a row, the centre room containing the fire-place. The loft was accessible from an outside ladder.

The complex was situated on a hill from where there was a beautiful view of the sea. The low, horizontal stone buildings and palisaded kraal blended imperceptibly into the natural surroundings.

65 Caruthers J, *Eastern Cape Sketches*, p161
66 Ibid
67 Ibid, p173
at that stage. Both houses have now undergone alterations and a few exotic pines and eucalyptus have been planted near them while paddocks are located away from the house on a level plateau.

Bowker, being an experienced farmer, had hoped to farm with merinos but finding them unsuitable, soon discovered other means of subsistence. By 1824 he had planted many fruit trees and 15,000 vines and was selling hides, fat, butter and cheese. By 1834 he had 1,000 head of cattle.

2.2 SETTLERS' JOURNALS

2.2.1 Thomas Pringle

Pringle as leader of a band of Scotch immigrants, described the first glimpse of their future home as a "verdant basin" covered with sparse grass and shrubs and surrounded with mountainous cliffs. They cut reeds and willow poles on the river banks and constructed temporary houses, which Pringle called "Hartebeest Huts" and as the huts had no chimneys, a circular shelter built of reeds and plastered with clay was erected in front of their huts to serve as kitchens.

Cultivated land was planted with slips of fruit trees obtained from their Dutch neighbours and further fruit trees from Mr. Hart at Somerset Farm. These were apple, pear, peach, apricot, almond, walnut, plum, lemon, figs and vines. Hedging material was of pomegranite and quince. Seed obtained locally of pumpkin and carrots thrived, but seed brought with them from Scotland did not. Their kitchen gardens would therefore have resembled those of their Dutch neighbours, as is apparent from a description of Big Willem Prinsloo's farm which was also found to be well stocked with a good orchard and vegetable garden hedged with quince and pomegranite.

After a year the garden was thriving and "plentifully stocked with potatoes, Indian corn, pumpkins and melons, besides the usual English garden seed" and they had sown 20 acres of wheat. They had also acquired 30 cows and a few sheep and goats.

Pringle described the werf of Arend Coetzee in the Tarka Valley called Elandsdrift, and thought the house to be very similar to an old-fashioned Scotch barn. The nine foot high walls were built of clay plastered with a mixture of sand and cow-dung, and white-washed with pipe clay or shell lime. Thatching was with rushes. There were no ceilings and floors were of pounded stamped down ant-hill finished with a wash of cow-dung. Windows and doors were closed with frames across which raw quagga hide had been fastened. Prinsloo's garden, "deficient in neatness", was none the less stocked with orange and lemon trees, a kitchen garden and a "neat" vineyard irrigated from a canalised mountain stream. He also had a water mill and kraals for his animals - 700 cattle and 5,000 sheep. This farm would therefore have had the appearance of the farms painted by Gordon some twenty years before.

68 Bertram Bowker, Reminiscences
69 Meiring J, Thomas Pringle His Life & Times, pp40-43. She quotes from Pringle's A Narrative of a Residence in South Africa
70 Ibid, pp42-45
When Pringle was later allotted his own land, he erected a hut similar to those described before, of twenty willow poles planted in a circle of some 18 feet, drawn together at the top and tied to a central post, thatched with reeds and having no chimney. His door, made of packing cases, opened in two halves (as one sees on Le Valliants drawings) and windows consisted of a frame covered with linen. Mud-plastered walls were washed with a mixture of pipe clay and wood ashes "forming a handsome and durable greyish stone colour". Again the lack of a chimney would have necessitated the erection of a kitchen hut.9

Because of the organic nature of their low walls and thatched roofs, this type of building almost disappeared into the surrounding landscape, the more so where such landscape was enriched by shrubs and trees.

2.2.2 William Shaw

When the Rev Shaw built his own house in Salem in 1820, he built of mud, on a different plan to that used by the majority of Settlers, which was the wattle and daub manner. The wattle and daub houses, he said were not durable as the wood rotted, so that such dwellings were in complete ruins in four to five years. His clay walls were 450 to 600 mm thick, and built in layers of 300mm high. He refers to similar houses in Cornwall and the South of France. Kraals and fields were being bounded by posts and rails of one metre high and this is confirmed in the Schumacher sketches.72

2.2.3 "Harry Hastings" (Actually John Ayliff)

On the 5th July 1820, a day after their arrival at their allotment in the Albany settlement, the men started breaking up the land to prepare for seed beds and two days later were sowing vegetable seed - York cabbages, celery, spinach, turnip, onion and lettuce as well as marrows and French beans. Later potatoes and peas were also sown.73

A month later "We got three buildings up to the wall plate of sods" while thatch for the roof could be cut nearby.74

They were visited by Mr Hart, supervisor of Somerset Farm, who obviously influenced and helped the settlers in their planning. This Government farm had been established by Sir Charles Somerset initially to grow tobacco, but when this failed, it was gardened to provide for the frontier garrisons. Mr Hart told Hastings that the many settlers who had built in the valleys would be washed out when the rain came down, and that houses should always be situated on the side of a hill with the front facing the rising sun.75

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71 Ibid, pp60-61
74 Ibid, p71
75 Ibid, p79
Site plan and south elevation of Stoneyfield according to J J Booyse shows the assymetrical arrangement of buildings and connecting walls around the fortified courtyard and the double-storeyed house constructed of stone with a slate roof.

The stone buildings and walls merge into the natural surroundings.
2.2.4 John Stubbs

Stubbs also describes how he built his house at Mahoney of clay, laying down layers of 300mm high and 450 thick for the walls. When the clay was almost dry it was pared off with a large hay knife before another layer was put on. 76

2.3 PRIVATELY PUBLISHED SOURCES

2.3.1 W Booysen Jan Jonathan

A study of a number of fortified towns by J J Booysen of U.C.T. together with photographs of some of these obtained from Mr John Rennie, were used to assess the landscape of the following farms:

Stoneyfields

The werf, consisting of house, two outbuildings and a gate-house joined to each other with two metre high walls, was obviously built as a protective unit. The only entrance was through a gate opposite the flat-roofed, double-storeyed gate-house from where approaching attackers could be shot through narrow loopholes on the top floor.

Most of the house, also with two storeys, is situated outside the werf, facing south towards the river which had a dense growth of thorn trees and scrub on its banks. A lower back wing and two flat-roofed extensions on the north, fell largely inside the werf and another flat-roofed room attached to the house on its west, lay outside the werf. The two long outbuildings, one with a flat and the other with a pitched roof, formed the north-west corner of the werf, outside walls being without windows, but supplied with narrow, inside shuttered shooting loopholes for defence.

The unplastered cluster of stone buildings are the same colour as the surrounding veld which slopes away from them without disturbance of contour, and unrelieved by plantings of trees. Only the small garden in front of the house is on a terrace and said by Lewcock to be "in the Italian fashion", but it is not clear what that means in this instance.

Sidbury Park

According to Lewcock, Sidbury Park, situated on the road between Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown, was less exposed to raids and therefore security was not a priority when the farm complex was constructed by Lt Daniel's party in the 1820s. Yet the double-storeyed house had two stoeps with a later double and a single storey back-wing, which was attached to its outbuildings by two metre-high walls after the 6th Frontier War. The four large sashes and two smaller ones in the ground floor 'stoepkamers' would have been quite vulnerable, but were protected by internal shutters. 77

77 Lewcock R, Early Nineteenth Century Architecture in South Africa, plan, p187
Sidbury Park's site plan with its terraced garden and south elevation of the double storeyed house. The buildings are formally arranged around a central courtyard (J J Booysen)
The garden on four terraces lies in front of the house, which faces south, but there is no further information about the age of this garden. The present plants, apart from the large oak, are probably of recent origin and planted in a rather haphazard way although the garden itself is laid out formally and symmetrically.

The imposing mansion with its symmetrical facade, many living rooms downstairs and ballroom and four bedrooms upstairs, forms a strong contrast to the simple three-roomed dwellings of the earlier frontier farmers and obviously reflects much more sophisticated tastes and needs as well as the superior wealth and status of the owner.

*Barville Park*

When General Campbell decided that he would bring a party of 100 to settle on the Eastern Frontier, he was allocated a tract of land at Rietfontein which was later to be named Barville Park. His agent, who had preceded him to his place, had erected a wattle and daub house and planted a garden, before Campbell's arrival with a wife and seven children in April 1822.

The agent had suggested that his house would be close to a wood where "I can with little trouble cut avenues for him and his family to walk in the shade all day and will have the river running nearly all round the house". The agent therefore took it for granted that the General would prefer a garden laid out in the "English style" where the natural environment would be incorporated as part of the pleasures of the estate.

Scarcely a month after his arrival General Campbell was killed in a horse accident and his wife continued stock farming for another ten years before she ceded the property to her step-son, William Campbell, and returned to England.

In the 1840s the property passed to the Dell family and has remained in the ownership of their descendents till today.

A more substantial stone house and outbuildings encircled by a defensive stone wall, protected by a gate-house at the entrance, and with a stone kraal on a lower level, were constructed between 1842 - 1845 by Stephen Dell. Obviously designed for defence, the stone walls, stepping down with the hill, blend almost imperceptibly into the surrounding shrubby veld.

A birds-eye view of the complex by J J Booysens shows the house situated inside the fortified enclosure with its corner embrasures from where both the house and kraal could be protected, as well as the double-storey gate-house which was provided with slotted windows to cover the entrance. A walled garden is indicated in front of the house and a vegetable garden between the kraal and house.

A plan and description by George Gilbert of how a defensible house could be built, was published in the *Graham's Town Journal* of 10 September 1835 and obviously influenced Dell when he built

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78 Booyse J J, *Barville Park*, p88
79 Booyse, J J Barfield Park, p62
The entrance next to the gate-house (Rennie)

One of the embrasures with its loop-holes

The stone walls enclosing a kraal and the domestic courtyard, are fortified by embrasures from where both spaces can be defended (site plan by J J Booysen)
The diagram shows a site plan of Sephton Manor, depicting the fortified sloping enclosure and the south elevation of the double-storeyed house (J J Boysen). The house faces south over the garden outside the enclosure.

George Gilbert's plan for a defensible house from the *Graham's Town Journal*, September 1835.
The "stoepkamers" of Sephton Maner (Rennie photographs)

Lombard's Post where one always sees more than two buildings in a group
his high stone walls with shooting slots and embrasures. The gate-house was not part of Gilbert’s plan but with slotted windows in the outer wall and further slots on the second storey, Dell hoped to defend his property from the approaching enemy even more effectively.

From a distance, the horizontal line of stone kraal and outbuilding walls stepping down the hill, softened by large trees inside and outside the werf, have the appearance of a well camouflaged fort.

However, in spite of all these precautions, his werf was burnt down and all his cattle driven off by the Xhosas in 1846.

**Sephton Manor**

This complex was constructed for George Gilbert on the pattern of his plan discussed above, but the side wings of his house were rectangular instead of trapezoids as shown on his plan, forming stoepkamers on either side of the veranda entrance.

The buildings and courtyard walls are situated on a hill and surrounded with grasslands so that it is clearly visible from a distance especially after a tower had been added.

The house faced south onto its garden outside the courtyard wall. The two long outbuildings with a tower between them, formed part of the west ring-wall. The outside walls of this stone enclosure were all built with loop-holes, yet the whole place was burnt down in 1846 by the Xhosas, presumably because there were too few people at the time to defend it.

**Lombard’s Post**

The earliest form of defence on the eastern frontier consisted of palisades constructed of erythrina branches, and thatched huts between them. The branches grew and therefore did not rot and so became very effective kraals. (One is reminded of Jan Van Riebeeck’s palisade on the border of the embryo colony in the 17th century).

By 1816 fifteen square stone forts had been constructed along the Fish River and by 1819 these had been increased to some 25 amongst which was Lombard’s Post near the Kowie River. Major Fraser of Grahamstown was granted this land to farm in 1817 as a reward for his services.

Benjamin Keeton acquired the property in the 1830s, and designed the present group of buildings as a protection for his valuable stud horses after the 1835 war.

The double storey house with "stoep-kamers" faced south outwards and three other double storey buildings faced onto an enclosed courtyard formed by two-metre high stone connecting walls with loop holes, between the buildings. The entrance on the north is guarded by a gate-house as at Barville Park.
Site plan of Lombard's Post near the Kowie River, and Keeton's stone house from the north (J J Boysen)

1. The barracks
2. Keeton's house
3. The fort
4. The store
5. Wells
6. Garden
7. The entrance
8. Cross-fire
9. Yard

The double storey stone barracks at Lombard's Post (Rennie)
A formal garden lay in front of the house outside the courtyard.

SUMMARY

All the evidence indicates that the Dutch farmers who had settled in the Eastern Cape by the end of the 18th century, had designed their werfs in an orderly and formal way. Sometimes there was only one permanent building, but when there were two or more, they were placed with geometrical regard to each other, either at right angles or in a row. Temporary buildings for labourers and other needs were of two kinds - round huts or kapst styl structures and these were placed at random. His lands were set out in squares and his gardens and vineyards were protected with planted boundaries or surrounded by walls usually stone. When a farmer did not have the means to construct proper buildings or had lost those that he had had, he too lived in temporary structures such as those drawn by Burchell until his werf could be rebuilt.

Dutch werfs were situated mostly at the mid-point of the loan farms, but always near to the cultivated areas like vineyards and gardens onto which they usually faced. When the loan farms were converted to quitrent, the werfs remained as they were.

But when new grants were made in quitrent to 1820 settlers, the midpoint became unimportant and they had a choice of positions to place their new homes: "And then came the selection of sites, and the preparation of material for more permanent dwellings. The nervous looked out for defensible positions. The men of sentiment sought picturesque spots, where the beauties of nature might be seen to advantage, forgetting sometimes to enquire whether they were within reach of water or not. More practically, the sober father of a family of healthy lads from the rural districts examined the soils and fixed on a homestead in the midst of his prospective cornfields". 84

This quotation throws light on the considerations which led to the choices of the different types of environment with which the British settlers surrounded themselves.

The ones with defence as priority, constructed lookout towers and enclosed their animals and domestic buildings with 2 metre high stone walls with regularly placed slots in them, as in Sephten Manor and Bucklands. The more military approach usually resulted in a formal arrangement of buildings and walls. The other placed his werf near a forest in picturesque surroundings as at Barfield Park, or on higher points on hills where they had a good prospect, especially after the experience of having their first places washed away by flooding rivers in the lower areas.

Many, who had no money nor military personnel to help them build defensive walls, constructed their houses near their cultivated lands as the Dutch farmers had done, adding internal shutters and shooting slots as minimum defence precautions.

Kraals are shown on the sketches of Dutch farms but not on their deed drawings, perhaps because surveyors did not regard it worthwhile to document structures which were built of temporary...
This very interesting Gordon drawing "View of a wheat wine and cattle farm" in the late 18th century, could be in the Eastern Province. A thatched gable house with a high stoep is shown as well as two kapstel houses, right (one on the hill). In front of the house is a sun-dial and on the right, a vineyard.
materials. For both the Dutch and English built their kraals of wooden palisades or branches, and housed their workers in huts or kapstyl structures, also not shown on deeds.

With a minimum of permanent buildings and much of the werf structures composed of more organic building materials, and because werfs were usually situated amongst their cultivated lands, they did not have the stark appearance of their Overberg, Zwartland or Western Cape counterparts where white-washed groups of formally arranged buildings made a strong impact on their surrounding environment.

Of the earlier farms illustrated by Swellengrebel and Burchell, one is struck by the lack of defence systems on Dutch farms and not astonished to hear that by the time that the British settlers arrived, most of these farms had been abandoned because they had been razed to the ground by the advancing black warriors.

Lichtenstein is the only one who in 1803 informs us that the Dutch farmers had planned for the defence of their houses with encircling earth walls constructed about two metres away from the werf buildings which had bastion-like towers at the four corners, from where the farmer could shoot. The opening opposite the front door of the house could be barricaded when necessary. "Many farmers by this kind of fortification saved their houses", he said.

Many of the farms occupied by British settlers were cancelled loan farms on which were the ruins of old Dutch buildings. In these cases the British settlers built up the walls and re-roofed the buildings and restored the gardens, as has been described at Melkhoutkraal and Wheatlands above. In these cases the werfs naturally maintained their previous lay-outs and at wheatlands subsequent buildings continued to be placed formally to eventually for a closed courtyard.

But though many settlers built on the ruins left by the Dutch farmers, their houses were planned according to the pattern of those which they had known in their motherland - double storeyed Georgian structures with symmetrical facades, bay windows, towers, entrance lobbies, verandas and even ballrooms.

And because of the grandeur and beauty of the natural landscape, they were spared the trouble of creating parks, for those dells, mounds, clumps of trees, serpentine streams and ruins which were part of the "picturesque" Brownian landscape, were already there. All they were left to do was to find English names for their estates which would be appropriate to their status, like Barville Park, Piggot Park, Sidbury Park and Sephton Manor!

There was a greater tendency to group buildings informally and in closer proximately, so that they appear clumped together rather than spread out as one sees on Dutch farmsteads.

85 Lichtenstein II, Travels in South Africa, p253
Driven on by a sense of adventure, a lack of farms in the earlier established areas and sometimes a sense of frustration which stemmed from official harassment, there was a certain group of free burghers who moved continuously further inland to look for new hunting fields and better grazing.

Annual grazing licences were requested, especially after W A Van der Stel had been discharged to Holland. Because these grazing farms did not encourage permanent settlements, they would obviously have needed only temporary structures for protection of man and animal and their simple shelters would hardly have had any impact on the natural environment.

But it has been shown how system was spontaneously and gradually replaced with a system of land tenure on an annual loan system, whereby the farmer could obtain as much land as he could mark off from a central ordinance point by walking from there in all directions for half an hour. Such land could be applied for and occupied only after the nearest landdrost had established that the grant would not prejudice others. Of the earliest loan farms were granted in the Olifants River Valley (1725), in the Breede River Valley (1727) to the Langeberge, in the Olifantskloof (1728), over Mostertshoek in the Witzenberge and east to the warm and cold Bokkeveld and still further east to the Lange- and Swartberge in the Gouritz River area (1729). By 1730 loan farms had been granted as far as the Groot Brak River.

All these farms had fallen under the Stellenbosch district, until a new district was formed in 1745 at Swellendam, and loan farms were then granted in this area. In 1770 the Gamtoos River was declared the Eastern boundary of the Colony and in 1775 the last of the Company’s drostdy’s were established at Graaff Reinet and loan farms granted in this area. By the end of the century Europeans had settled throughout the Karoo.

Very little is documented of the first shelters which these pioneer settlers erected on their properties to accommodate their families. Temporary huts constructed of local wood and thatch, in the form known as “Kapstyl” houses, which today are still seen on places like Puntjie and Vemaaklikheid, were the most likely structures to have been used, especially by mobile graziers and hunters, for they were quick to erect and could be constructed of whatever local material was at hand. This was also a traditional construction used by the rural Dutch in the Netherlands in their farm complexes.

Thus it is recorded that the gardeners which Van Riebeeck posted at "t ronde bossje" in 1656, were housed in a straw house until Governor Wagenaer almost ten years later built a new double storey house from material obtained from the demolished redoubt, Coornhoop.

A similar hut is drawn by H V Stade on his panorama of Stellenbosch in 1710 on the farm Oude Meulen. And even as late as 1777, Schumacher shows several of these Kapstyl buildings, grouped together informally on the farm of Johannes Swanepoel in the Camdeboo, and on Van der Walt’s farm in the Sneuuberge, when these were on the outskirts of the Colony, and on an unnamed late 18th century

86 See the illustration of an 18th century cottage in Drente
Materials at hand are used for every purpose. Here a vine pergola is constructed of monoliths in the Loxton parsonage garden.
wheat, wine and stock farm which shows farm workmen in the door of the "Kapstyl huisie. Le Vaillant too drew "kapstyl huisies" at a number of the farms which he painted.

When an inventory of the Company's post at Baas Harmanskraal was made in 1790, prior to its abolishment, the commissioners found no buildings, but only thatched huts for the five thatch-cutters and twelve convalescents who were working there while waiting for ships. These huts again were probably constructed of local material, in the "kapstyl" form.

A "stroo" or "kaf" house is also indicated on an anonymous drawing of the farm Rotterdam which had been a loan farm for many years before it was granted in 1802 to Anthony Alexander Faure, landrost of Swellendam. But this hut was built next to a large farmhouse and outbuilding, and one can only guess that it was intended for the farm labourers.

But where stone was plentiful, more permanent shelters and kraals could be constructed with stone and mud mortar. On the farm Languedoc in the Drakenstein area there is still a small round building built of mud and stone, dating to the earliest days of the farm. And in the Fraserberg, Sutherland districts the corbelled stone huts have by now been well recorded by James Walton.

A new form of land tenure was introduced by Governor Cradock in 1813 whereby farmers owning loan farms not exceeding 3000 morgen could apply for registration under a perpetual quitrent grant. The amount of annual rent to be paid to the Company would depend on the value of the property and its situation. Requests for this type of regrant were so numerous, that it took several years for all the farms to be newly surveyed and transferred.

Depending on the enthusiasm and competence of the surveyors, some of these drawings were most informative, showing solitary huts, or as has been shown in previous chapters, the arrangement of buildings, gardens, cultivated lands, water sources and public roads which had existed on the loan farms for a number of years prior to the quitrent grants.

By going systematically through a number of these quitrent volumes in the different districts, it was possible to examine what kind of human environments were being established by the earliest stock farmers and agriculturists on the outskirts of the Colony, in other words, by the pioneers furthest removed from the influences of the Dutch East India Company and its officials in Table Valley.

Many quitrent grants indicated only "huts" and sometimes kraals. I assumed that there would be no reason to indicate huts and not buildings if they had been there, and so that this was then the only structures on the grant. The "mid point" and the circular boundaries of the loan grant are also sometimes shown.

Many early kraals were probably constructed of dead branches or shrubs, which might not have been worth drawing as permanent structures, and it was therefore assumed that where kraals were indicated,

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87 Sleigh, p265
88 Walton J, Homesteads and Villages of South Africa
they were built, probably of loose-packed stone or built stone. Kraals made of branches are described by Duckitt at Groote Post.89

But kraals planted with shrubs, such as aloes, in the Swellendam district, might also have been regarded permanent enough to indicate on a drawing. Schumacher illustrates circular kraals probably of aloes, in the frontier farms which he visited in the 1770s, but then his drawings were in much more detail. It has been described how settlers in the Eastern Province planted branches of the Erythrina tree which then grew and formed a live hedge.

1 EXAMPLES OF DEEDS SHOWING HUTS ON LOAN FARMS

2 LOAN FARMS CONVERTED TO QUITRENT

2.1 FRASERBURG KAROO

2.1.1 Droogvoetsfontein

2.1.2 Damsfontein

2.2 CERES KAROO

2.2.1 Langefontein

2.2.2 Elandsvlei

2.3 NAMAQUALAND KAROO

89 His diary, an unpublished private document, mentions how 5 people were chopping branches and carting them with a waggon pulled by two oxen and a mule to repair various animal kraals, in August 1848.
EXAMPLES OF DEEDS SHOWING HUTS ON LOAN FARMS

* The farm *Groote Fontein*, in the Hantam, granted to Adolph Kleynhans in 1833, had a number of buildings consisting of a house and outbuildings, one of which is marked "hut". Lichtenstein in 1803 spent a day on the farm which then belonged to "John" Van Reenen (one of his many farms) Lichtenstein found that horses ran in the open field and that no stables existed here, even though one stud horse had been imported from England at a cost of 3 000 "dollars" Van Reenen grew his own wheat on this farm and according to Talbot, such lands were always near the house and animals were moved to other areas while the wheat was on the land.

* The loan-farm, *Blombosfontein* granted to Samuel Odendaal, Jacobus Hercules de Jager and Frederik Josephus de Jager in the same month show only three buildings on the accompanying drawing, all marked "hut".

* Similarly on the drawing of *Oude Muratie*, granted to Lourens Jager and A L du Preez, an old kraal and hut are indicated at the mid point of the circular farm.

* Another example is *Kransfontein*, granted to Phillippus Van Schalkwyk and Christiaan de Jager in 1833, where again a hut is the only building recorded.

* The loan-farm *Jan Pienaars Rivier*, granted to Johan Isaac Cronje and J D J de Necker in 1833 in quitrent shows many cultivated lands and a kraal and hut at the "ordonnante" point.

* *Blomfontein* is another one of the loan farms which was granted in quitrent to Samuel Odendaal, Johannes Hercules and Frederik Josephus de Jager in 1833.

The drawing made for this grant also shows only a hut at the midpoint.

Shelters might have been primitive because only the herdsmen lived there, while the owner lived on one of his other farms, or they were huts left unattended while the farmer was on another farm with his stock and family.

For some of the farmers requested and were granted a number of farms. Jacob Van Reenen, for instance, owned Die Papenfontein, Doornfontein and Kransduinen in the Swartland at the same time that he was living on his farm, Ganzekraal. These three farms, the first of 936 morgen, the second of 1 446 morgen and the third of 2 326 morgen had been granted to him in freehold in 1838. The drawings accompanying the grants showed no buildings of any kind, but only the springs after which the farms were named.

Graziers who occupied loan farms in the colder parts of the Karoo, usually owned *legtplase*, or alternate farms which they used for alternate grazing. Thus Lichtenstein found that the 47 farms in the Lower Roggeveld, were owned by only 22 farmers. He found that every colonist in the Roggeveld, for instance, owned a *legtplaas* in the Great Karoo, on which they paid no rental. The
(top) Bloemfontein

(middle) The re-grant of Droogvoetsfontein to D F Immelman. The werf is at the meeting point of all the roads

(below) Droogvoetsfontein werf
same applied to farmers of the Bokkeveld. In the cold winter months these farmers would take their families and animals to the lower-lying Karoo farms when it was too cold in the higher Roggeveld and Bokkeveld. There they would stay from June to September during the winter rains, for grazing. For though the surface water was very low most of the year in the Karoo, good winter rains would bring forth a green blanket of plant growth and flowers which were so succulent that animals could graze without further water. By September they would move back to the higher farms, where sporadic summer rainstorms would provide the moisture needed for summer grazing. According to Talbot, "mobility was the key-word to the Karoo farmer's survival". For his movement was not only to make the best use of summer and winter pasturage, but he was at times forced to move as a result of locust plagues or by migratory springbok which, moving in their thousands, would leave an area of devastation behind them.

The earliest Karoo settlements would hardly have had much of an impact on the surrounding landscape, whether it was the tree-less plains of the arid Great Karoo or the Roggeveld or the Bokkeveld. Because of their small scale and because they were built of local material, they blended into their surroundings like the settlements of the Khoi-Khoi and San people before them.

2 LOAN FARMS CONVERTED TO QUITRENT

2.1 FRASERBURG KAROO

These early graziers eventually built more permanent stone houses and outbuildings, which appear on drawings accompanying the grants converting loan farms to perpetual quitrent. Two such farms in the Fraserburg district with which the author was involved, will be described as examples to illustrate the landscape of farms, which because of strong springs, could be permanently settled in an otherwise arid area.

2.1.1 Droogvoetsfontein

The farm consists of approximately 8 720 hectares situated 15 kilometres west of Fraserburg along the Sutherland road.

In 1837 Johannes Mans' farm, Gansefontein had been granted to him in quitrent and in 1854 he sold a portion to Ockert Gerbrand van Schalkwyk who called his property Droogvoetsfontein. He transferred the farm to Daniel Ferdinand Immelman in 1871. Immelman in terms of the Land Beacons Amendment Act of 1879 requested that his farm be remeasured and on the drawing of 1912 with this grant, the fountains of the farm are seen, one of which was shared with the neighbouring farm. Immelman paid a rental of £2.11.6 annually for his land.
The house at Droogvoetsfontein showing extension (left) for Immelman's son.

The house and stable for the unmarried daughter.

The dip built of loosely packed stone.
When his son married, an extra room was added to the south end of the house together with a tiny kitchen, but later a second house was built elsewhere on the farm where the son farmed with his own livestock.

The house at Droogvoetsfontein is built of stone, was previously thatched, but is presently under corrugated iron. It faces east over an area which becomes a vlei during the rainy season in summer. Then the common reed sprouts and hundreds of finches provide a fine sight. Further north the spring runs into a dam from which a furrow leads water past a fig avenue, a huge mulberry tree, and a number of pear trees larger than oaks. This is where permanent beds have been levelled to sow wheat when the dam has been filled in the rainy season, for one good soaking is enough to bring a crop to maturity.

The tree most commonly seen in the Karoo around farm werfs, is the Chilean poplar of which several huge specimens fill the gaps between the fruit trees here.

Lichtenstein in 1803 found that Karoo farmers had flocks of sheep counting up to 3 000. The numbers grazed at Droogvoets were not recorded, but the extensive stone-packed kraals on the hillock west of the house, suggest at least that number. Large flat stone ridges provide the most beautiful flags for floors and walls, and not only the kraals, but long garden walls were built to camp off the garden and at the same time link the house to a simple rectangular outbuilding a distance away. A sheep-dip was also built with one metre-high stone walls and a floor of very large flat flags, over which the sheep could be hurried to the round stone dip at the end.

A small stable and adjoining room with a fireplace in the one corner and an outside cooking shelter, all built of stone, were the living quarters of old Moolman’s only daughter. A more miserable abode could hardly be imagined and why his daughter did not live with her parents in their house, is not recorded. This primitive habitation gives a good insight into the minimum accommodation that pioneering farmers might have been content to occupy in the 19th century. And it also demonstrates how ingeniously the material at hand can be used, for even the vine trellis is supported by stone monoliths.

2.1.2 Damsfontein

Damsfontein is another farm in the Fraserburg area where a house of the 1920s probably replaced an older house in the same position and a number of outbuildings still exist as they were built in the middle of the 19th century.

The house lies on a hill facing east and looks out onto a sloping garden surrounded by a beautifully constructed stone wall. On the axis of the front door there are two short square gate pillars, but at present without a gate, and on the corners of the enclosure are similar pillars with neatly squared-off tops. The outbuildings are all of stone, in geometrical relation to each other and connected with similar stone-work. Extensive kraals blend imperceptively into the surrounding ridges.

99 Phragmites communis, known as "fluitjiesriet" or whistling reed
Damsfontein werf

The beautiful stonework at Damsrivier

Langsfontein: the view from the kraals
Modern apple orchards have been laid out on a level area not far from the house where there is a strong perennial spring.

The history of the farm was not researched, but one sensed that the owner who had constructed the outbuildings and laid out the formal garden more than a century and a half ago, must have been particularly sensitive to the primitive beauty around him, for the sophisticated landscape plan which he executed in the most perfect stonework that one can imagine, only served to enhance the existing magic of the place.

2.2 CERES KAROO

2.2.1 Langefontein

This farm is situated some 50 kilometres north of Ceres. The farm road which branches off from the highway, runs up a slight hill alongside a packed stone wall to the forecourt of the farm. Here an h-shaped thatched house stands in line with an outbuilding which has lost half of its thatched roof. It accommodated a smithy, a harness room, a horse-mill and store rooms. A second outbuilding encloses the unplanted forecourt on the eastern side of the werf, at right angles to the other two. This building used to be thatched over its total length and was previously the stable. Rows of pear trees in front of the house and first outbuilding, provide shade.

Behind the house are the stone-packed sheep kraals and from there the ground slopes down without any attempt at gardening or planting except for a few eucalyptus trees. The view over the valley to the hills beyond can be enjoyed from the front stoep of the house.

2.2.2 Elandsvlei

Elandsvlei lies on the Ceres - Calvinia road in a dry area where the annual winter rainfall is approximately 25mm. Fortunately a good supply of water from both the Doorn and Tanquas rivers turns the farm into an oasis where it lies in its bleak surroundings.

Kootjie Hough became the owner of Elandsdrift when he married the daughter of Schalk Lubbe in 1812 and in 1843 his son Jacobus Petrus, bought a part of his father's farm and called it Elandsvlei, but it was transferred to him only in 1857. After that the farm stayed in the ownership of the Hough family for more than a century.

The first Houghs were hard-working farmers and planted vineyards, peaches, oranges and apples. Because of the warm climate they were able to plant also bananas and date-palms which were very successful. Poplar groves, vegetable and flower gardens, temporary smith and carpenters saw to it that the farm was self-sufficient, and it was necessary to drive to a neighbouring farm only annually for necessary groceries and articles of clothing.

A number of family members have always lived on the farm and the various buildings were erected at different times in different styles varying from flat roofed to gabled houses and outbuildings.

100 Information from J P Hough, 1981
The approach to Elandslei (left) and (right) different building styles
The werf is accordingly spread out and in part connected with unplastered mud walls of about one metre high.

There are basically two groups of buildings. The first has a large house which has been added to at various stages and outbuildings are arranged around it to form interesting half-enclosed spaces. The other house, which appears to have started as a T-shaped building, now has various additions and one outbuilding, probably built with the house, is geometrically placed in front of it. Another outbuilding behind the house is in the shape of a large U and is at a slight angle to the house. Pepper trees and palms and a large vine on a cedarwood trellis provide shade. The spaces between the buildings and the mud walls are like those informal enclosures with the surprising vistas experienced in small medieval towns.

2.3 NAMAQUALAND KAROO

To describe the landscape of farms in this area, it is best to look at photographs, for they more than words, can convey the intimate relationship which exists between a human being and his environment when, as in this case, the environment is as harsh as that of Namaqualand can be. Lack of water and lack of timber have resulted in buildings formed of the stones and earth on which they stand. The stalks of the agave and rushes which come up in the hollows after the rain, provide the structure for the flat roof which is waterproofed with a layer of salty clay worked to a fine texture by the constant treading of human feet or animal hooves.

Sometimes stone is corbelled to form domed roofs over round or square huts. Combinations of these shapes are not unusual.

The photographs are from a collection taken by G T Fagan on many trips through the area with the author, and they illustrate the nature of the landscape and the humble dwellings of the people who make the most of the circumstances in which they live.
CHAPTER 14

THE VILLAGE LANDSCAPE IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

In order to understand the landscape of towns in the Cape Colony before the 19th century, the early establishment of forty villages in various parts of the Cape Colony have been examined, taking a few examples of various types to demonstrate more graphically those common factors which contributed to their earliest structure and growth patterns.

In this chapter those factors which were found to be of general relevance will be discussed and in the ensuing chapters detailed account of the individual villages and towns will be given, pointing out differences and similarities in their structures and relate these to the factors which influenced their establishment.

1 SITUATION

Criteria which influenced the choice of situations were in the first instance a perennial water source, and then fertile soil, preferably a slight slope, centrality and to a lesser extent, beautiful surroundings. But the choice of situation was dependent primarily on the "needs" for a village in a particular area:

1.1 18TH CENTURY

Administrative needs:
As a result of the gradual inland movement of farmers, the need arose for administrative control in outlying districts, and three of the villages established by the Dutch in the 18th century were for this reason:

Stellenbosch is the only town developed as an administrative centre because an official was charmed with the beauty of the situation and had a personal pride in its organisation. It was ideally situated for fertility of soil, abundance of water and spectacular scenery. Many later farming communities much further removed from Cape Town, like Graaff Reinet, had to wait for many years before they were allowed the luxury of an administrative centre. A heemraad and landdrost was on the other hand, established at Stellenbosch only five years after the first farms had been granted in the vicinity. And as this was the first time that any form of local government was granted at the Cape, the decision would have been much more difficult to make.

Swellendam was established as an administrative centre when increased population of the widespread Stellenbosch district made control of farmers on its outlying borders too difficult for the landdrost at Stellenbosch. This time the landdrost together with six heemraden chosen from the local population together decided on a position for the drostdy buildings. Again the choice was a beautiful valley with plenty of water and fertile soil, surrounded by mountains.
When farmers had settled in the area of the Sneeubergen beyond the Sundays River, the need for a new administrative area further inland led to the further subdivision of the Stellenbosch district and the establishment of Graaff Reinet. Again the newly appointed landdrost and locally chosen heemraden decided on the position of the new town. The choice fell on a fertile valley on the banks of the Sundays River, which liberally supplied water to, and contained the town within its bended arm.

Religious needs:
The 18th century towns of Roodezand and Zwartland had their origins in the concern of a Commissioner to provide religious amenities to farmers whom he believed needed them urgently. The choice of the exact situations of the two churches, however, again rested with the nearest landdrost and local congregations. Although these farmers were simple, uneducated folk, they chose areas centrally situated, near the best water supply, and where the soil was fertile. At the Zwartland, water was a problem in the whole district, so its centrality played a more important role although perennial warm and cold springs probably helped.

Harbours:
Simons Town was establised as a naval base on the False Bay coast to fulfil the need for a safe winter anchorage after many ships had been lost as a result of storms in Table Bay. (The small bay is protected from both the south-easter in summer and the north-wester in winter). The steep mountainside, inaccessibility, and limited water, were factors most unfavourable for the establishment of a town and garden, but not as important as a safe anchorage. As a result the town developed in a linear fashion along one main street parallel to the shore. And a small garden was made higher up along the side of the hill.

Two further 18th century towns started as small harbours as their situation was suitable for the purpose of transporting specific goods (Mossel Bay for wheat and Plettenberg for timber).

1.2 19TH CENTURY

Religious needs:
Most 19th century towns arose because rural communities felt the need of a communal place of worship. This need was at first satisfied by services held in the homes of prominent farmers by ministers travelling from neighbouring towns, but these gatherings were infrequent and therefore unsatisfactory. (The Rev Robertson, for instance, held services at the farm of J W Van Zyl every three months only, before a permanent church was built at Robertson).

Consequently meetings of the most prominent citizens usually led to requests for more permanent arrangements and if the Governor was unable to provide financial help, local farmers found means, usually by public donations, of buying a suitable farm and then collecting funds for the
necessary buildings by the selling of erven, or other means (e.g. special taxes). By far the greatest number of 19th century towns such as Beaufort West, Colesberg, Robertson, Bredasdorp, Riversdale, Fraserburg, Calvinia, Piketberg were founded in this way.

Nathaniel James Merriman, later Bishop of Grahamstown, who learnt to know conditions on the border of the mid-19th century Cape Colony very intimately because he travelled through the country on foot and horseback, (sometimes doing 40 miles a day with a bag slung over his shoulder) and who was greatly impressed by the religious fervour of the boers, commented on these Dutch Church towns most favourably, adding:

"I know of only one instance since the settlement of the English in 1820, where any attempt to found a town except by military or Government expenditure, has been made, or at least where the church formed to any extent a prominent feature, and that is at Sidbury; a miserable contrast truly does that place form to any Dutch towns I alluded to above.

Except Port Elizabeth, our only harbour, Salem, the Wesleyan village, with its boarding-school for lads, and its mission-station of Farmerfield at a little distance from the village, seems on the whole the most successful English attempt in this land to found, by the arts of peace and religion, what so often seems to demand the compulsory combinations and expenditure of warfare to achieve. I do not know what proportion of towns of Europe were originally camps or forts, but I fear the English towns of the Eastern Province of South Africa will prove to have been almost universally so."

The bishop has been fully quoted, as this aspect of the founding of 19th century towns in the Cape is perhaps not always fully appreciated.

Military settlements:
Sometimes military outposts grew into towns.

Serious continuous battles between the European settlers and the indigenous population occurred from the end of the 18th century onwards for over a century on the eastern boundary of the Cape when the farmers moving northwards met the black tribes moving southwards. Different policies of the succeeding Governors were successful to a greater or lesser degree and when in the 1830s the Dutch farmers could no longer endure the uncertainty of their daily existence, they moved further inland, leaving their derelict farms.

When the British settlers from 1820 onwards moved into these areas and occupied the farms, military lines had been established and small forts built along the boundary of the time. The headquarters of the troops in the so-called "4th Kaffir War" were in the abandoned buildings of the loan farm "De Rietfontein" of Lucas Meyer and these buildings were to form the centre of the new town, Grahamstown, and eventually establish the shape of the town's main open space.

A fort which had been built during the first British occupation at Algoa Bay called "Fort Frederick", was also a logical situation for the development of a town when British settlers were
established along the eastern frontier. When Port Elizabeth grew out of this military settlement, its earliest plan was laid out at the foot of the fort.

**Industrial Towns:**
Although the Cape is rich in minerals, there were few industrial settlements in the 19th century. In the north-west Cape, where copper was mined towards the latter half of the 19th century, a few small related villages were established as in Springbok and O’Kiep. The discovery of diamonds along the Vaal and Orange Rivers also led to settlements which eventually grew into towns.

**Holiday or health resorts:**
Warm baths as occurred at Caledon and Brandvlei were of the first places where officials and private individuals camped to benefit from the healing qualities of the natural springs and these situations then became a natural choice for towns.

Also some fishing and popular bathing places along the coast as at Vlooibaai (later Somerset Strand) and Hermanusfontein, grew into towns.

### 2 NODAL IMPORTANCE

**Satisfying the needs of the community:**
Towns and villages were established and grew because they provided those collective amenities that a rural community needed and which were best provided from a central node near at hand, the most common need in the first place being that of a communal place of worship, administration and control.

In church towns control was exercised by the minister and church council who laid down rules of conduct expected of the community and censured them if necessary. The church influenced town planning by determining the situation of cemeteries, schools, public buildings and by granting concessions for specific public amenities. Thus in Bredasdorp, for instance no alcohol could be sold from any property, barring those that had been granted a licence by the church, and this applied into the 20th century.

Legalisation of land transactions, wills, registration of births, deaths and marriages, lock-up facilities and magistrates courts near at hand were amenities appreciated, for they obviated long journeys over poor roads and absence from family and farming activities. The presence of a landdrost, civil commissioner or magistrate with their officials and a lock-up place was therefore requested by towns soon after their establishment, in towns not commenced as administrative centres.

Communal worship and the teaching for which the church took responsibility, was also a strong incentive for establishing a centre. Of the first buildings shown on early plans, are the schools.
Later when Governor Somerset established free English schools, these were supported by the local townspeople, for they offered subjects other than religious ones.

Some of the earliest erven were sold to craftsmen, who made their services available to the whole community. In Tulbagh, of the five first erven sold in the town, one was to a carpenter and another to a builder. In Beaufort West a smith, a builder and another a lime burner, were amongst the first erf-holders.

Trading stores, which sold necessary imported articles like coffee, tea, sugar, rice and clothing to farmers and in turn bought their produce for transport to markets further afield, was another nodal facility, which became increasingly important to farmers as they became more successful. Trading firms like the Barrys in Swellendam and the Mosenthal in Graaff Reinet established widespread trading companies with great influence. The Barry store in Mossel Bay, for example, was one of the most prominent buildings in the early village and doubled in size before the end of the century. Barry's "Go-down" or wool store in Swellendam with its three parallel wings, and his bank, were as prominent on the main road as was "Prince Vincent" in Oudtshoorn.

Village markets played a most prominent role in the social and commercial life of small towns and their surrounding farms. They were open for trade every day of the year except holidays and Sundays and here anyone could sell his products as long as they had been produced in the Colony, according to market regulations.

A market master supervised all sales - accuracy of weights, prices, deliveries and payments, and all who wished to use the market had to gain permission from this official who was not allowed to buy for himself or to own any business. He received one or two percent of the seller's price. Many town regulations stipulated that all produce had to be sold on the market, except for fresh produce like fish, vegetables and fruit. The market space was therefore very often situated in a central position in the town and surrounded by the most prominent trading stores and businesses. It was here that farmers and villagers gathered and met each other’s needs.

The market was inevitably the hub of social and business life as Pauline Smith so graphically describes in her stories of the Little Karoo.

Doctors were of the first settlers in many towns and especially valuable to those farmers who could enjoy a communal place for retirement from an active farming life or after the death of a spouse. It was interesting to see how often properties in Tulbagh, for instance, were transferred to widows, one of the most noted being Mrs de Wet, from the farm Straatskerk, who impressed the townsfolk with her importance by building the only double-storey house in the town.

Provision for the growing needs of a community:
Growth of such nodes was stimulated by the developing needs of the community as it matured. So although the first needs might have been for craftsmen, administrators, ministers, and religious
teachers, these were soon amplified by the need for more sophisticated teaching, for more doctors, transport riders, more specialised traders, and inn keepers.

Then came the need for the professions - lawyers (or "law agents"), money lenders (bankers) and lastly the need for intellectual stimulation and amusement - libraries, music teachers, writers and printers of local newspapers, agricultural and horticultural societies, public gardens and communal sporting facilities. Each of these needs which were accommodated in the town, affected the plan of the streets, open spaces and placing of prominent buildings.

3 THE PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE INITIAL LAY-OUT OF THESE EARLY TOWNS

Not only the topographical suitability of the site but also the physical and spiritual needs of the community determined the early shape of the town. These were, however, dependent both on the goodwill of the officials who had to approve the expenditure on public buildings, and the determination of the local population to establish themselves in an ordered and disciplined way. Thus Stellenbosch from its birth had a neat and ordered pattern of development, because the Governor himself supervised the physical lay-out and provided trees for embellishment and punished vandals who damaged them.

