An ORAL HISTORY of TRAMWAY ROAD
and ILFORD STREET, SEA POINT, 1930s-2001:
The Production of Place by Race, Class and Gender

A thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Historical Studies
at the University of Cape Town
February 2002

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DECLARATIONS

No part of this dissertation had been, or is being, submitted in support of an application for another degree or diploma at any other university, or institution of higher learning.

This dissertation is the outcome of my own research and does not include material that is the result of work undertaken in collaboration.

Signed by candidate

Signature Removed

Michele Paulse
For the past, present and future residents
of Tramway Road and Ilford Street
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ABSTRACT

The political economies of segregation and apartheid contributed to the production and reproduction of a mainly Coloured working-class enclave in Tramway Road and Ilford Street, Sea Point, during the 20th century. Against this background, this thesis discusses activities performed by residents of the enclave in their residential area, activities that reflected the changing political economies and through which the residents themselves produced and reproduced their residential area. From the 1920s through to 1961, the enclave was both a product and a response to the successive political economies of segregation and apartheid.

Excerpts of life history interviews are used to discuss activities that residents performed. Those activities discussed focus on the household, occupation, leisure, race and class. In doing so, this thesis is a micro-study of Tramway Road and Ilford Street. Part of the discussion of households and occupation is based on a household survey that was conducted in Tramway and Ilford streets around August 1961. Combined with oral history excerpts, the survey shows that household structure changed over time and in response to conditions internal and external to the enclave.

Oral history excerpts are also used to discuss the occupations of people who lived in the enclave. To date there has been little discussion on the working lives of Coloureds in the now-destroyed residential areas. Oral history excerpts and data from the 1961 survey emphasise that the gender and race bias of the political economy limited the occupational status and income of the residents. Based on the 1961 survey, tables on the wages of females and males and household income were developed to support discussion on occupation and the economic well-being of households. The data and excerpts provide evidence of the legacy of the political economy of segregation and its role in the reproduction of a mainly Coloured working-class residential area.

Owing to the mainly working-class character of the enclave, residents interacted in ways that promoted their economic well-being and helped to sustain households that lived in the residential area.

Oral history excerpts are used to discuss race and class. Matters related to race examines ways that residents of the enclave responded to the racialisation of space in Sea Point. Matters related to class focus on how a general working-class status was expressed through housing but how the inhabitants communicated their personal status through material possession and inter- and intra-class distinction. In doing so, the thesis discusses how segregation and apartheid not only informed a sense of race identity but also contributed to class distinction and tension in the residential area.

Newspaper, municipal and city archives are used to discuss the historical origins of the enclave and the concerns of city officials about the condition of the dwellings there. Newspaper archives and oral history excerpts also form an important part of the discussion of the forced removal of the residents of the enclave in 1959-1961. Minutes of meetings and personal communication provide data on the process of restitution for Tramway Road in 1997-2001.

Through this micro-study of Tramway and Ilford streets, this thesis is meant to contribute to the histories of now-destroyed residential areas of Cape Town.
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Acknowledgements

The encouragement and support that I received from my supervisor, interviewees, friends, and various other people of significance were important to my writing of this thesis.

I deeply appreciated the guidance and encouragement of my supervisor, Professor Vivian Bickford-Smith. Vivian’s sincere interest in my thesis topic and his unflagging support was invaluable to my research and writing. I especially valued Vivian’s knowledge of the 20th century history of Cape Town.

This thesis would not have begun without the oral history interviews of ex-residents of Tramway Road and Ilford Street. I am indebted to them for participating in my research. I also received much-appreciated assistance from Mr. L. Lopes and Ms. E. Davison on information on the process of restitution for Tramway Road.

I extend many thanks to Vincent Kolbe who helped me to find ex-residents of Tramway Road and Ilford Street and Mr. W. Wannenberg who generously permitted me to read his personal files on Tramway Road. Vivienne Ernstzen and Dr. Sean Field read a draft of this thesis and offered important comments. I thank Ms. P. Naidoo for translating the Afrikaans text in my oral history interviews and thank Mike Kantey for editing this thesis.

I cannot enough express my appreciation for the enormous support I received from my parents Dennis and Margaret Paulse, in Canada. I am equally thankful for the encouragement of my siblings and in-law, Mark Paulse, Melissa Paulse and Melanie and Ken Bradshaw.

My friends in Canada were an important source of inspiration. The word of thanks that I offer to Cheryl Fulton are small compared to all she has given me. Rosamund Elwin encouraged me to undertake a thesis and return to South Africa. Tarik and Aziza Elwin who inherited their mother’s encouraging qualities have been a blessing in my life. Aline Burke’s electronic greetings and Ray Jones’ postcards warmly reminded me of our friendships.

Through her own return to South Africa, my late Aunt Alice inspired me to fulfil my desire to come back. I am grateful for the short time we had together in Cape Town. Through their interest in my thesis, friends and people whom I met in Cape Town provided me with valuable advice and much needed local support: June and Laurence Curry, Kenny and Rae Ely, Melissa Finkelstein, Des Fransman, Gordon Lawrence, Irma Liberty, Neville Lintnaar, Reggy Maurice, Arthur and Sandy Benjamin, Margo and Martin Russell, Owen Sichone and Adele Wildschut. I especially thank Rustim and Martha Bavasah whose home became a much-appreciated refuge from my thesis writing.
I am grateful to Marion Green at the Postgraduate Scholarships office at UCT, whose patience allowed me to apply for annual funding. I also appreciate the support of Maureen Gallon, former staff support at the Historical Studies Department at UCT. During the writing of thesis, I used the computer laboratories at UCT and am grateful for the technical assistance that I received from staff at the Baxter Student Learning Centre, Soethone Computer Laboratory and Humanities Postgraduate Computer Laboratory.

I am indebted to the services of staff at the following institutions who assisted me with my enquiries: the National Library, Cape Town Municipal Reference Library, State Archives in Cape Town, Central Archives Depot in Pretoria, Manuscripts and Archives of the University of Cape Town (UCT), Chancellor Oppenheimer Library UCT, Centre for African Studies Library, UCT, St. James Church and Church of the Holy Redeemer in Sea Point and the Moravian Church in Hanover Park. I am especially grateful to staff at the District Six Museum for their assistance and support: Noor Ebrahim, Haajirah Esau, Linda Fortune, Margaux Jordan and Sandy Prosalendis.

Funding from the National Research Foundation, University Scholarships Committee Award and University of Cape Town permitted me to work on my thesis full-time. I appreciate funding from the Swiss Awards for projects related to my doctoral work.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

I learned of Tramway Road when I conducted qualitative research on District Six for an undergraduate sociology course at the University of Toronto, in 1992. One of the gentlemen I interviewed said the people of District Six were the largest body of residents who were forcibly removed under the Group Areas Act (GAA) in Cape Town but not the only ones who were removed. "There were small groups of people in places like Tramway Road," the man said. I do not recall if the man stated the location of Tramway Road. After I returned to Cape Town in 1997 I was driving along Regent Road in Sea Point with my friend, Vincent Kolbe, when I spotted the street signpost, "Tramway Road." I had lived in Canada for 30 years and had come back to Cape Town partly out of a sense of purpose. The moment I saw Tramway Road, I realised my purpose: to research the history of the street.

Owing to the conditions of apartheid, my parental household emigrated from South Africa to Canada in March 1968. I was eight years old. In 1991, I visited Cape Town for ten days and decided to return after I had obtained a Master of Arts degree. I returned to Cape Town in December 1996.

During my three decades in Canada, I held onto fragmented memories of my childhood in Cape Town and harboured sadness and regret at having left South Africa. These emotions occurred mainly from the separation of kin, people who were my closest friends, and the separation from Ondine and Peter Street, the house and road where my parental household lived in Athlone. The stories that ex-residents of Tramway and Ilford streets told about their former residential area and forced removal, resonated with my own history. During the months that I conducted interviews for this thesis and settled into Cape Town, I learned from the people whom I interviewed and other South Africans, that compared to the experiences of people who lived in South Africa during apartheid, my personal sense of loss was minimal. The research and writing of this thesis helped to put my past into perspective. This thesis has also helped me to learn about and contribute to, the history of Cape Town.

This thesis focuses on the mid-section of Tramway Road (hereafter referred to as "Tramway Road") and Ilford Street. Tramway Road and Ilford
Street did not receive their names until 1901 and 1942, respectively, but for the purposes of clarity, these names are used during discussion of events that occurred as early as the 1860s.¹

**Terminology**

**Race**

In the years after slave emancipation in 1834, the Cape Colony espoused equality before the law but people of all races were not necessarily treated equally. The emergence of the racial categories, “African,” “Coloured,” “Indian,” “Malay” and “white” in the colony during the late 19th century emphasised the degree to which race had become important by this period of time. The importance of social class that emerged during the late 19th century inter-linked with race and intensified the significance of race. The privileging of whites and the disadvantaging of Africans, Coloureds, Indians and Moslems meant that race simultaneously defined social class. Mainly whites formed the middle and upper classes (defined below) and owing to their lesser access to social resources, mainly Africans and Coloureds formed the working classes (defined below). However, because they were given lesser access than Coloureds to resources, Africans came to occupy the lowest sector of the working class.²

During the era of segregation in the 20th century, social practice and laws continued to emphasise the significance of race. The racial categories that had emerged in the late 19th century continued to hold relevance and shape society. During the apartheid era, the National Party’s institutionalisation of these racial categories intensified the unequal distribution of social resources and the realisation of apartheid.

Owing to the historical importance of race in South Africa for the purposes of clarity, the aforementioned categories of race are used in this thesis. At certain times, the terms “people of colour” and “black” (small b) are used to refer to the groups of people who were identified as “African,” “Coloured,” “Indian” and “Moslem.”

Class

Marx identified two social classes: the bourgeoisie, the owners of production and the proletariat, the producers of production. These classes formed as a result of a capitalist mode of production and the social relations of a capitalist mode of production. The proletariat, commonly known as the working class were identified by their relationship to their means of labour. This relationship entailed the performance of manual labour in exchange for a wage. The bourgeoisie, also known as the wealthy class were identified by their ownership of the means of production. Owing to their control of the means of production the bourgeoisie extorted surplus labour from the working class. Exploitation and therefore inter-class tension was inherent to a capitalist economy. The wages that workers received for their labour emphasised their exploited position in capitalism.

The limitation of Marx’s identification of two social classes has been debated extensively. More contemporary theorists such as Weber and Poulantzas have attempted to address the limitation of Marxian theory by identifying other social classes that the relations and forces of capitalist production support. Weber identified four social classes: the working class, petit bourgeoisie, propertyless intellegentsia and classes privileged through property and education. The petit bourgeoisie, owners of small business and propertyless intellegentsia, a group that included white collar workers, formed the middle classes. Weber’s identification of a middle class is the critical difference between Marxian and Weberian theory.

In his analysis of social classes, Weber identified the term “social status.” People who belonged to the same social class could have a different class status. Usually founded on style of life, level of education and type of occupation, status manifested intra-class distinction.

Poulantzas identified four classes: the bourgeoisie, working class, petty bourgeoisie and new petit bourgeoisie. Whereas members of the working class

---

performed manual labour, the new petit bourgeoisie performed mental labour. The new petit bourgeoisie included teachers and medical personnel. The petty bourgeoisie and new petit bourgeoisie of Poulantzian theory corresponded with the middle class of Weberian theory.

Marxian, Weberian and Poulantzian theories have relevance for definitions of social class in this thesis. However, owing to the link between race and class in South Africa, middle-class whites and middle-class blacks occupied different positions in the social hierarchy: the former held a higher and more privileged position. Furthermore, given the importance of race, the white working class held the power to exploit the black working class. In this thesis, “working class” refers to people who performed manual labour. In Tramway and Ilford streets, members of the working class included washerwomen, domestic workers, artisans and people who performed a variety of other manual tasks in the labour market. “Petit bourgeoisie” refers to owners of small business. In Tramway and Ilford streets the petit bourgeoisie included shopkeepers, a shoemaker, greengrocer and artisans who operated small enterprises. The “new petit bourgeoisie” was comprised of teachers and nurses. References to the white middle class should be understood within the context of a capitalist economy that economically and politically privileged whites.

Community and Enclave
In South Africa, “community,” is often used with reference to black people and now destroyed residential areas where black people lived. This use of “community,” reflects a national and global exercise despite compelling argument to reflect critically upon the essential meaning of “community” and identify residential areas and people who share particular characteristics in a different manner. The essential meaning of community harkens back to pre-modern time when people of the same religious and kin group formed

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6 G. Roth and C. Wittich, (eds), Max Weber Economy and Society, p. 305.
In modern time, other similarities such as location of residence, culture, social values and norms, a shared history, sexual orientation and the occurrence of social interaction have come to define community. These broader meanings of community stimulate feelings associated with pre-modern communities and in so doing encourage assumed meaning and myth about modern society. One of the advances of oral history is analysis of oral historiography for mythmaking in representations of the past (discussed below). To avoid the ways in which the word “community” encourages myths about now destroyed residential areas, in this thesis the term is not used to describe the residential area of Tramway and Ilford streets.

In the communities of pre-modern time formed through religion and kinship the basis of unity inherent in ties of religion and kinship permitted for a social solidity among the members of the communities. Communities of religion and kinship organised people into social groups where membership, behaviour and human connections linked people to each other in profound and meaningful ways. The connections in those communities stimulated the sentiment that the members of the group belonged together. Over time, owing to technological, ideological and social change, the solidity of those communities disintegrated. A reproduction of those pre-modern communities lies beyond the grasp of modern societies.

In modern societies, people of different backgrounds inhabit similar places mainly for economic purposes. Yet, the need for a sense of solidity among the different people who inhabit a similar place promotes what Anderson identified as the “imagined community.” The imagined community promotes a sense of continuity and belonging in a world of rapid change. The imagined community permits for the perception of shared values, morals, beliefs and a similar way of life. Belief in the sharing of these

13 B. Anderson, Imagined Community.
14 B. Anderson, Imagined Community.
variables, gives people a sense of connection to each other. Though the variables permits for living in similar places they foster imagined communities rather than the veritable communities of pre-modern time. It is the imagined community that contributes to an overuse of "community" in conversation and academic writing. Political oppression and dispossession form two reasons for the widespread use of "community" in South Africa.\(^{15}\) The imagined community in South Africa helps to soften the experiences of forced removal and the human disconnection that occurred in the past and recent history of the nation.\(^{16}\) In the work discussed in the literature review, the authors identified each locale as a "community." In all of those locales owing to the Group Areas Act people were dispossessed of their homes and land.

During interviews, some ex-residents of Tramway and Ilford streets referred to the residential area as a community and others inferred community through statements such as "everyone was one," "the people all knew each other" and "it was a family environment." Similarities in the private and public lives of the residents of Tramway and Ilford streets also pointed to the definition of community in pre-modern time.\(^{17}\) However, owing to the complexity of the notion of community in modern time, overuse of the word and its pervasive myths, in this thesis Tramway and Ilford streets are identified as an "enclave" and a "residential area."\(^{18}\) Through their reading of this thesis, readers are invited to define the former enclave in their own terms. "Enclave" denotes a group of people who are distinct from the people who surround them. The distinction may occur due to differences of culture or social behaviour.\(^{19}\) "Residential area" identifies Tramway and Ilford streets and other locations as a place where people resided.

\(^{15}\) Bozzoli, Class, Community and Conflict, p. 13.
\(^{16}\) Bozzoli, Class, Community and Conflict, p. 28.
\(^{17}\) Bozzoli, Class, Community and Conflict.
\(^{18}\) In the article that I wrote in 1999, for S. Field, (ed), Lost Communities, Living Memories, Remembering Removals in Cape Town, (Cape Town, David Philip, 2001), I identified Tramway and Ilford streets as a community. My thoughts on the use of "community" have since changed.
Oral History

From the mid-1970s to the 1980s owing to its role in unearthing little-known stories about apartheid, oral history became a common research methodology in South Africa. In 1984, as part of the recognition of the importance of oral history in the country, the Western Cape Oral History Project (WCOHP) was initiated at the University of Cape Town. By 1997, the WCOPH was one of five projects at a South African university that focused on oral historiography. Public institutions such as the District Six Museum and Robben Island Museum were the custodians of oral history archives related to the interests of these organisations. Initially funded by the Ford Foundation and Swiss government, the WCOHP (renamed the Centre for Popular Memory in 2000) catalogued oral history research on dock workers, domestic workers, political activists, hairdressers and forced removals under the GAA. This research and other work conducted by the different oral history projects produced an archive of the histories of ordinary people.

Of the work that was published, however, oral history was used simply as a source and not explored for particular constructions of the past. Since the 1990s an exploration of how myth, memory and identity shaped oral history and thus representations of the past has been more common in South African oral historiography. Bozzoli explored how the consciousness of Black women constructed a particular view of their lives. Field explored the link between oral history and identities. Nasson analysed oral history in relation to memory, myth and rural identities. Van Onselen discussed how collective memory shaped the social experience of rural life. The analyses of these scholars helped to open new directions in understanding representations of the

21 Minkley and Rasool, in Nuttall and Coetzee, p. 94
past in orality and their links to the present personal, social and political circumstances of interviewees.

The omnipresence of myth and the importance of observing oral historiography for myth has been exemplified by Samuel and Thompson.26 Both unintentional and intentional, myth arises from forgetting and how people remember. Through his inquiry into the death of Luigi Trastulli, Portelli discussed forgetting and remembering and how they contributed to myth.27 Owing to their memories, different people differently recalled Trastulli’s death. As discussed in this thesis two interviewees who were of a similar age had differing opinions on whether whites lived in Tramway Road around the 1930s. The different opinions represented the enclave differently and exemplified how one myth or another can be held to represent the past.

Myth also occurs from repressing, distorting and re-ordering a sequence of events.28 During research for this thesis some clear forms of repression occurred. The repressions occurred for reasons that included the need to protect privacy, maintain a certain image of the enclave and guard against politically incorrect comments. One clear form of repression occurred when owing to his memory of conflict in the enclave an interviewee declined a request for an interview. The message of decline was sent with the gentleman’s daughter who had been my initial contact. The woman said her father first agreed to an interview then changed his mind: “he doesn’t want to talk about the fights between the people and have it get into the media.”29 The non-participation of this ex-resident whose memories seemed very much unlike those of the majority of the interviewees, almost certainly affected the representation of the enclave in this thesis.

Other forms of repression seemed apparent when on two occasions I discerned that an interviewee had asked other ex-residents what subjects would be appropriate in an oral history interview. One other interviewee seemed taken aback when I remarked that she had mentioned a homicide that no one else had mentioned. Mention of the homicide perceivingly affected the

public memory of Tramway Road. Self-censorship, repression and other behaviour that alter memory of the past contribute to mythmaking.

A final example of repression occurred during a telephone conversation with a white female non-resident of the enclave. The female first agreed to an interview: “We’ll tell you all about Tramway Road.” Two days later the same woman said: “We didn’t know much about the people there.” The woman’s different tone raised the question of whether owing to the new dispensation whites no longer felt free to express their perceptions about blacks. The woman perhaps wished to avoid statements that might have been viewed as politically incorrect.

The oral history interview setting and broader social and political processes have their own influence on repression and thus mythmaking. Power relations between the interviewer and interviewee can affect how an interviewee participates in the immediate interview setting. The age, skin colour, class, gender of the interviewer and the language that the interviewer speaks are among the variables that affect power relations and topics about which the interviewee speaks. Given the different people I interviewed the ways in which these variables affected my interviews, varied. For example with respect to my favourite mode of transport, Mr. E. Barros said, “I think I like you because you ride a bicycle.” Since I had been a commuter cyclist in Canada for 22 years, I found nothing extraordinary about cycling in Cape Town. However, traffic conditions, a public that relies heavily on personal motor transport and a tendency in South Africa to associate commuter cycling with a particular sector of the working class encouraged Mr. Barros and possibly other interviewees to perceive my social class and find comfort in their perception. The majority of the people I interviewed belonged to the working class.

32 Personal Communication with Mr. E.B. 24/06/1998.
Owing to my gender, male and female interviewees received me differently. For example, some female interviewees spoke of their experiences related to menstruation and pregnancy. It is unlikely that women would have shared these stories with me if I were male. Unfortunately, limited space prevents discussion about menstruation and pregnancy in the thesis. My gender might account, in part, for the reason that I obtained almost no stories from males about the personal lives of males and how males contributed to the production and reproduction of Tramway and Ilford streets. Another reason for the limited stories about males may be that most of the male interviewees were children or young adults in the 1940s and 50s and mainly recalled activity related to leisure and household production.

A gender imbalance within culture also affected the representation of Tramway Road in thesis. In 1961, three households of Indian heritage lived in Tramway and Ilford streets: the Parker, Nathoo and Ramasammi domestic units. The Parker household included four females but I did not know that two of the females lived in Cape Town. I interviewed two male members of the Parker household. The Nathoo household included four females but when I conducted my interviews, I did not know about them. I interviewed one of the male members of the Nathoo home. With regard to the Ramasammi home, I interviewed the female offspring of the Ramasammi household. Interviews with females who belonged to the Parker and Nathoo households might have broadened the discussion in Chapter 3 on domestic units.

While my gender and perceived class might have eased power relations in certain settings, language almost certainly created some dis-ease. Mrs. P. Goldman, emphasised that my inability to communicate in Afrikaans affected my interview with her: “there is so much I can tell you if you only spoke Afrikaans.” 33 Had I interviewed Mrs. Goldman in her first language her stories and how she told them would have been different to those I obtained. Before their interviews, at least three other interviewees asked me, if I spoke Afrikaans. Since Afrikaans seemed to be the first language of most of my interviewees, interviews in English affected their participation.

33 Interview with Mrs. Goldman 09/06/1998.
During the apartheid era many South Africans feared talking about matters that might have been defined as criticisms of the apartheid government. Since the establishment of a democratic state and the proceedings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in the late 1990s, black South Africans in particular have been more willing to talk openly about their experiences under apartheid. One of those experiences was forced removal. Memory of the pain and economic hardship that followed removal affected how South Africans recalled removal and how life in now destroyed residential areas was remembered. The silences and particular construction of the memory of removal forms a “public transcript” about forced relocation.\textsuperscript{34} Behind the stories told are the more painful and thus hidden memories of how removal disrupted life.\textsuperscript{35} Memories of District Six and removal from District Six are perhaps the widest known public transcript in Cape Town. When I conducted my interviews, a transcript of District Six as a harmonious community dominated public memory about the former residential area. The temptation to speak along the same story lines as the District Six transcript most probably affected how ex-residents of Tramway and Ilford streets recalled their own former place of residence.\textsuperscript{36}

Since political conditions can suppress memory they can also promote memory. Of relevance in this respect is that all of the interviews for this thesis were conducted during the process of restitution for Tramway Road. The process, one that encouraged the notion of community probably contributed to a public transcript of Tramway and Ilford streets. Most of the ex-residents who participated in the research were claimants for restitution and expressed concern for the resolution of their claims. These interviewees might have perceived that their public transcripts of the former enclave would affect the restitution process. Subordinate social groups use public transcripts to further their self-interests.\textsuperscript{37} Claimants for Tramway Road might have perceived that the representation of their former residential area as cohesive and harmonious, thereby suppressing other memories might support restitution.

\textsuperscript{34} “Popular transcript” was coined by Scott, J. Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts, (London, Yale University Press), 1990
Given that oral history can be used to give a sense of the past but also how the past is re-constructed, in this thesis oral history is used to convey an understanding of a history of Tramway and Ilford streets and how that history was represented during the time of research for this thesis.

Theoretical Framework

In *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre argued that the political economy affected the production and reproduction of place. In Marxist terms, the two factors that identified the political economy were the mode of production and social relations of production. The mode and relations of production affected where a place was produced and what type of place was produced and reproduced over time. In the late 19th century, owing to the advancing port and commercial capitalist economy of Cape Town, a racially mixed working-class enclave was established in Tramway Road, Sea Point. Sea Point was considered the reserve of wealthy whites. The enclave was established to satisfy the demand for labour at the Sea Point terminus of the Green Point and Sea Point Tramway Company.

The mores and values of the Cape Colony permitted for the production of the racially-mixed enclave in Tramway Road. Unlike the political economies of Kimberley and Witwatersrand, the political economy of Cape Town permitted for integration between blacks and whites. The discovery of diamonds in Kimberley, in 1867 and gold in the Witwatersrand, in 1886, meant that the capitalist economies in these cities were different from the port and commercial economy in Cape Town. The desire to increase the extraction of minerals in Kimberley and Witwatersrand encouraged the wealthy there, to build compounds to house and control African labour. Therefore, Kimberley and Witwatersrand tended not to support racially-

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38 H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Nicholson, D. (trans), (UK, Oxford University Press), 1991. Lefebvre speaks specifically of space. For the purposes of this thesis, the word “place” is used.
39 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.
integrated residential areas. In contrast, by the late 19th century, in Cape Town, an older and more established city than Kimberley and Witwatersrand, members of the working class lived in racially-mixed residential areas.42

The forces and relations of production in Cape Town permitted the enclave in Tramway Road to persist and expand during the 20th century. However, owing to the effect of the political economies on their lives, the residents of the enclave performed activities through which they themselves participated in the production and reproduction of the residential area. A major way through which residents perpetuated the enclave was through their working lives. The majority of residents performed labour that whites in Sea Point required. By meeting the labour needs of whites, the Coloured residents of the enclave legitimised their habitation in the suburb. Owing to the conditions of the capitalist mode of production that intertwined with segregation and apartheid, the wages that most of the residents earned reproduced their working class status. Owing to their labouring class status and the location of the enclave in a mainly white and middle class suburb, among themselves, the residents participated in behaviour that promoted their economic well being. This behaviour included the production of households through housework, acts of reciprocity, the passing on of dwellings to each other and residing in the enclave after marriage. Through these activities residents not only produced and reproduced the enclave but also controlled the makeup of the residential area.

Given the importance of race, class and gender to the political economy, the production and reproduction of the enclave was inter-linked with these variables. By the late 1930s, owing to the intensification of segregation and the closure of the tramway terminus, most of the whites who lived in the residential area moved out. Coloureds moved into the empty dwellings and when they moved out, they passed on their dwellings to other Coloureds. Owing to the labour that most of the residents performed -- because of their race -- the enclave expressed a working class condition. The way that the political economy produced and reproduced a working class condition was especially evident in the low wages that women earned for

42 Bickford-Smith, Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice, pp. 127, 151.
domestic services. Washing was one type of domestic service that women performed and this they did in their homes. It was also in their dwellings that women performed housework that sustained the members of their households. The labour that women performed in their homes and the social expectation that they stay in their abodes, encouraged the production of dwellings as the place of females.

The production of homes as female space was particularly evident in the use of public space by children, young adults and men. These residents performed activities in the street, at the shop and café and on landscapes just beyond the enclave. Thus, along with the production of the enclave within the parameters of race and class, the production of the residential area emphasised the engendering of space.

Through their production and reproduction of the enclave, residents expressed their sense of agency. Though beyond the discussion of this thesis, a sense of agency among the residents further informed the activities that they performed and that effected the production and reproduction of Tramway and Ilford streets.

Form of Analysis
To discuss the production and reproduction of Tramway and Ilford streets, excerpts of oral history interviews are analysed. To maintain the integrity of the excerpts, I analysed them within the context of their individual interviews and the historical period to which they were related. This analytical approach is called thick descriptive analysis. The importance of thick descriptive analysis for oral history text lies in analysing the described activity within the broad social and political context wherein the activity occurred. The activity can thus be appreciated as an outcome of the broader context and as the individual's interpretation and expression of that broader context. The circumstance of individuals affect how they interpret and express the larger social context.43

During their interviews, ex-residents of Tramway and Ilford streets spoke about a period of time that ranged mainly from the 1920s to late 1960s.

To gain an appreciation for the occurrence of activities during this period, I considered them within the broad contexts of segregation and apartheid and the smaller contexts of households and the enclave itself. Within these different contexts, the activities about which interviewees spoke could be appreciated as outcomes of different yet overlapping circumstances. For this reason, thick descriptive analysis was essential to this thesis.

Literature Review

Published and unpublished work on residential areas from where people were forcibly removed attest to the value of oral historiography. Oral histories of Sophiatown, Pageview, South End and Cato Manor have helped to unearth stories of the nation’s past that might not have been told otherwise. The stories of these former residential sites convey the rich and varied social histories of black residential areas in South Africa. In the Cape Peninsula, oral history research has helped to produce published and unpublished histories of District Six, upper Claremont, lower Claremont, Simon’s Town, Windermere, Mowbray, Kalk Bay, Protea Village and Black River. The histories of these places have added texture and depth to the historical landscape of Cape Town. The depth to which these published and unpublished histories contributed to the city’s past, vary.

District Six was the largest geographic area in Cape Town that was destroyed under the GAA. The obvious void on the landscape where District


Six stood and the significance of this former site in the cultural history of the city, contributed to the attention it has received. Oral histories on life in District Six provided Nasson with sources to discuss how history was embedded in stories of everyday life. Stories about households told of domestic structure and organisation; stories about daily routines revealed a gender division of labour; stories about leisure told of economic circumstance and political conditions. Practice in the public places of District Six helped to produce a way of life remembered for its humanity and joie de vivre. It was this joy of life and compassion for other people that formed a central theme in Keeton’s honours thesis on District Six from the 1930s to 50s. Keeton provided a brief view of aspects of life in the district and conveyed the spirit of District Six that formed a central theme in the oral histories and autobiographies of former District Six residents, Fortune, Ngcehulane and Ebrahim.

Through oral histories, Taliep focused her honours thesis on a history of Draper Street in upper Claremont, 1950-70. Oral histories about life in the street allowed for an understanding of the domestic and public places of the residential area. Religion, economic conditions and political circumstance shaped the production of life in the private and public spheres of Draper Street. Taliep’s examination of the private and public sites provided a sense of how residents organised their space for domestic purposes and recreation. An analysis of religious values, economic circumstance and residential location, gave an understanding of how these aspects of life produced an individual and a group identity. Identities that related to social class and religion encouraged boundaries but common use of public sites and social tolerance promoted measured interaction. With time, the mixed, measured and multifaceted life of upper Claremont encouraged the emergence of a residential area valued for its personal meaning, aesthetic and material value and human links. These

47 Keeton, “Aspects of Material Life and Culture in District Six.”
49 Taliep, “A Study in the History of Claremont.”
tangible and intangible aspects of life were lost through forced removal. Removed from their old and established residential area, the residents of upper Claremont struggled economically, emotionally and psychologically to recover from the profound effect of forced relocation.

Taliep's thesis lacked a strong theoretical paradigm to discuss the production of place and the emergence of activity that occurred in Draper Street. Residents identified certain places in upper Claremont as more important than other spaces in the residential area but Taliep failed to examine reasons for these distinctions. Taliep's discussion of households focused on multiple and extended domestic groups perhaps at the expense of solitary, simple and nuclear units. The lack of discussion for the distinction between upper and lower Claremont was one of the more apparent weaknesses of Taliep's thesis. Almost certainly affected by the limitations of an honours thesis, through its brevity Taliep's discussion on removal appeals for more and lengthier oral historiographies and analyses about how removal affected the residents of upper Claremont.

Written for high school students and the general public, Swanson's article on lower Claremont and Thomas' article on Simon's Town contributed to the historiography of these suburbs. Swanson's article provided a brief overview of activity that produced and reproduced life in lower Claremont. Oral history excerpts emphasised the relationship between people and the production of the place that lower Claremont became. Similar to Taliep's and Keeton's theses, the theme of community threaded through the Swanson's article and asserted the human bond in lower Claremont. Discussion of lower Claremont as a community provoked an interest in behaviour and activity that contradicted the notion of harmony in the residential area.  

Thomas linked time, human agency and the production of place, with his account of how and when Simon's Town entered Western history and developed into a suburb of Cape Town. The article presented an overview of the residential area where Coloured people lived in the suburb. Upon removal from Simon's Town in the 1960s, the majority of people moved to Ocean View. Through oral history interviews with former residents, the majority of

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50 Swanson, 'Mense van die Vlak,' in Field, Lost Communities.
whom were born in the 1930s, Thomas discussed activity related to the 
Christian churches, economic status and education and race in the community of Simon's Town. Similar to the articles on upper Claremont, District Six and lower Claremont, the historical account of Simon's Town, communicated an understanding of why forced removal reverberated through the lives of people who were forced to leave their home and residential area. Given the various facets of life in Simon's Town and the decades that Coloureds lived there, Thomas' article emphasised the need for a more in-depth history on the black residents of the suburb.

Bantom's honours thesis on Protea Village provided a general overview of this former enclave. Through oral history interviews with ex-residents of Protea Village, Bantom argued that household activity, socio-economic status and geographic isolation from broader Cape Town promoted a human bond in Protea Village. Forced removal destroyed the culture of life and relationships that helped to produce the human activity that characterised Protea Village. Similar to the experiences of ex-residents of upper and lower Claremont, on the Cape Flats, ex-residents of Protea Village, lived further from extended kin, felt the loss of friendship and familial contact, suffered from the breakdown of households, experienced unemployment and the psychological effect of separation from familiar landmarks. The occurrence of themes similar to those found on discussions about ex-residents of lower and upper Claremont emphasised that removal unsettled people physically and psychologically. Bantom's thesis helped to make the history of Protea Village more widely known and pointed to a need for more research and analysis of the experience of people who lived in this now destroyed residential area.

Kirkaldy's postgraduate thesis on the history of fishing in Kalk Bay put into context the establishment of the modern fishing industry in the suburb. Kirkaldy's thesis provided a detailed look at conditions and events that affected labour in the fishing industry. Fishing formed a major occupation for Coloured males who lived in Kalk Bay. The thesis raised interest in how the labour conditions of fishermen affected their households and residential area.

51 Thomas, "It Changed Everybody's Lives," in Field, Lost Communities.
52 Bantom, "A Study in the History of Protea Village.
53 Kirkaldy, "Sea is in Our Blood."
Research on the households of fishermen in Kalk Bay would help to understand what kind of activity within and between households, promoted the survival of domestic units during difficult economic times.

Bohlín emphasised how personal experience shaped the memory of forced removals in Kalk Bay. The government declared Kalk Bay a white area in 1967. Of the 110 Coloured households that lived in Kalk Bay, under the GAA, 24 domestic units vacated the suburb. Of the Coloureds who were interviewed, those who had left Kalk Bay remembered removals but those who stayed in Kalk Bay denied that removals had occurred in the suburb. The memory and denial of forced removal form the two poles that help to make Bohlín’s work an interesting contribution to the historiography of removals in Cape Town.

Field’s doctoral thesis on Windemere explored five inter-linked themes on memory and identity. In his theory on the effect of apartheid on social identity, Field explored the effect of the construction of race upon former residents of Windemere who had been classified as “Coloured” and “African.” Apartheid identities suppressed identities that might have otherwise evolved through life experience. Owing to the historical effect of racism in South Africa and the social construction of “Coloured” and “African” during apartheid, Coloureds in Windemere tended to deny their African heritage. During the apartheid era, political conditions prevented and discouraged Coloureds from claiming their African past. As a consequence, Coloureds harboured or denied their hybrid racial heritage. The suppression of hybridity stimulated emotional pain and added to the duress of life under apartheid. The denial of hybridity among Coloureds contributed to the complexity of the social, political, emotional circumstances in contemporary South Africa.

Outcast Cape Town, represented the published form of Western’s doctoral thesis on Mowbray. Western argued that the organisation of space in Mowbray produced and sustained an enclave of people of colour until the people were removed to Bonteheuwel in the mid-1970s. The black residents of Mowbray shared social and economic circumstances but geographic location

rather than common characteristics bonded the residents. A residential area formed by whites, people who held a privileged social status and position of power over blacks, surrounded the Mowbray enclave. Owing to the position of privilege and power, social tension affected black and white interaction and promoted bonding among the residents of the enclave. After forced removal the Coloured residents of the enclave who moved to Bonteheuwel lived in a geographic area where only other blacks resided. The absence of whites, a social group that stimulated unity in the Mowbray enclave, weakened the degree to which the ex-residents of Mowbray bonded in Bonteheuwel. Weak unity in Bonteheuwel augmented feelings of displacement and separation in the township.56

Western conducted oral history interviews for his research but the interviews per se did not play a major role in his book. Rather, Western extracted data from the interviews that could be used for quantitative purposes and to a large extent, the experiences of ex-Mowbray residents were discussed in terms of percentages and presented in abstract tables. Notwithstanding the value of Western’s work, the presentation of oral history data in a quantitative form diminished the validity of orality as told by the interviewees.

The audio-visual medium has added dimension to the history of former residential areas. A sense of place, people and spatial identity are among the themes that the medium has conveyed. Produced by honours students, the video, Some Aspects of the History of Newlands Village, conveyed the human production of Newlands Village from the 1940s to mid-1960s. The portrayal of the village and its former residents through images and narrative voice asserted how people produced the place that the village became. Gendered activity, class tension and racial identity were among the aspects of life that interwove to produce a residential area that reflected society at large.57 Through their interaction in and with the village, residents formed an identity with each other and their residential site.

56 Western, Outcast Cape Town.
57 R. Hill, Some Aspects of the History of Newlands Village, UCT.
Place, people and activity emerged as prominent themes in visual histories of District Six. District Six, a video produced by the South African Broadcast Corporation (SABC), communicated the human and behavioural motifs embellished in the public memory of the district. In light of the SABC production, the video Last Supper on Hortsley Street became an ever more poignant story of resistance and identity. For years after the residential area to which they belonged had been destroyed, the Ebrahim household resisted removal from District Six. On the eve of having to leave their home, the audio-visual medium recorded the emotional event of removal. The Ebrahim household recalled and expressed their history in District Six and their identity with their home and the geographic space wherein they lived.

Through summaries of oral history interviews and interview excerpts Mesthrie explored how the inhabitants of Black River participated in the production of the residential area. The residents of Black River produced a culture of life through their households, labour, leisure and religion. Though the people identified with the residential area to which they belonged, they also identified with their individual homes and streets. In her discussion on the forced removal of Black River, Mesthrie described some of the economic, social and psychological effects on the lives of Coloureds, Indians and Moslems who lived in Black River. Especially interested in the GAA and its effect on residential areas, Mesthrie pieced together the history of Black River and the GAA. Through her documentation of the residents’ resistance to removal Mesthrie argued that their removal occurred within the state’s aim to regulate space in metropolitan Cape Town.

In an article on resistance and removal in Tramway Road, Mesthrie discussed how resistance from the residents of Tramway and Ilford streets forced the government to grant three reprieves. Government records and newspaper articles formed the sources consulted for the article on Tramway Road but Mesthrie admitted that oral histories would add depth to the history.
of removal from the enclave. Mesthrie’s examination of removal from Tramway Road and Black River unearthed little-known stories of resistance to removals in Cape Town.

In his examination of the spatial, social and economic consequences of forced removal on the lives of ex-residents of lower Claremont, Pinnock presented a hard-hitting account of the effects of the GAA. 63 On the Cape Flats, the loss of spatial and physical landmarks that had informed people’s sense of identity and that had reinforced a sense of connection to the immediate and larger urban landscape negatively affected well being. Of particular importance was the loss of the proximity of extended kin. Important to paid labour, childcare and the diminish of tension in marital units, extended kin served as the social and economic backbone of lower Claremont. On the Cape Flats, without the support of kin, poverty deepened, social isolation increased and coping mechanisms weakened. The high rate of births to unmarried females, high underemployment and loss of control over the activities of young children bear testimony to the deep and far-reaching scares of the GAA.

In the substantial fiction and non-fiction about the effect of removal on residents of District Six themes of economic hardship, familial separation, psychological difficulty and sense of social displacement re-occur. In Rive’s fictional work on District Six, characters expressed disbelief and resignation at the destruction of their residential area. 64 In Jooste’s novel, characters grappled with removal and lamented the loss of a home that had been passed down through generations. 65 In her biography, Ngcelwane recalled that after the removal of her parental household to Nyanga West, the household experienced critical economic hardship. 66 Memory that removal occurred swiftly, that emotional turmoil unsettled elderly residents and that people experienced a terrible sense of loss contributed to the poignancy of Mathews’ and Small and Wissema’s work. 67 Mention of the social and psychological

64 R. Rive, Buckingham Palace, (Cape Town, David Philip), 1986.
66 Ngcelwane, Sala Kahle District Six.
67 D. Mathews, “District Six Museum a Living Monument,” pps. 44-45, in Writings from a workshop on memory and narrative held at the District Six Museum during August and
void that ex-residents of District Six experienced and still experience on the Cape Flats persistently re-occurs in the media today.

Forced Removal is one of many topics in Cape Town in the 20th Century, a book that presents a broad historical overview of Cape Town. 68 People and events produced Cape Town into a complex urban centre in the 20th century. Discussion on the widespread effect of removals in the Cape Peninsula emphasised the upheaval and hardship that the GAA caused. A brief history on the removal of Tramway and Ilford streets in this historical text helped to insert the story of a now-destroyed small residential area into the history of Cape Town.

Themes related to forced removal mentioned in the aforementioned literature re-occur in chapters 7 and 8 of this thesis. In these chapters, oral historiography is used to communicate not only how people reacted to imminent removal but also how they responded to circumstances and conditions in the Cape Flats. Oral history excerpts allow for greater understanding of the ways that forced removal caused psychological trauma. The oral histories of ex-residents of Tramway and Ilford streets places the history of the removal of the enclave firmly into the memory of removals in Cape Town.

**Importance of this Thesis**

Residential areas were the places that helped Cape Town to become a complex urban centre in the 20th century. In the majority of residential areas that became historically significant because of removal under the GAA lived Coloured members of the working class. Compared to the 113 group areas proclamations in the Cape Peninsula from 1957 to 1969, the histories of only a few destroyed residential areas are available in a single source. 69 District Six is perhaps the most widely known example of forced removals in Cape Town yet the dominance of District Six on the city’s historical landscape has lessened.

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68 Bickford-Smith et al, Cape Town in the Twentieth Century: an illustrated social history. (Cape Town, David Philip), 1999.

the memory of lesser-known historical areas in the city. Research and writing on destroyed areas that include Claremont, Simon’s Town, Mowbray and Black River help to counter this imbalance of memory. This thesis on Tramway and Ilford streets helps to counteract the imbalanced memory of removals in Cape Town. People who lived in Tramway and Ilford streets were among the first to be forcibly removed under the GAA in Cape Town. Forced removal is a major part of the history of Tramway and Ilford streets but is not the sole focus of this thesis.

As discussed in the literature review, the histories of destroyed residential areas of Cape Town vary in depth and focus. Literature that reconstructs facets of life in upper Claremont, Simon’s Town and Protea Village had been produced to meet the requirements of honours theses. Articles on lower Claremont and Simon’s Town serve as short histories for high school students and the general public. The in-depth writing on Mowbray, Windermere and Black River reflected the work of scholars at the highest level of the academy. Unlike the aforementioned work, however, this thesis on Tramway and Ilford streets is a micro-study of a Cape Town residential area. In this respect, this thesis provides a deeper history of Tramway Road than the brief mention found in published and unpublished histories on Sea Point. For example, Murray, in Under Lion’s Head, Kagan, in “The Growth and Development of the Municipality of Green Point and Sea Point” and Mullens, in “Sea Point: Historical Highlights” focus on the white and middle-class population of the suburb and briefly mention Tramway Road. In his brief paper on blacks in Sea Point, Wollheim referred to the Coloured tramway workers who lived in Tramway Road in the late 19th century.

71 Thomas, “It Changed Everybody’s Lives,” in Field, Lost Communities; Swanson, “ ‘Mense van die Vlak:’” in Field, Lost Communities.
72 J. Western, Outcast Cape Town; Field, “The Power of Exclusion;” Mesthrie, “Dispossession in Black River.”
The inclusion of Tramway Road in these histories emphasized the significance of the street in the history of Sea Point. Through its focus on Tramway and Ilford streets, this thesis discusses the road in a substantial manner and contributes to the history of black working class people in Sea Point and Cape Town. In doing so the thesis asserts that contrary to belief, blacks other than the live-in domestic workers and gardeners lived in Sea Point. The thesis also shows that similar to District Six -- smaller historical residential areas had a deep and complex past.

The primary sources and discussion in the thesis help to make this dissertation of interest to readers outside of the discipline of history. Records of the Municipality of Green Point and Sea Point and the City of Cape Town provided background on the history of the built environment in Tramway and Ilford streets while oral histories and the Wannenburg survey provided detailed data on households and paid labour. Further, oral histories conveyed a sense of the use of space in the enclave and Sea Point and coupled with legal documents and newspaper articles helped to reconstruct a history of the removal of the residents of the enclave. Oral histories, personal observations and the Minutes of meetings helped to compile a brief case study of the land restitution for Tramway Road.

Of the literature reviewed, none discussed the relationship between the built environment of residential areas and the forces and relations of production of the political economy. An analysis of the relationship between the built environment and the political economy helps to understand the social and political link between residential areas and the city and nation at large. Records on the dwellings of Tramway Road permit analysis on how capitalism and its social relations led to the construction of certain types of housing in Tramway and Ilford streets for certain sectors of the population. This discussion takes place in Chapter 2 and emphasises that the enclave was a social product of the political economy. The discussion provides a relatively rare historical account of the development of dwellings that came to form the residential area of mainly working-class Coloureds in Cape Town.

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This thesis unearthed a deeper history of the removal of Tramway and Ilford streets than that discussed by Mesthrie.\textsuperscript{76} Mesthrie discussed the removal of the enclave through newspaper reports and government sources. Given the compliant perspective reported in the news articles, Mesthrie argued that oral histories might show that residents varied in their response to removal. In Chapter 7 of this thesis, oral history excerpts and evidence from the Wannenburg files suggest that responses to removal in the enclave did not unanimously support the view reported in the newspapers. At the time of removal a conservative response to relocation became the representation of the enclave.

The people of Tramway and Ilford streets were among the first residents to live in Bonteheuwel. Western's work on the removal of Mowbray residents to Bonteheuwel, discussed the effect of relocation to the township in the mid-1970s. Chapter 8 of this thesis discusses the effect of relocation to Bonteheuwel in 1961 and life in the township in the early to late 1960s. Oral history excerpts on conditions in Bonteheuwel in the 1960s allow for comparison with conditions in the township in the mid-1970s, the period when residents of Mowbray moved to the township.

The Wannenburg survey 1961 is one of the more valuable historical documents that contributed to this thesis. Mrs. M. Wannenburg and Mr. W. Wannenburg, an attorney who assisted the residents of Tramway and Ilford streets to delay removal, conducted a house-to-house survey in the enclave around August 1961. The late Mrs. Wannenburg worked as a social worker and designed the survey based on the information required by the Board of Aid to which members of households in Cape Town could apply for financial assistance. A self-described hoarder, Mr. Wannenburg kept the survey and his legal files on the Tramway and Ilford streets removal in mint condition for more than 35 years. When asked why he kept the files, Mr. Wannenburg added, "I always had a feeling I'd come back to [working on] Tramway Road."\textsuperscript{77} The survey included data on household structure, occupation, place of occupation, wages and time taken to travel to work. The data that the

\textsuperscript{75} Western, \textit{Outcast Cape Town}, p. 42.
\textsuperscript{76} Mesthrie, "The Tramway Road Removals," p. 94.
\textsuperscript{77} Personal Communication with Mr. W. Wannenburg. 17/05/1998.
Wannenburg's collected resembled the social survey data that Professor Batson collected in 1936 on households in Cape Town. In relation to its period in 1961 the Wannenburg survey of a Coloured working-class residential area is rare. Used with the oral history excerpts, the survey helps to discuss a detailed history on the households and paid labour of working-class Coloureds in Sea Point in 1961. To assist the discussions, the survey was used to develop tables on household structure, the occupation and wages of women and men and household income in 1961.

The Restitution of Land Rights Act, 1994, has made it possible for the mid-section of Tramway Road to be re-developed as a residential area. Around 1964, most of the land where the enclave stood was converted into a park. In 1999, the city agreed to return the land to the ex-residents of the enclave who sought restoration under the Act. The return of the land means that Tramway Road is among the few sites in metropolitan Cape Town where restoration of the original land from where dispossession occurred is possible. As Brown et al, Cousins, Lund, Wenth and Broadbridge show restitution has been a difficult, complex and protracted experience for rural and urban claimants in South Africa. The restitution that ex-residents of Tramway and Ilford streets began in 1996 allowed for a brief study on aspects of the restitution for Tramway Road.

Methodology
Vincent Kolbe, a former librarian at the Bonteheuwel Public Library told me how to find former residents of Tramway Road. Upon removal from Sea Point, the majority of the ex-residents of Tramway and Ilford streets went to Bonteheuwel. Vincent remembered Mr. P.F. Jacobs who had frequented the library and spoke of Tramway and Ilford streets. Vincent suggested that I

telephone Mr. N. Fester, a current librarian at the Bonteheuwel Library to obtain Mr. Jacobs' telephone number. The telephone number I obtained belonged to Mr. A. Jacobs, Mr. P.F. Jacobs' son. Mr. A. Jacobs informed me of a restitution meeting two weeks hence and invited me to attend and introduce myself. At that meeting in February 1997, I obtained the names, addresses and telephone numbers of 24 ex-residents of Tramway and Ilford streets. Through these contacts I obtained several more names and telephone numbers. I met other former residents at subsequent meetings on restitution. A total of 69 people contributed to the oral history research for this thesis.

To obtain a sense of the subjects that contribute to a life history interview, I developed an interview guide (see Annexure). Thompson's interview guide in Voice of the Past was an important source for the questions I included in my guide. I conducted interviews on audiotape and manually. I wrote interviews upon request and when my tape recorder malfunctioned. I recorded the majority of the interviews during May to August 1997 and April to June 1998.

I interviewed 39 female and 19 male ex-residents of Tramway and Ilford streets. The participation of more females than males in my research affects this thesis. At the February 1997 meeting where I obtained names of people to interview, I collected the names of more women than men. After I interviewed these females, some of them told me of their female friends and siblings who had lived in the enclave. The female interviewees referred me to other females more often than they referred me to males. I met males at meetings on restitution that I attended and thought I would find more male ex-residents during the course of my fieldwork. Of the men about whom I had heard, five declined an interview. One male initially declined an interview but after I learned of his brother and went to interview the brother, the male I had first contacted was present and participated in the interview. The smaller number of male interviewees in my research suggests a possible imbalance on stories about male and female activity.

Five interviewees were white people who did not reside in the enclave. Two of these interviewees resided near Tramway Road, one worked as a

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superintendent at the Baptist Mission in Tramway Road and two were the wives of superintendents at the Mission.

Interviews were conducted for 30 minutes to four hours. People who had agreed to an interview but who seemed uninterested, participated in short interviews. When I conducted interviews for an undergraduate course in Toronto, I thought that second interviews would have helped me to get a fuller sense of my research interest. I decided that for my research on Tramway Road and Ilford Street, I would interview each person twice. After I interviewed four people twice, I realised I could never know Tramway and Ilford streets fully and had to settle for “some understanding” of the enclave. Interviewees also did not necessarily have time for a second interview. During the writing of this thesis, I telephoned interviewees to clarify information in their interviews.

One interview occurred at an interviewee’s office, and one other interview occurred at the home of the interviewees’ offspring. The rest of the interviews occurred in the interviewee’s home. Interviews were conducted in metropolitan Cape Town: Belhar (3), Black Heath (1), Bokmakierie (1), Bonteheuwel (15), Bridgetown (3), Cape Town (2), Crawford (3), Eersterivier (1), Fish Hook (1), Gatesville (1), Grassy Park (2), Greenhaven (2), Fairways (2), Hazendal (1), Kenilworth (1), Kensington (5), Kuils River (1), Langa (1), Lansdowne (2), Mitchell’s Plain (7), Observatory (3), Rondebosch (1), Rylands (2), Salt River (2), Silvertown (2), Walmer Estate (1) and Zeekoevlei (3).

The majority of interviewees spoke English and Afrikaans but since I speak only English, interviewees spoke English during the interview. Some interviewees spoke Afrikaans at certain times during the interview. When interviewees spoke Afrikaans, (despite my minimal understanding of the language) I understood enough to respond with a nod or laugh. I transcribed the English and some of the Afrikaans in the interviews and hired an undergraduate student to translate the Afrikaans I could not decipher. For clarity and understanding, the oral history excerpts that appear in this thesis have been edited.

To obtain visual impressions of Tramway and Ilford streets, when I conducted interviews, I asked interviewees if they had any photographs of
their former residential area. Though I could not afford to reproduce the photographs I asked people to entrust me with their photographs so that I could have photographic reproductions made. During this period of my research, the Director of the District Six Museum, Ms. Sandy Prosalendis suggested that as part of the District Six and Beyond project, the museum install a temporary exhibit on Tramway Road. To compile a source of visuals for the exhibit, the museum paid for the reproduction of the photographs I had collected. The museum now holds an archive of photographs on Tramway and Ilford streets that are available to researchers and other members of the public. Some of the photographs complement my article on Tramway and Ilford streets in Lost Communities, Living Memories: Remembering Removals in Cape Town, a book on five now-destroyed residential areas of Cape Town. I reproduced several other photographs through funding from the Swiss Awards. These photographs will be archived at the University of Cape Town.

I collected photographs of the enclave because I imagined producing a short documentary while I worked on my thesis. However, the cost and time of producing a documentary overwhelmed me and my thesis was the more important project. To ensure some record of current history related to Tramway and Ilford streets, I video-taped some of the restitution meetings and gatherings that ex-residents attended. The videotapes of these events will be housed at the University of Cape Town.

Summary of Chapters and Organisation of this Thesis

Several copies of photographs are interspersed in the nine chapters that form the main part of this thesis. Chapter 2 discusses the historical origin of the dwellings that were built from 1877 to the 1920s in Tramway Road. I argue that values related to class and race in the political economy affected the design of the dwellings and the people who first inhabited them. Archives of the Municipality of Green Point and Sea Point, newspaper articles of the Cape Argus and Cape Mercantile and oral history interviews are the sources used for Chapter 2.

Oral history excerpts on households and the Wannenburg survey are the major sources used for Chapter 3. Oral histories describe household structure during the years before 1961. The Wannenburg survey provides data
on household structure around August 1961. The oral history excerpts and the Wannenburg survey, allow for analysis on how the structure of domestic units changed overtime. The excerpts also permit discussion on the organisation of and interaction between households.

Race, class and gender affected the type of paid labour that residents performed. Chapter 4 discusses the paid labour of females and males. Oral history excerpts convey a sense of how females who worked as washerwomen and domestic workers organised their paid labour. Males had different, and more options, for work in the labour market but the majority performed manual work. The Wannenburg survey provides data on the wages that females and males earned in 1961 and permits for discussion on gender economic inequality in the labour market.

Chapter 5 discusses race and class. Race affected residents’ use of space in Sea Point. With respect to class, some residents formed a petit bourgeoisie but the majority of residents belonged to the working class. Intra-class distinction stimulated expressions of respectability and tension in the enclave. To a certain extent, division in the enclave occurred along physical boundaries. Division occurred between residents of the Tramway Cottages and the inhabitants of Ilford Street between the residents of the cottages and houses, and the inhabitants of the council flats.

Oral history interviewees identified sites inside and outside of the enclave where mainly children, young adults and men participated in leisure. Chapter 6 discusses places where these residents engaged in leisure. The sites where leisure occurred and the activities performed encouraged residents to identify with each other and with Tramway and Ilford streets.

Chapter 7 discusses the removal of the residents of the enclave from Sea Point. Oral histories, newspaper articles and legal records from the Wannenburg Files form the sources for this discussion. In their attempt to delay their removal indefinitely, the residents of the enclave held that the government should find them suitable housing.

Upon removal, the majority of the residents moved to Bonteheuwel and elsewhere on the Cape Flats. Oral history excerpts in Chapter 8 give a sense of ex-residents’ reactions to living in Bonteheuwel. People experienced emotions that the separation from friends, kin and their homes, provoked. Ex-
residents also encountered impositions related to work and distance from the centre of town.

Chapter 9 is a brief case study of the restitution for Tramway Road. A small group of claimants, the ex-residents, developed private and political support and persisted in advancing their claims through the Commission on Restitution of Land Rights. Personal observations at meetings on restitution, minutes of meetings and oral history excerpts provide the sources for this chapter.

The thesis then has a concluding chapter with a list of Sources Consulted and an Annexure.
"It was very, very independent, Tramway Road. Because we were amongst all the Europeans." ¹

CHAPTER TWO

A HISTORY of the DWELLINGS and their RESIDENTS, 1877-1950s

Who wanted to come up Tramway Road? Hardly anybody. It was mostly people that lived there that would drive there. There were whites who lived in Tramway Road right at the bottom. There were three houses (at the bottom) and right at the top there were also white people living there ... The ones right at the bottom were near the main road. The ones at the top were near to Kloof Road. And there was Sea View Terrace [whose residents] used to go down Kings Road. ²

INTRODUCTION

The focus of this chapter discusses the establishment of an enclave in Tramway Road in the late 19th century and its growth in the 20th century. The establishment of the enclave began with the erection of housing. The histories of these dwellings and their earliest inhabitants reflected the importance of race and class in the social relations of the forces of production in Cape Town. The dwellings inscribed the social position of their intended tenants upon the living environment. The social relations of production were thus embedded in the design and physical organisation of the dwellings that came to form the enclave. Though it is unknown how many of the residents of Tramway Road in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were Coloured, the establishment of institutions for Coloureds in the road undoubtedly occurred because a fair number of blacks resided there. These institutions helped to establish Tramway Road as a place where a relatively concentrated number of Coloureds resided in the mainly white and wealthy municipality of Green and Sea Point.

Organisation of Chapter

This chapter is organised into two sections. Section One discusses circumstances that led to the erection of the Tramway Cottages, Tramway Road houses, Workmen’s Quarters (the hostel and later known as the council

¹ Interview with Mrs. C.T. 07/06/1997.
² Interview with Mrs. P. v W. 16/06/1997.
flats) and Ilford Street houses. To communicate how the dwellings were different from each other, the section describes them. The section includes histories of the church, mission and school in Tramway Road that Coloureds attended in the 19th and 20th centuries. To complement the discussion on the dwellings, a sketch showing the location of the housing and institutions appears in Section One. Figure 3, a diagram of the council flats complements the discussion on the flats.

Section Two discusses the early residents of Tramway and Ilford streets. Section Two also briefly discusses some of the other places where Coloureds lived in Sea Point and Green Point during the 20th century.

Archives of the Municipality of Green Point and Sea Point provide information on the history of the dwellings. Municipal archives, newspaper archives and street directories help to discuss the race and class background of the earliest and later inhabitants of the housing.

**A History of the Dwellings**

**Tramway Cottages, 1877 and 1890s**

In July 1877, at an annual meeting of the Green Point and Sea Point Tramway Company, the directors of the firm reported a net profit of £2,107. The profits encouraged shareholders to support a proposal “to erect cottages on the company’s ground for the employés convenience,” at the Sea Point terminus. In the interest of economic production, the shareholders, members of the social elite, supported the establishment of a residential site for workers in the Municipality of Green Point and Sea Point, an area considered the reserve of the wealthy. The Sea Point terminus opened in May 1863 in Regent Road near the corner of Tramway Road and stood in the ambit of private estates near the west border of the municipality.

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3 *Cape Argus* 21/07/1877. (I owe knowledge of the *Cape Argus* and *Cape Times* articles to Mr. P.R. Coates.)

4 *Cape Argus* 21/07/1877.

5 P. Coates, *Tracks and Trackless*, p. 65.

6 M. Murray, *Under Lion’s Head*.


8 “Plan of the Municipalities of Cape Town, Green Point and Sea Point, 1862,” City of Cape Town.
The decision to erect housing at the tramway station imitated British practice to build dwellings for workers at work sites that lay distant from town. Members of the British working class tended to reside in the centre of towns and, because they usually did not own transport, found it difficult to reach a workplace that lay out of town. To ensure the availability of labour for the rising capitalist economy, and to make it convenient for workers to get to work, the British elite decided that workers should live close to their place of employment. To live close to the workplace meant to live within walking distance. Class relations in Britain encouraged the erection of a certain type of dwelling for workers. The elite held that workers, especially the better type of worker, should live in cottages.

In the late 19th century, British ideas on housing workers to promote economic production influenced the elite of Cape Town, the capital of the British Cape Colony. In the interest of the economic production of the Green Point and Sea Point Tramway Company, employees who began their workday at the Sea Point terminus were to live in cottages at the Sea Point station. Men who worked for the tramway firm probably lived in the working-class areas of Cape Town. A large sector of the working population resided in District Six. To reach their workplace in Sea Point, the employees of the tramway company -- who might have lived in District Six, or other areas of the city -- had to commute by omnibus, on foot, or request a lift from people who headed in the same direction on horse drawn carriage or cart. Personal transport was usually the privilege of the wealthy. Walking, especially during inclement weather, encouraged employee absence and worker turnover. The Sea Point terminus stood approximately eight kilometres from St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Strand Street, the location of the Cape Town

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11 Tarn, Working-class Housing in 19th-century Britain.
13 Reference to omnibus in Murray, Under Lion's Head, p. 41.
14 Worden et al, Cape Town the Making of a City, p. 162.
terminus. District Six lay a few kilometres further from the Strand Street terminus.

By July 1878, at a cost of £669 17s 6d, the tramway company built four semi-attached single-storey cottages. The municipality had no building regulations and builders could use whatever material they wished. The first row of Tramway Cottages faced north. In 1878, the company built a second row of cottages. The low cost of erecting the “suitable” workers’ dwellings provoked a remark in the Cape Argus that the company “might very profitably” include in its activity that of a building society. The cost of labour, the type of building material used and the size of the dwellings contributed to the low cost of construction. In November 1890 the company erected a third row of dwellings. At some point during the 1890s, the company built two more rows of cottages. Residence at the Sea Point terminus meant that workers had a short walk to work and for those who might have lived in District Six, an escape from the tenements and overcrowding that characterised District Six.

Facing north and south and in lanes that branched off Tramway Road, the cottages stretched from west to east. The location and position of the Tramway Cottages expressed social relationships between the working and wealthy classes in Cape Town and Sea Point. The cottages stood to the rear of the stables of the tramway company and off a road that was probably used largely by the employees of the firm. (See Figure 2.) The position of the cottages vis-à-vis the stables and station imitated British domestic practice of housing servants at the rear of the main household. The location of the cottages meant that the dwellings lay hidden from the social elite and did not disturb the belief that the municipality belonged to the wealthy class.

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15 Coates, Tracks and Trackless, pp. 40-41.
16 Cape Argus 20/07/1878 and Cape Mercantile Advertiser 20/07/1878. Both newspapers reported that four cottages stood in the row. The number four was either an error or a fifth cottage was later added to the row. A map printed around 1904 of Tramway Road showed five dwellings in the first row of cottages and oral history interviewees said each row of cottages had five dwellings.
17 Worden et al, Cape Town the Making of a City, p. 170.
18 Cape Argus 20/07/1878.
19 Cape Argus 20/07/1878.
20 Cape Argus 21/11/1890.
The structural conveniences of the cottages lay outside each of the dwellings: a tap in the backyard and a water closet in the backyard near a service lane. The lane permitted for the collection of human waste. At the front of each cottage lay a small garden. A sash window, one on either side of the front door allowed for natural light into the two rooms that lay at the front of each dwelling. A passage stretched from the front door into a kitchen. The cottages did not include a room for bathing purposes. In the 1920s through to the 50s, the residents of the enclave bathed in a portable zinc tub in their kitchens and bedrooms. A study in 1936, of Cape Town households that received charitable aid, found that 93 percent of the dwellings wherein Coloureds resided had no bathroom. The study included households in Tramway Road.

The linear layout of the cottage rows and a feature in their design imitated workers' dwellings in England. The rear of the first and second, and of the third and fourth rows of the Tramway Cottages stood opposite each other. The fronts of the second and third, and of the fourth and fifth rows of cottages faced one another. In terms of design, features of the Tramway Cottages resembled features in the dwellings that the Great Western Railway Company built at Swindon, England, around the 1830s. The endmost dwellings in the row of cottages at Swindon were larger than the dwellings in between the endmost units. In the Tramway Cottages, the endmost units were larger than the innermost dwellings. The endmost units had a kitchen and three rooms. The cottages that lay between the endmost units contained a kitchen and two rooms. None of the rooms were intended for use as a living room. Attitudes in Britain held that the working class had little need for a lounge. Since the tramway company housed its entire 75 staff in the 25

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22 Cape Argus 21/11/1890.
23 O.J.M. Wagner, Poverty and Dependency in Cape Town: a sociological study of 3,300 dependants receiving assistance from the Cape Town General Board of Aid, Ph.D thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1936, p. 91. I owe knowledge of this thesis to Dr. M. Russell.
25 Tam, Working-class Housing in 19th-century Britain, p. 33.
28 Tam, Working-class Housing in 19th-century Britain, p. 11
cottages, this meant that all the rooms in the dwellings were most probably used for sleeping purposes.\textsuperscript{29}

Marriage records of St. James Church, Sea Point, show that men who worked for the tramway company got married and had children.\textsuperscript{30} If these marital households lived in the cottages with other domestic units, the residents of the cottages lived in crowded conditions. Despite housing density, the dwellings offered an alternative to the higher density of District Six.

Technological advancement in transportation presented formidable competition to the tramway company. In 1892, the introduction of train service between Sea Point and Cape Town changed the fortunes of the tramway firm.\textsuperscript{31} In 1895, the tramway firm, then called the Cape Town and Green Point Tramway Company was sold to the Metropolitan Tramway Company.\textsuperscript{32} The Sea Point terminus remained at the corners of Regent and Tramway roads. In December 1897, Mr. F. Langerman\textsuperscript{33} a former member of the board of the Cape Town and Green Point Tramway Company, and a councillor of the municipality, bought the cottages.\textsuperscript{34} Though no longer owned by the tramway company, the dwellings retained the name, Tramway Cottages. The nomenclature stayed a fixed part of each cottage address (for example, 1 Tramway Cottages) during the 20\textsuperscript{th} century.

During the 1900s, the residents of the cottages had four different landlords. In November 1919, after Langeman died, Mr. I. Ochburg purchased the cottages. A month later, Ochburg sold the dwellings to Mr. G. Woolf. Woolf sold the dwellings to Mr. M. Jacobs in May 1941. Ilford Investments purchased the property in 1948 from Jacob’s estate. Ilford Investments owned the cottages until 1963.\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{29} Cape Argus 21/11/1890.
\textsuperscript{30} Marriage Record, 1875-1903 and Baptism Record, 1895-1905 and 1873-1901, St. James Church, Green Point.
\textsuperscript{31} F. Todeschini and D. Japha, Green and Sea Point Conservation Study, City Planner’s Department of the Cape Town City Council, 1988/89, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{32} Coates, Tracks and Trackless, pp. 78-80. Also see Erf 136, Registrar of Deeds.
\textsuperscript{33} Erf 125, Registrar of Deeds.
\textsuperscript{34} Murray, Under Lion’s Head, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{35} Erf 125 and 126, Registrar of Deeds.
Tramway Road Houses Early 1900s-1920s

From the late 1800s to the early 1900s, transport, the economy and war broke down part of the barrier to residence in Sea Point. Housing development in the Atlantic municipality increasingly comprised dwellings that attracted the white artisan and middle classes. The tram service that began to operate between Sea Point and Cape Town in the 1860s advertised fares that encouraged members of the white artisan and middle classes to move to the municipality and commute to work. In the 1870s, the discovery of diamonds in the Free State and gold in the Transvaal increased economic activity in Cape Town and stimulated development in the municipality.36 The opening of the train service in 1892, between Sea Point and the city centre accelerated travel between the two centres and made the municipality more attractive to the middle classes. An influx of people who fled areas that were affected by the South African War 1899-1902 further stimulated growth in Sea Point. Growth in Green Point and Sea Point encouraged municipal officials to attend to various responsibilities related to the management of the municipality including the proper naming of streets. Tramway Road officially received its name around 1901.37

Property development in the Municipality of Green Point and Sea Point occurred mainly when developers purchased land, erected a dwelling and then sold the property.38 In the 1890s and early 1900s, property developers in the municipality often built large and small villas and row houses39 characteristic of Late Victorian and Edwardian design.40 During 1900 to 1904, inclusive, housing on the west-side of Tramway Road, between Kloof and Regent roads, were erected. In January 1900, Mr. P. Pedersen proposed to

37 Juta’s Cape Times Suburban Directory, 1901.
38 Todeschini, Cape Town 1650s-1940, p. 20.
39 Todeschini, Cape Town 1650s-1940, pp. 17 and 20.
40 Todeschini and Japha, Green and Sea Point Conservation Study, p. 26. For a general description of elements that characterised houses built from 1890 to 1915, see Todeschini and Japha, Green and Sea Point Conservation Study, pp. 26-27.
West Border of Trainway Cottages on the Left Side. Building in the foreground on the right was the Tiseler Shop. Building with the four columns was the Parker Shop. (Note children playing in the road by the shop) C. 1959.

Diana
erect houses at the uppermost end of Tramway Road near Kloof Road. During the 1940s, if not before, whites resided in these dwellings. By February 1904, the firm of Woolf and Samuel erected four houses, named “Sea View Villas”, near the bottom most end of Tramway Road, at the corner of Regent Road. By the 1950s, the main occupants of these dwellings were white people.

From November 1900 to June 1901, Mr. A. Drake, a property developer purchased parcels of land on the west side of Tramway Road, between Rochester Road and Ilford Street. The property lay directly opposite the western border of the Tramway Cottages. By mid-1901, Drake had erected six of the nine semi-attached houses he intended to build overlooking the street. On a site visit to the six dwellings, the building inspector noticed a discrepancy between Drake’s building plans and the municipal building regulations contained in the Municipal Amendment Act 20, 1896. The charge of non-compliance to the regulations, irked Drake who became impatient over the seeming delay of approval of other building plans. Drake expressed his consternation at the delay of plans for houses that would stand near to sites that he regarded as distasteful:

These houses are far too good for their position considering the Municipal Refuse heap is facing them and that within 50 yards are the Municipal Stables the site for proposed dwellings for coloured boys and kaffirs, and the Tramway Cottages.

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41 “Plans for houses, Tramway Road,” Council Meeting, Municipality of Green Point and Sea Point (hereafter referred to as M of GP and SP), 3/GSP Minute Book 5, 23/01/1900.
42 Erfs 113 and 117, Registrar of Deeds.
43 “Woolf and Sammel,” Municipal Engineers Reports (hereafter M.E.R.), M of GP and SP, 3/GSP Vol. 262, 18/02/1904. See also Erf 87, Registrar of Deeds.
44 Erfs 103, 105, 106, 107, 110, Registrar of Deeds.
45 Erfs 102, 103, 105, 106, 107 and 110, Registrar of Deeds.
46 M of GP and SP, 3/GSP Vol. 170, Letter to the Secretary, Sea Point Council, Number 331, 28/06/1901.
48 M of GP and SP, 3/GSP Vol. 170, Letter to the Secretary, Sea Point Council, Number 331, 28/06/1901.
49 M of GP and SP, 3/GSP Vol. 171, Letter to the Municipal Engineer, Number 80, 20/09/1901.
In the late 1870s, “kaffirs,” a word commonly used in reference to Africans, conveyed a hostility and fearfulness towards African people. At the very least, in his reference to Coloured and African males, Drake communicated his preference for social distance. In noting the proximity of the refuse heap to the cottages and the proposed site of housing for black men, Drake identified social relationships in the municipality. Urban development restricted the location of the dump but when a dump was required, councillors dared not locate it near to where whites resided. The dump, proposed housing for black males and the cottages lay a respectable distance from the homes of whites until housing pressures forced whites to live at the outer edges of Sea Point. When the dump was established in Tramway Road, the residents of the cottages lacked the status to prevent its location near their homes. The residents also lacked the status to prevent housing that would include Africans. Municipal archives show that in 1901, whites did not want Africans to live or socialise in white residential areas. It is possible that the residents of the cottages of whom some were almost certainly working-class Coloureds, most probably did not want African men to live near to their homes either, but lacked the status to prevent its location. Though tensions towards Africans had long roots in the Cape Colony they intensified in the late 19th century. As discussed in the section on the history of the Workmen's Quarters, in 1901 Africans were considered undesirable members of the urban area of greater Cape Town.

Each of the houses that Drake erected had two bedrooms and a living room. The dwellings boasted an outdoor toilet and none of the houses had a bathroom. Soon after he built the houses Drake leased the dwellings. Between February and December 1901, Drake sold his real estate to individuals and organisations who became the landlords of the property they purchased.

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51 M of GP and SP, 3/GSP Minute Book 7.
52 Bickford-Smith, Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice.
54 Erfs 102, 103, 105, 106, 107 and 110, Registrar of Deeds.
By 1928, three semi-attached houses and a shop that included a dwelling, were built south-west of the houses that Drake built. These dwellings brought the total number of Tramway Road houses to 14. The dwellings became identified by their numerical position within the group of houses to which they belonged in the road. For example, the first house in the group was identified as 1 Tramway Road. Ownership of the properties changed during the 1900s. Five different landlords owned the houses in 1961.

**Workmen’s Quarters, 1903**

In 1901, in response to the need for labour in the Municipality of Green Point and Sea Point, municipal officials erected a hostel, the housing to which Drake referred, in Tramway Road for African males. Africans found it difficult to obtain housing in the municipality because whites feared that Africans carried the bacteria that developed into bubonic fever. The bubonic plague had struck Cape Town in 1899 and in March 1901, reached its height in the city. The difficulty that African males who worked for the municipality had with housing affected the extent to which the municipality attracted African workers and thus the extent to which Mr. Heward, the municipal engineer, could fulfill his obligations to provide municipal services. The municipality depended on African males to perform manual labour that was needed for the upkeep of Green Point and Sea Point.

Heward argued that the provision of housing would attract labour and urged the municipal councillors to build housing for African municipal staff. Heward’s view that the municipality should house its African labour was similar to the view that ratepayers in districts 5 and 6 promoted and that the

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Cape Town council considered around 1898.\textsuperscript{60} To satisfy the desire of ratepayers that Africans not live unrestricted in residential areas and to ensure that the Cape Town council had labour close to the city centre the council considered providing housing. Hostels and compounds most probably were the type of housing being considered.

By 1901, in different cities in the Union, the desire to control African men and ensure a nearby pool of labour had encouraged the establishment of compounds and barracks. A compound was first built in Durban in 1878.\textsuperscript{61} During the 1890s, over 1,000 African municipal workers were housed in a compound in Johannesburg.\textsuperscript{62} Compounds first appeared as a form of housing for African males in Kimberley\textsuperscript{63} and gained acceptance for African mine workers in the old Transvaal.\textsuperscript{64} The Table Bay Harbour Board housed dock workers in barracks in Cape Town around 1879.\textsuperscript{65} By 1901, approximately 1,500 migrant workers lived at the docks.\textsuperscript{66} During the bubonic plague, the municipal council of Simon’s Town erected compounds for African municipal staff.\textsuperscript{67}

For a short time, the Green Point and Sea Point municipal council sheltered some of its African staff at stables in the transport depot in Tramway Road. Renovation to the stables increased the space for shelter there but did not provide adequate and sufficient housing.\textsuperscript{68} To motivate council to effect his request for workers quarters, Heward wrote,

\begin{quote}
I am again experiencing some little difficulty with our native labour. The Council may recollect that some little while back on taking over additional premises from Mr. Langerman the
\end{quote}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{saunders} Saunders, “The Creation of Ndabeni,” p. 3.
\bibitem{workmen-quaters} “Workmen’s Quarters,” M.E.R., M of GP and SP, 3/GSP Vol. 260, 05/03/1901.
\end{thebibliography}
lower stable was floored to provide accommodation for some of our men, this and the other building are in use and the other day I found that these rooms were being considerably over crowded. We can accommodate only 28 boys.69

The quarters, effectively a hostel, and similar to barracks were nearly completed by 4 March 1903,70 and resembled an edifice of single rooms proposed in Britain in the 1860s for the English poor.71 The proposed British edifice reflected social relations in England, where the poor occupied the lowermost rung in the social hierarchy. The quarters that the municipal council of Green Point and Sea Point erected highlighted social relations in the then Cape Province of the Union of South Africa wherein African people occupied the lowest position in society. Africans were seen as temporary residents of the urban centre and people who required the most basic of conditions.72

Smaller than compounds and barracks, the hostel in Tramway Road reiterated the view that Africans needed few urban conveniences. In the twelve-room, two-storey, rectangular quarters, three men shared a room rented on a weekly basis.73 Each room opened onto a common passage constructed of brick. To obtain water the occupants used a tap located on each level. Neither of the taps had a sink. Two water closets and one room for bathing purposes stood in the backyard. The building did not include a room designated for cooking and eating. Apparently well-ventilated and well-lit, the quarters housed 36 (presumably) single males. Heward had urged the municipal council to erect two workmen’s quarters but received one.74 The quarters stood in the south east corner of municipal property in Tramway Road, opposite 5 Tramway Cottage.

The municipal council owned the quarters until 1913, when upon amalgamation of Green Point and Sea Point with the City of Cape Town, the building became city property.

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69 "Workmen’s Quarters,” M.E.R., M of GP and SP, 3/GSP Vol. 260, 05/03/1901.
70 "Workmen’s Quarters,” M of GP and SP, 3/GSP Vol. 261, 04/03/1903.
71 Tam, Working-class Housing in 19th-century Britain, p. 18.
72 Elias, A Housing Study, p. 11.
TRAMWAY ROAD and ILFORD STREET, C.1904

Note: The map of 1902 did not show the council flats, whose construction was completed in 1903. The drawing of the council flats and its grounds as shown was copied from the plan of 1940.

Sources: Map of the Municipality of Green Point and Sea Point, 1902, and "Plan of Tramway Road Depot, Sea Point, "1940.
Ilford Street Houses, 1902 and 1920s

Houses, South Side

Circumstances that motivated Drake to build houses in Tramway Road encouraged development in Ilford Street. By 1902, four semi-attached houses stood on the south side of Ilford Street. Built 24 years after the first row of Tramway Cottages by a private developer and for the white artisan and middle classes, the houses in Ilford Street had more rooms than most of the cottages. Each house in Ilford Street had three rooms plus a kitchen. The sanitary conveniences, however, were similar to that of the Tramway Cottages: a water closet stood in the backyards of the dwellings, near a service lane and none of the houses had a bathroom. Built for the white middle class, the houses most probably cost more to rent than the Tramway Cottages. Higher rental fees helped to maintain class and race boundaries. At some point, the four houses in Ilford Street obtained the name “Sea View Terrace.” At a later time, the houses received a numerical identity, Numbers 1 to 4.

When Ochberg, Woolf and Jacobs, purchased the Tramway Cottages, they also bought the houses in Ilford Street. Ilford Investments purchased the Ilford houses when they bought the cottages, in 1948.

Houses and a Shop, North Side

In 1919, Mr. Tiseker, one of the two shopkeepers in Tramway Road, bought property on the north side of Ilford Street. The property extended from the mid-area of the street to the corner of Ilford and Tramway roads. In 1922, Tiseker built two semi-attached houses and a shop. The shop stood at the corner. Perhaps because bathrooms had become common in houses and because Tiseker built one of the houses for himself, the dwellings included an indoor bathroom. The bathroom had cold water plumbing and space for a portable zinc bath. Toilets outside the dwelling continued to be the norm. A toilet stood outside each of the dwellings near the rear lane. In 1929, Tiseker

75 Donaldson and Braby’s Cape Town and Suburban Directory, 1917, p. 338.
76 Erfs 1043, 1044, Registrar of Deeds.
77 Erf 113, Registrar of Deeds.
sold his houses and shop to Mr. Mohammed Allie Parker and Mr. Abdol Rahman.\footnote{See Erf 113, Registrar of Deeds for the location of the property. See Letters of Engineer, 3/CT 4/2/1/3/108 for reference to Tiseker’s proposal to build shops and a dwelling. Rahman was a name used for business purposes. Rahman’s last name was Tiseker and he was a relative of the Tiseker who built the houses and shop in Ilford.} Parker and Rahman owned the properties until the mid-1960s.

Around the early 1940s, the city acquired the private unnamed thoroughfare that became Ilford Street and which hitherto has been identified as such.\footnote{Cape Town City Council Minutes, September 1944-August 1945, p. 1808.} Ilford Street officially received its name circa 1942.\footnote{Cape Times Cape Peninsula Directory, 1942.}

**Institutions**

The establishment of St. Andrew’s Mission, the Baptist Mission and a mission school in Tramway Road for Coloureds communicated an acceptance of the residence of Coloureds in the road. Owing to the social relations of the political economy Coloureds provided manual labour that whites required. It is uncertain whether some of this manual labour was required by the Metropolitan Company, the firm that purchased the Cape Town and Green Point Tramway Company. P.R. Coates stated that the Metropolitan Company did not hire Coloureds to work on the trams.\footnote{Personal communication with P.R. Coates.} Owing to the unavailability of records, it is impossible to confirm or refute Coates’ claim. It is possible, though that while Coloureds might not have participated in the operation of trams, they formed the cleaning staff and thus worked for the Metropolitan Company. A plague on a commemorative stone in Tramway Road that states that tramway employees lived in the cottages from the late 1800s until 1939 suggests that Coloureds lived in the cottages at the turn of the 20th century.\footnote{Plaque on a commemorative stone, Tramway Road. The plague dates the cottages to 1863, a date usually associated with the erection of the cottages because it coincides with the year that the Cape Town and Green Point company opened.} Up until 1991 the cottages were the only dwellings in the road. The establishment of institutions for Coloureds in Tramway Road in the late 19th and early 20th centuries communicated that Coloureds not only lived in the road but were viewed as legitimate and permanent residents there. The institutions helped to establish Tramway Road as a place where Coloureds resided but simultaneously helped to convey expectations of the movement of
Coloureds in the municipality. The institutions reinforced separation and expressed the desire that Coloureds keep to their corner of Sea Point.

**Anglican Mission, 1895**

In 1870 in a chapel that stood near the tramway station, the Dutch Reformed Church conducted Sunday morning service and the Anglican Church administered Sunday evening service. It is unknown whether one or both of the churches welcomed people of different races.

In 1895, St. Andrew’s Mission stood among the tram sheds of the tramway company. St. Andrew’s was an adjunct of St. James the Great, an Anglican Church in Green Point. The Reverend Deacon, of St. James, where whites congregated, established the Mission in the blacksmith’s shop in Tramway Road for the Coloured employees of the tramway company. As a sacrosanct site, the Mission contributed to the recognition of Tramway Road as a place where a relatively large number of Coloureds lived.

**Baptist Mission, 1902 and Mission School, 1903**

In 1902, the Deacons of the Cape Town Baptist Church bought property in Tramway Road south of Sea View Villas, near Regent Road. The deacons erected the Sea Point Baptist Church on the property. The church became known as the Mission Hall. Mr L. Overett, a white male who resided in Rondebosch but who acted as a superintendent at the Mission from 1936 to 1940 and 1945 to 1949, said “the church was specifically a mission to the Coloured people in the area. The Cape Town Baptist Church had a sense of purpose to the Coloured people.”

The Mission added to the recognition of Tramway Road as Coloured space. Mr. Overett described the building:

The church had electricity. In the inside of the church was one big hall with a raised platform at the west-end. Big tall

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84 Cape of Good Hope Directory and Almanac, 1870, p. 197.
85 Murray, Under Lion's Head, p. 62.
86 Erf 94, Registrar of Deeds.
87 Interview with Mr. L.O. 04.07/1998. Mr. O. emphasised that the organisation was a Mission and not a church. In “Notice to Quit,” a film produced in 1959, a sign to the right of the building’s entrance stated, “Sea Point Baptist Church.”
windows, a plain wood floor, wooden fold-up chairs. The preaching was done from the platform. The preachers had a little lectern for support of the Bible and notes. A communion table stood at the front. The hall was sparsely furnished. It had no curtains. It was a brick building with a corrugated iron (roof) ... The walls inside were brick. The long windows I would say were six feet high and two feet wide with obscure glass ... There was a little porch way in the front. 88

By 1903, a mission school operated from the Baptist Mission. It is unknown where young Coloured residents of Tramway Road attended school before the mission school opened. It might be that in the late 19th century, some of the children attended the Penny School in Church Road. In the 1800s, white authorities at the Penny School, accepted Coloured students. 89 In the 1900s, school classes were held in St. Andrew’s Mission but it is unknown if Coloured children attended the school. 90

Anglican Church, 1925
Fire destroyed St. Andrew’s Mission in 1922. 91 In 1925, the Anglican Church built the Church of the Holy Redeemer. Officially located in Kloof Road, the church stood on the eastside of Tramway Road, opposite the southern border of the Tramway Cottages and at the intersection of Tramway and Ilford streets. 92

To a certain extent, service at the Holy Redeemer established new terms of worship in Tramway Road. 93 Meant to replace St. Andrew’s Mission where Coloureds worshipped but also to provide a site of worship for the expanded white population of Sea Point, the Holy Redeemer welcomed a Coloured and white congregation. Whites who used to travel to St. James the Great, could now worship in Sea Point. Though they worshipped together, it is possible that the congregants in the Holy Redeemer seated themselves in a manner that reflected segregation in society. Separate seating had long since been common among mixed-race congregations in Cape Town. In the late 19th

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88 Interview with Mr. L.O. 04/07/1998.
89 Murray, Under Lion’s Head. pp. 67-68.
92 Erf 121, Registrar of Deeds.
93 Cape Argus 30/09/1961.
century, Coloureds sat at the back of Dutch Reform churches and members of the lowest social class sat in the worst pews of the Protestant Church. By the 1940s and 1950s, Coloured members of the Dutch Reform Church attended the Sendinggestig church in Long Street and whites attended the Groote Kerk in Adderley Street. By the 1930s, if not before, in the Church of the Holy Redeemer, whites sat at the front and Coloureds at the back. By the mid-1950s, clergy at the Holy Redeemer delivered a separate Sunday evening service for African women who resided with their employers in Sea Point.

**King’s Road Primary School**

Though not located in Tramway Road in terms of its address, King’s Road Primary School highlighted the relationship between race and space in Cape Town. In 1925, the Educational Trustees of the school board erected the King’s Road Primary School, in King’s Road for white children. Parallel to and west of Tramway Road, King’s Road was mainly a white residential area. To emphasise who would form its student body, though it stood next to the Baptist Mission and mission school, King’s Road Primary fronted King’s Road. The playground of King’s Road Primary lay at the rear of the school and faced Tramway Road. The King’s Road school and mission school had co-terminus boundaries that permitted for interaction between white and black students.

If the thoroughfare of Tramway Road symbolised society and the collation of cottages, houses and hostel symbolised certain social groups, the road and its dwellings reflected the social organisation of Cape Town. Middle-class whites were relatively centrally located in the social organisation of Cape Town and the dwellings built for the white middle classes in Tramway Road were located centrally in relation to the road. Members of the working classes held a position that was removed from the social centre of mainstream society and the cottages built for workers were set off from Tramway Road. Yet further removed if not isolated from the social landscape, African men were to live in a dwelling that lay tucked away from the thoroughfare. The

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organisation of the dwellings reiterated the race and class based nature of the political economy and the profound manner in which it maintained and reproduced the social relations of production.

The Early Residents of the Dwellings
Through a focus on the earliest residents of the dwellings, this section establishes the emergence of a black working-class enclave in Tramway and Ilford streets in the 20th century. The political economy permitted for the emergence of the enclave. Though labour is not a focus of this chapter the production of a residential area of labouring class blacks as Tramway and Ilford streets were was intensely linked to work. As Sea Point, a white and middle-class municipality grew, Coloureds who met the labour needs of the dominant population increasingly moved into the area that was historically associated with the working class and with labourers and servants. Over time Tramway and Ilford streets became surrounded in terms of growth, restricted by white residences. The enclave persisted until 1961 because its residents continued to meet labour needs.

Tramway Cottages
Evidence from the Cape Mercantile suggests that racial bias affected the allocation of housing in the cottages. In Tracks and Trackless, Coates stated that during the late 1800s, in the tramway company, white men held the position of tram guard (conductor). Conductors might have held a status similar to that of foremen. In Under Lion’s Head, Murray stated that in the Green Point and Sea Point Tramway Company, Coloured men occupied the position of driver, groom and stablehand. It is therefore interesting that in July 1878, when the first row of cottages was completed, conductors became its occupants. First occupancy by employees who held a relatively high position in the firm and who were white, indicated that rank and race affected

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95 Erf 98, Registrar of Deeds.
96 Western, Outcast Cape Town, p. 39.
97 Coates, Tracks and Trackless, p. 72.
98 During a conversation with Mr. P.R. Coates, Mr. Coates said a tram guard was in charge of a tram.
99 Murray, Under Lion’s Head, p. 42.
100 Cape Mercantile Advertiser 20/07/1878.
when and where workers were housed in the Tramway Cottages. Did the social hierarchy of the political economy effect a situation whereby people who held positions at the lower end of the firm’s hierarchy were the last to be housed and occupied cottages that stood furthermost from the stables and terminus? Did the link between position of employment and race mean that black employees lived in the furthermost cottages? Despite the negligible distance to work, the location of blacks in the furthermost cottages would have supported and emphasised the race structure of 19th century Cape Town.

In the late 19th century, the link between race and social position in Cape Town increasingly identified blacks as members of the poorer classes. In 1884, when the Medical Inspector of Cape Town sought to establish a register of births and deaths in Green Point and Sea Point, he wrote that it would be relatively easy to maintain a record of the “poorer classes” because they lived in “three localities, eg., Sweet Home, Konters Buildings and the vicinity of the Tramway Station.” Coloureds lived at Sweet Home, Green Point. The residential make-up and location of Konters Building is unknown. Given the evidence of the Cape Mercantile, whites lived in at least one of the two rows of cottages that the Green Point and Sea Point Tramway Company had erected by the early 1880s. Despite the practice to identify blacks as the poor classes, as people who lived near to the tram station, the whites who lived in the cottages might have been among those who were identified as the poor classes of Sea Point. However, it is possible that blacks who might have resided in the second row of cottages formed the residential group to whom the medical officer referred.

In 1891, the population of Green Point and Sea Point consisted of 803 Coloureds and 2,163 whites. In the late 19th century, “Coloured” usually but not always referred to all people of colour. A few of the Coloureds and whites who lived in Sea Point resided in the three rows of cottages that the Green Point and Sea Point Tramway Company had built by 1890. The tramway company employees and their households formed a racially mixed

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101 Bickford-Smith, Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice.
102 Letter from the Medical Inspector to Council, 3GSP Vol. 31, 11/01/1884.
103 Murray, Under Lion’s Head, pp. 19 and 29.
104 Census 1891. 4/11/4.
105 Bickford-Smith, Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice, p. 31.
residential area in the Green Point and Sea Point municipality. Racially mixed working-class residential areas were common in Cape Town and stood in Woodstock, District One (Waterside) and District Six.\textsuperscript{106}

Employees of the Metropolitan Company, the firm that bought the Green Point and Sea Point company lived in the cottages until 1939 when the terminus in Tramway Road was closed.\textsuperscript{107} The employment position of the employees who lived in the cottages is unknown. However, since it has been shown that the architecture of the cottages was associated with the labouring class, it is certain that the employees were members of the working class. The earliest record that Coloureds formed the residential makeup of the cottages was the 1917 edition of Donaldson and Braby’s Cape Town and Suburban Directory.\textsuperscript{108} However, as already stated the erection of the Baptist Mission in Tramway Road in 1901 and the establishment of a mission school in 1903 strongly indicated that a number of Coloureds resided in Tramway Road at the turn of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. Until 1901 the Tramway Cottages were the only dwellings in Tramway Road. If residents of the cottages did not work as tram drivers and conductors for the Metropolitan Company, they perhaps worked as labourers and cleaners.

Mainly Coloureds lived in the cottages into and during the 1950s. Table 1 shows a list of the main tenants of the households that resided in the cottages in 1957.

**Tramway Road Houses**

It is unknown whether the first residents of the houses built by Drake in Tramway Road were members of the white artisan and middle classes. The cost of rent for the new dwellings would have attracted people who earned a certain income and racism would have affected whom Drake and subsequent landlords would have accepted as tenants. Listings in the 1918 Donaldson and Braby’s directory confirms that if whites lived in the houses during the earliest years, by 1918 Coloureds had obtained tenancy.\textsuperscript{109} The directory recorded that all of the residents were Coloured. It should be noted, however, that the

\textsuperscript{106} Bickford-Smith, Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice, pp. 127 and 151.
\textsuperscript{107} Plaque on a stone in the park in Tramway Road.
\textsuperscript{108} Donaldson and Braby’s Cape Town and Suburban Directory, 1917, p. 338.
### Residents of Tramway Road and Ilford Street, 1955 and 1957*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Name of Main Tenant</th>
<th>Approximate Date of Residence</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>1 Tramway Cottages</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1903^</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Tramway Cottages</td>
<td>de Vries / Isaacs</td>
<td>unknown / unknown</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>before 1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Mitchell</td>
<td>before 1932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Tramway Cottages</td>
<td>Lambert</td>
<td>1903^</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Lawrence</td>
<td>1898^</td>
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<td>11 Tramway Cottages</td>
<td>Lawrence</td>
<td>1898^</td>
</tr>
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<td>Collins</td>
<td>around 1900^</td>
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<td>Lawrence / Bertie</td>
<td>before 1932 / around 1910^</td>
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<td>before 1917</td>
</tr>
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<td>Arendse / Whittaker</td>
<td>around 1920^ / before + C.50 1951</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Nathoo</td>
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<td>Morta</td>
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<td>Mitchell / Barros</td>
<td>before 1932^</td>
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<td>1938</td>
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<td>Arendse / De Monk</td>
<td>around 1920^ / unknown</td>
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<td>13 Tramway Road</td>
<td>Wepener</td>
<td>around 1924</td>
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<td>14 Tramway Road</td>
<td>Jacobs</td>
<td>1923^</td>
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<td>Approximate Date of Residence</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ilford Street</td>
<td>Splinters</td>
<td>around 1910^</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Ilford Street</td>
<td>Jacobs</td>
<td>1923^</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Ilford Street</td>
<td>Petersen</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Ilford Street</td>
<td>Gales / Davis</td>
<td>1928 / 1923^</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beeston</td>
<td>Jacobs</td>
<td>1923^</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council Flats</td>
<td>Conrad</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council Flats</td>
<td>Petersen</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council Flats</td>
<td>Tombeni</td>
<td>around 1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council Flats</td>
<td>van der Venter</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^Year stated is the year of residence of a forebearer of an interviewee.

The year preceded by "before" is the year of birth or marriage of an interviewee who belonged to the household named. Though interviewees often did not know when one or both of their parents or grandparents first lived in the enclave they knew it was before their own birth. Though interviewees did not know as of when their spouse first lived in the enclave they knew it preceeded their marriage.

*Data for the Council Flats is for 1955. Data for the other households is for around 1957. The data is compiled from oral history interviews, a sketch of Tramway and Ilford streets compiled for restitution, Minutes of the City of Cape Town 1954-55, Juta's Cape Town and Suburban Directory, the Cape Argus, Marriage Record 1875-1903 and the Baptism Record 1873-1901 and 1885-1905 of St. James Church, Green Point. The sketch compiled for restitution is based on the addresses with which residents were associated during the 1950s.
accuracy of the directory is questionable. It would seem, though, that at least some Coloureds lived in the houses. Tenancy for Coloureds would have become more possible when the condition of the houses deteriorated and the political economy and social relations encouraged a shift in the demographics of Tramway Road.

Evident of myth and memory in oral history, two former residents of Tramway Road disagreed on the racial make-up of Tramway Road houses in the 1920s and 30s. Born in 1920, Mr. F. Wepener who lived at 13 Tramway Road said when he was a youngster, “white bus conductors and bus drivers” lived in the houses “but they gradually moved out and the more they moved out, the more Coloureds came in.”\(^\text{10}\) Mr. Wepener especially remembered Mr. Brill, a bus driver who lived in one of the centre dwellings of the Tramway Road houses. Born in 1924, Mrs. P. Goldman (née Arendse) who lived at 10 Tramway Road, said that whites did not live in the Tramway Road houses. Mrs. Goldman was adamant that whites lived at the bottom of the street near Regent Road but not in the mid-section of Tramway Road. In her recollection of the racial make-up of people who lived in the houses, Mrs. Goldman most probably recalled a period of time that was different than the period that Mr. Wepener remembered.

The name of Mr. Brill, the bus driver who Mr. Wepener recalled, appeared in the 1928 Donaldson and Braby’s directory. Mr. Brill lived at 8 Tramway Road.\(^\text{11}\) The tenancy of Mr. Brill and possibly other whites in the houses means that whites and Coloureds lived in the houses in 1928. The Coloured households, or, owing to the possibility of racially-mixed marital unions, households that included Coloureds, were Wepener, Bertie and Arendse. These households were relatives of people who were interviewed for this thesis. Mr. Brill left Tramway Road around 1939 when the tram terminus closed.\(^\text{12}\) In 1939, the Metropolitan Bus Company introduced trolley buses and no longer stationed buses at the terminus at Regent and Tramway roads.\(^\text{13}\) Trolley buses that served Sea Point were stationed at Ebenezer Road and

\(^{10}\text{Donaldson and Braby’s Cape Town and Suburban Directory, 1918-1919, p. 335.}\)
\(^{11}\text{Interview with Mr. F.W. 22/05/1998.}\)
\(^{12}\text{Donaldson and Braby’s Cape Town and Suburban Directory, 1928, p. 298.}\)
\(^{13}\text{Mr. Brill was last listed in the 1938 Donaldson and Braby’s directory. Donaldson and Braby’s Cape Town and Suburban Directory, 1938, p. 319.}\)
Tollgate in Cape Town. In 1939, Coloureds lived in 13 of the 14 houses in Tramway Road. The names of the main tenants of the households that resided in the houses in 1957 appear in Table 1.

Workmen’s Quarters

Records of the Municipality of Green Point and Sea Point state that Africans were to live in the hostel but do not confirm whether Africans did in fact reside in the dwellings. If, as intended, the municipal council housed African males in the hostel, in March 1903, by the end of August, Africans no longer formed the main tenant group. By the end of December, owing to events related to the bubonic plague, municipal officials removed the majority of Africans in Sea Point to the location at the harbour. Removals began sometime before December. It seems that if African men occupied the hostel in March, all but one African male had been removed or had since obtained residence. At the end of August, an official who visited the hostel found that one African male resided there. In reference to the discovery, the official wrote, “this should not be.” The official did not identify the race of the men who lived in the dwelling with the African male. If Africans indeed occupied the hostel in March 1903, their residence in the hostel before that, and in the stables, broadened the racial composition of Tramway Road. After the removal of the males, the racial composition of Tramway Road narrowed.

In 1907, married men and most probably their spouses and children, lived in the building. The tenant groups might have had more living space than the one-room accommodation that was intended for African males.

In August 1935, four households occupied the building. Then known as the council flats, the building was divided into four apartments. Municipal archives record that Coloureds formed three of the households and a total of

113 Personal Communication with Mr. P.R. Coates, 17/02/2001.
114 The Cape Times Cape Peninsula Directory, 1939 directory identified 11 Coloured households and listed three households by name. These three households included Eyssen and Arendse. Oral history interviews identified the Eyssen and Arendse households as Coloured. However, it is possible that if the households were a racially-mixed unit, they were identified by name because of the white racial identity of the male head of the household.
Second Floor of the Council Flats c. 1950s*

Exit to first floor and front of building. Exit also to backyard.

Kitchen | Dining Room
---|---
Bedroom | Bedroom
Kitchen | Dining Room

Windows that overlooked the backyard.

Backyard:
Two toilets and an area for washing.

*Diagram is an approximation based on information received from Mrs. U. Lewis (née Tombeni).

Shaded area represents the flat of the Tombeni household.
19 people resided in the flats. Mrs. C. Tombeni, an ex-tenant of the flats and whose parental household occupied two rooms in the edifice in 1935, described what might have been the organisation of her own marital unit in the building. Ms. U. Lewis, Mrs. Tombeni’s daughter added to her mother’s description of the flats. The women’s description of their residence in the flats has been illustrated in a diagram (Figure 3). Given that the diagram represents the organisation of the Tombeni residence, it represents the building around the 1950s.

C: It was a flat like the other flats. But you had a passage … On each side (of the passage) you had three rooms … The kitchen, the bedroom, your sitting room … If you got more (than one) children then you have to make your sitting room also a bedroom. The same (arrangement) was upstairs.
U: [The rooms] didn’t run in the whole house. Like it was per room.
C: Wherever you go you got to lock your door behind you.
U: Because you had like three rooms that was your accommodation. One was your kitchen, one was your dining room, one’s your bedroom. It’s not that you just had to lock your front door and your back door.

The former hostel created an extraordinary living arrangement. Rooms formerly used mainly for sleeping and cooking purposes became a bedroom, kitchen and living room. The rooms did not connect with each other and had to be entered from the main passage of the building. In 1955, just as it was in 1903, a single tap on each floor and sanitary facilities in the yard still functioned as part of the main facilities in the building. The council flats had no electricity. Table 1 shows the names of the households that lived in the council flats in 1955.

120 A report that described the household size of the tenants included two Klein households. Mrs. C. Tombeni’s stepfather was Mr. Klein. This Klein household comprised of three members and occupied two rooms. Letter to the Engineer, 3/CT 4/2/1/3/185.
121 Ms. U.L. and Mrs. C.T in an interview with Mrs. C.T. 07/06/1997.
Ilford Street Houses

South Side
In 1923 a Coloured household moved into 2 Ilford Street. If whites were intended to be the occupants of the houses in the 20th century, a willingness of the landlord and the economic position of the Coloureds who moved into 2 Ilford Street permitted Coloureds to enter the road. It might also be that the houses had begun to deteriorate and whites no longer wished to occupy the dwellings. By the 1940s, Coloureds lived in Numbers 1 to 4 in Ilford Street. The racial composition of Ilford meant that the street formed the south-westernmost border of the Coloured enclave that lay mainly in Tramway Road.

Oral descriptions of the people who lived on the south side of Ilford Street the 1940s suggest that a former landlord of this property rented the dwellings to persons who met criteria related to colour. Coloured households on the south of Ilford Street tended to fall within a certain sector of the colour gradient that racism promoted. According to interviewees, one or both of the Coloureds who headed the households on the south side were 'quite fair' or had a white spouse. Households that fitted this description might have lived in Tramway Road but the smaller size of Ilford Street and attitudes of class associated with Ilford (discussed in Chapter 5) perhaps promoted this description of Ilford Street. A hierarchy pertaining to shades of skin colour imitated social distinctions of class.

North Side

As mentioned earlier, Messrs Parker and Tiseker purchased the two semi-attached houses and shop on the north side of Ilford Street in 1929. Parker and Tiseker were of Indian origin and people of Indian origin tended to operate shops in Cape Town at large. The importance of shops in residential areas meant that Indians lived among other races. By the early 1940s, Parker lived at 11 Tramway Road with his spouse and children. The house was attached to the shop that stood at the corner of Tramway and Ilford streets and

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was officially associated with Tramway Road. Another house to which the shop was semi-attached held an Ilford Street address. This house, known as “Beeston,” obtained its name from the Beeston household that might have been the earliest tenants of the dwelling. During the Beeston’s occupancy, a brass plaque whereupon “Beeston” was inscribed, hung at the entrance to the front door of the house. The plaque gave the house its name until 1961, more than 30 years after the Beestons moved from Ilford Street. The names of the main tenants of the houses in Ilford Street appear in Table 1.

During the late 19th century, small pockets of Coloureds and Africans lived elsewhere in Sea Point. Coloureds lived in Rhine Road, High Level Road and near Avenue Fresnaye. An unknown number of African domestic workers lived in the grounds of their employers’ estates. In the 1920s, Coloureds lived in St. Andrew’s Road and Oceanview Drive. In Green Point, Coloureds resided in Somerset Road and York Road. In Cape Town at large, enclaves of working class people of colour stood in Protea Village, Claremont, Newlands Avenue, Mowbray and Black River. These enclaves also arose perhaps as a result of the forces and relations of production in Cape Town.

CONCLUSION

The dwellings in Tramway Road and Ilford Street arose from forces of production and social relations of production in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Social relations of class and race led to the building of cottages, houses and municipal quarters in Tramway and Ilford streets. The housing reflected ideas, beliefs and values towards the working classes, white middle classes and Africans.

By the early 1920s, working-class Coloureds resided in the majority of the dwellings in Tramway and Ilford streets. As the larger quotation at the beginning of this chapter suggests people who entered the enclave in the 1950s

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125 O.D. Wollheim Papers, BC 627.
126 Bickford-Smith, et al Cape Town in the Twentieth Century, p. 194; Bickford-Smith, Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice.
were mainly the individuals who resided there. Access to roads that lay above and below Tramway Road meant that whites who resided at the upper and lower ends of the street did not have to pass through the enclave. This practice helped to produce and identity the mid-section of Tramway Road as a site of working-class Coloureds in Sea Point. In the 1920s through to 1961, the residents themselves participated in the production and reproduction of the enclave and their households. Some of how this activity occurred is the subject of the next chapter.
"In those days family stayed together." 1

CHAPTER THREE

HOUSEHOLDS, HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE & GENDER, 1940-1961

The beds folded up and [in] the room [where] we slept, the beds [were] against the wall. [We ate in our bedroom.] We put paper on the floor for children to sit on and eat [and] my mother and father [sat] on chairs. And after supper we open the beds for sleep. We slept on the floor, arranged on the floor including my mother and father. My granny also lived in that cottage and my uncle and other uncle. In the other room my uncle and his wife lived ... my granny slept in the kitchen ... my other uncle had something in the yard. 2

INTRODUCTION

In the 1920s through to 1961, activities that occurred in and between households, hereafter also referred to as domestic units, reflected the political economy and how residents responded to circumstances that arose due to the economy. Through maintaining households in the enclave, the residents participated in the production and reproduction of the residential area.

Murray defined a household as “an aggregation of individuals” who contributed to and benefited from income and expenditures for which household members were responsible. Murray’s definition of a household included non-kin and members who were absent from the home for reasons that included work, economic circumstance and cultural practice. 3 Domestic groups in Tramway and Ilford streets included non-kin members. Persons related through blood and marriage were usually but not exclusively the members of households.

In this chapter, households and household activity are discussed within the five categories of co-residence, production, distribution, transmission and reproduction. 4 Members of a domestic unit co-resided when they lived together all the time or part of the time and shared household activities. The

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1 Interview with Mr. W. Tiseker, 22/08/1999.
2 Interview with Mrs. H.K. 18/06/1998.
different types of households in the enclave meant that the residents lived in a mixed residential area. The structure of these households changed over time. Commonly termed housework, household production defined activities that met the food, clothing and other needs of household members. The production of meals in the households in the enclave reflected the economic circumstances of the domestic units. Distribution, crucial to the survival of households refers to the sharing of resources through acts of reciprocity. Associated with the passing on of property, in this chapter transmission refers to activity wherein residents passed on their dwellings to kin and friends who lived in the residential area. The passing on of dwellings helped to control residence and satisfy housing needs. In this chapter the category of reproduction concerns age at marriage. Marriage permitted for the reproduction of households in the enclave. The activities related to the five categories are interdependent. The degree of interdependence between and among the categories depended on the circumstances and resources of households. For the purposes of clarity and organisation, each of the categories are discussed separately.

In this chapter, oral history interviews provide data on household structure during the decades and years before 1961. Household structure for 1961 is based on the Wannenburg survey conducted around August 1961, hereafter referred to as 1961. A comparison of the structure of households in the enclave before 1961 and during 1961 emphasises that domestic units changed over time.

Two abstract tables appear in this chapter. Table 2 represents households and a description of their membership. Table 3 shows the age at which residents of Tramway and Ilford streets married. The table on households was mainly based on the Wannenburg survey. The survey listed the residents of each dwelling and indicated the marital status and the relationship between the co-residents of a dwelling. Conducted around August 1961 for the Tramway Road Association (TRA) to submit to the

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6 Wannenburg Papers, Mr. Wannenburg, (Privately Held).
Group Areas Board, the body that administered the Group Areas Act, the survey excluded households that resided in the council flats and the Parker, Nathoo and Ramasammi domestic groups. Residents of the flats moved from Sea Point around 1955. Identified as “Indian,” the Parker, Nathoo and Ramasammi households were prevented by law from membership in the TRA. Apartheid law viewed the TRA as an organisation of Coloured people. Table 2, however, includes the Parker, Nathoo and Ramasammi households. A member of these households provided the data for 1961.

Co-residence
The co-residence of Coloured households in Tramway and Ilford streets, a place of residence within the urban area, reflected the political economy. Until the implementation of the Group Areas Act in 1959, the Coloured households that resided in the enclave were able to do so because they were not African or did not socially identify as African. The Urban Areas Act, 1923, deemed that Africans could not reside in Sea Point, Cape Town proper, and other suburbs of the city with their spouses and children. Africans had to live in the location in Ndabeni and as of 1927, in Langa. Married African domestic workers in Sea Point who resided in the grounds of their employers lived without their children and spouse. When Africans did reside outside of the location, separate from their employers, they did so under vulnerable circumstances in places such as District Six. From the late 1930s to early 1960s, partly because they could not reside closer to the city, a large number of Africans lived in Windermere. Households in Tramway and Ilford streets, and other urban enclaves such as Protea Village, upper and lower Claremont, Mowbray and Black River, where Coloureds, Indians and Malay lived were a reflection of the biased relations of the political economy of Cape Town and South Africa. Coloured, Indian, Moslem and white households in District Six, and throughout the city, also benefited from this structural socio-political bias.

In the 50 households recorded in the Wannenburg survey, the residents of the enclave co-resided in four types of domestic units: 13 extended (26 percent), 6 extended multiple (12 percent), seven solitary (14 percent), five

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7 S. Field, "The Power of Exclusion."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dwelling</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Household Type</th>
<th>Description of Household Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 TC</td>
<td>Paulsen</td>
<td>Extended</td>
<td>Marital couple, 4 children, 2 grandchildren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 TC</td>
<td>de Vries</td>
<td>Solitary</td>
<td>Widow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Isaacs</td>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>Marital couple, no children in the home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 TC</td>
<td>Lambert/Lambert</td>
<td>Extended</td>
<td>Widow, daughter &amp; son-in-law &amp; grandchild, nephew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 TC</td>
<td>Jacobs/Fife</td>
<td>Extended</td>
<td>Widow, daughter &amp; son-in-law &amp; 5 grandchildren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 TC</td>
<td>Phillips</td>
<td>Extended</td>
<td>Widow, son, 2 grandchildren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Barkhuis</td>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>Marital couple, no children in the home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 TC</td>
<td>Mitchell/Mitchell</td>
<td>Extended</td>
<td>Widow, brother, son &amp; daughter-in-law &amp; 4 grandchildren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 TC</td>
<td>Lambert</td>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>Marital couple, 8 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 TC</td>
<td>Lawrence</td>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>Marital couple, 10 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 TC</td>
<td>Lawrence</td>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>Marital couple, 2 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 TC</td>
<td>Collins/Collins</td>
<td>Extended Multiple</td>
<td>Marital couple, 3 biological children and 2 children of a friend, son &amp; daughter-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 TC</td>
<td>Bertie/Petersen/Petersen</td>
<td>Extended Multiple</td>
<td>Widow, daughter &amp; son-in-law &amp; grandchild, another daughter &amp; 2 grandchildren,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>son &amp; daughter-in-law &amp; 1 grandchild, another son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 TC</td>
<td>Harris</td>
<td>Solitary</td>
<td>Divorced woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 TC</td>
<td>Arendse</td>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>Marital couple, 1 child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Whittaker</td>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>Marital couple, 1 child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 TC</td>
<td>Nathoo</td>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>Marital couple, 8 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 TC</td>
<td>Paulsen/Paulsen</td>
<td>Extended</td>
<td>Widow, son &amp; daughter-in-law, another son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 TC</td>
<td>Fischer</td>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>Marital couple, 3 children (one of whom was an adopted grandchild)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 TC</td>
<td>Absalom</td>
<td>Solitary</td>
<td>Widow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Airdien</td>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>Marital couple, 2 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 TC</td>
<td>October/Valentine</td>
<td>Extended</td>
<td>Widower, daughter &amp; son-in-law &amp; 7 grandchildren</td>
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<tr>
<td>21 TC</td>
<td>Jacobs</td>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>Marital couple, 2 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Magierman</td>
<td>Simple</td>
<td>Woman with 2 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 TC</td>
<td>Paulsen/Thomas/Eyssen</td>
<td>Extended</td>
<td>Woman, daughter &amp; son-in-law, grand-daughter &amp; 3 great-grandchildren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 TC</td>
<td>Morta</td>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>Marital couple, 4 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 TC</td>
<td>Pather</td>
<td>Extended</td>
<td>Widow, 3 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jacobs</td>
<td></td>
<td>Marital couple, 4 children (Female of this unit was the sister of the widow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 TC</td>
<td>Arendse</td>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>Marital couple, 1 child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dwelling</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Household Type</td>
<td>Description of Household Type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 TR</td>
<td>Lawrence</td>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>Marital couple, 3 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Swartz</td>
<td>Solitary</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Petersen</td>
<td>Solitary</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 TR</td>
<td>Absalom</td>
<td>Simple</td>
<td>Widow, 5 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 TR</td>
<td>Isaacs</td>
<td>Simple</td>
<td>Widow, 3 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td>Solitary</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 TR</td>
<td>de Vos/de Vos/Lopes</td>
<td>Extended</td>
<td>Widow, son &amp; daughter-in-law, &amp; 3 grandchildren (1 grandchild belonged to daughter of widow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 TR</td>
<td>Peters/Williams</td>
<td>Extended</td>
<td>Marital couple, 3 children, niece, and adult male (might have been husband of niece)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 TR</td>
<td>Ramasammi/Mitchell</td>
<td>Extended Multiple</td>
<td>Marital couple, 4 children, daughter &amp; son-in-law &amp; 3 grandchildren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 TR</td>
<td>Mitchell</td>
<td>Simple</td>
<td>Widow, son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 TR</td>
<td>Barros</td>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>Marital couple, 6 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 TR</td>
<td>Jacobs</td>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>Marital couple, 5 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 TR</td>
<td>Parker/Parker</td>
<td>Extended Multiple</td>
<td>Marital couple, 3 children, son &amp; daughter-in-law &amp; 2 grandchildren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 TR</td>
<td>St. Clair</td>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>Marital couple, 1 child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 TR</td>
<td>Wepener</td>
<td>Extended</td>
<td>Widow, son, grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 TR</td>
<td>Jacobs</td>
<td>Simple</td>
<td>Widow, 2 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 IS</td>
<td>Sheldon/Splinters</td>
<td>Extended Multiple</td>
<td>Marital couple, son &amp; daughter-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 IS</td>
<td>Delport/Jacobs</td>
<td>Extended</td>
<td>Marital couple, 3 children, sister of female of marital couple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 IS</td>
<td>Swanlow</td>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>Marital couple, no children in the home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 IS</td>
<td>Gales</td>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>Marital couple, no children in the home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beeston</td>
<td>Jacobs/Jacobs/Lottery/October</td>
<td>Extended Multiple</td>
<td>Marital couple, son, another son &amp; daughter-in-law &amp; 4 grandchildren, daughter &amp; 3 grandchildren, another daughter &amp; son-in-law &amp; 3 grandchildren</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The majority of the information in this table is based on the Wannenburg Survey. The survey excluded the Ramasammi (6 TR), Nathoo (16 TC) and Parker (11 TR) households. Data for these households for 1961 were obtained through a member of these households and have been included in the table. Since the Wannenburg Survey was conducted during a time of forced removal, some of the households that had already moved were excluded from the survey. For example, the survey did not record the Davis unit that lived at 4 Ilford Street until January 1960. Aside from the aforementioned households, units that were excluded from the survey have not been included in the table.*
simple (10 percent) and 19 nuclear (38 percent) domestic units. A marital unit that included one or more relatives other than offspring comprised an extended domestic unit. Extended multiple domestic groups formed when two or more marital units that were related by sanguinity or marriage, co-resided. A solitary household consisted of a person who was single, widowed or divorced. A widowed person with offspring in the home constituted a simple household. A married couple or a married couple with children formed nuclear households.

**Extended Households**

Different forms of extended households could occur and did occur in the enclave. In 1961 at 2 Ilford Street a marital couple resided with three children and the sister of the female head of the conjugal unit. At 5 Tramway Road lived a marital couple, their three offspring and a niece. A male with whom the niece shared a last name resided in the dwelling as well. Similar to the household at Number 5, aunts, uncles, cousins, nieces and nephews were members of extended households in Claremont. It is unclear whether the male at Number 5 was the husband of the niece. If the male were the niece’s husband, the domestic unit at Number 5 would be better defined as an extended multiple household.

A widow with unmarried children and grandchildren formed another type of extended unit. During the 1940s and 1950s, a widow at 3 Ilford Street raised her grandchildren after her daughter-in-law died. In 1961, at 6 Tramway Cottages, Mrs. Phillips resided with her 42-year-old son and two grandchildren. Households that included three generations were common but usually comprised the marital unit of a married offspring. When adult children married and lived in their parental homes with their spouses and children, the generation depth of the household increased to three generations. Human life-span made a four-generation depth rare.

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8 P. Laslett, “Introduction,” in P. Laslett and R. Wall (eds) Household and Family in Time Past, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press), 1972, pp. 25-31. Laslett spoke of extended and multiple households. To emphasise that multiple households were related, in this thesis, I use the terms extended and extended multiple. Laslett included nuclear units within the category of simple units. I’ve separated the three types of simple households that Laslett identified and identified one as simple, one as solitary and the other as nuclear.