In Port Elizabeth, Governor Sir Rufane Donkin laid the foundation of the first house and erected a memorial to his departed wife which today is still a prominent landmark in the town.

And Graaff Reinet, in contrast, languished for many years in undeveloped poverty because of lack of official financial backing and lack of motivation of the local population who were in a state of political and social unrest as a result of continued frontier wars.

In Tulbagh, a Scotch minister applied church rules with such vigour that he caused a split in the community as a result of which the small town had two Dutch Reformed churches attended by two congregations at opposite ends of the town.

Decisions concerning the earliest towns were made by the officially chosen Landdrost and the body of Heemraden elected by the local community; after 1825 this body was replaced by an officially appointed Civil Commissioner and his few officials (secretary, gaoler and messenger of the court) and very much later than this, towns were run by a body of locally elected commissioners with a chairman, eventually to be replaced by municipalities under a chosen mayor. Each municipality published its own set of regulations for the running of its town and these give very valuable information about the problems which individual towns had to contend with and how these were solved.

Many church towns were, however, controlled solely by their first ministers and church councils, (e.g. Piketberg) and the successful administration and development and growth of the town was dependent on the resolutions of these councils, sometimes into the 20th century. However these
gentlemen seemed to have an innate sense of order and their pride in their churches and parsonages set a high standard for the rest of the villagers.

Industrial towns like Springbok were controlled by the mining company directors in the initial years of their existence. And these were sometimes extremely autocratic, often concerned more with the company's financial gain than the appearance of the town or the type of housing provided. Mine workers were, for instance, housed in their traditional round huts scattered at random through the town.

4 THE PIONEER PLANNERS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE INITIAL PLANS OF THE TOWNS

The shape of the first plans was determined by the morphology of the site, by the position of the water source and possible water leading systems and, of course, by the experience and competence of the planner. As official sanctions had to be obtained before a town was established, they usually could not grow in a haphazard way. Once land had been acquired either by Government grant or by an initial purchase by a local community, erven were usually measured out by qualified land surveyors and then either granted or sold by public auction.

Some towns which grew from mine settlements established by private companies, on the other hand, initially consisted of temporary tents or tin shacks built in disorder, like at Springbok in the copper area, and Kimberley in the diamond fields. Towns developing from these beginnings retained irregular street patterns which were with difficulty later integrated into more organised patterns. Holiday towns like Hermanus and Somerset Strand had the same problem, when their first sinuous streets following the line of the coast were later integrated into a grid pattern.

For no matter who the surveyor was or when he worked or what his nationality, the grid pattern seems to have been favoured for most town plans in the Cape, regardless of the lie of the land or when they were planned.

Many towns started with only one street (Tulbagh, Paarl, Caledon) and grew with streets parallel to this, gradually connected to each other with cross streets at right angles; but many were established with fully fledged town plans (Worcester), carefully considered and drawn up by surveyors. These usually provided for suitable public squares in front of the most important buildings (the church and drostdy), as well as market squares. The markets to begin with were often situated in the centre of the village, but were later moved to the fringes.

Erven were usually set out parallel to each other and were of two kinds - those served with a water furrow (wet erven), and those without a water supply ("dry erven"). The wet erven were usually long, narrow rectangles and much larger than the dry erven which were usually of a square shape. But sometimes all the town erven were more or less of the same shape and size.
Streets were exceptionally wide to allow for the turning of a wagon. Both Wellington and Van Rhynsdorp main streets were, for instance, still 60 ft wide at the end of the 19th century. And as there was no demarcation between sidewalk and street, except where a water furrow divided the two, they appeared even wider.

The common grazing ground, situated on the outskirts of the town, was another amenity which had to be provided for by the town planner, and erf holders were allowed to graze horses, oxen, sheep, goats and cows here, the number allowed per householder varying from town to town. Butchers could also graze a stipulated number of slaughter animals here with permission from the overseer of the common.

The traditional grid pattern was successful and popular also because it was easy to set out and easy to comprehend and administer. The amount of water to each erf was allocated according to the size of the erf. As water disputes were notoriously common, it would obviously have been easier to distribute water on an equitable basis and for this it was easier to make all erven of the same size as far as possible.

The rigid formality was an integral part of the Dutch settler's heritage, as has been shown in the first two chapters.

Where planning in the Netherlands often had to accommodate long stretches of straight canals, drainage sluits and roads, individual cultivated lands were set out in narrow erven parallel to each other. These were the so-called "street towns" where houses were built, especially in the Waes area, along the main east-west and to a lesser extent along the north-south roadways. Where these highways crossed, the concentration of buildings developed into town centres. This kind of development could only take place where most of the land was good agricultural land and erven could therefore be contiguous.

In the "Eschdorp" settlements, found in Drente, Overijssel and North-West Germany, groups of erven, also developed at the same time, were concentrated into units separated from each other by land unsuitable for agriculture. The buildings in this case (houses and farm buildings under one roof) were arranged in disorderly fashion. This kind of village did not develop at the Cape where situations for towns were chosen in fertile areas and the town formed an orderly unit.

5 EMBELLISHMENT OF TOWNS

5.1 TREES

Streets were planted with avenues wherever possible, to embellish the town scape.

Street tree planting was an important part of the Dutch urban landscape, oaks being the favoured tree because the Van der Stels found it to be the most successful. Thousands of young trees were distributed annually to beautify the streets of Stellenbosch and the roads and farms in Drakenstein. Burchell shows oaks in Church Street in the Land of Waveren and Gordon,
Schumacher and Barnard sketches of Swellendam show that it too was planted with avenues of oaks. Worcester streets were also to be planted with oaks when the town was planned.

Graaff Reinet was the only 18th century town where avenues of citrus were planted along the streets, just as Van Riebeek had done along the main walkways of the Company's garden.

Town regulations sometimes required householders to plant trees on the pavements before their properties, just as they required these owners to clean half of the streets in front of their houses.

Church councillors were also very conscious of the beneficial effect of trees and planted trees on the street side especially. An example of this is a resolution of the Paarl Church Council in 1824 to plant 42 oaks in front of the church and the two squares beside it.

Where there was a lack of water, varieties were chosen which were drought resistant, like pepper, beefwood, blue-gum and conifers. These were largely introduced as a result of the experimental work done in the 19th century by the Botanical Gardens in Cape Town and its subsidiary gardens further inland, especially those in the karroo towns. Even then the success of these were dependent on manual watering in the initial stages. Thus blue-gums planted at Springbok were regularly watered by convict labour.

Damage to ornamental street trees was punishable and the cutting down of trees or shrubs on the outskirts of towns was also controlled. Gathering of firewood could only be done in areas approved by the town commissioners and had to be paid for by the cart or wagon-load.

5.2 PERENNIAL WATER

The most important single factor influencing the successful establishment, maintenance and growth of towns, was the availability of a perennial water supply. The earliest towns were therefore established on the banks of or near rivers (e.g. Stellenbosch, Tulbagh, Swellendam, Graaff Reinet) or strong fountains (e.g. Malmesbury, Piketberg, Colesberg, Frazerburg, Oudtshoorn).

The American missionary, Henry Isaac Venable, wrote in 1835:

"South Africa is altogether unlike America. It is, where we travelled, (from Cape Town via Hex River to Beaufort) destitute of timber, and suffers greatly for want of rains. If the rain fell as in the United States, South Africa would be one of the most productive countries on the globe. Where there is water to irrigate, almost everything can be produced".

The Dutch understood the art of water engineering probably better than any other European nation. They knew how to control water in the polders and they knew how to drain water from water-logged areas and higher ground where they wished to establish new lands for cultivation. In fact, the planning of new settlements had to be preceded by the planning of drainage ditches and canals to link up with existing waterways as well as public roads, before erven could be set out.

3 V.R.S.31, American Missionary Letters, p69
And this is still the case today. At the Cape this process was to be reversed, in that surveyors had to plan irrigation canals to take water to as many new town erven before the erven of a new settlement could be auctioned.

Where the grid pattern was used for new towns, wet erven were as far as possible of the same size, as the amount of water allowed per householder was directly related to the erf size, and in that way the distribution time of water could be more easily regulated.

The topography was not always such that all erven set out could be irrigated, nor was the water always sufficient to do so, and therefore at the initial sale of erven one finds that the "wet" erven are always sold before the "dry erven". Even then the wet erven were not often wet throughout the season or did not provide enough water for the house-owner's wants. In these cases the digging of wells on individual properties often provided the answer. (In Paarl and in Somerset East, for instance, 19th century wells still exist on a number of erven).

Where the circumstances demanded a town in a certain situation which had no rivers or fountains, like at Springbok and Kimberley, water was also obtained by digging wells.

But well digging (by hand) was a tedious and often frustrating work where often only one out of five wells dug would yield water, and so the establishment of towns in the arid Kalahari and Namaqualand regions, for instance, took place only after the arrival of drilling machines.

The first machine arrived from Britain with a man to work it, in 1880. These machines were at first hand driven and later worked by steam. They were extremely cumbersome and moving them with draught animals over terrain which was often difficult to negotiate, was a daunting task. Sometimes the only animals capable of working in those circumstances were donkeys, and it is said that the north west of the Colony would not have been opened had it not been for the donkey.

Another problem was to get the water from the bore-hole to the surface and for this a lever with a bucket was first used, then a "bakkiespomp", also driven by a blinkered donkey. But it was the advent of the wind pump, first made of wood and then of steel, imported by Lloyds in 1893, (Aermotor was the first to be imported, then Germania) that popularised this method of water pumping, especially after the arrival of the first mechanical drilling machine.

Individual villagers, especially those on dry erven, made use of methods for obtaining water not dependent on gravity irrigation, so that in the early 20th century, wind pumps and reservoirs were a common part of the street-scape of small towns (e.g. Malmesbury, Moorreesburg, Frazerburg). Street planting, and gardens became more luxurious, not only on the irrigation contours of the town but in areas which had been dry before, and parks were established in towns which had not been able to do so before, so that they became greener and generally much more pleasant for their residents.

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4 See illustrations on pp33, 36 and 38 in Boerderijen in Holland

5 From Die Wye Wereld is Hul Woning from a publication Water, edited by F A Venter in 1970 for the Dept of Water Affairs and Forestry

6 At the Calvinia Museum there is a monument to the donkey
With the advent of corrugated iron in the 1860s, householders were able to conserve their roof water for household purposes in tin or brick reservoirs, but where the rainfall was low, this obviously was not a plentiful source of water. But because this water was sweet, it was especially valuable in areas where the ground water was brackish and in such cases saved for use as drinking or cooking water and for the watering of special plants.

The discussion of urban landscapes will now be continued by grouping towns into the reasons for their establishment whether they were administrative, religious, as health resorts, mining towns or whether they had originated as military outposts.
HAP'TER 15

TOWNS ESTABLISHED IN THE 18TH CENTURY

It is surprising that in the 150 years of Dutch rule only five towns were established outside Cape Town by the D.E.I.C. Yet if one considers the policy of this mercantile company, that they had no intention of starting a Colony at the Cape in the first place and that there was a constant concern about expenditure especially towards the end of the 18th century when the Company's financial position was rapidly declining, then it is understandable that the expense of establishing and maintaining towns in the Cape Colony would be avoided as far as possible.

Lichtenstein in the early 19th century remarked that: "A town in which there is no external trade and no garrison, which depends on its internal trade only, must in this country always be very poor" and found that to be sufficient reason "why no towns scarcely even any villages of note are to be found throughout the Colony".

But as grazing licences and loan farms were requested and continued to be granted further inland, and the border of the colony shifted to incorporate these pioneering farmers, administrative control had to be maintained and new centres created from where to do so.

The towns established in the 18th century will be discussed in the following order:

1 CAPE TOWN

2 STELLENBOSCH IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURY
   2.1 THE DUTCH REFORMED PARSONAGE
   2.2 THE STELLENBOSCH DROSTDY
   2.3 VICTORIAN HOUSES IN VAN RIEBEECK STREET

3 SIMON'S TOWN

4 ROODEZANDS KERK

5 ZWARTLAND

6 SWELLENDAM

7 GRAAFF RIJNET

SUMMARY

White boundary walls, terraces, avenues and neatly planted orchards typified the landscapes of late 18th century farms along the foothills of Table Mountain and Lions Hill.
CAPE TOWN

The growth of Cape Town and its relationship to the Company’s Garden as well as the growth and decline of the Garden, was covered in a report which the author did for the Cape Town City Council in 1990. It was proved that the Garden had been the pivot around which the city developed, even though the original citadel (castle) contained the civil offices and homes of the main officials, the bank, court of justice, orphan chamber, marriage bureau and post-office into the first decade of the 19th century.

For the first "suburb" of the citadel - Cape Town - had grown firstly around the Heerengracht which was an extention of the main walkway of the Garden, then around the Garden itself, and lastly up along the streams on the foothills of the mountains surrounding Table Bay. A more detailed discussion of the initial planning of the city has been done in a previous chapter.

The earliest garden estates adjoined the Company's Garden and mid-18th century maps show how these were laid out like the Company's Garden with parterres and rectangular beds, all irrigated from the streams which fed the Garden. As these properties were subdivided and absorbed into the city, their gardens became smaller, and those nearest to the city eventually disappeared.

The larger properties were then to be found along the mountain foothills and a study of some examples: Leeuwenhof, Oranjezicht, The Mount Nelson, Zonnebloem - indicates that their gardens, too, were copies of the Company's Garden with a formal lay-out of beds irrigated by mountain streams. Vineyards, orchards and avenues of oaks along their entrance roads and on their boundaries were planted in neat rows and rectangles. But in these instances they were often accommodated on terraces necessitated by the slope of the land as seen at Waterhof.

It is interesting to see how these peri-urban landowners, perhaps unwittingly, replicated their city erven on their properties by the creation of enclosed spaces where buildings were arranged in streets or at right angles to each other and surrounded by walls. But being villas of the wealthy, they were embellished with ornate entrance gates, colonnades, and at Leeuwenhof with quite an intricate fountain in the early 18th century. Parterres were noted in a few estates but star forests, ponds, statues, obelisks, canals and the more intricate adornments of the Dutch estate, were rare.

Those properties nearer to the town, by subdivision lost their grandeur before the end of the 19th century, especially when group housing or the semi-detached cottage came into vogue, occupying the street facades of erven which previously had been largely filled with garden. But those situated higher up on the mountain retained most of their land and stature into the 20th century.

These garden estates were also to be seen on the eastern slopes of Table Mountain and the Constantia Valley. Here again the formation of suburban towns like Salt River, Mowbray and Claremont slowly swallowed the larger estates as they were subdivided and erven sold especially along the main road to Simon's Town. But in the Constantia Valley, although some subdivision occurred before the 19th century, families retained their estates with vineyards, orchards and
Two city blocks between Wale and Church Streets at the end of the 19th century from a map by Thom (Surveyor General's Office). Both are completely filled with buildings except for small backyards and access alleys.

Further city blocks show even with even less open space in the backyards. Notice the tram lines.

Formal rose garden (left) in Government House grounds and informal paths and planting in the Botanic Garden (right).

The lower end of the old Company's Garden has been cut off for the new Houses of Parliament and the SA Library, but the oak avenue remains a public walkway.
(top) Terrace housing allows very small open spaces for backyards and tiny street gardens
(below right) Semi-detached houses have slightly more surrounding open space
(below left) Higher up on the mountain slopes the estates are still large. Notice the long oak avenue on axis with the Leeuwenhof front door

The photographs on pp4 & 5 are details from the Thom map drawn in 1890
In the middle of the 19th century a few of Cape Town's larger buildings still had street gardens and pergolas as this one in Wale Street next to the Anglican Church.

The small town of Stellenbosch in 1710 (according to Hans Fransen) with the drostdy and church each forming the end of a street vista.

(below) The town in 1770. In front of the drostdy is a large square planted with oaks (Fransen).
magnificent avenues, and this then is where the aristocrats of the Cape society lived in an area that remained largely rural well into the 20th century.

2 STELLENBOSCH IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURY

At the end of the 17th century Stellenbosch was laid out on the banks of the Eerste River as a result of the enthusiasm of two officials - Commissioner Adriaan Van Reede and the Commander of the Cape, Simon Van der Stel. The Commander himself was involved with the specification for the plan and personally satisfied himself that his ideas of an ordered, formal plan and tree-embellished town was executed. And that the official buildings would be fitting symbols of the good taste and power of the D.E.I.C.

The development of the town from a small village with church and drostdy and some ten properties between them containing houses, outbuildings and gardens as shown in 1710 by H V Stade, has been described by Hans Fransen, who concentrated on the changes of the architectural styles. He has drawn plans showing three periods in the town's history. These are based on the Stade drawing of 1710, the Schumacher drawing of the 1770s, the Hertzog map of the town in 1817, and the Hager map of 1859. And as they show the development of the town pattern which are reproduced here.

The original Hertzog map of 1817 is particularly revealing, as it shows the town in great detail. Thibault, when he was asked to examine Hertzog's abilities as a surveyor, was full of praise for the young man and his map of Stellenbosch certainly justifies this opinion:

The map of Stellenbosch as drawn by Hertzog in 1817
Grants of land to L’Amour de Manille in 1817 showing the position of the old wagon road parallel to the house and the new street below. The drawings also show the mill stream from Mostertsdrift running over his property (S.O.2, p60)
One notices that Van der Stel's town blocks and their surrounding grid of streets in the oldest part of the town had remained unchanged although their erven by subdivision had become gradually more densely built up. Even so the erven remained large enough to allow for a garden on each erf in the central parts of the block, with buildings arranged in straight lines along the streets.

Even in the 1930s, when private homes had on some erven made way for shops and other business premises, the centre of these town blocks still contained open werfs with very old fruit trees behind the buildings on the streets. The author then lived in a flat in Plein Street above a grocery shop, and in the yard of this shop were a very old loquat, figs, pear and plum trees, and several old vines.

The yard was bounded by a substantial stone wall, over which similar trees offered their bounteous crops from the neighbouring erven. This block had originally been occupied by the first Stellenbosch church which had burnt down in 1710, and was subsequently divided into erven and developed in the late 18th and first decades of the 19th century.

Near our flat on the street boundary, was a beautiful portal with heavy scrolled arch - perhaps an entrance to one of these 18th century town erven. In some miraculous way it had not been demolished when Victorian shops were built on either side of it in the 20th century.

But similar gardens with old fruit trees in them were found behind the houses in Dorp, Church and Grosvenor streets, where Simon Van der Stel's surveyor, the newly appointed landrost Muller, had pegged out the first town erven.

Stellenbosch gardens were largely planted with fruit trees and vines. These drawings also show that the hedges which formed erf boundaries in 1710, had fifty years later been replaced with more substantial walls in which were a variety of entrance portals, some more ornate than others.

Lichtenstein in 1803 had found Stellenbosch to be a small village with three parallel long streets and several cross streets each street being an avenue. Every one apart from his trade, practised some kind of agriculture and horticulture. But he found that "In the country towns, people live only by each other. Its great misfortune lies in the disproportion between the products and the number of consumers". He found that the latter were too few and because they did not have enough labourers to produce at a low cost, the products were of a poor quality and not suitable for a "foreign market".

Koningsplein, as it was called in 1817), as well as the vineyards, thousands of oaks and orchards on the surrounding farms.

Many more parallel erven running from Dorp Street to the river were created by subdivision of the properties on the western end of the street in the late 18th and early 19th century, and these too, were planted with many trees and vineyards in their large gardens, thus retaining the rural atmosphere of the town. On the northern side of Dorp Street similar subdivisions had been done, and here too, buildings were situated on the street with large gardens behind them. All buildings
Mrs Trotter’s drawing a century ago of a garden gate in Plein Street which is now a national monument.

Late 19th century oak-lined streets in Stellenbosch with stone water furrows (Smuts F, Stellenbosch Drie Eeue)
were built in a straight line under strict supervision and even in 1840 this control was maintained by the village commissioners:

*No buildings or walls facing any street, shall be erected without the previous inspection of two or more Commissioners, who shall be empowered and are hereby directed to point out the line or lines, in order as much as possible to preserve a straight line with the existing houses or walls.*

Hertzog's map also shows that the common grazing ground was situated on the north side of the town along the road to Idas Valley. In their gardens, townsfolk had to provide stables and pens for the domestic and draft animals which grazed on this common. In days when travel was dependent on animals, these were often the house-owner's most precious possessions and therefore well cared for.

When in 1840 a village management board was established in Stellenbosch, a number of rules were laid down to protect villagers from nuisances caused by animals. These concerned the regular cleaning of stables, fines for animals polluting the furrows or animals being roaming through the town without a herdsman. Geese were, however allowed to graze on Koningsplein! Water furrows were still running in the streets in the middle of the 19th century as can be seen on drawings accompanying transfers of erven when the Drostdy was subdivided.

The lay-out of two of Stellenbosch's oldest properties with their gardens, can be described in some detail by bringing together different references. As these were the homes of the two most important burghers of the town, the landdrost and minister, they probably set the style for many of the townsfolk, and their early planning and development over two centuries as examples of typical erf plans of the period will therefore be described.

2.1 THE DUTCH REFORMED PARSONAGE

The parsonage or house of the minister, seven houses below the drostdy, was situated on the old wagon road to Cape Town, which became known as Dorp Street.

Petrus Borcherds, the parson's son, whose memoirs were published in 1858, gives a description of the parsonage grounds where he played in his childhood:

> The house was probably a U-shaped building with trilobal central and straight end gables. In front of the house, across the road, was half an acre of garden-land surrounded by a 2 metre high wall, with a green gate on the parsonage side.

An anonymous drawing of 1757 shows the parsonage and the garden in front of it planted with a vineyard, but Borcherds tells us that both vines and fruit grew there, and fruit trees planted on either side of the central paths show on a drawing which accompanied a petition from the minister to the Government in 1798. The building which accommodated the stable, coach-house and cowshed is also shown on the drawing in the corner of the erf where Petrus describes it. His father, at
The parsonage with its walled garden (anonymous drawing in the Stellenbosch Museum)

The drawing of the parsonage and its gardens which accompanied the Rev Borcherd's petition to the Governor in 1798
the time requested permission to sell this garden because it was too difficult to protect the fruit from theft.4

Apart from the "convenient house", he mentions "a roomy fowl yard, and three fowl and pidgeon houses and a pig-sty" in the back yard. There were also several beehives. Thus he reminds us that Cape towns were initially planned as much for people as for animals and this remained the case into the 20th century in most small towns where the "gardens" of many of the inhabitants, were like small farms, providing not only fruit and vegetables, but also milk, butter, eggs and meat for their families. In some villages, as it will be shown, the accommodation for the animals often occupied more "garden" space than plants.

As a child of seven the author started producing the vegetables and flowers for their household (which consisted of her mother and herself) and continued doing so till the end of my school days in 1943. And all our friends in Stellenbosch were doing the same. In the backyard of the neighbouring shop there were not only a vegetable and fruit garden but also a large chicken pen with cocks that woke us every morning at daybreak. There were many flocks of pigeons too in our neighbourhood, but these were pets rather than for the pot. Evidently therefore landowners remained self-sufficient into the 20th century.

The Stellenbosch parsonage also had outbuildings to house the servants and stores, as well as a wine cellar and according to Hertzog's plan, these lay next to the house parallel with the street. In this way the space between buildings and the river could be used for garden and vineyard.

The garden was divided into rectangles by a grid of paths. Along the main path were myrtle hedges (probably clipped as in the Company's Garden in Cape Town) and along the broader walks a variety of fruit trees were planted. These were apple, pear, medlar, apricot, almond, plum, fig and further varieties. Quince was planted on the one side boundary and oaks on the other.

Borcherds also mentions a large "lawn", which was probably the area used for bleaching the washing, as one sees in the town gardens of Holland. In my youth these "bleikvelde" were merely areas of mixed indigenous grass on which each week the sheets and other bed and table linen were thrown out flat in the sun, after they had been soaped. Thereafter they were sprinkled regularly with water until the housewife was satisfied that the linen was white enough, after which they were rinsed and hung up to dry. Obviously the larger the family, or the more visitors entertained regularly, the larger was the piece of grass needed for the "bleikveld".

Another interesting use of the garden mentioned by Borcherds is the "bathing places" which were made in the Eerste River "for our recreation". Where bathrooms inside houses were unknown even in my childhood, swimming often served two purposes - that of recreation and that of cleansing. On farms and in town gardens special bathing houses were often built and the "leiwater" led through them for this purpose. A bath house like this was recorded in Worcester at the Krige house, now a museum. In Roggeiland in Dal Josaphat steps led down into the hip-deep water
(top) The Drostdy and its outbuildings situated around a rectangular back courtyard

(below) The front of the Drostdy as drawn by Lady Anne Barnard. The two large oaks in front of the door must have been over a century old at the time. The white-washed garden wall with entrance to the back courtyard is shown
which ran into the bath-house from the irrigation furrow at one side and out at the other. In the
garden of Mrs Johnman in Herte street, Stellenbosch, is a bath-house recently restored, but
probably not accurately. In this case the small pool where they bathed was outside and next to the
bath-house.

The parsonage which had been built by the Church Council in 1753, is still standing under a
thatched roof, although the woodwork has been altered by subsequent owners.

2.2 THE STELLENBOSCH DROSTDY

The drostdy and its grounds are not clearly shown on either the Stade or Schumacher panoramas,
but anonymous 1757 drawing shows it prominently at the end of the widest street in the village, as
Van der Stel had planned it. The open square planted with a grove of oaks in front of the building
enhances the formal approach, but more than that cannot be seen. The drostdy building was burnt
down in 1762 and the new one, built in the following year, can be seen on sketches by Lady Anne
Barnard and Vidal and a montage at the turn of the century.

Whereas the building had initially been situated on an island enclosed by two branches of the
Eerste River, the branch on the town side had been successfully diverted to run only along the
mountain side by 1817. On the drawing accompanying Borcherds' memorandum above, the
courses of the old and new river are indicated. As the initial ground allocated to the drostdy was
not sufficient, the adjacent farm, Welgevallen was bought in 1763 for the added use of the
landdrost, who was expected to entertain on a scale not commensurate with his salary. The total
extent of the landdrost's property was charted by the surveyor Wernich in 1813 and in more detail
by Hertzog on his 1817 map:

Again the Hertzog plan gives the most detailed impression of the layout:

The 30 metre long drostdy building was situated on a high terrace with wide stone steps leading up
to the 3 metre high stoep. From this stoep the landdrost had a good view over the "cingel" or tree-
planted forecourt and down Drostdy Street.

The two trees immediately in front of the stoep are shown to be much larger than the others and
these are also seen on the 1757 anonymous drawing of the drostdy. By that time they were at least
150 years old, for Peter Kolbe who was secretary to the Heemraad from 1711- 1712, already
remarked on the size of these oaks, and tells us that there was a summer-house in one! Lady Anne
Barnard thought that they were 5,5 metres in circumference when she visited the drostdy in 1797,
and in 1868 a montage of the drostdy still shows two large oaks in front of the stoep, which may
indicate how old oaks can become in the Cape.

On either side of the building, which accommodated both the residence for the landdrost and
administrative offices, was a 4,5 metre high wall each with a wooden gate and ornate pillars to the
enclosed werf. In the outbuildings situated on the side boundaries of this enclosed area,
Borcherds tells us, were servant's rooms, a coach-house, stables for 39-40 horses and a forage loft.
An anonymous water-colour of the road leading to the Drostdy with the church on the left. The town gardens have high white-washed walls and are full of fruit trees (Stellenbosch Museum)

A plan showing the site plan of the Drostdy and its surrounding buildings with the menagerie buildings and the avenue leading to them in the middle
The gates for this entrance are drawn in more detail by Vidal together with their pillars symmetrically placed on either side of the main entrance. Perhaps these gates were the fore-runners of similar ones already described in Peninsula estates.

(right) The Drostdy and avenue that led to the "menagerie" seen on the left in 1817 (enlargement from the Hertzog map). A kraal with a long and short building in the walls and a square pond next to it are shown.

(below) Drostdy Street in 1884 with water furrows (S A Illustrated News, 11.10.1884)
View from the house to the garden. Some of the fruit trees and the middle path in the 1970s are the only remains of a once luscious garden.

One of the Victorian houses in Van Riebeeck Street, now demolished for university residences. The garden in the foreground in a derelict condition shows the middle path and the mill stream from which the garden was irrigated.

(above) The plan of Stellenbosch in 1905 (Hans Fransen) shows the extension towards Mosterdsdrift and the water furrow which supplied the gardens of the new houses in Van Riebeeck Street.
Parallel with the back wall of the werf stood two rows of beautiful oaks and between them and the river was a "fine orchard", also enclosed with a wall, as appears from Hertzog's map. A gate similar to the two front ones gave access to the enclosed garden. The orchard is shown in the lower west corner and though Borcherds does not mention it, the rest of this area was probably for house vegetables and flowers, which could not have grown in the first courtyard where the animals were stabled.

From the cingel an avenue of oaks led to the "menagerie" past the garden of the landdrost and then made a right angle turn to form a second avenue which ran into the road to Jonkershoek. Both these avenues have been preserved to the present day, the first being known as "Die Laan" and the second as Coetsenberg Street.

Hertzog shows that the menagerie consisted of two parallel buildings, one shorter than the other with an enclosing werf-wall, probably the chicken run, pig-sties, and perhaps cow-shed. West of this yard a square pond surrounded by trees is shown. This pond appears on a drawing annexed to the transfer deed to Adam Mader dated 15.8.1846. The transfer relates to an auction held at the Commercial Exchange in Cape Town four months previously when the menagerie ground was sold in lots varying in size from one to three morgen.

This part of the parsonage garden, Borcherds informs us, was sown with corn to supply forage for the drosdty animals, but Hertzog also shows orchards and rectangular plots planted with trees along the broad walks, so there were probably other vegetable crops as well. Noticeably there are no vineyards on this property although it was surrounded by vines!

In 1826 the werf as drawn by W B Rowan is virtually unchanged and it remained like this until 1859 when it was recycled for use as a theological seminary. In 1840 one of the village rules laid down by the Commissioners was that the Cingel be reserved only for their use, so that they would have easy access to the Drostdy building and grounds.

But in 1868, a second storey was added and in time extenstions built on either side and a cast iron fence erected on the front and side boundaries of the old cingel. The front wall and side gates were in the process demolished, leaving only the garden portal and gate as evidence of the once fine estate of the landdrost. A comparison of the existing wooden gate with that drawn by Vidal and Lady Anne Barnard, suggests that it is indeed the original 18th century gate very similar in style to the Boshof and Stellenberg gates.

2.3 VICTORIAN HOUSES IN VAN RIEBEECK STREET

In 1903 the old farm, Mostertsdrift was subdivided and a number of parallel lots sold along the extension of Plein Street, named Van Riebeeck Street.

The Municipality at the time came to an agreement with the owner, Anna Francina Roux, on the division of water rights, so that each of the new owners was to be supplied with water from a furrow which ran through the middle of each property parallel to and above the mill stream.
A map of Simon's Town in the mid-18th century, showing the Company's two gardens, the old and new 'flag' houses (vlaghuys), the butchery, the hospital, the magazine, barracks and other official buildings near the beach.
The houses, which were built soon afterwards on these long parallel erven were substantial mansions with modern tiled or iron roofs. They lay on the highest parts of the properties and looked down onto their own gardens which were divided into parallel beds on either side of a central footpath. Various fruit trees were planted on the boundary walks as well as the other paths, and at the lowest part were a number of rows of different types of vines.

The beds nearest the houses contained many different kinds of picking flowers: there were shrubs like abutilon, gardenia, hibiscus, viburnum varieties, "moonflowers" and perennials like roses, shasta daisies, cannas, chrysanthemums, agapanthus and catmint; others were planted with seasonal annuals like calendulas, gaillardias, antirrhinums, pansies, phlox, bellis perennis, sweet peas, iceland poppies, lupins and summer asters, to name but a few.

The next beds were planted with a large variety of vegetables, and these were continually being sown so that the householder had a continuous supply of all the various kinds including potatoes and onions. Fruit and vegetables were not sold, but used for the family, excess being processed to jam, pickles or canned or dried so that their use was extended across the seasons. Much produce was distributed to servants and those without gardens.

Boundary hedges between properties were almost all of Australian myrtle, clipped to a height of two metres, reminiscent of the early European myrtle hedges in the Rev Borchers' garden. Apart from the fruit trees, a few palms before the front door, and jackarandas were much favoured, although some oaks were planted next to the street on the banks of the mill stream, but not in a row.

These descriptions are of the town-erfs as the author knew them in the 1930's. The trees were then large and there is no reason to think that this is not the way they were originally laid out when the houses were built some thirty years previously. The back gardens made provision for garages and chicken pens, but the animals later lost popularity. The interesting fact is that although these garden were established almost 200 years after the earliest ones in Stellenbosch, they were so much similar.

SIMON'S TOWN

In 1687 Simon Van der Stel explored the western shores of False Bay, charted the shore-line and realised that the Bay, which he named after himself, would make a perfect anchorage in winter when the north-western gales played havoc with ships in Table Bay.

On May 16th, 1722, ten ships were driven ashore and 600 lives lost in a north-westerly gale in Table Bay and in 1729 another three ships suffered the same fate. The master of the equipage stores and a retired captain were sent out to False Bay to report on the suitability of an anchorage at Simon's Town. It was found that the bay was sheltered from both winds and that the sandy bottom would provide safe anchorage for eight to ten ships. There was a limited amount of water and a garden would provide vegetables for only a few ships. Transport of anchors and other harbour necessities would have to be by sea as the road was virtually inaccessible.
Maj Kirsteman's drawing of Simon's Town in 1798. The two gardens are shown as well as the buildings which appear on the earlier map as well as some new ones (UCT Library) Compare with Thibault map (inset)
18th century Simon's Town from the sea (UCT Library)

Details of the gardens from the Thibault map on opposite page
Two maps of Simon's Town at the beginning of the 20th century. The map (right) is in the UCT Library, and the one (left) in the Surveyor General's office. Most of the buildings below the road except the Dutch Reformed Church belong to the navy, but many properties above the road have been granted to private individuals. Notice how they are all different both in shape and size.
Although the Governor and the Council of Policy recommended the establishment of a port, this was turned down in Holland by the Council of 17 and it was only after 1737 when another nine ships were wrecked in Table Bay, that the idea was approved. But Commissioner Van Imhoff himself chose the position for the first building to be erected, which accommodated a store and hospital, a magazine, barracks and bakery.

During the time of the D.E.I.C., further buildings were erected as required wherever a level area could be created along the mountain slope. These can be seen on an engraving by Du Bois of 1763 which shows the arrangement of six government buildings, all facing the sea.

A plan by Major Kirsteman of the Royal Engineers in 1798 shows the plans of these buildings at the end of the 18th century.9

In 1814 the Naval Shore Establishment was moved from Table Bay to Simon's Town and further new buildings constructed to accommodate their needs. To enable the Government to plan the future town in a more regular manner, Thibault was that year asked to survey the settlement and its buildings, and on his plan one sees that the town consists of one street (9 to 12 metres wide) with buildings built against each other on the upper side. Here were already a few private houses.10 As these were built on sites which had been levelled from the mountain by excavation, they allowed no space at the back for gardens. On the lower side of the street was the dumped excavated material, not fit for building or planting on.

Thibault also detailed the two government gardens which lay towards the southern end of the town. The large one was laid out in the same formal pattern that the Company used for all their gardens. The main walkway was on the axis of the front door of what was presumably the master gardener's house, the lesser path crossed this at right angles. Beds were rectangular and surrounded with hedges and planted with rows of vegetables and trees, probably fruit. On the north side of the house was an orchard surrounded with an avenue of trees.11 The smaller garden consisted of three parallel rectangles surrounded with hedges.

A third garden belonged to John Osmond, an English shipwright who had settled in Simon's Town in 1799 and become magistrate of the town. This garden had previously been part of the property granted to Christina Diemer, widow of the Burgerraad F Roussouw and sister of Elbert who owned Bergvliet in Constantia. When Osmond bought the property the garden was already in a high state of cultivation12 so it is probable that Christina Diemer had been responsible for the neat lay-out which typified other Diemer werfs.

The town water came from a mountain stream which the Resident Magistrate C Brandt in 1774 proposed should be opened and channelled to a new reservoir above the road. Villagers would then be able to obtain their water there from a stop-cock. He also proposed that the stream

9 U.C.T. Library, Special Collections
10 M3/384, C/A, see also Historical Simon's Town, p33
11 C/A, M246
12 Historical Simon's Town, p193
The Roodezants church by Poortermans shows the entrance pillars, the 1795 gable and the cemetery walls with urns.

The Gordon drawing of Roodezand showing the parsonage (left) and church (right) with the reader's house in between. Vineyards of the parsonage in the foreground.
should have a further channel running under a bridge over the road to the jetty to two cocks where ships could then be watered.

He also advised that a new piece of land should be granted for a cemetery which was to be walled. This large cemetery, as can be seen on a painting by Sir Charles D'Oyly, made quite an impact on the mountain side.

On 19.10.1859, 200 further building allotments were set out against the mountain slope, and the town in this way considerably enlarged.

However, the typical harbour town with its extensive dockyards, naval and official buildings along the road following the contours of the beach, remained almost unchanged till the end of the 19th century, except for two more jetties and a railway station. This can be seen on a plan of 1900 which appears bare and devoid of trees and plant growth.13

A photograph taken in 1885 does, however, show eucalyptus, willows, oleander and other trees and shrubs probably planted towards the end of the 19th century, which softened the townscape considerably.

4 ROODEZANDS KERK (In 1804 the name was changed to Tulbagh)

Once it had been decided that a church should be built in the Roodezand area in 1743, the new congregation had largely to fund the building costs for their church, parsonage and concomitant buildings, though the ministers and sick-comforters (teachers) were appointed and paid by the Company. Members of the church council were chosen by the congregation but had to be approved by the Governor and his Council as was customary. For almost fifty years farmers using the church, camped on the open ground around the church, for there was no town with any amenities.

The church, sexton's house and parsonage were the only buildings for the next decade and they had no specific relation to each other, except that the sexton's house was placed close to the church, obviously to facilitate supervision. But the parsonage was placed almost a kilometre from there and connected to the church by a wagon road.

Here the parson soon developed a small "lusthof" with a U shaped house facing the church, and a wagonhouse and wine cellar placed on either side of a forecourt enclosed in front with a neatly planted row of trees. From his house he could look out over an extensive garden consisting of rectangular vineyards separated by hedges, and surrounded on the one side by a row of trees and on the other by another hedge. This garden land had been granted to him by the Governor on his request.

Robert Gordon shows this lay-out in 1785 when only one private property had been developed near the church. Ten years after the church had been established, Nicolaas Fuchs, a surgeon with

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13 U.C.T. Dept of African Studies, B.M.16
14 Historical Simon's Town, p.25
The development of the town (Fagan G, Church Street in the Land of Waveren)

The Drostdy as drawn by Burchell (Vol 11, p97) stands in the veld with only a row of oaks in front of it
an eye for business, requested and was granted on 12 April, 1754 two morgen of land to practise his trade for the "good of the surrounding inhabitants". At that time all travellers to the interior passed by this church, so that Fuchs was assured of patients. After two years the property was acquired by the church council to serve as a house for the "sick comforter" and school, and Gordon shows his house facing the parson's wagon road to the church, with cellar, wagon house and orchard surrounded by trees.

The first part of the town was developed only towards the end of the 18th century when the church obtained ownership of the parson's garden land and further open government land. This property was then subdivided into five large erven which were sold to private individuals to pay for the enlargement of the church. The buyers were the brother of the minister, M C Vos, a doctor, a carpenter, a builder and a farmer who was later appointed sexton of the church.

Needless to say, most of these erven were within a decade subdivided and sold, sometimes after houses had been built on the subdivisions, so that the village at the end of the 18th century consisted of nine houses, as shown on the drawing (left).15

The church council had stipulated that the parson's wagon road was to be a public road and the new houses were to be built on the stony ground above the road in a strict row with all their street walls and stoeps in line. As in Cape Town foundations for buildings, stoeps and steps had to be checked by the "Rooimeester" before further building work was commenced to make sure that they all lined up. Gardens were made in the fertile soil on the lower side of the road where they ran down to the banks of the river, but water for these was obtained from a furrow which ran along the street side of these gardens.

This water had to be kept as clean as possible for it was also used by the town's people for domestic purposes and had to be scooped from the furrow and carried home in buckets.

A grant to the church in 1852 allowed the sale of further erven on the southern end of the street, so that at the end of the 19th century the street reflected the architectural styles of a century. A drawing of the town at this stage shows the original erven with a continuous row of houses facing Church Street and a second row of buildings facing a new parallel street east of these erven. The latter were occupied by commercial activities - a smith, general trader, law agent, transport rider as well as private houses. Buildings on the other side of this second street were mostly large new houses, each with its stables and other outhouses around a werf behind the house.16

The gardens which were laid out at the end of the 18th century did not differ from those of the late 19th and beginning of the 20th century. They followed the pattern of most gravitationally irrigated gardens: parallel rectangular beds on either side of one or more longitudinal paths were filled with a variety of fruit trees, vineyards, vegetables, and flowering shrubs, flowers and crops for fodder.

15 Fagan G G, *Church Street in the land of Waveren*
16 Information obtained from Q Fagan who grew up in De La Rey house in the Top Street, or "Bo-Straat"
The gardens in Church Street sloped towards the river, which is shown here overgrown with Spanish reeds (Arundo donax). Boundary hedges between gardens were of quince, rose or pomegranate. Beds of vegetables, flowers and fruit trees grew on either side of a central pathway (Tulbagh Museum)
Nearest the house was the flower garden, then the vegetable garden followed by the orchards and vineyards."

Boundary hedges were of quince, pomegranite or roses. "Parson’s Pink China" was the rose most popular along the street boundaries. In front of the houses were oak trees and indigenous grass, for as each house had its own cows which were driven along the street to and from the commonage outside the town mornings and evenings, no precious plants could be planted to form street gardens. However the ladies of the houses often had pot plants containing geraniums, begonias, clerodendrums ("bleeding hearts") and various bulbs like clivias, nerinas and agapanthus in containers on their stoeps. All these had to be watered by hand from the furrow.

Popular shrubs and flowers at the end of the 19th century were roses, lilacs, honey-suckle, gardenias ("katjiepiering"), philadelphus ("bruideblomme"), Cape May, marguerites, oleander ("selonsroos"), viburnums ("snow-ball bush"), scented verbenas, yellow and white jasmine, white and purple irises ("flappe") and various herbs both for cooking and medicinal purposes. Especially popular at the lower end of the fruit garden near the river were the large clumps of banana bushes. These gardens produced the vegetables, fruit and flowers for the townsfolk who were largely self-sufficient right into the twentieth century.

Plants were obtained by exchange amongst the townsfolk and visitors from further afield, for nurseries did not exist until the end of the 19th century. Keener gardeners imported seed directly from England.

It was during the occupation of the Cape by the Batavian Republic that it was decided to establish administrative offices at Roodezand, which then became known as Tulbagh. This town therefore in 1804 became the centre of a new district which was cut off from the earlier Stellenbosch district.

The drostdy, designed by the renowned Thibault, was placed about one kilometre to the north of the existing village as there was said to be a better supply of water in that position. Along the road running past the drostdy, a new village was created to house the administrative employees, but this never grew to contain more than about ten houses. For it was the village around the church which continued to grow as erven were developed in two new streets parallel to the minister’s old wagon road and cross streets set out on a grid between them.

With the influx of English settlers - the school teacher, Scottish minister, magistrate and other officials towards the middle of the century, many town people adopted anglicised tastes and styles. The old Dutch houses were given Victorian fronts, and street gardens enclosed with cast iron fencing and low walls. These small gardens were then planted with Cape May, roses, gardenias, daphnes and other flowering shrubs and climbers which together with the striped verandas, created a more intimate streetscape in marked contrast to the earlier Dutch stoeps and bare streets.
Late 19th century gardens in Church Street of the Kruisvallei parsonage side and street views with formal beds edged with myrtle, and veranda with cast iron trimmings
But the gardens on the lower side of the street remained unchanged, maintaining their formal beds and their boundary hedges as before, and the water ran merrily in the street furrows well into the 20th century.

**5 ZWARTLAND (In 1829 known as Malmesbury)**

The Council of Policy had difficulty in finding a suitable place for the second church which they wished to establish in the area known as the Zwartland, until the widow of Pieter Van der Westhuisen offered her farm in 1744 in exchange for another which she had already selected. The congregation also had to recompense her for the buildings which had been erected on her farm.