9 Taliep, “A Study in the History of Claremont,” p. 44.
When extended kin resided together, the economic power of the members who formed the unit increased. An extended domestic unit that comprised members who worked was especially important to the economic power of an elderly widow. In 1961, at 8 Tramway Cottages, lived Mrs. E. Mitchell, a 77-year-old widow, an unmarried son, and a married son with his wife and their four children. Habitation with their widowed mothers, helped offspring to provide for their parents. In 1961, of the 13 extended households in Tramway and Ilford streets, eight were comprised of widows who shared their dwellings with the marital unit of a married offspring.

Extended Multiple Households

Extended multiple units were formed through the co-residence of two or more marital units who were related by blood or marriage. The four or more households in Black River and in Claremont who lived in the same house might have been extended multiple units. In Claremont, extended multiple units commonly occurred when a newlywed son and his wife resided with the male’s parents. In Tramway and Ilford streets, newly married male or female offspring resided in the parental home with their spouses. Economic conditions and a shortage of housing in the enclave influenced whether a newly married couple lived in the parental home. Rental property elsewhere in the suburb that could be had by Coloureds were most probably highly sought after and difficult to obtain. Owing to their different economic position vis-à-vis working-class and middle-class whites, residents of the enclave could not afford to purchase property in Sea Point and through real estate activity, whites most probably prevented Coloureds from living in areas beyond Coloured pockets in the suburb. In the years and decades before apartheid, an inability to afford dwellings in residential areas where whites resided supported de facto segregation.

The probability of living in a parental home increased, if other offspring who married moved out of the home. In 1950, unable to find accommodation for themselves, the newly married couple, Mr. and Mrs. R.

10 For Black River, see Mesthrie, “Dispossession in Black River,” Chapter 1, p. 7; For Claremont, see Taliep, "A Study in the History of Claremont," p. 44.
11 Western, Outcast Cape Town, pp. 39-40.
Lambert, resided with Mr. Lambert’s parents at 4 Tramway Cottages. The Lamberts obtained the lounge at Number 4 for their private living quarters. The couple was able to do so because Mr. Lambert’s siblings had “all married [and moved] out already.” Both members of the young couple worked in Sea Point and wished to remain in Tramway Road for the purposes of work. The use of the dining room for the sleeping and private quarters of the marital unit of a married offspring was common in Tramway and Ilford streets. Mr. Lambert and his wife resided at Number 4 with his mother, widowed in 1959, until the end of 1961.

On 2 February 1957, Mr. A. Parker and his sister Ms. A. Parker married their respective betrothed. Mr. Parker resided with his new wife in his parents’ home at 11 Tramway Road. Mrs. A. Parker (Ms. Parker married a gentleman whose last name was Parker) resided elsewhere and outside of the enclave. When Mr. A. Parker moved into his parents’ home with his wife, three of his unmarried siblings also lived in the dwelling. Mr. Parker operated the shop that his parents owned in the enclave. The operation of the shop, an economic concern, perhaps contributed to the decision to reside in the parental home. However, given that Taliep found that in the Moslem households of upper Claremont a married son resided with his wife in the parental home, it may be that in Moslem households it was practice for married sons rather than for married daughters to remain in the home. The extended multiple household at Number 11 was home to two generations until Mr. Parker and his wife had a child, around 1958.

Other types of extended multiple units occurred in the enclave. In 1961, at 13 Tramway Cottages, three married siblings lived with their spouses and children and a mother-in-law. The married siblings had grown up at 3 Ilford Street. At Beeston, Ilford Street, Mr. and Mrs. P.F. Jacobs resided with their three married offspring and their offsprings’ spouses and children. Eighteen people formed this multiple domestic unit. In 1961, six extended multiple households resided in Tramway and Ilford streets.

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12 Mrs. R.L. in an interview with Mr. R.L. and Mrs. R.L. 13/06/1998.
13 In personal communication with Mr. R.L. on 16/08/2000, he said his father died in 1959.
Solitary Households

In the early 1940s, four Black males of unknown marital status resided at 2 Tramway Road: “African boys was living in that house.”\textsuperscript{14} In the absence of evidence that two or more of the males might have been related, or that the males lived communally, each male formed a solitary household in the dwelling. Around 1944, two Black males lived at Number 2 but were evicted after the landlord offered the dwelling to a nuclear household that resided in a room at 4 Tramway Road. The eviction of the males pointed to the vulnerability of Africans in the urban area.

At one point between the 1930s and 1950s, a female teacher lodged at 11 Tramway Cottages with the Lawrence household. Subletting occurred for economic reasons or to help someone, perhaps a friend, who needed housing. It is unknown what the terms of lodging tended to be in the enclave. To lodge in a dwelling, however, might have meant that the inhabitants of the dwelling shared only the structure that formed their shelters.\textsuperscript{15} Lodgers might have had to cook their own meals and perform their own household tasks.

In 1961, three widows, one divorced woman, two males and a female of unknown marital status formed solitary households in the enclave. The divorced female lived on her own but all the other solitary households shared a dwelling with one or more domestic group. Shared tenancy reduced rental expenses.

Simple Households

A widowed person who resided only with offspring, formed a simple household. Widows who had children who were not of working age or who were incapable of paid work were among the more economically vulnerable households in the enclave. The Wannenburg survey identified five simple households. Widows headed all of these homes. Widows also headed, or were members of nine of the 19 extended and extended multiple units. The number of widows in the enclave in 1961 compares strikingly with the number of widowers. In 1961, one widower lived in the residential area. The greater number of widows occurred for different reasons. Though widows did remarry

\textsuperscript{14} Interview with Mrs. E.M. 17/06/1998.

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-- around 1917, Mrs. Petersen a widow, re-married and became Mrs. Campbell
-- their incidence of re-marriage might have been lower than that of widowers. Coloured men also had a lower life expectancy than white males and presumably, of Coloured women.\textsuperscript{16} It is possible that men who outlived their spouses, left the enclave to reside elsewhere. Widowers were able to leave because they were more economically independent than widows and owing to employment had wider social networks. Widows tended to remain in Tramway and Ilfords streets because it was close to sources of work and they relied on networks in the enclave to survive. In 1937, Mr. Goldman, then recently widowed, moved with his two offspring to District Six where he had obtained a new job and residence. In 1957, four years after his wife died, Mr. Shenosha remarried and moved to Cape Town. Circa August 1961, Mr. October, the widower identified in the Wannenburg survey, remarried and moved to Athlone.\textsuperscript{17}

In 1961, the number of offspring in the simple household of a widow, varied from one to five children. Seventy-eight-year old Mrs. F. Wepener, widowed in the mid-1920s, lived at 13 Tramway Road with her 41-year-old mentally disabled son, Fred. At 2 Tramway Road, Mrs. Absalom, widowed in 1958, resided with her five offspring.

During the 1950s, if not before, two paternal uncles of Ms. M. Isaacs resided with her parental household at 3 Tramway Road. Ms. Isaacs’ father died in April 1960 and by August 1961, it seems the paternal kin had moved. Mrs. Isaacs and her children formed a simple household. A 1936 study of households in Cape Town, found that domestic units that did not include a male head were more likely to depend on charitable support.\textsuperscript{18} Economic circumstance in the simple household of Mrs. Isaacs might have encouraged Mrs. Isaacs to participate in domestic fluidity. In 1961, two of Mrs. Isaacs’ children resided with her mother in the Eastern Province (Eastern Cape).

\textsuperscript{15} Laslett, \textit{Household and family of past time}, p. 35.
\textsuperscript{17} The Wannenburg survey identifies Mr. October as a resident of 20 Tramway Cottages. In an interview with Mrs. A. Jacobs (née Valentine), a grand-daughter of Mr. October, Mrs. Jacobs suggests that her grandfather married and moved to Athlone while the Valentine household still lived in Tramway Road.
\textsuperscript{18} Wagner, \textit{Poverty and Dependence in Cape Town}, p. 66.
MRS. J. DELPORT (R) WITH HER CHILDREN AND RELATIVE

MEMBERS OF THE DELPORT HOUSEHOLD.
Absence from the parental home and residence in another domicile expressed the practice of domestic fluidity. Limited space prevents further discussion on domestic fluidity in Tramway and Ilford streets.

A simple household occurred upon the death of a marital partner but also when the marital unit of a married offspring moved out of the dwelling. In 1961, Mrs. H. Mitchell, a widow, resided with her 22-year-old son, Melvin, at 8 Tramway Road. This simple unit occurred circa November 1959. Mrs. Mitchell’s daughter, son-in-law and their five children lived at Number 8 for 10 years but moved next door to 7 Tramway Road circa August 1957. In November 1959, Mrs. Mitchell’s husband died.

Nuclear Households
A married couple and married couple with children formed simple nuclear domestic units. The marital unit of a nuclear or other type of household did not necessarily always reside together. For example, the Wannenburg survey identified Mr. and Mrs. Gales as a married couple but Mrs. A. Davis said that the Gales lived separately for a number of years. In the late 1950s Mr. Gales requested to return to the marital home. Since the Wannenburg survey identified the Gales as a nuclear unit, the Gales are included in the count of nuclear households in 1961. The economic circumstance of nuclear units depended on the number of children in the home and the occupation of the male head of the household.

In 1961, 19 nuclear households lived in the enclave. In four households lived a married couple with no children in the home. No offspring recorded in the home did not necessarily mean that the couple had no children. Mrs. A. Jacobs emphasised this point when she spoke about her mother who was born in 1910: “She was at school in Bot River while [her parents] were working in Sea Point and stayed in Tramway Road.” In relatively older marital units, no children in the home might have meant that adult offspring resided elsewhere. The sole surviving offspring of Mr. and Mrs. Gales, residents of 4 Ilford Street, emigrated to England around 1949.

During the late 1940s and until around 1952, the Lambert household at 2 Tramway Cottages included five children. Two other households, both of whom were kin of the Lamberts, also lived at Number 2. Related by consanguinity or marriage, the marital domestic units in this dwelling formed an extended multiple household. Mrs. D. Moses (née Lambert) recalled living at 2 Tramway Cottages.

Each one (household) had a room – but we were like hard pressed for accommodation. We lived with my auntie, the Paulsens – And we lived beautifully but then [because of] family growth my father had to try his utmost to get us a place because it was very cramped.  

Mrs. Moses evokes the popular image of content black working-class people living harmoniously in overcrowded space. Though the image reinforces stereotypes about the black working class, it also affirms working class pride. While harmony among the units at Number 2 might not have been uncommon it is unrealistic to believe that it was consistent. A certain amount of strategy would have been necessary to maintain a balance among the members of the units. Owing to the lack of sufficient living space in the enclave that the Lambert household could afford, around 1952, the household moved to the Acres in Goodwood. Around 1956, “we went back to Tramway Road. Then my daddy got Number 9 (Tramway Cottages) for us.” Formerly the members of an extended multiple household in Tramway Road, the Lamberts formed a nuclear unit in a dwelling of their own.

In 1961, a married couple with children in the home constituted 15 of the 19 nuclear households. Four of these households shared a dwelling with non-kin. Nine of the 15 households did not share their dwellings with other units. The number of offspring in the nuclear units varied from one to 10 children. Nuclear households that included up to 10 offspring were not uncommon in other enclaves. During the 1930s and 1950s, at least one nuclear

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21 Interview with Mrs. D.M. 10/06/1998.
22 Interview with Mrs. D.M. 10/06/1998.
23 This total of 12 included the occupants of 10 Tramway Road who were evicted for non-payment of rent, just prior to August 1961, Wannenburg Papers, Mr. Wannenburg (Privately Held).
unit in Claremont included 10 children.\textsuperscript{24} In Black River, households generally had five to nine children.\textsuperscript{25}

In the 1920s through to 61, the residents of the enclave co-resided in a mixed residential area. The structure of the households was similar to those in District Six, Protea Village, Claremont and Black River.\textsuperscript{26} Nuclear households were as common as extended and extended-multiple domestic units. The different types of extended units tended to form when the marital unit of a married offspring resided in the parental home. As discussed in the next section, to have their needs met in their units, household members depended on household production.

Production

Productive activity in the home, permitted members of the home to eat, to live in a sanitised and neat dwelling and to introduce children to labour and the gender division of work. In Tramway and Ilford streets, housework was an unpaid and demanding productive activity largely performed by women. The cooking of meals constituted one of the primary activities of housework that permitted for the production of units. Economic circumstances affected what type of groceries women purchased for meals.

Production of Meals

To feed their households, women relied on their household budgets, personal resources and inexpensive products. The task of women was made all the more difficult if she had no spouse, if her spouse was unemployed, if she or her spouse purchased alcohol to sustain a dependency and if either head of the household gambled. The need for food conflicted with the need for clothing. Interviewees who were Christian and who spoke about the purchase of new clothing said they received clothes only at Christmas and perhaps at Easter.

\textsuperscript{24} Taliep, "A Study in the History of Claremont," p. 44.

\textsuperscript{25} Mesthrie, "Dispossession in Black River," Chapter 1, p. 28.

\textsuperscript{26} Keeton, "Aspects of Material Life and Culture in District Six;" During a gathering at the former residential area of Protea Village in 1997, Mr. J. Valentine mentioned that many households in Protea Village were related; Taliep, "A Study in the History of Claremont;" Mesthrie, "Dispossession in Black River;"
The purchase of clothing at these times of the year emphasised the importance of these celebrations for Christians.

The option to purchase inexpensive food helped households to live within their means. Mrs. D. Lawrence who became a resident of Tramway Road sometime before she married a resident of the enclave, in 1932 and established her marital unit there, discussed the link between wages and food. The period of time to which Mrs. Lawrence referred is unknown.

They catered at the grocery shops and the butcher shop. There I must really compliment them ...for the low-wage earner, there would be the £1 5, (R2.50) the £1 10 (R3) up to the £3 10 (R7). The low-wage earner could go buy a pound rice for three pence -- that would be white rice. There would be the six-penny rice, Seeter rice, and there would be the Patna rice that would go up to a shilling that perhaps the £4 10 (R9) person or £3 10 (R7) a week person could afford. At the butcher shop, also. We could say we were kept alive.27

The price range of food suggests that everyone could afford to buy food. Oral histories of the majority of Tramway and Ilford street ex-residents, however, emphasise that owing to their incomes, many households strained their budgets to buy food. Until it closed around the mid-1930s, Springbok Butcheries was the butchery that the residents of the enclave patronised. After Springbok closed, the residents shopped at Joubert Butcheries. All of the residents purchased grocery items of some type at the Parker and Tiseker shops. The residents also shopped at other establishments in the suburb but it is unknown to what extent they patronised them for groceries. In the city at large a popular place for shopping was District Six.

It was not unusual for households to fall short of money that was required to buy food. Out of recognition of this occurrence, Parker and Tiseker participated in a credit system similar to that practised at small grocery shops in Athlone, District Six and elsewhere in the working class areas of Cape Town. Parker and Tiseker permitted households to buy goods on credit: “We use to buy on the book. Every Friday you go pay.”28

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27 Interview with Ms. D.L. and Mrs. U.L. 12/03/1997.
28 Interview with Ms. P. v W. 16/06/1997.
unable to settle their accounts with Parker and Tiseker at the end of the week, did so when they could.

The provision of a meal for the household began in the morning. In certain households men actively participated in the provision of meals. Perhaps because the direct participation of men in the provision of meals was rare, men who cooked or directly participated in providing meals for the household acquired a special status. Born in 1942, Mrs. H. Koeburg recalled her father’s routine to provide breakfast for his and other households.

You know what my father used to do at 4:30 a.m. My father takes a long bag and goes to this hotel to ask (for food) and he used to distribute it. The families would come to our house and get it. He gets just the toast and some [meat]... The people who didn’t have a lot of children don’t worry to come ... Sometimes there’s wieners in the bag and say cut-offs from the whites, My father did that every morning. If there’s a lot in the bag and then he goes every second morning.\[29\]

Though Mrs. Koeburg’s mother, Mrs. Phillips almost certainly prepared and served the household’s other daily meals, the association of this activity with her gender most probably prevents mention of the lengths to which she went to feed her domestic unit. With respect to Mr. Phillips, proximity to the hotel and a good relationship with the staff and management permitted him to obtain breakfast. By the early 1950s, the Phillips’ had approximately 10 children. Residents who had a similar household size and economic standing to the Phillips’ unit participated in the informal feeding scheme. The toast that Mr. Phillips received at the hotel reflected the relatively cheap cost of bread. One of the cheapest items available for purchase, bread was a main staple in the enclave.

The food that households ate reflected their economic circumstances but also expressed culture. About the meals that he and his siblings ate, Mr. D. Nathoo a member of one of the Indian households in the enclave said,

\[29\] Interview with Mrs. H.K. 18/06/1998.
We ate Indian dhal, rice and curry, chicken curry, mutton. Chicken was a luxury. You can only have it once a week. We ate pickles of vinegar, mix of carrots, potatoes, tomatoes, beans, peas, brinjal.\(^{30}\)

Given the dire conditions of the Nathoo household, that Mr. Nathoo conveyed during his interview, it might be that his mother was unable to buy chicken each week. Due to its cost, chicken was one of the items that working-class households could least afford. Mr. A. Jacobs’ memory of chicken for a meal most probably reflected a situation that was not uncommon in the enclave: “Chicken was the luxury. Christmas time was the only time we had chicken.”\(^{31}\) In households other than those of Indian origin, during the week women cooked food such as pumpkin, tomato, cauliflower, cabbage and potato bredies and sugar-bean curry, tripe and soup. The cost of the main ingredients for these meals allowed households to live within their means.

The purchase of inexpensive groceries and purchase on credit helped women to provide meals for their households. The household budget and culture influenced the type of meals that mainly women cooked. The relatively cheap cost of bread meant that this item formed one of the main staples in the enclave. As discussed in the next section, households also promoted survival through distribution.

**Distribution**

Households distributed their resources through generalised and balanced reciprocity. The lack of expectation for repayment was a cornerstone of generalised reciprocity. For this reason, generalised reciprocity usually occurred among kin and close friends.\(^{32}\) The pooling of income within a household was one of the main expressions of generalised reciprocity within domestic units. In balanced reciprocity, non-kin and lesser intimate friends reciprocated for an activity that was performed. Reciprocation contributed to the continuity of relationships and helped to balance friendships. In balanced

\(^{30}\) Interview with Mr. D.N. 18/06/1997.

\(^{31}\) Interview with Mr. A.J. 11/06/1998.

reciprocity, it was expected that money be repaid. In the enclave, reciprocity, a hallmark of the residential area, expressed residents’ response to circumstances that arose mainly due to the political economy.

Reciprocity

Interviews with ex-residents of Tramway and Ilford streets pointed mainly to reciprocity between households that women performed. Owing to their domestic roles women participated in reciprocity that supported their homes. The geographic location of the enclave in a mainly white and middle-class suburb encouraged the black residents of Tramway and Ilford streets to distribute their resources to each other. Power relations between blacks and whites encouraged blacks to support each other when in need. The residence of kin in the enclave also encouraged reciprocity. Due to the links inherent in ties of consanguinity, kin assisted each other in various ways. Power relations and kin in fact, might have promoted reciprocity in other working-class areas of Cape Town. Reciprocity was vital to the survival of households in District Six, common among artisans in Black River and important in lower Claremont.33

Reciprocity linked households to each other and permitted residents to create pockets of support in the enclave from where, if necessary, help could be found.34 If the male and for that matter, the offspring of a household participated in reciprocity with members of the same household that the female of the unit reciprocally interacted, then the links between the two households deepened. If the man and offspring reciprocally interacted with different households then the connection of their household with other units in the enclave widened. In either case, reciprocity permitted for the crossing of household boundaries and contributed to the production and reproduction of the enclave.

33 Keeton, “Aspects of Material Life and Culture in District Six,” p. 4; Mesthrie, “Dispossession in Black River,” Chapter 2, p. 7; Swanson, “Mense van die Vlak,” in Field, Lost Communities.
Subsistent wage and living levels encouraged balanced reciprocity. Women took pride in the independence and privacy of their homes but sought assistance with certain financial matters at certain times. Depending on the matter at hand, it was important to seek assistance from people who could be depend upon and trusted with private matters. Born in 1915, Mrs. A. Davis described one way that women participated in balanced reciprocity. In the excerpt below, it is unclear of which time period Mrs. Davis spoke. Married in 1939, Mrs. Davis seemed to refer to her married years.

Yes, yes. You know you short you got no money or something [and] you got little accounts [to pay]. You can go to one another [whom] you know and two or three will come together and, “here you are. Here you are. Go on, settle with them.” And you would just see that you give it back. It’s not told to you, “see that you give it back.” But you make it so that you give it back and you can go next time.

The sub-text of friendship and trust in the excerpt promotes the modern-day definition of community. In addition to the conditions that Mrs. Davies identified to borrow money, frequency of request, type of request, level of intimacy between friends and familial distance to an extended kin from whom assistance might have been sought, probably affected lending.

Generalised reciprocity occurred in various forms. One important form occurred when residents pooled their income within their domestic units and perhaps the household of kin. Pooling permitted employed members of the household to provide for the well-being of children who were too young to work and elder members whose participation in the labour market had declined. In Tramway Road, generalised reciprocity was especially appreciated during illness and the advent of major events. Born in 1933, Mr. B. Paulsen said, “when there’s a wedding or a funeral or when someone was sick or on his last, then everybody come and put in.” Kin and close friends usually contributed money for major events and during times of illness.

36 Interview with Mrs. A.D. 22/06/1998.
37 Interview with Mr. B.P. 19/06/1998.
38 Young and Wilmott, Kinship in East London.
Acts of reciprocity in the enclave transcended barriers that might have occurred due to differences of class, language and culture (discussed in Chapter 5). Mr. Parker, the shopkeeper in Tramway Road participated in generalised reciprocity during an especially difficult time in the Absalom and other households. Mrs. J. van Eysland (née Absalom) recalled Mr. Parker’s generosity after her father died in 1958: “When there used to be deaths in the street then they [the Parkers] also used to give. When my father passed away, he [Mr. Parker] gave my mother £5 (R10). She said, “o, Mr. Parker, die Here sal vir jou sorg. [Oh, Mr. Parker, the Lord will look after you.]”39 Deeply appreciated by bereaved Christian households, Mr. Parker’s monetary gift reflected the Moslem custom to offer money to the household of the deceased.40 The gift occurred out of recognition that households bore the added cost of expenses such as funerals after a death in the home.

Born and raised in India, Mrs. Nathoo spoke very little English but received considerable assistance from her neighbours in Tramway Road. Mr. D. Nathoo recalled the assistance that his parental household received during his father’s debilitating illness in the late 1940s and 1950s.

With my dad’s sickness we were in and out of hospital. The people in Tramway Road offered their service. They brought cooking and cakes and if there’s no food in the house, especially the Paulsen next door and Iris Barkhuis. She [Mrs. Barkhuis] was very close to us. She was like a second mother to us especially to my brothers and sisters. When anybody was sick she made it her duty to go with my mum, or I went with her. She was in and out of our house every day.41

The theme of helpful neighbours occurs consistently in memories of District Six. The separated human condition that became the norm in townships to where District Six residents were relocated helped to promote memory of helpful neighbours. Friendship and reciprocity between neighbours, benefited women who had no nearby kin.

Evidence suggested that circumstances limited balanced reciprocity. After Mrs. Shenosha died of tuberculosis in 1953, Mr. Shenosha sent his

39 Interview with Mrs. J. v E. 25/06/1998.
40 I appreciate this information from Mrs. R. Domingo.
41 Interview with Mr. D.N. 18/06/1997.
children to live temporarily, with relatives. Friends who assisted the household during Mrs. Shenosha’s illness were most probably unable to lend greater help. Providing full care for children was perhaps viewed as the responsibility of kin. Indeed, after the death of her sister, Mrs. Andrews cared for her niece and nephew. Mrs. Barros cared for her baby niece after her sister died of tuberculosis and until her late sister’s husband re-married. Mrs. Barros was then single.

Reciprocity linked households to each other and helped to sustain units during difficult times. The reciprocal acts of women, and most probably men and offspring, encouraged the continuity of households and thereby the perpetuation of the enclave. The transmission of shelter supported the conditions that reciprocity encouraged.

Transmission
When residents passed on their dwelling to a friend or kin who resided in the enclave, they participated in the reproduction of Tramway and Ilford streets but also exercised control over the make-up of the residential area. Dwellings were passed on to a second-generation member of a domestic unit and extended kin and friends who sought larger and smaller living space. The passing on of a dwelling to a second-generation member of the household occurred if the parental household lived in a dwelling that they did not share with another domestic unit. Dwellings were also passed on when kin who lived in the enclave obtained the dwelling of a relative who migrated out of the residential area.

Passing on of Dwellings
Economic conditions, household size, the sharing of dwellings and the demand for larger living space in Tramway and Ilford streets promoted the practice of transmission. External and internal migration in the enclave permitted transmission to occur. Internal migration and transmission contributed to cohesion and continuity and permitted for some control over the residential makeup of Tramway and Ilford streets.
Siblings who married and lived with their spouses in their parental households tended to become the main tenant of the dwelling. The retention of a dwelling by a member of the kin line encouraged sentiment that the dwelling belonged to the kin group. Kin also often transmitted their dwellings to each other when they moved out of a dwelling that they occupied. When Mr. and Mrs. Tombeni married, they lived in the living room of Mrs. Tombeni’s parents’ apartment in the council flats. Mrs. Tombeni said she and her husband obtained their own apartment in the building when, “my aunt moved out. They moved out and I moved into their flat.” Mrs. Tombeni’s establishment of a residence independent of her parents dissolved an extended multiple domestic unit and created two nuclear households. A similar happening occurred among the Paulsen extended kin. Paulsens moved out of 17 Tramway Cottages and Paulsens who lived at 20 Tramway Cottages moved into Number 17. When the Paulsens who lived in Number 20 left that dwelling, they dissolved an extended multiple unit. The Tombenis and Paulsens migrated internally to obtain living space that better suited their needs. Simultaneously, the internal migration produced two nuclear units.

Mrs. D. Reines spoke of internal migration and transmission that involved three unrelated households, around 1937.

My sister’s house was so big [so] she moved next door to Mrs. Lawrence. And we stayed with her [my sister]. The Eyssen’s moved into her house ... My sister and we (had) moved into the Daniels’ house. They [the Daniels’] took a house on the opposite (side) again. People moved over, you know. The big families to the bigger houses and like she was alone her husband passed away now.

An external migration might have permitted for the moves described above to occur: the dwelling into which Mrs. Daniels moved had to have been vacated. When Mrs. Daniels left 12 Tramway Cottages, the Collins household moved in. The Collins household formerly lived at 8 Tramway Road. Mrs. Reines’

42 Interview with Mrs. D.M. 10/06/1998.
43 See Cape Times Cape Peninsula Directory 1936, p. 298 and 1937, p. 309 for the internal movement that Mrs. Reines described.
45 Cape Times Cape Peninsula Directory, 1936, p. 298 and 1937, p. 309. Perhaps because she became a sub-tenant of her new dwelling, Mrs. Daniels was not listed in the 1937 directory.
sister was Mrs. Collins. The Eyssens moved into the house where the Collins unit used to live. It is unknown whether the Eyssens lived in the enclave before they moved into Number 8. Residence at Number 8 permitted the Eyssens to live next door to their kin, the Mitchell's, at Number 7.

If residents themselves determined who would occupy the dwelling from which they moved, then transmission expressed the relative autonomy of the tenants vis-à-vis their landlords. Transmission also emphasised that personal relations played an important role in obtaining living space in the enclave.

Economic circumstances and social relations internal to the enclave most probably prevented residents of Tramway Road from moving to Ilford Street. Compared to the 25 cottages, 14 houses and block of flats in Tramway Road, five houses stood in Ilford Street. Tenants in Ilford Street paid a higher rent than the majority of tenants in Tramway Road (see Table 6). For this reason, it was more possible for residents of Ilford Street to move into dwellings in Tramway Road. To a certain extent, class and status (discussed in Chapter 5) also limited movement from Ilford Street to Tramway Road.

Two interviewees spoke of two instances wherein Ilford Street residents moved to Tramway Road. A male offspring of the Jacobs' household at 2 Ilford, moved to 9 Tramway Road after he married. In 1961, three married members of the Petersen household who were raised at 3 Ilford Street, lived at 13 Tramway Cottages. The first of the Petersen offspring who moved into Tramway Road did so after she married a man who resided there.

The transmission of living space in Ilford Street occurred more readily among residents who grew up there. On two separate occasions, when living space became available in Ilford Street, a long-time resident of Ilford had first option to establish a home in the road. The resident was a descendant of the Jacobs household that moved to 2 Ilford Street from Kings Road, in 1923. Mrs. A. Davis (née Jacobs) left Ilford Street when she married in 1939 but approximately two years later, moved with her marital household to 1 Ilford Street, where the main tenant was Mr. Steenburg. In need of larger living space, in the late 1940s, Mrs. Davis accepted an offer from Mrs. Gales to share 4 Ilford Street. Mr. Steenberg and Mrs. Gales had known Mrs. Davis since her childhood and enjoyed an amicable relationship with her and her parents. Mrs.
Davis’ parents and later, the marital unit of one of Mrs. Davis’ sisters, lived at 2 Ilford Street.

By 1959, married offspring and married grandchildren of the Jacobs household of 1923, occupied three of the six dwellings in the street: Beeston and Numbers 2 and 4. In 1961, five marital units of the Jacobs kin line formed an extended multiple household at Beeston. One of these marital units, that of Mr. A. Jacobs, hoped to move into 3 Ilford Street. Economic circumstances and social relations supported the transmission of dwellings in Ilford Street to members of the Jacobs kin line.

The transmission of dwellings permitted residents to support each other’s housing needs and to participate in the make-up of the enclave. Second-generation members of a household commonly became the main tenant of their parental dwelling. Residents also passed on their dwellings to other kin and friends who lived in the enclave. The need for housing in the enclave arose especially when a resident wished to stay in the residential area after marriage.

Reproduction

This section discusses the reproduction of households through marriage, specifically age at the time of marriage. Table 3 summarises the data collected on age at marriage and complements the discussion on marriage in this section. For historical purposes, Table 3 includes data for couples who married in the late 19th century and before 1920. For the purposes of this thesis, discussion on age at marriage is limited to those couples who married in 1920 through to 1961.

Data for people who married in the 19th century was limited to records where the male identified himself as an employee with a tramway company. I assumed that as marriage registrants at a church in Green Point, an area relatively close to Tramway Road and as employees of a tramway company, the gentlemen worked for the Green Point and Sea Point firm and resided in Tramway Road. The data I obtained for the 20th century through church records was restricted to people whose names and date of birth I obtained through oral history interviews and where at least one of the newlyweds
Valerie Thomas and her father, Mr. Thomas, entering the grounds of the Church of the Holy Redeemer on September 6, 1959. In the background is the Parker Shop.
recorded “Tramway Road” or “Tramway Cottages” as a place of residence. Since the marriage register identified the newlyweds as Coloured, I assumed that the identification of residence as “Tramway Road” indicated residence in the enclave.

**Age at Marriage**
The age that people married determined the age at which they produced a nuclear household or contributed to the formation of an extended and extended multiple domestic unit. In the majority of couples for whom data on age at marriage was obtained, males and females married before age 25. Marriage before age 25, reflected a pattern that resembled characteristics common to Western households. It is unclear to what extent World Wars One and Two and the depression of the 1930s, affected the age of marriage among people who resided in the enclave. In general, age at matrimony affected the age that married women conceived and the probability that a three- or four-generation extended household would occur. The earlier women conceived, the greater the likelihood of a four-generation home. In 1961, four generations lived at 22 Tramway Cottages.

The majority of the residents of the enclave married between 20 and 25 years of age. In most of the couples, males married younger females. An examination of marriage records of people who resided elsewhere in greater Cape Town, show that it was common for older males to marry younger females and for couples to marry between ages 20 and 25. Marriage during their early 20s, permitted young adults to contribute economically to their parental households for a certain period of their adult lives. The attention that Christian households paid to the 21st birthday expressed that social values encouraged young adults to marry after they turned 21 and to abstain from sex. Parents bestowed considerable attention on the 21st birthday of their offspring if the adult child was unmarried and had not conceived or fathered a child. Photographs of the 21st birthday of Mr. M. Mitchell and Mrs. P. van der Westhuizen conveyed the importance of the 21st in Tramway Road.

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47 Photographs of Mr. M. M. and Mrs. P. vd W. (Privately Held).
## Age at Marriage, 1884-1961

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* It is unknown to what "Full" refers.
* Date of birth as shown on birth certificate.

Data obtained through oral history interviews, the Wannenburg survey, telephone calls to interviewees and marriage registers of St. James Church and the Church of the Holy Redeemer in Sea Point and the Dutch Reform Church in Cape Town.
Emphasis on the 21st birthday represented a legacy of the British colonisation of South Africa.

Data in Table 3 show the age gap between the partners of a married couple. Of the 56 couples who married in the 1920s through to 1961, 6 (10.7 percent) had a less-than-one year age gap, 41 (73.2 percent) had an age gap of 1 to 5 years, four (7.1 percent) had an age gap of 6 to 9 years and five (8.9 percent) had an age gap of 10 to 16 years. The tendency to socialise with people of the same age group increased the chance of marriage to someone of a similar age. Western cultural practice also encouraged partnership between people who were of similar age.

Among the couples listed, marriage between an older female and younger male was greater during the 1950s than other decades. In nine of the 56 couples (16.1 percent) represented in the data, the female was older than the male. Four of the nine couples wherein the female was older than the male, married in the 50s. In the 1920s through to 1961, it might have been somewhat accepted for an older female to marry a younger male but the occurrence was less frequent than marriage between older males and younger females. The age gap between females who married younger males was not as varied as the age gap between men who married younger women. A female who married a younger male tended to be one to two years older than her betrothed.

Religious and social conventions discouraged conception outside of marriage but pre-marital conception did occur. Pre-marital conception occasionally but not always led to marriage between the mother and father of the conceived. Marriage of the parents was not always possible. For example, it would have been impossible if not undesirable to marry an enlisted male from overseas who passed through Cape Town during World War Two. It was more possible for a female to marry the male with whom she had conceived if he resided in the city. In the 1940s and 1950s, two females who married during their teen years had conceived before marriage and married the fathers of their children. Nevertheless conception was not the only reason that residents of the enclave married during their teen years. In 1957, cultural

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48 I thank Mr. D. Paulse for information on the significance of the 21st birthday and its British legacy.
practice among people of Indian heritage led to matrimony between 19-year-old Mr. Ab. Parker and his 15-year-old fiancée.

**CONCLUSION**

The political economy permitted for the production of a Coloured mixed residential area in Tramway and Ilford streets. Though less common than extended and extended multiple units, solitary and simple households were among the types of units in the enclave. Economic circumstance and a limitation on housing that working class Coloureds could afford in Sea Point influenced the formation of extended units. To promote the survival of households in the residential area, residents participated in acts of reciprocity. Economic necessity and the geographic location of the enclave encouraged households to participate in reciprocal relationships. Acts of reciprocity linked households to each other and promoted the continuity of the enclave. Residents further contributed to the reproduction of the enclave through the transmission of housing and marriage. Paid labour formed a main means through which residents produced and sustained their households. The next chapter focuses on the paid labour of females and males.
“Of course you have kids you got to provide for them each day.”

CHAPTER FOUR

WORK, OCCUPATIONAL STATUS and INCOME, 1930s-1961

My granny did washing. When my mommy got married, my father didn’t want her to do work but then she took in washing. She took in the people that her mother was washing for. When my cousin also went to go work for the madam, so my cousin also brought her madam’s washing to us. My mommy’s eldest sister we use to fetch washing to her also. Her madam. I also worked for the madam. I was in school then I use to char ...I go to school then I use to go work for a bachelor. I had to clean up his place. I took his washing to our place ...[I was 13 when] I was working.

Anytime of the day the (white) people could come into Tramway Road [and ask] ‘Could you do this little job for me?’ There was always a handyman around and things like that.

INTRODUCTION

Owing to the political economy the residents of Tramway and Ilford streets performed labour that was associated with their race and gender. The majority of women worked as washerwomen and domestic workers. Owing to their responsibilities as mothers and wives, women organised their paid labour to satisfy the expectations of their households. Men had different and more options in the labour market than women and participated in manual labour associated with males. Through their labour the residents responded to the labour needs of white business people and home owners in Sea Point. In meeting those needs, the residents of the enclave legitimised their ongoing residency in the suburb. Women in the enclave enjoyed relatively positive relations with some employers and less fulfilling relationships with other employers.

Inequality in the political economy undervalued the work of Coloureds and especially Coloured females. Data for 1961 show that females in the enclave received a wage that was remarkably lower than the pay that the males received. The low wages that women earned for their labour promoted the

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1 Interview with Mrs. K.F. 05/08/1997.
2 Interview with Ms. M.M. 16/05/1997.
3 Interview with Mrs. G.E. 10/06/1998.
practice of payment in kind. The gap that separated the earnings of females and males emphasised a gender inequality in the labour market. The higher and different wages of men led to variation in the incomes of households in the enclave.

Organisation of this Chapter
This chapter is organised into three sections. Section one discusses the main types of work that females performed and wages and payment in kind. Oral histories form the primary source of data on female labour. Oral histories and data for 1961 permit for discussion on wages and payment in kind. Table 4 provides data on wages that females received in 1961. Collected during the Wannenburg survey, most of the data for wages was originally recorded in pounds. The data has been converted to rands based on the value of the rand to the pound in 1961.

Section two discusses the occupations of males and the wages of males. Table 5 provides data and allows for discussion on the occupations and wages of males in 1961.

In section three, Table 6 permits for a discussion on the income of households.

Females
Washing

In the 1920s through to 1961, the majority of females in Tramway and Ilford streets performed domestic services -- washing and domestic work -- for whites in Sea Point. A gender division of labour and the historic participation of black females in washing and domestic labour affected the choices of females in the enclave. A division of labour according to race, and gender, had historical roots in South Africa: in the late 1800s, a racial division of labour defined the type of work that was appropriate for blacks and whites. Washing and domestic work had been considered the traditional work of black females

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5 The conversion from pounds to rands was as follows: £1 = R2.00. One shilling = £20/1 =R10/1 or R0.10; One penny = £1/240 = R 1/120 or R0.008333; Rate per week = 52/12 = 4.333
since the late 19th century. The first colour bar was introduced in 1893 and the assignment of labour according to race at mines was established before 1910. Legislation in the 1920s intensified conditions that law and social practice had produced since the late 19th century: the state passed legislation that promoted the occupation and economic advancement of whites. The Apprenticeship Act, 1922, encouraged whites to learn industrial skills. Provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act, 1924, protected the advancement of whites in the industrial sector.

In the early 1950s, domestic work continued to be one of the major occupations of black women in South Africa. Through the recruitment of young females into domestic services and the demand for these services in Sea Point, girls in the enclave received greater exposure to laundry work and domestic work than other feminised labour. Economic circumstances in households contributed to the entry of females into domestic services. Domestic services did not require an education and females often left school to earn a wage for the parental household. Limited space prevents discussion on the link between education and circumstances that led children to enter the labour market.

The prevalence of washing for a wage in the enclave promoted an occupational identity among females. Born in 1932, Mrs. G. Eyssen communicated the commonality of washing and the probability that it formed a point through which her generation and older women identified themselves: “we were the laundry of Sea Point.” The statement communicated that the number of washerwomen in the enclave and the geographic distribution of their employers, stimulated the perception that, on their own, women in

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6 Bickford-Smith, Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice, p. 138.
10 Hutt, The Economics of the Colour Bar, p. 76.
11 The other occupation was in agriculture. Patterson, Colour and Culture in South Africa, p. 72.
12 Bickford-Smith, Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice, p. 23.
13 Stated at a meeting of the Tramways Land Claim Committee, 22/02/1997.
Tramway and Ilford streets satisfied the demand for laundry work in the suburb. The statement also expressed that the women identified with and through their labour.

Labour as a washerwoman permitted married women to earn a wage and conform to social expectation that they remain in their homes. Born in 1913, Mrs. Morta worked as a shop assistant until she married in 1940. Sometime after she married, Mrs. Morta began to wash for a wage. Mrs. D. Lawrence worked as a teacher but did not continue in her profession on a full-time basis after she married in 1932.

My profession was nothing once I got married I couldn't go back teaching. I went to go and substitute for one or two years but then he [my husband] also stopped [me from teaching] …The teachers are very fortunate today [when] they get married they can go back to their post and their husbands can teach at the same time. Those days when a lady teacher got married, she had to come home.  

Social values and practice, rather than education policy discouraged married female teachers from teaching. In 1923, the Federal Council of Teacher’s Association “observed” that female teachers taught for an average of three to four years. During the early years of their profession, females married and stopped teaching. Similar to that of Mrs. Lawrence’s husband, husbands in general expected their wives to tend to the home full time. Male teachers continued in their profession after they married and were more likely to teach for the duration of their working lives.

To contribute to her household income, Mrs. Lawrence became a washerwoman until her health deteriorated in the early 1950s. By the late 1940s, Mrs. Lawrence had a nuclear household of three children. In 1961, Mrs. Lawrence’s husband, Mr. E.G. Lawrence, a carpenter, earned R30 per week, the highest weekly wage among males for whom data was available (see Table 5). If Mr. Lawrence earned a relatively high wage in the early 1950s, his pay and the size of the Lawrence household allowed Mrs. Lawrence

to retreat from domestic service. Ill health did not always permit women to retreat from paid labour.

Circumstances in households in fact forced women to enter domestic services or increase the amount of work that they performed. Mrs. D. Reines’ sister worked “as a cateress” but did “a little washing” when her husband fell ill.\textsuperscript{16} Mrs. Absalom took in more washing when her husband was unemployed and after he died. Mrs. D. Moses whose father was a painter said, “in winter there was no work for daddy ... But mommy kept the pot boiling.”\textsuperscript{17} It was not unusual for Coloured women in Cape Town to be the sole earner for their households. During the depression of the 1930s, Coloured women tended to be the main earner in households in Cape Town.\textsuperscript{18}

Until some of the women obtained a washing machine around the 1930s and 40s, all of them washed by hand. The physical limits of hand washing affected the number of employers for whom women washed per week. When Mr. R. Splinters said, “my mother [washed for] 20 people,” he almost certainly did not mean that his mother hand washed and ironed for 20 employers per week.\textsuperscript{19} Mr. Splinters probably stated the number of people for whom his mother washed over time. Mr. P.H. Jacobs’ account of the employers for whom his mother washed, probably better conveys the number of people for whom hand washing could be done. Of his mother, Mr. Jacobs said, “she washed for four or five families.”\textsuperscript{20} However, albeit, perhaps unintentionally, interviewees often suggested that their mothers washed for a considerable number of people during the same period of time. When Mrs. D. Barros talked of the employers for whom her mother washed she conveyed an image of an extraordinary and tireless woman. The image of the tireless hardworking mother is an archetype of the black, working-class female. The archetype upholds the ideology of the work ethic.

My mother took in washing from hotels, hairdressers, restaurants. She washed sheets, pillows, towels, serviettes. She didn’t have to spend time travelling to work. Two girls from

\textsuperscript{16} Mrs. D.R. in an interview with Mrs. D.R. and Mr. W.R. 29/07/1997.
\textsuperscript{17} Interview with Mrs. D.M. 10/06/1998.
\textsuperscript{18} Phillips, “The Civilised Labour Policy and the Private Sector,” p. 89.
\textsuperscript{19} Interview with Mr. R.S. 18/06/1998.
\textsuperscript{20} Interview with Mr. P.H.J. 30/07/1997.
District Six helped her with the washing and ironing. She had a Speed Queen washing machine in the yard under a shelter. She hanged the wash in the back and front of the house. Whites recommended my mother for work. She worked for Olivetti, the Pickfords, Pinn’s Jewellers, Mr. Seral Bertish who owned a shirt factory and Dr. Senate. She washed for people who had big businesses.21

Washing that exceeded the capacity of one woman, necessitated the hire of help. Hired help had to come from outside the enclave. Females in the enclave who could wash, assisted with laundry in their own homes. Women were more likely to hire help if their female children were too young to wash or had married and could not assist them.22 If Mrs. Barros’ mother stopped the hire of help, at some point she hired help again when her health declined. Mr. M. Mitchell, Mrs. Barros’ brother said, “[When] my mother wasn’t well … she employed a lady or two to help her.”23 The need to retain employers motivated the hire of labour during times of illness. When women hired help, they reproduced the hierarchy that characterised employee-employer relationships in the labour market. Employers hired employees who held a social position that was lower than the status that the employers themselves occupied.24

When Mrs. Barros’ mother obtained a Speed Queen, an American name brand, the machine automated a major part of her labour. Home washing machines were one of the many items that underwent mass production in America in the 1920s.25 Before the 1930s, in South Africa, laundromats had a small number of washing machines.26 It was probably during the 1930s and 1940s that women in the enclave bought washing machines. Mrs. S. Jacobs (Tramway Road) obtained a washing machine around 1945. Washing machines accelerated the time to clean clothing and perhaps permitted women to increase the number of employers for whom they washed in a week. Unless women hired helped, the manual activity of ironing, however, would have limited any major increase in the number of employers.

21 Interview with Mrs. D.B. 09/05/1997.
22 Personnel communication with Dr. M. Russell in June 1999 about findings in her research on households in the Western Cape.
23 Interview with Mr. M.M. 07/11/1997.
24 Personnel communication with Dr. M. Russell in June 1999 about findings in her research on households.
The recruitment of female offspring to help with washing formed a point of entry for girls into the labour market. Born in 1943, Ms. M. Morta said that when she reached a certain age, her mother “left small things” for her to wash. When Ms. Morta’s youngest sister reached a certain age, she too began to wash. Mrs. Koeburg, whose mother, Mrs. Phillips, did not wash for a wage, described how she increasingly participated in washing and ironing for her parental household. Mrs. Koeburg’s description perhaps suggests how in general girls became washerwomen. Mrs. Koeburg was born in 1942.

You started going to school you have to clear the chickens and do the small washing like braziers, socks and panties and hang it up and when they see you good enough then you go to the bigger stuff...We were moulded at an early age. At 8 to 10 you take the ironing. Start ironing like the doilies, scarves.

Mrs. Koeburg’s memory expresses a work ethic and working-class pride. Certain points in the life cycle of girls in the Phillips household corresponded with having more responsibilities, particularly those associated with the female gender. Recruitment to wash at an early age encouraged females to identify with the labour of their mothers.

As mentioned above, Mrs. Koeburg’s mother, Mrs. Phillips, did not wash for an income. Mrs. Phillips rather did “a little sewing” for whites in Sea Point. Employment in the sewing traded rather than in washing suggested that if they could women earned a wage through work other than the laundry trade.

From Monday to Friday, women organised their living areas to support their laundry services. To tend to their housework and wash, women arose at an early hour. Ms. M. Morta said, “my mommy used to get up at 5 o’clock to do the washing.” Mrs. M. Campbell said her mother-in-law also arose at 5 a.m. An early start was necessary if women were to meet the demands of their household in the morning and begin their paid work. During their

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27 Interview with Ms. M.M. 16/05/1997.
28 Interview with Mrs. H.K. 18/06/1998.
29 Interview with Mrs. V.P. 07/08/1997.
30 Interview with Ms. M.M. 16/05/1997.
31 Mr. A.C.’s wife after an oral history interview with Mr. A.C. 01/06/1997.
workday women who had children who were too young for school and who had no one to assist them with their children somehow tended to their offspring and performed their labour. When asked how her mother, Mrs. Valentine, performed her paid work and cared for her children, Mrs. A. Jacobs seemed uncertain:

I can remember one of my aunts coming [from] Worcester when my sister Patricia was a baby … That was only once. But I used to help with the washing napkins and so on when Peter was a baby. We used to help and I had another aunt but she didn’t actually work in Sea Point. [She] used to come to my mother’s place and help. But my mother managed. I don’t know how. It was just family coming for a holiday [and helping but they went] home again … And when we were bigger, we used to help … Strange, now that you ask that question. How did she manage? 32

Mrs. Jacobs later added that her maternal grandmother, Mrs. October, with whom the Valentine household lived, helped her mother. This being the case, Mrs. Valentine lost her mother and valuable help when Mrs. October passed away, around the mid-1950s. In the 1950s, most probably because Mrs. October had died, Mrs. Valentine took Peter, her youngest child with her to her workplace in High Level Road where she performed domestic work. Mrs. Jacobs’ recollection, that her grandmother assisted her mother, indicated that, at the very least, elder women who lived with a married offspring provided childcare to assist their daughters and daughters-in-law.

Women in places such as District Six and municipalities, other than Sea Point also washed for a wage. In 1901, an advisory board concluded that Cape Town and the municipalities needed wash houses. 33 City officials encouraged the use of wash houses and laundries to ensure the washing of items in sanitary conditions. 34 The city erected a wash house in District Six in 1905. By 1916, wash houses stood in Mowbray, Claremont, Rondebosch and Kalk Bay. A wash house was not erected, however, in the Municipality of Green Point and Sea Point. The municipal officials refused to build a wash

33 M of GP and SP Vol. 56, 26/07/1901.
house because they could not afford the cost of water from Cape Town. When the Medical Officer of Health inspected Tramway Road in 1936, he noted that women washed in "unsatisfactory conditions." Yards were unpaved, were not drained and had no shelter for washing. Wash houses in the city had set a standard for washing and the conditions wherein women in the enclave washed did not meet the standard. The medical officer called upon the landlord of the Tramway Road property, Mr. Woolf, to pave the yards and install drainage. In the backyards of households that did not yet have a washing machine, a cement tub that men such as Mr. E.G. Lawrence built in his yard might have contributed to a setting that the medical officer found more satisfactory. In 1947, the city council proposed to erect a wash house in Tramway Road, perhaps at the municipal sub-station. It is unknown what became of the plan. A wash house was not erected in the street.

Since women usually washed for more than one employer, women had to devise a system to return washing to the correct owner.

You wash each person’s washing separately. When they hung the washing they knew that line was Mrs. W’s washing because at the back of the houses where they had all these -- it was like a lane. Each house had five or six lines at the back. In addition, they had a few small lines in their yard. [Women] would hang out the washing and earmark it and the same thing (earmarking) would happen when the washing was dry.

Owing to their labour and management of the home, women had control over the use of external space immediate to their dwelling. Correct earmarking and organisation were among the hidden skills of washerwomen. Other skills included knowing how to remove various stains. Yet, within the labour market washing was defined as unskilled labour. The definition of washing as unskilled labour justified low wages and contributed to the reproduction of the social and class status of the women in the enclave and the enclave itself.

35 M of GP and SP Vol. 56, 26/07/1901; M of GP and SP, PWC Minute Book 6, 31/07/1901.
36 Letter of the City Engineer, 3/CT 4/2/1/3/765.
37 Paulse, "A History of the Public Wash House, District Six."
38 Letter of the City Engineer, 3/CT 4/2/1/3/765.
39 Cape Town City Council Minutes, September 1946-August 1947, p. 830.
Interviewees said that washing was never stolen. Statements to this effect contribute to the ideal memory of Tramway and Ilford streets as a place of safety and security. The theft of washing, however, did occur. Around December 1953, Mr. J. Opperman, a tenant of one of the cottages, erected a shed to prevent the re-occurrence of theft from his mother’s wash line. Mrs. Opperman left washing on the line, presumably overnight because it was too wet to take inside. Someone stole the washing, items that belonged to two people for whom Mrs. Opperman worked. When washing was stolen, women were liable for the value of the stolen item. Mrs. Opperman borrowed money to repay one employer. The other employer declined payment.

In winter, women strove to meet their work schedule despite the rain. To allow for washing to dry during inclement weather, a shed, similar to the one that Mr. Opperman erected for his mother, stood in the backyard of dwellings. During days of rain, laundry also hung in the kitchen near the coal stove. It is unknown if, in some households, the shed where washing dried was also used for sleeping purposes. During cool weather, drying of clothes by the stove was especially useful for clothing that had to be washed, dried and ironed within a shorter time than usual: “If they want their shirts say four o’clock, five o’clock. That washing had to go.” Women endeavoured to satisfy their employers.

Women or a hired assistant usually ironed on Tuesdays and Wednesdays. It is unclear how women, who shared a dwelling, organised their space and time to iron before the electric iron became a household implement. The iron that preceded the electric iron had to be heated on the coal stove. Mass production of the electric iron occurred during the 1920s in America. Ms. B. Jacobs said that around 1945 her mother used an electric iron plus an iron that was heated on the coal stove: “The one (coal stove) iron was too slow. [So] the other one was always there. Sometimes the (electric) irons used to fuse [and] the other was ready.” An electric iron quickened ironing but a

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41 Letter of the City Engineer 3/CT 4/21/3/2582.
42 Mrs. R.L. in an interview with Mr. R.L and Mrs. R.L. 13/06/1998.
44 Ms. B.J. in an interview with Ms. B.J. and Ms. L.J. 30/05/1997.
weak current frustrated efforts to complete work within an anticipated time. Not every dwelling in the enclave had electricity.\textsuperscript{45}

Interviewees whose parental household did not share a dwelling with another domestic unit, said ironing occurred in the kitchen. The surface upon which women ironed tended to be home made and makeshift. Mrs. D. Lawrence ironed on an ironing board that her husband built. Of her grandmother’s home-made ironing board, Mrs. S. Sheldon said: “[It was] something my dad’s brother made. [It was] rectangular [and] folded up against the wall.”\textsuperscript{46} Women who did not have an ironing board, ironed on the kitchen table. Mrs. B. Jacobs said her mother ironed “on the table …[that was covered with] heavy blankets. The [cover on] top [of the blankets was] an ordinary white sheet.”\textsuperscript{47} Covers transformed the kitchen table into an ironing table and the kitchen itself then doubled as an ironing room. The re-organisation of the kitchen for supper emphasised that women organised their time to meet the schedule of their households. Women who did not finish ironing during the day ironed in the evening.

Women safeguarded their cleaned and ironed clothing. Mrs. L. Whittaker stored washed items in the lounge: “So the whole couch in my lounge [was full of wash]. The other couch used to be all parcels of washing all ready to be taken away.”\textsuperscript{48} Since the lounge tended to be off limits to members of the household it served as an ideal storage place for clean washing. Mrs. Whittaker shared a dwelling with an Arendse household. It is unknown whether Mrs. L. Arendse washed for pay and if so, where she stored her clean laundry.

Women who did not have a lounge created another means to protect washed and ironed items. Mrs. J. van Eysland said her mother, Mrs. Absalom stored items “in a cupboard …[set aside] especially for those clothes ... in her bedroom.”\textsuperscript{49} The privacy of Mrs. Absalom’s bedroom helped to safeguard

\textsuperscript{45} Under provisions of the Statutes Act, electricity records that the City of Cape Town held for Tramway and Ilford streets were destroyed approximately two years after the dwellings were demolished.
\textsuperscript{46} Interview with Mrs. S.S. 19/06/1998.
\textsuperscript{47} Ms. B.J. in an interview with Ms. B.J. and Ms. L.J. 30/05/1997.
\textsuperscript{48} Interview with Mrs. L.W. 22/07/1997.
\textsuperscript{49} Interview with Mrs. J.E. 25/06/1997.
cleaned and ironed laundry. Mrs. Lawrence talked about how she stored the laundry of her employers.

Their washing didn’t enter your bedroom. It comes from the front door and it goes straight to the yard. I had a little place in the yard and kept the wash there and we washed it. From there it goes to the lounge. For the whole week you find washing on our chairs in the lounge, everyone. By Friday we try to get it out of the house.50

More space than that in the Absalom home permitted Mrs. Lawrence to store washing in the lounge. The similarities and differences in how women dealt with laundry most probably reflected other aspects of life in the enclave. Individuals and households performed similar activities but depending on their circumstance residents approached their circumstances differently.

Friday represented the end of the working week and the day that women or their children delivered laundry. Limited space prevents discussion on the delivery of washing.

**Domestic Labour**

In 1936, 84 percent of Coloured females in South Africa earned a wage through domestic labour.51 By 1946, the percentage of Coloured females employed in domestic work had decreased but represented 50 percent of the occupation of Coloured females. Women who lived in District Six and Black River were among those in the Cape Peninsula who performed domestic labour.52 Domestic labour was uncongenial, monotonous, repetitive and physically demanding work.53 The physical aspect of domestic work meant that the workers were vulnerable to injury. Yet, the Workmen’s Compensation Act, 1941, excluded domestic workers.54 In the 1930s, domestic workers -- perhaps particularly those who lived at the residence of their employers -- worked longer than the 48-hour working week of factory employees and had

54 Patterson. *Colour and Culture in South Africa*, p. 75.
less freedom and holidays. Domestic workers were subject to the close supervision and observation of their work and were vulnerable to sexual exploitation. None of the interviewees who spoke about domestic work mentioned if they or anyone they knew had ever been sexually harassed. None of the interviewees mentioned if they had been fired from a job. Domestic workers, however, were vulnerable to instant dismissal. Domestic workers were expected to perform a range of skills yet, their profession was defined as unskilled labour. In Tramway and Ilford streets, women who performed domestic work for an employer usually also washed for that employer.

Ms. U. Lawrence described the schedule that allowed women to do their housework and paid domestic labour: “Those women got up at the crack of dawn and cleaned their own home and by seven, eight o’clock, they would be on the road going to the madam’s home ... They worked at two or three places per day. They would tidy up a flat and go back in the afternoon and cook and go back in the evening and serve supper.” Ms. Lawrence’s memory emphasises the double shift of feminised labour. The double shift placed a heavy demand on married women who had to cook and serve supper in their own homes. It was partly for this reason that women depended so heavily on their eldest female child when she became capable of certain responsibilities in the parental home.

The need to return to the employer’s home to prepare and serve supper was not required of every domestic worker. Mrs. L. Whittaker worked from 8 a.m. to 2 p.m. These hours permitted her to be home when her son, then a student at the school in Tramway Road, left for and returned from school. In general, Mrs. Whittaker did not perform paid work outside of her home after 2 p.m. With keys entrusted to her, Mrs. Whittaker entered her employers’ flats in the morning to “tidy up” and collect wash: “I did flats from Green Point to Mouille Point, from Mouille Point to Camps Bay, Camps Bay to Bantry Bay. Did about five, six flats.” When questioned about how she could clean up to

57 Cock, *Maids and Madams*, p. 73.
60 Interview with Mrs. L.W. 22/07/1997.
six flats a day in different suburbs within six hours, Mrs. Whittaker insisted that she was able to do so because of her penchant for work. At Quendon Flats, a building that stood near to the Tramway Cottages, Mrs. L. Klein of the council flats worked as a “general servant” on “Monday, Wednesdays and Fridays. …She went from eight o’clock until about two o’clock.” Mrs. Klein also worked as a washerwoman.

Domestic work related specifically to work performed in private homes. However, women performed similar labour in institutions and in establishments such as the Wave Crest Hotel, Kingsbury Hotel, Arthurs Seat Hotel, Bay Bridge Hotel and Marine Hotel.

Located on the lower end of the employee-employer power relationship, domestic workers were vulnerable to being fired without notice. Simultaneously, withdrawal without notice from a workplace constituted a form of power for domestic workers. Withdrawal without notice tended to occur when working conditions were unsatisfactory. Before she married and moved to Tramway Road, Mrs. Whittaker worked at a private residence in a suburb of Cape Town. Working conditions deteriorated and one day, Mrs. Whittaker left her job:

She (my employer) started getting stingy. She wouldn’t even buy things to put in the pot. It’s mos her food. And then I said to him (the male head of the house), this is nonsense. I must put things into the pot … The more I tell the madam there’s nothing to put in the pot, she takes no notice. Then I must take my bus fare and go buy something. So later on I thought ‘no, this is not working out for me.’ So I left.