The so-called "Diep River" which ran through the widow's property, had water in it only after winter rains, but for the rest of the year was as dry as a bone. Apart from this the soil was brack and water from wells the same. This was no place for trees or gardens, although the winter rain produced excellent wheat crops and some winter vegetables. The settlement was not popular in spite of a church and school and so the town grew very slowly.

In 1800 a map of the town done by surveyor J W Wernich shows the church settlement consisting of a small cruciform church, fronted by a "plein", facing the T-shaped sexton's house. The parsonage some distance away, is surrounded by an extensive garden and wheatfields laid out in rectangular lots on either side of the buildings.

These consist of the U-shaped parsonage, a long barn parallel to it slightly set back, and several rectangular kraals, with two small attached buildings, probably stables. In front of the house four large trees are indicated and a straight axis from the front door runs down to the church square. On either side of this pathway are neatly set out rectangular lands and a large orchard, or perhaps a vineyard.

Wernich's map also shows the small school with the house of the "sieketrooster" or teacher. These buildings too had no geometrical relation to the other church buildings.

A later undated map indicates a dam and a hot spring in the parsonage property, and this is probably why he was able to have such extensive gardens.

Another undated map shows a spring close to the church and an even later undated map shows another spring near the church, but not in the same position as the previous one, now situated in the middle of the street. These springs were to provide water to the town in summer when the river was dry.

When further erven were set out on land granted to the church wardens in 1840, the sexton's garden assumed a triangular shape, being separated from the parsonage garden by a road running up obliquely to join Church Street, which ran in front of the church. Eventually the sexton's
(above) Wernich map of 1800 of the first town lay-out

(middle) The church Malmesbury by Poortermons, 1857

(below) Undated plan of Malmesbury
(C/A, M2/472)
(top) Undated map, showing the church buildings and first town erven
(middle) Present town with old centre coloured
(below) Undated map showing springs
(top) Townscape in the 1890s shows Eucalyptus trees in streets and gardens with sparse permanent planting (C/A, R756)

(middle) Streetscape of Malmesbury late 19th century with Eucalyptus and oleanders and Victorian buildings

(below) Parsonage garden with bedding patterns (only planted in winter for lack of summer water) (R757)
garden made way for a larger square in front of the church and streets forming a grid in the rest of
the town, converged on this square.

A painting by Poortermans in the Parliamentary Library shows the simple cruciform church with its
ornate "hol-bol" gable facing the street and undecorated straight gables on the sides. Access to the
walled churchyard is between two tall pillars topped with urns and the massive belfry stands apart
on one side of the church. The sexton's house faces the church on the opposite side of the square,
which is lined with trees, perhaps oaks.

As in his sketch of the Piketberg church square, Poortermans shows groups of people talking,
indicating that these open squares were sociable places.

On the map filed with S.G.1/1/1/4 it is noted that Malmesbury, which had been Dutch when it was a
newly established church settlement, consisted of quite a cosmopolitan community by the middle
of the 19th century. A Captain Hill had in 1847 taken transfer of a large erf behind the church and
one of the erven on the square belonged to a Mr Green. When new erven were later sold next to
the parsonage, they were bought by messrs Loedolf, Fryffenberg, Smuts, Kennedy and Laubscher
(Malmesbury Erf look Deeds Office).

When the author was a child living in the neighbouring town of Moorreesburg in the 1920s,
Malmesbury was regarded as a very English orientated town ("Almal Sappe"), unlike
Moorreesburg where no-one could speak English except the post-master, bank manager, attorney
and school teachers who were instructed to teach only in English. Even the few Jewish families
spoke Afrikaans, with a German accent. English styles were consequently much more prevalent in
Malmesbury where "grand" Victorian houses were built for the upper class on the outskirts of the
town towards the end of the 19th century. Older citizens tell of the house dances which were held
in these houses and which were secretly attended because Calvinist parents did not approve of the
English nor of dances which were "of the devil".

Corrugated iron made it possible to gather run-off rainwater from the roofs into storage tanks for
watering special plants, for both Malmesbury and Moorreesburg are extremely hot and dry in
summer. And water obtained from boreholes on private properties when these, with wind pumps,
became common, was brackish and not suitable for gardening.

A panorama of 1895 shows the many bluegums along the Malmesbury streets, for this tree was to
be as easy to grow in the Swartland as oaks were in the Western Cape. Not only did they thrive in
the summer heat providing very welcome shade, but they were a wonderful source of timber in an
area where trees were rare in the landscape. Introduced from the Cape Town Botanical Gardens,
soon there was hardly a property without at least a few trees on its boundaries. These could be
lopped annually and would then immediately sprout new branches. Thus house-owners each had a
continuous supply of wood which could keep the "Dovers" and other stoves burning throughout
the year.
A street in Malmesbury with walled street gardens filled with "morning glory" and oleander (C/A, R775)
By the end of the 19th century town streets were lined with many Victorian houses with verandas decorated with cast iron, and garden walls matched these. Sometimes these were added onto earlier houses after replacement of thatched roofs with corrugated iron. The church werf, instead of a wall was surrounded by a particularly fine cast iron fence. Arches and pergolas and collections of stoep pot plants were also commonly seen, favourite plants for this purpose being geraniums, cactus and ferns.

Late 19th century photographs show these streets with hardy plants like oleander (selonsroos), plumbago, "morning glory", conifers, figs and shrub roses softening the public spaces which in Dutch times had been bare and rather stark.

6 SWELLENDAM

The third district which was established by the D.E.I.C. in the 18th century was Swellendam. Unlike the church settlements at Roodezand and Zwartland, this town was established in 1744 as a centre for the administration of the new district of Swellendam. One of the Company's bookkeepers, Johannes Theophilus Rhenius, was appointed sub-landdrost under the Stellenbosch landdrost and he and his six appointed heemraden selected a situation at the foot of the Langebergen where the soil was rich and many streams were available for irrigating the new town.

A drostdy with its concomitant buildings was planned on the banks of what came to be known as the Coornland River. Just as Stellenbosch had received the name of the governor of the time, so this district and town were named for Governor Hendrik Swellengrebel and his wife, Helena Ten Damme.

As at Stellenbosch, the lay-out was formal with the government headquarters in a T-shaped building, placed in the most prominent situation.

Both Schumacher and Robert Gordon show the neat plan some thirty years later:

The T-shaped Drostdy faced the river and its own garden, which was arranged on either side of a walkway on the axis of the front door. The garden was surrounded by a hedge and on either side of the main path similar hedges demarcated long beds parallel to it. On the east of this was an orchard and then a large vineyard, another orchard and then what appears to be a forest probably of oaks, as Barrow mentions "the garden... surrounded by a plantation of oaks". Dirk Gysbert Van Reenen (from Papenboom) also describes the landdrost's "pretty garden surrounded with plantations of oaks".

To the west of the path were long parallel rectangular beds of what might be vegetables. A walled kraal lay on the hill behind and parallel to the drostdy and another kraal probably with aloe hedge, lay west of this with an adjoining small house, possibly for a herdsman. A round threshing floor was east of that and further outbuildings were situated in line with the drostdy.
The Drostdy and its formal gardens in the late 18th century as illustrated by Schumacher. The Drostdy (centre) faces the main walkway of the garden; the gaol (middle) has its own hedged garden and the secretary's house on the hill (left) overlooks its own vineyard and the Coornland River.
Sketch by J Behr of the first houses along the one street in 1808. The gardens are below the road, the Drostdy in the foreground (Swellendam Museum)

A drawing indicating original grants (C/A, SG1/1/1/101, 1899). The first grants varied in size and shape, leaving odd bits of open land which were granted later
Hopley plan of the Drostdy 1844 shows a typical English landscape with a circular drive to the front door.

The Hopley plan of 1817 showing the different shapes and sizes of the town erven situated along the wagon road which turns sharply before crossing the Coornlandsrivier to run past the Drostdy out of the village.

(right) The drostdy building shown facing the road instead of the garden, after it had been extended in 1811 (C/A, CO534)
The gaoler's house where the other officials also lived, and prison behind it, lying at right angles to the drostdy on the main road, had its own garden with similar planted boundaries and rectangular beds.

Behind and above this lay the water-mill fed by a stream from the mountain.

Between 1814 and 1816 erven of 1 morgen, 500 square roods were granted in freehold to a number of Dutch settlers, and as these already show houses and water furrows on the grant drawings, they had obviously been occupied for some time previously. These erven lay parallel to each other as can be seen on a sketch done in 1808 by J Behr. The sketch shows an avenue of large trees between the drostdy and the river, the village gardens along the banks of the river and the outspan before the village church. James Ewart in 1811 found almond hedges around orchards and gardens.

Although a congregation had been formed in July, 1798, under the leadership of the minister Von Manger, the cruciform church and T-plan parsonage were only built four years later. These buildings were placed on the village road alongside the private houses on a large piece of land, the church itself being surrounded by a wall, but in front of it was an open square where church goers could outspan. 22

By 1811 the drostdy had become inadequate and a parallel wing was added to the old building on its east side during the next few years, and its front entrance changed to face the public road which ran past the drostdy to the interior of the Colony. This arrangement is shown in a drawing which is enclosed in a letter dealing with water furrows in the drostdy vicinity. 23

A Hopley plan of the village gives a good idea of the arrangement of the erven, all of different sizes and shapes and their water supply from the various water-courses when the town consisted of only one long street running parallel to the river, except where it made a right angle turn to cross the river on its way past the drostdy. In the plan of 1817 Hopley still shows a T-shaped parsonage which was later turned into a U-shaped building. 24

On this plan Hopley shows a small building on the river boundary of the drostdy property. This building lies in a line with the front door and would have formed the end vista of the main garden walkway. It was most probably a "somerhuisie" similarly placed as the one in the Rustenburg garden but as it appears on no other sketch of the town, the appearance remains a mystery.

Open water furrows were led from one erf to the other so that each garden could be irrigated on a gravitational system, the lay-out of each following the pattern already described at Roodezand. Pigs especially, were a nuisance in public water-courses, so that the municipal regulation no 22 of 1838 stipulated that pigs found in gardens or watercourses, could be shot!

Again the first townsfolk consisted of craftsmen like smiths, wainwrights, and various kinds of traders. When Lichtenstein stayed in Swellendam in 1803 he noted that the villagers, living at

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22 Refer plan M3/983 by Hopley, 1817
23 CO534; the letter is dated 19.6.1844
24 See Co 74 where the Rev J C Bertrand requests improvements to the parsonage in a letter dated 31.1.1816
The main street in Swellendam in 1880 showing wagons with their draught animals parked under the shade of large oaks (UCT Library)
regular intervals from each other, were mostly traders and handicraft-workers - the wainrights and smiths he thought would make a particularly good living because Swellendam was on the road to the interior.

From the 1820s onwards there was a slow influx of British settlers, the most famous of whom was undoubtedly Joseph Barry, who with his nephews built up a mercantile company in the Overberg equalled only by the similar trading empire of the Mosenthals in the Graaff Reinet districts. Professional people brought new ideas from Cape Town and a printing press, The Overberg Courant (1859-1864) stimulated new styles and new activities so that the town soon included lawn tennis courts, croquet lawns and turf club amenities. And private gardens were embellished with pergolas, summer-houses and ferneries, as all the latest English frivolities ruled the social scene.

Swellendam became renowned for the horses bred in the district on the farms of the famous Van Reenen, Reitz and Moodie families. These inventive agriculturists and farmers contributed greatly to the prosperity and growth of the town in the mid-19th century. However a bad drought followed by a widespread fire in the village in 1865 when many houses and business premises were lost, some for good, changed the fortune of the town. Furthermore the district itself was diminished when both Caledon and Riversdale were cut off from it. By the end of the 19th century it became clear that Swellendam had seen its best days, but with its large street oaks and beautiful private gardens, it nonetheless remained a wonderful haven for those who wished to avoid the bustle of the city.

Until the end of the 19th century the town remained one long street. After this it grew on a grid pattern, but retained its linear shape.

GRAAFF RIJNET (Later Graaff Reinet)

This, the fourth and last district established by the D.E.I.C. was an attempt to bring law and order to a group of farmers who were living on the outskirts of the Colony.

The position for a landdrost office was determined by the newly appointed Graaff Reinet landdrost, M H O Woeke, in 1785. It was the loan farm of Dirk Coetzee who was granted two other farms and paid 8 000 guilders in return for his property. The farm lay under a hill called Spandau Kop, a well known landmark in the Sundays River Valley. In an area where the annual rainfall is 180 mm, temperatures in summer up to 40 degrees and well below freezing point in winter, an oasis could nevertheless eventually be established because of the fertility of the soil and the abundance of running water.

But the financial distress of the D.E.I.C. allowed the minimum amount of expenditure on the establishment of the new district headquarters. The Landdrost received no fixed salary, but only allowances for a few expenditures even though he represented the Company in all matters of administration, justice and defence. His assistants in all these matters, the College of Heemraden, were chosen from the local farmers, who themselves often found it hard to make ends meet, for although they were well stocked with cattle and sheep, they had to contend with an erratic climate,
a distant market and the declining value of the rixdaler as well as succeeding raids and wars with
the Xhosa.  

Five years after the landdrost had been appointed, there were still no official buildings and when
the burghers applied for building funds their request was turned down and they were told to
generate their own funds. As a result the buildings erected had none of the grandeur, and the
town had not the well-considered plan of the earlier drostdy at Stellenbosch. Barrow describes the
settlement some fifteen years later when on a visit there in 1797:

"an assemblage of mud huts placed at some distance from each other, in two lines, forming a kind
of street. At the upper end stands the house of the landdrost, built also of mud and a few miserable
hovels that were intended as offices for the transaction of public business; most of these have
tumbled in and the rest are in a ruinous condition and not habitable". Even the gaol was so badly
built that prisoners could easily escape from it.  

Lichtenstein in 1804 found the farmers of this district to be in desperate straits. They had been
robbed of their stock, and farm buildings had been destroyed by marauding Bushmen and
succeeding Xhosa wars. He commented on the poverty of the village of Graaff Reinet and found
the inmates to consist only of officials of the Company and private craftsmen - smith, wainwright,
carpenter, saddler - mostly European immigrants - who gain a very good livelihood and a few
traders with not much stock.  

They lived in some twenty houses "built in a straight line" on either side of the street with gardens
between them. The official buildings at the end of the street were still in a sad state of repair, as
well as the barracks which the English had built in 1797, and so was the church which the
congregation had rebuilt eight years before.  

The first erven in the street had been granted by the College of Heemraden, and Lichtenstein
found that the most important officials "were either weak men, who from indolence suffered things
to go on in their usual course, or men who acted with an ill-judging zeal, not knowing how properly
to regulate the firmness and uprightness necessary to be united in the judge and regent of such a
district". But with the occupation of the Cape by the Batavian Republic in 1803, conditions were
very much improved at Graaff Reinet after Commissioner de Mist installed a new landdrost,
Andries Stockenstrom, improved the financial situation of the district, ordered the building of a
new drostdy and allocated money for the repair of their church.  

During Stockenstrom's competent administration the town underwent many changes as more
erven were granted and new houses built. In 1812 the traveller Burchell, was generally impressed
by the neat little village lying in the hollow bend of the Sunday's river, surrounded by mountains.

26 Henning C G. Graaff Reinet, p9
27 Barrow J., pp113-114
28 V.R.S.10, Lichtenstein H, Travels in Southern Africa Vol I, p452
29 Ibid. See also De Mist's description Belangrike Dokumente in de Kaap Kolonie en Elders Vol 1, p145, 5.2.1804
30 Ibid. p454
31 Henning C G. Graaff Reinet, p21
He found "one broad principal street, of detached houses, adjoining to each of which is a garden well planted with fruit trees and continually supplied with water". There were now 74 houses and many new ones being built. The large erven were surrounded by quince hedges and the gardens were filled with all kinds of vegetables which one could buy cheaply. The main street was planted with oranges and lemon trees which he found particularly beautiful with their dark green foliage and golden fruit. It appears that everyone in the town by this time was concerned that the citrus trees should improve the town image, for even the church in 1813 were willing to pay 225 rixdalers to J J Booysen to plant and maintain for three years 100 orange trees on the church street boundary.

By 1821 there were about three hundred houses each with a garden, sometimes of several acres, behind it. These were "richly cultivated, divided by quince, lemon or pomegranate hedges, and laid out in orchards, gardens and vineyards".

According to James Ewart, farmers (and presumably villagers too) at that time were producing only enough for their own consumption as the market was too far away to allow for profit. Once a year a farmer's wagon would be packed with skins of "tygercat" and leopard, ostrich feathers, salted butter, and soap to exchange in Cape Town for clothing and grocery necessities.

The first volume of Graaff Reinet grants filed in the Cape Deeds Office, records the erven which were granted from 1815 to 1818. Those around the church square were usually 69 sq.roods in size, and those in Church Street were parallel rectangles usually of 528 square roods. Their arrangement is seen on the detailed map of the town done in 1823 by Thompson which also shows the water system devised in the 1820s by the landrost, Andries Stockenstrom, and his Heemraaden. Every erf was hereby supplied with regular irrigation water for a period of time related to the size of the erf.

Thompson's map shows most of the houses built facing Church and Cradock Streets with their gardens running behind them through to Berg and Stockenstrom Streets and Hussey's Walk. The two main streets are planted with trees, lemons and oranges according to the travellers, and two of the streets which cross these at right angles are also partially planted with trees. The neatly set out grid of the town is contained in the bend of the Sundays river, and there is no development beyond.

A study of the individual gardens reveals that each had the same pattern: a central path, usually on the axis of the centre of the back of the house. On either side of this the parallel beds probably contain the vegetables, fruit and flower beds arranged much in the same way as those described in the Tulbagh and early Stellenbosch gardens. Unfortunately none of the private gardens is drawn

32 Burchell W J, Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa Vol 11, pp103-104
33 C/A, G 6, 7.8.1813
34 Thompson George, Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa, p75
35 Ewart J, Journal, p37
36 Graaff Reinet Freeholds, Vol 1
Mosenthal's trading store on the Graaff Reinet market (Bradlow F. Bowler, p137)
in detail, but the more pretentious official gardens show two groves, perhaps lemons and oranges, planted in a star pattern, divided by an orchard planted in quincunx. No parterres are indicated.

The irrigating system devised by Stockenstrom, allowed for canals to run down the principal streets. From here the water was led into the erven by means of sluices, and today this same system as is also seen on early Elliott photographs, is still in operation. As a result of its effective irrigation system Graaff Reinet was renowned for its beautiful gardens throughout the Colony in the 19th century.\textsuperscript{37}

Chase records that the vast contrast that the visitor finds on reaching Graaff Reinet, "compared with the immense and weary plains he has left behind has caused it to be called, in homely diction of the inhabitants,"the pearl upon a dunghill".\textsuperscript{38}

In 1859 Andrew Wiley described the town as "pretty, the streets wide, with rows of orange or oleander trees... covered in rosy flowers" and found the houses neat, with large rear gardens, each with many vines. He commented on the fact that so little vegetables were grown and that the many grapes were used for making bad brandy!\textsuperscript{39}

After the movement of large numbers of Dutch farmers over the Orange River during the "Great Trek", the development of Port Elizabeth only 170 miles away as a commercial harbour, and the growing importance of the newly opened diamond mines, Graaff Reinet in the second half of the 19th century assumed a growing strategic importance which was to attract increasing numbers of new immigrants to the district and town. These ranged from the German Adolph, Joseph, Julius and Hermann Mosenthal in 1842 to a number of Dutch children brought out by one, Myndert Noone in 1855, to the many English who arrived as a result of Sir George Grey's Immigration Scheme of 1858.\textsuperscript{40}

Each of these brought new ideas and commercial expertise which eventually led to a change in the townscape from a Dutch village with large agricultural areas, to a more densely built up town, with premises for craftsmen, traders, banks, schools and all the amenities of a fully fledged sophisticated community.\textsuperscript{41} Market activity also increased with the success of the merino wool and angora industries in the district.

The establishment of the Graaff Reinet Botanic Garden in 1872 was also to have a far reaching influence on the appearance of not only the town streets and gardens, but also on the surrounding farms. In their first report\textsuperscript{42} to the Governor and both Houses of Parliament, the management committee saw the encouragement of tree-planting as the most important function of the Garden. "To engage largely in the growth and distribution of young trees at moderate rates".

\textsuperscript{37} Private article written by Immelman and kindly lent to me by his daughter
\textsuperscript{38} Chase J C, \textit{The Cape of Good Hope}, p73
\textsuperscript{39} Wiley, *
\textsuperscript{40} Henn pp39-40
\textsuperscript{41} A list of these immigrants and their occupations is given by Henn C G, \textit{Graaff Reinet}, p52
\textsuperscript{42} Reports of Select Committees, \textit{Report on the Graaff Reinet Botanic Garden, for the period ending 30th April 1874}
The Botanical Garden at Graaff Reinet in 1900 showing hardy plants like palms, oleanders and cypresses (*The Veld, Xmas number 1900*)

The botanic gardens in Graaff Reinet in 1890 showing a walled fountain, and drought resistant trees and palms. Both above photographs from Henn’s *Grahamstown*
The garden, about seven acres in extent, was surrounded with streets and situated in the north-west corner of the town where land had been granted to the Commissioners of the Municipality by the Governor in terms of Municipal Section 1X, Act 2 of 1860. Here, with voluntary supervision from J McClea the garden had been temporarily fenced off with "reed and thorn" until enough quince and "golden willow" plants had been grown for a permanent hedge. Within a year 865 trees had been planted, a large quantity of seed had been sown and many more trees were in tins ready for sale.

The plan of the garden was that of a simple grid of avenues consisting of acacias, blackwood, oaks and blue-gums and a circular rosary of 30 metres in diameter, so not really an imaginative plan.

In the 1892 report we read that the gum trees, after twenty years, had grown to 27 metres and that there were fountains in the garden supplied with water by an "Essex" windmill. The quince hedge had grown so well that it adequately protected the garden on the Stockenstrom Street boundary but the "Golden Willow" was so dilapidated that it was replaced with a wire fence.

The success or failure of these plants in the Garden, planting patterns, and embellishments like fountains set the style for village gardens.

Suddenly, within a year, this small isolated Karroo town was communicating not only with the local Botanic Gardens at Cape Town and Grahamstown but with the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew and through them with the chain of botanic gardens throughout the British Empire. What is as important, is that the Committee of Management were forced to assess the significance of their own indigenous flora which could be used as exchange material and in this way introduced their own plants to the gardens of the rest of the Cape and the Empire.

Not only plant material was being exchanged, however, but the knowledge and experience of famous international botanists and agriculturists. One of their Management Committee members was Harry Bolus who was subsequently to become a famous botanist, and on their staff was a gardener named Kirchoff, whose seeds were to become even better known by every gardener. Experiments could be made with new varieties of timber and avenue trees, fruit trees, fodder crops, vegetables and flowering plants and suitable material found for the specific climate and soil of the Graaff Reinet region.

The tremendous enthusiasm of the first committee was to stimulate similar public interest in horticultural affairs, so that subscribers to the garden had risen to 90 by 1884 and plant sales rose continually, 13,000 plants being offered for sale five years after the garden had been opened.

But apart from the agricultural and planning benefits of the Botanical Garden, balls, bazaars, charity concerts and promenade concerts by the local Amateur Band made the garden a social gathering place. A fern house accommodated in the reed shelter for trees, and a conservatory, "for ornamental and flowering plants" were added attractions for visitors who were allowed into the garden from 8am to 6pm in winter and 6am to 8pm in summer. Exotics displayed in the glass house made visitors aware of other countries and other climates.
The photograph used for Eaton's restoration of the parsonage

The parsonage after restoration in the 1970s

Townscape in the late 19th century (Edwards D, Photograph.)
The Committee of the Graaff Reinet Botanic Garden expressed these advantages in their first report of April 1874:

"In all civilized communities, institutions of this nature have been found to exercise the happiest influences on the social and physical well being of the people. Here, in the Colony far removed from many of those advantages which the accumulated intelligence and wealth of ages affords in older countries, such influences are amongst the earliest which can be brought to aid in the education of the growing community".

And according to an article in the Graaff Reinet Courant of 24.2.1830 it seems that water was not to be a problem, for wells dug by some of the private landowners, supplied good water very near to the surface. Priest Van Shirland, for instance, found so much water at 9 metres, that he had to use a strong pump to keep it down.

Photographs taken at the end of the 19th century give an indication of the influence which the Garden had had on the townscape: Conifers and gum-trees lined the streets, the gardens were filled with fruit trees, vine pergolas and hedges and though the central erven of the town had been subdivided and filled with buildings, the erven on the outskirts had retained their thatched houses and were still growing their fruit trees, vines and vegetables.

But a sheep kraal in the foreground built of branches, reminds us that the poorer villager still had to rely on more primitive materials to solve his planning problems where lack of running water allowed no agricultural activities.
19TH CENTURY TOWNS STARTED AS ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRES

In the first quarter of the 19th century the existing four districts had become unmanageable as more loan farms were granted in the rural outskirts of the Colony and they became more thickly populated. They were therefore subdivided to form further smaller districts, each with its own centrally placed town and sub-drosty, built to serve the administrative needs of their community. The first, Uitenhage, was established by Commissioner De Mist in the last year of Batavian rule at the Cape, and the next five, Jan Disselsvlei (the later Clanwilliam), George, Beaufort West, Worcester and Somerset East by British governors.

How these earliest British colonial villages were planned and established and what the nature of their urban landscape was, will be discussed under the following headings:

1. Uitenhage
2. Clanwilliam
3. George
4. Beaufort West
5. Worcester
6. Somerset East

SUMMARY

From Bergh J S & Visagie J C, *The Eastern Cape Frontier Zone*
Knobel's plan of 1814 showing the first streets in Uitenhage and (below) further erven set out in 1844 on either side of D'Urban Road

A part of the drostdy ground was sold in 1836 to a Mr Van der Riet (C/A, SG1/1/3/2)
The U-shaped Drostdy is shown here, but without its outbuildings seen on above maps
UITENHAGE

Commissioner De Mist, having returned from a tour of the Eastern districts and being convinced that the Stellenbosch and Graaff Reinet districts were both too large to be supervised by one landdrost, decided to divide them and establish new districts. On 7.2.1804 he issued a proclamation to cut off from Graaff Reinet those districts which had suffered most from Xhosa raids and where the burghers were most difficult to control, and established the new district under Captain Johann Christoph Ludwig Alberti.

Originally from Waldeck, Alberti had come to the Cape with General J W Janssens in 1802 and had travelled a great deal in the Eastern Frontier, also with Commissioner De Mist in 1804. He had already been put in charge of the Waldeck garrison at Fort Frederick, and would now serve as landdrost with the help of a body of troops. But apart from his military and administrative duties, he was required to draw up a plan for the new town which De Mist gave his family name, Uitenhage.1

The loan-farm Rietvallei which had been laid waste by the Xhosas, belonging to the widow Elizabeth Scheepers, was chosen for its abundance of water, fertile soil, and excellent situation for the new town.2 According to the settler John Centlivres Chase, its central situation in the colony made it well worth considering as the "seat of the Supreme Government". Also its proximity to the "barbarian frontier", the good harbour at Port Elizabeth and "its extraordinary capability, superior to every site within the comprehensive limits of the Cape Colony", made it eminently suitable "for the erection of a noble city.... With an almost prophetic eye to the future fortunes of this spot, the authorities, who planned the town thirty seven years ago, laid it out on a scale worthy of such a destiny".3

The centre point. Parallel plots of one morgen each were granted along the main street next to the drostdy and its concomitant buildings. The drostdy, a U-shaped building facing its own garden across the street, had an enclosed werf behind it with two outbuildings placed symmetrically in line with the back wall. A parallel row of long erven was in line with the drostdy, and below the street so formed were four further blocks of erven set out at right angles to the first, as shown on a plan by Knobel in 1814.4

In 1835 a further 14 erven of over one morgen each were sold above Durban Road and 17 erven of 1-2 acres each below Durban Road, south-east of the market square. Most of these were long narrow erven running from one street to the other.5

In 1809 a number of the local inhabitants had started collecting for a church building by charging one shilling and sixpence on every wagonload of salt delivered from the nearby Zwartkops salt-pan. Some kind of church existed before 1816, but it w:s only in the next year that the first

1 J A Uitenhage De Mist
2 Theal G McCall, *History of SA from 1795-1872, Vol 1, pp151-152
3 Chase J C, *The Cape of Good Hope*, p57
4 C/A, M1/581
5 C/A, CO544, letter 14.3.1845 and S1/11/11, letter 11.9.1849
Two anonymous 19th century paintings of Uitenhage show the wide streets, water furrows and church square.

A plan of the town in 1837, showing its water supply (C/A, M1/2669).
minister arrived, church council members were chosen and collecting could be started in earnest. The building of a new church was commenced in 1822 but completed only twenty years later due to problems with the builder.\(^6\)

The church was placed so as to allow for a large square in front of it as can be seen on a 19th century painting of the town by an unknown artist.\(^7\) It was by far the most imposing and prominent building in the town, as was the case with all the church towns in the Cape.

A second painting by the same artist shows the water furrows on either side of the streets, for Uitenhage was richly supplied with perennial water from two streams, the one from the farm Ongegund, the other from the farm Sandfontein. A photocopy of a map of 1837 shows the reservoir constructed above the town from where the newly acquired water was distributed, as well as the earlier stream which supplied the town before this.\(^8\)

When Archdeacon Merriman in 1843 visited Uitenhage, he was charmed with the town which lay at the foot of the small hill and when he heard the gurgling of water and witnessed the luxuriant vegetation of that place, while all the country around was burnt up, I was ready to cry for joy. He ate splendid peaches, pears and water melons, all in plenty which were grown there.\(^9\)

Uitenhage too made an effort to fill its streets with trees and was in this respect given advice by the Government Herbarium in Cape Town who wrote a report on the use of auracaria.\(^10\)

Before the end of the century a nursery and seedsmen, "Smith Brothers" opened a business in Uitenhage, and supplied plants to the surrounding towns, concentrating especially on rose and fruit tree varieties, so that Uitenhage gardens in the late 19th century had an abundance of these and other plants as can be seen on photographs of this time.

Though the country was both fertile and good for cattle and sheep, and exports of butter, wool, soap, tallow, skins, horns, aloes, grain, wine, brandy and wood from the Zitzikamma forests were high,\(^11\) the village did not reflect this wealth, for photographs of the late 19th century show what is basically just a small country village with wide gravel streets.

2 CLANWILLIAM

In 1806 a sub-landdrost was created at Jan Disselsvlei under the control of the Landdrost and Heemraden of Tulbagh until 1822 when the drostdy was moved to Worcester and it then fell under that district. The new name of Clanwilliam had in 1814 been given to the district of Jan Disselsvlei in honour of The Earl of Clanwilliam, the father-in-law of the Governor, Sir John Cradock (21.1.1814). In 1837 Clanwilliam became independent when a Civil Commissioner was appointed.
The official plan for the Uitenhage Drostdy showing the central bowed section, flat roof and castellated parapet - totally unlike the Dutch-styled drostdys of the 18th century towns (C/A, M1366)

Uitenhage in the 1820s as sketched by Samuel Hudson with the Drostdy right, prison and government house centre. The garden boundary of the house in the foreground is planted with shrubs against wooden fencing
An early plan of Clanwilliam erven and their buildings showing long parallel erven on the river banks, and small erven on the other side of the street.

Plan of Clanwilliam in 1821 showing the orchards and gardens of the landdrost and private individuals.
(above) Map of the Drostdy and land proposed for the new colonists (C/A, M3/386, 1820) and (below) Prison facade which formed the end vista of the main street.

Anonymous sketch of Clanwilliam in 1850 showing the long street with houses on either side and their gardens on the river bank (S A Library, Mend 18821-13)
A map in the Cape Archives drawn by the surveyor I Tulleken in 1820 illustrates the grants of land intended to be granted to four parties of Irish settlers which were expected to arrive from Cork in that year. The portion marked A was meant for the Adjunct Drosty of "Clan William"; B, consisting of 550 morgen, was for Capt Synnot; C consisting of 600 morgen, for Capt Butler; D, containing 1350 morgen for "De Heer Ingram"; and E of 1 600 morgen, for "De Heer Parker". Of these leaders and their parties only twelve men eventually remained, settled in Clanwilliam and became assimilated into the local Dutch population by intermarriage. The subsequent village therefore remained small and a drawing done a year after the settlers' arrival shows the settlement which Tulleken had drawn.

The main street splits into two at its northern end, the one branch running to the public pound, the other to the gaol, landdrost houses, offices and large garden. Along this unnamed street a single row of long erven lies parallel with houses standing along the street boundary and their gardens behind them, running towards the open land bordering the Jan Dissels River. A water furrow is drawn running from a dam shown in front of the official buildings, to a course between the houses and their gardens, and not along the street as is usual.

The drostdy garden is reached by a path bordered with a hedge, running from the official buildings. In this garden, which lies on the river bank, are orchards and vineyards divided into rectangular plots by hedged paths. The lay-out is formal and irrigated from the water course which feeds the dam in front of the drostdy.

The private gardens are drawn with neatly planted orchards and vines, and avenues along their boundaries. The gardens of the settlers Schönberg, Foster and Woodrush have central paths bordered by hedges, as has already been described in the 18th century parsonage garden in Stellenbosch. Thus they in no way differed from the accepted way of Dutch gardening, which was after all based on the practical needs of gravitational irrigation.

On the map one also sees the situation of the mill placed on a central smaller erf. The official buildings at the southern end of the town lie in a row with their fronts facing an open area and their backs reached from an access road running at an oblique angle to the main road. According to the description of the plan, outbuildings were built hard up against the offices of the official buildings: the stable of the secretary being next to the church room and the stable of the deputy landdrost next to the prison.

A new congregation was established only five years after the town had been laid out, on 26.9.1826, and because donations to a building fund were generous, a church 24 x 7.3 metres, was built on the large erf which had been measured out for it - the only building on the western side of the main road, only a year later. Opposite the church was the secretary's house and that of the settler D Schonberg, and between these and the church was an open space through which the water
Townscape of Clanwilliam in the early 1900s showing the buildings along the main street with their long gardens to the river

George Main Street (C/A, E491)
furrow ran. In 1833 a grant was given for the erection of a parsonage in the southern end of the town next to the Secretary's house.\textsuperscript{15}

This town, which followed the river bank, was like Paarl, linear in shape and the large irregular space allowed between the drostdy buildings and its garden which ran into the open area between the river bank and town erven, was quite unusual.

A sketch by an unknown artist done in 1850 shows the wide uneven street running between the two rows of simple cottages and a garden indicated behind the house on the left.\textsuperscript{16}

Because erven were well supplied with perennial water, the gardens were intensively cultivated and from the 1865 inventory it appears that a good production of dried fruit, various types of wheat, peas and beans, some potatoes, a little wine and brandy was taking place in this division. But what percentage of the produce in the town was for personal consumption or for trading purposes, is not clear.\textsuperscript{17}

By the end of the century, photographs show the main street built up with thatched houses, with gables facing the river and looking down onto their gardens which are filled with shrubs and trees stretching down to the river bank.

3 \textbf{GEORGE}

As timber became scarcer at the Cape, new forests were exploited by the D.E.I.C. in the first half of the 18th century by establishing posts further and further inland. Thus in 1726 the new post Zoetemelksvlei, and in 1726, Ziekenhuijs were established along the Sonderent River and the post Rietvallei on the Buffeljagts River in 1734.\textsuperscript{18} When by 1777 forests in these areas had also been depleted, a new post was established near the Outeniqua forest where a number of loan farms had been granted and farmers were already chopping the trees down together with Company's foresters sent there from the neighbouring posts.

The post settlement consisted of the T-shaped post-holder's house, a building for the smith and cartwright, barracks for the six workers, kraals, a reservoir filled from the nearby river from which a stream also irrigated a formal garden.\textsuperscript{19}

This garden was laid out in the formal Dutch style with the main walkway placed centrally in line with the front door of the post-holder's house. A row of four trees planted between the house and garden, were irrigated from the same stream that irrigated the garden.

Towards the end of the 18th century, the financial distress of the D.E.I.C. led to a diminution of the workers at the post and when Lichtenstein travelled there in 1806, he found the post in a poor condition and several families who had lost their possessions in the boundary wars, living there with...
Plan of George in 1819 showing neat grid pattern and the official buildings (C/A, M1/588)

Plan in 1825 showing the extension of the town to the north (C/A, M4/164)

Plan in 1828 where the many new buildings can be seen (C/A, M1/589)
their animals and small gardens. He was impressed by the fertility of these and the post-holder's garden.20

The new district of George was founded in 1811 with its centre at the Outeniqua post, and Andriaan Gijsbertus Kervel, appointed as landdrost, was housed in the old post-house. Thirty-six village erven were then measured out around the post, the first six erven granted to woodcutters who were settled at the edge of the forest and the rest sold by public auction.21

Kervel soon wrote to the Governor, Sir John Cradock, that it was necessary to establish a congregation as well. Cradock gave his permission and the house on the farm Zandkraal was then hired for the newly appointed minister, Tobias Herold, to live in and use for temporary church services, until the old post-house could be converted into a church.22

By 1813 when John Campbell visited Georgetown, the pastorie, doctor's house, jail and messenger of the court's premises had been built and the drostdy was under construction. The first plan of the town is said to have been drawn up by Voorman, but could not be found.23

A plan drawn by surveyor A E Peterson in 1819, shows the neatly laid out town with two long streets, dividing three rows of parallel erven. These again were subdivided by nine cross streets to form equal town blocks so that the town plan was one of a perfect grid. The larger erven, differing in size from one to six morgen were positioned along York Street and the smaller ones on either side of Mead Street.24 Peterson shows water furrows along both sides of York and along Mead Streets as well as the wide green verges on either side of the road. He had measured out most of the erven between 1814 and 1818 and the only erven shown with buildings on were erf no's 45, 47 and 49.

On erven 45 and 47 lay a T-shaped house with its back wing facing east, i.e. towards York Street, similar to the house of the post-holder, and on erf 49 was a long building lying in the same relative position to the house as that of the post outbuilding. It is therefore obvious that this was the position of the old post with its garden lying on the river side of the house. The property, 6 morgen in size, was measured for Carl Frederik Pohl on 2.1.1818 (now erf 2039).

By 1819 some forty houses had been built on the street boundaries, some with outbuildings situated on side or rear boundaries. And by now official and church buildings are also shown.25

These important buildings were situated along the most northerly cross street, called Courtenay Street. The church (a simple rectangular building which had been commenced in 1814), parsonage and T-shaped school are shown lying in a row on the northern end of Mead Street facing south over a square named Bird Square, with the church in the centre forming the end vista of Mead Street. The Drostdy faced York Street across Caledon Square and its concomitant buildings were

20 V.R.S.10, Lichtenstein H, Vol 1, p230
21 Theal G McCall, History of S A from 1795-1872, Vol 1; Theal G McCall, History of S A from 1795-1872, Vol 1, p225
22 Ons Kerk Album, p44
23 Sayers C O, Looking back at George
24 C/A, M1/588 Surveyor Petersen
25 C/A, M1/588

833
Retelsen's offer for a projected new church 1828 (C/A, CO3939)

(below) 19th Century streets and private gardens in George planted with a variety of trees C/A, J9426 & 9433 (below)
formally situated on either side of this square. These were the secretary's house, the messenger of the court's house, the prison, other offices and doctor's house. The old T-shaped post-house, with its back wing facing east, is also shown on erven 45 and 47 and its long outbuilding on erf 49. Both these buildings were not parallel to York street. The stream which had supplied the post-house and its garden is shown still ending there.

In this case the new town plan had disregarded the formal lay-out of the post werf, unlike Beaufort West where the buildings of the previous loan farm had been integrated into the formal town grid.

In 1828 a piece of ground on which a new cruciform church could be built was donated by the surveyor A E Petersen and in front of this an open square was planned. A number of the villagers objected to the position of the church because it was not in the middle of the town where it would be more accessible for the old and infirm. This reference may explain why in so many towns the church was placed in the centre. Where everyone walked to church this would indeed be a consideration, especially if the town was hilly. Thus the practical needs of the community would take preference over aesthetic preferences of the surveyor.

The town was well supplied with water from three streams emanating from the hills on its northern side. These formed furrows along both sides of Mead and York Streets and supplied all these erven and street oaks with running water.

Further maps of George Town, as it was then known, drawn by A E Petersen, show the rapid growth of the town. In 1826 the Drostdy was destroyed by fire and new public offices were erected only in 1844.

A plan of 1849 indicates that the poorer working class lived on their own granted erven east of the church.

The district in which George lay, produced of the highest crops of wheat, maize, potatoes, dried fruit, aloe juice, and brandy in the Cape Colony and the resulting prosperity led to a rapid growth of the town in the latter part of the 19th century.

Oaks and other trees planted along the main roads and in private gardens thrived in the gentle climate, high rainfall, rich soil and abundance of water so that by the end of the 19th century, George was a green city with many large trees. Anthony Trollip in the 1870s found the roads broad, the green swards treble the width of the road on both sides and lined with "real English oaks." These together with the many private gardens and the backdrop of the Outeniqua Mountains convinced him that this was the prettiest village he had ever seen.

26 C/A, CO3939 memorial of 8.11.1828
27 C/A, M4/164 and M1/589
28 C/A, G.A.28/29
29 C/A, S.G.1/1/14
30 C/A, Census returns for 1856 & 1865, CCP 1/2/1/16
Entrance to 19th century George was over this rustic bridge (UCT Library)
BEAUFORT WEST

It is not certain when this congregation was established, but according to Ons Kerk Album, the first services were being held under wagon tarpaulins in a poplar forest on the banks of the Drooge River, until in 1820 permission was obtained from the landdrost of Graaff Reinet, A de Clercq, to use his farmhouse for the purpose. It is likely that a congregation therefore preceded the founding of a town.

Hooivlakte had been granted to Jacob de Clercq (later Klerk) in 1760 and he had built a T-shaped house and three outbuildings parallel to it on the west bank of the Kuils River. As there were four perennial springs in this river, he was able to plant many vines and fruit trees in rectangular lands which were laid out on an axis south of the house.

That a new Magistracy was however necessary in the areas known as the Ghoup and Nieuweld was certain. Increasing lawlessness and interaction between the various tribes of Briguas, Boshuanas, or Bastaards and the settlers of those parts, needed to be controlled, and Governor Somerset therefore sanctioned the formation of a new sub-drostdy to be called Beaufort.

The fertile farm Hooivlakte was in 1819 chosen as a suitable place for the new sub-drostdy by the two landdrosts of Graaff Reinet and Tulbagh, and subsequently acquired by the Governor at an agreed price. After the farm house and its outbuildings had been renovated, the newly appointed sub-landdrost, John Baird, his secretary, two constables, the messenger of the court, a priest, a smith, a carpenter and their draught animals all moved into the buildings. The owner of the farm also occupied one of the outbuildings on the opposite bank of the river until a house could be completed for him on the new farm which he had received in exchange for Hooivlakte.

Baird then appointed surveyor Leeb to set out erven for a town. Leeb in 1820 measured out fifty-three erven in three long rows, creating two long streets between them. It is interesting to see that the one, called Bird Street, was an extension of De Klerk's main garden walk just as the Heerengracht had been an extension of the main walk in the Company's Garden in Cape Town. Provision for two 18 metre wide cross streets were made. The small town lay between the Gamka and Kuils Rivers.

In 1821 only twenty-one erven were sold: two adjoining his gardens on the Gamka were bought by de Klerk; the surveyor, W Bower bought two in the centre of the village; the landdrost bought two erven next to de Klerk's land on the Gamka, but also had the use of De Klerk's old vineyards and orchards and two adoining erven; 8 erven were reserved for clerks and other personnel in the landdrost and church offices; two erven were bought by the landdrost of Graaff Reinet, Andries Stockenstrooom, perhaps as investment, perhaps to support the new town.

References, unless otherwise indicated for this section, have been taken from the very well researched book, *Hooivlakte* by W G H & S Vivier
32 Ons Kerk Album, p49
33 *Cape Town Gazette and African Adverdiser*, no672
35 Ons Kerk Album, p49
The first plan of Beaufort West in 1819 showing the farm buildings used for the officials (top right) and the town grid below that, between the two rivers (Vivier, *Hooyvlakte*, p8)
(left below) Map of 1878 and enlargement right, showing the names of erf-owners and their professions as well as a place for a railway station (C/A, PWD 2/160)
A lime-burner and builder also bought erven, but few houses were built in those early years. Most of the officials did not need housing as they were living in the Hooivlakte buildings, and their erven were therefore used to cultivate fruit, fodder and vineyards.

Many sheep and cattle were also kept on these erven, because the Governor had instructed the landdrost to establish a market at Kookfontein where the different tribes were to be enticed periodically and encouraged to sell "such cattle or effects as they may wish to dispose of". These markets became very popular and made it possible for any one to acquire cattle, goats and sheep. Hides, biltong, butter, sheep fat and soap, derived from these animals, were lucrative articles of trade which were not dependent on local markets.