Memories of a neglectful employer and self-sacrifice help to convey the themes of employee loyalty and limits in Mrs. Whittaker’s excerpt. The themes help to produce a particular construct of the black working woman.

Power relations in the labour market and unsatisfactory working conditions meant that women usually did not leave a job unless conditions were especially bad. The demand for domestic work and the network to

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61 Interview with Mrs. C.T. 22/07/1997.
63 Interview with Mrs. L.W. 22/07/1997.
64 Life History Project, District Six Museum, interview with Mrs. P.K. 20/10/1999.
which women had access meant that they found it relatively easy to find another position. Mrs. Whittaker identified how a network operated: "Well, the one recommends the other one. Say you working for this lady then the lady ask if you don’t know a maid. That’s how we get our work." Several residents of the enclave found employment through a network that was comprised of kin, friends and acquaintances. Whites participated in the network to which the residents were party. A network was valuable to females who moved to Cape Town from the rural areas and helped women to obtain information on a potential employer. Limited space prevents a full discussion of the networks through which residents found employment.

Paid labour formed the main reason that the residents interacted with whites. The political economy set the framework of employee-employer relations but owing to the various personalities and circumstances that affect interaction, the quality of employee-employer relations varied. Oral histories suggest that the ethnicity of an employer partly contributed to the quality of an employee-employer relationship.

Satisfactory work conditions and a good employer-employee relationship encouraged women to remain with an employer and the employer’s offspring. Mrs. Valentine worked for two if not three generations of the same kin line. Mrs. A. Jacobs (née Valentine) said,

[my mother] worked for Mrs. Connolly ... When Mrs. Connolly’s daughter got married (and became) Mrs. Thompson, [my mother] went to work for Mrs. Thompson. Mrs. Thompson had two daughters, Pat and Mavis. And she practically worked for them and reared them. They used to call her Betty. We used to get all their old clothes ... when Mrs. Connolly was very old then ... [Venuicia, my sister] use to go and work for the old lady. [Venuicia] stayed there and cared for her all the time until she died ... It was like the family working for that family. 67

Cross generation employment, loyalty and congenial relations form the salient points in Mrs. Jacobs’ memory. The memory helped to communicate a sense of satisfaction about Mrs. Valentine’s working life. The work that Venuicia

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66 Interview with Mrs. L.W, 22/07/1997.
Valentine obtained served as her formal point of entry into paid domestic labour. Twelve years old at the time, Venuicia was of an age similar to that of other females in the enclave who entered the labour market. Limited space prevents further discussion about girls and paid domestic work.

Shebeen Operator

The Liquor Act, 1928, prohibited the sale of liquor to blacks\(^68\) but by the late 1950s Coloureds and Asians in the Natal Province and Cape Province could buy liquor subject to the conditions of local liquor licensing boards.\(^69\) The licensing board in Cape Town permitted Coloureds to purchase two bottles of liquor per person: one bottle of wine and one bottle of spirits.\(^70\) Prohibition on the sale of liquor to Africans, limitation on the sale of liquor to Coloureds and the lack of taverns that people of colour could patronise, encouraged the establishment of shebeens across South Africa. Shebeens were common in Athlone and District Six. One shebeen operated in Heath Road, Black River.\(^71\) In the nation as a whole, African women tended to operate shebeens to avoid deeper poverty and to earn a living without having to enter domestic service and live away from home.\(^72\) In Ilford Street, Mrs. Splinters, a mother of five children established a shebeen at her residence, 1 Ilford Street. Mrs. Splinters began her business after the death of her husband, Mr. J. Splinters. The economic viability of the shebeen encouraged Mrs. Splinters to continue the enterprise after she remarried.

The illegal status of the shebeen meant that it was subject to police raids. An ex-resident of Ilford Street, Mr. A. Jacobs said the raids usually occurred late at night.

[We’d see the] police come and [think]... ‘What the hell, what commotion is going on?’ Then you go out and you have a look and you see oh, there’s two, three police vans standing and you [see] the cops going in, carrying out bags and boxes. The booze

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\(^{67}\) Mrs. A.J. in an interview with Mrs. A.J. and Mr. D.J. 16/06/1998.
\(^{70}\) I appreciate conversations with Mr. R. Bavasah and Mr. K. Ely that informed me of these concessions under the Liquor Act.
\(^{72}\) Bozzo, Women of Phokeng, pp. 135 and 145.
was all stored underneath the floor. Because the road [was sloped] and [the house had a basement].

Raids affected Mrs. Splinters’ economic production but probably also affected the sense of respectability among Ilford Street residents. Owing to its illegal status the shebeen reflected on the street – and the enclave-- as a whole. It is unknown whether Mrs. Splinters was ever prosecuted for operating a shebeen. In 1954, 211,830 Africans, 678 Asiatics, 9,354 Coloureds and 1,854 whites in South Africa were convicted for contravention of liquor laws.

Some residents personally purchased liquor at the shebeen and sent their offspring. Mrs. Fischer’s husband patronised the shebeen: “My husband sometimes he takes a little drink then he used to buy himself a drink in there then he comes home.” It was more expensive to purchase liquor at the shebeen but drinking there permitted for a certain type of social interaction. When she was a young girl, Ms. C. Morta carried liquor from the shebeen to her home. Sent by her mother, Ms. Morta carried the liquor, covered with a tablecloth, in a basket. The method of concealment suggested a desire to safeguard respectability and avoid police detection.

Factory Workers

The location of the enclave delayed the entry of females into factory work. Factory work had been available to females in Cape Town since the late 19th century. In the years after World War I factories stood in Salt River, Woodstock and District Six but were associated with females who lived in those areas. The Factories Act, 1918, perhaps contributed to the delayed entrance into the manufacturing sector of females who lived in the enclave. The Act provided that workplaces must have separate facilities for black and white employees. Rather than spend money to install separate

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73 Interview with Mr. A.J. and Mrs. J.J. 11/06/1998.
74 Bickford-Smith, Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice, p. 19.
76 Interview with Mrs. K.F. 05/08/1997.
78 Angier, “Patterns of Protection,” p. 52.
facilities, employers hired white females. Oral histories suggest that females in the enclave began to work in factories as of the late 1930s. In the 1930s, Coloured females formed the main employee group in clothing factories. Exposure to domestic services and conditions in the labour market, however, still encouraged females who lived in the enclave to enter domestic services.

Canned fruit and fish, cigarettes and matches and bottled beer and soft drinks were among the products produced in factories in Woodstock and Cape Town in the late 19th century. After the South African War, factories in Salt River boomed. After World War One, factories operated in and around Cape Town proper and District Six. Owing to the growth of the manufacturing sector, in the 1920s through to the 1940s, clothing and printing factories became a main source of occupation for females in District Six. In the 1930s, factory workers worked up to 48 hours a week (a shorter working week than the one domestic workers faced) and received wage increases. Full-time workers also received holiday pay. By the 1950s, since white labour unions did not monopolise clothing factories, Coloured women became the main workers in this sector of the factory industry. The employment of Coloured females in the clothing sector also permitted factory management to pay cheaper wages than the wages paid to white females.

From the 1930s, young females who lived in the enclave commuted to the city to work in factories. Factory work permitted females to break the historical pattern of employment in domestic services. Born in 1929, Mrs. Opperman obtained a job as a machine feeder and operator at Africana Tobacco in Plein Street, Cape Town after Standard 5. After six months Mrs. Opperman obtained a position at Sachs Futreton as a collar turner and cleaner. To obtain a job at Dickerson, a printing firm in the early 1940s, 16-year-old Ms. L. Jacobs told her potential employer she was 17 years old. In the late 1940s, at the age of 16, Mrs. G. Eyssen entered factory work as a sweeper. Mrs. Eyssen obtained the job through one of her friends in the enclave, Ms. J.

79 Patterson, Colour and Culture in South Africa, p. 73.
80 Hutt, The Economics of the Colour Bar, p. 82.
81 Ward, "Catering for taste in late-Victorian Cape Town."
82 Keeton, "Aspects of Material Life and Culture in District Six." p. 12.
Splinters. Despite her parents’ wishes, in the late 1940s, Mrs. D. Barros left school after Standard 5 to work at Mono Containers in Woodstock. Mrs. Barros left school because her closest friends had found employment in factories. Mrs. Barros obtained her job through the recommendation of one of her teachers. Factory work did not require an education and partly for this reason, females in Claremont also left school to work in a factory. 85

The demand for domestic services in Sea Point and most probably the participation of mothers in the profession, encouraged females who worked in a factory or another type of workplace to continue to perform domestic services. In 1955, when Mrs. D. Moses was 14 years old she obtained a job in a clothing factory. Mrs. Moses worked in the factory during the week and performed domestic labour over the weekend: “I used to char Saturdays and Sundays.” 86 Ms. M. Morta’s sister helped her mother on the weekend with what might have been laundry that belonged to her mother’s employers: “My elder sister was working but helped with washing on Saturday.” 87 Participation in domestic services over the weekend reiterated the continuing role that washing and domestic work continued to play in the lives of females.

Income

Provisions of the Wage Act, 1925, promoted the civilised labour policy in the private sector and introduced a colour bar into the determination of wages. 88 Based on their race, employees could or could not expect to receive a civilised wage. Civilised wages were wages that permitted for a standard of living that whites could expect. 89 Meant to assist poor whites to obtain well-paid jobs, 90 the Act affected the wage of white males rather than white females. 91 The Industrial Conciliation Act and Wage Act prevented blacks from entering certain semi-skilled and skilled occupations. 92

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84 Hutt, The Economics of the Colour Bar, p. 82.
86 Interview with Mrs. D.M. 10/06/1998.
87 Interview with Ms. M.M. 16/05/1997.
88 Hutt, The Economics of the Colour Bar, p. 76.
90 Hutt, The Economics of the Colour Bar, p. 36.
91 K. Angier, “Patterns of Protection,”
92 Hutt, The Economics of the Colour Bar, p. 80.
The exclusion of domestic services from the Wage Act, 1925, meant that racism and gender bias could and undoubtedly did affect the monetary value of domestic services. Given their position of power, employers possessed leverage in the determination of wages. Racism and the definition of domestic services, as the conventional work of black females, encouraged exploitation. In the 1930s, if not before, washerwomen and domestic workers were notoriously underpaid. The wages that women earned added to the difficulty of their households to keep up with the cost of living in Cape Town. Since most employers paid a similar rate, (see Table 4 for the wages paid in 1961) women who thought that their employers paid too little had little option for work elsewhere.

In the late 1940s, if not before, women received wages and payment in kind for domestic services. Employers remitted payment in kind to compensate for low wages. Mrs. D. Lawrence said,

> When my three children were at school I did the washing for very nice people. Good white people. They would say to me now Ursula was then at secondary school. They would say, ‘look when Ursula passes her exam, we’re going to give her a blazer for when she starts the new class. When Glen passes Standard 7, we’re going to give him his grey trousers and a shirt or so. When Edward is at Harold Cressy (school) we will give him a blazer.’ They would do that for me. They would give it without – I don’t pay for it. I would still get my money at the end of the month. At Christmas time they would think of them (my children). They would all get a little Christmas gift of money or perhaps an article.

Themes of good working relations, a thoughtful employer, employer generosity and response to household need communicated the work relationship that Mrs. Lawrence promoted. Albeit a possible representation of her employer, the themes also indicated Mrs. Lawrence’s positive and devote Christian principles. Most domestic workers who worked for Christian

96 Cock, Maids and Madams, pp. 101 and 31.
## Occupation and Wages of Females c. August 1961

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<td>M</td>
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<td>D</td>
<td>Dressmkr</td>
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<td>Bus</td>
<td>25 mn</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>Florist</td>
<td>R 4.13</td>
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<td>21 S</td>
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<td>Sea Pt</td>
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<td>Wash</td>
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<td>52 M</td>
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<td>M</td>
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<td>26 S</td>
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<td>23 S</td>
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<td>R 2.77</td>
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<td>Sea Pt</td>
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GMG = Government Maintenance Grant  
OAP = Old Age Pension. For 1959-60 a Coloured person received R86.43. (Source: Horrell, A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1961, p. 268.)
employers received extra payment of some kind at Christmas. Gifts of clothing that domestic workers received from were usually second hand.

Table 4 summarises data related to work for females in 1961. Of the 49 females listed in the table, 33 performed domestic services. Other females worked in gender-related occupations in private establishments such as factories, hotels, shops and hospitals. With one exception, of the females listed in the table, women in the domestic services earned the lowest wage. Since domestic service had no internal hierarchy whereby more experienced women received a higher rate of pay than less experienced females, women who were in their 50s, 60s and 70s earned pay that was similar to and lower than females who were up to less than half their ages. Elderly women continued to wash and perform domestic work partly because people who performed domestic services did not have the privilege of a private pension. Women such as 73 year-old Mrs. De Vries most probably worked because she tended to be her sole provider (see Table 2). It is unknown whether any females in the enclave benefited from the increase in wages for domestic workers that occurred in urban areas in 1951-1953.

Washerwomen and domestic workers worked one to six days and earned a wage of 28 cents to R10.70 a week. The exceptionally high wage of R10.70 was earned by Mrs. M. Petersen. Given that the average weekly pay for domestic services was R2.53 Mrs. Petersen's employer was not only generous but perhaps more honest about the value of domestic work. The wages that most women received highlighted the low valuation of domestic services. The pay also represented the sum that women had to accept in order to compete with laundries. Low wages for domestic services meant that in households where women were the sole provider, members lived at below subsistence levels. Subsistence levels encouraged the early entry

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98 Cock, Maids and Madams, p. 36.
99 Patterson, Colour and Culture in South Africa, p. 85.
100 Phillips, The Civilised Labour Policy and the Private Sector, p. 94.
of children into the labour market and married offspring to remain in
the parental home. Subsistence levels also forced women to obtain aid
from private charities and the government. In 1961, a government
maintenance grant supplemented the income of Mrs. Isaacs, a widow.
Data on the sum of a government grant is unavailable.

The wages of a woman who worked in a printing company and
the weekly pay of two factory employees emphasised the economic
advantage of work in the manufacturing sector: Ms. L. Jacobs earned
R16.00 a week, Ms. Lambert earned R10.38 and Ms. Morta earned
R9.90. The wages of these females reiterated the low valuation of
domestic service work and the reason that these females and the
contemporaries sought work in manufacturing.

In 1961, the R18 per week that 25-year-old Ms. U. Lawrence
earned as a nurse emphasised the worth of the nursing profession. By
the 1950s, teaching and nursing were the main professional
occupations that Coloureds could obtain.101 Low wages, however,
made it difficult for many Coloureds to attain an education that could
lead to jobs other than the manual labour that was associated with their
race. Coloureds who entered the nursing and teaching professions
entered the petit bourgeoisie. For certain reasons, Ms. Lawrence earned
a much higher wage than that of Ms. A. Valentine, the other nurse
listed in Table 4. In fact, Ms. Valentine's wage was similar to the
wages of factory workers. Given the link between race and wages, Ms.
Lawrence and Ms. Valentine received lesser wages than nurses who
were white.102

Women in Claremont supplemented their main paid labour
through economic activity such as selling tammelietjies (confection
made of pine nuts) from their homes.103 Evidence suggests that women
in Tramway and Ilford streets also participated in economic activity
outside of their main paid labour. Mrs. Wepener, augmented her

101 Patterson, Colour and Culture in South Africa, p. 85.
102 Patterson, Colour and Culture in South Africa, p. 113.
household income through the sale of baked goods. Mrs. Mitchell (senior) sold milk ice blocks to children in the enclave. In a broader manner, women responded to the spontaneous requests of whites to perform work outside of the workday.

In 1961, females who lived in the enclave worked in different parts of Cape Town but mainly in Sea Point. One female worked in Tyger Valley, 2 worked in Cape Town, 1 in Three Anchor Bay, 2 in Bantry Bay, 1 in Clifton, 1 in Camps Bay, and 15 in Sea Point. For women who worked in and near to Sea Point, residence close to their workplace permitted commute by foot. This mode of transport relieved women of the cost of public transport that would have strained household budgets. Most of the women who commuted by bus to work travelled for 15 minutes or less. Residence close to work benefited women who had to meet the demands of their marital home and contributed to their quality of life.

Males
In the 1920s through to 1940s, men in District Six worked as dock workers, tailors, carpenters, tinsmiths, candle makers, net menders, soap boilers, barbers and bakers. In the 1920s through to 1961, men in Tramway and Ilford streets worked as painters, carpenters, gardeners, drivers, shop employees, council workers, shoemakers, labourers and hawkers. The location of the enclave helped to single out males who held or acquired manual skills that mainly business people and homeowners in Sea Point required. Though they worked in a narrower range of occupations than men in District Six, the males in the enclave laboured in more diverse forms of employment than the women who resided in Tramway and Ilford streets. The types of and more diverse occupations of men reflected the gender division of labour in the labour market and the greater choices of males in the market. The wider range of occupations of men also indicated that the males were less bonded through their work than the females were bonded through their similar occupational status. The majority of males perhaps bonded through sport and other leisure

104 Personnel communication with a grandchild of Mrs. Wepener, 14/08/2000.
discussed in Chapter 6). However, the occupational similarity of artisans perhaps promoted an occupational identity among the artisans in the enclave.\textsuperscript{106} The different occupations of the men most probably promoted inter and intra-class distinction and tension among households in the enclave.

The trades of males in other Coloured working-class enclaves in Cape Town perhaps also represented the needs of nearby white businesses and homeowners. From around 1950 through to 1970, men in upper Claremont worked as tailors, self-employed hawkers and in the skilled artisan trades of bricklayer, carpenter and plumber.\textsuperscript{107} Men who lived in Protea Village worked in the artisan occupations and held positions as labourers at the Kirstenbosch Gardens.\textsuperscript{108} Most of the Moslem men in Black River were artisans.\textsuperscript{109} In the labour market and particularly among Coloured males, the occupation of artisan held a high occupational status. Males entered an artisan trade if they had an interest in the work and an opportunity to enter a trade. The artisan trades paid relatively well and therefore enhanced the economic well-being of working-class Coloured households.

Oral histories suggest that a few of the men in the enclave headed a small business. In the 1930s through to 1950s, at least three artisans, two general dealers, a greengrocer and a shoemaker operated independent businesses. A gender bias in the political economy permitted for the establishment of the businesses. It was common for men to establish a small enterprise related to their trades. However, it was uncommon for women to operate a small enterprise related to their work. For example, it was undoubtedly unfathom ed that women in the enclave establish a business from where domestic services could be contracted. Owing to the relationship of small businessmen to their means of labour, in Tramway and Ilford streets, small entrepreneurs and their households formed the petit bourgeoisie.

\textsuperscript{105} Keeton, "Aspects of Material Life and Culture in District Six," p. 12.
\textsuperscript{106} Bickford-Smith, \textit{Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice}, p. 187.
\textsuperscript{107} Taliep, "A Study in the History of Claremont," p. 20.
\textsuperscript{108} During a conversation that included Mr. J.V. 1997.
\textsuperscript{109} Mesthrie, "Dispossession in Black River," Chapter 2, p. 7.
Artisans

Painters

By 1953, mainly Coloured males worked in employment related to the building industry and cabinet making. In the 1930s through to 1950s, painting -- an artisan trade related to the building industry -- was one of the common professions in the enclave. Owing to their artisan trade, painters occupied a high occupational status. One way that males in the enclave acquired the skills of a painter was through their fathers. Owing to limited opportunity to enter a well-paid trade in the labour market and due to the desire of fathers to promote the economic security of their sons, men who were painters tended to teach their trade to their sons. Old Mr. Mitchell, a painter and decorator, operated a small painting business based on his trade and taught the skills of his trade to three of his sons. Mr. Mitchell advertised his painting services on a board posted in the front yard of his residence, 8 Tramway Cottage. Owing to the small business that Old Mr. Mitchell operated, he and his household belonged to the petit bourgeoisie.

Fluctuations in the building industry and winter caused painters to have periods of unemployment. Since men usually earned more than females, the unemployment of the male head of a household that included children of non-working age, seriously affected the economic well-being of the domestic unit. The eldest of eight children, Mrs. A. Jacobs (née Valentine) hinted at the hard times that occurred in the Valentine household when her father did not work: “When it’s winter there was no work. And there’s no income. So it was quite hard for us.” Mr. Valentine did not operate a business based on his trade and as a result, his and his household belonged to the working class. Until her children gradually entered the labour market, when Mr. Valentine was unemployed, Mrs. Valentine supported the household on the wage she earned for domestic services. The Valentines lived with Mrs. Valentine’s parents and this co-residence undoubtedly contributed to the survival of the Valentine marital unit.

110 Patterson, Colour and Culture in South Africa, p. 76.
In the late 19th century, during low periods of work, carpenters, masons and painters in Cape Town worked in major industries such as fishing. Oral histories suggest that from the 1930s through to 1961, during periods of unemployment, painters in the enclave sought work in another occupation. Mrs. K. Fischer said, “[my husband] was a qualified painter … If winter starts [and] they can’t work then he goes to the [Marine] hotel then he works as a handyman … a waiter, porter. He’d do all kinds of work.” Through his participation in different types of work, Mr. Fisher remained active in the labour market to protect the livelihood of his working-class domestic unit. By 1961, Mr. Fischer had changed occupations altogether and worked for the City Council.

Carpenters

Messrs R. Lawrence and R. Langeveldt were two of the more established carpenters in the enclave. Around 1932, the gentlemen established Lawrence and Langeveldt, a storefront business in Regent Road, opposite the Arthurs Seat Hotel. Lawrence and Langeveldt advertised painting, plumbing and carpentry services. Staff at the business included Lawrence and Langeveldt’s sons. After Mr. Langeveldt died, around 1945, the business dissolved. Mr. Lawrence continued to offer his carpentry services and perhaps because he no longer operated a storefront business, employers contacted him at his residence. Ms. M. Morta, Mr. Lawrence’s grandchild, said “A lot of white people used to come there, [saying] ‘where’s Bobby, where’s Bobby?’” Having no telephone, Mr. Lawrence had to be contacted personally at his residence. Owing to the small business that Lawrence and Langeveldt operated, they and their households belonged to the petit bourgeoisie.

By the late 1930s, Mr. H. Jacobs of Ilford Street worked as a carpenter. Mrs. A. Davis (née Jacobs) said, “My father started very poorly when he was a boy. He was just a messenger [at a] chemist, Heynes and Matthews in Sea Point.” At some point, perhaps during his young adulthood, Mr. Jacobs entered the carpentry trade. During his adult life, Mr. Jacobs established a

112 Bickford-Smith, Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice, p. 18.
113 Interview with Mrs. K.F. 05/08/1997.
114 Interview with Ms. M.M. 16/05/1997.
successful contracting business. Mr. Jacobs' three sons learned carpentry from their father and worked in his small enterprise. Ms. M. Jacobs said,

one of my father's boys [was] Old Joseph. He use to do the cleaning. My father had different men. He had an electrician. He had a plumber. He had a mason. He had a bricklayer. But my three brothers -- they did the carpentry.¹¹⁶

Mr. Jacobs' sons were at least the third generation of Jacobs' males who entered an artisan trade. Mr. Jacobs' father and paternal uncles and all but one of Mr. Jacobs' brothers were artisans. Exposure to their fathers' and uncles’ work and limited options in the labour market encouraged entry into the artisan trades.

Tramway and Ilford street residents knew of each other's trades and in the case of Mr. Jacobs, when necessary, asked for his assistance.

If people on Tramway Road needed repairs they asked him. He especially did a lot for Allie (Mr. Parker). Allie always asked my father to repair the houses [in the enclave that Parker and Tiseker owned]. If the roof leaks or the outside of the houses needed painting, Allie asked my father to do it.¹¹⁷

Through performing tasks for each other, men participated in acts of reciprocity. For reasons that included class and status, however, not every male in the enclave participated in reciprocal relationships with other males. Invoices for work performed for Mr. Parker, the shopkeeper, show that a more formal business relationship existed between the artisans and Mr. Parker.¹¹⁸

Though he also belonged to the petit bourgeoisie, Mr. Parker's status and closer association with capitalism most probably encouraged a more formal relationship between him and other men of the same class in the enclave.

¹¹⁵ Mrs. A.D. in an interview with Mrs. A.D. Mrs. P.J. and Mrs. E.V. 22/06/1998.
¹¹⁶ Interview with Ms. M.J. 22/06/1998.
¹¹⁷ Interview with Mr. P.H.J. 30/07/1997.
¹¹⁸ Invoices that Tramway Road residents submitted to Mr. M.A.P. represented this formal relationship. Files of Mr. A. Parker, (Privately Held).
**Bricklayers**

Along with painting and carpentry, bricklaying was one of the artisan trades that Coloured males could enter. By the early 1950s, to become a bricklayer, males had to complete Standard 8 and be apprenticed in the trade. Mr. R. Splinters said that after he finished Standard 8,

I went into the bricklaying trade. I worked for a firm, Skip and Nathan. They sent me to the Cape Technical College. I was 17 years old when I learned bricklaying. That was 1955. I did a five-year apprenticeship with Skip and Nathan. I did NC1 (National Credit) and NC2 at the Cape Tech. Coloureds only had three options back then. You could be a carpenter, a bricklayer or a plumber. There were virtually no other trades for Coloured people.\(^{119}\)

Apprenticeship regulations did not restrict Coloureds to certain trades. Rather, owing to the economic circumstance of working class Coloured households, the education that males had to attain to be apprenticed was too high for most Coloured boys.\(^{120}\) Households usually needed their offspring to enter the labour market at the earliest possible time. Moreover, households often could not afford to pay for fees that would permit their sons to complete Standard 8. It was also difficult to find a firm that would apprentice a Coloured male in a trade that was not associated with Coloureds. Racism and segregation directed Coloured males into the plumbing, carpentry, bricklaying and painting occupations. That note and with respect to employment in general in the Cape Province, Coloureds received a particular advantage over Africans. In 1954, as part of measures to control the migration of Africans into the province, the government introduced the Coloured Labour Preference Policy. The policy prevented Africans from holding certain occupations in the province and reserved the province as a place where the hire of Coloureds, rather than Africans, for certain jobs was preferred.

\(^{119}\) Interview with Mr. R.S. 18/06/1998.

\(^{120}\) Patterson, *Colour and Culture in South Africa*, pp. 76-77.
Drivers and Chauffeurs
Workers in relatively non-specialised occupations, drivers and chauffeurs occupied a lower occupational status than the status of artisans. From the 1940s through to the 1950s, the occupation of driver and chauffeur was common in the enclave. Mr. M. Gales and Mr. D. Davis, of Ilford Street, worked as chauffeurs. Mr. Davis worked as a panel beater before World War Two and became a chauffeur in the mid-1940s. In Tramway Road, Mr. St. Clair worked as a chauffeur and Mr. G. Isaacs drove a taxi. Mr. F. Mitchell drove for the Union Castle Company, a British mail shipping service. Mr. N. Thomas drove for Adelphi Motors in Sea Point before he became a supervisor of the men who pumped petrol at the fuel tanks.

Driving jobs within the city limits, permitted men to return to their households at the end of the work day. Men who drove for businesses that serviced areas outside of Cape Town, spent days and nights away from home. Mr. R. Whittaker worked for Lewis Stores, a furniture company that transported its merchandise to customers outside of Cape Town. Mr. Whittaker “used to be away ... two, three days or perhaps nights.” Work that required a relatively long absence from the home affected domestic life.

Council Workers
The Municipality of Green Point and Sea Point and after amalgamation in 1913, the City of Cape Town, employed Coloured males to perform a range of municipal services. The number of males in the enclave who worked for the City Council, attested to the availability of work in this sector of the labour market. The employment of Mr. P.F. Jacobs of Ilford Street with the council suggested that, depending on one’s job description, council work held a relatively respected occupational status. Mr. Jacobs belonged to a parental household where men entered the artisan trades. Mr. Jacobs might have held council employment whose status was somewhat parallel to that of artisans.

The male heads of households that lived in the council flats either worked or had worked for the city council: “They were all council people.”

121 Interview with Mrs. L.W. 22/07/1997.
Mr. Klein worked as a “rate weigher” for the council in and perhaps before 1935.  

That time it was horses and carts ... He rode the horse and cart with the dirt. He picked up the dirt at each door... He came to collect the dirt [in Tramway Road] too. But not only in Tramway Road. [He went] all over ... He used to drive a cart and he’s got his boys to [pick up the bags of rubbish].

As the driver of the dirt cart, Mr. Klein held a higher status than the men who performed the physical labour of garbage collection. It is possible that owing to his occupational status, Mr. Klein resided in the flats. The men who worked with Mr. Klein did not live in the flats. Around the late 1940s, Mrs. C. Tombeni, Mr. Klein’s daughter, obtained an apartment in the council flats because her husband, Mr. Tombeni worked “in the electrical [division]” of the City Council.

Other men who worked for the City Council included Mr. Collins, Mr. Arendse (Tramway Cottages), Mr. Fischer and Mr. E. Phillips. Mr. Phillips performed work that was similar to the work that Mr. Klein performed. Mrs. V. Phillips said, “[my husband] worked on the dirt carts.” In 1961, Mr. Collins collected a pension from the council for his years of service as a dustman in Sea Point. Employment with a large business or institution promoted the likelihood of a pension after retirement. At some point, Mrs. Wepener’s son, Mr. H. Wepener, worked for the council and in 1961, Mrs. Wepener’s grandson also worked for the city. Over time, the city council might have been the largest single employer of men in Tramway and Ilford streets.

Other Types of Employment
Males earned a wage through labour in various other types of manual occupations. These occupations included that of tailor, gardener, upholsterer,

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122 Interview with Mrs. C.T. 07/06/1997.
123 Interview with Mrs. C.T. 07/06/1997.
124 Interview with Mrs. C.T. 07/06/1997.
125 Interview with Mrs. C.T. 07/06/1997.
126 Interview with Mrs. Y.P. 07/08/1997.
waiter and house renovator. The men’s work affected their and their households’ occupational status.

Mrs. E. Borland, who resided near Tramway Road in Victoria Road, recalled that around 1942, a tailor who lived in the enclave fitted her brother’s jacket and trousers: “I know there were two tailors ... in Tramway Road because ... they actually altered my older brother’s suit for his barmitzvah.” The small number of tailors in the enclave around 1942 suggested that tailors found better employment in larger places such as District Six.

Mr. J. October, the grandfather of Mrs. A. Jacobs, worked as a gardener.

He worked in Avenue Le Croix. He used to work in the gardens of people up there. He also worked in the garden of the Holy Redeemer. He wasn’t paid [for his work at the church].

Homeowners in the suburb who cultivated a garden relied on the type of services that Mr. October provided. Affiliation with the Church of the Holy Redeemer, the Anglican Church that stood just outside the enclave, encouraged Mr. October to volunteer his services to maintain the church grounds. Other men in the enclave also volunteered their labour to maintain the church.

Mr. N. Ramassami and his son, Mr. C. Ramassami worked as waitrons at the Bay Bridge Hotel in Three Anchor Bay. Mr. Ramassami (Snr), a head waitron was originally from India. Occupation in the waiting services tended to define the ghettoization of Indian men, who had a certain background, in the labour market. Mr. C. Ramassami most probably obtained his job through his father. Similar to that of artisans, restrictions in the labour market encouraged black men in other occupations to help their sons find work.

Mr. Shenosha also worked in the hotel service industry but as a chef. It is possible that there existed a link between Mr. Shenosha’s employment and his personal history as an African who passed for

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127 Interview with Mrs. E.B. 23/07/1997.
129 I appreciate information on the point from Mrs. M. Bavasah.
Coloured (discussed in Chapter 5). To pass for Coloured, Mr. Shenosha would have had to be employed in a position not usually associated with Africans.

Some of the males in the enclave changed jobs during the course of their working lives. Injury, conditions in the labour market, the desire for a better wage, and work conditions, contributed to the reason for a change in employment. Before he became the caretaker of the Moravian Church in District Six around 1939, Mr. Arendse (Tramway Road) worked as an upholsterer in Sea Point. The job of caretaker permitted Mr. Arendse, then recently widowed, and his two children to be the sole occupants of the caretaker’s house.

During his working life, Mr. E. Lawrence’s father worked as “a gardener, chauffeur [and] house renovator.” Mr. E. Lawrence suggested that his father’s occupations sometimes overlapped and that he performed them according to the availability of the work. Multiple skills reduced periods of unemployment and widened Mr. Lawrence’s employment network.

Mr. S. Morta changed his occupation at least three times. Mr. Morta began his paid working life as a tailor. At a later point he held a job as “a dismantler” of motorcars. Upon his retirement, Mr. Morta had “worked for 33 years for the rail.” Age and employment satisfaction contributed to longevity at a workplace.

General Dealers

Around 1929, Mr. M.A. Parker and Mr. A. Tiseker formed a business partnership to operate two shops in Tramway Road. Owing enterprises that Messrs Parker and Tiseker operated, they and their households belonged to the petit bourgeoisie. One of the shops that Parker and Tiseker owned stood at the corner of Tramway and Ilford streets. The other shop stood just north of the

130 Interview with Mr. E.L. 17/06/1998.
131 Interview with Ms. M.M. 16/05/1997.
132 Interview with Ms. C.M. 13/06/1998.
133 Mr. A. Tiseker operated under the surname name of Rahman. Mr. W. Tiseker said, “As I said, for business purposes people changed their name. He adopted that name. Tiseker was a family surname but a lot of name changes were done for business purposes.” Interview with Mr. W.T. 18/08/1999.
corner, in Tramway Road. Mr. Parker operated the corner shop, the larger of the two enterprises. Mr. Tiseker, known to residents as Mr. Abdol (Abdoi was Mr. Tiseker’s first name) managed the shop that stood in Tramway Road until 1954 when he and his household moved to Retreat. Mr. W. Tiseker said, the Tiseker household left “for business purposes. The partnership maybe could not absorb the two [businesses].” 

In February 1957 the Parkers operated both of the shops in Tramway Road. In the 1950s, after an accident affected Mr. Parker’s eyesight, he found it difficult to operate the shop. The eldest Parker son, Mr. A. Parker left school at Standard 7 to operate the business: “After school, I used to help in the shop and then [when I was] 15, 16, I was working in the shop.” A gender division of labour contributed to the decision that a male rather than female offspring assume responsibility for the shop. Similar to shopkeepers of Indian origin in Cape Town at large, Messrs Parker and Tiseker were Moslem.

Greengrocer

In the early 1930s, if not before, Mr. J. Petersen worked at Springbok Butcheries in Regent Road. Around 1952, Mr. Petersen established himself as a mobile greengrocer in Sea Point. Through the greengrocery business, Mr. Petersen and his household entered the petit bourgeoisie. Of her father and the business, Mrs. P. van der Westhuizen said,

He sold strictly veg. We were successful in that business ...I helped him every Tuesday and Friday we use to go to Camps Bay. He had customers there. On Saturday we also worked and never ever had holidays.

The financial margins and demands of a small business, motivated Mr. Petersen and his household to work throughout the year. Given the economic conditions in the enclave and the type of work that women, in particular, performed, holidays in fact, might have been uncommon in the residential area. Mrs. V. Petersen stopped her work as a washerwoman to assist with the

134 Interview with Mr. W. T. 18/08/1999.
135 Mr. A.P. in an interview with Mr. N.P. and Mr. A.P. 15/10/1997.
136 Interview with Mrs. P.v W. 16/06/1997.
greengrocery business. On Saturdays, businesses in Cape Town usually operated for part of the day.

Shoemaker

Around 1949, the Nathoos obtained a “shoe repair shop and residence” in Tramway Road. According to the names of shoe repairers in the enclave since 1931, Mr. Nathoo was the sixth man of Indian heritage who operated a shoe repair shop in Tramway Road. The Nathoos were Hindu and men of Indian origin who followed the Hindu religion tended to work in the shoe repair sector of the labour market. The Nathoos acquired the shop from their relatives, the Vassons, the previous owners of the business. The Vassons moved to District Six, where they established another shoe repair business, after Mr. Vasson, the male head of the household, died. Mr. Nathoo senior was a shoemaker by trade but a chronic illness limited his ability to operate the business in Tramway Road. Mr. Nathoo’s son, Mr. D. Nathoo, managed the business. Born in 1934, Mr. D. Nathoo was 13 years old when he worked full time to support his parental household.

My dad used to work but mentally didn’t know every day standards. I used to go around Sea Point. Business was so bad. We couldn’t make ends meet. I went to Camps Bay, Bakoven, [and up] the avenues [in Sea Point]. I’d knock on the doors, collect shoes and bring them back to work and do them on weekends. That was how we survived.

Through their ownership of a small business, the Nathoos belonged to the petit bourgeois. However, the dire conditions of the business and the household, emphasised that the unit belonged to the lower ranks of the petit bourgeoisie. Similar to circumstances in the Parker household, in the Nathoo home when the male head could no longer operate the business, responsibility for the enterprise passed to the elder son.

137 Interview with Mr. D.N. 18/06/1997.
138 Cape Times Cape Peninsula Directory, 1931-1942.
139 I appreciate the information I received on shopkeepers and shoemakers in Cape Town, from Ms. V. Ernstzen, 23/06/2001.
140 Interview with Mr. D.N. 18/06/1997.
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<th>Occ</th>
<th>Wg/Wk</th>
<th>Occ Loc</th>
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Income

In September 1959, the Cape Argus reported that on average, men in the enclave earned R9.00 a week. In the data available from the Wannenbury survey for 36 men in 1961 (see Table 5), the average weekly wage of males totalled R11.21. The variation in the wages of males in 1961 emphasised the different occupational statuses of the men. The wage data also shows that compared to women, men received higher pay. When compared to the data on the wages that females earned for domestic services, the data for males pointed to the greater value of men's work. The average weekly wage for females listed in Table 3 was R4.05. The higher wage that males earned, meant that men's wages were important to their households.

The data available for 1961, shows that as a teacher, Mr. October worked in one of the professional occupations that was open to Coloureds. Two other residents (not listed in Tables 3 and 4), Mrs. P. van der Westhuizen and Mr. R. Paulsen also worked as teachers. Twenty-three year old Mr. October earned R19 per week, the third highest wage among the men listed. The two highest earners were artisans: Mr. E.G. Lawrence, a 55-year-old carpenter earned R30 a week and Mr. E. Collins, a 27-year-old bricklayer earned R27. The wages that these artisans earned emphasised the economic importance of an artisan trade for Coloured males. In the long term, however, Mr. October's occupation probably remitted the highest wage. Mr. October was considerably younger than Mr. Lawrence. When Mr. October reached 55 years of age he most probably earned a wage of higher value than the wage that Mr. Lawrence earned when he was 55 years old.

In the 1961 data, four males worked for the City Council, three worked as drivers, four as labourers, three in a factory and two at the docks. The men who worked for the city, earned a wage similar to female residents of the enclave who worked in a factory (see Table 4). Factory work was one of the highest paid occupations available to Coloured females. Yet factory wages that females in the enclave earned were approximately equal to the average wage of the males in the residential area. Two of the three males who worked in a factory earned a higher wage than the wages that the female factory

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141 Cape Times 23/09/1959.
workers earned. Similarly, the majority of males earned a wage that was similar to, or higher than, the R9.90 that Ms. M. Morta and the R10.38 that Ms. D. Lambert earned in a factory. In 1961, 24 of the 36 men, for whom data was available, earned up to R11 a week. The 24 men included Mr. Collins who received a pension of R7.50 from the city council. Mr. Collins' pension was almost twice the average wage that women earned for their domestic services.

One male earned a wage that was similar to the pay for domestic services. Mr. F. Wepener, worked in a feminised occupation. Mr. Wepener cleaned the Baptist Mission in Tramway Road. Through its association with the domestic sphere and females, cleaning was defined as the “traditional” work of women and women’s labour was extremely undervalued. The mental disability that affected Mr. Wepener, allowed him few options in the labour market.

Of the males for whom data was available in 1961, 1 worked in Bridgetown, 1 in Woodstock, 2 in Salt River, 5 in Cape Town, 1 in Clifton, 1 in Three Anchor Bay, 1 at the Docks, 3 in Green Point and 14 in Sea Point. Among the men who worked in Green Point and Sea Point, 11 commuted by foot. Of the 12 men who commuted by bus to work, four travelled for 45 minutes to one hour and eight travelled for 20 minutes or less. Similar to the females, the majority of the males travelled a relatively short distance to work.

**Household Income**

Discussion on household income in this chapter is based on data for 33 domestic units obtained through the Wannenburg survey. Summarised in Table 5, the data showed that the economic status of households varied. Given that the majority of females for whom data was available earned similar wages and that the wages of men were more variable, the differences in household income was due to the occupational status of males. The household income reported in the Wannenburg survey was based on income earned through formal participation in the labour market. Since oral histories point to the performance of work outside of formal participation in the market, the data in Table 5 might be an approximation of the actual income that households earned.
<table>
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<th>Hh Size</th>
<th>Earners</th>
<th>Hh Income/Wk</th>
<th>Rent/Mth</th>
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^ Sum excludes the amount of a government maintainence grant.
*Sum is half the R20 per month to rent dwelling.

Old Age Pension for Coloureds and Asians for 1959-60 was R86.43 per person.
(Horrell, A Survey of Race Relations, 1961, p. 268.)
In September 1961, an article in the *Cape Argus* reported that, of 44 families in Tramway and Ilford streets, 13 families earned under R40 per month, 27 families between R40 and R140 and four families earned more than R140. The article did not report on the number of household members that the household income supported. The data reported in the *Argus* resembled the data collected during the Wannenburg survey conducted around August 1961. In Table 5, information on the 33 households for whom data was available showed that 11 domestic units earned under R40 per month, 17 earned R40 to R140 per month and three earned above R140 a month. Though it is unknown how these incomes compared to the incomes of other households in Sea Point, a letter to the editor in the *Cape Times*, in 1959, referred to the evident poverty in the enclave. The letter suggested that the majority, if not all, of the households earned an income that was considerably less than the income of other households in the suburb. Owing to the legacy of the political economy of segregation and the advancing economy of apartheid, most of the residents in the enclave were locked into structural poverty. Those who belonged to the petit bourgeoisie were considerably less economically sound than petit bourgeois whites.

In 1961, the number of earners in households varied from one person to six people, household size ranged from one to 18 members and household income varied from R16 per month to R229.80 per month. It is unfortunate that the household of Mr. J. Petersen (the greengrocer) and the Parker and Nathoo units were not included in the Wannenburg survey. The Petersen unit moved out of the enclave in June 1961. The Parkers and Nathoos were excluded from the survey because they were not members of the Tramway Road Association for which the data was collected. It is also unfortunate that because the residents of the council flats moved out of Tramway Road around 1955, they too were not part of the survey.

The monthly cost of rent formed one of the main expenses of domestic units. An inability to pay the full cost of one’s rent might have provoked a request for financial assistance from kin and friends. Households also could,

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142 *Cape Argus* 14/09/1961.
143 The count for households that earned less than R40 a month excluded 4 Tramway Cottages. Data suggested that the household’s income plus OAP would have exceeded R40 a month.
and some did, seek assistance from the Board of Aid, a provincial agency. A
study in 1933, that included residents of the enclave who received financial
support from the Board, concluded that people sought financial aid when they
did not have enough money to pay their rents.\textsuperscript{145} When households, such as
that of Mrs. De Vos in the mid-1930s, earned too little to sustain their
households, they sought aid from Child Life Protection Services, a private
charity organisation. As mentioned in Chapter 3, in 1961, Mrs. Isaacs received
a Maintenance Grant from the government to assist with costs to sustain her
unit.

Some households paid a similar rent and had a similar income but
provided for different numbers of people. In 3 Tramway Cottage, the Isaacs, a
two-person household had an income of R13 per week and paid R4.47 a
month for rent. At 6 Tramway Cottage, the Phillips household, a four-person
unit depended on R12.60 a week and paid R4.40 for rent. The eight-member
Barros household at 8 Tramway Road reported an income of R15 per week
and paid R5.02 for rent. Given the number of people in the Barros unit, data
suggests that of the Isaacs, Phillips and Barros households, the Barros unit
lived under more difficult economic conditions than the other two domestic
units.

Compared to the Isaacs, Phillips and Barros households, some of the
other units in the enclave earned a substantially greater income. However,
these units did not necessarily fare better financially. The Collins household
paid R8.65 per month to rent 12 Tramway Cottage. Four members of the
Collins household collectively earned R44.50 a week. Seven people depended
on this wage. Depending on the cost of household necessities, the Collins'
perhaps fared better than the Phillips unit. At Beeston, Ilford Street, four
households of the Jacobs kin, a total of 18 people, paid R15.78 a month for
their housing. Six members of the household collectively earned R47.86 a
week. At 11 Tramway Cottage, three members of the Lawrence household
earned a total income of R57.45 per week and paid R9.78 for rent. Given the
relationship between household income and household size, the data suggests
that the members of the Lawrence unit lived in a more secure financial state.

\textsuperscript{145} Letter to the Editor, \textit{Cape Times} 14/10/1959.
Widows who lived with an adult offspring and extended kin who worked, fared somewhat better than widows and unmarried elder women, who might have been self-dependent. Widows such as Mrs. Lambert at 4 Tramway Cottage, Mrs. Paulsen at 17 Tramway Cottage, Mrs. Mitchell at 8 Tramway Road and Mrs. Wepener at 13 Tramway Road, lived with an adult offspring or extended kin who worked. Mrs. De Vries at 3 Tramway Cottage, Mrs. Absalom at 19 Tramway Cottage and Ms. Swartz at 1 Tramway Road were widows who did not live with kin. Seventy-three years of age, Mrs. De Vries obtained an income through washing and an old-age pension. Old-age pension was also a source of livelihood for Mrs. Absalom and Mrs. Swartz. Widows who did not live with kin were among the poorest residents of the enclave. The different income and household sizes in the enclave meant that though largely working class, the residents occupied different ranks with the labouring class and included members of the petit bourgeoisie.

CONCLUSION

Paid labour was influential in the production and reproduction of the enclave as a residential site of working-class Coloureds. Gender, race and the location of the enclave, influenced the type of work that the residents performed. Overdetermining the small variance in income and status among different genders, however, was the fact that most of the residents performed work that responded to the needs of white business and property owners. The relatively high wages of males promoted the importance of their contribution and hence their status in the household income. Thus, despite the working-class status of most of the residents, a variation of economic standing among the domestic units occurred.

As discussed in the next chapter, despite their class similarity and because of class difference there occurred expressions of class differentiation in Tramway and Ilford Streets. As also discussed, race played an important role in residents' lives and informed identity.

145 Wagner, Poverty and Dependency in Cape Town, pp. 24-26.
When people say to me, 'Where were you born?' I say, 'In Sea Point'. And they say, 'Where in Sea Point? White people mos stay in Sea Point.' And I say, 'In Tramway Road.'

CHAPTER FIVE

RACE, CLASS and IDENTITY, 1930s-1950s

I remember Elleslie Girls' High School ... It [became] the Sea Point Girls' it's now an open school for girls and boys ... And then [there was] the King's Road Primary ... Sea Point Girls High and Boys High ... and two primary schools and high schools in Three Anchor Bay. And we people had to go to Cape Town.

INTRODUCTION

From 1919 and onwards, laws that emphasised the importance of race in South Africa intensified segregation. Oral histories of ex-residents of the enclave about race show how residents responded to the restrictions of segregation and apartheid. Matters pertaining to race encouraged people who could cross the colour line to transgress the colour bar: Coloureds passed for white and Africans passed for Coloured. The social and political conditions that encouraged passing supported racism and intra-race division. With respect to class, oral histories show that the residents of Tramway and Ilford streets recognised differences of class, were sensitive to expressions of class and participated in inter-class and intra-class distinction. These distinctions were expressed through language and respectability.

Members of the working class and petit bourgeoisie lived in Tramway and Ilford streets. However, owing to their tenant status and condition of most of the dwellings in the enclave, regardless of their class and status, the majority of the residents lived in housing that expressed a working-class position. For those who belonged to the petit bourgeoisie, property, a telephone and an automobile defined class and status.

While the subjects of race and class tend to overlap, for the purposes of clarity they will be discussed separately in this chapter.

11 Interview with Ms. C.M. 13/06/1998
2 Interview with Mrs. E.M. 07/06/1998.
Race

During the earliest years of apartheid, 1949 to 1953, the National Party passed race-based laws that intensified restrictions to social and political life. Apartheid legislation intensified the racialisation of space in the country and bestowed upon white people greater privileges than ever before. From the 1930s through to the 1950s, the demarcation of space that characterised segregation and apartheid elicited different responses from the Coloured residents of Tramway and Ilford streets. Demarcated space informed race identity, stimulated feelings of marginalisation, provoked agency and encouraged compliance. Residents’ response to demarcated space reflected their ages, socialisation and sense of power vis-à-vis the state.

Laws supported the racialisation of space in Cape Town that social practice encouraged. The Seashore Act of 1935 obliged residents of the city to bathe in racially separate bathing areas. During the 1940s, whites and blacks swam in different municipal swimming baths and the main beaches were segregated. Segregated bathing, however, had long since been practised in Sea Point. By 1913, whites patronised the Sea Point Pavilion and around 1917, the city constructed a bathing pool, the ‘Non-European Pavilion,’ for Coloureds, at Queen’s Beach near the Sea Point Railway Station. While the naming of the pavilion for whites both identified whites with the suburb and reinforced the notion of the suburb as a space for white people, the naming of the recreational site for Coloureds emphasised the marginalisation of Coloureds in Sea Point.

Minutes of the City Council from 1917 to 1931 pertaining to the seaside sites for blacks and whites in Sea Point, highlighted the type of material inequity that the social relations of production encouraged. With respect to the Sea Point Pavilion, a three-storey building with a seaside swimming pool, council Minutes recorded the

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4 These laws have been identified and discussed in various sources. See Horrell, A Survey of Race Relations 1949-1954 for one of the earliest sources of information about apartheid legislation.
6 Cape Town City Council Minutes, September 1939-August 1940, p. 1314.
8 An article in the Cape Times 29/05/1914 states that the “Sea Point Pavilion was a legacy from the old Sea Point Council.” The Sea Point council amalgamated with the Cape Town City Council in 1913.
9 Cape Town City Council Minutes 1917, Agenda 61, p. 6.
establishment of entertainment areas (1917), adjacent warm-water baths (1929),
lockers (1930), and refreshment rooms (1931). In contrast to the Sea Point Pavilion,
the ‘pavilion’ for Coloureds that by the 1950s the residents of the enclave identified as
“the Coloured pool” was indeed nothing but a tidal pool. In 1929 council proposed to
construct a concrete ramp near to and around the pool and towards the beach, while in
1930 the council proposed to install toilets.\textsuperscript{11} The difference between the Coloured
and white recreational sites reflected the uneven distribution of social resources.

Reference to the Sea Point Pavilion in oral history interviews highlighted the
fact that the superior infrastructure of the Sea Point Pavilion aroused feelings of
marginalisation and exclusion. Born in 1928, Mrs. J. Delport said, “we used to go to
the pavilion and stand there and look at the pool and the diving board and wish we
could go in but we couldn’t because we were Coloured.”\textsuperscript{12} The better equipped
pavilion and prohibited entrance formed one example of how Coloured children
learned of racial privileging.

Residents could not enter the pavilion as patrons but could enter the site as a
worker and in the company of a white person. Domestic workers accompanied the
children of their employers to the pavilion. Mrs. V. Arnolds said, “I had to look after a
child to go there ... when the child is swimming ... I stand around (the deck). (Then) I
can say, ‘I’ve been at the pavilion.’”\textsuperscript{13} While entrance to the pavilion because of
occupation temporarily and superficially elevated employees’ status, it more
importantly served to reproduce relations of servitude.

The relations of servitude reinforced the social order but residents also used
those relations in support of their own interests. During the 1950s, when denied
access to white space, Ms. C. Morta used her employee status to gain entrance. Born
in 1948, Ms. Morta said, “I would as a child go in anywhere when I had to deliver
something. If someone told me I shouldn’t be somewhere, I used to say ‘but madam
said I must give it in.’”\textsuperscript{14} Gaining entrance to demarcated space through an association

\textsuperscript{10} Cape Times 14/06/1957.
\textsuperscript{11} See Cape Town City Council Minutes that describe facilities proposed for construction at the Non-
European (or Coloured) Pavilion and Sea Point Pavilion. See Minutes of 1917, Agenda 81, p. 6 (on
advertisements for the hire of entertainment areas at SPP); 1929, Agenda 977 (warm water swimming
baths at SPP); 1930, Agenda 796 (sanitary convenience at CP) and Agenda 797 (lockers at SPP).
\textsuperscript{12} Mrs. J.D. in an interview with Mrs. J.D. Mr. J.D. and Mrs. C.C. 14/06/1998.
\textsuperscript{13} Interview with Mrs. V.A. 08/06/1998.
\textsuperscript{14} Interview with Mrs. C.M. 13/06/1998.
with whites expressed how association was advantageously. Circumventing
demarcated space produced a sense of agency.

From the 1940s through to the 1950s, Coloured children who lived in the
enclave had some interaction with white children who resided outside of the
residential area. (White children did not live in the enclave during the 1940s and
1950s.) The interaction that occurred between the children was described by
interviewees as 'mixing with whites.' Mixing with whites, indeed, was limited to
children. In general, the adult residents did not socialise with whites but rather
interacted with whites mainly in relation to work. Some interaction - perhaps largely
the exchange of pleasantries - may have occurred among residents and whites who
attended the Church of the Holy Redeemer. Mrs. G. Eyssen spoke of Mrs. Lyle, a
white woman and member of the Holy Redeemer, who visited Mrs. Eyssen's parental
household. It is unknown whether the visits occurred purely on the basis of friendship
or strictly in connection with the church. The general lack of social interaction
between the Coloured residents of the enclave and whites resembled the type of social
separation that occurred between blacks and whites in Black River in the 1950s. During this same period, blacks and whites in Claremont limited their interaction
mainly to the exchange of pleasantries, which took place mainly in shops. Blacks and
whites in Claremont, however, did attend the same churches and primary schools.
Generally speaking, owing to the degree of interaction between blacks and whites in
Cape Town who lived in the same residential area, interaction in Cape Town during
the 1940s reflected the intensification of segregation. Blacks and whites who resided
in mixed residential areas interacted less with each other.

In response to the racialisation of space in the suburb and city, residents of the
enclave developed a persistent awareness of race. Born in 1928, Mr. R. Lambert
communicated this awareness when he spoke about the sense of self that informed his
social participation: "You keep yourself to what you are ... You are a Coloured. Jy
moet nie interfeer nie daar met die wit mense plekke. [You must not interfere with
white peoples' places.] Stay where you belong." The demarcation of space that
occurred through laws and social practices contributed to the construction of a
Coloured identity. The construction of a Coloured identity problematised or silenced

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racial and cultural hybridity. For example, some residents of Windermere who were socially and politically identified as Coloured sensed that they could not express their African identity. The imposition of social and political identities and the inhibition of expressions of hybridity caused emotional pain. Other than the Africans in the enclave who passed (discussed later), it is unknown if any of the Coloured residents in Tramway and Ilford streets privately identified as African.

The demarcation of space that characterised first segregation and then apartheid marginalised residents of the enclave from Sea Point and from Cape Town as a whole. The racialisation of skin colour and the demarcation of space informed a race identity. Segregation, apartheid and the differentiated privileges that Africans, Coloureds and whites received, encouraged people who could pass for another race to cross the colour line.

**Passing**

Similar to people of colour elsewhere in Cape Town and South Africa, the racialisation of space and race privileging encouraged residents of Tramway and Ilford streets to transgress the colour bar: Coloureds passed for white and Africans passed for Coloured. Crossing the colour line, also referred to as “passing,” had historical roots in Cape Town. During the 19th century, in response to de facto segregation, Coloureds and Africans crossed the colour line to obtain greater social freedom and access to opportunity. The historical practice and widespread occurrence of passing encouraged a tolerance for passing in the 20th century. Passing was as common among residents of Tramway and Ilford streets, as it was among the inhabitants of Black River, Mowbray, District Six and other parts of South Africa.

Crossing the colour line occurred in order to obtain advantages that restrictions prevented. To benefit from the privileges reserved for Coloureds, Africans of light hue passed for Coloured. To receive the privileges reserved for

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18 Interview with Mr. R.L. and Mrs. R.L. 13/01/1998.
21 For Black River see Mesthrie, “Dispossession in Black River,” Chapter 1, pp. 25-26; for Mowbray see Western, Outcast Cape Town, pp. 207-215; for reference to South Africa in general see Patterson, Colour and Culture in South Africa.
22 Patterson, Colour and Culture in South Africa, p. 183.
whites, Coloureds of light hue passed for white. Passing for white emphasised status and respectability and tended to occur among the “better class” of Coloureds who were of light pigment.23

People who crossed the line, possessed the physical traits and social characteristics of the racial group they wished to join, temporarily or permanently.24 Coloureds who passed had to communicate confidently in English. Africans who passed had to communicate confidently in Afrikaans.25 The commonality of passing was evident in its widespread practice. From the 1940s through to the 1950s, it was common for Coloureds in Simon’s Town to pass for white26 and for Africans in Black River to pass for Coloured.27 In District Six, Africans passed for Coloured and Coloureds passed for white.

For the residents of the enclave who passed, the location of the enclave in a predominantly white suburb, and the status of the enclave as a place where Coloureds and whites lived (in the 1940s and 1950s, whites who lived in the enclave were married to Coloureds and Indian), contributed to the success of passing.28 Coloureds successfully passed for white if they lived in areas where whites resided. Africans successfully passed for Coloured if they lived in a Coloured residential area.

For Coloureds of light hue, passing made possible their entrance to the Sea Point Pavilion. Born in 1948, Ms. C. Morta probably referred to the late 1950s when she spoke of the pavilion.

That time, if you were fair and could speak English and dressed nicely, you could go in. If you were a person with an accent and not dark, you could go but a person with dark skin they barred. You would hurt a lot of people.29

A light skin tone, the ability to speak English and the quality of clothing were all influential in gaining access to white-dominated space, but colour was the most important criteria. Coloureds who could not pass and enter the pavilion and other spaces that were demarcated for whites experienced rejection. The rejection that they

24 Watson, Passing for White.
26 Thomas, “It Changed Everybody’s Lives,” in Field, Lost Communities.
28 Watson, Passing for White, p. vii.
29 Interview with Mrs. C.M. 13/06/1998.
experienced might have affected their sense of identity. It is unknown whether any of the Coloured residents of the enclave, who passed for white, entered the pavilion as members of the public.