In 1822 a further 22 erven were sold, this time two (Dutch) builders and a stone-mason, an English carpenter, a German tanner and saddle-maker and a man who hired out coach-horses, were amongst the new owners. In 1837 the first doctor, Dr. James Christi, and a cartwright bought erven. But by 1830 only thirty houses had been built and the European population was 200. As in other towns of the period, tradesmen were the earliest settlers, and these were followed by the professions, especially the medical.

By 1830, after much collecting of funds, a Dutch Reformed Church building was completed which served the community to the end of the 19th century when the present church was built in the same place. In this case, the church was not placed in the most prominent part of the town, but on an ordinary erf in the centre of the town. The fact that the Church Council was not the most prominent power in the town, is reflected in the positioning of the church.

The Hooivlakte buildings, as the seat of Government, occupied the most prominent position in the town. An official Drostdy was not constructed because the farmhouse served this purpose until J J Meintjes, magistrate from 1834 to 1866, found it too dilapidated and built a new house at the top of Bird Street where the old Hooivlakte orchard had been.

A plan drawn in 1878 shows the fully developed town with three longitudinal streets lying parallel to the Gamka River and seven cross streets forming a grid with large erven. One sees also the poplar forest which had been planted by de Klerck, between the Gamka and its tributary, the Drooge River.

By this time the town was well supplied with craftsmen and tradesmen, whose shops are indicated on the plan. Of the businessmen nine were English, eight Dutch, two Jewish (Cohen and Brasch). There were five butchers, indicating where the profit lay, one hotel, one canteen, a forage store, a mission chapel and school as well as a Town Hall.

Amazingly the gaol was placed in the most prominent position to form the end vista of the main or Donkin street! Perhaps lack of the strong presence of the church, present in a "church town", necessitated a reminder to villagers of the punishment that awaited law-breakers.

37 C/A, PWD 2/160
38 Ons Kerk Album, p49
39 Vivier, Hooivlakte, p8
40 C/A, PWD 2/160. See also Surveyor General’s office, plans B24 and 25

839
Photographs of Donkin Street in 1922 when the pear trees were in full blossom
(Beaufort West Museum)
The first erven were well supplied with drinking and garden water by furrows from springs in the Gamka and Kuils Rivers, but some owners obtained water from wells on their properties. In 1849 fifty-three erven were still supplied by furrows and in 1859 the springs from the two rivers were brought together to strengthen this system. In 1851 a dam was built in the Kuils River above the town and this was from time to time enlarged and strengthened as the population increased and floods threatened and broke the structure.

Municipal regulations were drawn up by a gathering of rate-payers on 10th and 11th December, 1836, when an ordinance passed by the Cape Legislative Council legalised the establishment of Municipal Boards. Beaufort West thus became the first town in the Cape with a Municipal Board. Their regulations were approved by the Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban and give a good insight into the measures adopted to control the environment of small towns in the first half of the 19th century.

The most important of all issues was clearly the fair distribution of water, and the control of its quality. Twenty-three out of 102 regulations dealt with this matter. Seven regulations concerned the control of animals in the streets, near the water and on the commonage; twenty regulations dealt with matters related to a village market which had been established at the time in the centre of the town where live animals, meal, flour, grain, potatoes and other vegetables, salted meat, tobacco, soap, dried and fresh fruit, wine, brandy and vinegar were sold. Vivier points out that most of the erven were small farms till quite recently, and that people sold whatever produce they had on the municipal market.

There were also strict fire regulations, and fire, charcoal and brick kilns could be erected only where permitted by the Council.

But perhaps the most interesting regulation of all was no 39, which stipulated that owners were required to plant approved trees along their street boundaries and injury to trees was punishable. Trees first used were mulberry, willow, pear and seringa.

Between 1853 and 1913 the willows and mulberries were removed and replaced with the more popular pear trees. It was understood that owners could pick the fruit on trees in front of their properties but they were forced to fill in gaps where trees died and also to prune their trees regularly.

In 1883 a row of poplars growing in front of the city hall and in Church Street were replaced with twenty cypress trees, but those in Church Street were again replaced with pepper trees in the following year. By this time the white acacia had become quite popular, but in 1886 these became infested with Australian bugs (Icerya purchasi) and after corresponding with the Cape Town Botanical Garden, these trees were all removed in 1890 and replaced with pears. Beaufort West accordingly was like a fairyland in spring when the pear trees blossomed.

41 This became a Municipality under the provisions of the "The Municipal Act of 1882, by proclamation of 25 2 1904
42 In a proclamation dated 3 2 1837
Beaufort West agricultural show (*Cape Monthly Magazine*, 1861)
In 1883 a visitor to Beaufort West was impressed by the clean streets and particularly by the beautiful greenness of the main street with its many fruit trees. He also mentions the park "with almost every description of trees, with arbours and rustic seats where one could sit undisturbidly for hours with "her" and then feel loath to leave the place. Most of the houses in the town have large gardens attached, enclosed by quince or pomegranate trees. They have any quantity of fruit trees such as mulberries, oranges, almond and figs".

The first telephone and electric wires in 1914 and 1921 respectively, necessitated heavy pruning of trees on both sides of the streets, and tar streets and cement water furrows in the 1940s did not improve matters so that many trees were lost. Still the present Town Council are doing there best to preserve this part of the town's image by growing and planting new pear trees annually and private gardeners are doing the same.

Whenever the Municipal Board required money e.g. for the erection of a city hall in the 1850s -1860s, new erven were sold and others hired out for agricultural use, and so the town gradually expanded in all directions.

In the last decades of the 19th century the Beaufort West townscape included both tennis and croquet courts below the Kuils Rivier dam wall and a race course on the outskirts of the town. Intertown tournaments led to the upgrading of the areas around the courts by the planting of trees, shrubs and flowers and the provision of benches. A photograph of a tournament against Richmond in 1890, shows the tennis court surrounded by a packed-stone wall and many shady trees.

The beauty and prosperity of this Karroo town was largely due to its good water supply and its fertile soil which made agriculture on its town erven a profitable business. The so-called "Kaffir markets" which stimulated cattle dealing, was another good source of income. Though markets were distant, their produce of skins, soap, tallow, butter, salted meat, dried fruit, vinegar, wine and brandy were not perishable, and could be taken to Cape Town or Port Elizabeth by wagon.

In the 1870s the new diamond fields were to bring further prosperity to Beaufort West, which then became the most important stopping place for cartage contractors to those new towns where the money lay.

5 WORCESTER

This again was a town where care was taken with its initial lay-out because the Governor, Charles Somerset was personally concerned with it, some say, for his interest in hunting, because the local population at the drostdy Tulbagh, were not in favour of a new drostdy at Worcester and actually sent a deputation to the Governor to object."

On the recommendation of landdrost Fischer of Tulbagh, who found the Tulbagh district too large to control effectively, a sub-landdrost was established at the loan farms Roodewal and Langerug.

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43 The Oudshoorn Courant, October 16th 1883
44 Fagan G & G. Church Street in the Land of Waveren, p47
The first plan drawn up in 1819 for town erven in Worcester has a central square with a church in its centre but was a year later altered to two market squares with the church square and cemetery on either side of these (C/A, top: M1/3259, 1819; middle: SG1/1/3/1, 1822; below: CO/538)
which lay at the mouth of Hex River kloof, on the highway to the interior. In the year 1818 these were not re-granted to the owners, Barend Burgers and the two du Toit brothers, Christoffel and Jacobus who had been living on their farm since 1746, and they were paid out for the improvements which they had made. These buildings were to be used firstly as landdrost offices and then for a parsonage until funds could be found to build new structures in the centre of the town.45

His interests awakened, Somerset visited du Toit at Roodewal and during his stay there gave instructions to the two surveyors Hertzog and Van Tulleken to draw up a plan for a new town.46

The land was flat and a formal grid pattern allowing 144 erven of 2/3/morgen each, was set out, allowing an open so-called "market square" in the centre of the town and a church in the centre of this square.47 However this area on later maps was left open as a market square and church land allowed on either side of it.48 A second square (named after Queen Victoria) was placed at the end of the main street where a drostdy would stand most prominently. The plan shows the drostdy building and the first gaol.49

The town blocks were divided into six erven each 59 x 91 metres or 2/3 of a morgan in size, and sold on public auction in February, 1820. The plan50 shows the position of the new town and its relation to the two loan farms, its grid pattern, with larger private erven, and the "location" with smaller erven for the working class, marked E.

The surveyor, Tulleken, also shows the water course which supplied the town from the Hex River, and the position of the hospital outside the town for infectious diseases like leprosy and small-pox.

In the winter of 1822 a very bad storm caused a great deal of damage to many Boland buildings both on farms and towns. Although the Drostdy at Tulbagh was also damaged, it could have been repaired, but a hurried report by landdrost Trappes suggested that it would be more advantageous to build a new Drostdy at Worcester, and Somerset immediately agreed.51 As a result Worcester became the main town of the district and Tulbagh, which became a sub-drostdy, never regained its earlier stature.52

Although the first church councillors were elected in January 1821, the first services were held by the visiting minister from Tulbagh in a small building constructed by Jacobus du Toit for that purpose, and a permanent minister, appointed in 1824, had to live for many years in du Toit's farm-house before a parsonage was built. A church was completed only in 1832 in the position allowed for it, conveniently accessible to all villagers and with a large square where farmers could

45 Hopley, N G Kerk Gedenkboek, p12, references p133
46 Theal G McCall, History of S A from 1795-1872, Vol 1, p309
47 C/A, M1/3259
48 C/A, CO538
49 Our office recycled this goal in the 1970s and found the walls to be of clay, and ceilings of bamboo on round poplar beams. It is now a house for the staff members of the blind school.
50 C/A, S.G.1/1/3/1
51 C/A, 1/WOC 10/8; 1/WOC 17/10
52 Theal G M, History of S A from 1795-1872, Vol 1, p322
A painting of the Worcester church in 1877 by the Rev P J Meiring shows the wide street and its water furrows.

(middle) D'Oyly drawing of Church Square in the 1830s after the church tower had been erected.

(below) The later church, water furrows and blue-gum avenue in the early 1900s (C/A, R180).
outspan in front of it. Worcester was therefore one of the few early 19th century towns where a church building was lacking in its initial years.\(^3\)

The town developed slowly and on a drawing by D'Oyly in 1832, where the drostdy and newly built church are shown, the large erven are virtually unbuilt. On the day that the surveyors had pegged out the town erven, the landdrost had supervised the planting of 48 oaks which had been collected on farms in the district.\(^4\) These were positioned on the street corners and on the church square, but had obviously not thrived, as D'Oyly shows only random shrubs.

The first Landdrost of Worcester, Jan Frederik Van de Graaf, was a Dutchman from Hertogenbosch, the second Charles Trappes, a British military official from Yorkshire and the first minister, Henry Sutherland, a Scot from Paisley who had learnt to speak Dutch in Holland before coming to the Cape. It was this strange mix of personalities that was responsible for the initial formation and development of this early 19th century town.

As in Stellenbosch the buildings on the large erven were situated on the boundaries to face the street, their spacious gardens lying in the centre of the town blocks where they were irrigated from a system of water channels.

Because water was plentiful, erven large and irrigation water accessible to most erven, gardens were full of fruit, vegetables and flowers and street planting was successfully carried out, mostly with oaks, so that the town was pleasantly green by the end of the century.

6 SOMERSET EAST

In October, 1814, Governor Charles Somerset sent Dr Mackrill, a botanist, on tour through the Cape to inspect and assess areas with farming potential. When he reached the Boschberg, he was so impressed with the beauty of the surroundings, the lush grazing, the waterfalls and the fertile soil where over 6 000 tobacco plants were thriving, that he advised Somerset accordingly. Within three months the loan farm belonging to Louis Tregardt (later to become the famous Voortrekker leader) and Bester, was purchased by the Government and Mackrill sent there with his family and workers to farm on what became known as Somerset's Farm.

Here a house for Dr Mackrill, quarters for soldier workers and a water mill were built. However on Mackrill's advice Captain Robert Hart who was then living at Grahamstown, two years later took charge of Somerset's Farm, and found that the production of forage and horses was much more profitable than tobacco.\(^5\)

The local farmers, both Dutch and British settlers, soon started complaining that their prices were being undercut by competition with the Government- subsidised farm and Somerset then decided to close down the farm and form a new drostdy in its stead. A surveyor was asked to plan a new town with 94 erven which were sold on public auction on the 13th and 14th April, 1825.\(^6\)

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53 Hopley, N G Kerk Gedenkboek, p14
54 Ibid
55 Ed Smith J, Somerset East 150, p14
56 Government Gazette, 12.3.1825
T Smith's sketch of Somerset East in 1850

A 19th century photograph shows larger street trees (mostly conifers) and the long gardens still with boundary hedges

The church at the end of Charles Street (C/A, J3105)
Again the pattern was simply a grid with erven running through from one street to the next, so that a house could be built on both sides of the erf, the second house presumably intended for letting out or selling after subdivision.

All the erven, it was advertised, could be irrigated.

Twenty-five years later a sketch shows the village in the valley below the Boschberg with three parallel blocks divided into equal erven, but only about twenty houses.\(^{57}\) The boundaries between erven are planted with hedges, a few trees are shown in some gardens, but there is no formal street planting and very little detail to indicate what the gardens looked like, but Archdeacon Merriman in 1849 found it "a very pretty place at the foot of a fine mountain".\(^{58}\)

In 1825 permission was granted for the establishment of a new congregation, but as the Governor refused to lend money for the construction of a church, services were conducted in a disused Government building until 1829 when, after a second visit, the Governor did approve a loan and a new church building was commenced in 1830 but took four years to complete.\(^{59}\)

The congregation had been fortunate to be offered the chapel which had been built by the Wesleyan Mission in 1828, for the small amount still outstanding on the building. This together with a grant of adjacent land and its water rights, was to be for the use of the parsonage. Its boundaries were marked with a hedge of olive poles filled in with branches. The parsonage stood very prominently at the end of Charles street opposite the erf on which the new church was built, so that these two buildings still face each other.\(^{60}\)

The parsonage garden was drawn for me by a son of the last Rev Hofmeyr, Jan Hendrik, and further details were filled in by his three sisters Isabelle, Leonie & Helen Hofmeyr. Their father had been a keen horticulturist and according to one of his sons, he het geen onkoste ontsien om die nuutste soort van appels, pere, perskes, vye, druie en in sy tuin te kry...Daar was 'n kweperlaning rondom die pastorie gronde en die kwepers kon met wargte weggery word The parson was also particularly fond of roses and had imported both these and peonies which were all grown, as indicated on the plan, in rows in the terraced garden next to the house. Before the end of the 19th century there were almost 1 000 roses in this garden, apart from a large variety of fruit trees and shrubs.\(^{61}\)

This garden once again illustrates the fact that the largest, most progressive and inventive gardens in the small towns were those of the Dutch Reformed clergy. These gardens set the style which was followed by the local villagers and also were the first where new varieties of plants were first grown which were then shared with local gardeners. But plans were simple, consisting of rectangular beds in series, in this case on terraces.
Large oaks form a street canopy in Somerset East (C/A, AG1135)
A photograph taken at the turn of the 19th century shows the town grid with the parallel rows of gardens, each with a hedge along the boundary. The unpaved streets are planted with cypress, beefwood and other conifers, and in the foreground is a private house which has a vine pergola and many fruit trees in the back garden.

Further photographs taken at this time, show how effectively the shaded Beaufort Street was terminated by the Dutch Reformed Church and how, by 1911, some of the trees were so large that they formed a complete canopy over the street.

SUMMARY

*Foundation*
New administrative centres were created by the Governor where existing districts became too large for efficient government control. Once a suitable loan farm had been bought and a landdrost and his officials appointed, existing buildings were used as temporary drostdy’s or official housing until a new drostdy had been constructed.

*Choice of site*
The site for the town was chosen by government officials appointed by the Governor and they required the new town to be on fertile land, well supplied with water, preferably on a slight declivity and centrally situated in its district.

*Earliest town plans*
Town plans were drawn by appointed surveyors and of the six towns discussed, five were laid out on a grid, the sixth, Clanwilliam, had a linear plan, with erven following the banks of the river. But even this town was later enlarged on a grid pattern.

As many "wet erven" i.e. those that could be irrigated from a communal furrow, were planned as was possible and these were usually of the same size to minimise water disputes, as the irrigation time allowed per erf depended on its size. These water erven were usually long and narrow with the short side, where the house stood, facing the street. The landdrost was allowed a garden three to four times the size of ordinary water erven and had a proportional water supply.

The drostdy buildings in Worcester and George were specifically designed as imposing buildings situated in prominent positions at the end vistas of streets. An exception to this was Beaufort West where the magistrate lived in the original loan-farm house which was at the top of the main street, but not exactly on axis, nor was it a prominent building. The gaol at the top end of the main street eventually became one of the most prominent buildings in town.

At Uitenhage the formally designed drostdy faced its own garden and though it lay in line with other water erven, because of its formal lay-out at the top end of the street, was probably quite
Street trees in Beaufort West - beauty with utility

Street trees along the water furrows
(Beaufort West museum)
conspicuous in the towncape. In Clanwillian the drostdy again faced its large garden and open town space and was probably quite a prominent building while this area remained open, but the pride of place went to the town gaol, situated at the end vista of the main street, like at Beaufort West.

Original town plans of the 19th century allowed for two open squares, one around or in front of the church, the other for a town market.

Churches were built with the financial help of newly established congregations. In some instances, like George, a church building preceded the drostdy and in others the church was built later, but always the squares around these two buildings formed the most important gathering places in the town.

Open market squares served as outspan areas, where animal-drawn vehicles could park and as it requires quite a large area to turn a wagon with a span of oxen or mules, these spaces had to be large for they had also to allow enough space for the offloading of goods and the subsequent marketing to take place. Around the market squares the traders erected their buildings, often double-storeyed and designed in the latest styles so that the market squares became the business centres of the towns. The activities here were governed by strict market regulations under the control of a market master.

Town commonages were also provided on the outskirts of towns, for it was here where the draught animals of villagers and their visitors could be grazed until they were required for the return journey. Because they consisted of natural veld, they added to the rural charm of the villages.

**Streetscapes**

As development of these towns was slow in the beginning, the streets for many years after the initial founding of the town, consisted of sparsely situated white buildings separated by a great deal of cultivated land, almost like a row of small farms. Once the value of town markets became more established, craftsmen and traders emigrated to the small towns and stimulated commerce to the advantage of both the farmer and the urban dweller. The effect on the streetscape was obvious, for not only were open erven built up but subdivision of erven led to denser building so that previous street gardens and their often charming walls and garden gates became confined to the back of the erven. The newer more classical buildings were often double storeyed and by raising the skyline of the streets, made them look less spacious.

Nineteenth century streets surfaced with natural gravel, ran from one building edge to the other without the provision of separate pavement surfaces, so that they appeared even wider than they already were. Water furrows on one or both sides of the streets provided drinking and irrigation water to erven and because animals were kept by most householders, pollution of these streams was a constant source of concern for town authorities.

64 Unlike the garages, feeding places of modern vehicles, which, because of their size and out of scale architecture, have been the most serious destructors of village streetscapes today.
Poplars and oaks used for street avenues in Worcester at the end of the 19th century.

Fountain erected in Church square for Queen Victoria’s silver jubilee in 1887.
Street trees were planted along the edge of these furrows and irrigated by them, the trees used being oaks in George, Worcester, Somerset East and Uitenhage and pears and poplars in Beaufort West. The trees provided shade, beauty and an intimacy to the streetscape and where fruit trees were used, also fruit. But with the advent of modern services like electric and telephone poles towards the end of the 19th century, pruning changed their gracious forms and eventually threatened their very presence.
CHAPTER 17

19TH CENTURY TOWNS STARTED BY CHURCH COMMUNITIES

The most common reason for establishing a town in the Cape during the 19th century, was the need for a farm community to have its own church. The rural communities were most concerned that their children should be christened and properly married and that they should partake regularly of holy communion. As education was also the function of the church, this was another incentive to establish their own church.

In order to understand how these church villages were planned and what particular characteristics there might have been to distinguish their townscapes from villages with other origins, initial plans of 14 such villages in different parts of the Cape Colony have been researched:

1 DRAKENSTEIN
1.1 DE NIEUWE PLANTATIE

2 SOMERSET WEST

3 COLESBERG

4 PIKETBERG

5 BREDASDORP

6 RIVERSDAL

7 CALVINIA

8 RICHMOND

9 FRASERBURG

10 ROBERTSON

11 ABERDEEN

12 HANOVER

13 OUDSHOORN
SUMMARY
FOUNDATION
CHOICE OF SITE
FIRST PLANS
STREETSCAPES
GROWTH
Long oak avenues by 1915

(top) Poorterman's illustration of the Paarl church in 1857
(left) Surveyor's drawing of the church property and surroundings in 1842
(below) H V Stade's drawing of farms along the main road at Drakenstein 1710
After their arrival in the late 17th century the Huguenots had unsuccessfully tried to establish their own congregation for a number of years until in 1691, with the consent of the Classis of Amsterdam a congregation was allowed. Their first church was a very poor building at Simondium. The second one, built in what was then known as Drakenstein in 1718, lasted the rest of the century when a third church, still in use today, was constructed on the same land, just over 5 morgen in size, which had been measured out for the congregation by surveyor Leeb in June 1717.1

The church erf lay more or less parallel to all the other private grants but a corner which encroached on the wagon road was before 1842 exchanged for a small piece of state land, so that the road could be straightened. A map showing this, also indicates the origin of the church and town's water supply from a mountain spring as well as the open square next to the church.2

Though a community slowly grew as additional small farms were granted along the wagon road to Cape Town, there was still no formal town plan at the end of the 19th century, and Drakenstein remained under the magisterial district of Stellenbosch until a magistracy was established there in January, 1839. The "town" was actually a wagon road with a number of small farms situated on either side of it.

The earliest buildings grouped together to form farm werfs can be seen on Stade's drawing of 1710. Later these werfs were surrounded by vineyards and orchards and oak avenues and forests against the mountainside. The farms were watered by mountain streams and springs and where these were lacking, by wells, for the water was near the surface.

Lichtenstein describes the long street with about fifty houses which were separated by large spaces and the luxurious gardens watered by mountain streams in the first decade of the 19th century. He thought that the Berg River had too little fall and was too much swelled by heavy rains in winter to be of much use to field and gardens.3

James Ewart in 1813, ten years later, found 100 houses in one long street with gardens at the rear. Nearby in the middle is a square in the centre of which stands a neat church with a spire. He found a large part of the country to be under cultivation and the houses surrounded by woods. The Berg River, he said, supplied a constant stream of water. Not a single inn did he find in the town as was the case in most church towns.4

By 1843, Archdeacon Merriman thought Paarl to be one of the most beautiful spots that the Cape has to boast of. The long oak avenues, clipped hedges (probably myrtle), the beautiful houses with painted and tiled walks in front of the houses made the village look to him completely foreign like a foreign town in the continent of Europe. Paarl undoubtedly contrasted clearly from the usual Cape

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1 Paarl Gedenkboek 1941, p25
2 CIA, CO 369
3 Lichtenstein H, Travels in Southern Africa, p122
4 Ewart J, Journal, p90
George French Angus' drawing of Drakenstein in 1849

19th century photograph of Paarl shows the many small farms along the main street (C/A, AG1088)

The Berg River
small town which grew from a formalised group of erven set out at one specific time by one person or group of people.  

George French Angus during the same period illustrated the same point, showing the clusters of thatched farm buildings, some with ornate gables, others with white ring walls, standing amongst the cultivated lands in a long row along the wagon road.  

A street plan done in 1940 still shows the large garden erven with small groups of farm buildings, and a few cross streets following the boundary lines of these erven. By that time double storey and other 19th century homes and stores and their outbuildings had appeared along the street boundary on deductions from the original farms, to form a town.

One such property, studied in detail, gave an accurate impression of the landscape organisation of one of these farms showing that little change in the arrangement of buildings, orchards, avenues and vines had taken place from the middle of the 18th century till into the 20th century.

1.1 DE NIEUWE PLANTATIE

This farm was granted to Hermanus Bosman, the sick-comforter, in 1717. He built a T-shaped house, and enclosed his werf on the mountain side with a cellar on the south and a stable and double-storeyed outbuilding which contained the shop, slave quarters and bakery on the north. A large cattle kraal with high, massive gate pillars, had a cow-shed with mono-pitch thatched roof along the back wall and a small house for the herdsman next to the gate, with a window looking into the kraal.

The remarkable fact is that this werf, which is described in an inventory of 1769, had not changed even in the detailed use of the buildings by the 1970s when our office was asked to report on the conservation of the small slave church on the property which was a national monument. We found that not only this church, but the whole werf, because of its importance as an unspoilt document, should be declared a monument and no development allowed there at all. The Provincial Administration who intended developing a school there, concurred and sold the property, but later changes and use unfortunately destroyed this unique landscape.

An avenue of large oaks led the visitor past a vineyard from the main road to the werf and rectangular blocks of beautiful orchards stretched up the mountain slopes behind the house. On the north side was an enclosed garden with old oleander, japonicas and rose trees. The rich agricultural land evidenced by the luxurious growth of everything on it, together with a copious supply of water, has been responsible for the fact that similar Paarl farms have through the centuries produced of the highest fruit and vine crops in the country.

5 Merriman J X, Cape Journals, p166
6 The Kaffirs Illustrated, published J Hogarth, 1849 pl no6
7 C/A M4/256, too large for reproduction
8 O S F Vol 11, p158, 6.6.1717
9 C/A, St.18/31
10 Fagan G, Restorica no8, Nuwe Plantasie, p25
The outbuildings on the north and south

The plan as it is today and as it was described in the 1769 inventory
The Nieuwe Plantatie werf early this century surrounded by vineyards

Site plan of Nieuwe Plantatie, 1950

The slave church has a small balcony reached from the top level

Plan of the slave church
A street in Paarl early in this century showing double storey business premises with striped verandas and cast iron decoration next to private houses with walled street gardens (Ravenscroft)

Early 20th century streetscape in the Paarl with the mountain backdrop. Pavements have now been edged, but house stoeps are still part of the street space in many houses
(right) Erf 2366 Paarl as drawn in 1826 with a T-shaped house and outbuildings at right angles on either side
(left) Erf 4800 at the same time, as a T-shaped house and outbuilding in line with it
(lower) Mr Roos' house in 1820 as drawn by John Campbell with a vine pergola and row of oaks
The farm on erf 2 Paarl in the mid 19th century with buildings arranged around a courtyard in front of the house.

A Victorian tiered fountain with scalloped pool and pavilion further down the path. Clipped hedges surround the beds which are planted informally with various shrubs and conifers. Benches are placed around the fountain (Ravenscroft) The fountain is very similar to a contemporary one in the Cape Town Garden (see inset).
In the 1865 census Paarl had a population of over 3,000 white and 9,000 coloured people, showing an increase of approximately 1,500 and 3,000 of the respective groups in the previous decade. They were producing over 38,500 pounds of wool, a reasonable quantity of various kinds of wheat, maize, potatoes, legumes, by far the largest quantity of dried fruit in the Cape, the most wine and the most brandy. The Paarl seems to have been the most successful agricultural area in the Cape and it is therefore no wonder that the small farms in the town continued with their agricultural activities into the late twentieth century.¹

Even those deductions that were sold to town dwellers other than agriculturists, along the street frontage planted their street gardens with oaks, hedges, vines and various shrubs (mauve and white azaleas, may, white and yellow jasmines, japonicas, oleander, gardenias, roses and the ubiquitous periwinkle.)

One such garden in front of Mr Roos's house, is illustrated by John Campbell in 1820 complete with the vine trellis over the stoep. There are also stoep plants, though the pots cannot be seen. They were probably varieties of geraniums, begonias and various bulbs.²

Large shady oaks planted along the entire length of the eight mile long main street, and the many vineyards stretching down to the side-walks, created a particularly fine 19th century townscape below the impressive Paarl rocks.

An examination of the quitrent grant volumes for Paarl in the middle of the 19th century shows that most of these small farms were planned with strict formality. The house faced the street and flanking outbuildings were arranged in line but usually with their short sides to the street; orchards and vineyards were planted in the back garden in squares, usually on either side of a central path. But the small street gardens were planted more like English cottage gardens with a mixture of shrubs, like Mr Roos' house above. A few plans are reproduced here to serve as examples.

An event which was to influence village landscape in the late 19th century was the establishment of a park - the ultimate status symbol of every town. In 1887 the resident householders held a meeting where it was decided to celebrate Her Majesty's Jubilee by creating in their town the Victoria Jubilee Park.³

With Government consent and a grant of land, as well as a municipal donation of 100 pounds annually, the land was fenced and planted. Within the first five years the paths were gravelled, benches erected, a fountain and small conservatory were built as well as a bandstand where an amateur band performed from time to time. The public were invited to become subscribers at an annual subscription of 10 shilling and by 1892 there were 80 subscribers. Plants were sold to the public who in this way were introduced to exotic plant material from many parts of the world and a general interest in horticulture and the "innocent" Victorian pleasure of botanising was in this way aroused.

¹ C/A, CCCP1/2/1/16
² S A Library ex MSC77 John Campbell Collection
³ Cape of G H House of Assembly: Reports on Select Committees. Report of 1892
Like all parsonages, this one at Drakenstein had its own large grounds, in this case planted with vines, as at Roodezand.

The streets of Somerset West shaded with oaks, 1915.

An anonymous painting of Somerset West when it was still a small 19th century village of thatched...
Because the park was managed by a committee of nine, six elected by the annual subscribers and three nominated by the Council, villagers were themselves responsible for the successful running of the park.

Before the turn of the century the "farm town" had developed a line of buildings along the main road. These varied from original thatched and gabled houses, Edwardian double storeys and Victorian residential and commercial buildings, many with verandas and stoep railings of various designs. The variety of styles created an interesting street-scape which, because the buildings were all of the same scale and all shaded by the street avenues of oaks, retained the intimacy and human scale of the village environment.

2

SOMERSET WEST

In 1817 a group of four prominent Dutch farmers, M W Theunissen, W Morkel, P H Morkel, and D H Morkel, in the Hottentots Holland requested the Governor for permission to erect a church and to form a splinter congregation from Stellenbosch. On this request being granted, the farm Cloetenburg belonging to Douw Steyn, which was situated centrally between their farms Voorbrug, Onverwacht, Vergelegen and Morgenster, was bought for the purpose.

One hundred erven were then advertised for sale around the projected church and parsonage and these were sold on public auction on 25th and 26 July, 1817. The patrons assured the public that the money so earned would be used only to construct the church buildings and to the advantage of the church, so it is clear that they were not speculating, but had in mind only the acquisition of funds to construct the church.

Each of these farmers bought an erf and further erven were bought by other Dutch farmers in the vicinity. D J Van Ryneveld, the landdrost of Stellenbosch, and W.F.Hertzorg, the land surveyor of the district, each bought two erven and a former Landdrost of Swellendam, A A Faure bought six while a Piet Roux bought ten. The farmers probably bought erven to contribute to the church funds, (distances of the surrounding farms were so near that the construction of "tuis huisies" for most would not have been necessary) and Douw Steyn himself donated 1 000 rixdalers to the church funds. But Faure and Roux were probably speculating.

Although an early plan of the town which, with the consent of the Governor, was named after him, could not be found, a large plan drawn in 1902 indicates where the first erven were situated and shows the original church and its parsonage facing each other over an open square as large as the one still surrounding the church.

The parsonage, like so many others, had two parallel outbuildings situated on either side of it to form a forecourt. These housed the sexton and clerk. And the garden erf of the parsonage, true to tradition, is shown about three times the size of the church square.

14 Heap P, quotes The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser
15 Peggy Heap, Story of Hottentots Holland, p110
16 C/A, M4/178
(above) A plan of Somerset West in 1902 shows the regular blocks of erven, the church and parsonage and the open square between them. The railway line is also shown.

(below) The formal werf of the farm Voorburg and its cultivated lands.

(bottom) The town early in this century.
One sees that the church, its square and parsonage lie in the centre of the township where the early surrounding erven are set out in a regular grid with eight square plots forming one block. There are eighteen blocks, the church and parsonage land included, bounded by the river and Oak, Victoria, Church and Lourens Streets, all 30 metres wide. The cross streets were 29 metres wide.

Later properties situated around these initial blocks were set out in a much more irregular manner with erven of different sizes, unlike the twenty blocks around the church, which formed the original town and which were all of exactly 156 1/4 roods square.

These erven were well supplied with water along street furrows, as water was plentiful from the Lourens River, but the furrows are not indicated on the 1902 plan, although they were then still the main source of water supply until corrugated iron roofs replacing thatch made the collection of rain water in tanks possible for individual house-owners. Piped water was laid only after the establishment of a municipality in 1903 when this was made necessary by the frequent outbreaks of dysentery by polluted furrow water.\(^\text{17}\)

The 1902 plan shows no street planting or agricultural activity on the town erven, although the cartographer does indicate the cultivated lands on the farm Voorburg on the opposite side of the Lourens River which by 1902 had already been subdivided. Here one sees Bridgewater Road running through the farm vineyards. The T-shaped manor house had, like the parsonage, two symmetrically placed outbuildings flanking its forecourt, which was planted with two rows of trees and behind this on the banks of the river were vineyards, an orchard and three more outbuildings, lying almost parallel and at right angles to the main buildings.

On the map one notices that the formality is, however, not taken further than the placing of the buildings, for vineyards and orchards are not planted on any axis related to them.

Once the church had been inaugurated in 1820, the village grew slowly, first under the guidance of the Dutch minister, the Rev Spyker (1823-1830) and his Church Council, then under the Scotch minister, The Rev James Edgar(1830-1848). The Landdrost and Heemraden at Stellenbosch and subsequent magistrates administered to the civil needs of the some 25 villagers for the first half of the 19th century. Only in 1892 did Somerset West become an Assistant Magistracy when a courthouse cum post-office was built.

The Rev Ridgill, the first permanent Wesleyan minister of the village, compared the flourishing agriculture of the valley with the poor appearance of the village in the twenty years from the 1840s onwards. There were few cottages, few trees, the streets were in a very poor condition and water furrows eroded and polluted by animals. A painting of the village at this time confirms this description.\(^\text{18}\)

In the 1850s amenities like a savings bank and hotel were established and by 1860 the village had improved to such an extent that it was described by Mrs Duff Gordon as \textit{the loveliest little old}

\(^{17}\) Heap P, p121
\(^{18}\) Heap P, \textit{The Story of Hottentots Holland}, p114
The earliest erven in the town (above) and how they relate to a modern plan.
Dutch village with trees and little canals of bright clear mountain water and groves of orange and pomegranate and white houses, with incredible gable ends.  

By the 1870s the Rev Ridgill found the town much more pleasant with three churches and their accompanying mission schools. There were better streets, more cottages and other dwellings, and good gardens. The professions were well represented by two doctors and a few law-agents, while commercially the town was also thriving, with a dozen shops, hotels, canteens and the savings bank doing good business. Sports were provided for by cricket and croquet and a race course with its race balls and dinners was well attended. And intellectual stimulation was provided by "concerts, lectures and penny readings", all of which were most popular.

In fact the small church town had developed as most other church towns in the Colony in spite of the fact that it was strategically situated near to the sea in a beautiful landscape, on an important main road. The erven were on fine agricultural land and there was no shortage of water. One would have expected a quicker growth, but up to the end of the 19th century it seemed to provide only the religious needs for which it was originally established and those which arose out of its need to be a nodal centre for the growing local farming community.

3 COLESBERG

A congregation was established in 1826 and given the name of "Torenberg", after the neighbouring round "koppie" where, it is said, Bushmen had previously had a kraal and from where they obtained their magic herbs. Today the koppie is called Colesberg.

In 1830, through the influence of Andries Stockenstrom, the governor Sir Lowry Cole granted the farm of 18 138 morgen to the congregation, which was then renamed "Colesberg" and a new district was formed with the same name.

The drawing by G B Van Breda of this grant shows a number of fountains: There were the Palmietfontein and Van der Waltsfontein which were eventually to be dammed for a place to wash wool. A spring is indicated at the top end of Bell Street, another west of the town ran down the main street to be joined by another east of the town running down Murray Street. But Chase informs us that all these springs were periodical and that there was a general scarcity of water in the district which would improve as people were making more and more dams. But because of the aridity of the soil farmers often went over the Orange River with their stock to graze on pastures hired from the Griquas.

Money was collected and the building of a cruciform church was completed in 1832 whereafter the parsonage was built, as it was the policy of the Governor to appoint ministers to such congregations only once they had themselves built a church and parsonage. In 1836 a permanent

19 Lady Duff Gordon, *Letters from the Cape*, p63 (Ed D Fairbridge 1927)
20 Peggy Heap, pp115 & 116
21 *Ons Kerk Album*, p57
22 Chase J C, *The Cape of Good Hope*, p75
Panorama of Colesberg by C Bell in 1844 (Africana Museum B565)

Sketch by G Fritsch in 1868 from *Drei Jahre in S.A.*
minister, the Rev Thomas Reid, was appointed and, as was common practice at the time, he was an immigrant from Scotland.\(^2\)

As the first church buildings were often completed in a hurry with not much available finance, repairs were often soon necessary, as was the case here. As a result a new church was planned in 1860, the church council offering a prize for the designer of the best new plan. The prize-winners were Welchan and Read from Cape Town who provided builders from Cape Town to work under their personal supervision.

The old church was demolished and the new octagonal church built in the same commanding position at the top end of Church Street, where it still stands intact with the addition of a tower. During the building operations church services were held in a very inadequate temporary building erected on the parsonage property.

In 1844 Charles Bell sketched the small town lying in the hollow surrounded by stony "koppies" and showed the large, gabled thatched-roofed church standing in the position of the present one.

Bell's village consists mostly of thatched-roofed houses surrounded by large erven with flat-roofed outbuildings and stone boundary walls. The smaller houses on the outskirts of the village are also flat-roofed and they lie in the bare veld. A number of stone kraals are shown at the foot of the "koppies" and a deep furrow crosses the foreground where Murray Street runs today. Apart from a few trees in front of the church, the village is devoid of plant growth and Archdeacon Merriman in 1849 described it as:

...situated in a bare volcanic looking country. It seems like a pygmy town planted in a Cyclopean stone quarry.

The earliest plan which could be found in the Surveyor-General's office was a resurvey of an earlier survey, both drawn by G H Van Breda. (The resurvey was dated 12 August 1867). This shows the octagonal Dutch Reformed Church facing Church Street which has erven set out on either side of the street. Erven nos no 1, 2 and 3 lying north-west of the church, at the top of the street were for the parsonage. Thus the pattern used in most church towns was repeated here - the parsonage erf being three times the size of other village erven and situated near the church in the most prominent position.

A Reformed church was built in 1860 to face Dwars Street, which ran at right angles to Church Street. G Fritsch in a sketch of 1868 shows this simpler church surrounded by trees. In fact the whole town, which by then was much more built up, with several large buildings in Church street, is considerably softened by an abundance of trees in the streets and back gardens. This was probably a result of the regulation formulated by the Town Commissioners in 1847, when Colesberg received a village management board. The regulation stipulated that each house-owner should plant two to four trees on his side-walk and keep it clean.\(^3\) Increased wealth as result of a booming wool trade is clearly reflected in the size and quality of the buildings drawn by Fritsch.

\(^2\) Ons Kerk Album, p57
\(^3\) C.C.P 8/1/47 Government Gazette of 1.2.1847
Colesberg, Church Street with, from left to right, Dutch Reformed parsonage with its demolished stable (behind the high wall); the Reformed parsonage, and the "tuishuis" of the farm Nasgalfontein (with its flat roof) and coach house entry

Plans of the houses and gardens of these three houses according to Mr Vorster

Sketches by T Vorster of the outbuildings in Bell Street at the lower end of the two parsonage gardens.
For in 1865 the Colesberg district was the greatest producer of wool in the Colony. They, together with Hope Town, in that year produced over 3,000,000 pounds of wool which was 2,000,000 pounds more than in that recorded in the 1856 census. The Graaff Reinet, Richmond, Murray'sberg as second most important wool district, at the same time was producing 63,000 pounds less.25

By an examination of the larger gardens of Colesberg and with information obtained from local residents,26 it was possible to trace a general pattern of design of the these erven, which even now are very much unchanged except for the demolition of outbuildings. Foundations of these could mostly be traced, so that a general plan of a werf could still be established:

The houses were situated on the streets, usually with central doors and windows arranged symmetrically on either side. From the front door an axis was taken through the dining room which faced the garden, to the back door and down the central garden path to the lower end of the erf where a gate led to the back street. This path was often covered by a vine pergola. The Reformed Church parsonage, the townhouses of Potfontein and Nasgalfontein all had this pattern and there were still vestiges of their original vine pergolas and fruit trees. The original Dutch Reformed parsonage had been replaced with a Victorian building early in this century but its pergola too, remained.

Boundary walls were mostly built of stone as were outbuildings and animal kraals. The stable and adjacent kraal of the Dutch Reformed parsonage were on Church Street, but most of the other wagon-houses and stables were reached from Bell Street. Where erven were smaller and did not run through from one street to the other, human and animal accommodation and outbuildings were placed next to each other and upper storeys built for forage and other bulk storage, leaving small gardens for a few fruit trees in the yard.

Fruit trees were usually planted along the boundary walls and consisted of pomegranate, quince, peach, apricot, figs, lemons, almonds and walnuts, of which there are large old trees still to be seen in Bell Street. The rest of the garden would be divided into parallel sunken beds for vegetables, flowers and fodder, but as town water came from a spring behind the church, and was never plentiful, the success of gardens was often dependent on the rain. Fruit was grown for own use, fresh when in season and dried or bottled for use for the rest of the year. Animals too were kept for draught purposes although a few slaughter animals were housed in small kraals and taken out to graze daily on common pasturage.

The town erven varied greatly in size and shape, the earliest rectangular ones in Church and Murray Streets being the largest, running through from street to street in the former and from street to hillside in the latter. Those tucked in under the hills and in the later extension of the town behind the church, were smaller, of different sizes and shapes.

Because of the surrounding koppies and a deep sluit west of the church, only Church and Bell streets could be set out parallel to each other while further streets curved around the hills, leaving

25 Census of the Cape Colony, 1865; C.C.P.1/2/1/16
26 Mr T Vorster was especially helpful and knowledgeable
Old fruit trees in Bell Street

The market square, Colesberg
The market place in Colesberg today
(top) Old vines in the Dutch Reformed and Reformed parsonage gardens
(below) The vine pergola over the central garden walk at the Nasgalfontein town-house
irregular open town spaces such as that in Murray, Ventershoek and Stockenstrom streets. The static grid plan of most of the Cape's other small towns was thus avoided, and a coherent intimacy created around open spaces, which still lends a particular charm to this small Karoo village.

The Church maintained ownership of open village ground for some 130 years, until in 1963 transfer was made to the Colesberg Municipality.

4 PIKETBERG

In 1831 a memorandum was drawn up by fifty influential farmers from the district between Tulbagh and Clanwilliam requesting the establishment of a new congregation with its own church and town. The Governor, Sir Lowry Cole, gave his consent on condition that the new congregation did not expect financial aid from the government.

The memorialists with support from the Rev W Robertson from Clanwilliam, then petitioned the Governor to resume ownership of the loan farm, Klein Vogel Vallei from the widow of Gideon Roussouw, as this would be a suitable place to build a church and town, there being a good water supply. But as they were required to pay the widow for her improvements and her price was beyond their means, this plan failed and church services were held in various farmhouses until in 1833, the government granted the community the unused government farm, Grootfontein.

The approved Church Council then set about building the cruciform church with mud walls and thatched roof which was left without a ceiling to save costs. It was inaugurated in March, 1836, but they received official transfer of the land only eight months later and the building during this time stood isolated against the backdrop of the mountain. As no permanent minister had as yet been appointed, the visiting minister from Zwartland was to hold services there only every three months for the next four years.

In 1836 erven were set out by the surveyor, J Knobel around the church, leaving an open square in front of it, which in one of the transfers is referred to as the "watering place". Transfer of the first erven, 240 square roods in size, took place between 1841 and 1843, the first owners all being Dutch, among them the widow J Rossouw. When Bell painted the town in 1844, there were already a few thatched cottages with gables to be seen.

When a permanent minister was appointed in 1840, he lived in the house which had been built for the sexton south of the church, until in 1841 a parsonage was completed with donations of building material and labour from members of the congregation and a loan of almost R1 000 from members of the congregation. Later Parson Scholtz was granted a further piece of land where he could plant vegetables, fruit trees, wheat and fodder to augment his small salary. His building can be seen at the back of the church on the Poortermans lithograph, where it is surrounded with fields.

27 Information from Belinda Gordon, museum curator
28 Burger W A., Piket Teen 'n Berg, p42
29 Ibid, p44
30 9.2.1853, T 120
31 Malmesbury erf book in the Deeds Office
The church at Piketberg drawn by Poortermans in 1857 is the centre of village life. The parsonage with its surrounding gardens is to be seen further back, left.

A later photograph shows a wall around the church (Ons Kerk Album, c1902)
The Hager church in the same position (below)

The new Hager church surrounded by blue-gums and a cast iron fence (C/A, R199)
and gardens and two large trees on the village facade. It later acquired an iron roof and veranda, but served the community until it was demolished in 1963.32

The Church Council made decisions about the physical landscape as well as the spiritual needs of the small town for the first decades of its existence. In this case the Council was pretty relaxed. Although village erven had been surveyed, their boundaries and roads were not clearly delineated and sanitary arrangements were primitive.

The distribution of water was the first concern of the Church Councillors, and these arrangements were simple: the villagers collected their own water from three springs, the fourth being for the use of the parsonage and its garden. An earth wall was constructed to catch up the water overflow of one spring and a second dam created below this to water the town animals, but dams overflowed and water ran down into the surrounding area which was often very soggy even in so-called streets. Water pipes from the communal springs were laid to individual properties by owners at random.33

This rather relaxed state of affairs changed somewhat in 1848 with the appointment of a civil commissioner, Captain J M Hill, who brought with him a policeman, a law-agent and auctioneer. Hill five years after his arrival, was granted no less than twelve different properties in the town, varying in size from 223 square roods, the approximate size of the first erven, to 4 morgen, totalling about twenty morgen.34 He was probably growing wheat or keeping sheep and so augmenting his salary. One of the officials who accompanied him, William Parrot, also bought a town erf and received transfer on the same day as Hill. In the same year the Dutch Reformed Church sold 19 morgen of land to A J Burger and four other lots amounting to over 50 morgen to D J Roussouw.35

Thus the Church Council continued to control church property and municipal affairs until in 1901 a Town Council was established under a chairman, and a properly constituted Municipality followed in 1905. The names of the first municipal councillors show that they had been chosen from various walks of life - the mayor was the cartwright and the councillors consisted of a smith, a general dealer, an attorney, and a law agent who was also the town clerk.

Although the town had started and grown in an informal manner, Poortermans in 1857 shows the early village (and he was an accurate draughtsman) to consist of a neatly laid out group of gabled buildings in line with each other facing two sides of the church square, their gardens behind them. The church stands squarely in the centre of the square - a symbol of security and control and an integrated part of the communal space where farmers and villagers met socially and traded. It is interesting to see how architectural order in a small unsophisticated community was maintained in spite of a lack of official regulations, in a church town ruled by the Church Council.

The usual craftsmen and traders came to live in Piketberg from the 1860s onwards and no fewer than nine doctors of English, Dutch and German descent, established themselves before the end

32 Information kindly supplied by Sannie Coetzee from the Municipal Offices, Piketberg taken from their Uniefees Gedemerkante
33 Ibid, pp91, 94 & 95
34 See 9.2.1853, T135, 134, 151, 133, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141 & 142
35 Transfer volumes in the Deeds Office from 1848 onwards
The Piketberg parsonage which Poortermans drew, has received a striped veranda, stoep, walls and a garden fence (C/A, R185)

19th Century panorama of Bredasdorp showing the grid lay-out and the cruciform church. Erf walls appear to be of stone, the few street trees are blue-gums and the erven do not show signs of cultivation
of the 19th century. There was an influx of various traders, general dealers, hoteliers and craftsmen who established cartwright and construction businesses. The Jewish community (M Sachs, H Meyers and Ben Klein) were well represented amongst the new settlers.

This cosmopolitan influx led to new ideas and new expectations and adaptations in existing buildings, which were improved with cast-iron roofs and verandas, and even a double storey on the north-west corner of the church square. The old church which had been separated from the square by a simple white wall after the time of the Poortermans sketch, was demolished when in 1879 a new Hager designed church was built, and in 1903 a cast-iron fence separated the church more permanently from the village square. The Church was therefore not averse to introducing Victorian ideas, as already noted with the parsonage.

But though buildings changed, the town as drawn by Poortermans remained very much the same until the end of the 19th century, except for the introduction of bluegum trees in the streets and around the church, which brought welcome shade to the otherwise very hot summer landscape.

BREDASDORP

This is an example of a town which arose out of a need for a group of farmers in a specific area to establish their own place of worship in a central position within easy reach.

At a special meeting under the chairmanship of Michiel Van Breda a group of farmers decided at a meeting on 8 September 1833 that it was too inconvenient for them to attend services at the nearest churches at Caledon or Swellendam and they all signed a petition requesting the Governor to allow them to form a new congregation. A commission was appointed to choose a suitable place for a town and church.

It was decided to buy the loan farm Langefontein, of 2 918 morgen, from D C Odendal, to build their own church and sell erven to form a town. A second group of farmers led by P V Van der Byl, wished to buy the farm Klippedrift as an alternative situation, and this group eventually formed their own congregation of Napier.

The old farm house was, after a few small changes, used as a church and when this became too small it was enlarged in 1855 by the addition of two wings under thatch on either side of the pulpit. This church served the community till 1911 when it was demolished to make way for the present church.

Erven were set out by the surveyor, Hopley, who followed the typical grid pattern with the church situated in the centre of the town. The parsonage was given a large garden and an erf was donated to Barend Badenhorst who was much respected as a church councillor and former "Oefenings Houder" (reader).

36 Unless otherwise stated the information for this section was obtained from Anker aan die Suidpunt by J Prins which was based on research of the church archives of Bredasdorp
37 Ons Kerk Album, pp65 & 66
38 Ibid, p65
Photographs taken early in this century show that most thatched roofs have been replaced with corrugated iron. There are several larger houses, but still little sign of horticultural activity (C/A, R790)
Grazing was provided for the draft animals of visitors, and right from the start villagers were charged grazing rights on church land, these tariffs being increased from time to time. The church later, in 1895, also built a place where animals could be dipped at 9 cents per hundred animals.

These regulations indicate that villagers were sharing in the wool boom which had resulted from the successful introduction of merino sheep farming by the Van Breda's and Van Rheenens in the district. Excellent wool prices would have made sheep farming on small town erven viable as the phenomenal increase in wool production from 1856 to 1865 in the whole Cape suggests. In the Bredasdorp/Caledon area the increase was from 477,281 to 71,049 pounds.

By 1847 all the initial erven had been sold, the price for dry erven having been gradually lowered by 35 riksdalers, presumably because they were slow to find buyers. From then on new erven were measured and sold from time to time, on condition that water from the mountain be allowed to run freely over them. In 1913 a separate area was created where the coloured community could buy erven and within a year 33 erven had been sold in this area.

The church furthermore donated ground on the square in front of the church for the building of a school in 1849, and when this became too small in 1900, more land was granted to the School Committee for a new, larger building.

In 1842 the church granted a plot of land to Mr A Nitch, who erected a windmill for the convenience of villagers, which suggests that villagers were growing their own corn.

Firewood was soon a serious problem and here again the church donated 2 morgen of land to the town Commissioners where they could plant trees and care for them. The type of tree chosen was "rooikrans".

Land was given for a gaol in 1859 and for lawn tennis courts in 1886. Thus any new activity in the town had to be sanctioned and promoted by the Church Board.

Although a Town Management Board was chosen in 1881, and an impressive double-storeyed stone building constructed to house its offices, the Board had to work with the church who still owned all the land in and around the town. When finally a municipality was established in 1917, it took another four years before the town ground was sold to them, in payments, for R12,300.

Photographs taken at the end of the 19th century indicate that Bredasdorp was then still a small village and that although there were a number of longitudinal streets, there were only two cross streets so that the grid of town erven is not so obvious. Most of the cottages were simple long thatched buildings and there were a few T-shaped buildings near the church. Werfs were surrounded by stone walls or hedges and were mostly without gardens or trees except those adjoining the larger houses where some trees were to be seen. A grove of trees, perhaps "rooikrans" was to be seen outside the town.

42 Overberg Outspan, E H Burrows, pp112-113
43 C.C.P.1/2/1/16, Sensus of the Cape of Good Hope, 1865
Panorama of Riversdale showing the part of the town laid out as a grid around the church. The long street following the course of the river, to the right, with long erven running down to the river, is not on the photograph (Ravenscroft UCT Library)

The early church at Riversdale (Ons Kerk Album) © 1902
A daily market was started in September, 1857 which was to be open from sunrise to 8am and from 3pm to sunset. Buying and selling was controlled, as in all small towns, by the market agent who acted in accordance with the Commissioner's market regulations. The market space in all the small towns was the centre of activity for a large part of the day and therefore a most important social and commercial gathering place, serving the nodal needs of the farming community. In this case the exports from the district which would have been distributed from this market, were mostly wool, various kinds of wheat, beans, dried fruit and a little wine and brandy.

The other space important to the villagers was the commonage where each property owner was allowed to graze their animals, the number allowed by each municipality being laid down in their specific regulations. In Calvinia this ground lay south of the town.

As in other church towns the most important building was the church, here originally situated in the centre of the town and when a second church was built in 1899, it too was placed in the central open space, nearer to the parsonage.

8 RICHMOND

This town was formerly known as "Driefontein", because this was the name of the loan farm which was chosen by the newly established congregation to build a church and establish a new town. When they sent a request to the Ring in Graaff Reinet in October 1843 to be allowed to build a church and appoint church councillors, they had already bought a part of Driefontein. The name was derived from the three fountains in the Wilgersloot which are still to be seen there today. They also requested that a Commission be appointed to delineate the boundaries of the new congregation.

As was usual, church services were in the meantime held in the farmhouse until enough money could be found to build a church. As the house was too small an extra wooden church was built in front of it. They requested the Governor to allow them to appoint the Rev Berrangé as their permanent minister and offered to pay his salary until approval from the colonial secretary could be obtained. All this indicates the earnestness with which farmers strove to establish their own churches and towns.

During the first communion festival in April, 1844 a number of town erven which had been set out by the surveyor, J L Leeb in the previous year, were sold by public auction and the advertisement encouraged "capitalists" and "speculators" to buy, as the "conditions would be favourable". This throws light on the fact that erven in new towns were often bought for speculation. As in many other church towns, a condition of sale was that prospective buyers were forbidden to sell any form of alcohol from their erven.

48 In this case the regulations were published in the Government Gazette of 15.9.1837, C/1A, 8/1/33
49 Census 1865, CCF/1/2/1/16
50 Unless otherwise noted information for this section has been obtained from Eeuwes Gedenkboek 1843-1943 of the Richmond congregation
A Gribble photograph of Richmond in the late 19th century showing the iron bridge over the river, the church in a raised position on the hill side. The "wet" erven below the main road have many trees and boundary hedges - the dry erven are more densely built and show less vegetation (SAL)
The plan drawn by Leeb in 1844 shows the larger erven following the curve of the Ongers River on its one bank and on the other side three parallel long streets separating the large "wet erven" near the river from smaller "dry erven" at the foot of the hill. In April, 1845, thirty-one dry erven and fifty-seven water erven were sold.

The projected church was to be situated at the top end of Church Street amongst the "dry erven" on an erf four times the size of its neighbours. Its elevated position gave it such prominence that it was visible from everywhere in the village. A later mission church built four blocks away also against the hill on land donated for the purpose by the church, had the same prominence at the top end of Market Street.

From a dam constructed across the river at the top end of Pienaar Street, two furrows were taken, one to run along Pienar Street, with a branch to serve the erven on Brink Street. The second furrow ran through the middle of the erven on the other side of the river. The soil on these water erven was fertile and so numerous crops, both vegetable and fruit and vines were successfully cultivated and are still done so today.

Leeb placed the open market square in the centre of the town and from here the trade in sheep and wool was probably the most important activity in the district. Saddle horse, angora and ostrich farming became popular towards the end of the 19th century, but did not sustain their success into the twentieth century.

Leeb was paid by the church for his services in setting out the new town but donated a plan for the church. Two days after the inauguration of the new minister, the foundation stone of the simple cruciform church was laid but building work was completed only in 1847, the costs being covered largely by donations from the community. Usually the Government expected the church and parsonage buildings to be completed by the congregation before the appointment of a full-time minister, whose salary they paid.

In May 1848 the first magistrate was welcomed in the town and 1854 the first Municipal Board was established, the chairman of the commissioners being P G Leeb. Certain functions, like the control of the commonage, were then transferred from the Church Council to the Municipality but as the land still belonged to the church, they continued to plan certain amenities like a cemetery, which did not always meet with the approval of the Municipality.

When in 1877 the municipality started the construction of a dam on "Het Oude Erf" the church granted the land on condition that the Municipality would donate a clock for the new church tower to be erected. The increased water was used to plant street trees to enhance the appearance of the town.

51 C/A, M/3 2112
52 S.G. Office, General plan R.29B
53 According to Mr Urtel who works for the Municipality, a spring in the river bed near the bridge still runs today and was probably the earliest source of water, both for irrigation and drinking
54 W Talbot in his treatise on Land Utilisation in the Arid Regions of SA shows in his maps based on the 1865, 1911 and 1955 census, how the importance of the woolen sheep industry increased in this area over the this period. p310 901
Another Gribble photograph of a large store enclosure in Richmond, perhaps a market place

J B Auret's plan for Fraserburg showing the long erven running through from street to street, the church in its open square and a number of small erven near the church
A photograph taken by Mr Gribble of Paarl in the late 19th century shows the church on the hill, the two blocks of small (probably commercial) erven, closely built up below this and the "tuin erwe" towards the river with their long cultivated gardens. The street boundaries of erven are marked with packed stone walls, but between the gardens are hedges and one sees a kraal packed of branches in one backyard. The large mansions on the garden erven face the street and the streets themselves are planted with conifers and what appear to be poplar trees. Poplars also grow abundantly on the banks of the river.

Another Gribble photograph of the same period shows a different part of the town where a large stone-walled area is in use for a horse show or perhaps auction?

A plan of the town in 1903 shows very little change except that the market has probably been moved to the outskirts of the town, its valuable central position having been subdivided into erven.

9 FRASERBURG

This northern Karoo village about 600 km from Cape Town, lies in the centre of the sheep farming industry. A congregation split away from the one at Beaufort West in 1851 and took the name of the minister, C Fraser, who was instrumental in establishing the new town. A town was laid out by the surveyor J B Auret, on a grid pattern with seventy-six large erven. A church situated in the centre of the town in a wide square, and parsonage were built soon after to face the main street of the town, appropriately called Church Street. The large water erven were 177 sq roods in size, the block of small erven on the one side of church square, probably intended for church houses, were 55 sq roods. 55

The communal water furrow came from a strong spring on the south-west side of the town, and is still being used for irrigation water, although water for household purposes is now piped from a municipal borehole. 56

In 1862 a village management board was established with 5 commissioners taking over most of the responsibilities of running the town from the church councillors. They took responsibility for appointing the water overseer, clerk of the market, town assizer, overseer of the common grazing ground, and were responsible for the bridges, sluices, dams and reservoirs, pumps, fountains and drains. They made rules for keeping the public water courses clean, forbidding villagers from bathing in them and animals from polluting them. They made rules concerning stray animals, wagons obstructing the roads and stench from household animals. And they took precautions against fires by forbidding discharge of arms and fireworks within one mile of the market place and the carrying or kindling of fire in the streets. 57

A photograph of Church Street in the late 19th century shows the prominent placing of the church to close the end vista of the street and the street itself is uneven, muddy and with no demarcated

55 Surveyor General Map F4A, based on Auret's original map
56 Information from the town clerk, Mr N V Nortje
57 C.C.P.8/1/58. Municipal regulations approved on 6.6.1862; published in the Gazette of 13.6.1862
Dry irrigation beds and water-furrows on an early winter's morning in Fraserburg

Streetscape in Fraserburg showing the first church, and stone walls (Fotografien van Zuid Afrika, anonymous and undated)
sidewalks and no trees. Large fruit trees do however grow behind a garden boundary wall built with shale, and similar trees behind the houses facing the street, indicate that the town gardens were not as bare as the streets. The church and most of the houses, outbuildings and stoeps were built of stone so that the small town had a coherence and special charm seldom seen in more sophisticated towns.

The main produce of this area was wool, and the 1865 census shows a remarkably increased production of wool in the decade following the establishment of the town (from just over six thousand pounds in 1856 to over two million pounds ten years later). The town market must therefore have been a busy place after its establishment in 1861 "for the sale of cattle, poultry, vegetables, fruit and other articles of Colonial produce".

Over the years the town has changed little: the large erven are bare of plant growth in the winter due to heavy frost, but in the spring the vine, fig, peach, pomegranate and quince come into bud and bloom, and the windmills, (one on almost every erf) fill the reservoirs from bore-holes and the water runs along furrows to the long irrigation beds which turn green with new fodder and summer vegetables and annual flowers.

And the cold starkness of the morning softens and the chickens find energy to scratch and roll in the earth and cocks crow loudly.

10 ROBERTSON

In September, 1852, a letter to the Governor requested that the area known as "Over het Roode Zand" should be split off from the Swellendam church to form a new congregation. The request was signed by the farmer, Johannes Van Zyl, whose house till then had served as a place of worship, the local school teacher, Maurits Polack and the Swellendam minister, Dr William Robertson who had been holding services on Van Zyl's farm every three months.

After a commission of enquiry had agreed on the boundaries of the new congregation and Dr Robertson had been appointed the minister, Van Zyl's farm was bought for £4 200, twenty-six members of the new congregation standing surety. Eleven directors were chosen to manage the new congregation and projected town and they decided to appoint a surveyor to measure out erven immediately. H Van Reenen was chosen, but he was to be advised in this task by the directors.

The sale of the 300 dry and water erven on 4th May was advertised and the auctioneer was to be Joseph Barry. The new town was to be called "Robertson" in honour of their minister. The advantages of the situation of the town were spelled out: it was centrally situated between Worcester, Montagu and Swellendam; it had plenty of water, it had a picturesque setting, the ground was very fertile, and commercial advantages were obvious.

58 Census 1865, CCP1/2/1/16
59 Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette of 31 March, 1853
Farms along the irrigation canal built in 1898 with formal arrangement of buildings, orchards, and trees.
(Surveyor General's Office)
Two hundred erven were sold on the first two days of the auction on condition that they pay the church an annual levy of ten shillings for the upkeep of the church still to be built. As usual the water erven were large (half a morgen) and dry erven smaller (quarter of a morgen). A condition of sale was that erf holders would not be permitted to retail alcohol until a magistrate and police force had been installed. Each owner would be allowed to keep fourteen horses or mules and twenty-five slaughter sheep or goats.

In this way the village erven would be planned, has been shown elsewhere, to house both animals and people, with the houses facing the main streets and the stables and kraals on the back streets, the gardens between them irrigated from street furrows.

A month after the auction a building commission was elected to control the construction of the new church which was to be copied from the Swellendam cruciform church with minor changes. The foundation stone was laid in September, 1853 and a church council chosen in the following month. The Directors now handed their duties to this Council who were to control municipal affairs until in 1857 a council of municipal commissioners was established together with a magistracy.

The church was completed within three years and over a thousand attended the inauguration ceremony, but a permanent minister was to be appointed only in 1859 as the Government expected the community to pay their own minister, and they had already exhausted their funds in the building of the church. For this reason it was suggested that the church levy of erf owners should be increased.

The Church Council found it difficult to manage the municipal affairs together with their own church duties, and the continuous problems over water rights was especially tedious, particularly in the summer when the Hoopsrivier, source of their supply, ran low. A public committee was therefore chosen to supervise and control the building of sluices and in May 1857, at a ratepayers meeting, five commissioners were elected who would in future act as a municipal body. Their municipal regulations were approved five months later on 12 October, 1857.

The town’s irrigation (also drinking) water ran from the river in open furrows through the streets and every water-erf holder was allowed to have an opening in his sluice of one inch diameter for drinking water, but other villagers had to carry water from the streets or dam in buckets to their houses for domestic use.

As the population and their animals increased, so did the pollution of the streams, in spite of a regulation which stated that ducks, geese and pigs found in water-courses would be destroyed. Individual erf holders were responsible for cleaning the street gutters in front of their erfs and these were probably not always equally well tended.

An epidemic of dysentery caused the death of forty three adults and forty six children in the month of January, 1860 when the population was 700. Again in 1896, from September onwards, over 93

They were published in the Gazette on 16.10.1857.
Plan of Aberdeen drawn by H Marriott in 1858 shows the octagonal church square, the market square and public outspan. The small erven are round the church square.

The trimmed cypresses in the cemetery
deaths occurred in six months, and the Colonial Medical Inspector found on investigation, that the polluted water was the sole cause of the disease and should be piped along its whole course. This was put into action after the Robertson Municipal Water Supply Act of 1898 had been passed.61

While the municipality had taken over the running of the town, all open ground remained church property for the next forty years until in 1893 when the Council received transfer, while the church itself, forming the end vista of Church Street, remained the most impressive building in the village.

In 1898 an irrigation board was established and a 35 km canal built which irrigated many farms. A plan drawn by surveyor A Changuir shows the canal and the beautiful lay-out of farms along the water-supply.

11 ABERDEEN

In 1855, a new congregation split off from Graaff Reinet and after a commission had acquired the farm Brakkefontein, an old farm building, probably the house, was adapted and used for church services for the first five years before money was available for a new church building.

The surveyor, Henry Marriott, in 1858 drew up a plan for the new town called Aberdeen in honour of the Rev Andrew Murray’s place of birth. He placed an octagonal erf for the church centrally, allowing the four main streets to run from the short sides of the octagon and filling in the left-over space in each corner with four triangular erven. A market and outspan square were drawn on either side of the church square and the rest of the town was laid out on a grid around these public spaces, with smaller erven, generally 29 x 27 metres in size surrounding the church square, and others double or four times the size.62

About two thirds of the erven were served with water furrows, the rest were so-called “dry erven”. The water came from a strong fountain 3 km west of the town and this furrow provided the town with drinking and irrigation water well into the 20th century. Then boreholes were made and from them water was piped to the houses, leaving the water in the furrow solely for irrigation purposes. Many private owners at the same time sunk their own boreholes and built reservoirs for drinking water.63

The foundation stone for the first part of the church, which was a long building, was laid on the 23rd March 1860, and an extension with clock-tower facing Church Street, added in 1907.64 Thus Marriott’s original well-considered plan was fulfilled half a century later.

Houses and outbuildings were built on the street boundaries, and gardens arranged and planted with plants chosen by their Victorian owners - quince and rose hedges on the boundaries; vines, fig and other fruit trees in the back werfs and long narrow beds made for vegetables and flowers, all watered by the "lei-water" taken from the street furrows.

61 Robertson Gedenkboek 1853-1953
62 S.G.Office, General map 13A
63 Information obtained from Mr Louis van Zyl, town clerk
64 Ons Kerk Album, p98
The town plan of Hanover in 1857 with its church and market square. The water crven are coloured blue (Surveyor General's Office H9B)
(right) The crven around the church (Surveyor General's, H9C)

A Gribble photograph of Hanover (Surveyor General, H9C) in 1905 showing the church square and private gardens in the foreground. Notice the stone boundary walls, the central vine pergola, fruit trees planted on the boundaries and the parallel vegetable beds.
Conifers lining the streets and cemetery walks today, were probably supplied from the nearby Botanic Garden in Graaff Reinet and planted in the late 19th century. Today some have been clipped to accommodate electric and telephone wires in the streets, but this formality has also been taken into the cemetery where the trees create a lofty serene atmosphere.

The neat geometrical plan drawn by Marriott one and a half centuries ago, creates a sense of underlying order to the modern visitor of this Karoo town where the church tower still dominates the whole village.

HANOVER

This town arose from the need for a group of farmers in the Graaff Reinet district to form their own congregation and build their own church. They chose the farm "Paarden Verlies" belonging to the widow Gouws and here, in 1856, a town was laid out on a strict grid pattern with large erven. A square, called Hanover Square, on which a cruciform church was built, lay in the centre of the town.55

The plan shows a second square, which was used as a market place, parallel to the church square but separated from it by a double row of erven. The distribution of the two types of erven sold, the so-called "water erven", and "dry erven" can be seen on the map S.G.707 which also shows the church square and large "burial ground " in the centre of the town. One also sees what appears to be a fountain on Trappieskop lying west of the town, with a stream running down to the water-erven.

James Gribble in 1890, some thirty years after the town was established, took several photographs of Hanover, which show a well developed town with many houses along the streets, and the streets themselves planted with a variety of trees - conifers, Lombardy and Chilean poplars and other deciduous trees.

The private properties have stone packed wall boundaries, and animal enclosures are also built with stone. Fruit trees are planted around the boundaries so that the central part of the gardens are left open for the long beds where fodder for their animals and household vegetables could be planted.

Two houses have trellis which run the full length of their gardens as one also sees at Graaff Reinet and Colesberg. One of these forms a pergola over a back terrace and over a walk along the side of the house.

Vines did very well in all the Karoo towns and all manner of materials were used to support them. In Loxton a vine trellis was supported with monolithic stone piers. The trellis on the Gribble photographs were probably made of wooden poles.

Apart from fresh fruit, grapes were also dried for raisins; vinegar was made from them as well as "moskonfyt" and jam (known as "korrel-konfyt"), so that apart from its use for wine and brandy
Another Gribble photograph shows the coach or wagon houses next to the main houses and the stone kraals in the back yards for the animals.
making (often done on a domestic scale in the back yard) the fruit had a valuable use which stretched over the four seasons.  

The town was run by the church until a village management board was established in 1861 after which the Commissioners ruled it according to the regulations drawn up on 23.1.1861, which were very much on the same lines as those described before for the other towns. They concerned the keeping of animals, the care of the water furrows, market regulations etc.  

13 OUDSHOORN

Before an official congregation had been formed, an area now covered by the districts of Oudshoorn, Calitzdorp, De Rust and De Hoop were all known as the Achterberg. Oudshoorn had originally been a part of the George congregation but erected their own little church and a minister from George administered holy communion, attended to marriages, christenings and confirmations on his infrequent visits to this church. And he was usually accompanied by an apothecary who was able to replenish the medicine chests of the housewives. Because these people were regarded to be very simple farm folk, the village around the church at the time was called Veldschoendorp.

In 1852 a separate congregation was formalised when a permanent Dutch minister, Ds Tobias Van der Riet, was appointed. With the help of an energetic and enthusiastic Church Council, the foundation for a new stone church was laid and its construction continued over a period of 19 years due to a lack of funds.

When town erven were pegged out in 1847 by the surveyor J Ford, the minister managed to obtain a donation of a number of dry and water erven from the original loan farm owners, C J Schoeman and G J Scheepers. These became increasingly valuable and were eventually sold with a profit which helped greatly to cover building costs for the completion of the church.

Over four hundred water erven were measured out and these were supplied by two main furrows, one on the east and one on the west bank of the river. The water was obtained from the Grobbelaars River north of the town, but the original owners of the loan farm, which had been granted for the town, retained certain rights for themselves. The river ran perennially and there was very seldom a lack of water, but the amount of water allotted to an erf was dependent upon its size and when subdivision of erven later took place, the water was divided accordingly but no new water erven were created.

The town was laid out in a grid along the both banks of the river, the plan making an angle at the centrally placed market. The Dutch Reformed Church lay in Baron Van Reede Street, the longest street in the town, with a parsonage on the opposite side of the street, but it had no prominence other than its height.

66 Information on the use of grapes in Beaufort West obtained from Johannes Barnard, brother of Prof Chris Barnard
67 CCP8/1/57
68 Ons Kerk Album, p90
69 Ibid
Ford's plan for Oudshoorn in 1847 allowed for over 400 water erven - mostly long narrow erven running from street to street.

The farmers camped around the church during the "nachtmaal" (communion), 1875.
By 1872 a photograph of the original church (obviously an adapted older farm-house), shows many tents and covered ox-wagons pulled up around it, but the town itself had hardly any buildings. The villagers farmed with vegetables, fruit, cattle, sheep and ostriches, especially during the boom period, and continued to do so till quite recently. At the time of the photograph, the town was therefore more of an agricultural village.

But it is difficult to say how much of their produce villagers were able to market other than to local shops for exchange of items for personal use that could not be produced on their own erven. Tea, coffee, sugar, rice, clothing, paraffin and hardware were items that they needed to obtain from traders in exchange for their own produce, and if these were not immediately needed, a system of credit notes gave them a choice of obtaining these items later.

Poplars were obviously planted in the earliest village streets, as shown by an examination of the photographic collection in the C P Nel Museum where a photograph taken in 1865, for instance, shows a hotel in the foreground and poplars in the street, and again garden walls built of mud. Such walls appear also on other early photographs, so it seems to have been the common building material for Oudtshoorn garden walls.

A panorama of Oudtshoorn in 1872 hanging in the Oudtshoorn Museum, shows the many fruit trees in the gardens, figs being especially popular. Here again one sees the stone and mud garden walls. By then street trees were general, especially Lombardy poplars, and bluegums, but a few oaks are present and four cypresses in front of the Oudtshoorn Hotel.

In July 1888 the Courant reported that the Town Council had in that year planted 1800 Lombardy poplars: "These trees take kindly to our clayey, brackish soils. Oudshoorn bids fair within the near future to be named "Poplar Grove".

By the end of the century the smaller erven east and to the north of the market square all had buildings on them, but the long erven on either side of the river were still largely undivided and under cultivation. Photographs of the time show beautiful double storey commercial buildings built of stone in the centre of the town. Water furrows are neatly channelled and stone bridges lead to the elevated, verandahed stoeps of the shops. Again poplars provide shade to all the streets.

The Oudtshoorn Courant gives information on the Botanical Garden which was established in Oudtshoorn and of the agricultural show which was held there in spring, 1879 under the auspices of the Cape of Good Hope Agricultural Society, when the largest tent could hardly accommodate all the exhibits and visitors.
Two streetscapes of Oudshoorn in 1899 showing elegant double storey stone buildings, water-furrows and pear trees which, like those in Beaufort-West made a wonderful show of blossoms in spring.
Again it is evident that the garden is not only a botanical institution but a place of public entertainment. The local 91st Regiment, we are told, "discoursed sweet music (vocal and instrumental) and materially rendered the surroundings more enjoyable".

The Courant also in May 1894 reported on the first sale of bluegum trees "on the morning market" by the largest tree nursery "run by H J Raubenheimer on his farm Schoonberg in the Langkloof. Gums were sold for 5 shilling per hundred and the advantages of planting large plantations of these trees was emphasized". The Courant was of the opinion that "Boomplantenkoorts" (tree-planting fever) was escalating because seed and plants were quickly sold out. The value of this wood was displayed and buyers encouraged to plant large plantations not only for firewood, but for use as furniture. On the market was a buggy and various articles of furniture made of bluegum!

14 KAKAMAS

In 1897 the Government granted the Dutch Reformed Church the two farms, Kakamas and Soetap on the banks of the Orange River. This was as a result of a suggestion by the Rev Marchand at the 1894 synodal meeting that a work colony should be established to assist the farmers who had been left penniless by the severe droughts of 1895-1897 and the rinderpest which had killed thousands of animals during that time. Marchand's plan was based on similar colonies in Germany.

Farmers from all over the Colony arrived at Kakamas when they heard of the scheme and when the digging of a canal was commenced in 1898, 25 families were already settled there in temporary reed shelters, and when more arrived the church was forced to buy further additional farms.

It was planned to make water erven available by the construction of two furrows, and all the digging was done by the men with picks and shovels, the men being paid 3 shilling and boys 1d a day by the church. Mealies, pumpkins, onions, beet and potatoes were planted to provide food for the families until the first furrow had been completed, when the first sixty erven of six morgen each were granted to those who had worked the longest. The church none the less retained ownership of the ground, although improvements could be transferred to subsequent owners, until in 1957 when the first transfers of erven took place.

The digging of the two furrows, one on the south and one on the north side of the Orange River, was supervised by the missionary Schröder who had been responsible for similar furrows constructed some years before at Upington, where he had started a mission station. The engineer Lutz assisted him, and though they worked with primitive instruments, the canals of up to 22 kilometres were a success and remain so by modern standards.

The erf-holders were mostly cattle farmers, who had to adapt their land-usage from that of passive grazing to active ploughing, levelling and planting for irrigation purposes. They ploughed with donkeys where these were available and planted only food for their own consumption to start with.
The first inhabitants of the town Kakamas were destitute people who were paid by the church to dig the canal which would bring water to their erven (C/A, R579).

The canal (C/A, R544)

The first school to be built at Kakamas also served as a church (Ons Kerk Album c1902)
For they had no market until in August 1926 the railway reached Kakamas when they were able to improve their prospects and became a flourishing community.

The first public building to be constructed, even before the first canal had been completed, was a school built of reeds by the parents, this being the first town where school attendance had been made compulsory by the church. The mothers acted as teachers for the first five years after which a permanent teacher was appointed. Only a year later was the church given state subsidy, and the reed building was used until 1904 when a school cum church building was erected.

From an agricultural church settlement intended to help the poorest of the poor, where the only sign of habitation was randomly scattered houses and their outbuildings, Kakamas is now a flourishing well-organised town laid out around a new church and municipal offices and with a thriving sultana industry. And the original church irrigation erven have now become extremely valuable land.25

15 PRINCE ALBERT

In 1841 the farmers of the Zwartberg requested the presbytery of Graaff Reinet that they be allowed to form their own congregation and a commission was appointed to lay down boundaries for such a division. They bought the farm Kweekvallei where a new village was laid out and the erven sold to pay for the farm and for a new church building and parsonage. In the following year a church council was appointed and in 1844 the first minister, Pieter Albertyn.76

The name Prince Albert was given by notice in the Gazette of 31 July, 1845.

The earliest plan which was found was dated 1878 and another of 1903 shows exactly the same layout, indicating that the town had changed very little in the last 30 years of the 19th century.

Following the pattern of most towns, this one is situated in the valley below a prominent hill (Spitskop) on the banks of a river, this time the Kweek Vlei River. Long parallel erven, of different shapes and sizes, are set out between the river and the village water-course and the few streets are set out at right angles to each other, with the church, surrounded by a square, forming the end vista of the main street in a slightly elevated position on the hill slope. Thus it dominated the whole town as beholds a "church town". On the the church square a number of small erven in a block were probably intended for the "tuishuisies".

Although most of the erven were irrigated from a communal furrow, a number of erven were so-called "dry erven" and land along the road to Beaufort is described as "good land if water is brought here" while between the road to Meiringspoort and the furrow a large tract of land is shown as "cultivated lands with water".

75 Information obtained from Mr Mostert retired school principal in Kakamas
76 Ons Kerk Album, p70
(top) Kweekvallei where the village of Prince Albert was established in 1845 (Schumacher The Cape in 1776-1777)
(below) Map of 1878 shows the long water erven and church in the centre of the town

Map of 1903 showing the water furrows and town unchanged
Gordon made a drawing of this area when it was still a farm belonging to the widow of Zacharias de Beer. The T-shaped thatched house faced the valley and had a row of trees planted before it. The mountain stream ran in a straight line along cultivated fields to a circular dam on the side of the house and from there a second stream ran before the row of trees to turn a mill before running further down the valley to irrigate rectangular blocks of orchards and gardens. These gardens were laid out formally on either side of a wide walkway with a central avenue of trees. Further outbuildings were arranged on either side of the house and a number of parallel walled kraals were situated near the dam. Interesting to see is the accommodation for the coloured workers consisting of kapstyk straw and traditional round Hottentot huts.

How this farm was adapted to fit the needs of a new town can be surmised by comparing Gordon's plan with the town plan of 1878, both drawn from the same position. It seems that the wet erven were laid out in the garden and werf area of the farm between the old water furrow and river, and the dry erven in the areas of the old kraals and beyond the garden lower down the river. The so-called "cultivated land under water" matches the cultivated area which Gordon shows along the run of the stream between mountain and house. It seems that the surveyor drew up a town plan without changing the run of the stream providing the maximum number of erven with water. As a result, the village gardens were situated in the most fertile areas.

Photographs of the late 19th century show the rich plant growth of the erven below the church and the bare werfs of the properties on the hill side of the town. Houses as usual are built on the streets boundaries with their gardens behind them and the streets themselves are lined with trees, conifers being planted in the drier areas, and pear trees in the rest of the town. The author remembers the wonderful picture of these trees in blossom in the 1930s, much enhanced by the open water furrows along the street.

A photograph of the parsonage garden in the early 1900s gives an idea of the wealth of plant growth, and shows once again how parsonage gardens were of the best in small towns and how the building itself was dressed in the most fashionable Victorian garb.

SUMMARY

FOUNDATION

The procedure used to establish a new church town was always the same:

A splinter congregation would be formed by a group of farmers after permission had been obtained from the mother congregation and the state. A convenient central situation was then chosen by a commission appointed by the congregation, and after Government approval, bought by the congregation or granted by the Government. Usually this property was a selected loan farm with a good water source and an established werf, and these farm buildings often were most useful as temporary places of worship or parsonages. Here services could be held before sufficient money had been collected to build a church.
The parsonage dating from the beginning of the century, has wooden stoep rails and a veranda with fretwork. It is surrounded by a rose-garden (C/A, AG Collection)
In order to raise enough money to build the church, town erven were set out by a competent surveyor and sold, so that a village was sometimes established before a church had been built, as in Riversdale.

Once established, a congregation was often granted further tracts of land by the state surrounding the church for subdivision into further erven which could be sold for the benefit of the church coffers. In this way the town expanded. Roodezand is one such an example where the initial church built in 1743, was enlarged by selling erven cut out of land granted to the church in 1795, and later church debt alleviated by the selling of further erven after subsequent grants of land in 1853. In other cases the initial farm was so large that the church was able to make an income from their property by letting out land for various purposes, or by selling erven when money was needed, like at Bredasdorp or Colesberg.

CHOICE OF SITE

The site chosen had firstly to be provided with a good source of water, it had to be centrally situated, have fertile soil, and substantial farm buildings were a bonus.

The choice of a site was mostly, though not always, unanimous. When the Bredasdorp site was to be chosen, for instance, a great deal of dissention led to a split in the community, so that two towns were eventually established, the one led by Michiel van Breda at Bredasdorp, named after him, and the other part of the community, led by Van der Byl, forming a town at Napier which was named after the Governor who gave them permission to form their own congregation. The arrangement was however quite amicably settled.77

FIRST PLANS

Church towns almost always had grid plans. Of the 14 studied above, nine were laid out from the beginning with well established grids. Drakenstein and Riversdale started with linear plans, which were later extended on a grid and Colesberg was laid out basically on a grid adapted to allow for deep sluits and hilly outcrops.

Church councillors probably gave preference to grid plans because of the precedence of such plans set: by the 14 administrative towns established in the 18th and early 19th century. Of these, 9 had been set out as grids from the beginning, and those that had started in a linear fashion like Swellendam, Simons Town and Roodezand, later expanded on a grid pattern as far as the topography would allow.

Town plans allowed for at least one square next to the church, which had to be centrally situated, and very often for a second square intended as a market place not far from that.

There was usually a number of smaller erven near the church to allow for the "tuis-huisies" of farmers who used them only on Sundays or for other church festivals. The largest erven were the
"water erven" which received irrigation water via street furrows. As many water erven were allowed for as possible as they sold quicker than the "dry erven".

EARLIEST STREETSCAPES

Church towns usually reflected their origin in the prominence given to their church. The street in which the church stood or which it faced, was usually called "Church Street" and the church with its adjacent square was not only physically but also socially the centre of the town.

The parson, as a government official on a small salary, had to be largely self-sufficient by producing his own fruit and vegetables, keeping chickens, a few sheep, a cow or two and draught animals. He often had to go on long travels to the outskirts of his large congregation and therefore had to be supplied with a carriage and horses, which also needed fodder and stabling. In most town plans one therefore notices that the parson has the largest erf, often three times the size of other erven and usually well supplied with water, and with a number of outbuildings. It too was placed in a prominent position either near the church, or where its gardens could be near the water source, as in Piketberg.

The minister, as one of the most educated citizens, often initiated fashion trends, like corrugated iron roofs and verandas. His garden was usually one of the finest in town. The Parsonage at Somerset East, for instance, had a collection of peonies and over 1000 roses which were imported from England before the end of the 19th century. These plants were multiplied and handed out to other villagers so that they too could improve their gardens. (Today ministers still lead the fashion by their preference for face-brick in small towns, where they are totally out of feeling with the vernacular town architecture).

Pride was not only confined to the parsonage however. For a tendency to replace the first simple churches with higher, more prominent structures ensured that the church would remain the most prominent building in the growing 19th century town.

Church Councillors were concerned about the appearance of their streets and encouraged tree-planting. The church often set the example by planting trees on their boundaries and building beautiful garden walls and entrance gates. In Tulbagh, for instance the beautiful church entrance portal has inspired numerous similar entrances in other small towns but seldom with the same flair. At Paarl the church council decided in 1807 to build a wall and gate with "more taste and beauty": met meerder smaak en cierlijkheid opgetrokken worde. At the same meeting they decided to plant oaks in front of the cemetery walls and both church squares to beautify the town and provide summer shade for strollers and vehicles: het plant van eikebomen voor de kerkhof muur en de beide pleine der kerk tot meerder sieraad van het dorp en tot zomerlommer voor wandelaars en rijtuigen.
GROWTH

The Church Councillors controlled both municipal and church affairs, and donated or sold land for necessary extensions of the town or for administrative offices, gaols, cemeteries, other church denominations and education or sporting facilities as they were needed, in the areas they thought fit. When eventually municipal boards and later municipalities were introduced, they seemed to work satisfactorily with these bodies, so that the only entrepreneurs who failed to thrive in church towns were those who wished to sell alcohol.

The only way that church towns differed from those started as administrative centres, was therefore in the prominence of the church in the one and the equal prominence of drostdy and church in the other.
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CHAPTER 18

HEALTH OR HOLIDAY RESORTS

In the 19th century, holiday towns as such had not yet become popular entities. Farmers would pack up their wagons with every necessity - drink, bedding, fishing tackle, kitchen pots and other utensils - in fact everything that they would need to camp near their chosen seaside place for a few weeks. For a fresh supply of meat live chickens were taken in crates and animals were transported on the hoof. Though members of one family would gather in this way, they were most often the only holiday makers in a particular place.

Holiday towns where people gathered in droves to be part of the social scene, only started to grow in popularity towards the end of the 19th century when ladies appeared on the beaches with long dresses and parasols to shade themselves from the sun, and bathing was done only by the few daring ones or those hoping to benefit from the health effects of the sea-water. And that was done from bathing boxes to minimise exposure.

In 1934 the Curator of Cape Town's Parks and Gardens expressed dismay in his annual report at the fact that free bathing at every available point along our coast line is becoming more firmly established. He preferred people to use the Council's public pavilions at places like Camps Bay, Sea Point, Muizenberg, Kalk Bay, or Adderley Street Pier which were provided for the purpose. There were also public "Baths" in Long Street, Hanover Street, Woodstock and Maitland. In all of these bathing was safer and from all of them the Council gathered revenue.

The increasing use of motor vehicles was another reason which he saw for the fact that people were bathing in "uncontrolled areas" and they were actually using these vehicles as bathing boxes to get undressed in.

The motor car and railway as well as the provision of hotel accommodation along coastal towns by entrepreneurs, undoubtedly led to the growth of holiday resorts in the beginning of this century. But private holiday accommodation, whether hired or owned, was usually of the simplest kind as can still be seen in resorts like Still Bay, Langebaan and Mossel Bay.

Two 19th century seaside villages are examined to show the simple pattern of their first plans as well as one health-resort which was developed under the control of the D.E.I.C. officials and from there grew into a village:

1 STRAND
2 HERMANUS
3 CALEDON

SUMMARY

1 Most of these shacks are now being threatened with demolition because they occupy prime beach frontage
The informal arrangement of the first town erven along the beach front and further back is shown on this undated plan of Somerset Strand (C/A, M4/846)
I STRAND

The area today known as the Strand was originally the farm Vlooibaai granted on loan to the Huguenot, David du Buisson in 1707 and in freehold to his widow Claudina Lombard in 1722.

By 1835 several houses and huts had been erected to form a seaside village which was at the time called Mosterd's Bay and "free people of colour" were fishing there from six boats, the fish being plentiful. The place was also recommended as being beneficial to invalids.

In 1851 a Wesleyan church had been erected at Mosterd's Bay on a grant of land on the beach front, then uninhabited, and the Dutch Reformed ministers from Stellenbosch and Somerset West preached there in the holiday season until a separate Dutch Reformed congregation was formed in 1912.