According to oral history interviews, Ms. D. Gales, a resident of Ilford Street, passed. In reference to Ms. Gales, Mr. E. Lawrence said, “She played white.”30 Because Ms. Gales passed for white, according to Mr. Lawrence, when she exited her home, she circumvented the enclave: “She walks down King’s Road to come teach in Tramway Road school.”31 Owing to the racialisation of space in Cape Town, there occurred a link between racial identity and the use of space. Since mainly whites lived in King’s Road, Ms. Gales’ route from her home on the corner of Ilford and King’s streets to her workplace at the lower end of Tramway Road was interpreted as a statement of identity. Since Ms. Gales’ use of space was possibly perceived as an expression of identity, her passage disrupted the sensibilities of Mr. Lawrence and perhaps other residents of the enclave. Nonetheless, residents tolerated Ms. Gales’ passing. The historical and widespread practice of passing in Cape Town encouraged tolerance rather than exposure of people who crossed the colour line.32 Research that includes people who crossed the colour bar permanently would help to understand this age-old practice in South Africa.

The degree of acceptance and tolerance towards passing varied in the enclave. Inter-personal relations affected the extent to which residents tolerated inhabitants who passed. Born in 1936, Ms. U. Lawrence and her mother, Mrs. D. Lawrence spoke of one resident who was sanctioned for passing.

U: There in Tramway Road we had family members who were fair skinned. They lived there but they went to the white bioscopes. Mrs. Harris, she was white -- went for white. But I mean she was from a Coloured family.
D: She wasn’t married to a white man. She was married to a Coloured man. But she was now of fair complexion.
U: Because they were fair they enjoyed the privileges of being able to get into a white place because the Coloured person couldn’t get there. And I mean that lady she was a very nice woman. She minded her own business. She lived her way and that but she was actually ostracised by the rest of the community.33

30 Interview with Mr. E.L. 17/06/1998.
31 Interview with Mr. E.L. 17/06/1998
32 Marks and Trapido, The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism, p. 12.
The historical and wide practice of passing encouraged tolerance but did not prevent sanction. Since Mrs. Harris was not the only resident who passed, it is possible that factors other than passing influenced the treatment to which she was subject.

Passing formed one of the means whereby Africans circumvented the provisions of the Urban Areas Act, 1923. The Act obliged Africans in Cape Town to reside in the location at Ndabeni. Yet the status of the enclave as a place where Coloureds lived, permitted Africans to reside in Tramway Road as Coloureds. In the early 1940s, the Shenosha household passed for Coloured and obtained residence in Tramway Road. Prior to residing in Sea Point, the Shenoshas lived in St. John’s Road, Cape Town. It is unknown whether the Shenoshas passed for Coloured in St. John’s Road. By the 1940s, most of the Africans who lived outside of Ndabeni, resided in District Six. Of her residence in the enclave, Mrs. Kulati (née Shenosha) said,

We were the only Black family in Tramway Road. There was another Black family, Isaacs. But the father was you know, half Black — (the) family (was) mixed ... My father was very light in complexion (and) those days you could pass for Coloured.

Mr. Shenosha had physical and social characteristics that permitted him and his household to obtain and maintain residence in Tramway Road. At some point, however, residents of the enclave became aware that the Shenoshas were African. Mrs. Kulati said her friend, Thelma Paulsen called Mrs. Shenosha “sisi,” the common noun for “sister” in Xhosa. When Mrs. D. Barros identified where the Shenoshas lived in Tramway Road, she revealed her awareness of the Shenoshas’ race: “There was a little road (Sea View Terrace). On that corner there used to be Native people staying there. Blacks.”

When Mr. and Mrs. Shenosha spoke to other residents of the enclave, they communicated in Afrikaans, the language which Africans who passed had to speak competently. The Shenoshas lived in Tramway Road for approximately 13 years. The

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35 Bickford-Smith, et al Cape Town in the Twentieth Century, pp. 87 and 125.
36 Interview with Mrs. C.K. 03/04/1998.
37 Interview with Mrs. V.A. 08/06/1998.
length of the household’s residence in the enclave highlighted a tolerance in Tramway Road for Africans who passed.

The Population Registration Act, 1950, obliged all South Africans over the age of 16 to be classified as “Native,” “Coloured” (this classification included people of Indian origin), or “European.” In 1951, an amendment to the Group Areas Act created the separate classification of “Asian” for people of Indian and Chinese origin.38 In 1953, a survey recorded that approximately 55 Coloured households and three Indian households lived in Tramway Road and Ilford Street.39 It is unknown why the survey identified three rather than four Indian households in the enclave. In 1953, four males of Indian heritage headed households in Tramway Road: Messrs Parker, Tiseker, Ramasammi and Nathoo. It is possible, however, that one of the households, perhaps the Ramasammi unit, formed through the union of an Indian man and white woman, identified as Coloured. Around 1961, owing to the Group Areas Act, the Ramasammi household moved to Kensington, an established Coloured area. Identification as Coloured prevented having to live in the newly-developed area of Rylands. In 1962, the offspring of the Ramasammi household identified as Coloured.

When Coloureds registered under the Population Act, those who could pass had the opportunity to register as white. Ms. U. Lawrence said,

There was a big drive in Cape Town for people to have themselves reclassified. If you were fair skinned (and) you had associated the greater part of your life with white people, you were automatically reclassified.40

Coloureds who wanted to be classified as white could support their requests if they proved that they resided where whites lived and associated mainly with whites. Africans who sought classification as Coloured could offer similar evidence in support of their bids for registration as Coloured. Residents of Tramway Road who could register as belonging to one of two racial categories chose the one that best suited them. Ms. M. Isaacs (Tramway Road) suggested that her mother, an African woman, registered as Coloured. Ms. Isaacs said, “my mom was Black. But my dad

was Coloured. So my family would be a Coloured family.\footnote{Interview with Ms. M.I. 08/06/1998.} For the members of the household, it was more advantageous to be Coloured than to be Black. Ms. Isaacs’ mother’s classification as Coloured played a pivotal role during the forced removal of blacks from Sea Point in 1961. As a Coloured woman, Mrs. Issacs, a widow, obtained residence in Bonteheuwel, a Coloured township. If she had been identified as African, Mrs. Issacs would have had to live in Langa. Owing to social relations, townships for Africans were allocated fewer resources than townships for Coloureds.

Intra-race Division and Racism in the Enclave

Despite their historical ties and shared oppression with Africans, Coloureds in South Africa distanced themselves from Africans and perpetuated racism. As one interviewee suggested, social institutions encouraged distancing between Coloureds and Africans. In the 1930s, in response to the demands of a welfare organisation in the Sea Point enclave, a Coloured household that had previously shared an entranceway with Africans moved to another residence. As another interviewee suggested, in the 1920s and 1940s, the aggressive behaviour of Coloured children in the enclave expressed the children’s acquired racism towards Africans. As a third interviewee suggested expressions of racism internal to the enclave was not uncommon. Distancing and racism in the enclave reflected the norms of the racially divisive society to which the residential area belonged.

Born in 1917, Mr. A. Campbell, a Coloured male, recalled behaviour during his childhood that expressed his internalisation of racism: “When we were little we used to throw potatoes at the Africans who passed through Tramway Road.”\footnote{Interview with Ms. M.I. 08/06/1998.} Mr. Campbell suggested that he and his friends behaved aggressively towards Africans more than once. It is unknown if adults who might have been aware of the activity of Mr. Campbell and his friends, reprimanded the boys for their behaviour. As members of a society that valued whites more than Coloureds and Coloureds more than Africans, it would not have been unusual for the residents of the enclave to perpetrate intra-racism through their disregard for the boys’ behaviour. Coloured children internalised racism through socialisation that included activity witnessed in the enclave and society at large, and conversation to which they were privy in places such as their homes.
In the mid-1930s, Africans and Coloureds lived at 4 Tramway Road and shared the back entrance to the house. The Coloured household belonged to Mrs. De Vos, a widow with three children. Staff of Child Life Protection Services, the private welfare organisation from which Mrs. De Vos received financial support, encouraged clients to live in a domicile wherein they had no contact with Africans. Mrs. M. Lopes (née De Vos) said, “We were under Child Life and the Child Life didn’t like us sharing the back entrance with African people so we moved to District Six.” The influence of Child Life expressed a way that institutions encouraged intra-race division. Mrs. De Vos’ compliance with Child Life emphasised her dependency on the organisation and lack of status to contest their policy. Undoubtedly unable to find other accommodation in the enclave quickly, Mrs. De Vos moved to District Six. The De Vos household returned to Tramway Road two years later.

When asked if (in spite of passing for Coloured in the enclave) being African in Tramway Road mattered, Mrs. C. Kulati alluded to incidences in the enclave and referred to the type of occurrences that arose between her and her friends. Mrs. Kulati said,

It did matter sometimes ... But it was not a point that was very ... you felt it here and there with some things. I never used to worry myself with that. And then when we -- I had a fight with them because I used to fight with the boys and they used to fight with the girls ... Because there was always --- they used (to say), ‘Jou kaffer! Jy’s net ‘n kaffer.’ [You kaffer! You’re just a kaffer.]  

The sensing of racism in certain circumstances expressed a dynamic of racist behaviour. Residents of the enclave were aware of racial differences but usually expressed tolerance. Moreover, the compliance of a member of a subordinate group with a member of dominant group supported that tolerance. Attempts by the member of the subordinate group to assert power and participate in behaviour that contradicted expectation, disrupted the sensibilities of the dominant group member and provoked expressions of racism. Mrs. Kulati’s friends’ expressions of racism stopped when the youngsters reached adolescence. Similar to the behaviour of Mr. Campbell, discussed above, Mrs. Kulati’s friends expressed language to which they had been exposed in their homes and society at large.

42 Interview with Mr. A.C. 01/06/1997.
In response to the restrictions of segregation and apartheid, the Coloured residents of the enclave conducted their lives largely within the race boundaries of Sea Point and Cape Town. People who could cross the colour bar did so to obtain greater social freedom and opportunity. Sensitivity to race and distinctions of race induced Coloured residents to perpetrate racism towards Africans.

Social relations that supported the social dynamics of race helped to maintain the majority of residents in the working-class sector of society. As members of the labouring class and tenants of their homes, most of the residents lived in dwellings that, by the 1950s, inferred their social class. Residents’ awareness of and concern for status provoked inter- and intra-class distinction and tension.

**Expressions of Class**

**Housing**

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, architecture communicated the race and social class of the intended inhabitants of the cottages, flats and houses. By the 1950s, the neglected appearance of most of the housing in the enclave identified the area as a site for the working class. The residents’ habitation of the deteriorated dwellings emphasised their economic circumstance, their desire to live close to their workplaces and their attachment to the enclave and to Sea Point. Although absentee landlords owned most of the dwellings, Messrs Parker and Tiseker owned five dwellings in the enclave and were the only landlords of property in the residential area who resided there.

By the 1950s, partly due to landlord neglect, the cottages had deteriorated. Inferior building material that might have been used to erect the cottages in the late 19th century would have contributed to the rate and nature of deterioration. The cottages were built before 1896 when builders had to conform to building regulations. With respect to the council flats, landlord neglect and the type of material used to construct the building, contributed to its deteriorated state by the 1930s. Minutes of the Cape Town City Council refer to and describe the state of the council flats before and during the 1930s. With the exception of 2 Ilford Street, the state of the houses in Ilford Street from the 1920s through to 1961 is unknown. In 1961, five private

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43 Interview with Mrs. C.K. 03/04/1998.
landlords owned the houses in Tramway Road, a group of landlords owned the
Tramway Cottages and the houses in Ilford Street and the city owned the council flats.

Council Flats
By the mid-1930s, the council flats, built in 1903 had deteriorated considerably. In
August 1935, after Mr. T. Higgins, the Medical Officer of Health for Cape Town
investigated conditions at the flats, he reported that the building was “ill-adapted for
occupation by several families and the premises have the usual disadvantages of a
tenement house.”

Higgins might have investigated the flats to determine if the city
should remove its tenants and demolish the dwelling. The Elimination of Slums Act,
1934, permitted for the removal of crowded and unsanitary homes.

Higgins noted
that parts of the floor, the ceiling on the first floor, window panes, sash cords and
water closets required repair. The yard and washing area required paving. Higgins
added that,

The yard staircase, which gives access to the first floor, is defective
and shaky. Several of the rooms have a bad appearance, owing to the
inferior quality of the colour-washing and the yard walls are in need of
white-washing. The interior of the premises generally give the
impression that the maintenance of the building has not been properly
attended to. The lanes giving approach to the building ...are in bad
condition ...In my opinion structural alterations could be made which
would convert this building into satisfactory dwellings.

It is unknown whether the city acted upon Mr. Higgins’ recommendations. The
prospect of demolishing the flats, however, might have inhibited repair. By late 1937,
the city electrical engineer sought to expand his department at the city depot in
Tramway Road, and anticipated expansion when “at some time before long the flats
in the South-east part of the site will become vacant.”

In 1938, the Housing and
Slums Clearance Committee requested advice on the disposing of the flats.
The flats
had been identified as slum property in 1919, when the Citizen’s Housing Council

44 Memorandum from Mr. T.S. Higgins, 17/08/1935. 3/CT 4/2/1/1/185.
45 L. le Grange, "Working Class Housing: Cape Town 1890-1947," in Africa Seminar Collected Papers,
46 Memorandum from Mr. T.S. Higgins, 17/08/1935. 3/CT 4/2/1/1/185.
47 3/CT 4/3/1/932, Letter from the City Electrical Engineer to the City Engineer, 23/10/1937.
48 3/CT 4/3/1/932, Letter from the City Engineer to the City Electrical Engineer, 10/12/1937.
49 3/CT 4/3/1/932, Letter from the Town Clerk to the Electricity and Waterworks Committee,
20/12/1938. Cape Town City Council Minutes, 1919, Agenda 110.
charged that the building had the characteristics of a slum dwelling.\textsuperscript{50} In response to the charge, the city undertook to improve the internal and external conditions of the building. During the early 1940s, perhaps after the City Electrical Engineer pressed for the expansion of his department in Tramway Road, the Town Clerk anticipated that the flats would be demolished “in a few years.”\textsuperscript{51}

A strong impetus for the demolition of the flats occurred in the mid-1950s. The Electricity Committee proposed to build a depot accommodation and a new main step-down substation in Tramway Road. Tenants who occupied the four dwellings in the flats, Messrs J. Van der Venter, H. Tombeni, D. Petersen and Mrs. L. Conrad were to receive six months’ notice.\textsuperscript{52} Upon removal from the building the tenants obtained housing on the Cape Flats. Around 1956 the Tombeni household obtained a house in Silvertown. The City Council had built several houses in Silvertown and elsewhere on the Cape Flats for its workers and people who were removed from their homes under the Slums Act. From the 1920s through to the 1950s, the condition of the council flats expressed the inherent power imbalance between tenants and landlords, and the vulnerability of working-class tenants to negligent landlords.

Houses in Ilford Street and Tramway Road

The condition of most of the dwellings on the southern side of Ilford Street from the 1920s through to 1961 is unknown. Private landlords owned the dwellings but a tenant in one of the houses personally maintained the house wherein he lived. Mr. H. Jacobs extensively renovated and maintained 2 Ilford Street. A carpenter and building contractor, Mr. Jacobs renovated the kitchen and regularly tended to repairs. In regard to his father, Mr. H. Jacobs, Mr. P. Jacobs said, “he looked after his house.”\textsuperscript{53} The extent to which Mr. H. Jacobs maintained the dwelling that he rented suggested that he regarded the house as his own property. It is unknown if Mr. H. Jacobs’ landlords paid for the building material that Mr. Jacobs used to maintain the house or recognised his labour through a reduction in rent. In 1999, though expanded and renovated, 2 Ilford Street (by then known under another address) was the only original dwelling that still stood in Ilford Street.

\textsuperscript{50} Cape Town City Council Minutes, 1919, Agenda 63, Item 7.7, p. 5. Also see Council Minutes, 1919, Agenda 110, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{51} 3/CT 4/3/1/932, Letter from the Town Clerk to the City Electrical Engineer, 06/03/1942.
\textsuperscript{52} Cape Town City Council Minutes, September 1954-August 1955, pp. 1716-1717.
The general condition of the houses on the northern side of Ilford Street and in Tramway Road that Parker and Tiseker owned is unknown. Nevertheless it was stated that Parker did hire Mr. H. Jacobs and other artisans in the enclave to maintain the dwellings. Mr. P. Jacobs said, “[Mr. Parker hired my father] if the roof leaks or the outside of the houses need painting … [Mr. Parker] didn’t worry much about the inside.” External maintenance helped to give the dwellings a satisfactory appearance and maintain their habitability. Lack of attention to internal conditions affected the tenants’ quality of living, internal aesthetic appearance and the value of the real estate.

It is unknown to what extent the four landlords of the other houses in Tramway Road maintained their dwellings in the 1930s through the 50s. In the 1930s workers hired by Mrs. Ziman, the landlord of numbers 1 to 4, performed some repairs to those houses. In general, however, in the late 50s, the Tramway Road houses were in a poor state.

Tramway Cottages

Built before the 1896 building regulations in Sea Point, by the late 1950s the Tramway Cottages had a dilapidated appearance. Erected over a period of approximately 20 years, the cottages were sixty to eighty years old and exhibited the result of landlord neglect. Mr. W. Wannenburg, a non-resident of the enclave who attended the Church of the Holy Redeemer, said, “there was a cottage near the church. The plaster had come off the wall. If not dealt with, when it rains and the dampness gets in there, the wall collapses.” Apart from wet weather, the drying of wet washing indoors also dampened the walls. Given the tendency of women to dry washing indoors during rainy weather, the plaster on the walls of other cottages had probably also been affected by damp conditions.

The cottages lacked indoor plumbing and conveniences that had become common during the 20th century. Mrs. D. Lawrence and her daughter, Ms. U. Lawrence said,

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53 Interview with Mr. P.H.J. 30/07/1997. The condition in which Mr. Jacobs maintained his house is best expressed in the house being the only dwelling of the enclave that still stands today.
54 Interview with Mr. P.H.J. 30/07/1997.
55 Cape Town City Council Minutes, August 1959-September 1960, p. 1845.
56 Interview with Mr. W.W. 17/05/1998.
D: Those cottages were very very old. Very old. It was pointless buying them. Because you would have had to lift all the floors.
U: None of those houses had bathrooms.
D: No bathrooms. No water in the kitchen.
U: No inside toilets. So you would have had to spend money to [renovate].
D: They would have had to make a lot of renovations.57

Substantial renovations were necessary to modernise the dwellings. Repairs were necessary to fix structures that had deteriorated over time and due to lack of maintenance.

To some extent, tenants maintained their homes themselves. Before the marital unit of Mrs. Lawrence moved into 11 Tramway Cottage in 1932, Mr. Lawrence lined the walls. Mr. Lawrence maintained the cottage over the years. Mrs. Lawrence said, “My house was a real little model home. It was a beautiful little home. Beautifully kept ... he (my husband) was still going to build us a little bathroom in the yard.”58 Similar to Mr. H. Jacobs mentioned above, Mr. E.G. Lawrence used his carpentry skills to maintain his home. An awareness of the advantage of modern conveniences motivated Mr. Lawrence to plan to build a bathroom.

In the early 1950s, before the Whittaker and Arendse households occupied 15 Tramway Cottage, Messrs Whittaker and Arendse renovated the dwelling. Mrs. Whittaker said, “They first had to fix it up. That house was broken up and they put new cement floors on and linos and [the] passage had to be cleaned up.”59 Concern for their and their households’ living environment moved the men to repair the dwelling. It is unknown whether these tenants paid for the labour and materials that they used to renovate the dwelling and if they were compensated for their labour through a reduction in rent.

Residents cared for their dwellings as best as possible but could not prevent the infestation of insects and vermin. Mrs. Arnolds formerly of 20 Tramway Cottage said that vermin were not uncommon in her dwelling and other homes:

[There were] lanes and the rats used to run there. I remember when my eldest daughter was born. I found this rat on top of her. Oo, I nearly

57 Interview with Mrs. D.L. and Ms. U.L. 12/03/1997.
59 Interview with Mrs. L.W. 22/07/1997.
died. I nearly died when I found this rat on top of this child. Ahi, ahi. He was doing that you know, breathing through the nostrils. Oo and I said, 'hey!' Oh, and the rat ran and the door was closed ... And the rat went underneath. He made himself so flat. He went right at the bottom. And then they had those bugs (that) used to walk up on the ceiling. Ew. They used to bite you. You used to itch ... But there's something in your furniture too. When you sit and you scratch. They itch you.60

As was found in other port cities, rats were a common problem in Cape Town and menaced residential areas throughout the city. Owing to household size and the sharing of dwellings with other households, residents commonly ate in their bedrooms. Eating in bedrooms frustrated attempts to maintain hygienic living conditions.

Similar to the council flats, the external and internal state of the cottages suggested the tenants' social class and expressed their vulnerability to landlord neglect. The residents strove to maintain liveable conditions and despite the general state of their dwellings, valued their homes.

Most of the residents had no control over the state of their housing and were subject to its class expression. On a more personal level, residents of the enclave expressed their social class and class identity through the ownership of property and goods, and through language. For some residents language also expressed culture.

Property
From the 1920s through to 1961, at least five marital units in the enclave owned property: the De Bruyn, Jacobs, Parker, Tiseker and E. Lawrence households. All but the last of these households accumulated capital from their property. Given that most of the residents of the enclave could not afford to purchase land, the ability of a household to purchase land indicated the household’s position within the working class and membership in the ranks of the petit bourgeoisie. The ownership of land might have also indicated access to resources that permitted for the purchase of real estate.

It is unknown when Mr. H. Jacobs, of 2 Ilford Street purchased property. Jacobs and De Bruyn owned property together. De Bruyn was listed

60 Interview with Mrs. V.A. 08/06/1998.
in the 1932 and 1933 Cape Times Cape Peninsula Directory.\textsuperscript{61} Of his father, Mr. H. Jacobs, Mr. P. Jacobs, born in 1925, said,

> My father owned property in Athlone with two other men. One of them, De Bruyn, used to stay in Number 15 Tramway Road Cottage. When my father didn’t have money to put toward the land they said you build the houses. That’s his share. That is what I heard. I don’t know if there’s any truth to the story. He had to repair the houses. He collected the rent and did repairs... The houses were on Lady May Street [in Athlone].\textsuperscript{62}

The property lay approximately 13 kilometres from Tramway and Ilford streets, on the Cape Flats. From the 1930s through to the 1950s, the Cape Flats occupied a low position in the geographic and economic hierarchy of Cape Town. Sea Point occupied a high position in the hierarchy. The position of the Cape Flats in the hierarchy affected the social status of people who resided there.\textsuperscript{63} As residents of Sea Point, the De Bruyns and Jacobs’ were probably perceived as Coloureds who were of a better class than the Coloureds in Athlone. The tenants of an absentee landlord in Sea Point, the De Bruyns and Jacobs, held the position of absentee landlords in Athlone. As property owners who accumulated capital from their land, the De Bruyn and Jacobs households belonged to the petit bourgeoisie. The social relations of tenant and landlord were inherently unequal. At some point, the De Bruyns, Jacobs’ and the other owner of the property in Athlone, sold their real estate. As discussed in Chapter 4, Mr. Jacobs’ occupational status as a contractor permitted him and his household to enter the ranks of the petit bourgeoisie. As a result, the sale of the land would not have affected the social class of the household.

Mr. E. Lawrence purchased property in Milnerton in 1928. At that time, Mr. Lawrence worked as a gardener, chauffeur and house renovator. The Lawrence household used the undeveloped property for personal recreation. Given that most of the residents of the enclave could not afford to purchase property, the ability of the Lawrence household to purchase land indicated the household’s position within the working class. The purchase of the property might have also indicated the

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\textsuperscript{61} Cape Times Cape Peninsula Directory, 1932, p. 212 and 1933, p. 269.
\textsuperscript{62} Interview with Mr. P.H.J. 30/07/1997.
\textsuperscript{63} I appreciate the information I received from Mrs. M. Paulse, that communicated the geographical hierarchy of Cape Town and the status of Athlone and the Cape Flats \textit{vis-à-vis} other areas of the city from the 1930s through to the 1950s.
household's access to resources that permitted for the purchase of land. In 1957-61 when the residents of Tramway and Ilford streets were removed from the enclave, the land in Milnerton became an important resource. The Lawrence unit moved to Milnerton and lived on the land where Mr. Lawrence erected a dwelling.

From 1929 through to 1966, in addition to two shops, Parker and Tiseker jointly owned five houses in Tramway and Ilford streets. As shopkeepers and landlords, Parker and Tiseker most probably accumulated the most capital of the petit bourgeoisie in the enclave. In general, it is unknown if, or to what extent, the economic status of the Parker and Tiseker households affected interaction with other households of a similar or lesser standing in the enclave. Owing to the importance of status, people of similar standing tended to associate with each other. The Parkers' Moslem religion, Indian culture and Kokani language, however, might have affected interaction with some of the Christian, English and Afrikaans-speaking residents.

Telephones and Automobiles

The ownership of an automobile, an item that had a visible presence in the residential area, attracted the idea of wealth. From the 1920s through to the 1950s, most of the residents did not own a car. Mass produced as of the early 1920s in America, cars implied wealth and status. In Cape Town and Sea Point, cars were associated mainly with whites, people who tended to form the middle and upper classes. Similarly since whites were associated with the possession of a telephone, Coloureds who had a telephone were afforded some status. Interviewees said that in the 1930s through the 50s, Old Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Parker and Mr. H.P. Jacobs had a telephone. It is interesting that the possession of a telephone was identified as the possession of the male head of the household. Indeed, perhaps owing in part of the cost, a telephone was usually in the home of a person of colour who operated a business or worked in a certain profession (Mitchell operated a small painting enterprise, Parker was a shopkeeper and Jacobs a contractor).

When working-class Coloureds owned a car, the vehicle communicated an elevated status within the working class. Born in 1924, Mrs. P. Goldman said,

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64 Erfs 110, 113, Registrar of Deeds.
65 Noble et al., Twentieth Century Unlimited, p. 160.
66 I appreciate information on this topic from Mrs. M. Paulse.
When I grew up, nobody ever had a car in Tramway Road ... Later on people buy cars, I mean not the posh cars but then you are posh because you got a car.  

Members of the working class tended to purchase cars that were less expensive than the vehicles that people in the middle and upper classes bought. Despite their less expensive vehicles, however, working-class car owners attracted perceptions of wealth. When Mrs. G. Eyssen named residents whom she perceived as rich, Mrs. Eyssen identified the residents who owned an automobile:

You know there were rich people in Tramway Road. The people who had a car. My father [Mr. Thomas], Mr. October, the Valentine's grandfather, had a car. Mr. Morta had a car ... Mr. Petersen (Tramway Road) he had a car and lorries ... But that time [because you had a car] old people use to say 'Jy is ryk.' [you are rich].

Mr. October obtained a Ford sometime in the early 1950s. Mr. Petersen purchased vehicles one of which was an International for the mobile greengrocer business he began around 1952. It is unknown when Mr. Thomas and Mr. Morta bought their cars. Members of at least three other households purchased cars in the 1950s. Mr. N. Campbell purchased a truck in the early 1950s, the Parkers purchased a Vauxhall in 1956 and in 1958 Mr. M. Mitchell purchased an Austin Prefex. In a residential area where the majority of people existed at, or below, the poverty line, the ownership of a car could not help but indicate inter-class and intra-class differentiation.

**Language**

By the early 1950s, the use of Afrikaans at home among working-class Coloureds in South Africa communicated a working-class status. In 1953, over 90 percent of Coloureds in the Cape Province spoke Afrikaans at home and almost 35 percent also spoke English. In the 1940s and 1950s, the majority of the residents in the enclave communicated in Afrikaans at home. Of the people interviewed, two interviewees said that their households communicated solely in English. The sole use of English at

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67 Interview with Mrs. P.G. 09/06/1998.
68 Interview with Mrs. G.E. 10/06/1998.
### Languages of Residents of Tramway Road and Ilford Street, 1930s-1950s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>At Home</th>
<th>With Spouse</th>
<th>With Siblings</th>
<th>With Friends</th>
<th>At Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. A. Parker</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kokani</td>
<td>Eng. &amp; Afrkns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Parker Offspring</td>
<td>possibly Kokani</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. A. Tiseker</td>
<td>Kokani</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. Nathoo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Kulati</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>English</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mrs. B. Gales</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms. D. Gales</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ms. M. Isaacs</td>
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<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jacobs</td>
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<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ms. U. Lawrence</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ramasammi</td>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majority of Enclave</td>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>English*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Refers to the language that some women spoke to their employers.
home symbolised an identity with, or aspirations towards, a middle-class status.\textsuperscript{71} A few households participated in code-switching, the practice of switching between two or more languages. It is unknown, however, to what extent code-switching was used in households in the enclave in general. Code-switching between Afrikaans and English was common in District Six.\textsuperscript{72} Though English was associated with class status and identity, it is unknown to what extent households that formed the petit bourgeoisie and individuals who belonged to the new petit bourgeoisie in the enclave, reinforced their status at home through English. However, members of the petit bourgeoisie household of Mr. H.P. Jacobs, the carpenter/contractor in Ilford Street, spoke Afrikaans at home. It might be that because they were a first generation petit bourgeoisie household, the Jacobs's communicated in the language of their more prominent working-class roots. In addition to the residents of the enclave who spoke English and/or Afrikaans, a minority spoke languages that identified their cultural heritage. In two households people spoke the Indian languages, Kokani and Urdu, and in one unit, residents spoke the African language, Sesotho. Table 7 summarises the use of language among some of the residents of the enclave.

In most of the households that comprised people of Indian origin, the spoken language depended on the participants in a conversation. Members of the Tiseker household spoke Kokani at home. Fluent in Kokani, English and Afrikaans, Messrs Tiseker and Parker communicated in Afrikaans and English to their customers. Mrs. Parker, who learned a smattering of Afrikaans, spoke Kokani to her husband. The Parker offspring were fluent in Afrikaans and spoke English at home, but perhaps spoke Kokani when they communicated with their mother. In the Nathoo household, Mr. D. Nathoo and his siblings communicated in Urdu, the only language that Mrs. Nathoo Snr, Mr. Nathoo's mother, spoke. Mr. Nathoo spoke Afrikaans to his friends in the enclave and Afrikaans or English to his employers.

For the Ramasammi household, English defined culture and cultural dominance, class aspiration and acted as the common language of communication. Mrs. Ramasammi, a white woman was from an English-speaking background. Mr. Ramasammi perhaps learned English while under the employ of the army in Port

\textsuperscript{71} Patterson, Colour and Culture in South Africa, p. 166.
Elizabeth after he immigrated and before he moved to Cape Town. The Ramasammi household spoke English at home.

English was the language of the workplace and certain public institutions. Mr. Ramasammi spoke English at his workplace, the Bay Bridge Hotel. Female residents of the enclave who performed domestic services worked mainly for people who spoke English and therefore communicated in English with their employers. Residents also encountered English at certain institutions. Clergy at the Church of the Holy Redeemer and superintendents at the Baptist Mission delivered services in English. Representatives of associations that operated from the Holy Redeemer (discussed in Chapter 6) most probably also spoke English.

It is unknown what language the members of the Gales’ household spoke at home but evidence suggests that English was one of the languages used in the home. Interviewees identified Mr. Gales as a Coloured man and Mrs. Gales as a Swiss woman. Of the language that Mrs. Gales spoke when she communicated with other residents of the enclave, Ms. M. Jacobs said: “[Mrs. Gales] use to speak with broken English.”73 Mrs. Gales most probably communicated in English because it was the language or at least one of the languages spoken in her domicile. Ms. D. Gales, the daughter of the Gales’ couple was undoubtedly fluent in Afrikaans. For some years until around 1949, Ms. Gales taught and acted as principal at the mission school in Tramway Road where Afrikaans was the language of instruction.

English formed the only language of communication in the parental household of Ms. U. Lawrence: “We were never allowed to speak Afrikaans. My mother never liked it.”74 Before she married, Ms. Lawrence’s mother, Mrs. D. Lawrence was a teacher. As a teacher, Mrs. Lawrence belonged to the petit bourgeoisie. As mentioned in Chapter 4, in 1961 Mr. E.G. Lawrence, the male head of this Lawrence unit (there were two other Lawrence units in the enclave), earned the highest wage of the men in the residential area and thus he and his household might have belonged to the petit bourgeoisie. By the early 1950s, Ms. Lawrence established herself in the petit bourgeoisie when she became a nursing sister. When Ms. Lawrence and her young brother attended primary school, they went to St. Paul’s Anglican Church school in Cape Town, where English was the language of instruction. Nevertheless, for his first year of school, the youngest child of the Lawrence household did not attend St.

73 Interview with Ms. M.J. 22/06/1998.
Paul’s. Owing to his poor health, the youngest Lawrence offspring attended the mission school in Tramway Road. The preference for English among members of the Lawrence home coupled with the need for Afrikaans at the mission school, undoubtedly created challenging circumstances for the youngest member of the Lawrence domestic unit. When residents of Tramway and Ilford streets, who usually spoke Afrikaans, interacted with the members of this Lawrence household, they spoke English. In the 1950s, when Ms. Lawrence worked as a nursing sister and needed to communicate with her colleagues and patients who spoke Afrikaans, she learned to speak Afrikaans.

In households where marital partners each had a different language of origin, offspring communicated in one or two languages. In these households, it is possible that children participated in code-switching. When asked what language she spoke at home, Mrs. C. Kulati said, “Afrikaans and my mother spoke Sotho with us. She did also want us to learn Sotho but (mainly we spoke) Afrikaans.” As discussed earlier, Mrs. Kulati’s parental unit passed for Coloured. Fluency in Afrikaans was important to Africans who passed for Coloured. The profound link between language, culture and identity, however, motivated Mrs. Shenosha to keep her language of origin alive in her home. Today, Sesotho is one of the six African languages that Mrs. Kulati speaks.

The use of Afrikaans and English in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Isaacs (Tramway Road), created a context for bilingualism and code-switching. Ms. M. Isaacs said,

I grew up in a home of English and Afrikaans ... My mom spoke more English but she spoke Afrikaans because my dad was Afrikaans ... She mixed the languages ... so that we were more bilingual at home but more Afrikaans than English.

Gender and class identity influenced the main language of communication in the Isaacs’ home. In households where code-switching occurred, emotional mood, topic of conversation, or other practical considerations, influenced which language members spoke at any one particular time.

75 Interview with Mrs. C.K. 03/04/1998.
76 Interview with Ms. M.I. 08/06/1998.
While most of the residents spoke Afrikaans at home, at least two households communicated only in English. In households where marital partners each had a different mother tongue and where a parent wished to transmit cultural heritage, members spoke two or more languages. Language was one of the hallmarks of inter- and intra-class distinction. Yet even more forms of distinction existed.

**Inter- and Intra-class Distinction and Tension**

Owing to facets of life that included occupational status, gender, skin tone and personal relations, the residents had differentiated access to social resources. Differentiated access promoted the occurrence of inter-class differentiation, distinction between and among social classes, and intra-class distinction, differences internal to a social class. The occurrence of inter-class tension between residents of Tramway Road and Ilford Street was one of the more prominent tensions in the enclave. Inter and intra-class tension was aimed at the council flats: residents of the cottages and houses in Tramway and Ilford streets distinguished themselves from residents of the council building. Though there is scant evidence in this chapter on intra-class tension the different occupational statuses and incomes of males in the working-class households point to the potential for intra-class distinction.

Distinction was a way of expressing a sense of respectability. Expressions of respectability may well have resembled behaviour which communicated moral standing in the early 19th century in the Cape Colony: regular paid employment, monogamy, abstinence from sex when unmarried, sobriety, church attendance, literacy, European dress and decent housing. Class tension was not peculiar to the enclave. Tension also affected human relations in District Six, upper Claremont and Newlands. Owing to the reluctance of ex-residents of Black River to speak about tensions there, the incidence of tension in this former residential area is uncertain. Divisiveness in the aforementioned enclaves occurred partly in response to the material basis of capitalism and competition for unequally distributed social resources.

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To some degree, the ownership of a small business encouraged distinction and stimulated tension. Whereas was not unusual for artisans to operate a business based on their trade, evidence suggested that the small business of an artisan was received differently than a small business that was more overtly associated with the accumulation of capital. In the 1950s, the most apparent representatives of capitalism in the enclave were Messrs Parker and Tiseker, the shopkeepers, and Mr. J. Petersen, the greengrocer. Whatever inter-class tension existed between the shopkeepers and the working-class residents, the former perhaps escaped some tension because of their Indian origin. To a certain extent, the culture, religion and Indian social identity of the shopkeepers and their households created an artificial separation between them and the Coloured residents in the enclave. On the other hand, among the Coloureds themselves until the Petersens entered the ranks of the petit bourgeoisie, working-class Coloured households in the enclave might have viewed the Petersens as belonging socially to them.

The oral histories of two people who resided in Tramway Road suggest that, for most of the 1950s, the Petersens were perceived as the wealthiest household in the street. This perception occurred over and above the Parker and Tiseker households who also lived in Tramway Road. When she mentioned the Petersens and their enterprise, Ms. M. Morta said, “They were the rich people.” It is unclear but probable that among the Coloured residents of Tramway Road, perceptions of wealth were limited to Tramway Road itself. This might have occurred out of some sense of separation between Tramway Road and Ilford Street. As discussed later, evidence suggested that households in Ilford Street projected themselves as being better off than households in Tramway Road. Depending on how Ms. Morta (and other residents) consciously or unconsciously divided the enclave at different times, the Petersens might have been the rich people of the Tramway Cottages or in the section of the enclave that lay in Tramway Road.

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81 Interview with Ms. M.M. 16/05/1997.
A perception of the Petersen’s wealth arose from the households’ greengrocery business and ownership of three vehicles. In the 1950s, the Petersens were the most recent residents of the enclave who achieved the status of petit bourgeois. Evidence suggests that, as Coloureds and relatively recent members of the working class, the Petersens’ entrance to the petit bourgeois, provoked tension. Tension towards Coloureds who entered the ranks of the bourgeois emphasised a deep resentment towards the bourgeois and whites, people who dominated the middle and upper-middle classes. In a residential area where most of the people held the same race identity, class and intra-class status played an important role in the dynamics of relationships.

Not every resident perceived that rich people resided in Tramway Road. When asked if any rich people lived in the road, Mrs. A. Jacobs, born and raised in Tramway Road, seemed taken aback that anyone in the road could have been considered rich. Mrs. Jacobs’ husband, Mr. D. Jacobs, born and raised in Ilford Street, agreed with his wife. The couple’s response indicated that they defined “rich” as a standard of living that reflected the middle-class standing associated with whites. The couple suggested that, if any residents in the enclave possessed greater wealth than the other inhabitants, they were not much more better off and the individuals concerned deserved their hard-earned success.

A: I can’t say that there was very very rich.
D: Everybody was more the less [the same].
A: And later on the Petersens got their own business. He was working in a butchery, at first. And he didn’t have a car in the beginning. Only later when he and Niels had a fish business. 82

Mrs. Jacobs recognised that intra-class differentiation occurred but suggested that to her, the Petersen’s social mobility held no particular meaning. Owing to the importance of class, it is possible that the Petersen’s mobility seemed insignificant because Mrs. Jacobs had little interaction with them. It is also possible that owing to her own mobility (Mrs. Jacobs was a nurse), Mrs. Jacobs respected mobility as hard earned success.

A certain amount of inter and intra-class distinction and tension occurred along physical boundaries in the enclave as a whole. These boundaries perhaps

82 Interview with Mrs. A.J. and Mr. D.J. 16/06/1998.
expressed historical tensions between the coterminous areas that formed the enclave: Tramway Road, Ilford Street and the council flats. Oral histories point to tensions related to expressions of status and respectability, between Tramway Road and Ilford Street, and between the council flats and the rest of the enclave. It is unknown if expressions of respectability were linked to perceived household income. As discussed in Chapter 4, based on data for 1961, with respect to the 33 households for whom data was available 11 units earned under R40 per month, 17 earned R40 to R140 per month and three earned above R140 a month. From the 1930s through to the 1950s, expressions of status and respectability, among the Coloureds in the enclave helped to counter the pervasive notion of Coloured homogeneity and highlighted how Coloureds used class to stress their civility in a society that defined them as uncivil.

Born in 1924, Ms. M. Jacobs of 2 Ilford Street spoke about class tension apparently meted out by residents in Tramway Road. Ms. Jacobs identified public appearance, material possessions, occupational status and economic well-being as factors that provoked tension from residents in Tramway Road. Occupational status was one of the prominent determinants of status among Coloureds.

I don’t know it was just the people’s own idea. You know their impression about looking at us. They thought that we are not on their level ... The Jacobs got everything. They don’t need us in our lives or anything. In other words ... they reckon look Mr. Jacobs he is a contractor. He earns a lot of money. Mrs. Jacobs helps a lot of people and she don’t have to go out to work.

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83 The total for households that earned less than R40 a month excluded 4 Tramway Cottages. The household was excluded because data suggested that the household income plus OAP would have exceeded R40 a month.
84 Patterson, Colour and Culture in South Africa, p. 166.
85 Interview with Ms. M.J. 22/06/1998.
As a contractor, Mr. Jacobs was a small entrepreneur. As discussed in Chapter 4, for a period that might have included the 1930s, the Jacobs’ owned property from which they accumulated capital. It is interesting that though Ms. Jacobs described her parental household as well off, her sister, Mrs. A. Davis portrayed the household as living within mean conditions. Furthermore, Ms. Jacobs’ brother said his mother worked as a washerwoman. The different views of the Jacobs household emphasised that different interviewees not only spoke of different times in the life of a domestic unit but also sought to promote different aspect of the household.

In the light of Ms. Jacobs’ excerpt, oral evidence that identified residents of Tramway Road as responsible for class tension, the views of Tramway Road residents, Ms. M. Isaacs and Mrs. G. Eyssen, highlighted the complexity of class tension. Born in 1947, Ms. Isaacs suggested that tension occurred between residents of Tramway Roads and certain households in Ilford Street because of the latter’s class attitude:

Some of the people that lived at the top where Ilford Street is …some of those people they did not associate with us at all. Because they were supposed to be the middle class. The people still classed each other. That happens in all communities.86

Residents of Ilford Street communicated class distinction. Ilford Street formed the uppermost border of the enclave and given that people who were identified as the middle class lived in Ilford, it might be that geographic altitude encouraged expressions of social class and status. The link between social status and geographic altitude occurred in District Six. People who lived in the upper areas of District Six towards Walmer Estate were viewed as having more status and a more comfortable economic standing than the other working-class members of District Six who lived further down.87 Owing to the physical position and altitude of Ilford Street vis-à-vis Tramway Road, it might be that some residents of the former viewed it as separate from the latter.

Born in 1932, Mrs. G. Eyssen recalled her relationship, during her childhood, to the inhabitants of the five dwellings in Ilford Street. Mrs. Eyssen recollected her relationship when she looked at a sketch of the enclave and its dwellings.

86 Interview with Ms. M.I. 08/06/1998.
87 Bickford-Smith, et al Cape Town in the Twentieth Century, p. 130.
The people that stayed in this road (Ilford Street) they never used to worry with us ... That (and) that people (points to two houses in Ilford) and that people (points to a third house) ... And that people (points to a fourth house) ... never used to worry. This people used to worry with us and that children (points to a fifth house). But the rest. We weren’t good for their children. We couldn’t even play in that road ... Mr. [P.F.] Jacobs (of Beeston) ... he used to chase us out of Ilford Street. He use to clean that road and he used to chase us (away). We couldn’t go and play there. We had to play in Tramway Road.88

In terms of race Tramway and Ilford streets formed one enclave. Yet it seems that residents of Ilford Street – at the very least, Mr. P.F. Jacobs - recognised boundaries that to some degree defined Tramway Road and Ilford Street as two adjacent, yet separate residential areas. The Splinters, the residents of Ilford Street who Mrs. Eyssen identified as interacting with her and others, lived at the corner of Ilford and Tramway roads. The location of the Splinters’ dwelling, kin relations of the Splinters in the Tramway Cottages and - in the 1950s - the status of the Splinters’ household in Ilford Street perhaps contributed to the Splinters’ interaction with Mrs. Eyssen and other people in Tramway Road. For most of the 1950s, Mrs. Splinters operated a shebeen, which may have resulted in social distancing in Ilford Street: perhaps this promoted interaction between the Splinters’ and people in Tramway Road. Owing to the difference in the ages of Ms. Isaacs and Mrs. Eyssen, the women suggested that tension between Tramway Road and Ilford Street persisted over time.

During oral history interviews, remarks about the council flats and its residents suggested that people who lived in the cottages and houses regarded their dwellings and themselves as more respectable than the flats and their residents. These expressions of respectability indicated a stigmatisation of the inhabitants of the flats. It is impossible to verify the origin of the stigma but oral histories suggest that it arose partly due to the design of the building, its building material and - by the 1930s - the general condition of the flats.

88 Interview with Mrs. G.E. 10/06/1998.
By 1923, the year in which Mr. P.F. Jacobs moved to Ilford Street with his parental household, the flats were called “Sementhuis” [“Cement House”]. In 1901, when Mr. Heward, the engineer of the Municipality of Green Point and Sea Point estimated the cost of building the edifice that became the flats, he recommended that cement rather than brick be used in order to reduce expenses.89 The subsequent nickname of the flats in the 1920s highlighted that Heward’s recommendation had social repercussions. Mrs. C. Tombeni, who moved into the flats in 1935, suggested that the residents of the cottages and houses teased her about the building. Mrs. Tombeni was known as “Poppie.”

They used to call it – the little ones came in and used to call it sementhuis ... They called that place ... Poppie, bly jy nog altyd in 'n sementhuis? Ja, jong, jy's nog altyd in die sementhuis, jong. Een van die dae sal jy natuurlik 'n sementhuis hé kom. [Poppie, do you always stay in a cement house? Yes, girl, you're still in that cement house, girl. One of these days, you're surely going to get a cement house.]90

Introduced to the nickname of the building by adults, children reproduced the views to which they had been exposed. Such views communicated the opinion that the flats conflicted with popular ideas of what type of dwelling Coloureds, perhaps especially respectable Coloureds, ought to inhabit. By the late 1930s, the flats acquired an additional name, Dewilhuis [Devil House]. This nomenclature expressed popular views about the kind of behaviour that might have occurred among certain people who lived in the flats. Born in 1935, Mr. A. Jacobs of Ilford Street said,

Well, look let's put it this way. There was a lot a number of rooms in that building ... And it was like ... these things (hostels) the Africans stay in ... And there were different families staying in each room. And most of them that stayed there were labourers and mean labourers. Especially when you get to Friday evenings it was “top” time and some of them were boozing a lot and the womenfolk were boozing with. It was something that we as children in Tramway Road [sic] didn’t experience with our own parents. Because they never, I never saw your mother or your father drinking together and being under the influence. But they were people that you saw walking the street under the influence. Although there were people [that] stay in Tramway Road that was drinking but you never saw them in that state. But these people you saw them in that state and there was quite a number of the

90 Interview with Mrs. C.T. 07/06/97.
wife and husband and fighting. That type of thing. That is why we, our parents used to tell us [not to go there] ... And of course when we got older we said agh, bugger it, why must we be afraid. And then we started knowing the people. Especially the children that grew up in the Dewilhuis who were our age. But that was part of the reason that Dewilhuis became a place that we were afraid of going to.  

The name dewilhuis communicated a perception that the flats and its residents lacked social and religious order. Public drunkenness and audible domestic discord, expressed the type of disorder that broke the conventional rules of a respectable lifestyle. Residents of the cottages and houses also consumed alcohol in varying quantities, but seemingly confined their inebriation in-doors. An inability to reflect on their own behaviour and the overriding importance of status and respectability encouraged residents of the cottages and houses them to distinguish themselves from the tenants of the flats.

Regardless of status and respectability in Tramway and Ilford streets, in general, whites in Sea Point had their own understanding of the enclave and its inhabitants. Playwright Ronald Harwood, communicated that understanding in his theatrical work, Tramway Road, set in 1951. Harwood lived a short distance from Tramway Road, in Victoria Road. Despite a claim to depicting life in the enclave itself, Harwood’s play focussed on activities that occurred among three white adults in a second-storey flat above Tramway and Regent roads. References to the Tramway Road enclave occurred mainly when the main characters associated the audible drunken behaviour and the threatened screams of a female in the street below with the enclave. Harwood’s choice of such behaviour to identify the enclave, highlighted his lack of involvement with the residential area. The occurrence of the behaviour would have been but one facet of life in the enclave and most probably only occurred among certain residents. Yet, Harwood’s singling out of this behaviour to identify the enclave contributed to the stereotyping of the lives of Coloureds. Simultaneously, however, Harwood’s identification of the enclave resembled that of the residents of the cottages and houses vis-à-vis the tenants of the council flats. Owing to their lack of involvement with the inhabitants of the flats, residents of the cottages and houses derived their own characterisation of the tenants. Since it is not known who in the

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91 Interview with Mr. A.J. 11/06/98.
92 Harwood, Tramway Road, publisher and date of publication unknown.
93 I am grateful to Mr. A. Benjamin for this point.
enclave might have participated in the behaviour that Harwood referred to in his play, there are no grounds for assuming that, because of the above excerpt about the residents of the council flats, that Harwood sought to characterise residents of the flats in his play.

Despite the distinction and tension in the enclave some of the inhabitants of Tramway and Ilford streets participated in genuine friendships with each other. Mrs. Tombeni, a resident of the flats, enjoyed friendships with Charlotte Lambert and Mrs. Panday. Ms. Lambert and Mrs. Panday lived in the cottages that lay closest to the flats. Born in 1924, Mrs. M. Lopes of Tramway Road enjoyed a friendship with a resident of Ilford Street: “[Julie Jacobs] and I were like sisters.” Ms. Julie Jacobs was the sister of Ms. M. Jacobs whose excerpts above, expressed tension between her parental household and residents in Tramway Road. Mr. A. Jacobs, the son of Mr. P.F. Jacobs of Ilford Street described his friendship with Tramway Road residents, Lockie Arendse and John Hawtrey: “We were a nice group together.” Mr. Arendse a resident of the cottages married Mr. Jacobs’ youngest sister. Mr. Jacobs’ elder brother, Dennis, married Alma Valentine, a resident of the cottages. Mr. E. Collins who lived in the cottages enjoyed a good relationship with his cousin in Ilford Street, Mr. R. Splinters. Born in 1942, Mrs. S. Sheldon of 3 Ilford Street said that during her childhood the domicile of Mrs. D. Lawrence in Tramway Road was “my second home.” The aforementioned friendships suggested that in keeping with human behaviour, selective interaction occurred among the residents of Tramway Road and Ilford Street and among the residents of the cottages, the houses and the flats. Tension in the enclave co-existed with friendship.

CONCLUSION

From the 1930s through to 1961, residents of the enclave were vulnerable to the racialisation of space in Sea Point and Cape Town. Age, sense of agency and personal characteristics contributed to how residents responded to the racialisation of space. Owing to racial privileging some of the residents to cross the colour bar, thereby switching identities.

94 Interview with Mrs. M.L. 09/05/1998.
95 Mr. A.J. in an interview with Mr. A.J. and Mrs. J.J. 11/06/1998.
96 Interview with Mrs. S.S. 19/06/1998.
The general condition of the housing in the enclave emphasised the working-class status of most of the inhabitants of the residential area. To emphasise their different inter and intra-class differences, residents distinguished themselves from each other. Expressed through status and respectability, distinctions fuelled tensions which were prominent along physical borders. Physical lines of tension, however, did not separate everyone in the defined areas of the enclave. Upon turning to the next chapter on landscapes, friendship and kin, it will be shown that these subjects permitted for interaction across class lines.
"The children these days won't ever have that kind of an upbringing staying near to the sea and near to the mountain." \(^1\)

CHAPTER SIX

LANDSCAPES, FRIENDSHIPS and KIN, 1930s-1961

At the Holy Redeemer. All of us were baptised there. And my mother got married there. And I used to go with the Thomas girls, with Valerie to lock up the church ... We were very close. Like myself and Valerie were friends. Venicia (my sister) and Jean [Thomas] were friends. Gwen [Thomas] and Elaine (my sister) were friends. Peter (my brother) and Barry [grandson of Thomas] grew up more or less together. And then Mrs. Thomas when she makes food for Barry, boils and so on, she used to send Peter his plate too with his boils, his veggies. That's how close we were as friends. \(^2\)

INTRODUCTION

Segregation restricted access to public space in Sea Point, a suburb viewed as the domain of the white middle class. In response to this view and owing to their economic circumstances, residents of Tramway and Ilford streets participated in leisure in the enclave and at sites just beyond the residential area. Gender, age, temporality, kin and residence in the enclave affected the occurrence of leisure. Through their use of places in the enclave for leisure, residents produced a residential area that supported public life and social interaction. Activities in the enclave and nearby landscapes promoted the development of a sense of place and territoriality. Limited space prevents discussion on territoriality.

The features of places and landscapes promoted their use for specific activities. The residents interacted with other areas further beyond the enclave in and outside of metropolitan Cape Town but limited space prevents discussion of activities there. Mainly children, young adults and adult males participated in leisure in the road and at the Parker shop and café. The participation of children and men in activities at these sites indicated an age and gender bias in the use of public space.

Members of the same kin line resided in the enclave. Siblings who grew up in the residential area married and established their marital unit there. During the 1950s, matrimony and sanguinity related several households in the enclave.

\(^1\) Interview with Mrs. C.K. 03/04/1998.
Organisation of this Chapter
The type of places wherein residents interacted form the sections of this chapter. These places and landscapes were: the Church of the Holy Redeemer, the Baptist Mission, the Parker shop and café, Tramway Road, Lion’s Head, the Atlantic Ocean and Cape Town and beyond. The section on place of kin discusses ways that the enclave developed into a place where several households belonged to the same kin line.

Places of Worship: Church of the Holy Redeemer and the Baptist Mission
An Anglican Church, the Church of the Holy Redeemer officially lay in Kloof Road but the church itself stood at the intersection of Tramway and Ilford streets. On the opposite side of Tramway Road, almost directly north of the Holy Redeemer, near Regent Road, stood the Baptist Mission. Sites of worship for Christians, the Holy Redeemer and Mission indicated the major religious denominations of nearby Coloured inhabitants. The lack of in-door recreational space in Sea Point for Coloureds also promoted the use of the Holy Redeemer and Mission for non-religious purposes. People of colour who belonged to faiths that were not associated with Christianity, travelled to sites of worship that lay elsewhere. The Nathoo household travelled to Mithra Hall in Mowbray, where they worshipped with other Hindus. The Parker, and most probably the Tiseker household, travelled to a mosque in Chiappini Street above the central business district of Cape Town.

By the 1930s, owing to the proximity of the Holy Redeemer and Mission to the enclave, cross-worship occurred among residents who identified with Christianity. Some residents who regarded the Catholic Church, the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) and the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) as their home church, allowed their children to worship at the Holy Redeemer and Mission. Cross-worship at the Holy Redeemer and Mission occurred for reasons of economy, distance, time and convenience. The Lady of Good Hope, a Catholic Church, stood in St. Andrew’s Road in Sea Point, the Sendinggestig of the DRC stood in Long Street, Cape Town, and the AME church stood in District Six. To ensure safety, young children who worshipped at these churches might have required an adult escort. To reach the DRC, AME and the Catholic churches required more time than the minutes needed to walk

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to the doors of the Holy Redeemer and Mission. The Lady of Good Hope lay within walking distance of the enclave but further than the Holy Redeemer and Mission. To reach the DRC and AME churches, residents who did not own a car would have had to take public transport, the cost of which many households could not afford. Cross-worship in Tramway Road satisfied the need for regular church attendance and the economic limitations of households.

Class and identity perhaps influenced the decision of residents who permitted cross-worship, to choose either the Holy Redeemer or Mission as a place of worship. Mrs. Campbell worshipped at the Sendinggestig (DRC) but her “children all went to the Anglican Church (the Holy Redeemer).”\(^3\) Mr. P. Jacobs’ parental household formally recognised the DRC but during his young adulthood, Mr. Jacobs attended the Holy Redeemer and Mission. Mr. A. Jacobs a first cousin to Mr. P. Jacobs, “belonged to [the] N.G. Church N.G. Duitse Regering (DRC) but went to [the] Baptist [Mission].”\(^4\) The cross-worship of children at either the Redeemer or Mission indicated the latitude given to cross-worshipping. Cross-worshipping sometimes led to a change in religious denomination. Mr. J. Petersen, a son of Mrs. Campbell who worshipped at the DRC became a churchwarden at the Holy Redeemer. Ms. M. Jacobs, whose parents also recognised the DRC became a Sunday school teacher at the Mission.

By the late 1940s, the DRC offered Sunday school in the home of Mrs. L. Klein, a resident of the council flats. Mrs. C. Kulati attended the DRC Sunday school: “You know the Sendinggestig? ...they came from there (Cape Town) to come and have a Sunday school for kids [in Tramway and Ilford streets]. And we went to join that Sunday school.”\(^5\) It is unknown for how long the DRC offered a Sunday school in Mrs. Klein’s flat. Inter- and intra-class tension towards the residents of the flats would have affected attendance at the Sunday school.

Despite cross-worship, some children continued a relationship with the home church of the parental household. The importance of the home church in the lives of children was perhaps most pronounced around the time of confirmation. Baptised in the DRC and a member of the Holy Redeemer and Mission, Ms. B. Jacobs was confirmed in the Sendinggestig. Ms. Jacobs continued to worship in Tramway Road

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3 Interview with Mrs. P.v W. 16/06/1997.
4 Mr. A.J. in an interview with Mr. A.J. and Mrs. J.J. 11/06/1998.
5 Interview with Mrs. C.K. 03/04/1998.
after confirmation. In the early 1950s, when Mrs. Kulati neared the time for confirmation, she worshipped regularly at the AME church, the home church of her parental household. Mrs. Kulati stopped attending Sunday school at the Mission but continued to attend morning service at the Redeemer.

The one time I started going there when everybody got confirmed at the Anglican Church my father just said ‘aha you are not going to get confirmed at the Anglican Church because you are not Anglican. You must go get confirmed at my church.’ So when I was 12 years in 1950, 1953, '54, I had to go to town ... Then I got confirmed [at] that church and then I didn’t go to church at the Anglican Church anymore. So I went to church at my church. I went to [the Anglican] church in the mornings but when it came to the evening I went to church at my own church.  

Attendance at the AME church on Sunday evenings encouraged a greater identity than before with the home church of the household. Morning worship at the Holy Redeemer might have occurred partly for reasons of convenience and economy. A limited degree of cross-participation in major Christian and Moslem religious celebrations occurred. The Parker household observed the Moslem religion but the young members of the Parker unit participated in Christian festivities. Mr. N. Parker said,

Our social life was mostly -- when we were young -- with the people in Tramway Road. So we participated mostly with the Christmas (and) New Year celebrations. As a Moslem we weren’t actually celebrating in anything much there we used to celebrate the two Eid celebrations, go to family in nearby areas like in town. But the other celebrations we also participated in with our family our members in the street. Like Christmas (and) I remember the Coons and Guy Fawkes.

Unlike the large number of Moslems who lived in upper Claremont, in the 1920s through the 1950s, the Parker household was one of two Moslem domestic units in Tramway Road. The level of activity in the enclave prior to major Christian celebrations, seduced the Parker children. Through permitting their children to participate in the celebrations, Mr. and Mrs. Parker communicated their understanding

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6 Interview with Mrs. C.K. 03/04/1998.
7 Mr. N.P. in an interview with Mr. N.P. and Mr. A.P. 15/10/1998.
8 Taliep, “A Study in the History of Claremont.”
of their children's response to festivities that dominated the enclave. Mr. N. Parker's emphasis on cross-participation only during youth stresses that when the Parker offspring reached a certain age, permission and perhaps interest to participate in celebrations common to the Judaeo-Christian calendar, ceased.

It is unknown for how long, but during Eid (celebration that marked the end of Ramadaan) some of the Christian residents in the enclave received food from the Parker household. In Claremont, it was not unusual for Christian residents to eat food that a Moslem neighbour cooked. However, out of concern for observing halaal food regulations, Moslems in upper Claremont did not eat food that had been prepared in Christian homes. The participation of Christians in Labarang was common in Cape Town. Perhaps similar to that in Black River, in Tramway and Ilford streets, participation in Labarang promoted a sense of shared experience across religions.

The proximity of the Holy Redeemer and Mission to the enclave encouraged cross-worship. For some children, cross-worship lessened after confirmation but for other children cross-worship continued. For still others, cross-worship led to full membership in the Holy Redeemer or Mission.

Place of Education: The Mission School

The establishment of a mission school at the Baptist Mission in 1903 contributed to the recognition of Tramway Road as a place where a concentrated number of Coloureds lived. In the early 20th century, the proximity of the school to the enclave satisfied the needs of the Coloured working class. Simultaneously, the location of the school suggested that Coloureds should associate themselves with the geographic margins of the mainly white and middle-class area of Sea Point. Given the role of schools in maintaining the status quo, the mission school contributed to the reproduction of a Coloured working class.

From the 1930s through to the 1950s, the location and size of the enclave promoted the likelihood that Coloured children of different religious backgrounds would attend the mission school. In larger residential areas such as upper Claremont

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11 Poulantzas, Classes in Contemporary Capitalism, pp. 28-34.
Tramway Road Primary School Pupils 1947
and District Six, children of different religions attended denominational schools. In the mid-1930s, in the Tramway and Ilford streets enclave, Mrs. D. Reines, a Catholic, attended the mission school. In the late 1940s and in the 1950s, offspring of the Parker household, a unit that observed the Moslem faith, also attended the school. The majority of the children who attended the mission school followed Christianity.

During the 1930s, the mission school offered instruction up to Standard 3 (modern Grade 5). By the late 1940s, the highest level of education at the school had dropped to Standard 2 (Grade 4). Ms. M. Morta, who attended the mission in the late 1940s, described the organisation of classes: "Sub. A and B sat back to back in the big room. Standard 1 and 2 shared the small room in the back with a partition." Junior students thus occupied the main hall of the Baptist Mission and senior students occupied the vestry. Two female teachers conducted the classes. One of the teachers acted as principal. The teachers enforced discipline in different ways, including corporal punishment. The mission school participated in a national school-feeding program until around April 1958 when the government stopped funding its feeding scheme in schools for Coloured children. At some point the mission obtained food for its students from the King’s Road Primary School. It is unclear whether it was before or after April 1958 that the mission obtained food from the King’s Road school.

By the 1940s, to obtain an education higher than that offered at the mission school, the majority of children who lived in the enclave attended Preswich Girls and Boys School in Preswich Street, Cape Town. Preswich Street School offered education to Standard 6. Rather than attend Preswich, other children travelled to St. Paul’s school and yet others attended St. Francis Catholic School in Salt River. Children who advanced further, tended to enrol at Trafalgar High School and Zonnebloem in District Six. Evidence suggested that the Preswich and St. Paul’s school indicated class status. In the 1950s, Preswich school was known as a skollie school. Differences of class also appear to have differentiated Trafalgar and Zonnebloem.

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13 Interview with Ms. M.M. 16/05/1997.
14 Cape Times 19/06/1958.
The establishment of a mission school for Coloureds in Tramway Road helped to identify the street as a place where Coloureds resided. Owing to the small size of the enclave, children of different religious backgrounds attended the school. Upon completion of education at the school, children who continued schooling attended institutions in Cape Town. After their school day, young children were the main users of public space internal to the enclave.

**Internal Public Place**

**The Parker Shop and Café**

Most of the leisure activity that occurred in the public places of the enclave, occurred in the section of Tramway Road that stretched through the residential area. Mr. Tiseker operated a shop in the enclave until 1954 but interviewees largely recalled Mr. Parker and the shop and café that he operated. The relatively neutral position of the shop and café, Parker’s personality, and perhaps the corner location of the shop, encouraged residents to socialise at these sites. Born in 1932, Mr. E. Lawrence identified the significance of the Parker shop when he said, “You come to the shop and always someone was there and you talk to them.”

It is unknown to what extent residents of upper Claremont, Mowbray and District Six participated in leisure activity at shops where they resided. Shops were nevertheless important to the infrastructure of neighbourhoods and to the social life of their residents. While a small shop was a common sight on the corner of streets in upper Claremont, grocery shops in Mowbray met the daily needs of residents. At shops in District Six, people purchased goods, interacted socially, and even stored possessions while at a nearby cinema. In Tramway Road, the Parker shop might have been a main site of interaction with the Parker children.

In Tramway Road, Mr. Parker interacted with his customers and residents of the enclave in a manner beyond that of a shopkeeper’s usual customer relations. When time permitted, during the Second World War, Parker discussed the armed conflict with adult males who gathered on his shop stoep. Known for his enjoyment of darts, Parker often played a game with the males. Mrs. A. Davis recalled what might have

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15 I owe an awareness of this matter to personal communication with Ms. V. Ernstzen, 12/06/2001.
16 Interview with Mr. E.L. 17/06/1998.
17 Taliep, “A Study in the History of Claremont,” p. 27.
18 Western, Outcast Cape Town, p. 178.

Children and adults turned out for the party for the children.
been common behaviour at the Parker café in the 1940s and 1950s. Parker opened his café at 6 p.m. after he had closed his shop.

Some of the residents, the fathers used to go over to Mr. Allie to go and have a game...Now you find Mr. Allie standing at the back of the counter by the board and there two or three of the men folk are standing and they playing and that was alright. That was their life. Because they couldn’t go out to bioscopes and dances and things. So then after Mr. Allie say ‘no, game is up’ and ‘finish and closing up.’ Now he closes the shop [sic] and then they go home. 20

It is possible that men who had little or no space in their home for leisure with other males, interacted at the café. It is also possible that the males who socialised at the Parker café might have belonged to the lower sector of the working class in the enclave. For example, by the 1950s, Messrs Petersen, Thomas and Paulsen regularly played darts together in each other’s home. Mr. Ramassami and some of his friends played pool regularly in the Ramassami home. 21 The Petersen, Thomas, Paulsen and Ramassami households did not share their dwelling with another unit. As wardens at the Holy Redeemer, Petersen and Thomas held a relatively high status in the enclave. Men who belonged to the lower working class were more likely to share a dwelling with another household and thus have little or no space in their home for leisure with friends.

The use of the café mainly by males for leisure communicated the engendering of the café and public places in the enclave. Ideas of gender that linked women to the home encouraged women to stay in their homes and perform the unending responsibilities that fell within the parameters of household productivity. Yet females needed and desired social interaction. In response to social expectation that they keep to their homes, females interacted in and across domestic boundaries. Adult females often interacted across the low wall at the front of their dwellings that separated their premises from the premises next door. They also socialised over the front gate of their dwellings. Interaction occurred at these boundaries partly because it occurred during a moment of respite from housework. Interaction at the gate occurred when a woman who was standing at the gate of the dwelling where she resided entered into

20 Mrs. A.D. in an interview with Mrs. A.D. Mrs. P.J. and Mrs. E.V. 22/06/1998.
21 Photographs of Ms. F. Ramassami. (Privately Held).
conversation with another woman who lived in the enclave and who happened to be passing by.

The frequent mention of the Parker shop in oral history interviews emphasised the central role of the shop in the production of public life in the enclave. Residents and non-residents alike all participated in leisure activities on the shop stoep. During the day, for example, children lingered and congregated on the stoep. Mrs. M. Lopes recalled that, during her youth, when she ate sweets that she purchased at the Parker shop, she sat and dangled her feet over the edge of the shop stoep. Mrs. Lopes was born in 1924. During Mrs. E. Vercui’s youth, BBC, a male who did not reside in the enclave but worked nearby, stationed himself on the Parker stoep and played songs such as Elvis Presley’s *All Shook Up* on a gramophone. Presley’s *All Shook Up* and *Poor Teddy Bear* were popular among teenagers in District Six around 1958. When the noise level of BBC’s records or other activity on the Parker stoep exceeded the limit that Parker found acceptable, Parker requested quieter behaviour. Failure to heed Parker’s request provoked a response that became Parker’s trademark. Mrs. Vercui said, “Mr. Allie would come out with a bucket of water and hurl it towards us.” The water temporarily dispersed gatherers and produced quiet but activity invariably resumed and reached its previous height. Single, young adult males stationed themselves on the stoep partly to watch females. Mr. E. Lawrence said, “Standing on Allie Parker’s stoep was something. You could watch the girls.” Girl-watching from the shop stoep helped Mr. E. Phillips find his mate. Mr. Phillips spotted the then single Mrs. Phillips who worked as a live-in domestic worker near the enclave. Mrs. Phillips had a friend in the enclave but also walked down Tramway Road to reach Regent Road. From the stoep of the Parker shop Mr. Phillips vied for Mrs. Phillips’ attention and one day formally introduced himself. The multifaceted role of the Parker shop in the lives of the residents of the enclave contributes to it being a major part of the memory of Tramway and Ilford streets.

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23 Mrs. E.V. in an interview with Mrs. A.D., Mrs. P.J. and Mrs. E.V. 22/06/1998.
24 Interview with Mr. E.I. 17/06/1998.
Tramway Road: Use for Play, Sport and the Sea Point Swifts

Children participated in leisure on the three unnamed and unpaved rocky lanes that branched off Tramway Road and that lay in front of the cottages. However, children played more often on Tramway Road itself. The social significance of the Parker shop encouraged children to play near the shop and between the Parker and Tiseker enterprises. Limited domestic space and the unpaved and rocky surface of the lanes drew children into Tramway Road.

From the 1930s through to the 1950s, groups of children played games in the street. The games included *kennetjie*, (played with a bat and a block of wood), *drie blikkies* (three tins, played with three tins and a ball), *bok-bok staan styf* (goat goat stand still, players hop over the bent back of other players and jump onto one other player), dodge ball, swing, skip, hide-and-seek and hopscotch. 25 Games and other activities that included children encouraged children to interact with each other. Frequent interaction encouraged the development of bonds.

Boys played soccer in Tramway Road outside the Parker shop. Visual evidence of this occurrence was recorded in the footage of Tramway Road in *Notice to Quit*, a film produced in 1960.26 The popularity of soccer in the enclave was perhaps best expressed through the participation of males in the Sea Point Swifts, a soccer club that began in the enclave. Initially named the Sea Pointers, the team changed its name to the Sea Point Swifts after a match in Stellenbosch with the Victoria Swifts.27 The Sea Pointers played against the Victoria Swifts approximately one year after the former was founded. The revised name of the Sea Point team identified its place of origin and player speed. Mr. A. Jacobs talked about how the team began.

The club actually started before 1920. I think it was 1918 when they sort of only played soccer amongst themselves. [The boys who started the team were] Members of a cricket club. I think the club name was [the] Crusaders ... It wasn’t a club that was established in Tramway

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25 Description of games obtained from Mr. R. Bavasah.
26 I thank Professor U. Mesthrie for information on the film and allowing me to obtain a copy of the production now on videotape. References to the film were made in BC668 Black Sash Archives, Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Western Cape Regional Council, 26/11/1959, 16/11/1960 and 22/11/1960.
27 Personal communication with Mr. R. Titus 10/05/2001. Mr. Titus was the grand-nephew of Mrs. D. Lawrence and obtained information on the history of the Sea Point Swifts from his grand-aunt. I thank Ms. M. Jordan for referring me to Mr. Titus for information on soccer teams in Cape Town in the 1940s and 1950s.
Road. It was a club established outside but members in Tramway Road belonged to the club. And through them they started the soccer club but in actual fact the club started in 1920. Officially, Mr. Ernest Lawrence and Mr. Nicholas Thomas were the founding members of the club.

During the early years of the team, members were drawn from the enclave, Oudekraal, Camp's Bay, and smaller pockets of residential areas where Coloureds in Sea Point lived. During later years, males from other parts of Cape Town were permitted to join the team. It is unknown to what extent race, religion and class affected membership in sports teams in upper Claremont and District Six.

In the 1940s and 1950s, boys who lived in Tramway and Ilford streets and who had reached 11 years of age, joined the Swifts. Mr. E. Lawrence who proudly stated, “my father started that club,” said, “When you started as a youngster you wore a white shirt with maroon and sky blue ribbons -- two ribbons that come over the shoulders down the chest and at the back into a ‘V’ with white shorts.” Men acted as treasurer, referee, captain and Chair of the soccer team. To raise money, the team held dances at the Sea Point Town Hall and sold goods that the women in the enclave baked. The team was able to hold dances in the Sea Point hall because at that time municipal halls in Cape Town were available for hire by any racial group.

In the 1940s and 1950s, Mrs. Valentine and Mrs. Paulsen, identified as the most dedicated of the Swifts' fans, attended every game that the Swifts played at the Green Point Track, on Saturday afternoons. Born in 1935, Mr. P. Jacobs identified the general response of the enclave to a game that included the Swifts: “The whole of Tramway Road would come to watch the Sea Point Swifts play.” Attendance at matches reiterated support for the team.

As members of the Metropolitan League the Swifts played at Green Point Track against other Coloured teams: the Stephanians of Loader Street, the East End of

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29. Personal Communication with Mr. R. Titus 10/05/2001.
32. Interview with Mr. E.L. 17/06/1998.
33. Patterson, Colour and Culture in South Africa, pp. 129-130.
34. Interview with Mr. P.H.J. 30/07/1997.
District Six, the Aerials of Germantown and the Claptons, District Six. In the late 1940s, as members of the Alliance League, at Harfield the Swifts played against the St. Lukes of St. Lukes Anglican Church, the YMO, the Young Men’s Own of the Methodist Church at Chapel and Sydney streets in District Six, the St. Augustines in Parow and other teams. The Sea Point Swifts earned a reputation and awards for skilful play. In 1938, the Swifts won the Grand Challenge of the Associated Football Club. In 1941 the team won the First Team League K.O. and Grand Challenge Trophies. In 1955, after two years of dormancy, the Sea Point Swifts restarted under the aegis of two founding members, Messrs Lawrence and Thomas. In 1959 when members of the Affiliated Football Club, the Swifts won the 1st Team Winner’s League Trophy.

Illegal Activities
After-hours trading at the Parker and Tiseker shops, the consumption of liquor in public, the operation of a shebeen and gambling, constituted illegal activity that occurred in Tramway and Ilford streets. The activity occurred at the top and bottom ends of the section of Tramway Road that stretched through the enclave. Police patrol disrupted but did not cease the activities that contravened the law. The contravention of laws pointed to needs and desires that conflicted with the social order that the state sought to impose.

Messrs Parker and Tiseker traded after hours, and on Sundays, to customers whom they knew. One of the main items that residents of the enclave requested to purchase after hours was paraffin. To purchase paraffin after hours from Parker, residents went to the Parker café. The café stood adjacent to the Parker shop and was separated from the shop by a wall and door. Upon request for paraffin or other goods, Parker went into the shop to retrieve the item requested. As a precaution against police patrols, before they left the café with their “illegal” purchases, residents concealed the item they bought. Shopkeepers who traded after hours were subject to a fine. To guard against patrols, Mr. Ab. Parker, the eldest male offspring of the Parker household often watched for police from the shop stoep. On Sunday mornings

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35 Name of the teams against which the Swifts played were obtained through personal communication with Mr. A.C. 09/08/2000. Information on the origin of the teams obtained through personal communication with Mr. R. Titus 10/05/2001.
36 Photographs of Mr. A.C. (Privately Held).
residents who sought to purchase one or more items at the Tiseker shop queued at the back door of the enterprise with a bag to conceal their purchases. Parker’s and Tiseker’s participation in after-hours trading, expressed their formal and informal relationship with their customers.

In the 1930s, men who drank liquor on the Parker stoep on Friday evenings, contravened the law that prohibited drinking in public. African men who drank on the stoep expressed their disregard for the liquor law that prohibited the sale of liquor to Africans. Africans circumvented the law through men such as Mr. H. Jacobs who purchased liquor for Africans who requested a purchase. From the early 1950s, some of the men who drank on the Parker stoep might have purchased liquor at the shebeen in Ilford Street. It is unknown how the Parkers and other residents of the enclave responded to the consumption of liquor at the shop. It is also unknown whether any men who lived in the enclave consumed liquor on the shop stoep.

Owing to conditions among the labouring class, gambling was more exposed in the working-class areas of Cape Town. Gambling was common among men of all social classes but the labouring class tended not to have room in their home or private clubs where they could gamble. In District Six, upper Claremont and Mowbray, therefore, activities related to gambling occurred in the street.\textsuperscript{37} In Tramway Road, men gambled at the Parker shop and under a lamppost, at night, at the south-west corner of Tramway Road and Sea View Terrace. It is unknown whether different types of gambling occurred at these two different sites. With respect to the corner of Sea View Terrace, gambling at the edge of the enclave at night permitted residents who disapproved of gambling to tolerate and distance themselves from the activity. Males who resided elsewhere in Cape Town but who knew people in the enclave participated in the gambling on the corner.

The competitive nature of gambling provoked altercation. Around 1950, an altercation erupted among the gamblers and "they stabbed this one man, Mr. Splinters, to death."\textsuperscript{38} The person or persons responsible for the death of Mr. J. Splinters did not reside in the enclave and the incident fuelled belief that outsiders disrupted life in the enclave. Residents of Black River held a similar view towards

\textsuperscript{37} Taliep. "A Study in the History of Claremont," p. 35; Western, Outcast Cape Town, p. 183.
\textsuperscript{38} Interview with Mrs. V.A. 08/06/1998.
non-residents of Black River. It was after Mr. Splinters’ death that Mrs. Splinters established a shebeen to support her household.

Use for Significant Occasions
From the 1930s through to the 1950s, Christmas and Christmas Choirs, and New Year and Coon troupes were major occasions that occurred in Tramway Road. The predominance of Christian households in the enclave meant that the majority of the residents participated in festivities such as Christmas. Preparations for Christmas provoked anticipation and excitement. Some of this emotion continued after Christmas when Christmas Choirs, to which males in the enclave belonged, paraded into the enclave. The choirs sang Christmas carols and hymns during their parades on Christmas Eve and on Sundays until the end of January. In the 1930s and 1940s, Mr. A. Campbell and Mr. E. Phillips belonged to the Trojans, a Christmas Choir that in 1949 had 36 members. Self-taught, Mr. Campbell played the violin.

During the late 1950s, Mr. M. Mitchell played the saxophone in the St. Louis Xmas Band, a team of approximately 60 members. One of the more accomplished musicians in the enclave, Mr. Mitchell also belonged to the Kinsmen, a band that became popular in greater Cape Town. In the 1940s and 1950s, Mr. C. Paulsen belonged to a Christmas Choir about which his daughter, Ms. E. Paulsen spoke

[the] Christmas Choir came from Woodstock ...My father would bring the choir that he belonged to. Then they play in front of our door [in the] early morning. Then you know it’s Christmas. You’d wake up so early because here the choir’s coming ...Roundabout six they on your doorstep. They’d come with a truck and all get off and play there and go to other places. All the men that’s in the choir each one get a turn to go to his (the member’s) house ...our next door neighbour, Mr. Isaacs (Tramway Cottages). He and my father used to be in the same group.

The anticipation of an official visit by the Christmas Choir to which Mr. Paulsen belonged, generated excitement in his household and the enclave. Residents gathered outside of the dwelling where the Paulsens resided, to hear the choir perform. Since Christmas Choirs were part of Christmas celebrations in the Cape Peninsula, choirs were welcomed, despite their early morning arrival.

40 Patterson, Colour and Culture in South Africa, p. 157.
At the beginning of the New Year in District Six, Coon troupes consisting mainly of Coloured males, paraded through the streets as they headed for the Green Point Track to compete against each other. The playing of music in the streets of Cape Town during the New Year by Coloured bands dated, at least, to 1823. Competition among Coon troupes at the Track began in 1907. By the 1950s, Coon troupes and the Coon Carnival provided members of the working class in Cape Town with an opportunity to participate in an annual carnival and musical events that expressed working-class Cape Coloured culture. By the 1960s, members of the Coloured working class rejected the Coons for their one-dimensional representation of Coloured people. In general, it is unknown to what extent residents in Tramway and Ilford streets accepted the Carnival and Coon troupes. It is also unknown if any of the men who lived in the cottages and houses belonged to a Coon troupe during the 1920s to 1961. It is possible that because the Coons were associated with District Six and a certain sector of the working class that at least some of the residents of the enclave disassociated themselves from the Coons. In general, residents of the enclave tended to distance themselves from District Six residents (discussed below). Oral histories about males in the enclave who belonged to a Christmas Choir rather than a Coon troupe suggested affinity with Christmas Choirs. Christmas Choirs expressed a more dignified presence than the Coons and were associated with respectable working- and middle-class Coloureds.

At least one resident of the council flats belonged to a Coon troupe. Mrs. B. Barros said, Mr. H. Fife, “Hennie, he used to belong to the Coons.” Mr. Fife lived in the council flats. It is unknown during what period of time Mr. Fife belonged to a troupe and to which troupe he belonged. Similar to Christmas Choirs, a Coon troupe visited the home of their members. When a troupe visited Tramway Road, whites who

41 Ms. E.P. in an interview with Ms. E.P. and Mrs. T.R. 11/05/1997.
48 Interview with Mrs. D.B. 30/05/1997.
lived nearby tended to gather outside of the borders of the enclave. Born in 1922, Mrs. E. Borland (nee Harwood) who resided in Victoria Road said, “We all used to gather to watch them. On the pavement of [Regent] Road, the main road which Tramway Road came down to.” Sensitivity to race and class, perhaps encouraged Mrs. Boland’s parental unit and other whites who stood on the corner to maintain a respectable distance from the enclave. Similarly, rather than observe the Coons in District Six and other areas of the city, whites who lived elsewhere in Cape Town observed the Coons at the Green Point Track.

The Parker shop was a popular site for the leisure activity of children and young adults and the café was a popular site for adult males. Tramway Road itself played an important role during events related to Christian celebrations. Other sites of importance for leisure were nearby natural landscapes.

Natural Landscapes

Lion’s Head Mountain

The significance of Lion’s Head among the residents of Tramway and Ilford streets was similar to the significance of Table Mountain among the inhabitants of District Six. A dominant figure in Sea Point, Lion’s Head penetrated the consciousness of the residents of the enclave during their almost every move in the residential area. Erected on the upper and lower grade of the mountain, the houses on the south and north sides of Ilford Street, respectively, had steps to compensate for their sloped location. Steps that compensated for the mountain slope, also formed part of the inner structure of the cottages and houses in Tramway Road. To exit and enter the enclave via Regent Road, residents descended and ascended the mountain slope. A profound identity with Lion’s Head developed through the various ways it entered residents' lives. Residents participated in leisure on Lion’s Head, collected wood for domestic fuel there and, at Christmas time, the Christian residents selected a pine tree for their homes from the mountain. Unlike the shoreline in Sea Point, where beach segregation limited residents’ use of the ocean, Lion’s Head was open to people of every race.

Interaction with, and on Lion’s Head, from an early age, permitted for the development of an identity with the mountain during childhood. In the upper reaches

49 Interview with Mrs. E.B. 23/07/1997.
of the mountain, children participated in a variety of activities. Mrs. I. Bertie recalled playing records on a gramophone: “We take that with us to the mountain. All of us, all the Tramway Road children and go dance on the mountain.” Limited space in the dwellings and a desire for a setting different from the enclave, encouraged children to retreat to Lion’s Head to play music and dance. At least one group of adolescent females enjoyed the relative seclusion of the mountain for their private entertainment. Born around 1940, Ms. G. Panday said, “We’d go buy Max 20 Filters at Parker’s shop and we go and smoke in the mountain. A few girls. We’d take chips, peanuts, cool drink.” The lack of private space in homes and the enclave, encouraged Ms. Panday and her friends to find privacy on Lion’s Head. From the 1930s through to the 1950s in groups of different sizes and sometimes of mixed gender and age, males and females walked along Lion’s Head to Table Mountain. Born in 1941, Mrs. T. Ramasammi spoke about times that she and friends tended to walk on Lion’s Head: “Every Saturday afternoon -- Sunday we use to go pick our flowers, Saturday we go from Lion’s Head right to Camps Bay. Walk through the mountain to the Glen. Clifton right through to Camps Bay. That was our outing.” Owing to economic circumstance, Lion’s Head provided an important escape and distraction from the enclave.

The Atlantic Ocean
On mornings when mist impaired the vision of sea-going vessels, the sound of a foghorn reminded residents of their seaboard location. The enclave lay less than a kilometre from the ocean that bordered Sea Point. Oceanic characteristics and human olfactory and visual senses promoted the development of a deep affinity to, and identity with the sea. Young adults of the enclave courted by the sea and residents of all age groups participated in some form of leisure activity there. Through its diverse and abundant resources, the Atlantic Ocean helped to nourish and sustain households.

Proximity to the ocean meant that residents often visited the sea. Born in 1915, Mrs. A. Davis suggested that a day at the ocean formed a frequent part of her leisure
when weather permitted: "We used to take our baskets and just go down from our home [that stood] up there on the kloof down to the beach for the day. That was our picnic spots." 

Residence near the seaboard encouraged males to angle off the shore and travel by small boats into the deeper water for sea life. Different groups of males fished together primarily for their domestic consumption. Depending on the season, the type of fish caught included harders, hottentot, mackerel, *galjoen*, *snoek* and *geelbek*. In keeping with the engendering of fishing in Cape Town, among the residents of the enclave, fishing constituted a male activity. Boys who reached a certain age obtained some fishing experience from their fathers. Born in 1935, Mr. R. Paulsen said he "was a youngster" when he first went deep-sea fishing with his father. Mr. Paulsen’s recollection of fishing emphasised a rite of passage.

> Sons used to go with the fathers and so we started (my father and I) and then eventually the sons took over ... The first time I can remember, *oh*, seasick. They would put us right in front. They first put us here at the back where the outboard engine was. The fumes and the sea going up and down and up. Now they put you in front and that’s the time when all hell broke lose. You used to vomit. First of all, that is your initiation. You had to sit at the back you get the engine fumes and then they put you in the front then you start. And you okay after that. No more sea sickness ... That is your initiation.

In introduction to manhood belies the memory of initiation to the deep sea. By inducing seasickness in the boys, the men dispensed with a natural reaction to the deep sea. The passing on of fishing skills from father to son permitted for inter-generation interaction and allowed boys to become competent at an activity associated with their gender. Similar to soccer and cricket, fishing provided males with an opportunity to participate in organised group activity.

Independent of their fathers by the time they reached adolescence, boys caught crayfish close to the shoreline in Sea Point. Groups of boys caught the crustaceans during the day or at night. One member of the group acted as a group leader. When she recalled one of the nights that her elder son caught crayfish, Mrs. A. Davis said,

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54 Mrs. A.D. in an interview with Mrs. A.D. Mrs. P.J. and Mrs. E.V. 22/06/1998.
55 Interview with Mr. R.P. 06/06/1997.
56 Interview with Mr. R.P. 06/06/1997.
“Dickie was always the head [of the group].”  
Mr. R. Paulsen recalled that, when his group caught a large number of crayfish, they kept part of their catch for their parental household but also conducted personal sales on the beach and in the enclave.

Boys caught crayfish off the Sea Point coast despite being aware of legislation that prohibited catching crayfish. In 1940, the state prohibited catching crayfish within a boundary between the mouth of Second Salt River and South Lion’s Paw. The boundaries stretched three nautical miles seawards. Salt River lay east of Cape Town and South Lion’s Paw lay west of Sea Point, past Camp’s Bay. It is almost certain that a declaration on signposts at the shoreline warned against catching crayfish in Sea Point but that the residents of the enclave ignored the declaration. The nocturnal catches of which Mrs. Davies’ spoke might have been undertaken to avoid police detection.

Through their proximity to, and frequent interaction with Queen’s Beach, the section of the shoreline that was designated for Coloureds, residents of the enclave developed a sense of identity with that particular section of beach. Mrs. C. Kulati expressed a sense of place when she said, “that used to be our sea.” Proximity to the better and frequent use encouraged a sense of ownership and control over the space.

Sentiment that the beach belonged to the residents of the enclave conflicted with the status of the beach as a public site. Residents did not publicly oppose the use of the beach by other members of the public but avoided the beach when large numbers of other Coloureds congregated there. Undoubtedly responding to the views of their parents, children who lived in the enclave participated in leisure elsewhere. Mrs. Kulati said, “Then we used to go mountaineering.” Concern for safety probably contributed to the decision that children not go to the beach when large numbers of the public gathered there. Yet religious prejudice also influenced the decision of certain parents. Born in 1940, Mrs. D. Moses suggested that her parents and other parents in the enclave did not allow their children to go to the beach.

57 Mrs. A.D. in an interview with Mrs. A.D. Mrs. P.J. and Mrs. E.V. 22/06/1998
58 Government Gazette, No. 2773, 07/06/1940, p. 555. I thank Dr. L. van Stittert for sources on legislation that prohibited catching crayfish.
60 Interview with Mrs. C.K. 03/04/1998.
61 Interview with Mrs. C.K. 03/04/1998.
particularly when Moslems were there. Mrs. Moses said, “in [the] summer ...we had to go to the mountain ...That time (in the summer) it was Moslems [at the beach].” 62
The prejudice that the residents of the enclave expressed reflected a tolerance among Christians and Moslems in places such as District Six. In upper Claremont, tolerance was evident in an “underlying restraint.” 63 While it should be said that ex-residents of Black River preferred not to talk about tensions among themselves, interviewees of Black River suggested that shared experiences between Christians and Moslems in Black River contributed to cohesion. 64 Though the Parkers and Tisekers were Moslem in general, residents of Tramway and Ilford streets appeared to distinguish the Parkers and Tisekers from the Moslems who used Queen’s Beach.

Lion’s Head and the Atlantic Ocean played a large role in the lives of the residents of the enclave. Residents’ frequent interaction with these landscapes permitted for the development of an identity with those sites. For many residents the importance of the enclave itself lay in it being a place of kin.

**Place of Kin**

For reasons related to economic, social and political conditions, from the 1920s through to the 1950s, Tramway and Ilford streets became a place where several residents were related to each other. Through this occurrence, residents effected some control over the production and reproduction of the enclave. The habitation of kin occurred when people who were related to residents of the enclave moved into the residential area. Another and more prominent way that kin came to reside in the enclave occurred when one or more of the first- and second-generation descendants of an original household established their own marital unit in Tramway and Ilford streets. In the 1950s households in the enclave that were related to each other included the Splinters, Reines, Bertie and Collins; the three Paulsen units; Lawrence, Morta and Absalom; Mitchell and Absalom; Mitchell, Barros and Ramasammi; the Arendse units; Jacobs, Delport, Davis, October and Arendse; Petersen, Campbell and Harris; and Parker and Tiseker.

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62 Interview with Mrs. D.M. 10/06/1998.
Relations of kin occurred when two or more adult siblings who grew up in the enclave married and resided there with their spouses and offspring. After they married, offspring from these unions also resided in the enclave with their marital households. Three of the male offspring of the original Jacobs household (1923), of 2 Ilford Street, married and resided in Tramway and Ilford streets with their marital units. In the 1950s, five offspring from those three households established their own marital homes in the enclave. A similar process occurred in the Johannes household of the early 1900s. Two of the female offspring of the Johannes household established their marital homes in the cottages. Ms. V. Phillips (Junior) said, "My (paternal) granny [Mrs. Phillips] and old Mrs. Mitchell were sisters."\(^65\) In 1961, offspring of Mrs. Phillips and Mrs. Mitchell resided in Tramway Road with their spouses and children.

The greater the number of siblings who remained in the enclave after marriage, the greater the distribution of the original household. During the 1930s to 1961, at least two male and three female offspring of the Lawrence household (1898) married and resided in the cottages. Mrs. D. Lawrence said, "The parents lived in 23 [Tramway Cottage]. They had him (my husband) as a son at Number 11 and another son that lived at Number 10 and a daughter and her husband who lived at Number 19 [Tramway Cottage]."\(^66\) One other female offspring of the original Lawrence household lived in the enclave. Mrs. E. Mitchell recollected the one Lawrence female when she spoke about a former resident of the enclave, Ms. Ann Marie Prince who at the time of Mrs. Mitchell’s interview had died recently.

[Mary Ann Morta’s mother] (whose marital household lived with her parents at 23 Tramway Cottages) was a sister of my step-grand grandparents, Absalom (19 Tramway Cottage) ... Now her (Ann Marie’s) mommy (at 4 Tramway Road) was also a sister of Mary Ann’s mommey. [Her parents] were Lawrence’s. Ouma Lawrence was their mother. But now they got married and got different surnames.\(^67\)

Mrs. Mitchell’s identification of the paternal roots of the Lawrence women emphasised that when women married and adopted the name of their husband, the paternal and maternal roots of women tended to recede from memory. For this reason,

\(^{65}\) Interview with Ms. V.P. 1997.
\(^{67}\) Interview with Mrs. E.M. 07/06/1998.
it might be that if traced through maternal lineage, some households that resided in the enclave in the mid-20th century, might trace their roots in Tramway Road to the late 19th century.

Kin relations in the enclave increased through in-migration. The kin lines to which Mrs. M. Lopes (née De Vos) belonged in Tramway Road broadened when she and her brothers moved with their widowed mother to the enclave around 1932. It happened that Mrs. Lopes descended from the aforementioned Johannes household of the early 1900s. Mrs. Lopes said,

My father died when I was eight years old. My mother, two brothers and I went to live in Tramway Road. My mother’s youngest sister who was (married to) an Arendse lived on Tramway Road. My granny [old Mrs. Mitchell] who was the sister of my mother’s first husband, also lived on Tramway. Mrs. Phillips, my granny’s sister also lived there.  

The economic and domestic assistance that kin could provide encouraged Mrs. Lopes’ mother to move to Tramway Road. The move increased the generational depth of the Lopes extended kin vertically and horizontally.

Kin groups in the enclave also expanded through status conferred upon a friend. Some residents entered into quasi-kin relations when they became a godparent for their friend or neighbour’s new born child.

An exceptionally large expansion of kin relations occurred when residents of the enclave who had kin there, married each other. In 1950, Mrs. G. Eyssen, (née Thomas) whose extended kin in Tramway Road included the Paulsens, married Mr. N. Eyssen whose extended kin included the Hawtrey, Mitchell and Barros households.

By the 1950s, sanguinity and matrimony linked several households to each other. Ties between households occurred when siblings established their marital units in the enclave and when people, who were related to residents, moved into the residential area. The presence of households that were related to each other, promoted a familial feeling in Tramway and Ilford streets.

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68 Interview with Mrs. M.L. 09/05/1997.
CONCLUSION

The political economy of Cape Town and of South Africa as a whole encouraged residents' use of places within and beyond the enclave for leisure. The use of places in and immediately outside of the residential area promoted residents' frequency of interaction with each other. Children in particular often interacted at the Holy Redeemer, Mission, Parker shop, in the street, at school, on Lion's Head and at the seaside. The frequency with which children interacted stimulated a sense of human territoriality. Children and young adult males also expressed a sense of spatial territoriality in relation to the enclave.

By the 1950s, consanguinity and matrimonial ties linked several households to each other. The residence of kin contributed to the incidence of reciprocity between households and gave the enclave a quality associated with family. The proximity of kin was one of the many concerns of residents when they faced forced removal from the enclave.
"No more home for us"¹

CHAPTER SEVEN

FORCED REMOVAL, 1957-61

1950 the Group Areas Act was promulgated. That was a Dr. Dönges’ Bill in Parliament ... 1957 it was came to law [to remove people in Tramway Road and Ilford Street]. 1961 they chuck us out of Sea Point. From '57 till '61 we had our ups and downs with the government ... Sé vir ons ... julie sal uit wees... [Said to us ... you’re going to be thrown out.] I don’t blame the staff ... They were just doing their -- when the men came I said to them look here, 'What it is that they want [you] to [do] I’m not blaming you. I just blame your Ministers.'²

INTRODUCTION

The National Party came to power in 1948 and in the early 1950s they passed several laws to give effect to apartheid policy. Of these laws, the Group Areas Act (GAA) 1950, communicated the state’s goal to create separate residential areas for all races throughout South Africa. Sea Point was declared an area for whites only and the residents of the enclave were notified that they had to leave the suburb. In reaction to their notices, the residents used their available resources. The residents obtained support of the Church of the Holy Redeemer through Reverend Tattersal and legal representation through Mr. W. Wannenburg. Tattersal and Wannenburg influenced the TRA with a conservative approach and encouraged compliance with the GAA. Owing to effective legal representation and the government’s inability to offer an alternative place to live, the residents obtained three reprieves to their notice to leave Sea Point

Personal resources, economic issues and ties to the enclave and its residents influenced the degree to which residents were resigned to and resisted removal to Bonteheuwel, a new municipal township on the Cape Flats. Though they could ill afford to live elsewhere in the city, residents who refused to move to Bonteheuwel, relied on fortitude, friends and kin to find housing. In the hope of suspending removal, residents rejected Bonteheuwel and sought to resist removal through group resistance. Through intimidation and manipulation, however, group areas inspectors sabotaged group resistance.

¹ Mr. A.J. in an interview with Mr. A.J. and Mrs. J.J. 11/06/1998.
Oral history interviews, newspaper reports and documents from the Wannenburg Files form the sources used in this chapter.

Notice To Vacate and Departure

The GAA affected the Cape Peninsula on July 5 1957 when through the Table Mountain proclamation the Table Mountain area was declared for whites only. On that same date, Pinelands and Boston Estate were also declared white areas, Matroosfontein, Bishop Lavis, Athlone, Elsie’s River, and Duinefontein were declared Coloured, Rylands was declared for Indians and Schotsche Kloof and Buitengracht Street for Malays. These proclamations signalled the government’s goal to engineer a more profound form of racial social distancing than the type that already segregated public life and residential areas in Cape Town.

Through the racial sectors that it aimed to create the GAA sought to protect whites from the growing number of Coloureds and Indians in urban areas. Owing to previous legislation the majority of Africans already resided in segregated areas. The Urban Areas Act, 1945 obliged Africans to reside in the location. However, Coloureds and Indians lived in proximity to whites in enclaves and mixed residential areas. Coloureds and Indians and Africans who had avoided the location, formed the major sector of the population that were subject to the GAA.

Coloureds and Indians in Newlands, the Gardens, Tamboerskloof, Oranjezicht, Green Point, Sea Point, Clifton, Bakoven and Camps Bay -- the places affected by the Table Mountain Proclamation -- faced removal from their homes. The Table Mountain Proclamation meant that whites would reside in the more established suburbs that with amenities and transport close to the city centre. Coloureds and Indians would live far from the urban centre in new established and amenity poor townships that had poor public transport. The travel distance from the Cape Flats (the geographic area declared for Coloureds and Indians) to work in white areas would

4 Cape Argus 06/07/1957.
6 Western. Outcast Cape Town, pp. 59-73.
7 U. Mesthrie. “No Place in the World to go,” in Studies in the History of Cape Town, Vol. 7, UCT History Project, 1994, p. 193. The main boundary lines were Rhodes Avenue; Newlands Avenue; Dean Street; Main Road, Rondebosch; Rhodes Avenue, Mowbray, De Waal Drive, Upper Mill Street; Annandale Street; Park Road; Carisbrooke Street, the upper boundary of Schotsche Kloof, running to York Road, Green Point; Main Road, Green Point, to Three Anchor Bay and down to Beach Road. Cape Argus 24/09/1959.
reiterate the dominance and control of white political and social power. The declaration of the mountain area for whites symbolised the privileged life that would be bestowed upon whites during the apartheid years. By 1957, in addition to other legislation to effect an apartheid state, the government had proclaimed 37 group areas in South Africa. 8

Some time after the publishing of the Table Mountain Proclamation, in 1957, the Chananie Kruss Trust, owner of 1 Tramway Road, notified Mr. Shenosha that he and his household had to leave the enclave. Widowed in 1953, Mr. Shenosha remarried in 1957. With his offspring, Mr. Shenosha moved to Bryant Street, Bo-kaap, the home of his new wife. Mrs. C. Kulati (née Shenosha) said,

In '57, '56 Mr. Ziman told my father that he got notice that he had to give people the same because the government wanted the people out. ...Because of this Group Areas Act we were not allowed to stay there. So my father got out. I think he was one he was not one of the first families to get out. I'm sure there was some other families who got out there before my father. He got out there in '57. 9

Unlike the landlords of other dwellings in the enclave, Ziman responded promptly to the Table Mountain Proclamation. Since the proclamation did not require disqualified people to move until July 1959, it is unknown why Ziman served Shenosha with notice so soon after the declaration. Mr. Shenosha perhaps himself responded promptly to the notice owing to changes in his personal life and knowledge that he had to leave eventually. Since the Chananie Kruss Trust owned numbers 2-6 Tramway Road, the tenants in those houses most probably also received notices to vacate. If the tenants took their notices seriously, the urgency of the matter faded when Ziman rented the house that the Shenosha's had occupied to two other Coloured households. 10

At least one other household vacated the enclave soon after the Table Mountain Proclamation. In August 1957 the Paulsens who resided at 17 Tramway Cottages moved to Hazendal, Athlone. It is probable that the GAA influenced the Paulsens' decision to move to the Athlone. Though the Paulsens' landlord did not

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9 Interview with Mrs. C.K. 03/04/1998.
10 Survey data collected at 1 Tramway Road. c. August 1961 record two households in the dwelling. Wannenburg Papers (Privately Held). When the Shenoshas lived at 1 Tramway Road they were the sole occupants.
inform them that owing to the GAA they had to leave, the threat of implementation most probably provoked the move. In 1956, owing to the need for more living space but also because of “strong talk” about removal the Lopes household moved to Bridgetown.¹¹

Though the government published the Table Mountain Proclamation in the Government Gazette, a publication read largely by members of government, the legal profession and business, the proclamation was reported in detail in the Cape Argus on July ⁶ᵗʰ with a reprint of the original proclamation that had been published in the Gazette and a map that showed part of the proclaimed area.¹² The map excluded Sea Point but a map published three days later, included the suburb.¹³ The newspaper articles almost certainly generated some discussion in the enclave.

It is difficult to imagine, however, to what extent residents believed and disbelieved that the proclamation threatened their residence in Sea Point. Past rumours and current newspaper reports encouraged disbelief in the possibility of removal. Rumour about the eviction of residents of Tramway Road had occurred as early as the late 1920s. Born in 1920, Mr. F. Wepener said, “I heard even when I was younger you see, they said, ‘Hulle gaan ’n park hier bou. Gaan ’n hospitaal hier bou.’” [They’re going to build a park here. Going to build a hospital here.]¹⁴ Regardless of whether a park and hospital indeed posed a threat at the time, through identifying these landmarks, Mr. Wepener communicated that rumours implied the destruction of the enclave. Mrs. D. Lawrence who married a resident of Tramway Road in 1932, remembered that rumour of removal in the late 1920s produced disquiet:

And it took them a long time to decide to put the Coloured people out of Tramway Road. In 1927 one of the Sea Point family’s son got married. Charley Petersen and they came to our home in Woodstock and they said that they were busy with them. They wanted to [put out] the Tramway Cottage people.¹⁵

In her excerpt, Mrs. Lawrence’s perceived that the decision to remove the enclave concluded a protracted process that whites pursued over time. The intensification of

¹¹ Interview with Mrs. M.L. 09/05/1997.
¹² Cape Argus 06/07/1957.
¹³ Cape Argus 09/07/1957.
¹⁴ Interview with Mr. F.W. 22/05/1997.
segregation during the inter-war years perhaps contributed to Mrs. Lawrence’s perception. During the inter-war years, the Cape Town municipality removed Coloureds who lived in areas that were identified as slum sites and re-housed them in sub-economic housing on the Cape Flats. The municipal re-housing program encouraged social distancing that had racial undertones: sub-economic housing could not be located close to white areas.

Though local politics disrupted the sense of permanence in the enclave in 1927, in the 1950s political forces on the national level became the greater threat. It is unknown to what extent Mrs. Lawrence and any other residents of the enclave seriously regarded those larger forces. Owing to the relatively positive relations of Coloureds and Indians in the enclave with whites in Sea Point it is possible that despite newspaper reports about the GAA, Mrs. Lawrence and other residents of the enclave did not fathom that the GAA would affect them.

In the two years after the Table Mountain Proclamation, two newspaper reports challenged belief that removal would occur. The proclamation had specified a period of two-years for people to leave their residential area. In October 1958, however, the Cape Times reported that disqualified people who lived in declared areas, Sea Point included, might not have to vacate for five to 10 years. Though a group areas inspector visited the homes in the enclave in July 1959, and informed residents that they had to leave, an article in the Cape Argus contradicted the message that the inspector delivered. On July 30th the Argus reported that city councillors rejected a proposal by Ilford Investments, the owner of the cottages, to demolish the cottages and erect a block of flats. The Argus stated that in their defence of the Tramway Cottages and its residents, councillors (including Ms. Cissy Gool) argued that the demolition of the dwellings would mean the uprooting of people who lived in a historically significant area of Sea Point. Councillors added that women in the enclave performed a valuable washing service. Eviction would add to the hardship
Dear Sir,

You are no doubt aware that the area in which the cottage you occupy has been declared White under Proclamation 190 dated 5/7/57 Gazette No 5900 (Group Areas Act).

Under the provisions of this Proclamation it becomes illegal for you to occupy, and illegal for us to allow you to reside on, such premises after the 6th July 1959.

Under these circumstances the Law compels us to give you Formal Notice which we hereby give you, to vacate the premises you occupy No 25, Tramway Road, Sea Point by the 31st October 1959.

Yours faithfully,

A. SHIFRIN.

SECRETARY.
that characterised the lives of working-class Coloureds in the city. Councillors further argued that the residents of Tramway Road were entitled to the sanctity of their homes. The newspaper report did not mention the Table Mountain Proclamation and that its implementation loomed over the enclave. This lack of mention in the Argus - and in the Minutes of the City Council -- indicates that the proclamation was not an issue in the council's decision. Though the GAA was a factor in city politics, council resisted its influence in local decisions. The city council participated in its own brand of segregation and separation but opposed the intrusiveness of the national state through the GAA. The Cape Argus report, one that supported the perpetuation of the enclave, gave the residents reason to discount the threat of removal.

The reality of forced removal bore down upon the residents in September 1959. On 16th September, the administrators of Ilford Investments served their tenants with a letter (see Figure 4) that said, "It becomes illegal for you to occupy, and illegal for us to allow you to reside on such premises after the 6th July 1959." The letters that the tenants received defined them as illegal occupants of their homes and ordered them to vacate by 31st October. Towards the end of September, a group areas inspector instructed Mr. Parker to comply with the Act and notify his tenants to leave. Failure to comply with the Act carried a maximum fine of R400 or a maximum of two years in prison, or fine and imprisonment.

Ilford Investments most probably served their tenants with a notice after being instructed to do so by the GAB. The GAB only acted upon areas that had been proclaimed when provoked "by complaint." It thus seemed that around September, the Board received complaint about the non-removal of the enclave. Given that in the 1960s ratepayers associations throughout Cape Town pursued the implementation of group areas declarations it is possible that the Green Point and Sea Point Ratepayers Association lodged a complaint with the GAB. The association showed interest in the Act in 1952 and declared support for the Act in June 1957.

22 Letter from Ilford Investments, 16 September 1959, Wannenburg Papers (Privately Held).
24 Monetary sum originally stated as £200 in Mesthrie, "The Tramway Road Removals," p. 63.
27 Cape Times 14/06/1957.
Some time before the tenants of Ilford Investments received their notice, Mr. A. Barros received a notice from his landlords, A. Hutchings, M. Westhall and E. Biesheuwel.\textsuperscript{28} It is uncertain in which house Mr. Barros lived when he received his notice, but Hutchings \textit{et al} owned numbers 7 and 8 Tramway Road. Mr. Barros lived in Number 7 until around November 1959 when he moved to Number 8.\textsuperscript{29} Though Mr. Barros implied \textit{he} received notice he might have meant that his parents-in-law with whom he and his marital unit lived, received notice. Upon receipt of the notice at Number 8, Mr. Barrow alerted some of his neighbours but found that they dismissed the probability of their own eviction.

They didn’t want to listen to me when I told them we were going to be chucked out. Our two houses were the first two houses that got the notice. When I tried to call the people together to tell them, ‘Look here, this is a big thing.’ ‘Oh, we don’t have to worry, that’s only your people’s houses. Not our houses. Our houses belonged to the Jew.’ ‘Have it your way.’ I was working at the AA (Automobile Association) at the time.\textsuperscript{30}

Mr. Barros’ recollection of himself as sounding the warning bell and attempting to organise people to respond to their pending threat emphasised that cleavage, status and inertia in the enclave affected to how residents regarded the warning. However, it is also possible that the residents whom Mr. Barros alerted, sought clarity from their landlords but were told that the payment of rent secured tenancy.\textsuperscript{31} Mr. Barros discussed his notice and the predicament it caused with Mr. Grossy, his employer at the Automobile Association. Grossy arranged a personal meeting between Barros and Mr. P.W. Botha, Deputy Minister of Interior. Botha was responsible for the fulfilment of the GAA and was empowered to issue a permit to delay removal. Mr. Barros said, “I went there. PW said, ‘No, it’s no problem. Mr. Grossy phoned me [and] explained the whole thing. Here’s a year’s extension.”\textsuperscript{32} Personal resources that permitted personalised access to Botha, allowed Mr. Barros to escape the more formal application for a permit from the GAB.

\textsuperscript{28} Erf 106, Registrar of Deeds.
\textsuperscript{29} Mrs. Barros stated she moved to 8 Tramway Road in November after her relatives, the Essyens, the occupants of number 8, moved to Woodstock. However if Mr. Barros received notice to vacate before the tenants in the Tramway Cottages, he would had to have lived in Number 8 before 16 September. It has been difficult to clarify the discrepancy in dates.
\textsuperscript{30} Mr. A.B. in an interview with Mrs. D.B. 30/05/1997.
\textsuperscript{31} Cape Times 23/09/1959.
TRAMWAY ROAD, Sea Point (top picture), is in a proclaimed White area — and about 300 Coloured people living there have been told to move. Above: Two of the affected people: Mrs. F. Lambert (right), who has lived in the cottage for 36 years and her daughter, Miss Doris Lambert (36), who was born there.

Source: Cape Argus 23.04.1957
Since Ilford Investments owned the 25 Tramway Cottages and four houses on the south-side of Ilford Street, the notices that the company served affected the majority of the tenants within a similar period of time. The notices provoked a meeting from which Mr. N. Thomas and Mr. J. Petersen emerged as the residents’ representatives. Thomas and Peterson both held relatively respected positions of employment (Thomas supervised attendants at the petrol pump at Adelphi Motors and Petersen operated a greengrocery) and served as churchwardens at the Holy Redeemer. Thomas and Petersen’s election symbolised the importance of gender and social status for the residents of the enclave and given the situation at hand, links to resources. Soon after their election Thomas and Petersen consulted Reverend Tattersal at the Holy Redeemer. Tattersal arranged for the two men to meet with an attorney, Mr. W. Wannenburg, a member of the parish. Support that Thomas and Petersen received from Tattersal and Wannenburg who viewed himself as a liberal, significantly influenced the residents’ response to removal. Wannenberg lived near Tramway Road, in Avenue Alexander, in Fresnaye.

They came to see me. I didn’t know what it was about, on 18 September 1959 ... They brought with [them] a letter that all the tenants had received from the owners of the cottages. They were alarmed of course. They had one month to vacate. Slightly more than one month. They asked me to advise them, which I did.

An employee with Coulter and Company, a law firm, Wannenburg investigated the provisions of the GAA and on the 19th September met with the residents in St. Andrew’s Hall, in the Redeemer: “I informed them that the notice was legal and valid and that the Group Areas Act was an Act of Parliament and therefore they had to obey the law.” Unlike Mr. D. Omar whom the residents of Black River obtained as legal representation, Wannenburg abided completely by the GAA. Wannenburg advised the residents to form the Tramway Road Association (TRA) and in a constitution that he prepared, provided that the TRA would protect the interests of tenants and sub-tenants in the enclave. Persons present at the meeting nominated Thomas for Chair,

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32 Mr. A.B. in an interview with Mrs. D.B. 30/05/1997.
33 Cape Argus 23/09/1959.
34 Interview with Mr. W.W. 17/05/1998.
35 Interview with Mr. W.W. 17/05/1998.
37 Constitution of The Tramway Road Residents’ Association, Wannenburg Papers (Privately Held).
Petersen for Secretary and a Mr. Jacobs for Treasurer of the TRA. “The meeting was adjourned to the next day, Sunday, 20th September at 8:45 p.m.”38 Since having received notice to leave on the 16th, the threat of removal pre-occupied the lives of the residents.

At the meeting on the 20th, the TRA voted to apply for an extension of stay.39 Wannenburg agreed to represent the tenants at the GAB to request the extension. To obtain an extension Wannenburg aimed to argue that the residents had nowhere to go and the government should offer them a place to live. Though the government aimed to remove the residents, it did not offer the inhabitants alternative accommodation. Wannenburg believed the state would not effect removal unless the residents had another place to go and hoped to delay removal indefinitely. The residents of the enclave themselves surmised that an extension would allow for time to find other housing.40 The argument that Wannenburg decided to advance at the GAB was similar to that argued in the 1959-60 case in Durban of S.M. Lockhart et al versus the Minister of Interior.41

Responsibility to re-house people who had to vacate their home lay with the Group Areas Development Board (GADB), formerly the GAB.42 As part of its responsibility, the GADB recorded the number of properties that were affected by the Act, oversaw the sale of the properties and developed housing for displaced persons, especially those in the lower-income groups.43 In its Table Mountain Proclamation, the government did not provide that the GADB might oversee the sale of properties and house people who were displaced from the Table Mountain range. The government believed that, because of the real estate value of property on the mountain, the few affected properties located there would be sold at good prices. In not considering the housing needs of working-class tenants who lived in the affected properties, the government communicated its lack of regard for the black labouring class.

A permit to remain in a declared area could be obtained if applicants convinced Botha that ‘undue hardship’ would occur if removal proceeded.44 On 25th

38 Interview with Mr. W.W. 17/05/1998.
39 Cape Argus 26-09/1959.
40 Cape Argus 26-09/1959.
TRAMWAY ROAD DEPUTATION: Dr. H. van Rensburg, chairman of the Group Areas Board in Cape Town (right), in front of a Group Areas map of the Cape Peninsula with three members of the Tramway Road Association, who interviewed him about the areas into which they may move from Sea Point. They are, from left to right: Mr. J. Petersen, secretary of the association, Mr. N. Thomas (chairman), and Mr. J. L. Delport.

SOURCE: CAPE TIMES 16.10.1959
September, when a TRA deputation met with Botha and the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs, Dr. I.D. du Plessis, Wannenburg argued that undue hardship would occur if removal were not delayed. The matter of unavailable housing formed Wannenburg’s primary statement in his application for a reprieve for the TRA. Some time after the meeting with Botha and du Plessis, the TRA and Wannenburg met with Dr. J.F.J van Rensburg, the Chair of the Western Cape branch of the GAB.

On the evening of the 25th, approximately 100 residents and non-residents of the enclave attended a TRA meeting at the Holy Redeemer. Non-residents included members of the South African Coloured People’s Organisation (SACPO), the Liberal Party and two members of the Special Branch (a government agency). Formed in 1953 as alternative to the Non-European Unity Movement and the Coloured People’s National Union, SACPO (renamed the Coloured People’s Congress at the end of 1959) campaigned for the extension of the franchise to all South Africans and strongly opposed the GAA. The multi-racial Liberal Party espoused non-racialism and shared goals similar to that of the Black Sash, Civil Rights League and the South African Institute for Race Relations, other organisations that upheld white liberalism. Reverend Tattersal who convened the meeting, set a conservative tone when he stated that the residents viewed their predicament as a humanitarian issue and not a political matter. Tattersal added: “We won’t get anywhere with a political row.” Almost certainly owing to consultations with Wannenburg, the TRA feared that protest might affect their application for a permit. In this respect the conservative approach of the Church formed a complementary relationship with Wannenburg’s legal advice. Non-residents who hoped to speak against the removal were not permitted to voice their opposition. SACPO issued a statement that warned that more residents in the city would face removal unless people firmly opposed the GAA. SACPO stated their willingness to assist the residents of the enclave to defend

45 Cape Argus 26/09/1959.
46 Cape Argus 14/10/1959.
47 Cape Argus 26/09/1959.
48 Cape Times 26/09/1959.
49 New Age 01/10/1959.
52 Cape Argus 26/09/1959.
53 Cape Times 26/09/1959.
their homes. During the course of the meeting, a suggestion was made that the
Mayor of Cape Town, Mrs. J. Newton Thompson, be petitioned to hold a mass
meeting of ratepayers to discuss the removal. Since the TRA chose not to define
their notice to vacate as a political issue, it is unlikely that they agreed to involve the
mayor or accepted assistance from SACPO. The decision not to involve outside
organisations and individuals helped the TRA to control their process and terms of
resistance. The decision reiterated the conservative course of action that the
residents chose through their initial election of Thomas and Petersen. It also perhaps
expressed a sense of social and political powerlessness to effect change. The TRA’s
rejection of protest and demonstration perhaps also communicated a preference for
action that expressed respectability: rational legal argument and compliance with the
law.

On the 26th, in response to the meeting with Botha and du Plessis, the TRA
received an occupation permit for one year. The government also agreed to find the
residents another place to live. According to Mr. J. Delport, a former TRA
committee member, Wannenburg’s argument about the lack of alternative
accommodation in the city swayed Botha.

The interesting thing that happened there was after our meeting with
Mr. Botha, the National Party was up in arms with us. They said we
caused a very uproar in the department ... Because we went there to
find alternative accommodation for us. Because the people haven’t got
anywhere to go and they pushing us out. So he said ‘yes,’ he will
provide accommodation. We will not be moved. Not until alternative
accommodation is provided. And that was the wrong thing. He wasn’t
supposed to promise us that. Because now they couldn’t put us out.
Not until they gave us accommodation. So that was an error on his
part. But because we pressurised him he made that promise -- they
would not put us out. Not until alternative accommodation is given.