By that time Mosterd's Bay was a popular holiday resort and on an undated 19th century plan of the newly laid out village, one notices that it consisted of irregularly shaped erven of different sizes arranged along the beach in a sinuous line, but directly behind these, future town erven are indicated on an attempted grid pattern. Most of the names are Dutch, but a Mr Anderson has a prominent erf on the beach front where he had constructed his "Anderson's Strand Hotel".

Also on the beach front, in the centre of the erven, was Mr Badenhorst's "fish house", and a blue line appears to indicate a water furrow running behind the beach houses past the fish shop to the beach.

On the west side of the village in Mostert's Bay lay land belonging to Mr Van Ryneveld, the landdrost of Stellenbosch with his U-shaped holiday house and outbuilding.

Municipal status was obtained in 1897 and a town-hall erected with a post-office in one wing. One of their most important jobs was to improve the water supply system by building a new reservoir on the farm Die Bos. Before this residents had to collect their water, derived from the Lourens River, from a communal outlet in the town, near to where the upper traffic circle now is situated.

The Strand as it was later named, became progressively more popular as a bathing and health resort especially after the extension of the railway line from Somerset West to Sir Lowry's pass in 1890, and because it was a holiday resort, boarding houses and hotels along the beach front proliferated. Photographs taken early in this century show them standing on the beach in all their Victorian grandeur, providing an unobstructed view of the sea and happenings on the beach, the communal space where everyone could see and be seen in a relaxed and festive atmosphere.

But further down, the beach was supplied with tin bathing cubicles and here the animals, carts and other horse-drawn vehicles were parked on the sand ready to load the fish from the boats as they came in. For the fish market was the beach.

2 Cape Almanack, 1835 & Heap P, The Story of Hottentots Holland, p144
3 Ons Kerk Album, p*
4 C/A, M4/846
5 C/A, St. 11/39
6 Heap P, The Story of Hottentots Holland, p147

931
Grant of land adjoining his own at Mosterd's Bay to Mr Van Ryneveld (Surveyor General's Office)

Strolling on the beach (C/A, R378)

Waiting for the boats (C/A, R373)
The earliest houses along the beach at the Strand (Heap P, *The story of the Hottentots Holland*)
The first nine erven measured for a town at Hermanus in 1886 are shown on this map (SG1/1/1/82)

The first houses on the rocky ridge  (Jagger Library UCT)

Hermanus in the early 1900s  (Jagger Library UCT)
HERMANUSFONTEIN (HERMANUS PETRUSFONTEIN)

According to Tredgold the first to settle at Herries Bay were the two families Henn and de Kock, who earned their living by fishing. They built houses of the materials at hand which were poles, mud, and thatching reed, but as the soil was not good for agriculture their settlement contained little exotic planting, and boundaries were of built stone walls. Their settlements therefore blended into the natural environment, the greatest impact being probably those "stellasies" or wooden racks which they built to hang their fish to dry.

Soon they were joined by a shipwrecked Swede named Harry Crus. (His ship sank near the Palmiet River mouth and it appears that Herries Bay was named after him).

In 1852 the wreck of the Birkenhead in Walker Bay focussed attention on this region and the fishermen who had been extremely helpful to the shipwrecked survivors. Five sailors, four of whom had escaped from their ships, one after the other decided to settle as far as possible from the law and made their way to Herries Bay in the 1850s, settled there and married Henn's five daughters.

In the meantime it was known that a perennial spring existed at a place where Hermanus Petrus, an itinerant school teacher cum herd, used to go regularly to graze his sheep, and fish. One of the Herries Bay fishermen one day saw a large shoal of fish near this spring and saw the possibilities of using a natural cove nearby as a landing place, for Michiel Henn had retained one of the Birkenhead life boats which was used as a fishing boat. After a family conference it was decided to move to the new fishing grounds and members of the family travelled there with their goods loaded onto a wagon and onto the Nellie, which then became the first boat to land in the cove destined to form the centre point of the new settlement.

While camping in tents near a second spring named Rietfontein, the men started fishing and were so successful that the whole Henn family - the five daughters, who had married the five above sailors, and their five brothers, moved to Hermanusfontein and formed a new settlement. This was in 1858, for it is recorded that in that year a baby was born in one of the tents. Apparently the children who had to fetch water from Hermanus' spring each morning, gave the place the name which it has retained in an abridged version till today. Thus Hermanus is probably the only Cape town started by a single family.

In 1886 erven were measured out for a town, as the popularity of Hermanusfontein as a fishing place had spread. In a letter of 18.8.1886 C R Borcherds noted that as the majority of residents were fishermen and "in very poor circumstance", unless the conditions of sale were made as easy as possible, few erven would be sold. The drawing accompanying this letter indicates nine erven.

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7 Information unless otherwise stated, from Tredgold A, Village of the Sea. As much of Tredgold's history was obtained by interviews with descendents of the original settlers, one of 96, her information is unique.
8 James John Warrington
9 Above information from Tredgold A, Village of the Sea, Chapters 1 & 4
Early photographs of the old harbour showing the fishermen, women cleaning fish and the boats in the harbour (C/A, AG10345) (C/A, AG10346)

An early streetscape with uneven road and stone walls
parallel to each other, with two springs between these and the rocky ridge. They are surrounded by Government land.  

Wattle and daub or pole houses were erected by the Henns here too, but a photograph of 1897 shows a street in the young village consisting of white-washed thatched-roof cottages, and stone walls. A stone wall on the cliff edge of the road and loose-packed stone walls demarcating property boundaries, binds the houses to their rocky environment, making this relaxed holiday-fishing village particularly charming.

In the meantime the coloured fishermen were living in the caves in the rocky cliff.

The fame of the good fishing gradually drew farmers and villagers from further afield to the town and more and more erven were sold and holiday houses built. There were also Hotels built to accommodate holiday visitors and one shop provided for the whole community.

An English church and school were built in 1868, but as this was a pole structure, a second stone church followed five years later. A Dutch Reformed church was constructed in 1878, but neither in size, position or structure was it prominent.

Hermanusfontein remained a fishing and health resort to the end of the 19th century. The fish market was conveniently situated on the rocky slopes of the small harbour where the offal could be taken by the sea and where the fish smell was far removed from the houses. The streets were ungravelled and rocky, animals roamed the streets and water had to be fetched from standing pumps in the streets.

A Village Management Board in 1891 followed by a Municipality in 1904 attended to these problems, laying down building regulations and banning animals in the street. They also improved the natural swimming places for those who sought to bathe for their health.

The main industries of Hermanus were fresh and dried fish and lime burnt from shells. These commodities were sold to the surrounding farms and at the Caledon market, as rail transport stopped at Sir Lowry’s Pass, making transport to the Cape Market difficult.

Only in the 20th century would its fame as a fashionable resort stimulate that growth which has made Hermanus the most popular holiday town in the Cape.

3 CALEDON

On 17.2.1710 Ferdinand Appel was on his request granted permission by the Council of Policy to erect een huisje en verdre accommodatien, a small house and accommodation, for those who might for health reason wish to visit the warm baths and whom he would then accommodate for payment. He had in the previous year been granted grazing rights at the warm baths, "situated 14 hours over the Hottentots Holland mountains" so that he knew the area.
The Company's post at the Warm Baths as seen by Josephus Jones in the 1790s (R/A, Topo 45/33)

The Vormanoff plan of Caledon in 1811 showing the parsonage, drosdy and the house for the school-master in Church Street as well as the first town erven on either side of Mill Street

Water-colour by Webb Smith (Parliament Library)
That year Gouverneur, third in charge of the return fleet under governor-general J Van Hoorn, had asked permission to visit the bath and was accompanied, amongst others, by Appel and his wife. They camped in tents at the bath and Cnoll found remarkable relief from ailments contracted in the tropics of Java. This then was Appel's incentive when he asked permission to build accommodation for visitors at the baths.\(^{11}\)

Most travellers and officials to the interior when passing the baths stopped there to enjoy the benefits of the water and described their experiences. Thus Mentzel, who stayed at the Cape from 1733-1741 described the solid building that had been erected there, with which he was not impressed as it had only two rooms and a vestibule for visitors which was inadequate especially in summer. The bath itself was four by one and a half fathoms and patients stood in it up to their necks, but had to be careful not to stay in longer than ten minutes, for fear of fainting.\(^{12}\) Farmers camped at the springs using their own wagons for accommodation.

Burchell also described the baths and made a sketch of the new bath building erected there in 1797 which had a gallery with eight small rooms and four baths. He still found it inadequate. He then noted that "no attractions of amusements and society were offered" as in the watering places in England, but thought that once the neighbouring village had enough inhabitants to cater and accommodate bath visitors, "there is little doubt that this will become a place of considerable resort".\(^{13}\)

When a sub-drosdty of Caledon was established at the Warm Baths in 1813, the farm had already been acquired in 1810 from J Rademan by the Government, a congregation had been formed, a permanent minister appointed and a simple cruciform church built which was inaugurated on New Year's day, 1813.\(^{14}\) The first town erven were measured during this time.

James Ewart who travelled at the Cape between 1811 and 1814 described the hot spring and the large building about 150 yards below it where visitors could hire one of ten rooms and relax in the hot baths built behind it. He then described the village, "watered by a small periodical stream"(the Caledon River) which was in the process of being built with "residences for the clergyman, deputy landdrost, school-master and a few traders". Ewart was seeing the village in its initial stages and yet remarked that there was a church large enough for 800-1 000 people. The first minister was the Rev M C Vos who was very active in the establishment of missionary work at the Cape. He had served at Roodezand where he enlarged their church, before he was transferred to Caledon and built a new church there.

all been built in a line along the road eventually to be known as "Church Street" and their gardens lay across the road stretching to the banks of the river. A later map\(^{16}\) of 1883 shows these gardens with their water conduit running along the street boundary.

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11 Sleigh D, Die Buisposte, p539
12 V.R.S.25, Mentzel O.F. Description of the Cape, p50
13 Burchell W. Travels in the Interior of South Africa, pp71-72
14 Theal G McCall. History of S.A from 1795-1872 vol 1, p266
15 C/A. M2/1739
16 C/A. S.G.1/1/1/3
Small erven and long narrow erven running down to the river were set out on either side of Mill Street in 1844 (CO534)

In 1845 the surveyor Hopley set out further erven along the river bank
A part of the large property reserved for the use of the clergyman was divided into erven in 1845 (C/A, M1/575)
The first thirty town erven were set out parallel to each other on either side of a new street (Mill Street) which was at right angles to Church Street. Surveyor Vormanoff shows these, the church surrounded by a wall, and an open area separating the church from the parsonage and the drosdy on its south-west side. This area was intended for the use of the parsonage, but sold in 1845 after Hopley had divided it into three erven.17

The Drostdy on the 1811 map has several outbuildings lying in line with it and a kraal on its west side. East of the church was the sexton’s erf, but no buildings are shown on it. Vormanoff draws the river and two water courses crossing each other, the one labelled "old water course". A reservoir lies in front of the church opposite the road at the end of the one water course.

A water colour by Webb Smith in the Parliamentery Library, labelled "Caledon", may represent the Drostdy group of buildings. It is difficult to see how many different buildings there are, but two long buildings enclose a yard behind the main house and this yard is entered through a pillared gate in a white wall. An outside stair on the one building and high slit windows, identifies it as a stable with upper hay-loft. Two horses and a rider in the foreground confirm the need for stables. A kraal can be seen behind these buildings, probably for sheep.

The walled orchard in the foreground, according to the map, would have been the Drostdy garden situated between the river and the Drostdy, across Church Street.

Regular setting out of erven, as they became necessary, had been done west and north of the church on a grid pattern, allowing a large square behind the church (Donkin Square) and a triangular open area west of this for a market square. The produce sold on this market would have been mostly grain, for Caledon lay in the middle of the wheatlands in the area known as the Overberg and was in 1865 the third largest wheat producing area in the Cape.18

By 1898, the drostdy garden had been divided up into erven although the T-shaped sextons' house east of the church, still had the use of its large garden across the street, but a part nearest the river was in use as a cemetery. These changes are seen on a map of the enlarged town drawn by Kuys and Boyes in 1898.19

The water course was still in use then, running in the unnamed street west of the Drostdy to the corner of New Street and then taking a right angle turn into Church Street where it runs down its length, supplying all the parallel erven lying between Church Street and the river.

Whereas Caledon can be very hot and dry in summer and water probably was a problem, street trees would have been scarce. However the introduction of drought resisting trees like gums and conifers is seen in late 19th century photographs of the town. The Victorianisation of buildings with their pitched iron roofs and verandas and especially the construction of low street boundary walls and pillared fences changed the streetscape. From stark dusty areas between buildings, the street gardens now softened the view and provided very welcome shade.

17 C/A, M/575
18 C/A, CCP 1/2/1/16
19 C/A, M2/325
These drawings show three new erven cut off from the parsonage garden and a new street created between these erven and the garden of the church warden. Notice the avenue of trees along this street, trees (probably poplars) along the river bank and a hedge along Church Street.

(below) The town in 1898 had also developed west of the church
The baths which probably favoured the choice of the situation for this sub-drostdy, never became an integrated part of the town although it continued to attract those who might benefit from its waters.

**SUMMARY**

Seaside towns will necessarily provide the maximum number of erven along the beach front and therefore these town plans would naturally follow a linear pattern as seen both in the Strand and Hermanus earliest plans. The town markets in these places would be for the sale of fish and because of the unsavoury smell and other nuisance, removed from the houses, in Hermanus from the harbour and in the Strand from the beach wherever the boats came in.

The health resort at Caledon, although it determined the position of a new town, did not appear to have much further influence on the initial pattern or later growth of the town. The baths remained an entity on its own on the town outskirts supplying its own accommodation for visitors.

Victorian streetscape in Caledon early 1900s: bay-windows, verandas, street gardens with cast iron fencing and conifers and gums (C/A, R829).
CHAPTER 19

MINING TOWNS

Although the existence of copper deposits in Namaqualand had been known from the 17th century and governor Simon Van der Stel himself had travelled there to investigate mining potential, the samples tested had produced such a low yield that this idea was abandoned. The lack of suitable harbours and firewood were also unfavourable factors and the whole issue of copper mining was to be investigated once again only in the middle of the 19th century.

Smalberger in his History of Copper Mining in Namaqualand has recorded the unsuccessful attempts of early copper mining companies to establish mines in Namaqualand and sketched the problems experienced by Phillips and Kings who eventually did start a mine at Springfontein.

The discovery of diamonds along the banks of the Vaal River in 1865, led not only to the establishment of new towns in the area, but also to the increase of trade and commerce throughout the Cape Colony. The transport of mining machinery, building materials and other necessary goods along the roads from Cape Town through Ceres across the karoo plateau was in wagon trains sometimes of many miles long. These had not only a physical impact on the market places and commonages of the towns they passed through, but they brought new ideas, styles and unknown products to the attention of villagers. Corrugated iron, for instance, was but one such a material that could change a townscape in less than a generation.

The early plans and landscape of these two mine towns will be discussed as examples of unique 19th century towns in the Cape:

1 SPRINGBOK (SPRINGBOKFONTEIN)

2 KIMBERLEY

SUMMARY
Plan of Springbok in 1933 by L.M Walton, showing town erven set out in a grid where possible, with irregular open spaces in between. Enlargement below shows the public well on a central square.
SPRINGBOK (SPRINGBOKFONTEIN)

When Phillips and King's Mining Company started mining copper at the place known as Springfontein in Namaqualand in 1852, they erected only one mud cabin for the foreman but housed their workers in the round matting huts which were their traditional buildings.

In 1855, three years after commencement of operations, Phillips and King offered to provide a house and provisions for a Resident Magistrate when the Government established a magistracy at Springfontein, but no formal town plan was drawn up at that stage.

In 1861 the Relieving Magistrate E A Judge, in describing the settlement, found it to consist of some 20 buildings and that it was "not much more than a mining camp" consisting of the mine manager, three or four clerks without families, a doctor with his family, two shopkeepers, and a small hotel. The magistrate had a clerk, a gaoler, a chief constable and four or five coloured constables.¹

The earliest photographs of Springbook show that these people were housed in solidly built whitewashed thatched cottages facing east, but without any obvious street pattern. The miners, "bastards and Hottentots", lived in round huts probably away from the other houses, for they are not visible on the photographs of the village. A plan drawn by Andrew Wyley in 1857 shows this arrangement.²

The copper mine and its reduction works, on which the prosperity of the village depended, were situated in the 180 metre high hill behind the village.

Andrew Wiley who wrote a report on Springfontein in 1857, remarked that running water was a "thing almost unknown" in Namaqualand, but wells sunk in the town delivered "an abundance of excellent water" so that small dams could be constructed, and he thought that "there is every facility for making a large pond and gardens at a small expense". But he himself remarked on the absence of trees in Namaqualand except on the bank of the Orange River, where he noticed only a few wild olive and "thorn" trees.

There is indeed very little evidence of gardens or tree planting in 19th century photographs of the town. Werfs were enclosed with stone walls as was the cemetery which is seen in the foreground of one photograph.

It was not till 1900 that it was decided to plant 100 blue-gums by convicts who also had to keep them watered. Convicts also maintained and cleaned the streets and kept villagers supplied with water from the public wells at 6 pence a barrel.³ Wiley's plan shows these wells which are still marked "Public Wells" on a map of 1933.⁴

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¹ Smallberger J M. A History of Copper Mining in Namaqualand, p72, quoted from Judge
² I saw the plan stuck to a wall in the office of Mr Kotze, the headmaster of the Springbok School, but was unable to trace the original
³ Smallberger, p75 and information from the Town Clerk
⁴ S.24 30.6.1933. The surveyor was L M Walton
(top) Springbok in the 1880's:
There are open spaces between the buildings, but no discernible streets
(middle) In the 1920s: a few straight streets are shown planted with blue-gums
(below) The church property has been enclosed with a stone wall by 1928

(Jagger Library UCT)
In 1862 it was decided to formalise the village and the surveyor P Fletcher was instructed to lay out erven which were then sold on public auction on 28 October 1862. These erven were laid out in uneven blocks with larger long erven following the contour of the hill and blocks of small erven in the old core of the town, also arranged in a crescent fashion around the position of the old kraal indicated on Wiley’s plan.\(^5\)

In 1866 a congregation was formed and a stone church, designed by Sophia Gray was built in the centre of the town keeping the open space around it. Photographs of 1880 show the church and the irregular arrangement of the earlier cottages around its square.

The village was run by a management board till 1933 when a proper municipality was established. At the time it was obviously not an inspiring town and was said to consist of *corrugated iron, white-wash and yellow dogs without the spirit to hunt their fleas*.\(^6\)

2 **KIMBERLEY**

The discovery of the first diamond in 1867 and the resultant rush of diamond seekers whose canvas camps moved along the north bank of the Vaal River as new diamonds were found, introduced the history of the diamond towns established in the mid 19th century.\(^7\) This history was complicated by the political issues of the various claims by the South African Republic, the Barolong and Balapin and Griqua tribes and the different companies that established themselves by buying different farms in the area.

On the 15th October, 1880 a proclamation was issued by Sir George Strahan, administrator of the Government, giving effect from that day by Act 39 of 1877 to the annexation of Griqualand West as a British Crown Colony. The area was divided into three electoral divisions: Kimberley, Barkly and Hay. Kimberley then had diamond fields at Bultfontein, Dorstfontein and Vooruitzigt, a circle of 3,2 kilometres enclosing the mines at du Toitspan, old de Beers and the Colesberg Koppie or "New Rush". The Camp at Colesberg Koppie became Kimberley, later the seat of government.

Kimberley mine was first laid out in 700 claims each of 83 square metres. Less than 7 acres yielded diamonds. There were 12 roadways, each of 4,56 metres width and each claim holder had to give up ¼ of his plot for this.

Soon 30 000 men were working in trenches and carting the soil to the rim of the mine. They lived in canvas tents on the side of the mine, but when streets and squares were laid out, more permanent structure tin shacks were erected.

Soon diamond traders, shop keepers, banks, gambling houses, inns and hotels were established and in this way the camp turned into a shanty town. Water was brought from 8 kilometres away and later wells were also dug. The dust from unmade roads, the stench of the primitive sanitary system, the noise of carts and wagons and the close proximity of people living cheek by jowl, would

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5. A map of the 1862 lay-out was examined in the town clerk’s office at Springbok
7. Robertson, *Diamond Fever*
(top & below) 19th century street scenes in Kimberley
(middle) Informal boundary fence made of old barrels (1877), man standing with umbrella, C J Rhodes (UCT Library)
Plans of the Kimberley mine from an album of Mrs T T C Purland (copied from a print in the UCT Library)
Kimberley market square and race course (below) late 19th century

Plan of the early informal settlement around the Kimberley mine (Surveyor General's Office)
have created a landscape and atmosphere suffered only by those who saw this as a temporary home while dreaming of a retirement in riches.

Yet this temporary town continued to thrive as the diamonds at first expected to be superficial, were found deeper and deeper down and the mining hole presented engineering problems which could only be solved by amalgamating individual claims. The rise of the large mining companies led to the expression of wealth in private and commercial buildings which is reflected in photographs at the end of the century.

SUMMARY

Plans and photographs of these two mining towns, although so far apart and of totally different origins, show the same relaxed landscapes where they were both allowed to grow without a formal starting plan. At Kimberley the first miners camped in tents as the 1820 settlers had done while their houses were being constructed, because the miners thought that the diamonds were in the top soil only and that their claims therefore would soon be worked out. Once it became clear that the town was there for good, the old streets lying in a circle around the mine, were incorporated into a grid town even though the houses were still of corrugated iron.

At Springbok there was a more permanent mining prospect and the houses therefore constructed of lasting materials, yet they were built without an overall plan because the mining company who owned the ground, saw it as a mining camp rather than a town, as recorded by E A Judge in 1861 almost ten years after mining operations had been in full swing. Again when a later town plan was drawn up, a grid pattern was used, incorporating the irregularities of the original town elements.

After 150 years, the labourers in the Springbok area still live in the type of huts that the miners used in the 1850s
CHAPTER 20

MILITARY TOWNS

1  GRAHAMSTOWN
2  PORT ELIZABETH
3  CRADOCK
Plan of Grahamstown in 1814, showing the first landowners (above) and the triangular parade ground (below). (Detail panorama by F Ross, circa 1822)

The plan of 1824 indicates the growth of the town in its first ten years. Erven run through from one street to the next. (Reynolds) A church was planned on the market place and a gaol on the drostdy grounds.
GRAHAMSTOWN

In 1811, Lieutenant-Colonel John Graham of the Cape Regiment was appointed commandant-general in charge of the forces who were trying to keep peace between the different Xhosa clans moving south-westwards, and the eastern frontier settlers moving north-eastwards. He had been instructed by Governor Sir John Cradock to drive the Xhosas back over the Fish River which was at that time the negotiated boundary, and for this purpose he had called up the burgher forces under their different landdrosts and field-cornets. But it proved to be no easy task to fulfil and it was many months before this so-called "Fourth Kaffir War" was over and a line of military posts manned by 59 dragoons, over 400 of the 60th regiment and a Hottentot regiment, had been established to keep the Xhosas over the Fish River.

The troop headquarters were on a loan-farm which had belonged to Lucas Meyer and because it was very well situated strategically, it was decided to establish a town there and call it Grahamstown after John Graham.

Theal explains that the advantage of its situation was due to the fact that "the town was the centre of an irregular semicircle described by the Fish River from north-west round to south-east, nearly every part of the curve being within a day's march".¹

Lucas Meyer's deserted farm-house had been re-thatched and used as an officers' mess and two rows of officer's quarters were constructed north and south of this building. These erven lay parallel to each other and had thatched cottages facing the street and long gardens behind them running down to the two branches of the Kowie River. The space between the two blocks of erven, where the mess was situated, formed a triangle which has been retained as an open square till today.² The military beginnings of the town therefore left a permanent impression on the shape of the town.

It was on this square that the first church was built 1824 - 1830 almost in the position of Lucas' original farmhouse, but parallel to the one line of erven.

A copy of a plan of 1814³ shows the early plan of the town as measured by surveyor Knobel, with these early erven and the military buildings which were later demolished to create a straight street from the triangular square to the drostdy area.

A plan annexed to a despatch of 1829 also shows this arrangement as well as the earliest erven of the town and the gaol, constable's house, school, commissariat, late landdrost's and clergyman's premises and barracks, all arranged in two town blocks on either side of High Street.⁴

A comparison done of an anonymous sketch of the town in 1820⁵ and another sketch⁶ and plan of 1824 shows how rapidly the town had expanded in the four years after the arrival of the 1820
These anonymous sketches of Grahamstown in 1823 show the prominent situation of the Drostdy with its porte cochère, and the many roads from the quarries behind it. The garden erven are separated by picket fences and what are probably fruit trees, planted on the boundaries. Houses are single or double storeyed and flat roofed or thatched.

Map M1/1694 dated 1829 gives details of the Government House, Prison, School, Scotts Barracks, the Commissariat, Clergyman and late landdrost’s positions.
British settlers. In 1820 town regulations stipulating that all houses were to be built strictly in a line, assured that the town should develop in an orderly way.\(^7\)

A large piece of land was reserved on the western side of the town for a drostdy which was eventually built between 1822 and 1827 to face the church at the other end of the connecting street, later to be known as High Street. The drostdy was never used as an administrative headquarters, however, but together with other buildings in the vicinity including a provost, used for military purposes. The civil administrative centre of the district was in Albany.\(^8\)

The U-shaped "drostdy" and military buildings were formally positioned facing each other, but not strictly in line with High Street or the arched entrance from it, according to a later plan of 1870.\(^9\)

The formal arched entrance forming the end vista of High Street, can be seen on this map, and on early photographs and sketches (photograph X3 on page 97).\(^10\) The 1870 plan above shows that Government House was built at the end of Dundas Street, but not square on or directly on its axis.

A sketch done by Thomas Baines in 1843 gives a further birds-eye view of the town with its line of double storey houses along High Street and the long parallel gardens with their boundary walls, but the wide streets and open town spaces contained few trees at this time. Yet Chase found the general appearance "pleasing if not imposing" with 700 houses interspersed with gardens. He remarked on the great width of the streets.\(^11\)

There were by then an Episcopalian church - "a most conspicuous edifice" and a Wesleyan chapel with the adjoining "commodious dwelling house of the Superintendent".\(^12\)

Furthermore Chase was impressed by a number of spacious handsome stores and the "incessant commercial activity" on the streets. There were several inns, a public library, two weekly papers and a Steam Navigation Company and Fire Association Co. But of the 5 000 white and 1 000 coloured living in this thriving town, he thought that the many soldiers and military staff and the numerous buildings used by them added greatly to the "animation of the place" and its general prosperity.\(^13\)

By 1870 a very much larger grid of town blocks indicates the continued expansion of the town after the arrival of the British settlers.\(^14\) By this time the town was prettier, for the streets were planted on both sides with oaks as can be seen in photographs of High Street taken in the early 1870s.\(^15\)

The 1870 map also shows the position of five additional chapels and three churches and their various cemeteries situated on the outskirts of the town at the end of High Street. The market square was by then well defined and surrounded by well developed erven. A sketch from a photo by Aldham and Aldham\(^16\) shows the great activity on the market square in the late 1870s and the

\(^{7}\) Town regulations were drawn up on 1.2.1820
\(^{8}\) Van der Riet F, Grahamstown in Early Photographs, p96
\(^{9}\) M1/1484
\(^{10}\) Van der Riet F, Grahamstown in Early photographs, X3 & p97; see also a sketch by Brimble L.A, in Two Sketch Books, 1907-1917
\(^{11}\) Chase J C, The Cape of Good Hope, p39
\(^{12}\) Ibid, p40
\(^{13}\) Ibid, p41
\(^{14}\) C/A, M/1484
\(^{15}\) Grahamstown in Early Photographs, Frank van der Riet, p34; and C/A, J 3083
\(^{16}\) Reynolds R & B, Grahamstown from Cottage to Villa, p66
(top) By 1870 Grahamstown is called a "city". Notice the public garden (left)

Colonial Immigrants visit the Crystal Palace (from The Victorian Garden by T Carter)
military residences and double storey Georgian buildings which surrounded this square. Obviously the activities on the square did not detract from its desirability as a prominent residential and trading area.

The Botanic Garden, which had been established in the early 1860s, is also indicated on the 1870 map as a triangular piece of land next to Government House.

Grahamstown was the first town to establish a Botanic Garden outside Cape Town. Here local residents could become acquainted with many new plants from all over the world and overseas visitors could, in turn, appreciate the indigenous flora planted in a section of the garden "under arrangement".17

The so-called "Fordyce" conservatory housed exotic plants imported from Kew and other parts of the world and there was also a fountain spilling into a basin where aquatic plants were grown.

Pillars supported passion fruit and other varieties of exotic climbers which clustered "in graceful confusion, at the same time exhibiting gay colours and distributing delicious scent". Loudon tells us which climbing plants were especially popular in hothouses in England at the time - varieties of passion fruit and asparagus, hibbertia, ipomoea, wistaria and caprifolium, amongst others.18 All of these became popular outdoor plants in the early part of this century, but may have started their Cape lives in conservatories.

South American and Madagascar orchids too, "plants of extraordinary curiosity and beauty", were grown in a house heated through hot-water pipes.

In all respects the Grahamstown Botanic Garden compared well with the gardens of the larger estates in England where hothouses and greenhouses and collections of exotics created the ambience for intellectual gathering places and enjoyment. By the end of the 18th century there was tremendous competition amongst European estate owners for exotic plants, birds and animals and by then even middle class gardeners regarded greenhouses and collections of exotic plants to be an indispensable part of their gardens.19

Colonial immigrants would therefore have been conversant with the wonderful English greenhouses and their collections at places like Hampton Court, Kensington Palace, Badminton, Brompton Park and the Chelsea Physic Garden where visitors were freely allowed.

When a Victoria regia flowered for the first time in Britain on the 9th November 1849 in the Conservatory designed by Paxton for the garden at Chatsworth, for instance, everyone flocked to see the plant and the event was recorded in the Illustrated London News of 17.11.1849.

Marvels of Paxton's Crystal Palace, completed in 1851 for the Industrial Exhibition, were also widely appreciated by the thousands of people who visited the impressive glass structure with its magnificent plant collection. The Colonial immigrants due to leave on the Blundell for instance,
Plan of Botanic garden in Grahamstown. Unfortunately very little detail is shown.

Repton's design for a gate to improve the street entrance to Tatton Park is very similar to the drostdy gate at the top end of High Street in Grahamstown.
requested and were given special permission by Prince Albert to march in a compact body through the Central Avenue for a shilling each before their departure.\textsuperscript{20}

It is noticeable that the people most actively concerned with the Grahamstown Garden, Tidmarsh the curator, and Huntley the chairman of the Committee, were both English. Local farmers who for years had to contend with regular droughts and barren veld, must have found the luxurious growth of plants in controlled environments a revelation.

But for them too the Botanic Garden had many other advantages, as the Committee regarded their most important work to be the establishment of a nursery where trial grounds for new types of fruit trees could prove which were most suited for the area. They also wished to teach farmers gardening practices so that they would make a success of the many trees which were being distributed annually at minimal costs. In the year 1873, for instance, 500 grafted orange and naartjie trees, not less than 1,000 apple and about 2,500 peaches, apricots, plums, pears and others had been distributed, apart from large quantities of forest and ornamental trees.\textsuperscript{21}

In Europe, greenhouses were at first built to grow citrus, pine-apples and vines. Ornamental plants like pomegranate, myrtle and oleander were of the earliest plants imported from the south of Italy by those travellers who came under the spell of Italian gardens. These also had to be protected in the winter by either covering or bringing them indoors. The same applied to the many bulbs and other plants like plumbago, which arrived from the Cape or the botanical gardens in Holland.\textsuperscript{22}

But at Grahamstown all these could be planted in the open ground, and one sees trellises for vines, pomegranate and oleander hedges and at least a few old citrus trees in almost every small town garden in the Cape Province where remnants of 19th century gardens have survived. Botanic gardens at the Cape could therefore concentrate on exotics from Madagascar, South America and Mauritius.

The Botanic Garden Committee in 1880 reported a further benefit to the farmers. They had installed a small steam pump in the garden and regarded this "a valuable means of educating the public to use and value such machinery".

Furthermore they had successfully experimented with the use of imported Californian ladybird beetles for the elimination of Australian bug. Consequently glass-houses were built and filled with plants infested with Australian bugs. The ladybirds were then let in and allowed to multiply after which they were caught and distributed to the many people who had requested them!\textsuperscript{23} This is probably the earliest record of biological control of plant diseases in South Africa.

The Botanic Garden experimented with different Eucalyptus species, especially the hardy "Red Gum" (Eucalyptus rostrata) which grew quickly but seeded so slowly that they could not keep ahead of demands. A Thuja compacta hedge was grown with success. Two plantations had been planted,

\textsuperscript{20} Carter T, The Victorian Garden, p78
\textsuperscript{21} Report of the Committee of the Graham’s Town Botanic Garden for the Year 1873, Blue book, G.5-1874
\textsuperscript{22} See chapter 21. Kew built a hot house for S A plants in 1788
\textsuperscript{23} Report of 1892
(Top) The Hawthorns (by J S Alexander) designed by John Wood for his brother, is separated from the street only by a railing and a line of Norfolk pines.

On this enlarged detail from a sketch by Schiffman in 1862, the house Woodville is seen in the middle back. A backdrop of conifers and front garden open to the view is typical of the picturesque landscape of Repton.

Oatlands in 1850 by an unknown artist shows a straight entrance avenue but for the rest the plantings are informal (Lewcock p103)
one of Aleppo pine and one of *Casuarina tenuissima*. They found that vines could be kept free of Oidium by frequent treatment with sulphur, and new fruit varieties were budded for sale as well as roses and phylloxera-free vines.\(^{24}\)

Photographs taken at the end of the 19th century show the results of these Botanic Garden trials, for street trees, which are scarce on early photographs and then usually oaks, are seen to be largely eucalyptus and Thuya from the 1870s onward.

Reynolds, in their excellent publication of the domestic buildings of Grahamstown, list a number of "villas" built by officers and wealthy families and show how these were inspired by the Gothic revival movement which had at the time became popular in England. But there seems to be a lack of information on their landscapes.

There was *Selwyn Castle*, a double-storeyed building with single storey side wings, castellated parapet and large Gothic windows, set back from the street. It had been built by the officer commanding the Royal Engineers from 1834, Maj Charles Selwyn. Information on its original garden is, however, lacking except for the description of a circular lawn in front of the house, which suggests a circular drive, and a "tangled old garden" (Reynolds, p90).

Crossways

The Reynolds describe the mansions built by the wealthy merchant George Wood and his family on West Hill. George Wood's first house (now Crossways) was of stone, "well situated in a garden that was famous for many years, especially for the elaborate and well-stocked grotto".

*The Hawthorns*, designed by his son John for this brother George after travelling in Italy, was a strange single storey structure with pillared portico and fret parapet topped with urns. An iron street railing and row of conifers are the only garden features shown on an early sketch.

John Wood designed further "villas" with the use of elaborate imported cast iron verandas and stoep railings, but their gardens are not described.

*Woodville*, designed by George Wood for his later years, was a most imposing structure, according to a sketch of F Schiffmann in 1862 where a central bow is shown rising above the double storeyed house to a domed roof. Tall conifers have been planted behind the house but the front has been left open to the prospect: not with smooth lawns as in a Brownian setting but with indistinctly drawn terraces, probably with flower beds.

*Oatlands*

Captain Henry Somerset was granted 296 morgen of land on the outskirts of Grahamstown in 1820 while he was stationed there as a cavalry officer. His first house was a wattle and daub construction and the grounds were laid out with lawns and ornamental shrubs, after his house had
The early drawing of Port Elizabeth showing mostly single storey thatched cottages and their gardens which have either picket fences or planted boundaries (C/A, M444)

(top) A map of Port Elizabeth in 1844 by R E W F Drummond Jervais showing Government grounds (red), private (grey), and projected work (yellow) (C/A, M1/572)
been destroyed by floods, he built a second large double storeyed house - "the most imposing in the Eastern Province" which was sketched by an anonymous artist in 1850 from the approach avenue. Unfortunately not much of the landscape lay-out is shown.

2 PORT ELIZABETH

In 1799, during the first British occupation of the Cape, the British built a fort in Algoa Bay where it could command a view of the mouth of the Baakens River. Further military storehouses and barracks were added and the military station was called Fort Frederik after the Duke of York.

Twenty years later there was still only a small fishing village with about 35 Europeans occupying a few huts apart from the military presence of 350 men. Farmers provided meat, Mr Hitge had an inn (The Red Lion) and a small store was opened in 1816 by Kemp Bros. 25

It was at this settlement that it was decided to lay out a village in 1820 and the township was inaugurated by the acting governor Rufane Donkin when he unveiled a monument in memory of his deceased wife and turned the sods for the foundation of the first house on 6th June 1820. 26

A map which is a copy of a survey done by Swan in 1820 shows the earliest town plan with two rows of erven lying parallel to each other on either side of a street running in a straight line along the beach (later Strand Street). Four cross streets formed a grid pattern along this part of the village. 27

At this time the traveller Holman was not impressed with the "irregularly built town with the worst pathway which went under the name of street". 28

But as settlers continued to arrive after the initial 1820 settler group, the town continued to grow, also as a result of the many troops and stores landed here during the various frontier wars with the Xhosas.

In 1843, as result of the establishment of the Immigration Society, many more immigrants were enticed to the Eastern Province by cheap passages and loans financed in London. Merchants and entrepreneurs of various kinds built impressive buildings and demanded more of the city, so that several churches, hotels and schools were built. A cricket club was started in 1843 and the first Eastern Province Herald published on 7th May 1845.

With the appointment of the first municipal board in November 1847, amongst the regulations laid down for the successful running of the town, was one which forbade the erection of thatched or reed-roofed buildings within a quarter of a mile of the main street. 29

By 1860 substantial double-storey commercial buildings lined the main street, and double storeyed private houses appearing on photographs, speak of a flourishing society. But a photograph of the

25 P E From a Border Garrison to a Modern Commercial Industrial City
26 Cape Town Gazette, 23.6.1870, pp10-18
27 C/A, M2/70 copied in 1845 from Swan's original survey of 1820
28 Holman I, Voyages Round the World, Vol II (1834)
29 C/A, CCP 8/11, 18.11.1847
Plan showing war department property and land granted to Harbour Board (1864)

Plan of 1859 showing the military reserve set out largely in a grid

(below) Plan in 1865: the main street runs in straight sections, changing direction as necessary to follow the beach. Erven are at right angles to the street and parallel to each other but of unequal size and shape (C/A M3/366)
(above) The main street in 1861 (Jagger Library) and the early 1900s (below) in the early 1900s with the 1820 settler memorial in the foreground (Photographic Album 1890s, Edwards)

Workers huts in the "location" (Jagger Library)
The crowded market place in 1860. The city hall is almost completed.

P.E. Botanic Garden in 1890: Pearson's conservatory of cast iron glass (Photographic Album 1890s, Edwards).

View of the Port Elizabeth from the sea in 1860 with the many stores on the beach.
"location" shows traditional Fingo workers houses arranged in an apparently random fashion on allotments hired out to these and "coloured" workers at 10/- annually.30

A port captain and custom house had been installed in the 1820s, a private jetty had been constructed in 1841 and in 1851 the Cape Receiving Light house had been built. The erven on the sea side of Strand Street were in 1865 reserved for harbour stores31 but a photograph dated 1860, taken from the sea shows numerous warehouses on the beach indicating that Port Elizabeth had by then become a flourishing harbour town.32

But the area between Fort Frederick, prominently situated on the hill, and the first village erven developed in a more irregular fashion around the large ordinance and commissariat stores lying below the hill. Here an open market square was left at the top end of Main Street when further erven were set out in this area.

A photograph taken in the 1860s shows this square filled with people, animals and wagons all loaded with horns. The town hall is being built on the square which is lined with three-storey warehouses. Obviously this market square was commercially the most important place in the town.33 When a market master was appointed in 1847, one of the regulations drawn up at the same time, stipulated that only South African products were to be sold there. Imported goods were sold by traders in their shops.34

The square had a sharp fall towards the sea, and one notices that the streets too all have a list to the sea and that buildings accommodate the slope with extra steps where necessary. The slope of the town, one feels, binds it more securely to the beach and water, thus giving this harbour town a special charm.

When the city hall came to be built, the place chosen for it was on the market square where its prominent entrance could face down the Main Street. A resident magistrate, appointed in 1824, had turned down the suggestion of a municipal board applied for by residents in 1843, but in 1847 a municipality was none the less established and in 1860 a city hall was built which is still in use.

Trees and gardens are hardly seen on early photographs of Port Elizabeth. However, after the establishment of two parks and horticultural and floricultural annual shows from 1878 onwards, the curator of the parks reported that "The example of the Parks for the culture of pot plants and other garden flowers is becoming in our midst an established fact".35

A photograph of a "Garden" in the 1860s shows the lay-out of one of these parks with different beds where plants were probably arranged in classes. A long rose pergola forms a border on the one side of the beds and large rose arches are in full bloom on the other side. Many people are studying the plants with great interest while children are enjoying the fountain.
The plan in 1895 shows the situation and lay-out of St George's park and also the attempt to fit a grid pattern into a sloping irregular terrain.

The Botanic Garden display-beds attracts many botanisers (above).
The garden walks (below) are planted with a variety of shrubs amongst which are cordylines, aloes and palms (UCT Jagger Library).
By 1890 St George’s and Prince Alfred’s Parks afforded a great deal of entertainment to the people of Port Elizabeth. St George’s Park is shown on a map with a circular drive around the park, a rose garden and a large variety of trees. A photograph taken in 1890 shows people enjoying shady gravel walks, benches and fountains. And Prince Alfred’s Park, we are told, had "a reputation as an excellent place for picnic parties". We are also informed by the curator in this report that the park, like the parks in other towns of the Colony, was promoting tree-planting. That this was necessary can be gathered from a remark made by Arch-Deacon Merriman in 1849 when he said of Port Elizabeth: "A more dreary looking place than Port Elizabeth I hardly ever saw. Not a tree or bush is to be seen".

In 1892 the park had supplied trees as follows:

- 30 for street planting
- 90 for the harbour board
- 249 as donations to ratepayers
- 3 695 were planted in Victoria Park
- 350 were planted in the valley paddock
- 1 596 were sold to the Divisional Council and 23 pounds of Acacia seed given to them at the same time

The late 18th century border garrison settlement, transformed into a town by Sir Rufane Donkin in 1820 and named after his departed wife, Elizabeth, had by the end of the 19th century become one of the largest and most successful harbour towns in the Cape Colony. When John Centlivres Chase visited it in 1842 the exports amounted to £120 000 annually and exports to £150 000.

3 CRADOCK

After the Xhosas had been driven across the Fish River in 1812, Governor Cradock decided to strengthen the boundary with a line of military posts along the river. These were to be backed up by the establishment of new sub-landdrosts at Grahamstown and Cradock. The young unmarried son of Andries Stockenstrom, landdrost of Graaff Reinet, who had both his father’s name and energy, was chosen as the sub-landdrost of Cradock.

Buffelskloof, the loan farm of P S Van Heerden on the Fish River, was regarded as a suitable place for the new town, as it had a good supply of water, rich soil and farm buildings which could temporarily house the new landdrost and his staff. Van Heerden was consequently paid for his improvements and given another farm of his choice in exchange.

In 1814 the new town was officially named after the Governor, and the landdrost and his staff moved into the renovated farm buildings, although Stockenstrom was given the farm Driefontein, a farm occupied by W J Van Heerden, for his own use.

36 C/A, M3/415
37 Curator’s report, 1892
38 Chase, The Cape of Good Hope, p57
39 Theal, History of S A, Vol 5, p257
The first erven in Cradock on either side of Breëstaat following the line of the Fish River. A square has been left open for a church.

The first church with surrounding wall *(Ons Kerk Album c1902)*

(below) The second church built on the axis of Church Street which runs from the river to the square.
In the meantime a new dam and water furrow had been constructed from the Fish River so that the maximum number of erven would be under irrigation. This furrow ran in Stockenström Street, from where it could supply two rows of erven between it and the river.

The earliest drawing of the town shows these erven lying parallel to each other with a long street between the two rows (Breestraat) and another street on the river bank (Agterstraat). The erven follow the curve of the river, are of different sizes and are separated into blocks by three cross streets. Higher up on the hill slope, further erven are grouped around an open square intended for a church.\(^{40}\) (The first erven were transferred on August 28th, 1818).

Of the first twelve owners, two were English, the rest Dutch. Several owned more than one erf, not always next to each other, which might indicate that they were bought for speculative purposes.