Botha consented to a reprieve until the residents obtained housing but did not stray
from the government’s goal to enforce the GAA throughout the city. On the evening

54 New Age 01/10/1959.
55 Cape Argus 26/09/1959.
57 Letter from the Department of the Interior, re: Permit No. 919/59, Wannenburg Papers (Privately Held) and
Cape Times 26/09/1959.
58 Cape Argus 26/09/1959.
59 Mr. J.D. in an interview with Mr. J.D. and Mrs. J.D. 14/06/1998.
of the 25th, the night before the residents received their permit, Botha publicly stated, “We are going to make Cape Town a place where the Coloured people live on one side and Europeans on the other.”60 Despite the obstacles they faced, the government aimed to realise its goal.

Also affected by the Table Mountain Proclamation, residents in Tamboerskloof and Newlands sought an extension of time.61 In 1953, in response to reports in the media that Tamboerskloof might be declared white, 24 residents of the area of Tamboerskloof where Coloureds resided, petitioned the government to exclude the Coloured area from white zoning.62 In 1959, some of the Coloured residents of Tamboerskloof received a one-year extension to sell their property.63 In response to the extension that the landlord of 10 Coloureds who resided at Stoney Place in Newlands sought, whites in Newlands petitioned the GADB to refuse a permit.64 Though the Newlands whites said they did not agree with the GAA and wanted rather to rid the area of Coloureds who behaved inappropriately, their actions mirrored the government’s abuse of power.

Unlike Wannenburg and the TRA, the Black Sash believed that the GAA need not be observed and that its provisions could be challenged.65 In keeping with its liberal ideals the Black Sash sought to support residents of Cape Town to oppose the GAA but in the case of Newlands was limited by its own sense of respectability. The Black Sash intended to oppose the removal of Stoney Place but withdrew support after it heard remarks about the behaviour of the Coloureds there. It is unknown if Stoney Place included Palmboom Road where the respected and politically active Dudley household lived.66 If the Black Sash enquired in Sea Point about the reputation of the residents of Tramway and Ilford streets, the Sash received favourable views. In support of Tramway Road, the Black Sash prepared to mobilise its Sea Point branch.67 The organisation softened its opposition, however, after Mrs. Stott, a member of the Black Sash met with Mr. Thomas, the Chair of the TRA, to

60 Cape Times 26/09/1959.
61 New Age 01/10/1959.
62 BEP G7/302 Vol. 5, “Petition to the Land Tenure Advisory Board.”
63 Cape Times 26/09/1959.
66 Bickford-Smith et al, Cape Town in the Twentieth Century, p. 131.
67 BC668 Minutes Camps Bay, Green and Sea Point Branch, 20/09/1956-06/03/1972, Meeting of 09/10/1959.
discuss a report in the *Cape Argus*. The *Argus* reported that Thomas said the residents of the enclave accepted that they had to leave Sea Point. The decision of the Black Sash to limit its protest to a letter or media statement suggested that Thomas rejected opposition. Given that Wannenburg had agreed to represent the enclave, it is almost certain that Thomas acted under Wannenburg’s advice. Though the Black Sash did not in the end openly protest against the removal of the enclave, it did include Tramway Road in *Notice to Quit*, a film that the organisation produced around 1960 to educate the public on the injustice of forced removals.

During the meeting that the TRA had with Botha and du Plessis and during subsequent meetings with the GADB, the TRA expressed its intent to co-operate with the government and comply with the GAA. Reflective of the legal course that the residents chose, the decisions to co-operate and comply was also conditional and motivated by fear. The *Cape Times* reported that Mr. Thomas said,

> There has been talk that if we do not get an extension we should resist, simply refuse to move and that is how we all feel deep inside. But if we do not go we can be fined, imprisoned or both.

Decision to comply with the law perhaps also arose out of a perception that if the residents agreed to removal they might obtain better housing.

Not all of the residents in the enclave belonged to the TRA. Mr. Barros did not join the association and the GAA prevented the membership of the residents who were identified as Indian: the Parker and Nathoo households and the male head of the Ramasammi unit. The Population Registration Act, 1950, included Indians in the category of Coloured but in 1951 the Group Areas Act created the separate classification of Asian, for people of Indian and Chinese origin. Wannenburg most probably advised the TRA on the restrictions to its membership. The Parker,
Ramasammi and Nathoo households each applied separately for a permit of extension. Mr. Parker applied for his first extension through his own lawyer but as with the Nathoo household, later received some assistance from the TRA.

It is unknown to what extent there occurred resistance to removal in the enclave. In the Cape Times Mr. Parker, who feared for the loss of his business, stated his intention to resist forced removal: “If I cannot get an extension, I must be thrown out.” Parker’s fear for his business resembled that of Indian traders in Pretoria and Durban. Since people were removed to newly developed areas that lacked adequate business infrastructure, traders lost the level of business they enjoyed in established suburbs. If Indian traders applied for and were granted an occupation permit, they were allowed to operate their shop in an area declared for a racial group other than their own. In his resistance to removal, Parker, a resident of Tramway Road for 50 years, objected to the view that he resided in the wrong group area and asserted his right to live where he had resided for half a century. In his endeavour to stay in Sea Point, Parker most assuredly received no support from the Green Point and Sea Point Ratepayers Association to which he belonged.

Mr. R. Paulsen recalled his own but limited resistance. Mr. Paulsen who “started becoming involved in politics” when he attended Trafalgar High School, supported resistance but as a young adult, held little or no influence in the decision-making of adults.

As youngsters we didn’t [want] our parents to play a passive role. We expected them to be more sterner in their decisions. Most probably we had militant ideas. They were negotiating with the group areas to remain there, to get a reprieve to stay a little bit longer. We said no, there are other avenues we can follow. We couldn’t go up against our

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74 Cape Argus 23/09/1959. A Cape Times 27/01/1960 report stated that Parker obtained an extension with the assistance of the TRA.
75 Cape Times 27/01/1960.
76 Cape Times 23/09/1959.
77 Horrell, A Survey of Race Relations, 1957-58, p. 95.
80 Cape Argus 26/09/1959.
81 Cape Times 16/10/1959.
82 Receipt for membership fee paid to the Green Point and Sea Point Ratepayers Association, 1957-1960, District Six Museum Archives.
83 Cape Times 14/06/1957.
parents. But we blamed them. Afterwards we blamed them for allowing the white people to dominate and not to show any concrete resistance to their decisions. So strong was the family bond. Great respect [for] the parents and the father figure, the head ...[We,] the youngsters at that time, the young people, we thought they were selling us out because they should have put more resistance, create a resistance ...Everything about like religion played a very important role in the family life and they would say that alles sal reg kom [everything will be right]. Because they believed that God was on their side.84

The main themes in the above excerpt are that of an informed and resistant youth whose ideals were tempered by the hierarchy of the household and the passivity and religious faith of adults. Mr. Paulsen suggested that young adults who were too young to influence decisions about removal perceive that they might have substantially altered the outcome of events. Faith in deliverance, the support of Reverend Tattersal, Thomas and Petersen’s position in the Redeemer and Wannenburg’s legal advice, reflected the depth to which faith and the TRA’s legal representation influenced the organisation’s response to removal. Wannenburg advised the TRA to abide by the law because he perceived that they had no option but to comply with the state:

They were a small community with the power of the state against them. When the dice was loaded the most they could do was take advantage of a loophole or any kind of concession. They had to do the best under the circumstances. They were of course poor people. I certainly couldn’t advise them to follow any path of resistance because that would have led to nowhere.85

Though resistance to the GAA in Cape Town did occur, Wannenburg was aware of the government’s response to resistance.86 If the TRA had accepted the help of organisations such as SACPO and the Black Sash, it is unlikely that it would have achieved effective resistance. In the early 1950s, the state demonstrated its intention to quell resistance to apartheid.87 In November 1952, in response to the Defiance Campaign that began in June, the state introduced regulations to control meetings and quash protest. The Criminal Law Amendment, 1953, made it illegal to protest or support protest against the law.

84 Interview with Mr. R.P. 06/06/1997.
85 Interview with Mr. W.W. 17/05/1998.
86 Bickford-Smith, et al Cape Town in the Twentieth Century pp. 159-167.
87 Bickford-Smith, et al Cape Town in the Twentieth Century, p. 166.
Though Thomas publicly agreed to compliance, he almost assuredly did not do so as Mesthrie suggested, for the promise of material gain (schools, churches and business rights) in an area demarcated for Coloureds. The extended kin history of Thomas’ wife, Mary, nee Paulsen, was decades-old in the enclave and Thomas almost certainly perceived that any material gain the might be forthcoming would not offset the economic losses and emotional strain that the residents’ sensed would occur through removal. Thomas’ compliance represented the guidance of the Church, advice of Wannenburg and his own agreement with a conservative approach. Oral histories suggested that foremost in the minds of the residents was not what they might gain from removal but the threat of what they stood to lose: habitation with and close to kin, means of livelihood, proximity to work and identity with the enclave and suburb. Furthermore, during segregation and the early years of apartheid though Coloureds benefited from their elevated status vis-a-vis Africans, they were aware of their oppression by whites and this almost certainly stimulated to a suspicion in the promises of whites, especially those who had just disenfranchised Coloureds and who now sought to remove Coloureds from their homes in an established suburb to the bush and sand of an undeveloped area of the Cape Flats.

The notice to vacate affected how residents of Tramway and Ilford streets perceived their society. With respect to her parental household, Mrs. G. Eyssen (nee Thomas) said,

We weren’t worried about apartheid. And then just as we grew up and then when they told us we had to move it was a different story. Then was it now but why must we move out here then to there so far and my father said ‘No, this is the government that wants us to move.’ I said ‘But all the years we went to the mountain we went to the beach we went everywhere we went to Ceres. There the Boer didn’t chase us away or anything like that.’ I said, ‘Pa, hoe kom moet ons nou hier uitrek?’ [Dad, why must we move out here now?] Nobody interfered with us.’ He said, ‘No, we got to move. Now this is for white people.’ Then we only really realised what is apartheid.

During segregation the ability of Coloureds to move about freely on natural landscapes and across municipal borders induced a sense of freedom. The blatant

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89 Interview with Mrs. G.E. 10/06/1998.
restrictions that the GAA imposed highlighted the racialisation of skin colour and the more intense impositions that Coloureds faced under apartheid.

To re-house people who faced removal in Cape Town under the GAA, the GADB sought the co-operation of the Cape Town City Council. The GADB wanted to re-house people in some of the dwellings that the city built in Bonteheuwel on the Cape Flats for its housing development program. The city council initiated the program after a University Housing Survey revealed a shortage of 12,000 houses in Cape Town. The approximately 1,000 residents of Tamboerskloof, Sea Point and Newlands who were affected by the GAA added to the number of households that required housing. In 1959, more than 50 households, approximately 300 people, resided in Tramway and Ilford streets.

The city council initially opposed the GAA but opposition diminished when the GADB threatened to invoke its power to control the housing program. Approximately 352 hectares in size, Bonteheuwel stood to become a vast township for Coloureds. People who were forcibly removed under the Act were to occupy 20 percent of the houses in Bonteheuwel. Since people who were being removed from their homes would receive new dwellings in the township, the government argued that removal would improve housing conditions in Cape Town. This and other argument about the advantage of removal defined the government's campaign of propaganda.

The rural-like and strikingly newly-built environment of Bonteheuwel (discussed in Chapter 8) contrasted with the urban and established suburb of Sea Point. Residents considered the former "a godforsaken place." Of probable relocation to Bonteheuwel, Mr. R. Paulsen said,

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90 Cape Town City Council Minutes, September 1959-August 1960, p. 507. Also see Mesthrie, “The Tramway Road Removals,” for more discussion on how the government dealt with having to house disqualified people.
91 New Age 01/10/1959.
93 New Age 01/10/1959.
98 Cape Town City Council Minutes, September 1959-August 1960, p. 1768.
100 Cape Argus 02/06/1959.
101 Interview with Mr. R.P. 06/06/1997.
That added fear into the community that the only place you could go to was Bonteheuwel. Bonteheuwel brought the very name Bonteheuwel, *egad. oo*. My mother was quite upset. Bonteheuwel. I thought she thought it was the end of the world. The fear was in the people and Bonteheuwel at that time had quite a reputation. Largely undeveloped, and distant from Sea Point, where most residents worked, Bonteheuwel provoked worry for economic well-being and personal safety. Located on a bushy and sandy plain, the name “Bonteheuwel” conjured images founded on its geographic distance and isolation from Cape Town, its undeveloped environment and poor transport link to the urban centre.

The threat of removal brought with it unsettling perceptions: loss of homes, deeper economic hardship, increased distance from work, loss of employment and separation from friends and kin. Upon receipt of their notices to vacate, residents expressed shock, dismay, bewilderment, distraction and disbelief. Thomas hinted at the depth to which the notices unsettled the inhabitants when he said, “No one can ever know what a terrible thing this is until it actually hits you ... we are afraid and confused. Everyone wakes up and goes to sleep asking himself [sic]: What shall I do? Where can I go? Can’t anyone help me?” Uncertainty, a sense of helplessness and in the face of no apparent solution, a sense of abandonment and isolation pervaded the enclave. If is unfortunate that the TRA’s chosen course of action prevented them from receiving support from anti-group areas organisations than might have eased the turmoil in Tramway and Ilford streets.

The most public evidence of turmoil in the enclave was associated with a 35-year resident of Tramway Road, Mr. F. Mitchell. Mitchell worried what would become of his family and became a recluse. Traumatised by his notice to leave, 58 year-old Mitchell underwent emotional and physical changes and required medical attention. Mrs. D. Barros (née Mitchell) said,

The old man became so depressed at the time. He couldn’t eat, he couldn’t sleep. He just went off every thing. Everything. He just was not interested in anything ... It was about Melvin’s 21. Melvin was 21 in September. He was there to give him the key and after that, he took his leave in October from work. He always used to take leave to paint

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102 Interview with Mr. R.P. 06/06/1997.
103 *Cape Argus* 23/09/1959.
104 *Cape Times* 23/09/1959.
his house. He liked that and his garden. That year he didn’t do the house. He got someone to do it.\(^{106}\)

On November 3\(^{rd}\) 1959, Mitchell left his home and did not return.\(^{107}\) Mitchell committed suicide and his body was later found hung in a tree at Sambreelbos, where he visited when he sought solitude.\(^{108}\) Residents of the enclave blamed the GAA for Mitchell’s death.\(^{109}\) Mitchell’s suicide expressed the depth of despair in the enclave. The affect of Mitchell’s suicide reverberated throughout the enclave. Mr. R. Paulsen said,

> That really shook the whole community. Shook it right down to the core ... Because at first they still had hope. There was quite a lot of hope that we are not going to – we’re going to outlive eviction. Getting a reprieve every time, staying longer, and staying longer. But when that. Okay, it became inevitable that the writing was on the wall. Gone were the ... children used to play still in the road and there was still shouting and laughing but after that there was a complete change. Like a whole transformation. Most probably a realisation, “Hey, that’s it, we are going to be moved.” And look what happened. Because he had quite a position in the community. Respected, well liked. If this is what eviction does to somebody like that what’s wrong with me?\(^{110}\)

Hope that had existed among the residents that their removal might not only be delayed but overturned, vanished. Through his suicide Mitchell communicated a grim disbelief in the future. Since friendship and kin ties linked everyone to each other to some degree, the entire enclave grieved Mitchell’s death.

For residents who had little or no resources to find other housing, the TRA fulfilled an important function. The organisation sought to find a residential area to where residents could move as a unit. Due to their ties of kin, marriage and friendship, the majority of residents wanted to reside near to each other.\(^{111}\) For the convenience of travel to work, the people sought a residence as close to Sea Point as possible. To prevent another forced removal, the residents sought to move to Kensington.
Proclaimed for Coloureds in 1958, Kensington lay closest to Sea Point than any other Coloured area on the Cape Flats.112 (See Figure 5.)

Residents who were able to obtain housing independent of the TRA left the enclave when they found another residence. Movement out of the enclave towards and after the end of 1959 exposed a lack of cohesion. A lack of cohesion occurred partly because the residents, the adults in particular, were traumatised and lacked the means to support each other. The crisis of forced removal was unlike any other event that the residents had experienced together. Decisions to move independent of the TRA, also expressed a sense of urgency to obtain housing.113 By the time the TRA received its one-year extension in September 1959, seventeen residents had already applied to the city for housing.114

The new residential areas to where people went towards the end of 1959 and beginning of 1960 expressed how, on the whole, residents would be dispersed. The extended household of Mr. C. Paulsen moved to Observatory, an area that the government had yet to proclaim under the GAA.115 In November, the occupants of 8 Tramway Road, the Essyens, moved to Woodstock. By the end of January 1960, Mr. N. Gales, was one the six Tramway Road and Ilford Street families that had moved.116 Mr. Gales obtained a house in Steenberg and convinced Mrs. A. Davis and her husband to move with him: “and so we decided to go.”117 Outside some of the four dwellings that stood empty in the enclave, landlords posted ‘to let’ signs.118 The signs communicated an insensitivity to people who faced forced removal. By February, at least one household obtained a council dwelling in Retreat.119 Threatened with immediate eviction from the enclave, when offered a council house in Athlone or Retreat, the male head of the household chose the latter.

To find housing for the 48 households that remained in the enclave, in February the TRA requested assistance from the city council.120 The households normally would have been added to the city housing waiting list and housed before

112 Cape Times 16-10/1959.
113 Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, p. 281.
114 Cape Argus 26/09/1959.
116 Cape Times 27/01/1960.
117 Mrs. A.D. in an interview with Mrs. A.D. Mrs. P.J. and Mrs. E.W. 26/06 1998.
118 Cape Times 27/01/1960.
the expiration of the September 1959 permit. However, the priority of council to house people who were uprooted for the new Eastern Boulevard meant that no housing would be available for two to three years. The priority to house people who were affected by the Eastern Boulevard had deep consequences for the residents of the enclave. They became more reliant on the national state for housing.

Forced removals created competitive conditions for housing where Coloureds could live, and encouraged unscrupulous activity. Around mid-1960 Mr. C. Paulsen, who had vacated to Observatory decided to purchase a house after the household had to leave the premises that they rented there. The Paulsens could not easily afford to buy property but the decision to buy most probably occurred out of a need for a sense of permanence. Mr. Paulsen paid a deposit on a dwelling but lost his money in a fraudulent scheme. The affect of the GAA on the housing market in areas where Coloureds and Indians could live could be the subject of future research.

In at least two cases, when a dwelling became vacant in Tramway Road, residents of the enclave who shared a dwelling but sought housing of their own moved into the vacated unit. Landlords who permitted this activity contravened the law. In November 1959, after the Eyssens moved from 8 Tramway Road to Woodstock, Mrs. D. Barros’ marital household moved from 7 Tramway Road to Number 8. In keeping with the practice of transmission in the enclave, the Eyssens transmitted their dwelling to their kin, Mrs. Barros. Mr. E. Collins moved into 1 Tramway Cottage sometime after the Smiths left. Mr. Collins obtained permission to occupy the dwelling from his wife’s employer at the Kingsbury Hotel. To secure the cottage, Mr. Collins installed 12 windowpanes. The electricity department refused to supply electricity.

In September 1960, before the occupation permit that the TRA received in 1959 expired, Wannenburg applied for a second extension. The primary argument

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129 City of Cape Town City Council Papers, Letter from the Secretary of the TRA, 8 February, 1960.
130 CT L·t8;3 9/20. Cape Argus 12/09/1960. Compared to 1959, the number of advertisements by Coloureds who sought housing in 1960 and 1961 increased. People who proposed to find housing for Coloureds who faced eviction from declared areas, also placed ads. For example, a Cape Argus 12/09/1960 advertisement read. “Able and anxious about assisting non-Europeans who have plots in European area.”
122 Mr. Collins said Mrs. Collins’ employer was the landlord of 1 Tramway Cottage. Deeds records, Wannenburg Papers and newspapers of the time identify Ilford Investments as the landlord. It might be that Mrs. Collins’ employer was a member of Ilford Investments.
123 Cape Times 17 04/1961.
for a second application reiterated that the lack of available housing in the city meant that residents had nowhere to go. The GADB granted a second one-year reprieve.\footnote{Mesthrie. "The Tramway Road Removals," p. 68.}

Despite the reprieves, the threat of removal weighed heavily and a sombre mood pervaded the enclave.\footnote{Cape Times 17/01/1961.} The number of empty dwellings in the enclave increased when households who had found housing left. In April 1961, five months before their second permit expired, residents who remained feared they would not receive a third extension.\footnote{Cape Times 17/04/1961.} Towards June, housing in Bonteheuwel neared completion and in July, some of the residents visited the township to view the dwellings.\footnote{Cape Times 13/07/1961.} The availability of housing in Bonteheuwel meant that Wannenburg's argument had lost its effectiveness. Bonteheuwel lay approximately 15 kilometres from the Cape Town railway station and to Ms. B. Jacobs, the township seemed like a distant land.\footnote{Hitner and Jenkin. Spotlight on Bonteheuwel. p. 8.}

\textit{Ja, when we moved here it was -- like bly in die [staying in the] country. It was really far, travelling. Jene, -- now it's not so far. But that time. Oh, (Ms. Jacobs whistles). I mean the first time we came to look at the place, I thought we’d never get here, man. Honestly.}

The importance with which the state regarded race and its sub-text of class, meant that the housing in Bonteheuwel represented economic and sub-economic structures, considered suitable for working-class Coloureds. The building instructions for the dwellings did not specify the installation of baths and internal doors for any of the houses in Bonteheuwel and the City requested permission from the National Housing Committee to install these features in the economic units.\footnote{Cape Town City Council Minutes. September 1959-August 1960. p. 2088.} The construction of class and race in the houses in Bonteheuwel, produced a residential place that Mr. Barros found more suitable for horses.

\textit{I brought us out here to check the places where we will come and stay ...The houses on the corner of Jakkelsvlei and Bonteheuwel. The houses were incomplete still. That's a couple of months before we moved out. When we got here, they had the mayor here, administrators here. I walked in, see the place like this. I said 'you taking us out of...}
luxury and putting us in stables.' At that time it weren't houses it was stables...It was raw still.\textsuperscript{130}

On 11th July, the TRA met to discuss the housing in Bonteheuwel. Forty-six residents attended the meeting.\textsuperscript{131} Too small rooms, rough construction, the distance from town, the expense to travel to Sea Point for work, the effect of travel costs on income and inadequate schools, formed some of the criticisms that residents raised. A Mr. Mitchell motioned to reject moving to Bonteheuwel and the rest of the TRA unanimously carried the motion. The decision marked a poignant moment in solidarity among the residents in their resistance to removal and rejection of Bonteheuwel.

The solidarity, however, was short lived. By August 24\textsuperscript{th} half of the 53\textsuperscript{132} Coloured households in the enclave accepted that they had to leave Sea Point.\textsuperscript{133} However, residents endeavoured to avoid Bonteheuwel. Ms. B. Jacobs, her sister and her mother hoped to find housing in residential areas near the urban centre where Coloureds lived: “We thought we could find a place somewhere nearer. But there was no place nearer. District Six was still there. But District Six was full up. Somerset Road was full up. Those people not thinking that their turn would come.”\textsuperscript{134} The implementation of the GAA in different residential areas, and at different times, produced an artificial sense of security among blacks who lived in areas that had not been declared and thwarted widespread resistance and unity. At least one Tramway Road household used the media to find housing. On 6 July 1961, the occupants of 10 Tramway Road, a “respectable Coloured family,” advertised to rent a two-room house in District Six or the area of Woodstock and Salt River.\textsuperscript{135} The occupants of Number 10 left the enclave around August.\textsuperscript{136} One other resident found a dwelling through word of mouth. An employee of the electrical department in Tramway Road, Mr. De Monk heard of two houses for sale in Kensington through a co-worker. De Monk purchased one of the houses wherein his sister-in-law and daughter’s households currently reside.

\textsuperscript{130} Mr. A.B. in an interview with Mrs. D.B. 30/05/1997.
\textsuperscript{131} Minutes of Meeting of Tramway Road Residents’ Association, 11 July 1961, Wannenburg Papers (Privately Held).
\textsuperscript{132} A Cape Times 27 01/1960 article reported that in January 1960, 24 families remained in Tramway Road.
\textsuperscript{133} Cape Times 24 08/1961.
\textsuperscript{134} Ms. B.J. in an interview with Ms. B.J. and Ms. L.J. 30/05/1997.
\textsuperscript{135} Cape Argus 06 07/1961.
The response of the residents' employers to the removal of the enclave, varied. While there were employers who expressed mere sympathy others helped their employees significantly. The employers of Mrs. L. Whittaker and Mrs. Barros expressed sympathy and regret. Oral histories suggest that sympathy and regret did not necessarily transform into a more concerted opposition to the GAA. It is possible that some whites in Sea Point might have joined in earnest the protest that the Black Sash had withdrawn. However, given the re-housing programme that the municipality began during the inter-war years, it is possible that many whites in the suburb agreed with the view that Coloureds should live outside of, and distant from, areas where whites resided. The complaint that provoked a group areas inspector to undertake the removal of residents from Tramway and Ilford streets itself indicated a desire to remove Coloureds from Sea Point. In a letter to the editor of the Cape Times, at least one presumably white resident of Sea Point, Mr. A. Shifrin, expressed his support for the removal of the enclave in Tramway Road. It is unknown whether the Shifrin who wrote to the Cape Times was the same person who acted as Secretary of Ilford Investments.

At least three employers significantly helped their employees. Mr. Grossy (mentioned earlier) helped his employee, Mr. Barros, to obtain a one-year extension. The Union Castle Company, a British firm, expressed its opposition to the GAA when the firm provided its employee, Mr. F. Mitchell, with a lawyer, Mr. T. Walters, from Findlay and Tait in Cape Town. Mr. M. Mitchell said,

Union Castle was a very good company. With [the] crisis in Tramway Road they even provided the lawyers for my father in his state. Trying to find another place to stay in, you know, trying to write letters to the council or whoever to stop this business.

Evidence suggests that in keeping with his profession, Mr. Walters worked independently from Mr. Wannenburg and his clients. The Union Castle Company also aided the Mitchell household to find a new residence. Mr. M. Mitchell said,

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136 Wannenburg survey sheet for 10 Tramway Road states that the occupants had left by August. Wannenburg Papers (Privately Held).
137 Letter to the Editor, Cape Times 14/10/1959.
138 Letter to Mr. J. Arendse from A. Shifrin, Secretary of Ilford Investments. 16.09.1959.
139 Findlay and Tait files for the period 1957-1961 have been destroyed. Letter from T.B. McIntosh, Findlay and Tait. 02.06.2000.
140 Interview with Mr. M.M. 07/11/1997.
They even advertised in the paper in the smalls [classifieds] of the Argus 'isn't there any white people willing to swap with the Coloured people' you know that is in the same predicament so that we can just swap houses.\(^{141}\)

The advertisement called on whites who lived in areas such as Kensington that was proclaimed Coloured, to exchange dwellings with the Mitchell household. Such an exchange might have alleviated the added emotional hardship in the Mitchell home since the death of Mr. F. Mitchell. However the advertisement did not bring about any response. After Mr. F. Mitchell's death, Union Castle also acted to arrest the probability of economic hardship through the loss of the income that Mr. F. Mitchell earned. Mr. M. Mitchell, the son of Mr. F. Mitchell and who worked with the firm was trained and promoted by Union Castle to work in a position similar to the one his father held.

The owner of the Bay Bridge Hotel, Mr. B. Miller purchased a house in Kensington for his employee, Mr. N. Ramasammi.\(^{142}\) Located in a relatively well-established residential area and close to Sea Point, the house allayed anxiety about the future well being of the household. The aid and generosity of employers emphasised that though some whites supported the GAA other whites opposed it and used their resources to reduce the extent to which removal affected Coloureds to whom they were relatively close.

In September 1961, armed with a residential, employment and economic profile of the residents that he and his wife conducted, Wannenburg applied for a third one-year extension.\(^{143}\) Wannenburg hoped the GADB would grant each request for a permit and that over time the enthusiasm of the state for the GAA would diminish: "We were hoping to postpone and postpone matters."\(^{144}\) Wanneburg's primary argument continued to focus on a lack of suitable housing in the city. Bonteheuwel and its housing did not satisfy or meet the needs of the residents. Residents who

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\(^{141}\) Interview with Mr. M.M. 07/11/1997. Of the advertisements in the classifieds of the Cape Argus about exchanging a residence in a European area for housing in a Coloured area, no advertisement referred specifically to Sea Point or stated the residence of Mr. F.M. as a place of contact. It might be that the Union Castle Company administration placed the office telephone number as a place of contact.

\(^{142}\) Personal communication with Mrs. F. Michell, 25/11/2001.

\(^{143}\) A social worker formerly employed with the General Board of Aid in Cape Town, Mrs. M. Wannenburg collected the majority of the data through personal visits to households. The data sheets are undated but the age in 1961 of people who participated in oral history interviews and dates on two sheets confirm that Mrs. Wannenburg collected the data circa August 1961.
remained in the enclave wanted to reside in Kensington but the city did not build new housing there. The residents also could ill afford the cost of moving.\textsuperscript{145}

The practical argument that Wannenburg presented to the GADB had little effect on Mr. Nel, the Chair of the GADB. The government had conceded to the requests for delay because it had had no housing to offer the residents.\textsuperscript{146} Since housing had been erected in Bonteheuwel, the state intended to carry out removal without much further delay. Nel responded that if residents could not afford the cost to move at present, they would unlikely be able to afford the costs in the future. This, Nel inferred, justified that removal should proceed without much further delay. Nel added that accommodation was unlikely to be available in Kensington in a year’s time\textsuperscript{147} and some residents had already moved to Bonteheuwel.\textsuperscript{148} The move of some former tenants of the enclave to Bonteheuwel meant that other people of Tramway and Ilford streets should go there too.

The GADB granted the residents a third occupation permit for just over two months. Residents had until 30 November 1961 to vacate the enclave.\textsuperscript{149} The residents viewed the three-month permit as their final reprieve. The government had stated that removal would not occur until housing became available and upon the completion of housing in Bonteheuwel the TRA had lost its leverage: “We hung on as long as we could and when accommodation became available they no longer had a proposal for extension and had to go to Bonteheuwel.”\textsuperscript{150}

Owing to their circumstances, Mr. N. Ramasammi and Mrs. A. Harris submitted their own applications to the GADB. Classified “Indian,” Mr. Ramasammi requested to reside with his household of whom the children were classified as “Coloured.”\textsuperscript{151} For some time after he vacated the enclave, Mr. Ramasammi lived at his workplace, the Bay Bridge Hotel in Sea Point while his wife lived in Claremont and their two young sons resided in Kensington under the care of former Tramway Road residents, Mr. and Mrs Whittaker. If forced to vacate, Mrs. Harris, a dressmaker,

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{interview} Interview with Mr. W.W. 17/05/1998.
\bibitem{argument} “Argument.” Wannenburg Papers (Privately Held), undated.
\bibitem{mesthrie} Mesthrie, “The Tramway Road Removals.”
\bibitem{capeargus} Cape Argus 14/09/1961.
\bibitem{capetimes} Cape Times 15/09/1961.
\bibitem{letter} Letter from the Group Areas Board. 27/10/1961, Wannenburg Papers (Privately Held).
\bibitem{interview2} Interview with Mr. W.W. 17/05/1998.
\bibitem{capeargus2} Cape Argus 15/09/1961.
\end{thebibliography}
wished to occupy her premises in Tramway Road for business purposes because whites were her clientele. The Board denied Mrs. Harris’ request.

The departure of the first household to Bonteheuwel represented a victory for the government. According to Ms. M. Morta, the occupants of 10 Tramway Cottage, the household of Mr. C. Lawrence was the first to leave for Bonteheuwel. Mrs. Lawrence, the female head of the home was Ms. Morta’s aunt. The departure occurred some time after a visit from a group areas inspector. Employed to carry out the functions of the Board, inspectors held sweeping powers. Inspectors could enter, examine and enquire about premises without notice and at any time, request people to show relevant documents, examine and copy documents and ask for an explanation of entries, question any person on premises affected by the Act and have individuals appear at a set place on a matter concerning the Act. Inspectors could also decide if individuals complied with the Act. When entering premises an inspector was permitted to be accompanied by a member of the South African Police. Most probably unaware of conditions that affected the meeting between Mrs. Lawrence and the group areas inspector who visited Number 10, Ms. Morta identified moral character and material goals as the reason for her aunt’s departure from the enclave.

They went to the weakest link of the chain. If they came to somebody else they went to a woman who had the most children so we don’t know what they told her but my uncle wasn’t satisfied. But here the lorry came and she’s determined because she’s going to have a three-bedroom house with a dining room, a kitchen, a bathroom and a garden and a big yard. Thinking it’s going to be like the madam’s house.

The description of women as weak with the weakest being a mother of several children (Mrs. Lawrence had 10), expressed internalised sexism and belief in the base morality of females. Another description of the type of events to which Mrs. Lawrence might have been exposed, underscored how inspectors sabotaged the TRA and targeted residents who had the least experience with state authorities.

The government tricked the people. [The residents] decided on Friday night they were not going to move – they’ll have to throw them out.

152 Cape Argus 15.09.1961.
155 Interview with Ms. M.M. 16/05/1997.
On the Monday they [the state] sent a policeman and a guy with a nice suit and a little briefcase to the housewives while the husbands were at work. Naturally they were scared and intimidated by the sight of the police and signed the papers. By the time the IRA heard about it, it was too late. They knew another meeting with Botha would be pointless.

Documents that the women signed bound them and their households to vacate at the earliest possible date. When informed about the documents Wannenburg almost certainly advised the TRA of their legality. By obtaining the signed papers the inspectors subverted the position of power that the members of the TRA possessed through their refusal to go to Bonteheuwel. In as much as the signed documents expressed a submission to authority, they also expressed the women’s insecurity that their households might lose the right to live in Bonteheuwel and that they would be forced onto the street. As the aforementioned quote that appeared in the Cape Argus in 1997 emphasised, the signing of the documents is one of the memories that surfaces in relation to the removal of the enclave. It is a memory that casts females as responsible for the final fate of the residents of Tramway and Ilford streets. It is striking that under the leadership of Thomas, the TRA’s compliance with the GAA is not equally criticised as contributing to the removal.

The measures that the state used to vacate Tramway and Ilford streets, a largely Coloured enclave, contrasted with the methods used to remove Africans. Before dawn on 9 February 1955, 80 trucks and 2,000 armed police descended on Sophiatown to remove Africans to Meadowlands in the former Transvaal. By October 1959, more than 1,000 Africans who had lived in Sophiatown were homeless and, in order to obtain housing from the Resettlement Board, had to prove their right to be housed. At 5 a.m. in late November 1955, close to 500 police in 100 cars descended on Windermere to remove ‘single’ Africans to Langa.

Residents of Tramway and Ilford streets who had not consented to vacate to Bonteheuwel, or had not received a visit from state authorities, witnessed the departure of their neighbours with a sense of foreboding: “You would hear that that

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person is moving out. You see them moving out. That cottage is empty.”

Households that moved left behind a sense of defeat. An awareness of the jail sentence and fine they risked if they remained in the enclave after 30th November forced the residents who remained to go to Bonteheuwel and elsewhere. Mrs. D. Barros said, “We couldn’t manage to buy a place like other people. We had to take what we got …I moved (to Bonteheuwel) in September, that year.”

To ensure the safe transport of their belongings to Bonteheuwel, the Jacobs household of Beeston, Ilford Street hired Mr. Honeycomb, a furniture remover who lived in King’s Road. Union Castle provided transport for the Mitchell household. Some residents accepted the use of a government army jeep. The jeeps made two trips per household to the township. While the movement to Bonteheuwel proceeded, households such as that of Mrs. J. Delport remained firm in their resistance to removal to the township: “We said we not going. We don’t want a house in Bonteheuwel. They can’t force us to take it.”

Though Mrs. Delport stated that her household rejected Bonteheuwel it might be that the unit could not go there. Mr. Delport worked as an insurance salesman and the Delport household income might have exceeded the criteria of eligibility for Bonteheuwel (discussed below). The Delports moved to Heath Road in Black River, Rondebosch from where they experienced another removal in 1970 (discussed in Chapter 8).

To obtain residence in Bonteheuwel people had to meet certain criteria. A household had to earn a total income of less than R140 per month. Households that earned R140 or more a month had to obtain a dwelling elsewhere. A nuclear domestic unit was regarded as a household. An extended household could not reside as a domestic unit without special permission. The houses themselves were constructed only for small nuclear households. The income of the household head determined the type of housing that a household could rent.

To obtain a dwelling in Bonteheuwel, the would-be occupant could not be employed “sporadically.” For this reason, Mrs. Valentine was ineligible for a house

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161 Interview with Mr. R.P. 06/06/1997.
162 Interview with Mrs. D.B. 09/05/1997.
163 Mrs. J.D. in an interview with Mrs. J.D. and Mr. J.D. 14/06/1998.
164 Mestrie, “The Tramway Road Removals,” p. 75.
165 To find printed matter on the criteria to obtain housing in Bonteheuwel in 1961, I enquired at the Cape Town Municipal Reference Library and telephoned the Bonteheuwel Housing Office and the archives and housing departments of the Tygerberg Municipality with which Bonteheuwel amalgamated. I obtained no printed matter but received the brief information presented here during personal communication on 03/04/2000 with Mr. Mike
in Bonteheuwel. Mr. Valentine was unemployed and Mrs. Valentine worked as a domestic worker. As discussed in Chapter 4, Mrs. Valentine worked for the Connolly and Thompson households for many years. The frequency of Mrs. Valentine’s job, however, did not satisfy the criteria necessary to rent a house in Bonteheuwel. Mrs. Valentine had to rely on her daughter, Mrs. A. Jacobs, then single and a nurse, to rent a dwelling for the household.

If you didn’t have a stable job where you earning you couldn’t own [sic] a house in Bonteheuwel ... My mother couldn’t get a house ... I had to sign [for the house]. Because I was the one that had a permanent job ... And the house was then on my name.166

Households in a situation similar to that of the Valentine home but that did not include a member who held “stable” employment faced a difficult situation. This type of situation and others most probably made the heads of households feel inadequate in fulfilling their role expectations.

During their time of departure, residents expressed their profound grief. Mrs. D. Moses remembered her mother, Mrs. Lambert, before the household left for Bonteheuwel.

Me and my sister and brothers, we shifting furniture ‘where must this go, where must that go?’ My mother’s sitting and crying. She’s moving tomorrow. She’s moving out of here.167

By packing up around her, members of the household communicated their support for and understanding of their mother.

The Phillips household left Tramway Road to live in Silvertown. Mr. Phillips obtained a house in Silvertown from the City Council because he worked for the municipality. Mrs. Phillips remembered “But the day when I we had to move out there it was bitter. I cried, my children cried, my husband cried. Oo we cried a lot.”168 The memory of removal from Tramway Road is overwhelmed with grief.

Kihn a city council employee. Mr. Kihn worked in the area of finances during the development of Bonteheuwel.

No records relevant to this thesis on housing in Bonteheuwel were among the Cape Town Council papers.

166 Mrs. A.J. in an interview with Mrs. A.J. and Mr. D.J. 16/06/1998.
167 Interview with Mrs. D.M. 10/06/1998.
168 Interview with Mrs. V.P. 07/08/1997.
Mr. B. Eyssen remembered his grandmother’s grief before departure on 1st December 1961 for Portavue (now Greenhaven) where his grandfather, Mr. Thomas purchased a house from the GADB. Out of concern for senior and infirm members of the enclave, Thomas and other committee members were among the last to leave Tramway Road.

I can still remember my granny. She wouldn’t leave. We had to pack everything around her. She sat in the kitchen and she was the last to leave. She didn’t help us pack. She just sat there on the chair, behind all the tiles while we were packing the stuff out of the house all around her. And when the last thing went out then she got up and she got in the car and she left.

The grief that Mrs. Paulsen expressed resembled the sombre mood of the household in Horstely Street in District Six in the 1980s.

Towards the end of November, the majority of dwellings in the enclave stood empty. Tramway Road had become a ‘ghost road’ and vandals occupied the dwellings. Mrs. F. Wepener, Mr. D. De Vos, Mrs. D. Lawrence and Mr. A. Parker were among the residents whose households remained in the enclave. Mrs. Wepener had resigned herself to vacate to Bonteheuwel: “We are moving to Bonteheuwel. None of us are at all happy about it, but what else can we do?” Mrs. Lawrence’s nuclear unit, who according to Table 6 earned more than R140 per month and was thus ineligible for housing in Bonteheuwel, hoped to find housing in Salt River or Walmer Estate. On November 30th Mrs. Lawrence obtained a house for rent in Waterloo Road, Lansdowne.

I walked the whole of Lansdowne ... that Friday night there was so many people. There was a queue. It was two houses and in the one house the landlord lived ...I had to stand in the queue and by the time that all those people were interviewed it was past ten o’clock ...the landlord said, ‘You can’t move in now or tomorrow. It will only be ready around about the 15th of December. Because the floors have to be done ...and they have to do quite a lot of work to the house.’ I said,
'Don’t worry about that. Just take the money for the rent and tell me if I can move in tomorrow.' That night we slept on the floor the Saturday when we moved in. We couldn’t put up the bed because they had to come and do the floors ... There were no windows in that front door. I had to pile all the boxes up against the window. I couldn’t unlock the door because the lock was broken. The kitchen door had no windowpane, no electricity. 

For some time after her parents and siblings moved to Lansdowne, for the convenience of travel to work, Mrs. Lawrence’s daughter stayed with friends in Woodstock.

On 1\textsuperscript{st} December, 10 of the 12 households that remained in Tramway Road left.\textsuperscript{177} As a symbol of their grief the residents hung a South African flag at half-mast on a lamppost.\textsuperscript{178} Mrs. Sheldon (formerly Mrs. Splinters) the last of the 10 to move, left at night.\textsuperscript{179} Because they were Indian traders, the Nathoo and Parker households were not yet required to leave and remained in Tramway Road.\textsuperscript{180}

The Nathoos and Parkers had to go to Rylands, demarcated for Indians. The Nathoos anticipated higher living, business and transport expenses in Rylands. The household paid R12.12\(\frac{1}{2}\) per month to rent 16 Tramway Cottage, where they operated their shop and lived. In Rylands, the Nathoos had to find separate residential and business premises.\textsuperscript{181} The unit anticipated it would be difficult to establish a business in the township and feared deeper poverty. Mr. D. Nathoo recalled events before and after his parental household left the enclave around August 1962.

They were hassling us. We have to go to Rylands because we were Indian. They offered us a place but we didn’t like it for a business corner. It was just a place that was empty. The place was scary, like a jungle. I had my mum, brothers and sister and my dad wasn’t well. We liked a house near Klipfontein (Road) and decided to buy it with the help of my cousins and family. My uncle went to India from Rylands and I took over his shop.\textsuperscript{182}

\textsuperscript{177} Cape Times 01/12/1961.
\textsuperscript{178} Cape Argus 07/12/1961.
\textsuperscript{179} Cape Times 16/04/1997.
\textsuperscript{180} Cape Argus 07/12/1961.
\textsuperscript{181} Cape Times 06/10/1961.
\textsuperscript{182} Interview with Mr. D.N. 18/06/1997.
Once the Nathoos left Tramway Road, the Parkers were the sole household in the street. Mr. A. Parker who operated the shop for his father, had applied to move to Bonteheuwel.

I wanted to go to Bonteheuwel because most of our customers moved to Bonteheuwel and I wanted to be with them because I was born in Tramway Road. I grew up there. I got married there. My first two children were born there plus I was with the community there. I wanted to be with them...I wanted to be moved with them the people that I grew up with. They were my customers, friends [but the government] separated us.\(^{183}\)

The GADB refused Mr. Parker’s application to reside in Bonteheuwel. Residents of the enclave moved to different parts of metropolitan Cape Town and to Bonteheuwel and elsewhere on the Cape Flats (see Table 8). Residents who enjoyed kin and personal relations with their neighbours and who lived in the same dwelling or next door and across the way from each other, moved to different places or in the case of Bonteheuwel, to different places within the same geographic area. Mrs. S. Davids, then a single woman, stayed at the Kingsbury Hotel where she worked and continued to reside there after her relatives in Ilford Street vacated to Steenberg, Bonteheuwel and Black River. The Act exempted the removal of domestic servants who worked for whites in areas that had been declared for white occupation.\(^{184}\)

Mr. Petersen, the Secretary of the TRA, purchased a house in Maitland in June 1960 and moved there in June 1961. Mrs. Harris, one of Mr. Petersen’s sisters, moved with him but his mother, a sister and an aunt vacated to Crawford with one of his brothers. Another brother moved to Salt River for a short time and then moved to Bridgetown. Mr. R. Splinters and his wife obtained housing in Bonteheuwel but his mother and her (new) husband moved to Woodstock. Mr. D. Arendse moved to Bonteheuwel but his unmarried siblings moved to Mamre.

The more than two-year delay of the removal of the enclave had frustrated the government. When a representative of the GADB wrote to the central office in Pretoria for firm guidelines for the Board, he noted, "'n Tweede Tramwayweg, Seepunt gebeurtenis sal moet vermy word." [A second Tramway Road, Sea Point

\(^{183}\) Mr. A.P. in an interview with Mr. N.P. and Mr. A.P. 15/10/1998.

occurrence must be avoided.\textsuperscript{185} By 1960, state policy held the government responsible to offer housing to people affected by the GAA. The Tramway and Ilford streets stand on housing influenced a change in state policy on housing.\textsuperscript{186}

During the more than two-year period that Wannenburg represented the TRA and the Parker and Nathoo households, he charged a nominal fee. Coulter and Company, the firm that employed Wannenburg, permitted Wannenburg to conduct work for the TRA during office hours. Mrs. Wannenburg did not charge for the labour she performed to collect the household data that Mr. Wannenburg used in his presentations at the GADB.

Given the probability that the Municipality of Green Point and Sea Point removed Africans in 1903, from the stables and hostel in Tramway Road, the 1959-61 removal of people from the enclave most likely amounted to the second forced removal from Tramway Road. In mid-June 1963, the cottages and houses in Tramway Road and the Parker shop and its two adjacent dwellings were demolished.\textsuperscript{187} The Municipality of Cape Town purchased the land. The Chananie Kruss Trust received R11,460 for their property. A. Hutchings, M. Westhall and E. Biesheuwel received R4,110. N. Gild received R4,130. Parker and Tiseker received R14,455.\textsuperscript{188} Ilford Investments received R50,490.\textsuperscript{189}

In addition to the opposition of city councillors, Ilford Investments did not receive permission to erect a block of flats in Tramway Road because a city by-law required that the proposed development have an access road of no less than 40 feet wide.\textsuperscript{190} Though the city council could have made a concession, it refused to do so.\textsuperscript{191} Excavated before the 1897 proclamation that streets should measure 40 feet in width, the width of Tramway Road varied between 26 and 30 feet wide.\textsuperscript{192} In agreement with a request from the Green and Sea Point Ratepayers Association, the city landscaped a

\textsuperscript{185} Mesthrie, "The Tramway Road Removals," p. 75.
\textsuperscript{186} Mesthrie, "Dispossession in Black River," Chapter 6, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{187} Cape Argus 15/06/1963.
\textsuperscript{188} Erfs 103, 105, 106, 107, 110, 113. The property of Chananie Kruss Trust (Erfs 103, 105) measured 52 square roods. The property of Hutchings \textit{et al} (Erf 106) measured 18 square roods. Gild’s property (Erf 107) measured 18 square roods. Parker and Tiseker’s (Erfs 110, 113) measured 51 square roods. Registrar of Deeds.
\textsuperscript{189} Mesthrie, "The Tramway Road Removals," p. 77. Ilford Investments property measured 308 square roods. Erfs 125, 126, Registrar of Deeds.
\textsuperscript{190} Cape Town City Council Minutes, September 1959-August 1960, p. 1845.
\textsuperscript{192} For information on 1897 proclamation see Government Gazette July-December 1897, N834, p. 1893; For width of Tramway Road see Cape Town City Council Minutes, September 1959-August 1960, p. 1991.
park where most of the enclave had stood. The Baptist Mission was appropriated in 1964.

CONCLUSION
The Table Mountain Proclamation was the first of many proclamations used to institute racialised residential areas on the Cape Peninsula. When informed of the reality of the proclamation and the GAA, the residents of the enclave effectively used their resources. Over the course of more than two years, organised and effective representation at the GADB won the TRA three reprieves. The reprieves, however, did little to pacify the profound emotional disruption that the threat of removal provoked. During the more than two-year period, the residents revealed a lack of cohesion, fear of removal and resistance and resignation. Removal destroyed a residential area where race and class contributed to the production of a place that expressed the contradictions of modern life but also encouraged strong bonds among friends and kin. The first years in Bonteheuwel and elsewhere on the Cape Flats, the focus of the next chapter were a time of major adjustment.

194 Erf 94, Registrar of Deeds.
"It was starting a whole new life"1

CHAPTER EIGHT

BONTHEUWEL and the CAPE FLATS, 1961-Late 1960s

We couldn’t get used to Bonteheuwel all the sand and the things because [in Sea Point] we had tarred road, pavements and cemented yards. When we got to Bonteheuwel, rr. I can remember the first Christmas I nearly died. I said ‘What is this, a desert we staying in? Sand in your food, sand all over the place, you can’t even open your doors when the wind blows the sand is all over you.’ Anyway my husband started put little cement stoeps like we had in Sea Point. And then we planted grass and we kept a little space for a garden and we went on and then we stayed there for years. And my eldest daughter got married and moved to Mitchell’s Plain and after awhile she begged daddy to ‘come, come, come to Mitchell’s Plain.’

INTRODUCTION
The townships that the government built emphasised the social relations of apartheid capitalism. Bonteheuwel and Rylands were to become dormitory townships from where residents were to commute to jobs in the white areas of Cape Town. Still in the early stages of development in 1961, Bonteheuwel and Rylands lacked the urban infrastructure to which the ex-residents of Sea Point had been accustomed. The distance of Bonteheuwel, in particular, from Cape Town and Sea Point increased costs for transport. The increased costs affected employment and most of the women lost their jobs. When they lived in the enclave people had certain routines and participated in activities and relationships that informed their sense of self. People had also become attached to the part of Sea Point where they lived and the suburb in general. Owing to removal, having lost the activities, interaction and landscapes that contributed to their identity, ex-residents experienced a loss of identity, isolation and a lost sense of place.

Adjusting to the Cape Flats
Rylands Estate

Rylands did not develop in any significant way until the early 1970s.3 In the early 1960s, conditions in Rylands resembled conditions in Bonteheuwel. Sand and bush formed the landscape and Rylands lacked a road infrastructure comparable to that of

1 Interview with Mr. B.E. 15/06/1998.
2 Interview with Mrs. E.M. 07/06/1998.
Cape Flats on foreground, Lion's Head on the horizon at the right.

Source: District Cape Town, by J. Western. Used with permission by Western

Fig. 5
Sea Point. The Parker and Nathoo households found it impossible to re-establish their business in the township. When notified that he had to move to Rylands, Mr. Allie Parker described the township as “out in the bush,” where he could not operate a business. When the Parker household vacated Sea Point, Mr. A. Parker, who operated the shop for his father, found it “very difficult” to obtain another shop in Cape Town. The Parker household moved to Wynberg where Mr. A. Parker operated a grocery shop for 10 months.

Then I took a shop in Prince George Drive in Retreat. And they [group areas officials] hassled me there. Policemen came in and they said ‘you Indian you can’t trade here.’ I was about fed up. I had a nominee there. I had to work. I had another friend who offered his name [for] the business lease and eventually I stayed there for 10 years.

The more established areas of greater Cape Town offered better business prospects. Owing to the GAA, however, Mr. Parker was able to work in Retreat only because a Coloured man represented himself as the owner of the Parker shop. A section of Retreat had been declared a Coloured area in 1962, while another section was declared Coloured in 1964. The use of a nominee by Mr. Banderker, a resident of Black River and police inquiry into GAA evaders, emphasised that among business people evasion to guard economic well being was common.

When he operated a shop in Retreat, Mr. Parker resided in Rylands. After the lease for the shop in Prince George Drive expired, Mr. Parker obtained another shop in Retreat Road for approximately four years.

Then I went to Kenilworth. In Kenilworth the same thing happened. These community chaps came there ...I took that shop there because I can only run a grocery shop ...And I must look after my family. The same [inspector] that came to Tramway Road to give us a problem, came there. I told him ‘What must I do? I must earn a living.’ I was fed up. He said, ‘you must apply to the department to be a manager here. You must have a European manager.’

4 Mr. A.P. in an interview with Mr. N.P. and Mr. A.P. 15/10/1998.
5 Mr. A.P. in an interview with Mr. N.P. and Mr. A.P. 15/10/1998.
6 Mesthrie, “Group Areas Proclamations in the Cape Peninsula (1957-1966).”
7 Mesthrie, "Dispossession in Black River," Chapter 7, p. 12.
8 Mr. A.P. in an interview with Mr. N.P. and Mr. A.P. 15/10/1998.
The government declared Kenilworth and a section of Wynberg as a white area in 1961. Mr. Parker applied to the GADB to manage the shop in Kenilworth but the Board refused his request: “Then I was fed up. I just left it. I said they must do what they want to. They never came back. So I was staying there for about 10 years.”

Mr. Parker’s refusal to move expressed his resistance to the GAA. Simultaneously, the non-enforcement of the GAA at the Kenilworth shop emphasised that group areas officials sometimes permitted latitude.

Poor business opportunities in Rylands made it impossible for Mr. Nathoo to establish a shoemaker’s shop there. Mr. Nathoo obtained a shoemaking business in District Six where he resided during the week with his brothers and sisters who attended school in Cape Town. On weekends the Nathoo offspring resided with their parents in Rylands. The GAA had forced the Nathoos to live as one household on a part time basis.

**Bonteheuwel**

**Housing**

Conditions in Bonteheuwel affected residents’ satisfaction with the township. The terrain and infrastructure of the township lacked the urban quality of Sea Point. The vast residential area of the township (Bonteheuwel was approximately 352 hectares) contrasted with the closer borders of the enclave (approximately 8,431 square metres).

The new and uniform council houses in Bonteheuwel, all of which were white, expressed the cold history of their time and lacked the warmth that the housing in Tramway and Ilford streets embodied. In Bonteheuwel, grass, plants, flowers and trees did not grow in the front of any of the houses. None of the houses had a *stoep* and at the entrance to each dwelling was a door, the colour of which reappeared on every fourth door: “One door was yellow, one was red, one was brown and one was blue.”

A house number gave each dwelling a specific address but residents did not always navigate their way home according to the address. Mr. A. Barros identified his house by its yellow door. However, until he became more familiar with the exact location of his abode, the yellow door that Mr. Barros opened belonged to someone else’s home: “I open the door, I walk in I sit in the chair, the woman at home, Mrs.

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11 Mr. A.P. in an interview with Mr. N.P. and Mr. A.P. 15/10/1998.
Matthews, [said] *Mister. jy's al weer in die verkeerde huis.* [Mister, you’re in the wrong house again.]*13*

In Sea Point, tenants had a relatively relaxed relationship with their landlord. In Bonteheuwel a Memorandum of Agreement of Lease set the terms of tenancy and a caretaker ensured compliance with the rules.*14* The terms of tenancy created a sense of loss of control over private space. Rules forbade the conducting of business on residential property and specified what other activities were not permitted. People could hang their washing only at the back of their dwelling. Rules that forbade alterations to a dwelling prevented personal touches to homes: “You won’t use enamel paint, knock holes in the wall,”*15* “you not supposed to put linoleum on the floor.”*16* The lease obliged residents to pay a guarantee for their dwelling and observe a schedule of payment of rent that was different to the one familiar to Sea Point: “Here [in Bonteheuwel, rent] was weekly basis. Got to get used to that.”*17* While Ms. B. Jacobs’ parental household had paid R7.78 per month to rent 14 Tramway Road, in Bonteheuwel, the Jacobs’ paid R2.70 a week for a total of R10.80 a month. Higher rental costs affected other ex-residents of Sea Point who lived in the township and elsewhere on the Cape Flats.*18* In Lansdowne, the Lawrence household paid three times the R9.78 that they had paid in Tramway Road.*19* Higher costs for housing increased living expenses and strained household budgets. The affect of housing and their terms of rental in the townships on people who were forcibly removed could be the focus of future research.

Rather than build dwellings that would accommodate the household structure and size of Coloured working-class households comfortably and to reduce crowded living conditions, the city council restricted its definition of “household” to the nuclear domestic unit.*20* The occupation of a dwelling solely by a nuclear unit, however, did not necessarily eliminate cramped living conditions. Large nuclear households found the small council houses no more spacious than dwellings in

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*12* Interview with Mrs. D.B. 30/05/1997.
*13* Mr. A.B. in an interview with Mrs. D.B. 30/05/1997.
*14* Memorandum of Agreement of Lease and Summary of Tenancy Agreement, B. Jacobs Papers (Privately Held).
*15* Mr. A.B. in an interview with Mrs. D.B. 30/05/1997.
*16* Interview with Mrs. D.B. 30/05/1997.
*17* Ms. B.J. in an interview with Ms. B.J. and Ms. L.J. 30/05/1997.
*18* Tramways Land Claim Committee Meeting, 14/01/1998.
*19* Ms. U.L. during a Tramways Land Claim Committee Meeting, 14/01/1998.
*20* Personal communication with Mr. M. Kinn. 03/04/2000.
Tramway Road. In their council house, the eight Valentine offspring had just two bedrooms between them: "the (four) girls in one room and the (four) boys in the other room."\(^{21}\) In the enclave, households that required more space usually built a shed in the backyard or made a sleeping area on the \textit{stoep}. Bonteheuwel had no dwellings for solitary households and it is unknown what became of the solitary units that resided in the enclave.

The narrow definition of a household fragmented the majority of extended domestic units. Although parents were permitted to reside with one of their married offspring, Ms. Isaacs' two paternal uncles were not allowed to live with her parental household. The two gentlemen had resided with their brother and his marital household for over a decade but owing to removal had to obtain housing of their own. Because of their single marital status, the men could not obtain a dwelling in Bonteheuwel.\(^{22}\)

\begin{quote}
My uncles could not come ... financially they would have been a great help to my mom seeing that she was widowed ... In fact it was quite sad because both my uncles were so distressed that they were not able to stay with us that they both became alcoholics. And one died as a street person ... he went from place to place and had nowhere to stay ... You know what [the council] used to do? ... Every year they used to come around and you'd fill in forms and they used to come and count [to] see how many people stay in the house. If you were caught with a boarder you had to tell that boarder to go or lose your house.\(^{23}\)
\end{quote}

Loss of extended kin from the household, added to the sense of loss that people experienced through removal. The absence of extended kin reduced the number of contributors to the household income. Had Ms. Isaacs' uncles resided in the council house with Ms. Isaacs' parental unit, the men would have been considered sub-tenants and none were permitted without the written consent of the Medical Officer of Health.\(^{24}\) Annual inquiry into the number of occupants of the dwelling and their relationship to the parental unit, reminded residents of their vulnerability in, and lack of control over state-owned housing.

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\(^{21}\) Mrs. A.J. in an interview with Mrs. A.J. and Mr. D.J. 16/06/1998.