In 1820 the settler John Montgomery was impressed with the Government garden at Cradock where he saw many large fruit trees bearing figs, grapes, pomegranate, quince and prickly pears, the last planted in hedges, but as Captain Stockenstrom had sold further erven under the new water course no water reached this garden any longer.\(^{41}\)

In 1817 a permanent minister, the Rev John Evans was appointed by the Governor and he bought Enslin’s erven and moved into the renovated farm-house of Buffelskloof, using it as a parsonage. As there was no church yet, services were conducted in the farm’s old cellar, but the hundreds of farmers who turned up for communion were accommodated under tarpaulins under Van Heerden’s old pear trees.

In 1824 a simple cruciform church was erected in its projected position where it was the most prominent building in the village lying slightly higher up than the developed erven. In 1840 the Church Council received transfer of erven 1 & 2 which had been set aside for a parsonage, which was then built there in 1848. This erf lay in the centre of the town next to church square, and as usual, it was much bigger than any of the others.

In 1840 the last four erven in Bree Street were sold as well as the first erven in Dundas Street, but the town did not grow rapidly.

CONCLUSIONS

These three towns developed around a core of military buildings - in Grahamstown and Cradock from the refurbished farmsteads of the original farms on which the town was situated, and in Port Elizabeth from the military buildings and landing place near the pre-existing fort.

Although all three towns eventually developed grid patterns, these grids had to accommodate the curved streets along the Fish River in Cradock and the coastline and uneven terrain in Port Elizabeth, and the triangular open spaces which had been maintained around the officer’s mess in Grahamstown, and the landing place at Port Elizabeth.

\(^{40}\) Montgomery J, Reminiscences, p80

\(^{41}\) Perhaps that is why the landdrost moved the administrative offices and his residence to Driefontein, selling the erven on which the original farm buildings of Van Heerden stood (no’s 23, 24, & 25) to G P Enslin.
Bathurst plan by Knobel showing the crescent (left) with A-Drostdy, B-Public Offices, C-Church, D-Gaol and 62-Market

Later plan of Bathurst showing long erven running from street to street and new erven set out in a grid

The plan of Cathcart in 1876 is set out on two grids joining each other at an angle
These towns, with their long parallel garden erven, had an underlying sense of order and because they lay on sloping land, each owner had a prospect over his own garden, to the river, sea or surrounding hills. The erven were large, the towns small and they were surrounded by open space. Georgian townscaping concepts - "the quiet spaciousness of the London square with its lawns and trees, ovals, crescents and circuses" which Lewcock so much admired, were of no practical value in these circumstances. The function in the first instance was to bring order and peace to disturbed, harrassed communities in the Eastern Province. Because of their adaptation to existing local topography they had an air of informality, but also spoke of control and order which probably provided the psychological reassurance that was more important at the time. For theirs were not the problems of the overcrowded, unhealthy industrialised urban environments of Britain. The problems of the towns on the Eastern Frontier were those of isolated communities in threatening surroundings who needed the church (or gaol!) at the end of the street vista as symbols of protective power.

Lewcock regards the Bathurst plan by Knobel to be an attempt to embody the principles of the picturesque. But apart from the "crescent" which follows the contours naturally, the rest of the town seems to be very much like any other contemporary Cape town plan with long parallel erven running from street to street and the Drostdy with its large grounds lying in line with these, where it had a good supply of water. New extensions were on a grid pattern.

It seems therefore that new towns established for the British settlers were also preferred in the grid pattern (see Cathcart).

Anonymous water-colour of the new Cradock church (Parliamentary Library)
2.5 CAPE LANDSCAPE AT THE END OF THE 19TH CENTURY

* The Hill
* Mount Nelson
* Herbert Baker
* Klein Constantia
* Lourensford
* Jonkershoek
* Ferndale

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS
A gathering place for Capetonians (D'Oyly in the 1830s)
1 THE FIRST BRITISH OCCUPATION 1795-1803

During the temporary British occupation of the Cape from 1795 to 1803, there was no official policy for landscape planning and expenditure was kept to a minimum, as the officials in charge did not know how long they would be at the Cape.

From her sketches, however, it appears that knowledgeable individuals like Lady Anne Barnard probably introduced a mixed planting pattern into the existing formal Dutch beds of Peninsula gardens, with the use of indigenous plants, with which the British were intrigued, but which colonists up to then had not used in their gardens.¹

Sir George Yonge's intention of closing the public walkway through the garden in 1800 had caused such a furore amongst Capetonians, that he changed his mind and it was kept open to the public and continued to be the vital link between the city and the estates at the foot of Table Mountain. This oak avenue was the social gathering place for the city residents in the afternoons especially on Sundays when the military bands played.²

2 THE SECOND BRITISH OCCUPATION

In order to understand the influences and background with which the new British settlers had been familiar before their arrival at the Cape, a short summary of the changes which the philosophy of landscape design had undergone in England from the time when the Prince of Orange had created his formal garden at Hampton Court, is necessary.

2.1 CHANGING PHILOSOPHIES IN ENGLISH LANDSCAPE DESIGN IN THE 18TH CENTURY

2.1.1 The writers and the poets

Patterns formed by the circle, square and rectangle had dominated garden design and continued to be used by the nurserymen and influential garden architects London and Wise, into the first decade of the 18th century.³

But as Italy, France and Holland had been the leaders in garden style during the 16th and 17th century, so England set the new style for landscape design in the 18th century. The poet Gray had in 1763 proudly stated in a letter to a Mr How: "Our skill in gardening, or rather laying out grounds, is the only taste we can call our own; the only proof of original talent in matters of pleasure".⁴

And it was indeed the English poets and writers who influenced garden design in the 18th century, beginning with Alexander Pope who, as Martin remarks, "throughout his life found endless satisfaction, fulfilment, and energy in gardens".⁵ Pope believed that three basic rules should govern

¹ Burchell W., Travels in the Interior of S.A. He regularly made lists of the indigenous plants found on his trips at the Cape and was surprised that they were not used in local gardens because he was so impressed with the local flora
² See D'Oyly's sketch and Borcherds, Memoirs, p235
³ Wollaton Hall is an example of one of their works. It had an orangery with a glass roof, perhaps one of the first of its kind in England
⁴ Loudon, Encyclopaedia of Gardening, p318
⁵ Martin P., Pursuing Innocent Pleasures, in his Preface
The plan of Twickenham, Pope's estate on the River Thames by his gardener, John Searle in 1745. A - Great walk; B - Wilderness; C - entrance to grotto; D - Small groves (Martin p48). The central walk forms a strong central axis on either side of which are wilderness areas and meandering paths through groves.

The house is in a measure still integrated with the garden, though not on axis with the main walk. In many ways it resembles Pliny's Tuscan Villa (below)
new English landscape expression - "the contrasts, the management of surprises and the concealment of the bounds". And these were the principles which he applied when making his own garden at Twickenham and those he helped to design for his friends and those he mentioned in his writings. Pope believed in the "simplicity of unadorned nature" as did both Addison and Sir William Temple and they ridiculed the clipping of hedges and trees into shapes in their writings.

But it was Stephen Switzer and Charles Bridgeman who would carry these ideas further as practitioners of this garden philosophy, by breaking down rigid boundary hedges and walls and constructing in their place the sunken hedge in a ditch or "ha-ha" which kept animals out of the domestic park but allowed the owner a view of the undisturbed countryside, much of which might belong to him. This was not a novel idea, as the Italian villas mentioned in the first chapter already had "belvederes" to allow them a view of the country beyond their enclosed gardens. The difference was that the area inside the enclosure of the English landowner was redesigned to match the natural surroundings.

Stowe, according to Loudon, was the first estate to be laid out in the "modern" style when Lord Cobham, the owner at the time, remodelled an old formal garden with the approval and encouragement of Pope who visited the garden regularly while it was being reconstructed.

Where Bridgeman had preserved great walks as structural elements and still clipped his alleys, William Kent had an aversion to all straight lines and designed according to his principles of perspective, light and shade. Bridgeman had designed the Serpentine River as part of the improvements made by Queen Caroline at Kensington Gardens by linking a series of ponds. (Apparently this idea had already been used by Christopher Wren, father of Sir Christopher Wren, the architect, who stated in 1624 that he had invented the serpentine by which he could "reduce the current of a mile's length into the compass of an orchard".

But it was Kent with his artist's training in Italy, who was conversant with the landscapes of Salvator Rosa, Poussin and Claude Lorraine, who broke loose from the rigidity of the geometric style and created an artist's landscape. Working for Lord Burlington at Chiswick, and later at Rousham, he created gardens "neither natural nor English; they were the gardens of the ancient, man-made Italian landscape".

This imitation of nature led to the destruction of many fine formal gardens, a process very much accelerated after Capability Brown was appointed head gardener at Hampton Court in 1764. As he was not deterred by any obstructions and worked ruthlessly, he changed the face of large tracts of land, and as his popularity and private practice grew, he set the style for landscaping on a scale so vast that one wonders how he managed to supervise all the work with which he was involved at one time. A map of Britain marked with his extant work gives an impressive insight into the

6 Ibid p2
7 Martin P, Pursuing Innocent Pleasures, p11
8 Loudon, Encyclopaedia of Gardening, p816
9 Loudon, p317
10 Hyams E, A History of Gardens and Gardening, p239
11 Where he planted the famous vine in 1769, now still bearing a large crop annually
12 Stroud D, Capability Brown, p113
Brown's plan of Petworth Park, probably 1753 (From Stroub, *Capability Brown*, plate 9)

"I'll fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay:
A breath can make them, as a breath has made:
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed, can never be supplied"

Humphrey Repton, successor to Brown in the late 18th century, expressed his theories on what he called "landscape gardening" and defended the "natural landscapes" created by Brown which had been criticised by Uvedale Price and other defenders of the "picturesque" theory of the late 18th century for Brown's lack of irregularities. Repton pointed out that:

"In the art of gardening, the great materials of the scene are provided by nature herself, and the artist must satisfy himself with that degree of expression which she has bestowed"

Repton distinguished between the static landscapes created on canvas and those much more complicated landscapes created by the gardener who had to take into account the more vital issues of changing light and colour, movement, seasons and the other vicissitudes of living material. Yet he strove to incorporate those irregularities and untamed aspects of nature which the new "picturesque" landscapers demanded, and "above all to combine utility and elegance, those two rallying cries of late-eighteenth-century designers!"

William Chamber's *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* published in 1772, set out his own idea of what a garden should be, but under the guise of a Chinese landscape. In this way he drew attention to the ancient symbolism that should inspire the landscape designer where "nothing is forgot that can exhilarate the mind, gratify the sense, or give spur to the imagination" and in comparison found Brown's landscapes affected and by no means picturesque or poetical;

"...our gardens differ very little from common fields, so closely is common nature copied in most of them; there is generally so little variety in the objects, such poverty in the arrangement, that these compositions rather appear the offspring of chance than design." And at the same time his *Dissertation* stimulated the fashion for chinoiserie which was already in vogue.

15 Ibid Chapter IX
16 John Martin Robinson in the Introduction to the reprint of the *Observations*
17 Chambers W, *Dissertation on Oriental Gardening*, preface v
Repton painted pictures to illustrate to his clients how their estates could be improved. If his suggestions were approved, he executed his pictures into landscape.

His picture before lifting the flap and the picture (below) of his suggested improvements seen after lifting the covering flap (Repton, Observations and Practice of Landscape Gardening 1803, reprint 1980)
ENGLISH GARDENS.

These sketches of Chinese gardens were published in the *Garden's Magazine* in the 1820s together with an article by James Main on *Observations on Chinese Scenery, Plants and Gardening*. "In short," he said, "except the beauty and rarity of the plants, the visitor finds nothing interesting in their style of gardening..."

(left) From Loudon's *Encyclopaedia*, p333. A bit of chinoiserie which the 6th Earl of Shrewsbury planned for Alton Towers: a "pagoda" of 88ft high which was to stand on an island approached from a bridge.
Stephen Switzer's plan of Riskins, garden of Lord Bathurst, in 1742. According to W A Brogden (British and American Gardens in the 18th Century, p39) he regarded this to be a Ferme Ornée. 1, canal; 2, turfed paths; 3, wilderness; 4 rond-points with statuary; 5 fountains; 6, grass borders; 7, hedge-rows or walks. This drawing shows avenues along the straight walks and most of the garden to be still quite formal, except for the wilderness areas and the boundaries.

Loudon's plan for the Derby Arboretum, as published in the Gardeners Magazine, 1840. It was laid out on the grounds of Joseph Strutt who also covered the expenses for the development of the plan, after which "the whole is to be presented by that gentleman to the Corporation of Derby". Although the paths meander around on the boundary, those in the groves are still straight, and meet at a central point like a star forest.
2.1.2 Ferme Ornée

Another landscape concept of the 18th century in Britain was that of the ferme ornée which was simply the idea that a farm should be made picturesque by the planting of ornamental shrubs and trees in the natural hedgerows - roses, jasmine, honey-suckle being the favourites, and by the creation of winding gravel paths with seats at vantage points. Beds of flowering plants and shrubs and groups of small trees were added to complete the picture, but this kind of landscape never reached much popularity.

2.1.3 Public Parks

"England is by no means celebrated for gardens of this description; and the cause, we think, may be traced to the comparatively anti-social character of the British people".18

Loudon describes the parks in London in the 1820s - Regent's Park, Greenwich Park, Hyde Park, Kensington Gardens attached to the palace, but the public were only allowed there on sufferance, and St James' Park, which was the oldest but still closed to the public for the first two decades of the 19th century. These parks, according to Loudon were for the exclusive use of those who "possessed horses or carriages" and no provision was made for pedestrians. In Regent's Park the whole of the central area was fenced off and locked.

In the rest of England conditions were no better; there were shady avenues at Oxford and Cambridge where the public and students could walk and similar walks at Chester, Chichester and York, but, according to Loudon, these did not deserve the name of public parks or gardens as those he had seen in his European travels.19

During the first third of the 19th century, the increase in the urban population in Britain resulting from rapid industrialisation, the lack of building regulations and town planning, led to such squalor, poor living conditions, disease and crime, that public parks for people who had been used to open rural spaces, became a necessity.20

Loudon was one of those who promoted the idea of open public spaces and was the planner for the first park (arboretum) to be opened in Derby in 1835, but as maintenance had to be covered by a small entrance charge, it was still not open to the poorest.

Soon other parks followed, however - Prince's Park in Liverpool, then Manchester, helped by public subscription, Birmingham, and the Victoria Park - the first royal park for the use of the people - in 1846. The Birkenhead Park was one of the finest to be designed by Joseph Paxton, and was so impressive that it is said to have influenced Olmsted when he laid out Central Park in New York.

The lay-out of these early public parks was in the informal style with curving promenades, lakes, meandering streams, sweeping lawns, belts and clumps of trees. Embellishments like obelisks,
fountains and statues, commemorating public events and private donations, soon followed. The public park, in other words, was designed in the same way that its predecessor, the private park had been done.

But the formation of public parks by the middle of the 19th century still remained a slow affair and was dependent on public-spirited individuals who donated land for the purpose - "a movement from the people rather than from the government".21

Loudon however piously informs us (in 1834) that:

"Civilisation, however, in this country, has now nearly arrived at the point, when the higher classes find that while they enjoy the luxuries and indulgencies of their station, it is their duty, as well as their interest to see that the whole of society be rendered comfortable. In all future changes, therefore, society will probably be considered as a whole..."

In 1837 an act of Parliament in Britain stipulated that a part of all waste land should, before appropriation, be set aside for use as public open space. This was especially intended for the crowded working class:

"Public opinion is gradually awakening to a sense of the importance of open spaces for air and exercise as a necessary sanitary provision for the inhabitants of all large towns," commented a writer in the April 1841 edition of the Westminster Review, echoing what seems to have been a general viewpoint.

By the 1860s Loudon could say:

"Public pleasure grounds partaking of the nature of both park and garden have, since the year 1830, been formed in various parts of Great Britain as places of recreation and enjoyment for persons in open air. Till within these few years there have not been many such public gardens or promenades in Britain, except in the metropolis though they have long been common in the Continent".

According to him there was by then hardly a town of any consequence in France or Germany that did not have an enclosed public garden where people could enjoy beautiful trees and shrubs and sit on benches or promenade or drink coffee in coffee-houses. Thus the finest public flower garden was to be found in Frankfurt and the finest promenade in the Munich garden laid out in the "English style"!

In the Metropolis of London the following parks were by then open to the public:

**Hyde Park** originally taken from the Hyde monastery by Henry VIII was laid out with walks and trees and a large lake called the Serpentine River and was opened to the public from the 1630's, originally for horse racing, and later also for hunting and military reviews. In 1834 it was improved with various plantations and in 1838 it was improved with an avenue of elms.

**St James' Park** first laid out for Charles II by Le Notre in the 1660's in the form of a goose foot - 3 avenues radiating from a central point. In one of these Charles played the game "pall-mall" - a
crude form of croquet - with his friends. In the reign of George IV (1820 - 1830) the park was remodeled by John Nash.

*Regents' Park* first laid out in 1812 and 1815; before this consisted of fields and pastures. Nash improved the park with elaborate villas and terraces to fit in the scenery for the Prince Regent (later George IV) and linked it via Portland Place and Regent Street to St James's Park. It was opened to the Public in 1838. By 1860 there was a zoo and botanic garden and many gravel walks and trees.

*Victoria Park*: An act was passed in 1841 for purchasing this ground which was then opened to the public. A carriage drive 7 metres wide branched to left and right after entering over a bridge. It was planted with elms and limes 6 metres apart and 3 metres from the road. A walk 3 metres wide, created next to the road, was not finished by 1860.

*Kensington Gardens*: Laid out by William and Mary and extended by Queen Anne (1704) in the formal style of London and Wise with parterres and clipped yew hedges which remained till 1838. William Kent, applying his principles of the "irregular garden" improved the Park in the time of George II.

### 2.2 THE FIRST THIRTY YEARS OF BRITISH RULE AT THE CAPE

#### 2.2.1 Early 19th century gardens

Although Burchell in 1811 believed "the art of ornamental gardening was quite unknown in the Colony", it is worthwhile mentioning those observations that he did make about the private gardens that he had seen:

In Table Valley he was particularly charmed with the "very pleasant villa" of the mayor of Cape Town, Mr Zorn at Leeuwenhof, where he found a well stocked aviary.

He found elegant villas south of Cape Town scattered about between vineyards, plantations and groves of trees "delightful and more than any other part of the colony resembles the rich cultivated scenery of England". These were the estates of the Cape gentry at Rondebosch, Constantia and Wynberg which have been described in previous chapters, where it was found that they had been designed very formally, and apart from the size of the estates, their style of landscape would have resembled neither the open undulating landscape of Brown nor Repton's picturesque English landscapes.

Burchell was surprised that the common garden flowers of Europe, carnations, hollyhocks, balsams, tulips and hyacinths, should be more prized than the local plants: "they viewed all the elegant productions of their hill as mere weeds". But he did find some indigenous trees at Groot Constantia. Close to the house, Mr Cloete had a large wild chestnut tree 9 metres high, as well as

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23 Ibid Vol 1, p21
Pine avenues: (above) along the entrance to Groote Schuur (from a 1903 motoring magazine) and below along the drive to Alphen in Constantia.
a wild gardenia which made a splendid display when it flowered (*Calodendrum capense* and *Gardenia thunbergia*).\(^{24}\)

In Cape Town he found an avenue of stone pines and pinaster planted around the parade, but in the country he noticed that poplars were commonly grown around the houses of colonists together with oak,\(^{25}\) and he shows a row in his vignette at the Warm Baths at Caledon. An anonymous writer in 1861 thought that the poplars which the Dutch had brought to the Cape and stuck to so conservatively, (she had noticed them also in Worcester streets) were not half as "handsome" as the blackwoods which were always in leaf and which were then being planted in front of the stoeps of several gentlemen.\(^{26}\) She had also noticed extensive pine forests on Mr Breda's estate, Oranjezicht, and along the base of Lions Hill and Table Mountain. By the middle of the 19th century avenues of pine trees formed a significant part of the Cape landscape.

Burchell mentions several hedging plants: the agave\(^{27}\) which he saw in flower. "This noble plant", he tells us was frequently used because it made an impregnable barrier both to cattle and humans.

In the southern suburbs he saw hedges of myrtle up to 6 metres high, and in the country at Klaarwater, he found the missionary gardens enclosed with a barrier of dry branches on an earth bank.\(^{28}\)

Although he does not mention quince hedges, other writers do and it is clear that quince and pomegranate remained highly regarded hedges to the end of the 19th century: Quince shoots laid into the ground for rooting and grafted quinces were sent to the Cape in 1656 in large quantities and were at that time used extensively in the Company's Garden.\(^{29}\) It is probable that the quinces of the colony were derived from these early shipments.

Lady Anne had seen quince hedges breaking under the weight of the *golden fruit*, which was thrown to the horses. Borcherds describes them in Stellenbosch in the parsonage garden;\(^{30}\) "A Lady" describes how a quince hedge at a Wynberg cottage had been hacked down and tells us that many gardens were enclosed with tall quince hedges "the tapering sides of this fruit tree blossoms like Aaron's rod with myriads of golden balls, most fragrant to smell and equally pleasant to eat". She also found the pomegranate hedges very pretty indeed.\(^{31}\)

Borcherds also provides information on private gardens at the Cape in the early 19th century. In Stellenbosch he found gardens full of fruit trees "in such abundance that this village has sometimes been distinguished as the orchard of the colony". He thus confirms the description given in Chapter 15 of the Stellenbosch gardens.\(^{32}\) He mentions vines, peaches, apricots, pears, apples, figs, quinces, banana "and others".

\(^{24}\) Ibid Vol 1, p22
\(^{25}\) Ibid Vol 1,p45
\(^{26}\) *Life at the Cape 100 years ago* by A Lady
\(^{27}\) Agave americana
\(^{28}\) Burchell W, *Travels in the interior of Southern Africa*, Vol 1, p246
\(^{29}\) Leibbrand, *Letters Despatched*, p314, 5.12.1656
\(^{30}\) Borcherds, p184
\(^{31}\) *Life at the Cape 100 Years Ago*, pp63 & 93
\(^{32}\) Borcherds P C, *An Autobiographical Memoir*, p140
William Bird described the abundant crop of oranges which Mrs Lategan picked from her orange trees: 15 000 oranges from two young trees. He thought her garden to be "beautiful and picturesque".
Travellers found orange groves particularly enchanting: Dorothea Fairbridge relates how Lady Anne Barnard "beguiled her leisure, amongst her orange trees in the shade of her oaks" (how well they would have grown in shade is questionable). Borcherds particularly admired and enjoyed the oranges of Wouter de Vos in the Hex River Valley and those of Floris Visser in the Tanqua River as well as the "beautiful Waggonmaker's Valley with its groves of orange trees in full bearing."

Although these references provide an idea of the types of plants grown in these first years of British rule, they do not give much insight into the landscape style of the time. In 1861 "A Lady" throws some light on the subject by remarking that Cape gardens were a mixture of kitchen and flower gardens "where cabbages and radishes are bordered by thyme and rosemary and where myrtle and the prickly white roses are guardians of strawberries and lettuces", but that is as far as her description goes except for her list of flowers - stocks, pinks, lilies, dwarf roses, gooseberries "and all the list of floral friends".

The landscape changes made to previous formally landscaped gardens by British occupants of Boscheuvel and Felthausen have already been noticed, but an examination of the illustrations of D'Oyly, made in the 1830s throws further light on the subject: Sir Charles D'Oyly (1781-1838), appointed in the service of the East India Company was stationed at Calcutta in 1796, but visited the Cape from 26.8.1832-28.5.1833 during which time he made many sketches of local scenes. He shows a number of cottages occupied by British gentlemen in the southern outskirts of Cape Town: *Quercus Cottage* with thatched roof, English window shutters and high stoep-wall, occupied by R C Bart, stands in an informal grove of trees with a few shrubs planted at random against the stoep. The boundary is marked with upright wooden railings between substantial well-detailed posts and wooden gates with upright and criss-cross railings.

A thatched cottage in Wynberg has arched windows with criss-crossed bars and lies in the natural forest next to the road, separated from it by a flimsy wooden fence. *Mr Rogerson's* house standing on a sloped clearing, has an enclosed terrace on one side and a few randomly planted trees. The boundary is marked with a criss-crossed wooden fence which does not appear to be too sound.

*Mr Carey's Cottage* has a gravelled approach to the thatched cottage which has a latticed entry porch. The road widens out in front of the house to form a circular drive around a bed planted with a variety of shrubs. The bed and the road are edged with small hoops.

*Maj Roger's* grounds at Wynberg make a picturesque scene: the approach to the house curves round the hill through the forest, but the last part runs straight up a sloped clearing to the latticed front door of the flat-roofed house. New trees have been planted in front of the house which will soon obscure its prospect, but as shown, with a mass of trees behind it, it appears very similar to any Georgian English villa.

33 Ibid, pp51, 106, 384
34 Published in *The Sketchbooks of Sir Charles D'Oyly*, ed A Gordon-Brown
Mr Carey's cottage as drawn by D'Oyly in 1832. His latticed entry porch was probably obtained from a shop at 58 Hout Street where all manner of blinds for windows, as well as verandas could be obtained. (See below)
Mr Rogerson's house had a very fine view of the Devil Mountain which D'Oyly drew in detail in 1832.

Major Roger's house and grounds as they appeared when D'Oyly sketched the landscape. Major Rogers had obviously also visited the veranda shop in Hout Street.
D'Oyly calls Protea (Bishopscourt) the country residence of the Governor in 1832. Repton would have approved of the picturesque setting of this house and its surrounding landscape - rustic bridge, rushing stream and surrounding forest, in this case not contrived, but natural.

Quercus cottage was occupied by Sir Robert Colquhoun when D'Oyly sketched it in 1832. A porchway was added soon after this.
Rustenburg is shown in a grove of oaks separated from the street by a white-washed wall. The wooden gates appear very similar to those drawn by Lady Anne Barnard an odd thirty years before, but her pillars have been changed to one instead of two on either side of the gate and are not as elegant.

Protea with its flat-roofed double-storeyed house and single storeyed back wings, is shown with a porch covered by a striped canvas. The cleared ground slopes from there and while some shrubs have been planted at random against the walls of the house, a circular bed planted with uniform shrubs may be the fore-runner of the bedding-out style. Two other drawings of Protea show winding paths down to the river, random planting in the foreground, a rustic bridge and once again the round bed.

His visit to the surrounding towns and farms confirmed what has already been pointed out in previous chapters: farm buildings and werf walls were placed in formal relation to each other on cleared, sloping ground with trees planted formally in front of the buildings, but no other conscious landscaping.

2.2.2 The Company’s Garden

The influence of the first governors:

The first governors were men with military backgrounds who were kept pre-occupied with the maintenance of law and order on the Eastern Frontier of the colony between conflicting farmers moving north and black settlers moving south.

The Company’s Garden was used to cultivate vegetables and fodder for the governor’s horses during this time, although the walkway through the garden remained open to the public.

The menagerie:

The Dutch had, before the arrival of the English, sold the rare menagerie animals to a Mr Boers where Percival saw them, but by 1804 the menagerie was again well-stocked and Percival also noticed tame domesticated ostriches roaming the streets and surrounding fields. These birds had also been kept in the aviary opposite the menagerie.

This menagerie in the garden was evidently maintained by the British, for it is described in 1825 by Teenstra who witnessed a fight between two lions in the cages and saw tigers and hyenas in the adjoining cages. By 1835 only two lions were left, according to an anonymous writer, who also mentioned that a Bengal tiger had died the previous week from festering feet because his nails had grown too long for want of movement space.
A water colour of the menagerie of C M Villet in Green Point, published in De Vruchte Mijner Werkzaamheden by Teenstra (V.R.S. no 24)

The gates to the menagerie in the late 19th century showing Anreith's lionesses
Although Bird found the menagerie to be not in its previous glory, he mentions that it had been maintained: "a well stocked menagerie", which he felt was "the triumph of man over the tyrants of the air and the forest".

Source of plants and seed:

During this time promotion of horticulture and the distribution of information and the importation of seed and new plants was undertaken by private individuals and the newly formed Horticultural Society at Cape Town (1827).

A Mr R J Stapleton, who lived at 22 Burg Street, for instance, advertised himself as the Proprietor of the Repository of Natural and other Curiosities, Seedsman and Agent to Naturalists. C M Villet & Son, too were seedsmen, florists and exporters of bulbs. They sold grafted trees, "grape cuttings" and dried specimens of plants from 1832 onwards. A later seedsman was Joseph Upjohn in Rondebosch, but his garden was described as a jungle.

By 1821 there were, according to Bird, 18 422 inhabitants in Cape Town and 7 273 in the Cape District, and agricultural exports from the Cape in the 1820s included:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>55 800 lbs aloes</td>
<td>£174 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 867 gallons of wine</td>
<td>£1 056 170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196 muids of onions</td>
<td>£1 010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dried fruits</td>
<td>£16 945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 844 muids of barley</td>
<td>£24 010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 123 muids of oats</td>
<td>£10 010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 000 lbs of wheat flour</td>
<td>£2 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Very little, if any of these could have been harvested from the Company's Garden. Though there were probably still aloes in the garden, it is unlikely that they would have been cut, and aloe juice was most likely obtained from Swellendam where Aloe ferox was plentiful.

The wheat and wine, other than that obtained from the Constantia Valley, would have come from Stellenbosch, Drakenstein, Paarl and Tulbagh. Though some fruit trees may have remained in the Company's Garden, these would have been for the use of the Governor and the same applies to the onions mentioned above.

One can therefore safely conclude that the Garden which had in the time of the D.E.I.C. produced so much seed, herbs and plants for export to Batavia, and for supplying the local settlers had now, during these first years of the British occupation, lost this function.

39 The Annual Advertiser, 1859
40 "Bengali" A, The Cape of Good Hope, 1847
41 Bird W, State of the Cape of Good Hope, p325
Plan of the estate in Wynberg allocated to Maj-General Bourke, the Acting Governor. Most of the property is laid out as a kitchen garden in regular beds. The curving drive way to the house ends at a circular drive in front of the entrance and a section of the garden near the house is laid out as a wilderness area. (C/A, WO44/592, VC227)
Furthermore the Garden seemed also to have lost its importance as a botanical repository, for William Bird pleaded most earnestly for the establishment of a Botanic Garden and pointed out the advantages of the same, just as Burchell had done eleven years before.42

Bird was concerned about the lack of knowledge amongst Capetonians on gardening and agricultural matters. This lack of knowledge had also worried Somerset and before him Lord Macartney and Sir George Yonge in 1799. As a result Henry Dundas, Secretary of State at the time, had engaged William Duckitt to assist the Government at the Cape with advice and experimentation on agricultural matters. Duckitt arrived in September 1800, together with a Devon bull and two heifers from the Duke of Beaufort's prime stud as well as 20 half-bred Spanish and Ryeland ewes and two rams.43

Duckitt found that the Cape farmers had no knowledge of the shearing of sheep or of the sorting and packing of wool; that they used cumbersome ploughs and that they did not manure or rotate their crops adequately. Although some progressive farmers like Sebastian van Reenen were interested in improving their stock and in new methods of agriculture, most of the Cape farmers took many years to shake off their lethargy in this regard.44

Bird thought that agriculturists would gain information on fruit, fodder, vegetable and timber crops from a Botanical Garden and that they would also be able to obtain plant material and seeds from such an institution.

2.2.3 The influence of Lord Charles Somerset

Whereas Caledon and Cradock had enjoyed a measure of popularity, the next governor, Lord Charles Somerset45 made himself disliked at the Cape and consequently had to cope with a great deal of local wrangling, apart from his problems with the press, various missionary bodies and the dissatisfied British settlers brought out to settle on the Eastern Frontier.

The correspondence between the officials at the Cape and the Colonial office during 1820 reveals that there was some dissatisfaction with the fact that Somerset should be occupying three official houses, one at Newlands, one at Government House and one at the Castle. With decreasing numbers of slaves, the upkeep of all these buildings and gardens was considered to be too costly.

The Earl of Bathurst decided that Government House should be repaired at a minimum cost and the Governor should live there. He would not spend money on Newlands and suggested that the house should either be pulled down or sold and the grounds measured separately and also sold. The Gardens in the Cape would in this way be kept for the sole use of the Governor until the economy improved, after which a Botanic Garden could again be considered.

42 Bird W, State of the Cape of Good Hope, p353
43 According to Loudon the first Spanish sheep had been imported to England in 1788, therefore only 12 years previously
44 Bird W, State of the Cape of Good Hope, p110. Van Reenen drained his vineyards with open trenches
45 From 1820 to 1828 the following were in charge of the Cape: Lt-General Lord Charles Somerset 06.04.1814-13.01.1820; Maj-General Sir Rufine Shawe Donkin, Acting Governor 12.01.1820-30.11.1821, while Somerset was on leave; Lord Charles Somerset, 01.12.1821-05.03.1826; Maj-General Richard Bourke, Acting Governor 05.03.1826-09.11.1828
The veranda that Lord Charles Somerset added to Government House, and informal planting at the end of the 19th century. Note the pampas grass which was a popular plant at the time.

(Postcard, early 20th century)

De Meillon’s water-colour of Government House from the east in the 1830s. The terrain has been levelled and round beds, probably planted with roses, have been arranged in the lawn.

(De Meillon HC, Cape Views and Costumes)
It appears that by 1826 Lord Charles Somerset was still occupying Newlands and Major General Bourke advised that as enough hay and vegetables for the Governor’s needs were being produced there, he should be allowed only a small flower garden next to Government House and the rest of the Garden be given back to the people of Cape Town.

Whereas the earliest British Governors were all military men who stayed at the Cape only for short periods, Lord Charles Somerset became very much involved in improvements of all the properties at his disposal.

At Government House he added a veranda to the balcony after demolishing its balustrade and at the same time enclosed the ornate roof balustrade in a new pitched roof. Bird had thought the dilapidated Government House unsuitable in style and scale for the representative of the British King to live in and Somerset may have agreed.

While he had the use of the whole of the Company’s Garden it was inevitable that he would have applied those principles of landscape design with which he was familiar at least to his immediate environment. Sketches of the Garden in the vicinity of Government House in the early 1830’s by D’Oyly and De Meillon, show grassed areas and irregular planting of trees and shrubs, and circular flower beds with no sign of the earlier geometrical beds and cut hedges. However, the squares in front of Government House are shown on subsequent plans and may have been planted informally within the beds.

At Newlands, Somerset dispensed with formality in the garden and grassed most of the slope in front of the house to the river as grazing for his horses, just as estates in England had been cleared and simplified to enhance the natural environment in accordance with English landscape philosophy of the 18th Century.

Lord Charles Somerset’s home Badminton in Gloucestershire in England, was one of the great English palaces. William Kent had in 1746 designed buildings and improvements for the 4th Duke of Beaufort and Thomas Wright had designed elaborate walks, flower-beds and groves for the 5th Duke into the 1770s. Capability Brown is also supposed to have advised on the landscape design after this, so that Lord Charles Somerset would naturally have been well versed with the most recent trends and styles of English landscape planning.

A plan of Cape Town in the 1820s shows simple rectangular beds in the Company’s Garden, three longitudinal walks lined with trees (oaks) and the guard-houses at the lower and top ends of the main avenue. It also shows the menagerie and deer park on the mountain end of the garden.

Government House faced an avenue, probably of oaks, which crossed the long avenues at right angles. On its sea side a circular garden is indicated with winding paths and there is no more sign of the formal Dutch parterre garden.

46 This was discovered intact except for the loss of two figurines, and restored by the removal of Somerset’s balcony in 1960 restoration by author’s husband

47 C/A, MS/16
Thompson’s plan of Cape Town was reprinted several times. This one of 1827 gives more of the planting details.
On the North side of the Garden the city stretched half way up along Keerom and Tuyn Streets but the top half was still bound by the gardens of private landowners. The same applied to the south side.

The grachts are clearly shown in the Buitengracht, along Heerengracht and on the sides of the Parade.

Four open squares, each with its own important public building are shown: Church Square with the Dutch Reformed Church, Greenmarket Square with its Town House, Hottentot Square with the Play House and the Parade on which stands the Commercial Exchange where Cape merchants concluded their daily transactions.

In the Heerengracht, where once the best Cape families had lived, English shop-keepers now occupied the buildings. The Society House, lying in the centre of the Heerengracht, was the social centre of the town with card and coffee rooms, where magazines and newspapers were available for everyone to read. Here all the professional men gathered in the morning to exchange news or to gossip and remark on those passing up and down the Heerengracht.

Although the Garden at this time was still reserved for the use of the Governor, the Avenue was still open to the public and a natural extension of the Heerengracht. It was the vital link between the bay, the activities in the busy Heerengracht and the residents living in the Oranjezicht garden estates. At the same time the Avenue in its own right was a fashionable rendezvous and place of entertainment especially on Sundays when the military bands played "their most lively tunes and airs".

The town was, in fact, in every way in accordance with the perfectly designed Dutch grid city as prescribed by Simon Stevin, except that it was separated from its citadel by an open space, the parade, used for military parades.

The first thirty years of British rule had therefore not changed the city to any degree.
2.3 A BOTANIC GARDEN FOR CAPE TOWN

2.3.1 Agitation for a Botanic Garden

The Commercial Advertiser of March 1845 published an article extolling the inestimable value and far-reaching advantages of a botanic garden in Cape Town, and this was followed by a memorial to the governor signed by Capetonians. The memorial was favourably received but though the governor approved in principle, the matter of establishing such a garden was shelved for a few years as he was too pre-occupied with unrest on the Eastern Frontier.

At the Cape there was as yet no industry, no overcrowded towns and plenty of open space, but the citizens of Cape Town were emotionally bound to their Garden and where there were few forms of public entertainment, the Garden's importance lay more in its social than sanitary significance. They resented the fact that the Governor should have the sole use of the Garden.

The advice of John F Herschel and W J Hooker on the matter was requested and both of them felt that the old Company's Garden in Cape Town was not a suitable site for a botanical garden because of limited space and the strength of the south-easter. They suggested that the superintendent of such a garden should be expected to lecture in botany and supply specimens from the garden for botany students, and offered to find a suitable person.

It is not surprising that the Minister of the Colonies should have asked the opinion of Sir William Jackson Hooker on the advisability of starting a Botanical Garden in Cape Town.

Sir William Hooker had been in charge of the small botanic garden at Kew since 1841 and when in 1845 William Aiton junior retired as superintendent of these gardens, Hooker was appointed in his place as superintendent of all the royal pleasure grounds at Kew. He had by then international repute as a botanist and was well known for the botanic garden which he had developed at Glasgow University. When he took over the Botanic Garden at Kew, it was hopelessly overcrowded but under his outstanding leadership the garden was soon extended. New greenhouses were built and in 1848 a palm-house, designed by Decimus Burton, was completed.

When Kew was opened to the public from time to time, visitors swarmed there by carriage and boat to admire the thousands of exotic plants and especially to marvel at the engineering ingenuity and elegance of the glass and steel-structured palm house.

That Herschell should be a suitable person to advise the governor was also obvious. His stay at the Cape has been described in Chapter 8 and the many references in his diary to plant collecting trips indicate the interest he had in Cape botany:

"Herschell always carries his basket and trowel on his arm and robs the wilds of their lovely flowers. His bulb garden occupies a great deal of his attention."**
The Royal Gardens of Ludwigsburg in Württemberg were laid out formally (from Loudon's *Encyclopaedia*)

Plan of Baron Von Ludwig's garden in Kloof Street, Cape Town

Von Ludwig's Botanic Garden in the 1830s by Sir John Herschell (C/A, M164)
Herschell collected homerias, amaryllis, watsonias, antholysas, ixias, various gladioli, haemanthus, lachenalias, cyrtanthus, babianas and many varieties of ground orchids, to name but a few. He also sowed thousands of silver tree and pine seeds as well as proteas, and it is said that he was the first to sow seeds of acacias imported from New South Wales. He expressed the opinion that by a process of selection the Cape might produce an excellent wine for the European market. The loquat too, he thought with selection might be made "one of the best of fruits".

"As a half-way house for acclimation, the Botanic Garden could not fail to be of great use". But what Capetonians wanted was "gardens and flowers of our own". "It is high time", said Sam Sly in March 1845, "we ceased living upon sufferance - that we should not be wholly dependent upon private property for the sight of a flower or the grateful sensation of a fountain".

2.3.2 Private botanic gardens

An unnamed British traveller to the Cape in 1820 admired the oak and pine avenues in the country and had the arrogance to say that the many "sweet things as orange bowers and myrtle groves" were wasted on the unpoetical Dutch - who had actually planted them!

He found many quince hedges and the grapes grown not on trellis-work but "like currant bushes" - and the wine bad. He also noticed the "Palma christi" or castor oil tree growing everywhere and remarked that the seeds, eaten raw, had the same medicinal effect as the oil. This referred to Ricinus communis, a plant of tropical Africa, known in Europe at the end of the 16th century and used medicinally as a lubricant from then onwards.

The trees and shrubs which he found growing in the private gardens, had once also beautified the Company's Garden which, according to him, had now fallen into decay together with other rare plants which once grew there.

The private botanic garden of Dr Liesching in Botany Bay containing many rare plants and especially herbs which he used in his apothecary shop in Cape Town, Villet's garden in Greenpoint and Van Breda's garden in Oranjezicht were the most notable in Cape Town and visited by many travellers, for they had a large variety of rare indigenous and imported plants.

Ludwig's Botanic Garden

Carl Ferdinand Von Ludwig was born in 1784 in the little village of Sulz-am-Necker in the Duchy of Württemberg in the Black Forest, 50 kilometres south of Stuttgart. Orphaned at an early age, he worked in an apothecary in Amsterdam from where he came to the Cape at the age of 21 as assistant in Dr Liesching's apothecary shop in Cape Town.

50 Acacias eventually grew so well at the Cape that several varieties have now been declared noxious weeds
51 In a letter to John Steuart in 1846
52 Sam Sly's Journal, March, 1845
Ludwig soon became a collector of various natural objects and after marrying, took over his wife's snuff shop and became one of the most prosperous Cape Town citizens and in time one of the most important contributors to its intellectual activities.\textsuperscript{53}

In 1830, inspired no doubt by Dr Liesching, he established a private botanic garden on three acres of land purchased in Kloof Street and an adjoining government grant of 128 square roods. He called it Ludwigsburg, no doubt after the Royal Gardens in his homeland.

The Royal Gardens of Ludwigsburg in Württemberg consisting of 300-400 acres, were laid out in a geometric manner with numerous intricately designed squares, parterres, ponds, covered walks, labyrinths, a garden theatre and an orangery. There were also many long avenues through the surrounding forest and because the palace was situated on a hill the views were wonderful in all directions. The size and intricacy of these gardens, which included kitchen gardens, parks, the queen's and king's garden, can be appreciated by an examination of a drawing published in Loudon's encyclopaedia of 1834.

Baron Von Ludwig no doubt knew of these gardens and those similar ones at Stuttgart, where there were orange trees in containers which were 400-500 years old. Both these gardens were open to the public when Ludwig visited Württemberg in 1830.\textsuperscript{54}

Von Ludwig's own garden in Cape Town also had a geometrical plan and a beautiful view onto Table Bay and the distant Hottentots Holland mountains, but there the similarity ended. A plan and drawing of the Cape Town Ludwigsburg\textsuperscript{55} shows a simple division of the land on either side of his house and hot-beds: two squares on either side of a middle path and two rectangles on either side of these. A circular pond, each with a jet d'eau, was placed in the centre of each half-garden and a rectangular pond with a forcing pump\textsuperscript{56} on the lowest part of the property. The approach to his house from Kloof Street passed between his hot-beds. It was not a very inspiring plan, but the Baron made up for this with his large variety of plants. In 1831 he had 207 species in the garden, many of them imported. There was also a vine pergola.

According to Ferdinand Krausse, who gives a list of the plants he saw, there was a good collection of cacti, bulbs, mesembrianthemums, Japonicas and iris, to name but a few.\textsuperscript{57}

By opening the garden to the public and making seed and plants available to them, he stimulated a great interest in botanical matters and prepared the way for the establishment of a botanic garden after his death in 1848.

### 2.3.3 A public Botanic Garden is established for Cape Town

In the early months of 1845 a memorial with many respected signatures had been presented to General Sir Peregrine Maitland asking for the establishment of a botanic garden. As noted before

\textsuperscript{53} See Bradlow F, \textit{Baron Von Ludwig and the Ludwigsburg Garden}

\textsuperscript{54} Bradlow F, \textit{Baron Von Ludwig and the Ludwigsburg Garden}, p8

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid, p77 and C/A. M/164

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid, p50

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid, p98. In an appendix the lists of plants that Ludwig imported confirm this
the Minister of the Colonies received this favourably and asked the opinions of Sir W J Hooker and Sir J F W Herschel who both commended the scheme. The outbreak of the 1846 Frontier War caused a delay in the execution of the scheme, but with the arrival of Sir Harry Smith in December 1847, the matter was taken up again and in 1848, he stated in an address to the S A Public Library:

"I propose therefore that a considerable portion of the grounds called the Government Gardens be formed into a Botanic Garden". He added "this garden should be open under proper arrangements to the public and to the whole world".

Following on this he appointed a Botanic Garden Commission in May 1848 to form and supervise a Botanic Garden on the "whole of that part of the Government Garden which lies on the right hand side, upon entering it from Heerengracht".

The first commissioners were Dr L Pappe who later became first professor of Botany at the South African College, the Rev Dr J Adamson, R H Arderne, H E Rutherford and J Fairbairn. Apart from Dr Pappe, these were all British - a minister, two businessmen, and the editor of a newspaper.

It was suggested that the government buy Ludwig's garden as a public amenity, but Sir Harry Smith turned this down although he was willing to buy Von Ludwig's plant collection for a new Botanic Garden in the old Company's garden.

Strangely enough, perhaps due to lack of funds, no qualified botanist was appointed, and the garden was laid out and maintained by a Mr Draper who did not seem to give satisfaction.

In September 1849 a resolution was passed recommending that the Governor should dismiss Mr Draper and appoint in his stead Mr Zeyher who had also been working in the garden.

Mr Carel Ludwig Zeyher born in Neuwidd on the Rhine in 1799, called himself Botanist and Naturalist in the 1852 directory when he was living in St John Street, Cape Town. In 1853 he advertised his own shop where he sold fresh seed of European and local vegetables and "ornamental exotics".

Mr James McGibbon does not appear in the Cape Almanac until 1857 where he is listed, "Superintendent of the Botanic Garden", as living at Schoenmakersgat in Kloof Road on the road to Camps Bay. His wife Margaret kept a public house at Schoenmakergat at that time.

In his death notice one learns that he was christened James Hamilton Colt McGibbon; born in 1822 in the parish of Inversk, Musselburgh, Scotland. While on a visit to London in 1883 he died on 20 June of a chest complaint and failure of the kidneys.

This Scot had proved to be a dedicated, conscientious and indefatigable worker and although not a qualified botanist, he had a great practical knowledge of plants and their uses. He was generous with this knowledge and was, like all great Victorian gardeners, both creative and inventive. For twenty-three years he was to keep the Garden in a beautiful state of order despite lack of funds,

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58 For Zeyher see MOOC 6/9/200, p7309 and 1/2, CJA. The full correspondence in connection with the establishment of a Botanic Garden is to be found in a report to the Cape Town Municipality; Fagan G, The Company's Garden 1989
Two water-colours of the gardens by Bowler. The crowd, dressed up in their Sunday best, are listening to the brass band. The two angophora trees (below) are still in the Garden.
and supply not only Capetonians, but country gardens with all manner of information as well as seed, plants and trees. Many of these were introduced to the Cape for the first time by him.

By the time Mr McGibbon assumed his post as first superintendent of the garden, it had already been "smoothed out" as is evident from a Bowler print of 1850. The lawns were beautifully cut, the undergrowth removed so that trees and shrubs were grouped together in tidy clumps. The central gravel path was not curving as one would expect, but there were seats under the trees and Capetonians, dressed up in their best, obviously enjoyed the music in the parkland atmosphere.

John Mason on a visit to the Cape in 1860 found the Cape Garden to be in the "English style", even though it lacked a "green sward". Yet another visitor writing under the nom de plume "Excelsior" praised the "velvet lawns".

It was obvious that the new "botanic garden" looked more like a park and pleasure garden than the "scientific institution" which had been planned.

2.3.4 The Garden fails as a "Botanic Enterprise" but succeeds as a "Park"

By 1854 there was general dissatisfaction amongst the Commissioners in control of the Botanic Garden because it was felt that the garden was not answering to the purpose for which it had been established and the Legislative Assembly therefore appointed a committee to investigate the problem.

Dr Pappe felt that the garden "is nothing more nor less than a place for recreation" because "a garden without an educated and experienced botanist, has no claim to be called botanical and can be of little service to science and the public". He thought more of Mr Villet's garden at Green Point.

Mr McGibbon, superintendent of the garden, testified that systematic planting was difficult because of the nature of the soil. He felt that the original intention of the layout by his predecessor (Dr Draper) was not that of a botanical garden. He then submitted a lengthy report in which several interesting facts were revealed:

- he worked with seven men altogether, of which two attended the nursery, one was gate porter and the other four had to manage the rest of the garden. A total want of skilled labour was severely felt
- there was a general deficiency of water but construction of brick tanks in various parts of the garden might alleviate the labour of watering
- requests for plants, grafted fruit trees especially, but also forest trees (5 000 gums alone in 1854) and shrubs increased annually
- new fruit and timber trees were for sale each year
- numerous trees took up much space and he requested to have vacant ground at the top end of the garden as an extension for a nursery
-numerous donations of plants were made by private individuals eg the Honourable H E Rutherfoord had given a Peruvian bark tree and a croton oil plant amongst others. Packages of seed were also received from Dr David Livingstone from the interior.

-interchange of knowledge, plants and seeds was being kept up with other botanic gardens throughout the Empire and also with colonists in the interior so that very rare and remarkable plants were received regularly.

-indigenous plants were collected, but many had not been successful.

-a herbarium had been commenced in 1852.

The Committee of Enquiry into the success of the "Botanical Garden" found that as there was no botanical expertise in the garden staff, an experienced botanist should be appointed to take charge of the Garden.

2.3.5 Purposes of botanic gardens and European precedents

An examination of botanic gardens in Europe will make it easier to assess whether the Cape Garden was indeed a botanic garden or not:

The objectives of a botanic garden were very clearly defined by Roxburgh in his *Hortus Bengalensis* published in 1814. He had been Curator of the Calcutta Botanical Garden for some years and was a most knowledgeable and respected botanist.

He made the following points:

-no civilized state in the world was without at least one botanic garden

-that almost every private nursery was a botanical garden with plants from many different parts of the world

-that public demand was such that all expenses could be covered and that owners could actually become wealthy through their gardens

-that botanic institutions were extremely valuable for the improvement of botanical sciences by bringing together varieties of species where they could be classified

-that as a result of botanic gardens many famous botanists had been able to do very valuable research work which otherwise might not have been done

-that they were also important for acclimatizing trees which could then be distributed as valuable sources of timber

-diseases of crops and important economic plants could be researched

-medicinal drugs could be examined, assessed and their cultivation researched

-information on colouring plants could be spread

-plants of economical importance could be grown in various climates and so tested for effective growth eg the spices, rubber and many useful vegetables.

According to Loudon in 1834, Botanic Gardens were originally created for the culture of exotic flowers and plants of ornament. The taste for florists' flowers, according to him was introduced to
"Present day" plan of Kew and palmhouse (below) in 1908.
(From Bean's *The Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew*, p64 & p38)
England by the Flemish weavers when they fled from the persecutions of Phillip II in the 16th century. They brought to England gillyflowers, carnations and the *Rosa centifolia*.

According to him Queen Elizabeth I was interested in the culture of flowers and especially tulips, the Musk rose and the Damask rose which were imported during her reign.

The earliest botanic gardens in Europe however had their origin in Italy and they concentrated mostly on the medicinal qualities of plants, believing that all plants contained a potential remedy and that by experimentation the ailment and plant could be brought together.

Theophrastus had already started a botanical garden after Alexander's conquest of Persia, for the acclimatization of plants collected from the East. After this botanic gardens were started in Padua (1533), Pisa (1543), Florence (1544), Bologna (1547), Paris (1570), Montpellier (1598), Jena (1628), Oxford (1632), Uppsala (1657), Chelsea (for the "Worshipful society of Apothecaries" in 1673), Edinburgh (1675), Leyden (1677), Amsterdam (1682), Carlsruhe (1715), Utrecht (1725), Madrid (1755), Coimbra (1773), Dublin (1790).

By the early 19th century any city or town of any pretension had a botanic garden and owners of private estates vied with each other in obtaining rare exotic plants, sending out collectors to the corners of the earth at great expense to obtain rarities for their gardens and hot houses.

* Kew

In Britain the Botanic Garden at Kew took the lead and became the centre for plant exchange between the many botanic gardens which had been formed in various colonies:

- the Calcutta Botanical Garden (1768)
- the Botanical Garden at Ceylon (1811) and others.

Up to 1840 Kew had been the property of the royal family but Queen Victoria then placed the garden under the control of the commissioners of Her Majesty's woods and forests to render it available for the "general good".

A great stove, 35 metres long had been erected there in 1760 by William Chambers. The following year he was responsible for the erection of an orangerie 47 metres long, 9 metres wide and 7 metres high. In 1788 a greenhouse was built especially for Cape plants 30 metres in length and in 1729 another greenhouse for plants from New Holland was constructed. In 1836 a large conservatory was removed from Buckingham Palace and re-erected at Kew.

But the most impressive and exquisite structure, erected in 1842, was admired by all. This immense hot house contained a palm house 110 metres long, 30 metres wide and 20 metres high and wings 15 metres high and 9 metres long. This structure, finished in 1848, was under the care of Sir William Hooker, the same man who had supported the idea of a botanic garden at the Cape. (It will be seen later that the shape of this palm-house would be repeated later in Cape public
Wardian cases and indoor Victorian planters (Carter, *The Victorian Garden*, pp174, 178)

*Left: A Warrington plant case and aquarium, with filmy ferns, and, above, ornamental window layout, from The New Practical Window Gardener.*
gardens). Under Hooker's supervision the plants outside and in the hot houses were arranged into natural groups to make it easy for students of botany to study the principles of classification.

Whether Mr McGibbon, who was responsible for the early planning of the Cape Botanic Garden, had ever visited the two most famous botanical gardens in Scotland i.e. the one at Edinburgh and the other at Glasgow, before he came to the Cape, is not known. After all, he was not a "botanist", but he might in some way have been involved in one of the numerous horticultural societies prevalent in Scotland at the time; for he obviously had "that love of fruits and flowers which may be said to be dormant in the mind, in countries advanced to a certain degree of civilisation".

As the Cape Town Garden remained without a botanist until 1880 when Peter McOwan was appointed as director, it could not be classified a botanic garden although plants were being collected, acclimatised, studied and knowledge of them and of plants and seeds was being disseminated. The annual reports of Mr McGibbon give an idea of the wide range of plants that was being grown:

"I experience no difficulty", he said in his report of 1872, "in procuring plants from all parts of the world where kindred institutions exchange specimens for plants and seeds of all desirable kinds". In that year, for instance, he picked his first litchi (*Nephelium litchi*) fruit.

In his report of 1865 he reported that he was giving attention to fern culture, and here again he would be stimulating a branch of horticulture which would become very popular at the Cape.

The Fern Craze

John Lindsay, a Jamaican surgeon in 1794 discovered how to grow ferns from spores, and his method came into general use in England and France during the first decade of the 19th century. In 1795 Captain Bligh (of the Bounty) brought back a number of ferns from the tropics and these then focussed some attention on the rarer species of ferns.

John and Henry Shepherd, curators of the Liverpool Botanic Garden acquired a great deal of skill in the cultivation of ferns and their methods stimulated Conrad Loddiges and son to grow and supply the steadily growing number of enthusiasts.

By 1823 there were 40 hardy species and the same number of exotics in the Kew collection under the care of John Smith, but by the 1840's the fern trade was still largely in the hands of Loddiges Nurseries.

It was, however the discovery of the "Wardian case" which, more than anything else, stimulated the cultivation of ferns. In 1830 Nathaniel Bagshaw Ward chanced to notice a grass and fern seedling growing in the moist mould of a closed bottle in which he had the previous summer shut a hawk moth chrysalis. He noticed that these plants survived though they were not given fresh air or water. Ultimately, after further experimentation, results were published in the *Gardeners*
The catalogue of Smith Bros. in 1906 from Uitenhage has a long list of ferns for sale.
Magazine of 1834 and the "Wardian box" became the accepted way of successfully transferring live plants over long distances and also of growing ferns indoors.

This was a time when "Field Botany" was becoming very popular also with the ladies who were encouraged to busy themselves with such approved and uplifting occupations as would keep them safely out of Satan's way. Newman's Catalogue of British Ferns, published in 1845, stimulated fern collecting and the making of outdoor rock gardens. For those who could not afford Wardian cases the use of bell-glasses, turned upside down to cover plants, was almost as effective. Very soon Wardian cases, used to house exotic specimens, became status symbols and fern hunting for obscure variations became a craze. The repeal of excise duties on glass at this time led to the manufacture of cheaper glass cases, so that these now were available to a much larger public.

In 1854 - 1855 fourteen fern books were published, a reflection of the popularity of the subject. By then fern collecting became a universal occupation which was to last till the end of the 1860s. No wonder then that James McGibbon here at the Cape was also giving his attention to "fern culture" when the fern craze in London was at the height of its popularity.

One man alone built seventy fern houses during one year in the neighbourhood of London.62

Ferns would naturally have been brought to the Cape Town Garden as part of the interchange of plants, seeds and knowledge which was taking place between the international botanic gardens.

In the Minutes of the Natal Botanical Society of the 1860's,63 one reads about the exchange of plants, packed into Wardian boxes, between Cape Town and Durban, which confirms that this was the method of plant transport in the Cape as well.

In the spring of 1866 a case of unnamed ferns collected in "Kranskloof" was sent to Cape Town's curator, Mr McGibbon. In 1867 another Wardian case with a variety of plants, amongst which were also ferns was again sent to Cape Town and this was repeated in the spring of 1868. These ferns would have been grown in the fernery which had been constructed in 1857 in the top part of the garden next to the Avenue.64 Natal also received and sent ferns to Kew and Mauritius, and in 1868 they received over 500 ferns from Trinidad. So not only in the Cape, but also in Natal, ferns must have been in great favour.

Just as the Company's Garden had been the fore-runner of styles and fashions in the past, it probably stimulated the interest in fern cultivation and collecting amongst private gardeners at the Cape. So we read in Mrs Dales diary how Mr Dale65 turned his interest to ferns in the spring of 1870. He made a fern rockery in his garden at Montague House in Maitland and there he planted ferns collected at Bainskloof. The fern rockery at Groote Schuur, was described in a previous chapter.

62 Phips M, British Ferns, 1866
63 These have been preserved in the Killie-Campbell Library, Natal University
64 Minutes of the Curator for 1858
65 Superintendent of General Education at the Cape at the time. His wife's diary 1857-1872 has been published
The pall-mall or croquet lawn in 1872 at Wallington Bridge in Surrey from Alfred Smee’s *My Garden*, (opposite p44), probably looked very much like the one in the Company’s Garden. "As yet", said "A Lady" in 1861, "croquet has not taken deep root among the Cape ladies". She thought this was due to the want of proper lawns.

The Kolfbaan (below right) as drawn by Hans Bol. (Bienfait plate 31)
By the end of the 19th century the stoeps of keen gardeners on farms and country towns had an assortment of containers with ferns, and many Victorian parlours were adorned with ferns trailing from pots on high stands or in glass cabinets.66

Nursery catalogues were, however, still advertising a variety of ferns at the beginning of the 20th century67 and a collection of ferns continued to attract visitors to the glass houses in the Company's Garden long after the fern craze had faded into oblivion.

2.4 INFLUENCE OF THE COMPANY'S GARDEN ON THE CAPE COLONY

2.4.1 The railway brings rural communities to the Gardens

Although the garden had failed as a "Botanic Enterprise", because its plants were not grouped into classes, its success as a public park where Capetonians could promenade after the afternoon siesta, listen to bands, and eventually enjoy the colourful display of hot-house and other plant collections, brought many visitors to Cape Town especially after the first railway line to Wellington had been opened in 1858.

Borcherds informs us that there was also a "Kolfbaan" in front of Government House, "one hundred feet in length and thirty broad" where Capetonians gathered and sometimes met the governors.1 A widow Stucki who visited the Cape in 1849 found the only source of beauty and pleasure in the Garden was a pall-mall (Reisen verblyf aan de Kaap).

Apart from public subscriptions, the garden did get a small grant from the government and further income came from the sale of plants. When Anthony Trollop visited the garden in 1877, he found the garden "a dull place compared to the one in Sydney - the glory and the beauty and the perfect grace of the gardens in Sydney".2

2.3.1 Conservatories

In that same year, a "Handsome, and Commodious Structure"70 was completed in the Cape Town Garden - a conservatory very much on the pattern of the Kew palm-house (on a much smaller scale) with central raised palm-house and lower wings on either side, all with domed roofs. A Mr W W Dickson donated his collection of plants which filled one wing and with that lent his experienced gardener for 12 months. A competition for the design of this hothouse had been won by Henry Carter Gilpin, a recent immigrant from England, who was a surveyor.

66 Refer Elliott and other photographic collections in the Cape Archives
67 Smith in Uitenhage and Starke Ayres in Cape Town
68 Borcherds P B, An Autobiographical Memoir
69 Trollop A, Ed Dorothea Fairbridge, 1927
70 Described thus in Union Annual of S A, 1914
Sketch of the earliest hothouse in the Garden by C M D in 1836 (above), by Bowler in 1853 (middle), and a photograph of the same in the 1870s, (SAL)
The Cape Town conservatory, very similar to the one in Kew, on a much smaller scale, with the higher palm-house in the centre and a side-wing on either side (Postcard, early 20th C)

The Bainsii aloe in this photograph is now about 15 metres high.

The Fordyce conservatory in Grahamstown with cut lawns and groups of trees, mostly conifers.
(C/A, J779)
The cast-iron conservatory at Montebello in Newlands was probably erected during the ownership of Anders Ohlsson 1883-1918 (Archmen, Cape Town).

A private conservatory shown attached to the back of the Rygersdal dwelling house when the property was regranted to John Frederick Stanford on 7.3.1882. The previous owner from 1818 onwards had been J G Tredoux, but it is probably Stanford who erected the conservatory (S/G Office).

Cast-iron conservatory in Aberdeen as sketched by Desirée Picton-Seymor (Victorian Buildings in South Africa p167).
This was, however not the first conservatory in the Cape Garden, for in 1777 a hot-house had been constructed for the ripening of pineapples which had been grown since the 1770s. What this glass house looked like is not clear.

Bowler sketched a "hot-house in the Botanical Gardens" in 1853 which looked very much like a hot-house sketched earlier by "C M D" in 1836 and this might be the one erected in 1773. Compared with the sketch in 1836 by C M D, one notices the same gum tree and Norfolk pine, both increased in size. The same benches are also drawn. Bowler draws more detail, showing wooden trelliswork on the facade. A photograph taken in the 1870s in the Gardens shows a similar structure quite clearly looking like a Chinese pavilion with three pointed arches. If this were the same hothouse built in 1777, it had lasted long for such a flimsy structure.

Hot houses caught the imagination of Cape gardeners and by the end of the 19th century, hardly a country house did not have a small enclosure for the cultivation of special plants on their front or garden stoeps. Many of these were of cast-iron. Mrs Dale, in her diary (p112), mentions a glass conservatory which her husband erected at Montague House in 1861 "to serve as a frame for creepers(!)".

Cast-iron conservatories of any size or shape could be chosen from local or overseas catalogues and were then shipped out and taken by ox-wagon to their destination. So popular were these cast-iron items - verandas, turrets and all manner of roof and balcony decorations, garden railings, fountains and bandstands, that a separate study on the subject would be necessary to do it justice. Their impact on streetscapes and even on outlying farms in the Cape was immense, especially in the Karoo towns where the ostrich boom in the late 19th century made millionaires out of poor men.

In the larger centres, quite elaborate structures were erected often by public subscription, like the Fordyce conservatory in Grahamstown in honour of Col Fordyce, who had fallen in one of the frontier wars, or the one in King Williamstown erected in memory of those fallen in the same wars. Public parks in small towns, like the one at Mossel Bay, for instance, were tremendously improved by a pair of very elaborate cast-iron entrance gates, a fountain, and a bandstand all still standing today.

Wealthy Cape Town land-owners at the end of the 19th century started building elaborate houses in Kenilworth and Orangezicht, making extensive use of cast-iron decorations. Some most elaborate conservatories were built as part of these houses, for the use of decorative plants or to use for entertainment, as was customary in Europe. One such a large a glass-house next to the

71 Thunburg P, 'Travels at the Cape of Good Hope', p156
72 Indigenous to South America, the pineapple was introduced to Leyden by Le Cour in the middle of the 17th century. From here it was exported to England where Sir Mathew Decker from Richmond was the first to grow it successfully. By 1730 it was widely grown in pine-stoves in all the principal gardens of Europe. It is strange therefore that the Dutch took so long to bring it to the Cape
73 S A L, ARB33 INI6247
74 S A L, undated
75 Phoenix and Hudson and Hopkins were the local, and MacFarlane's Saracen Foundry in Glasgow, the oversea suppliers
to his notice a few varieties of the pear tree found in Scotland, which I am convinced might, by a skilful hand, be planted with much advantage either in groups, or as solitary trees, in the lawn or pleasure-ground.

I know of no species of tree that produces greater variety of form than the Pyrus communis; indeed, it would be difficult to imagine any form of deciduous tree that may not readily be found in some one or other of this interesting tribe. The few I shall notice in the meantime are, I believe, but little cultivated, with the exception of the Benvie (fig. 15. a), and are peculiar to this part of the country. The following sketch (fig. 15.) will show their form and relative altitude:

The Benvie pear (a) is extensively cultivated. The original tree is still standing in an orchard bearing the name of Benvie, in the Carse of Gowrie, Perthshire, but is much decayed. The young trees, however, which are cultivated in almost every orchard, show no marks of approaching dissolution, and are easily known by their shoot and branching form.

Pear trees were found to be excellent street trees by Archibald Gorrie whose article in the Gardener's Magazine (1828 Vol 11) might have influenced Cape botanic gardens to experiment with them.
house at Montebello was recently restored. Picton-Seymour found a number of small cast-iron conservatories with multicoloured glass in the Karoo towns of Aberdeen and Graaff Reinet.

2.4.3 Subsidiary Botanic Gardens or Parks in small towns

The many visitors who found inspiration in the Cape Town garden took their ideas home and started the fashion for public parks in almost every small town in the Colony, as has been described in the previous chapters.

The progress and affairs of these gardens can be followed in the annual reports which were presented by their directors in official publications available in the SA Library, and although this series is not complete, the general problems and successes described for each of these gardens, were very similar - lack of funds, water and labour. But as all of these gardens were social gathering places where local bands played regularly, they provided a great deal of enjoyment for villagers, so that they became generally known as public parks rather than botanic gardens.

The parks were planted with clumps of exotic trees and shrubs and landscaped with lawns and winding paths similar to those in the Cape Town Garden. As they were started afresh, however, the planning was not bound to an underlying geometric plan as in the Cape Town Garden, and layouts were generally freer and more naturalistic, but on the whole not very inspiring. Because of the general shortage of water they had to choose their plants and trees carefully as has been shown in the discussions on the individual towns. In the drier areas the trees used were varieties of cypress, Schinus molle, varieties of pear trees and eucalyptus.

As mentioned above, parks were supplied with conservatories and ferneries to house plant collections, and as open-air concerts seemed to be very popular, bandstands were often part of the scene.

But apart from its successful social function, the botanic aspect of these gardens should not be underestimated. For as part of the British Commonwealth, the curators were able to exchange information and plants from similar gardens all over the world, thus promoting knowledge of new crops, fruit cultivars, forest and shade trees, and horticulture in general.

It has been shown how success with new plants in the botanic gardens stimulated the planting of trees on a large scale, so that hot dusty streets of villages were humanised and townscapes vastly improved.

The benefits of botanic gardens as set out by Roxburgh, had therefore proved to be great indeed, and the pioneering influence of the Cape Town Garden in this respect was of prime importance.

76 Picton Seymour D, Victorian Buildings of South Africa
77 Grahamstown in 1856, King Williamstown in 1869, Port Elizabeth and Graaff Reinet in 1876, Queenstown in 1879, to name but a few
the absence of rigid art would be less offensive, because the imagination would form a middle line for itself."

Here a great principle is made plain, yet how much it is aimed against or not understood, those who use their eyes as they travel about our great cities may readily perceive. The rude forms and inharmonious combinations of beds generally introduced into suburban gardens, are generally too peculiar to need special enumeration; and hence the engravings will not, we trust, be without their use.

Art is easily recognised in all walks and roads, &c. As a further illustration of the same principle, we give an extract on gardenesque imitation, on which Mr. Loudon remarks: -- "Where the gardenesque style of imitating nature is to be employed, the trees, shrubs, and herbaceous plants must be separated; and, instead of being grouped

How beds should be arranged, was explained in the Magazine of Botany, 1850. The "rude forms and inharmonious combination of beds" could thus be avoided.
2.4.4 The Bedding-out System

During the latter part of the 19th century boredom with the "natural landscapes" had established a reaction which led to a revival of geometrical design in the manmade environment, especially near the house where terraces with flower borders provided areas for the display of newly acquired exotics, and beds cut into the lawns in various shapes provided colour by the use of flowering annuals. From Europe this fashion was brought to the Cape by young family members travelling abroad or visitors staying at the Cape from "home". Though farm lay-outs remained unchanged, planting patterns around the home in the farm werfs changed, as shown at Alphen, Silverhurst and others.

The so-called "bedding-out system" where massed planting in beds brought colour to lawns, was followed by the "gardenesque style" at the end of the 19th century with its terraces, herbaceous borders, herb-gardens, arches, pergolas, vases, fountains and clipped hedges. These styles were soon displayed in the Cape Town Garden from where the many visitors who saw and were impressed by the brilliant annuals and bulbs display created by Mr MacOwen, took the idea home, firstly to Peninsula gardens (Mrs Dale mentions auricula and anenomes displayed in their front garden) and also further afield into the country. Here spring gardens with colourful indigenous annuals were planted in multi-shaped beds in hedged farm enclosures or municipal parks.

For the indigenous mesembrianthemums, bulbs and "daisies" grew very easily in winter rainfall areas and provided amazing displays for little work. The bedding-out system was probably the most successful of all gardening styles that came to the Cape, and became, in fact, so popular that it is in many small town municipalities and farm gardens today still the only style of gardening practised.

Sale of indigenous plants

Where the Company's Garden had throughout its existence set the style for the rest of the Cape to the benefit of all, there was one aspect where it failed in its responsibility as a botanical institution. Because of lack of funds, and its inability to sell enough plants because of the rise of private nurseries and the ease with which private individuals were able to order their own seed from Europe, they had to find other means of finance. MacOwan had also found that, due to the increase of buildings around the garden and the decrease in its own size as a result of grants of pieces of the garden for public buildings, there was a deterioration of the horticultural value of the garden.\(^8\)

An attempt to meet this deficit was made by selling indigenous bulbs, which were gathered from the veld in their thousands for export. This example was followed by smaller municipalities and individuals, and the drastic depletion, sometimes of rare plants, can hardly be estimated today.
A garden in Rondebosch at the end of the 19th century showing clipped hedges, yucca and cordyline (SAL).

A late 19th century rose garden in Somerset-West. The geometrical beds are edged with low hedges.
In 1885 bulb sales had doubled, but in 1886 sales were dropping because "every gentleman is encouraging his gardener to peddle plants and seeds to make up the amount of his salary", according to MacOwan.

In 1887 for instance, 12,000 freesia bulbs had been acclimatized for export to America.

It is difficult to assess how many of our bulbs were sold in the last decades of the 19th century by the very authority who should have been protecting them, or worse still, how many were so disastrously depleted that they are today endangered species.

2.5 CAPE LANDSCAPE AT THE END OF THE 19TH CENTURY

The plan drawn by Thom at the end of the 19th century shows the small formal street gardens of semi-detached cottages; and circular drives together with more intricate gardens at the larger houses, while the formal estates on the upper slopes of the mountain do not supply more information than that they were still approached by straight avenues. Leeuwenhof, for instance, had a wealth of exotic shrubs and trees but Thom does not show details of this garden.

A number of wealthy property owners in Kenilworth, Rondebosch and Claremont started building large houses and planting elaborate gardens in the new "gardenesque style", no doubt directly inspired by similar overseas gardens, before the end of the 19th century. But though the houses are well described, and some still exist, not so much is known about their original garden lay-outs.

There appeared to be no notable landscape architects, or writers on the subject at the Cape during this time. Further research by interviews and examination of family photographs will no doubt provide a pattern of late 19th century planning in these Victorian gardens, but this type of research has not been undertaken for the present work. Photographic collections show gardens with clipped hedges, geometrically arranged beds, a love of roses, climbers, cordylines, yucca, pampas grass and ornamental shrubs like oleander, bottle brush, palms, camellia and hibiscus.

Remnants of Victorian garden features seen in many small towns, indicate the wide use of cast-iron garden fences and walls topped with the most intricate railings; fountains, and less often, conservatories. Karoo towns and country residences affected by the ostrich feather boom before the end of the 19th century, are still rich in this type of Victorian embellishment.

Elliott photographs taken in the early 1900s show suburban gardens with patterned lawns, clipped hedges, probably myrtle, fountains and all the other elements of the European gardenesque style as illustrated in Loudon’s *Gardening Magazines* and *The Gardening Chronicle*.

79 Kotze Reminiscences
80 Picton Seymour D, *Victorian houses of South Africa*, pp113-119
81 A myrtle hedge of 5 metres high was found in the garden of Leinster Hall when this Georgian house was being restored by our office in the 1970s. This house had been built in the 1880s, so the hedge obviously dated to that time
82 A good many of these 19th century publications are available in the SAL
House no 22 in Tulbagh at the end of the 19th century with street wall and low clipped hedge, camellias and climbing roses on a striped veranda

"Bedding out" in a Rondebosch garden in the late 19th century (C/A, AG Collection)
The rose garden at The Hill, above, and a pond with lilies (below)
Ross' garden at the Mount Nelson showing palms, Norfolk pines, pergolas, rose arches, clipped hedges, and one of his 26 fountains (Bolsmann EH, The Mount Nelson)
The Hill

Mr Arderne, one of the commissioners of the Botanic Garden, was one of those who bought a large piece of land in Claremont and laid out a garden which he called "The Hill", today a public park still containing many of his exotic bamboos and other trees. For he made friends with the captains of passing ships who then brought him exotic plants for his garden. Unfortunately only a part of the more informal original garden has been retained and does not include his once beautiful rose garden or more formal gardens around the house.

Mount Nelson

In January 1843 an advertisement in the Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, gave notice of a public sale of the property described in a previous chapter when it belonged to the Rev Fleck, this estate had in the meantime undergone several changes of ownership. It was acquired by the prominent businessman, Hamilton Ross who developed a most beautiful garden there. A painting of 1855 by Bowler shows rolling lawns, large clumps of trees, vases, ornate steps and fountains. Near to the road was an iron trellis behind which Mr Ross' deer park could be admired by all passers-by. Sculptured lions holding his coat-of-arms between their paws, lined his curving entrance drive. He named his estate the "Mount Nelson", and it has retained the name although the original house and Ross' garden in 1899 made way for a large hotel, according to E H Bolsmann who wrote its history.

Herbert Baker

When Herbert Baker started practising at the Cape towards the end of the 19th century, he had a great admiration for the "Cape Dutch architecture" which he found here, and as he was Cecil Rhodes' architect, he worked on many of those old homesteads which Rhodes had acquired in the Groot Drakenstein Valley and in the Groot Schuur environment. Many of these buildings were changed to suite Baker's ideas, not always retaining the principle of their axiality (Welgelegen) and with new gables which lacked the squat solidity and strength of detail of the original ones. But there was not much evidence of elaborate garden making on these estates when our office was asked to report on many of these farms in the 1970s.

Klein Constantia

Baker was, however, not the only one to "improve" the Cape Landscape. The simplicity of sloping unadorned werfs, was not appreciated by many others who bought the old properties. Klein Constantia, for instance, was embellished by an American heiress, a Miss Hussey who married "La Mode" De Villiers from Paarl and settled on the old farm in the 1920s. She made a hollow in the sloping ground in front of the house, built white-washed retaining walls, planted lawns where she held dance parties, constructed a swimming pool and tennis court in close proximity to the house and created bridges and pools with swans in the valley below the house. The house itself was
The main garden walk at Lourensford flanked by pillars covered with climbers, and below, the terrace garden with a show of chrysanthemums  (C/A, 5768 & 5786 below)
enlarged with extra wings for a dining room with minstrel gallery, and a chapel. But in her romantic exuberance, she planted many trailing roses fashionable at the time and softened some of the new white walls that she had created. The natural fall of the grassed slopes around the house was however destroyed.

Lourensford

One of the most impressive gardens laid out on old properties in the late 19th century was that of Lourensford. A photograph which appeared in the Cape Times Xmas number of 1904 shows the magnificent garden laid out with fine taste and a good understanding of the elements comprising a picturesque garden by James Sivewright who had arrived at the Cape in 1877 and eventually became manager of the Cape Telegraph Service, later minister without portfolio in Rhodes' first cabinet.

The main walk, entered through an arched gateway, was planted with a mixed border on both sides. Behind the border were white-washed columns covered with climbers amongst which were roses. A sundial was positioned at the crossing of paths, but most beautiful of all was the mountain backdrop. Another Elliott photograph shows the garden in front of the newly built double storeyed Lourensford House, laid out as a formal terrace with low clipped hedges and beds of flowers (crysanthemums) and lawns along the pathway from the front door.

Jonkershoek

In Jonkershoek, where the German Jan Andriessen had in 1683 been granted land, he built a house for his family where he lived with his wife, the freed slave girl, Lysbeth Jansen. He planted vines, kept sheep and cattle and sowed wheat, probably for his own use. The property changed hands many times after Jan de Jonker's death. (This is how he was known, and the valley Jonkershoek bears his name). In 1761 Jacobus Groenewald bought Jonkerkshoek and the neighbouring farm from his widowed mother, whereafter it stayed in their family till 1813. The Groenewald family probably built the farm complex that still stands on the property although all the buildings have undergone much change. After them the Neethling family owned the farm for more than 50 years and no doubt made their own improvements.

When our office was asked to advise on the feasibility of restoring the complex, there were two houses, a large wine-cellar, an old slave lodge and a grove of old oaks in front of the buildings. Several Japonica and citrus trees indicated an old garden behind the slave lodge.

As many recent changes had destroyed much evidence of earlier architecture, interviews were arranged with members of the Watermeyer family who had lived on the farm early in this century. Very fortunately they could show the 19th century photographs of the farm before the buildings had changed and a landscape plan of that period could be drawn.
The Jonkershoek werf and surrounding forest

Jonkershoek plan in the late 19th century
Klein Constantia in the late 19th century (C/A, E1387 & 1384 below)
The painting of Fernwood in the mid nineteenth century. The basically formal garden lay-out was kept with the addition of summer-houses, arches, pergola and deer park.

Fernwood in 1890 (Edwards D, Photographic Album)
The landscape changes made by them were also related and described by means of photographs. The Watermeyers had in fact preserved the terraced grove of old oaks on the werf retaining the natural slope and simply added two Victorian fountains, some low garden walls with urns in line with the house, and a rose garden in a dell. This was the most poetic enhancement of an old werf that could be imagined.

Fernwood

In 1816 Alexander van Breda was the owner of the three farms Boschof, previously known as Goed-en-Quaad, Boschbeeck and Paradise, a total of 188 morgen. After Alexander's death his son Alexander (jun) inherited Boschbèeck and it is believed that he built a house there. The next owner, Alexander van der Byl, who received transfer in 1859, changed the name to Fernwood and it is probably he who embellished the formal old Dutch garden with summer-houses, arches, a vine pergola over the central walkway and a menagerie, all of which can be seen on a painting by an anonymous artist in the mid-nineteenth century. The veranda which was added had intricate wooden fretwork, raised over the front door. Nora Henshilwood also mentions a maze like the one at Hampton Court. Mr C D Rudd became the owner of this estate towards the end of the 19th century. He changed the layout into a natural landscape with lawns and clumps of trees, and the area near the house into a garden with winding paths and informal planting.

CONCLUSIONS

 Whereas the Dutch garden had deteriorated due to a lack of attention in the first years of British rule, the Botanic Garden owed its decline to the prosperous growth of the city and its educational institutions, nevertheless retaining its popularity as a public park. In 1888 the curator reported that 1 000 visitors attended the band concerts on Sundays and that this led to much wear and tear on the garden itself.

A map of 1891 shows how the top end of the garden had been cut off for the South African College, and the lower end by the Anglican Church, its school, the library (incorporating the first museum) and the Houses of Parliament. Very soon after this it was suggested that another building, the new museum, should be built to the left of Grey's Pass. As this was where the most ornamental part of the garden was situated, the Commissioners at the time resigned in protest.

The curator thought that because the garden was now so small, a more suitable site should be found for a Botanical Garden on the south-eastern side of the mountain where the winds and city dust would not affect it. (At the time the Cape Town streets were still unsurfaced). He also advised that the Garden should be transferred to and funded by the municipal authorities of Cape Town and the Board of Commissioners be dissolved.

The garden was therefore handed to the Municipality in 1892, and within the next two years considerable improvements were done: a new formal rose garden was laid out with circular beds
Two hotels in gardens: Altona above

The Bordeaux Hotel in Sea Point
around a central trellised area - a style which soon afterwards appeared in Peninsula and rural gardens. Two new conservatories were built and the nursery was upgraded as the sale of plants was still required to largely fund the garden.

The Council became aware of the need of public open spaces, promenades and pavilions, and a new park for Green Point was planned while the new De Waal Park next to the Molteno reservoir, was planted with many trees and shrubs and improved with a bandstand. Trees were planted in streets and public squares and protected with imported metal guards. Tree planting was also commenced on Lions Hill although the initial pine seeds sown there did not germinate very well.

Cape Town now became a popular holiday resort for overseas visitors escaping from the European winters, with the option to travel on the new luxury steamers of the Union and Castle shipping lines. Hotels provided those landscapes that European customers were used to: shaded areas for sitting out, pergolas, arches, fountains and colourful displays of annuals.

But for the ordinary local and rural visitors, the old Company's Garden continued to be a source of inspiration with its thousands of trees and shrubs, its annual display of flowers, its many hot-house plants and a new fountain donated to the Garden in 1900 by the mayor of Cape Town, Mr W Thorne.
Plan of the gardens in 1878 shows the paths, the positions of the main fountains, the sundial and the new "comodious observatory" erected in 1877
SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

In the first chapters it has been shown how the settlement in Table Valley and subsequent Cape posts and towns of the D.E.I.C. were, as a matter of official policy, laid out in accordance with the early 17th century landscape principles of Simon Steven and others as taught in the Leyden High School. Although engineers and surveyors at this school were instructed mainly in the design principles of military defence, they were also instructed how to plan the "ideal city" in relation to the citadel, so that streets, squares and houses should form a grid pattern, with strategic placing of the main buildings.

By describing the early plans of towns, it has been shown how these principles were implemented by the careful placing of the church, open squares, parsonage, governor's quarters, drostdy and magistrate's residences first in Cape Town and subsequently in small towns.

It has also been shown how the governors themselves not only drew up plans for public structures, (Simon Van der Stel for Vergelegen, Wagenaer for the "voorwerck" at the old fort and for the water tank in Table Bay, and de la Fontaine for the new house at Newlands), but also for their own private estates.

Furthermore it was found that these design principles were extended to the landscape of official frontier posts as far inland as Plettenberg Bay. Even with intricately designed parterres, these posts were maintained by ordinary soldiers.

Examination of private properties indicated that these principles, carried out to pioneer frontier settlements as the Colony extended, determined the arrangement of buildings, walls, hedges and avenues into geometrically organised enclosures or groups by the Dutch and German settlers. Those who felt the excitement of their new environment and who for the first time were able to express their own importance and power over their landscape, appeared to feel the need for orderly planning where their control would be obvious.

This trend, as illustrated by deeds drawings of farms, especially in the Constantia Valley, was to last into the 20th century.

In the USA, by comparison, the lay-outs of Philadelphian country estates remained in the formal style of kitchen gardens only to the end of the late 17th and early 18th century when the English landscape style became more fashionable. By the mid-18th century, estates of the gentry along the Schuylkill and Delaware Rivers were all laid out in this way.86 "Gardening which had been practical in the seventeenth century, focused on (meate and medicine) blossomed into being (for use and delight) in the eighteenth century and in the nineteenth became part of the framework for a new country", according to Ann Leighton.87

In New York there were individuals who further promoted English landscape design at the end of the 18th century:

86 Mc Clean E, American Gardens of the 19th Century, Chapter XV111; Loudon, p403
87 In American Gardens of the Nineteenth Century
Dr David Hosack, born in New York and educated in London, started a small botanic garden on the banks of the Hudson, initially for medicinal plants, which eventually grew into one of the largest and most influential garden estates. In 1810 this botanic garden, then called Elgin, included a nursery which not only encouraged individual gardeners to collect indigenous plants, but also to grow a large variety of trees and shrubs, which were new to them. By 1828 Hosack had acquired 700 acres on the Hudson which he named Hyde Park and laid it out in the "natural style" for all to see and copy.

Andre Parmentier, a Belgian immigrant, was another who set the style for landscape gardening by laying out his estate on the banks of the Hudson River in the picturesque style. Because he eventually had a large nursery and became a professional landscape gardener, he too had a widespread influence.

Loudon in fact describes in detail the many fine estates of the rich in North America, all laid out "as an Art of Design and Taste", although he introduced this section with the romantic idea that, because all Americans had equal rights, "it is not likely that there should be many large parks", except those, "that were formed for the joint use and enjoyment of all the inhabitants or members".

Modern writers on American garden history show that by 1770 "The picturesque garden had established itself from New York to South Carolina" and that Jefferson was not the initiator of the English landscape design in America, although his influence must have been considerable.

At the Cape, in spite of restrictions caused by the preference for defence and formal planning, there appeared to be an awareness of the new trend of thought which had spread from Italy to France and which had lead to the liberation of visual and spiritual confinements, as experienced at Versailles in the mid-17th century. Though they were of necessity physically bound, it has been shown that new settlements were mostly orientated in such a way that sea, rivers and mountains, were experienced as part of the vistas related to the main axes, thus transcending the feeling of enclosure. The view generally seemed to determine the facing of farm houses. This then seems to have been the only liberation from the formal landscape planning which they practised.

During the three years that the Cape was ruled by the Batavian Republic the old D.E.I.C. Garden in Cape Town was improved with some of the more extravagant embellishments common to the patrician Dutch "lusthoven". New menagerie cages and ornate entrance gates to them and the adjoining aviary, were designed by the French architect, Louis Michel Thibault and Anton Anreith, a German sculptor who had made the Cape his home, sculpted particularly fine lions to embellish these gates. Thibault also designed a fountain with 6 metres high obelisk and four spouts from the mouths of lions, on the parade, but although the foundation stone was laid with much pomp and ceremony, the reservoir never contained water, was demolished and a system of water pipes was laid by the British soon after.

Thibault at this time also designed a fitting exit to the garden on the mountain side after extending the main thoroughfare past the menagerie. At the same time he designed a small "English garden"
in this area with the use of "Chinese bridges", meandering paths and the use of indigenous plants. A small oak labyrinth was rather incongruously included in the area.  

But this introduction to a style which had swept across Europe, was to have little influence on landscape design in the first years following on the permanent British occupation of the Cape in 1806. For in an area where most of the rivers are dry in summer and droughts are frequent, large areas of lawn, the basis of the English landscape and picturesque style, are impossible to maintain. So the English philosophies of landscape planning, with a few notable exceptions, were not to have an impact even on those few who in the Cape might have been wealthy enough to garden for pleasure on a large scale, before the end of the 19th century.  

The Cape Town Garden, having changed in function from a kitchen and botanic garden to a place for growing fodder for the animals of the British governors, to a public park with conservatories, ferneries and display garden, remained throughout the two and a half centuries covered by this study, the most important source of inspiration for botany, horticulture and for the changing philosophies in landscape style. And through its example, the main source of inspiration for the public gardens in the smaller towns of the Cape.  

The British settlers were on the whole more relaxed in the way their buildings were grouped and their gardens planted, except where they were planning specifically for defence on the Eastern Frontier, in which case a more military approach initiated a more formal layout. Yet it was only towards the end of the 19th century that individual landowners with enough money, water and knowledge were able to design their estates in the picturesque style, though never on the scale of the Americans or the British gentry.  

The question may be asked whether any of the settlers in the Cape Colony had been influenced in their horticultural practices or design expression by the indigenous peoples whom they found living at the Cape on their arrival. They had a good knowledge of the use of the plants around them for medicinal, culinary and other uses. These were quickly learnt and found to be beneficial by the settlers, but neither the Dutch, who set out their kitchen gardens and agricultural lands with precision and care, nor the British who brought poetry and romance to the Cape landscape, could improve on the beauty of the natural landscapes with which the indigenous peoples of the Cape were living in perfect harmony before their arrival.
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