\(^{22}\) Ms. Isaacs suggested that her uncles resided with her parental household up until removal. However, the Wannenburg survey, does not record the presence of Ms. Isaacs' uncles in the Isaacs' household. Survey of 3 Tramway Road. Wannenburg Papers (Privately Held).

\(^{23}\) Interview with Ms. M.I. 08/06/1998.

\(^{24}\) Summary of Tenancy Agreement. B. Jacobs Papers ( Privately Held).
The GAA separated the Ramasammi household and reduced their sense of privacy. Classified as an Indian, Mr. Ramasammi could not at first reside in Kensington to where his household moved. As stated in Chapter 7, upon removal from the enclave, Mr. Ramasammi resided at his workplace, the Bay Bridge Hotel. At some point and perhaps because he was re-classified as Coloured, Mr. Ramasammi obtained permission to reside with his household. Some time thereafter, neighbours complained that a white woman (Mrs. Ramasammi) and Coloured man co-habitated. The household received a visit from authorities and had to verify their racial identity and legitimacy to reside together. The complaint of the Ramasammi’s neighbours highlighted a viciousness and intolerance that apartheid encouraged. The ways in which people turned in and turned on each other during apartheid is part of the dark untold past of South Africa.

The terms of tenancy obliged tenants to reduce their living space when their household size decreased. In 1966, after her husband died, Mrs. K. Fischer had to leave her council house for a flat in the township.

I would have kept the place because it was a big ground. I had a little garden and at the back [could] plant vegetables. I was heartsore when I had to move ... I was at work [when a housing official] left a message [to] come and see them. She said ‘Mrs. Fischer your husband died it’s only you and your children and the house is too big.’

While in Tramway Road residents were able to initiate a change in their living space themselves, it was housing policy in Bonteheuwel that controlled the timing of change and location of new living space. The policy reinforced the residents’ lack of autonomy over their housing and emphasised the public nature of their private homes.

The impositions that residents encountered after removal co-existed with material gain. Of the dwellings that had stood in Tramway and Ilford streets, only two houses had a bathroom and none of the dwellings had an indoor lavatory. A bathroom and lavatory was a feature of every dwelling in Bonteheuwel. Although Mrs. V. Arnolds said, “We were disappointed when we came here,” she nevertheless appreciated the opportunity to reside with her husband and child in a dwelling of their own. In Tramway Road, Mrs. I. Bertie shared a cottage with two of her married

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25 Interview with Mrs. K.F. 05/08/1997.
26 Interview with Mrs. V.A. 08/06/1998.
siblings and their spouses and children, in Bonteheuwel Mrs. Bertie and each of her married siblings obtained their own dwelling. Mr. J. and Mrs. V. Petersen dearly missed Sea Point but their daughter, Mrs. van der Westhuizen, did not herself regret moving: “For the first time I had a room of my own. ... It was a nice big house when we moved to Maitland.”\(^{27}\) The Nathoos gained more living space and an indoor bathroom in Rylands. Mr. D. Nathoo said, “We had two extra rooms, a small hallway, dining room, two bedrooms, a bathroom and toilet outside.”\(^{28}\) In Portavue, Mr. Thomas and his household lived in a house that was larger than the cottage they had occupied in Tramway Road. Yet the dwelling did not have a flush toilet, stood in a sandy terrain and was situated far from shops. In Silvertown, Mrs. C. Tombeni, removed from the council flats circa 1955, had electricity and a bathroom for the first time in her home. Mr. Tombeni cultivated a vegetable garden in the “nice big ground” that formed the backyard.\(^{29}\) Dwelling conditions contributed to how the Davis household felt about living in Steenberg: “It was a big enough house for our family. But we had no sewerage system. Water from the bathroom and the kitchen sink flowed out into the backyard which was just a sea of sand ... There were no flush toilets as we [were] used to and this made us long for Sea Point even more.”\(^{30}\) For the majority of the ex-residents, the advantages of improved living conditions that they gained meant little when compared to the losses experienced through removal. This response to improved material conditions but lost human relationships corresponded with that of an ex-resident of Black River.\(^{31}\)

Infrastructure of the Township

The government promoted Bonteheuwel as a place where Coloureds would improve their standard of living through employment and business in their own area.\(^{32}\) Since the township was to become a dormitory residential area, however, it lacked commercial sites and did not gain a substantial business environment even in later

\(^{27}\) Interview with Mrs. P.v.W. 16/06/1997.
\(^{28}\) Interview with Mr. D.N. 18/06/1997.
\(^{29}\) Interview with Mrs. C.T. 07/06/1997.
\(^{30}\) Mrs. E.V. in an interview with Mrs. A.D. Mrs. P.J. and Mrs. E.V. 14/06/1998.
\(^{32}\) House of Assembly Debates, Vol. 102, p. 6899.
years. In the mid-1970s, the paucity of business services in Bonteheuwel also affected how ex-residents of Mowbray adjusted to the township.

In Sea Point, the ex-residents of Tramway and Ilford streets lived within easy reach of shops that stocked inexpensive products. Residents had patronised the Parker shop where they could purchase groceries on credit. In Bonteheuwel “there was one shop that catered for the whole Bonteheuwel and you had to walk from wherever you were to that shop. That shop was at Alder Street.” A van, from where bread could be purchased, was the one other enterprise in the township. Because they were unknown to the shop and van proprietor, the ex-residents had to pay cash for their purchases. For Mrs. I. Bertie, the single grocery shop in the township did not compare to the number of shops to which she had been accustomed in Sea Point and District Six.

There was no light, no shops. Just sand ... We used to get lost going home. That first winter it mos get early dark. We damma cried. That first couple of months in Bonteheuwel. It was heart sore. We never put our foot out. There wasn’t a light around. It was a horrible time. It was just inside the lights were burning.

A dark residential area and cooped up household figure strongly in Mrs. Bertie’s excerpt. The images emphasise that the lack of infrastructure in Bonteheuwel compounded the hardship of living there.

Owing to the distance between Bonteheuwel and Cape Town and the increased distance to shops, women spent more time shopping. The cost of travel to Cape Town, where people usually purchased certain products, meant that residents ended up paying higher costs for their purchases.

Even through those hardships [in Tramway Road] I think when we moved to Bonteheuwel it became worse. Because [in Bonteheuwel] were more expenses involved. Travelling to take the washing away. If you want to shop and really do your shopping for the month or for the week then you had to take the train to OK’s in town and Wellington [Fruitgrowers] and Woolworths.

33 Hitner and Jenkins. Urban Spotlight on Bonteheuwel pp. 18,19,23.
36 Interview with Mrs. I.B. June/1998.
37 Interview with Mrs. J.v E. 25/06/1998.
Residents relied more on public transport and scheduled their activities according to the times that transport departed from Bonteheuwel. The lack of business in the township made it an inconvenient and expensive place to live. The distant location of the township from places of work and shops that met the needs of households stimulated a sense of isolation and dispossession. Residents who worked in Sea Point continued to patronise shops such as Joubert’s Butchery near the former enclave.

The building material used to construct the secondary roads in Bonteheuwel, contributed to the unattractive appearance of the township: “The roads weren’t properly paved, it was slabs of cement.” Unrepresentative of respectable urban conditions, cement roads attacked people’s sense of status. Sense of status also might have been affected by the proximity of Bonteheuwel to Langa, a township for Africans. Langa lay across Vanguard Drive, the northern border of Bonteheuwel. Before the urban authorities had completed the construction of the Bonteheuwel train station, Bonteheuwel residents had to use the Langa station. Given the position of Africans in the social hierarchy, the proximity of Bonteheuwel to Langa and the residents’ having to enter the African township for train services most probably disrupted people’s sensibilities.

Followers of the Baptist Church had no house of worship in Bonteheuwel until September 1964. Mrs. Barros was one of a group of people who opened their homes for prayer meetings and who attended Baptist Church services in the community centre in Apricot Street, when that facility was built in 1962.39

Safety and Crime
The size of Bonteheuwel and its growing number of residents from different parts of the city stimulated a sense of domestic insecurity similar to that which ex-residents of Black River experienced in Manenberg.40 People adopted behaviour that promoted their sense of safety. Mr. R. Paulsen said,

You must lock up everything. Windows must be closed, you must check, double check. In Sea Point you used to ...just close the door ...Now you in a completely different environment. I just had it. The

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38 Interview with Mr. R.P. 06/06/1997.
39 Personal communication with Mr. Samuel, a member of the Baptist Church in Bonteheuwel, 03/05/2000.
40 Mesthrie. “Dispossession in Black River.” Chapter 7, p. 27.
family split up. I went to live with my sister. She got married and lived in Lansdowne.\textsuperscript{41}

The memory of safety in the enclave – one that is prominent in memories of District Six and other former residential areas – points to a comparison between the present and past with the latter being likened to a safe haven. In the enclave, open windows and unlocked doors made the boundary between homes more fluid and permeable. In the township, the boundary between homes and the street were more clearly defined. Given the opportunity, Mr. Paulsen escaped from the township to live in a more established Coloured.

Mr. A. Barros experienced theft within the first 24 hours of his residence in Bonteheuwel: “The very first day we moved here, [on] a Saturday, I parked my ear outside because there was loose sand here. And the fence was right through. Sunday morning when I got up my car was gone.”\textsuperscript{42} The theft of Mr. Barros’ car confirmed his fears for safety and security in the township.

One of the worst instances of crime against an ex-resident of the enclave was the murder of Mr. D. Domingo, formerly of Ilford Street and a one-time captain of the Sea Point Swifts. In 1966, a teenage male stabbed Mr. Domingo in his windpipe. The incident occurred on a bus in Bonteheuwel. The murder and other crimes against members of the former enclave reminded ex-residents of the haven from where they were uprooted.

Perhaps through overheard adult conversation, the warnings of adults and changed adult behaviour, some children expressed a greater sense of vulnerability. Mrs. D. Barros spoke of her own and her children’s sense of insecurity in their new home in Bonteheuwel Drive.

I couldn’t get used to this place ... We used to hear all sorts of stories, keep your doors locked, gangsters. We didn’t know our neighbours. I use to keep my doors locked and never let the kids out ... [My children] didn’t want to sleep in this room (at the front). This room (to the side of the front) was empty for a month. They all slept at the back.\textsuperscript{43}

Family breakdown in the household, the destructive effects of removal on households and unemployment among male youths were prominent reasons

\textsuperscript{41} Interview with Mr. R.P. 06/06/1997.
\textsuperscript{42} Mr. A.B. in an interview with Mrs. D.B. 30/05/1997.
\textsuperscript{43} Interview with Mrs. D.B. 09/05/1997.
for the emergence of gangs in Bonteheuwel during the 1970s and 1980s.\textsuperscript{44}

Mrs. Barros' suggestion that gangs operated in the township in the early 1960s, highlighted a fusion of memory but also indicated that Mrs. Barros' sense of insecurity in the early 1960s corresponded with her later insecurity in the township. The concern for security in Bonteheuwel that ex-residents of Mowbray spoke of in the mid-1970s, emphasised that safety continued to be an issue in the township more than a decade later.\textsuperscript{45}

Landscape and Location

Bonteheuwel lacked the natural beauty of Sea Point. When she spoke about the loss of natural beauty that typified Sea Point, Mrs. Barros said, "When I moved, I said, 'Where I stayed, I could see the mountain. When I get up in the morning I could see Lion's Head and the sea. Here's nothing.' ... No nice view any more."\textsuperscript{46} Whereas they were formerly the inhabitants of a mountain slope, residents now lived on a plain. (See Figure 5.) The geographic location of Bonteheuwel meant that Table Mountain rather than Lion's Head was visible from the township. Distant on the western horizon, the view of Table Mountain from Bonteheuwel did not compare with the view of Lion's Head from Tramway Road. Furthermore, while Table Mountain symbolised Cape Town, for the ex-residents of the enclave Lion's Head was the endearing symbol of Sea Point.

In contrast to the mountain and seascape that typified Sea Point, bush and sand formed the primary natural features of Bonteheuwel. In fact, in studies of the effect of removals from Mowbray, Black River and District Six, the sand on the Cape Flats reoccurred as one of the most annoying aspects of life in the townships.\textsuperscript{47} Ms. B. Jacobs an ex-resident of Tramway Road said,

When the wind blow here, it was sand ... We had the southeaster in Sea Point. If it blew there it blew but at least we didn’t have sand.

Everything was cement. Coming to this, it was raw. Sand, sand, sand.\textsuperscript{48}

\begin{footnotesize}
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  \item[45] Western, Outcast Cape Town, pp. 236-237.
  \item[46] Interview with Mrs. D.B. 09/05/1997.
  \item[47] For Mowbray see Western, Outcast Cape Town, p. 243; for Black River see Mesthrie, “Dispossession in Black River,” Chapter 6, p. 23.
  \item[48] Ms. B.J. in an interview with Ms. B.J. and Ms. L.J. 30/05/1997.
\end{itemize}
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Sand intruded upon homes and worsened conditions inside and outside of the dwelling during windy weather. The cement secondary roads and the undeveloped and different natural environment of Bonteheuwel intensified the dissatisfaction of the ex-residents. Mr. Barros’ description of the dwellings as being fit for horses and residents’ refusal to move to the township (Chapter 7), communicated their early dislike for the dwellings and place. The residents’ dissatisfaction corresponded with that of ex-residents of Mowbray who also found that the dwellings paled in comparison to their former homes.49

Unfamiliar with Athlone and its outlying areas, residents felt cast out from Sea Point and those parts of Cape Town with which they had been familiar. The sense of geographic status that encouraged acts of territoriality in the enclave disintegrated in Bonteheuwel. The township ranked low on the geographic and economic hierarchy of Cape Town. The location of Bonteheuwel vis-à-vis the urban centre and the infrastructure and aesthetic appeal of the township affected residents’ sense of status.50 To distance herself from Bonteheuwel, Mrs. I. Bertie hesitated to admit where she lived. Mrs. Bertie said, “I was shy to tell people I had to go to Bonteheuwel.”51 Formerly a proud resident of Sea Point, Mrs. Bertie was embarrassed by her township residence.

Rather than disclose her residence in Bonteheuwel, Ms. M. Morta gave a phantom Athlone address.

I didn’t tell people I lived in Bonteheuwel. I said I lived at 49 Lawrence Road. I didn’t know if there was a 49 Lawrence Road. Rather than get off at the Bonteheuwel Station I got off at Athlone and took the bus to Bonteheuwel. That time you didn’t want anyone to know you lived in Bonteheuwel.52

The central business district of Athlone represented a relatively respectable residential area. Within the hierarchy of geographic status in Cape Town, Athlone proper ranked low when compared to Sea Point, but when compared to Bonteheuwel ranked high. Mrs. Bertie’s and Ms. Morta’s sense of loss of status in Bonteheuwel corresponded

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49 Western. Outcast Cape Town. pp. 244-245.
51 Interview with Mrs. I.B. June 1998.
52 Interview with Ms. M.M. 16/05/1997.
with that of ex-residents of Mowbray who went to the township. An exploration into perceptions of the geographic, social and economic hierarchy of residential areas in Cape Town, how these hierarchies were constructed and maintained would make for interesting future work.

Effect on Work and Income

In certain cases, people who found the distance to work in Sea Point intolerable, changed jobs. Similar to the experience of former residents of Mowbray in the mid-1970s, in the 1960s ex-residents of Tramway and Ilford streets found that the cost and distance to work after removal formed a major tangible imposition. Increased transport costs meant that people had less money for other household expenses. With up to more than 15 kilometres to travel to Cape Town and Sea Point, people arose at an earlier hour and paid more for transport to travel between their home and workplace. Residents who previously walked to work rode the bus and train.

Public transport operated less frequently between Cape Town and Bonteheuwel than it operated between suburbs that lay closer to the city centre. By mid-June 1961, the Golden Arrow Bus Company provided a service between Bonteheuwel and the Athlone centre bus terminus every 40 minutes from 6 a.m. to 10 a.m. and from 2:20 p.m. to 10 p.m. The time of arrival of the last bus of the day changed from time to time. The company provided a similar service from Athlone to Bonteheuwel. Public transport in the Athlone area affected the hour that residents departed for work and returned home. Before he moved to Kensington, Mr. C. Ramasammi who worked until 11:30 p.m. at the Bay Bridge Hotel in Three Anchor Bay identified the transit service as the reason he would not live in Bonteheuwel. The bus service between Bonteheuwel and Athlone most probably resembled the service between Portavue (Greenhaven) and Athlone. Mrs. G. Eyssen who lived in Portavue said, “When we stayed in Sea Point I could get up seven o’clock. When we came to stay here I had to get up five o’clock. Quarter to six I had to be on the road.” At the end of her workday, Mrs. A. Jacobs reached her home in Bonteheuwel at a later hour than when she lived in Sea Point. People who worked during hours

53 Western, Outcast Cape Town, p. 251.
54 Western, Outcast Cape Town, p. 221.
after transport services stopped had to arrange a drive home. Though the Golden Arrow Bus Company at some point provided a service up to 10 p.m. Mrs. D. Moses, a factory employee, remembered when the bus service stopped earlier.

The last bus is seven o’clock from Athlone. Imagine ... What have you to do if you miss the last bus? If you had to work overtime in factories? It was, well, what could you do? You had to adapt.58

Reliance on public transport affected working life. Factory workers who could not work overtime because they relied on the bus service, lost the opportunity to earn extra income.

Bonteheuwel did not have a train station in December 1961 and it is unknown when the station in the township opened. As mentioned earlier, before a direct train service became available, Bonteheuwel residents had to use the Langa station. When trains served Bonteheuwel, people had the option to travel by bus or train and chose the mode of transport that suited them. Ms. B. Jacobs identified the bus schedule as the reason she rejected the bus: “That time I travelled the train. The bus was very far apart. They only had the one bus the Jakkalsvlei bus.”59 Though Ms. Jacobs identified the inconvenience of the bus, Mrs. R. Lambert said, “the train [was] the cheapest. But the bus was the easiest way to travel.”60 The cost of bus fare for an adult from Bonteheuwel to Cape Town in 1961 is unknown. Though trains did not serve Bonteheuwel in 1961, in that year the South African Railway Company advertised that a first class ticket for a return trip from Bonteheuwel to Cape Town cost 23 cents. A third-class return ticket cost 17 cents.61 To reach a destination in Sea Point, upon arrival in Cape Town passengers had to board another bus or train and had to purchase another ticket to continue their trip. Mrs. Lambert, who worked as a domestic worker at a private residence that lay less than five streets from Tramway Road, found that the cost of a round trip from Bonteheuwel to Sea Point significantly reduced her household income.

57 Interview with Mrs. G.E. 10/06/1998.
58 Interview with Mrs. D.M. 10/06/1998.
59 Interview with Ms. B.J. 30/05/1997.
60 Mrs. R.L. in an interview with Mr. R.L. and Mrs. R.L. 13/06/1998.
Travelling was too tiring ...[and] we couldn't afford it. There was never hardly any money over. I had to walk from here to the station. Take a train. Then a bus. And what did we earn that time? Seven rand a day. That was really a struggle. 62

Table 4 on the wages of women showed that in 1961, while a well-paid domestic worker earned R10.70 per week, on average the majority of women in the enclave earned R4.05 a week. Mrs. Lambert eventually resigned from her job in Sea Point and later obtained work in Rondebosch.

Since Bonteheuwel was to become a dormitory township there were few jobs there. Building activity in the township, however, benefited artisans who lived in the area. Owing to his trade, Mr. E. Collins obtained work in Bonteheuwel. A bricklayer, Mr. Collins, worked steadily in the township for an extended period of time: "At that stage I was never out of work ...I built a lot of the high schools and primary schools ... in Bonteheuwel." 63 For economic reasons, Mr. Collins participated in the building of infrastructure that permitted for the production of an apartheid society.

Mr. Phillips, who moved to Silvertown, kept his job as a council employee in Sea Point for some time after removal but eventually resigned: "He went fishing on the fishing trawlers ...When we moved out of Sea Point that really caused a lot of hardships for us. Sometimes there wouldn't be enough money for bus fare." 64 Having to put bus fare aside for travel to work was a new necessity and one that households such as the Phillips' found difficult.

Despite the distance and cost to travel to Sea Point, people such as Mr. E.G. Lawrence (Lansdowne), a carpenter, Mr. J. Petersen (Maitland), a greengrocer and Ms. B. Jacobs (Bonteheuwel) and Mrs. M. Isaacs, domestic workers, kept their jobs in the suburb. Mr. A. Campbell retired from his job in Camps Bay in the 1980s. In 1999, Mr. H. Fife, a hawker, Mr. P. Jacobs (Athlone), a caretaker and the aunt of Mrs. V. Abrahams (Bonteheuwel) still worked in Sea Point.

In terms of employment, one of the greatest losses was the loss of paid work of women. Whether out of a sense of loyalty, or an initial lack of awareness of the physical and economic strain of travel between the Cape Flats and Sea Point, women continued to wash for their employers in the suburb for some time. Children rode the

63 Interview with Mr. E.C. 17/06/1998.
bus and train to fetch and deliver washing, an item that had to be paid for in addition on the train. Mr. B. Paulsen whose parental household lived in Hazendal, Athlone, mentioned how he escaped paying for washing when he travelled by rail: “Sometimes I kick the wash under the seat so the conductor don’t see it.” 65 Most probably advised by his parents, Mr. Paulsen devised a way to avoid an added expense.

The cost of transport to and from Sea Point reduced the wages that women earned for their labour and over a period of time, women such as Ms. Morta’s mother, stopped washing: “That time giving out train fare and bus fare was a lot of money. My father said it wasn’t worth it.” 66 An asset to the household income in Sea Point, in Bonteheuwel, the money earned from domestic services had lesser value. When married women lost their paid work, they lost their means to contribute to the household income and undoubtedly felt more dependent on their husbands. On a more personal level, women’s loss of work affected their social lives. Washing and domestic work had linked women to other females in Sea Point who worked in a similar sector of the labour market.

Some Effects on Children

For various reasons, different children reacted differently to removal. Circumstances in the parental household and the retention of friends from the former enclave lessened the disruption in the lives of youngsters. The manner in which parents reacted to removal affected how children perceived their own sense of loss of their former home. Some children did not understand the meaning of removal until their adult years.

Children had lesser options for recreation in Bonteheuwel than they had in Tramway Road. The flat and sandy terrain of the township did not offer pleasurable walks and the township lay inland and far from any ocean. Eleven years old in 1961, Mr. P. Valentine belonged to the cub scouts in Tramway Road but found that no scout movement operated in Bonteheuwel. The city opened the Bonteheuwel Community Centre in 1962 but its location in Apricot Street was inconvenient for residents who lived near the intersection of Bonteheuwel and Jakkelsvlei drives. Activities at the community centre could not satisfy everyone’s interest and provoked a sense of

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64 Interview with Mrs. H.K. 18/06/1998.
65 Interview with Mr. B.P. June 1998.
66 Interview with Ms. C.M. 13/06/1998.
exclusion. Mrs. Barros said, "When we moved here, there was no recreation for the children. How long did we stay here until they built a swimming pool? Then a tennis court came. Very few could play tennis."\textsuperscript{67} The lack of recreation for children increased the likelihood that children would wander about and associate with other children about whom their parents might disapprove. Mrs. Barros encouraged her offspring to use their bedrooms for leisure.

The oral histories of three interviewees who were children and young adults at the time of removal emphasised the different emotional responses to removal among the younger inhabitants of the former enclave. Born in 1953, Mrs. J. van Eysland (née Absalom) said, "My years in Bonteheuwel as a child was completely different to what I came to know in Tramway Road."\textsuperscript{68} Separation from friends and habitation in a new environment resulted in a less social childhood. Mr. E. Lawrence who was in his late twenties when he left Sea Point said, "People ask me if it was sad. I can't think of it as sad. As a youngster I didn't think about things like that."\textsuperscript{69} Mr. Lawrence's parental household moved to Milnerton to live on land that they had used for recreation purposes. In terms of familiarity with the place to where they moved, forced removal was perhaps a less daunting experience for this Lawrence unit.

Nine years old when her parents left Ilford Street, Mrs. C. Crowe (née Delport) expressed shock when her memory of forced removal surfaced during her adult years.

I never realised how traumatic it was until one day I did a psychodrama workshop ... We had to depict a scene in our life when I was about between one and ten. I chose to role-play ... the night when the [Tramway Road] school closed. We had this celebration ... and because every [Monday] morning I [used] to fill ... the principal's jug of water ... the night of [the celebration] I was chosen to hand over the bouquet of flowers. This vase. [In the psychodrama] I remembered that and I wept like a baby ... That time I was too small to really understand ... But anyway, there I am sitting with this [memory].\textsuperscript{70}

Traumatic events are usually defined as harsh and sudden, usually physically violent occurrences.\textsuperscript{71} Removal, however, was trauma of a different nature. As she

\textsuperscript{67} Interview with Mrs. D.B. 09/05/1997.
\textsuperscript{68} Interview with Mrs. J.v E. 25/06/1998.
\textsuperscript{69} Interview with Mr. E.L. 17/06/1998.
\textsuperscript{70} Mrs. C.C. in an interview with Mrs. J.D. and Mr. J.D. 14/06/1998.
\textsuperscript{71} J. Herman, \textit{Trauma and Recovery: From Domestic Abuse to Political Terror}, (UK, Pandora), 1992.
participated in farewell activities in Tramway Road, Mrs. Crowe was unaware of the
deeper meaning of the departure of her parental unit and other households from the
enclave. She was also unprepared for the emotional effect of separation from her
home, friends and kin. An inability to express emotions related to the removal, during
her adolescence and later years, contributed to the repression of the removal in her
subconscious mind. Mrs. Crowe's experience in a psychodrama workshop indicated
the vitality of the subconscious mind and the strong memory of removal that lay there.
Mrs. Crowe’s not uncommon experience suggests that the emotionally painful
memory of removal could lie in the subconscious of thousands of other people who
experienced removal in South Africa. It is disconcerting to consider how such
unresolved painful memory about removal might affect the lives of people across this
country. What might unfold from research that is able to explore this difficult subject?

Effects on Adults and Expressions of Belonging
For the ex-residents who moved to Bonteheuwel, habitation in the same township did
not translate into a reproduction of the enclave. The structure and size of Bonteheuwel
and the placement of residents therein (see Figure 6), disallowed interaction that
occurred in Tramway and Ilford streets. Though it is unclear to what extent interaction
disintegrated in Bonteheuwel, factors that promoted interaction in the enclave were
absent or seriously damaged. Absent were close and defined borders where lived an
oppressed people and immediately beyond which lived a privileged population. 72
Affected by removal were home and working lives, sense of belonging, distance
from friends and kin, emotional well being, the spatial location of the ex-residents in
the township and places for spontaneous social interaction. As a geographer, Western
argued that among ex-residents of Mowbray, cohesion in Bonteheuwel disintegrated
owing to the absence of a privileged group immediately beyond the borders of
Bonteheuwel. 73 Though Western’s argument cannot be discounted Pinnock and
research for this thesis suggested that sociological factors were equally important. 74
Research that focuses on the sociological affects of removal and townships
themselves could be the subject of more future work.

72 Western, Outcast Cape Town.
73 Western, Outcast Cape Town.
74 Pinnock, Breaking the Web.
In Bonteheuwel, the majority of households lived separated from each other and apart from people who had been their closest neighbours. Ms. M. Isaacs said,

A lot of the Tramway Road people were scattered. We didn’t live very close to one another because we moved at different times. There are some people that lived on the first road of Bonteheuwel and we came here [to Apricot Street]. Others went that side of Bonteheuwel [near Jakkelsvlei Drive]. Because people were reluctant to move ... We didn’t all move out together. 75

Simultaneous departure to the township might not have ensured that the ex-residents lived close to one another. For example, Mrs. Barros, who moved in September 1961, lived near two households from Tramway Road, one of which (Collins) moved in November: “The woman living next door was from Tramway Road, Mrs. Arendse. The lady next door to them (Mrs. E. Collins), she was also so we were three neighbours in the row from Tramway Road.” 76 Neither of these ex-residents had lived near to Mrs. Barros in the enclave and it is unknown to what extent they interacted there. However, because the Arendse and Collins units had lived in the enclave, Mrs. Barros considered herself fortunate to live near to them in Bonteheuwel. Mrs. I. Bertie also considered herself fortunate to reside close to at least five households from the enclave, one of which was her brother’s unit. Proximity to ex-residents lessened feelings of separation and isolation in the township.

Women who counted on friends and kin to watch their children had to become more self-reliant. Mrs. E. Mitchell had no one but herself to rely on after her household left Sea Point.

When we moved to Bonteheuwel the travelling was terrible out there. I could never make it or maybe one of the children would be sick and I have to stay off because there’s no body that I know that can take care. We had a lot of friends [in Tramway Road]. I had my mother-in-law and my own mother that could take care of the kids ... But when we moved to Bonteheuwel we were totally lost. 77

Mrs. Mitchell’s mother-in-law died some time before residents moved in 1961. Her mother, Mrs. Absalom, moved to Bonteheuwel but lived further from her daughter

75 Interview with Ms. M.I. 08/06/1998.
76 Interview with Mrs. D.B. 09/05/1997.
77 Interview with Mrs. E.M. 07/06/1998.
than before. In Tramway Road had she been unable to obtain help from kin, Mrs. Mitchell would have sought help from a friend. An employee of Kingsbury Hotel, an establishment that stood a stone’s throw from Tramway Road, Mrs. Mitchell resigned from her employment to stay home with her children. When her youngest child was three years old, Mrs. Mitchell enrolled him in a crèche and re-entered the labour market by obtaining employment in Cape Town.

Women and men undoubtedly grieved for their lost homes and the human and spatial separation inherent to removal. Interviewees who spoke about the grief of removal recalled explicitly only the remorse of their mothers and grandmothers. The grief of women, though perhaps expressed differently, might not have been more explicit than that of men. Nevertheless, gender bias encouraged an association of women with grief, rather than of men with grief. Ms. C. Morta, for example, recalled only her mother’s remorse: “My mother used to cry because we were in Bonteheuwel.”

Mrs. S. Davids recalled an expression of grief near Beeston in Ilford Street: “A couple of years ago I went to Sea Point. I sat opposite the house where Abe used to tell his mother, “Mummy, it’s not your house anymore.” Women spent the greater part of their lives at home where they performed the meaningful activity of household production. Women, therefore, experienced a particularly profound sense of loss with regard to their homes. Ms. M. Jacobs, however, suggested that women and men were equally attached to their homes and the enclave. Ms. Jacobs said that had her parents been alive at removal, they would have experienced it as extraordinarily challenging: “It would have killed my parents.”

Mr. M. Phillips recalled that his grandmother, Mrs. Phillips, visited her former cottage to grieve before the dwelling was demolished around 1963.

She would travel from Bonteheuwel on a train to Sea Point to the station. Get off there, go to St. George’s Cathedral with myself. Go to Sea Point, get her pension before they demolished those houses, go up the road, sit on the steps [and] cry. Watch [the] little vineyard she had in the yard.

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78 Interview with Ms. C.M. 13/06/1998.
79 Interview with Mrs. S.D. 1998.
80 Interview with Ms. M.J. 25/06/1998.
81 Mr. M.P. in an interview with Mrs. V.P. 07/08/1997.
After their removal from District Six, some people also visited the places where they had lived. In the mid-1960s, an ex-resident of Mowbray, Mrs. Carelse, travelled from Heideveld to Mowbray to collect her pension cheque.\(^{82}\) Visits to former neighbourhoods thus provided some consolation for sense of loss.

As discussed in Chapter 6, the enclave had a high level of interaction in its public areas, particularly at the Parker shop and café. In Rylands, Mr. Allie Parker no longer lived adjacent to his shop and café from where he had interacted with customers. Mr. Parker's son had assumed responsibility for the shop around 1955 but up until removal, the enterprise perhaps continued to play a central role in the life of the senior Mr. Parker. Mr. A. Parker said, "[my father's] whole life he spent there (in Tramway Road) so it's difficult to adjust at that age. If you're younger you can adapt to a different place. But at that age it's very difficult for him. He just used to read his paper, walk around."\(^{83}\) The few activities that Mr. Parker performed in Rylands contrasted with the social life he had led previously.

Similar to Mr. Parker, other elderly residents had also benefited from the public life in the enclave. Public activities had contributed to older people's quality of living and sense of security and freedom. Mrs. M. Lopes recalled the effect that living in the less familiar and less socially active residential area of Bridgetown had on her mother, Mrs. De Vos. In need of more living space and in light of rumours of the GAA, Mrs. Lopes' marital unit moved to Bridgetown around 1956. Upon being forced to move, Mrs. De Vos moved to Bridgetown to live with her daughter.

"It was hard on my mother. We got to go to work. Children got to go to school. You can't trust the doors open. We don't know this strange place. She had to lock herself in. What she do inside? Eyes is getting bad. Can't sew any more. Read the whole day? On Tramway Road she would be on the stoep. She would always have somebody that talk to her."\(^{84}\)

In the enclave, friends and kin allowed for informal interaction within the boundaries of their homes. Bridgetown a larger residential area than the enclave and home to people with whom Mrs. De Vos was unfamiliar. These factors restricted life to the indoors. The precaution of locked doors and indoor life produced a sense of isolation.

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\(^{82}\) Western, Outcast Cape Town, p. 196.

\(^{83}\) Mr. A.P. in an interview with Mr. N.P. and Mr. A.P. 15/10/1998.

\(^{84}\) Interview with Mrs. M.L. 16/05/1997.
According to some interviewees, owing to the harsh effects of removal, elderly people died within a relatively short period after leaving the enclave. Mrs. T. Ramasammi said, "Most of the elderly people died after each other when they moved out."85 The trauma of removal undoubtedly affected physical and emotional health but it is difficult to confirm whether the deaths of elderly ex-residents were directly related to removal. It is interesting though that a correlation between elderly people and deaths was drawn by ex-residents of other former residential areas. Pinnock drew a relationship between the notice to vacate and the deaths of two elderly residents of Harfield Village.86 Ex-residents of Mowbray identified removal as the reason for the deaths of elderly ex-Mowbray inhabitants.87 Ex-residents of Black River associated a death, temporary illness and a nervous breakdown with removal.88 The focus of future work might help to better understand why and how removal affected physical health.

Joyous expressions of identity with Sea Point temporarily alleviated the pain of removal. At least three young adults returned to Sea Point to marry or celebrate their marriage. One week after Mr. Petersen’s household moved to Maitland in June 1961, his elder daughter Hazel, married her fiancé in the Holy Redeemer. After the Lambert household moved to Bonteheuwel, Mrs. D. Moses returned to Tramway Road to marry her fiancé, Clifford, on 10 November 1961:

I said to Cliffy, ‘I’m going to get married in the Holy Redeemer. I only know that church. No other church’ ...The priest was too happy to see [us] come all the way from Bonteheuwel because that was our church ...For years we used to go there.89

Owing to the location of the Holy Redeemer and the long period of worship there, ex-residents regarded it as a church that belonged to them. The GAA denied Coloureds residence in Sea Point but not the use of places in the suburb that permitted Coloureds. The availability of the Sea Point Town Hall to people of all races, encouraged Mr. P.F. Jacobs to transport the guests of his son’s wedding reception, to the hall. Mr. Jacobs hired a bus to transport ex-residents of the enclave to the hall where his son (formerly of Ilford Street) and daughter-in-law (formerly of Tramway

86 Pinnock, Breaking the Web, p. 1
87 Western, Outcast Cape Town, p. 218.
89 Interview with Mrs. D.M. 10/06/1998.
Road) held their wedding reception on 10 May 1964. Jacobs’ memory and identity was also poignantly evident through the transplanted name of his house in Bonteheuwel. On the outer right wall of Jacobs’ house in Bonteheuwel hung the brass plaque, “Beeston,” the name of his former residence in Ilford Street. On the outer right wall of Jacobs’ nieces’ house in the township hung the plaque “La Vista,” the name of that Jacobs’ former dwelling in Tramway Road.

As oral history interviews consistently emphasised that to describe removal as “traumatic” isn’t a strong enough word.” Ms. C. Morta suggested that for some people, the after affects of removal became turning points: “When people had to move from Sea Point a lot of people couldn’t take it. Some people reached their goals in life, whereas others went down.” The manner in which ex-residents dealt with the deep social and psychological consequences of removal, depended partly on their personal histories and intimate relationships. People did not easily succumb to the effects of removal but some lacked support that might have allowed them to transcend their social and emotional ordeal. Mr. E. Collins suggested that people who held some status in the enclave were among those who found it most difficult to adjust to Bonteheuwel.

[People] really got hurt that they had to move. Their lives never got back on track. It’s so big they closed it up ... In Afrikaans ons se ‘julle verberg.’ [“they’re over the top.”] They hid it away but it is still in their sub-conscious ... But of course they live with that ... It’s almost as if everything was cut off underneath them ... You get people that is -- considered higher up than others. [But] on the whole we accepted each other. While people were looking up to them this [removal] happened ... [after we left Sea Point] ... we weren’t close [together anymore]. Because the area became bigger. [So] they weren’t visible as they were in the close community. We were only about sixty families ... And now we were scattered in this vast area of Bonteheuwel. They [didn’t have the same position there] ... And in this vastness they got lost ... So it’s a big upheaval.92

It is interesting that in his excerpt, Mr. Collins stated that unresolved memory of removal taints the present. Mr. Collins’ statement supports the earlier discussed profound experience of Mrs. Crowe. Though his excerpt is not explicit, the people about whom Mr. Collins spoke might have been men. Owing to their occupational

91 Interview with Ms. C.M.13/06/1998.
status and activities that they performed in the public areas of the enclave, men were more likely than women to attain a position that encouraged other residents to revere them. In the new environment of Bonteheuwel it was difficult for men to perform activities that had been part of their leisure in the enclave. In contrast to their social lives in the enclave, in Bonteheuwel the different social space and the reduced opportunity for social interaction beyond the home seriously affected the men. The size and organisation of the township compounded the profound sense of loss of identity. Some ex-residents overcame the emotional challenges that they faced but others did not. Research into gender responses to removal might help us to understand the current malaise in townships on the Cape Flats.

Residents who obtained housing outside of Bonteheuwel and other townships maintained a greater sense of control over their lives and escaped the myriad consequences of townships. Since the majority of township residents were forcibly removed from their homes therein lay a complex consequence of township life. The trauma of removal affected domestic life and subsequently homes suffered under the strain of the human, social and economic affects of removal. Compounded by the scarcity of social and employment services in townships, the quality of life suffered.

Ms. U. Lawrence whose parental household moved to Lansdowne and later to Fairways, said,

We had trauma, we had stress and she (my mother) didn’t experience township life. You are really a survivor if you went on to the Cape Flats and survived places like Bonteheuwel, Manenberg, Hanover Park. 93

By the late 1990s, the townships that Ms. Lawrence named, all built for Coloureds, were notorious for a low standard of living, high unemployment, criminal activity and other behaviour that indicated a highly disadvantaged and traumatised people.

Mrs. P. Jacobs (nee Davis) agreed that one’s escape from townships contributed to one’s contemporary well-being.

We were in a fortunate position. Our home in Steenberg wasn’t that badly affected. We didn’t go into the council area (township). We lived in the area that was owned by individual people but of course we just

92 Interview with Mr. E.C. 17/06/1998.
rented one room. It was near the station. Of course [part of] Steenberg was built [as a township for] the Kirstenbosch and Newlands people ...And then [we came] to (Lansdowne). We were [in Steenberg] two, three years. So we were never in that very bad situation. 94

Given the shortage of housing for Coloureds in Cape Town in the late 50s and early 60s, the good fortune of avoiding relocation to townships was unavailable to all households. The ability of the Davis unit, a household size of six in 1961, to rent for just one room, emphasised their narrow choice in the private housing sector in the city at large. Research that involves households that went to townships and households that did not would make for exciting comparative work.

Some ex-residents who lived in Bonteheuwel, Lansdowne and Walmer Estate continued to attend the Holy Redeemer. In the ‘whites-only’ park that was landscaped where the enclave had stood, at least one ex-resident defied apartheid. Ms. U. Lawrence said, “I had many a tiff with a white person who told me ‘you can’t come here.’ I used to be very adamant and say, ‘You have a park here. This is where I was born. I lived here’ ... I used to put the children onto those swings and let them swing.” 95 Her history with the parkland motivated Ms. Lawrence to oppose the GAA. Mrs. Lawrence’s Sunday attire and membership at the Holy Redeemer perhaps supported her successful opposition.

When Mr. R. Paulsen visited the park, he reacted to the hidden history of the park and the current use of the land.

[I had a] feeling of utter hopelessness. When you back to go visit the place. See what they had done ...everything was bulldozed. What really - hit below the belt. We saw where we lived is a park for these whites’ dogs to come and shit and whizz ...You don’t see any evidence where there was laughter and [life]. And just because of (our) colour ...they come and walk their bloody dogs there. 96

Evidence of animal waste in the park desecrated the sacrosanct memory of the enclave. The use of the land for dogs rather than for people who happened to be Coloured underscored the base values of the apartheid government and its supporters. The park also contributed to the erasure of black history in Cape Town. Mr. Paulsen’s reaction to the park in Tramway Road was similar to the pain of Mr. T. Jones who

94 Mrs. P.J. in an interview with Mrs. A.D. Mrs. P.J. and Mrs. E.V. 22/06/1998.
wept when after many years abroad, he visited the site where his grandmother’s home had stood in Black River. 97

A profound expression of identity among ex-residents of the enclave occurred through the establishment of the Sea Point Swifts, the popular football club of Tramway and Ilford streets, in Bonteheuwel. Through its establishment on the Cape Flats, the club served as a living memory of the enclave. In broader social terms, the club filled a vital gap in the leisure of males.

We were the only soccer club in Bonteheuwel. That is how the youngsters came and joined. There was one year we were one of the biggest clubs in the Western Province. We had 13 individual teams. We had two under-10s, 12, 14, 16, 18. We had two teams in each division. We had three senior teams. In Bonteheuwel we really grew. 98

Young and older males from the enclave played with, coached and administered the team. Former residents supported the team as they had in the past and participated in the Supporters Group to raise funds: “That soccer team really kept us going. When they played we used to go.” 99 In stimulating memories of the enclave and acting as a place of interaction, the club helped ex-residents to re-construct their lives in the township. Connection to positive aspects of the past and support for the present and future were important to re-construction, a psychological and social undertaking. Ex-residents of the enclave endeavoured in the challenging exercise of accepting and adapting to the circumstances in which they found themselves on the Cape Flats. In social terms adapting meant patronage of businesses and amenities in Bonteheuwel and the Athlone area, making a council house into a home, adapting to the distance to work or finding closer employment, familiarising oneself with the township and directly and indirectly contributing to the liveability of the township. In psychological terms reconstruction entailed the discipline of focusing on the future and resolving the past.

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96 Interview with Mr. R.P. 06/06/1997.
98 Mr. A.J. in an interview with Mr. P.H.J. 05/08/1997.
99 Interview with Mrs. L.B. June 1998.
## PLACE OF RESIDENCE AFTER FORCED REMOVAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>Whittaker, R.</td>
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Second and Third Forced Removal

Following on group areas proclamations in greater Cape Town and after they had vacated Sea Point, at least four households experienced a second and in two cases, a third removal. These were the households that moved to, Mowbray, Black River, District Six, Milnerton and a declared area of Lansdowne. Owing to the relatively short period of time that they resided in these areas, these ex-residents of the enclave had less of an identity with their new residential place and neighbours. However, the far-reaching effect of forced removal on the human psyche meant that a second and third removal weighed as heavily as the removal from Tramway and Ilford streets. Removal emphasised the draconian power of the state and provoked a deep sense of lack of control over one’s life—because of skin colour—and insecurity about the stability and social and economic well being of the household.

Mrs. D. Moses moved to Bonteheuwel with her parental household but after she married she and her husband resided in Bruce Street, Mowbray. The government declared Mowbray a white area in 1961 and forcibly removed Coloureds in 1963. Mrs. Moses’ household then moved to District Six only to experience the proclamation of District Six for whites in February 1966.

Ah, we got to get out of Mowbray. They gave us a place in Bonteheuwel. I said ‘no ways am I going back to Bonteheuwel’… That time money was little. There’s no car. There’s no money for a car. We just got married. We’ve got a baby and you know what we earned that time… Then [Cliffy] decided, District Six we going to town…Glory help me we were just nicely settled. House renovated my late father worked for years to make that place liveable.100

Though the Moses household lived for a relatively short time in Mowbray and District Six, removal from those places disrupted their lives in a manner similar to the removal of Mrs. Moses from Tramway Road. In both Mowbray and District Six the Moses had established some connection to where they lived and in meaningful ways created homes where they lived. Forced removal dispossessed the Moses not only of their tangible and intangible possessions but also drove home the extent to which they had been robbed of rights that increasingly became scarce for people of colour. Upon removal from District Six, the Moses household moved to Crawford, Athlone. At
least one other ex-resident of the enclave, Mr. Nathoo, resided in District Six when it was declared white. Mr. Nathoo operated a shoe-repair business in District Six and resided there on a part-time basis. Mr. Nathoo left District Six in 1976.

In 1966 the government proclaimed Black River for whites. The Delport household had moved to Heath Road in Black River but in 1970, were removed: "The government came. You got to leave." The household moved to Primrose Park. The majority of Black River residents were relocated to Manenberg.

Upon eviction from Sea Point, Mr. E. Lawrence’s father moved his household to property he had purchased in Milnerton, in 1928.

In 1980 we were force removed from Milnerton. My father had died. My step-mother had children of her own and went to live with them. We didn’t know where to go. I saw this plot (in Black Heath) advertised. Caltex, the company I worked for helped me. Milnerton people went to Atlantis.

Similar to events that occurred with other households during the removal of Tramway Road, members of this Lawrence household separated and an employer assisted with new housing.

Approximately nine months after Mrs. D. Lawrence’s household moved to Lansdowne, they received a notice to vacate. Group areas authorities enforced the notice 21 years later. The Lawrence household moved to Fairways. Ms. U. Lawrence said the second removal “was equally as traumatic,” as the removal from Tramway Road. Through its blatant abuse of power the state repeatedly stimulated a sense of insecurity and uncertainty about the future.

Change of Residence

For some of the ex-residents, a change of residential address occurred shortly after and long after removal from Sea Point. Economic circumstance, age and the desire for better living conditions were some of the reasons that people moved. In the 1980s, middle-class and aspiring middle-class Coloureds had the opportunity to reside in Mitchell’s Plain.

100 Interview with Mrs. D.M. 10/06/1998.
101 Mrs. J.D. in an interview with Mrs. J.D. and Mr. J.D. 14/06/1998.
102 Mesthrie, “Dispossession in Black River.”
103 Interview with Mr. E.L. 17/06/1998.
By 1998, ex-residents of Tramway and Ilford streets resided in different parts of metropolitan Cape Town. Approximately four years after Mr. and Mrs. Whittaker moved to Kensington with the Ramasammi household, the Whittakers obtained their own dwelling in Kensington. From 1962 to 1980, Mr. Nathoo resided in Rylands where his siblings also lived. In 1980, attracted by the price of real estate, Mr. Nathoo moved to Gatesville. Mr. E. Collins left Bonteheuwel in the 1970s and built a house for his marital unit in Kuils River. After 18 years in Bonteheuwel, Mrs. I. Bertie moved to Mitchell’s Plain. Mrs. Bertie’s sister, Mrs. S. Sheldon, also moved to Mitchell’s Plain and the sisters lived near to each other. In the 1990s, owing to the pleas of their daughter, Mr. and Mrs. E. Mitchell moved to Mitchell’s Plain. Some time after Mr. Mitchell died, Mrs. Mitchell moved to Eersterivier.

In 1998, ex-residents, who were children and young adults at the time of removal, lived in Retreat, Grassy Park, Zoetvlei, Bonteheuwel, Langa, Athlone, Green Point and Greenhaven (formerly Portavue). Though South Africa became a democracy in 1994, the residence of former inhabitants of the enclave, in areas still associated with Coloureds and in the case of Langa, with Blacks, pointed to economic factors that acted as the new divide between blacks and whites.

**CONCLUSION**

The ex-residents of Tramway and Ilford streets were among the first to be housed in Bonteheuwel. Removal to a new township that lay distant from places of work exacerbated the social and psychological effects of relocation. While the response to removal among children and young adults varied, women and men both grieved over the human and spatial losses inherent in forced removal.

Over time the ex-residents of Tramway and Ilford streets reconstructed their lives in Bonteheuwel and elsewhere on the Cape Flats. An important form of reconstruction occurred in the late 1990s through restitution for Tramway Road, the focus of the next chapter.

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"I can still clearly picture this whole place."¹

CHAPTER NINE

MEMORY and RESTITUTION, 1996-2001

I don’t think [I’ll go back to Sea Point] …I’ll miss everything [that] I’m used to doing in (Belhar). Going back there what am I going to do with myself?²

My mother used to say ...‘one day you people are going back. While we are living you are going back’. It’s becoming reality ... We definitely are going to go back.³

INTRODUCTION

The Group Areas Act (GAA) and other race-based laws in South Africa was repealed under the Abolition of Race Based Law Act, 1991. The Restitution of Land Rights Act, 1994, (hereafter referred to as “the Act”) provided that South Africans could seek redress for removals that occurred under race-based laws since June 1913. The Act was key to national reconciliation and a democracy that supported racial integration and the equitable distribution of land. Under the leadership of the Tramways Committee, ex-residents of Tramway and Ilford streets applied for restitution in 1997.

Not every ex-resident of the enclave participated in restitution. Of those who participated, memories of the enclave and removal motivated participation. While the committee anticipated that restitution would be a relatively quick course of events, delays and obstacles at the commission rendered it a protracted process. In response to the problems it encountered the committee obtained a project co-ordinator. Equally invaluable support from members of the public supported the Tramways Committee as it persisted to conclude the process of restitution. Since a city-owned park had been established where most of the Tramway Road and Ilford Street enclave had stood, restitution made possible the restoration of the original land from where dispossession occurred.

This chapter focuses on the choices of restitution of some of the Tramways claimants and some of the activities that the Tramways Committee encountered during the restitution for Tramway Road.

¹ Mr. M.B. Cape Times 23/04/1997.
² Mr. D.J. in an interview with Mrs. A.J. and Mr. D.J. 16/06/1998.
³ Interview with Mr. P.V. 11/06/1998.
Personal notes from meetings on restitution for Tramway Road, Minutes of meetings of the Tramways Committee, personal communication and oral history excerpts form the main sources for this chapter. The oral history excerpts were part of interviews that were conducted in 1997 and 1998. The excerpts therefore identify the restitution that claimants sought during those times. If interviewees had changed their choice of restitution, the change is noted in the narration. Table 9 shows the type of restitution that claimants were to receive in May 2001.

Towards Restitution: A Focus on the Early Process and a Few Claimants

In 1996, Mr. L. Lopes contacted ex-residents of the enclave to persuade them to apply for restitution. Lopes became involved in the restitution for Tramway Road because of his role in organising a reunion, in October 1985, at the Woodstock Town Hall, for the ex-residents of Tramway and Ilford streets. The reunion was held to "commemorate 25 years of departure from Sea Point." Because many of the former inhabitants had lost touch with one another, the reunion became a significant moment in their lives. Owing to the success of the reunion, Mr. M. Mitchell asked Lopes to organise the ex-residents to apply for restitution. At the time of restitution, memories of the reunion perhaps affected the participation in redress.

In November 1996, at the Bonteheuwel Community Centre, ex-residents of the enclave attended their first meeting on restitution. Lopes was nominated as Chair of the Tramways Committee. On behalf of the Regional Commission of the Commission on Restitution of Land Rights (hereafter referred to as “the commission”) Ms. E. Davison and Mr. D. de la Harpe attended the meeting. Established in 1995, the commission held responsibility to fulfil the provisions of the Act. The committee and commission staff explained the provisions of the Act and encouraged the ex-residents to apply for restitution. People who had been removed from District Six, Constantia, Ndabeni, Simon's Town, Windermere/Kensington, Claremont and Black River were among the other residents of Cape Town who applied for restitution in the late 90s.

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4 "To All Ex-Tramway Road Residents," c. October 1985.
The Act provided that property owners as well as tenants who had been dispossessed of land could seek restitution of a right to land. Most of the people who lived in Tramway and Ilford streets had rented their homes. The Act provided that tenants could lodge claims if they occupied the land at the time of dispossession. Owners could prove their ownership through a record of ownership as reflected in a Deed of Transfer and Erf Register Records. If an eligible tenant or owner had died, independent of each other, all the direct descendants of the deceased tenant or owner became eligible for restitution. A “direct descendant” referred to a blood relative in the descending line, or the spouse of the dispossessed person. This meant that the children, grandchildren and more remote descendants of the dispossessed were eligible for restitution. Brothers, sisters, nephews and nieces were not recognised as direct descendants. Restitution could be effected through restoration, the return of the land or a part of the land that was lost through dispossession, or through the giving of alternative land. Restitution could also be effected through monetary compensation. The government provided monetary compensation if no land was available for claimants or if claimants requested monetary compensation rather than restoration. People who applied for restoration intended to establish their homes on the land that they received.

The Tramways claimants and 32 claimants for Steurhof (between Plumstead and Diep River) and approximately 1,000 claimants for District Six were the among the comparatively few people of Cape Town who could envisage returning to the land from where they, and their kin, had been removed. Owing to a tenancy restitution agreement with the City of Cape Town, in November 2001, ex-residents of Steurhof or their descendants were able to return to their original houses. The majority of the land where District Six once stood was undeveloped and owned by the city. The development and private ownership of land where removal had occurred elsewhere in the city made it difficult to realise restoration on the original land from which earlier communities had been dispersed. The development and private ownership of property in Ndabeni, upper and lower Claremont, Mowbray, Protea Village and Black River.

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8 Personal communication with E.D. 28/06/2001.
prevented or made it difficult for ex-residents of those places to return to where they and their kin had formerly lived. If claimants from these former residential areas requested that their land be replaced and if alternative land was available, the government was expected to provide an alternative site. Since Ndabeni had been developed into an industrial area, ex-residents of Ndabeni who sought restoration would establish new homes at Wingfield, Cape Town.  

Claimants for Tramway Road received a form that they had to complete and submit with evidence that verified their right to land. Participation in restitution entailed a time-consuming exercise of finding and obtaining documents and records that would prove eligibility for restitution. To verify their right to land, claimants had to submit a certified copy of their identity book and any documentation such as a baptism or marriage certificates. Receipts for the payment of rent before dispossession, a photograph of the person who was dispossessed, the dwelling that the dispossessed occupied and letters written to the dispossessed that included the recipient’s residential address contributed to evidence for eligibility for restitution. Claimants who were the direct descendent of a dispossessed resident who had subsequently died had to submit proof of their relationship to the dispossessed person, the death certificate of the dispossessed and a copy of the will, if there had been a will. All claimants had to submit a copy of their personal identity book. Claimants who did not have the documents required had to obtain a copy of the documents from government departments. The commission provided a guide as to which departments could be contacted for certain records.

The household data that Mr. and Mrs. Wannenburg collected around August 1961 would have helped to verify who lived in the enclave in 1961. When Mr. B. Eyssen, a member of the Tramways Committee, phoned Mr. Wannenburg in 1996 to request information that he might have had in his possession, however, Mr. Wannenburg was pre-occupied with his wife’s illness. Mr. Wannenburg did not find his files on Tramway and Ilford streets until May 1998.

Since the Act permitted for the restitution of dispossessed land as far back as 1913, the government recognised that records to substantiate a right to land might not be available. The Act therefore provided that claimants could submit oral evidence to

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12 *Cape Argus* 29/06/2001.
13 Personal communication with E.D. 02/10/2000.
support their application for restitution. Oral histories about ex-residents who lived in
the enclave and accounts of life in and removal from the enclave helped to cross-
verify information that all the ex-residents submitted.\textsuperscript{15} To obtain evidence for the
claims, siblings who applied for restitution as a direct descendant relied on each other
to compile short oral histories of their parental households.

In February 1997, approximately 60 ex-residents attended a second restitution
meeting at the Bonteheuwel Community Centre. (The following discussion of events
at the meeting is based on personal observations.) At one point in the meeting, the
position of Lopes as Chair emphasised the mediating role he occupied between the
commission and claimants. Lopes' attention to the preservation of existing private
property echoed the interests of the Land Claims Court and personally raised the
question of whether Lopes' connection with the claimants was strategically used by
the commission to address a possibly sensitive matter among some of the claimants.\textsuperscript{16}

Of the four houses that had stood on the south side of Ilford Street, all but the house
that had been known as 2 Ilford Street had been demolished. Other dwellings had
since been erected and three houses now stood on the south side. All of the houses
were privately owned and the Court sought to protect the ownership of private
property. Lopes encouraged ex-residents of Ilford Street who had resided on the south
side and who might seek restoration, to seek restoration through the land where the
park lay. The park included land on the north side of Ilford Street, where the Parker
shop, Parker residence and "Beeston" had stood. Encouragement by Lopes rather than
by a representative of the commission to limit restoration to the parkland helped to
defuse any possible negative reaction from ex-residents of Ilford Street. Attention to
the topic by a commission representative, an agent linked to the state might have
stimulated memory of the oppressive role state agents played during removal. A
commission representative might have stimulated resentment and resistance among
ex-residents of Ilford Street who anticipated returning to their original land. During
and after Lopes addressed the topic of Ilford Street none of the claimants showed any
concern and none raised the subject during other meetings. The agenda for the
February meeting included time for claimants to complete applications of restitution
and submit them to the committee. Davison and de la Harpe who attended the meeting

\textsuperscript{15} Personal communication with E.D. 02/10/2000.
on behalf of the commission, assisted individuals with the completion of restitution forms.

Some ex-residents of Tramway and Ilford streets chose not to participate in restitution. Belief that there was no need for redress, that the state could not afford restitution and the potential claimant's age influenced non-participation. Not every ex-resident whom Lopes contacted agreed to, or sought, restitution. Mr. F. Wepener had been invited to attend meetings and to apply for restitution but declined to participate. Mr. Wepener's older brother, Mr. H. Wepener who owing to his memory of conflict in the enclave declined to be interviewed for this thesis also declined to participate in restitution. During his interview, Mr. F. Wepener said that restitution encouraged an unproductive engagement with the past.

[I was told] about them holding a meeting to decide whether they want to go back or not. [It's] so much balderdash. It's only bullshit. A person must be careful about emotion. A person must get down to the hard facts of life.\footnote{17 Interview with Mr. F.W. 22/05/1998.}

Themes that caution against behaviour associated with the irrational mind set the tone of Mr. Wepener's excerpt. Though not unfamiliar with emotion, Mr. Wepener guarded warned against its overwhelming possibility. Mr. Wepener who had cancer at the time of his interview, died in 1999. In addition to reasons similar to that of his brother, it is possible that Mr. Wepener's illness influenced his decision not to seek restitution. Mr. H. Wepener died in 2000.

Recently widowed in 1997, Mr. D. Nathoo agreed that restitution should be sought but declined to apply for any form of recompense. The Nathoo parental household resided in Tramway Road for almost 20 years but Mr. Nathoo said that households that had a longer history with the enclave had a greater right to restitution. Despite the provisions of the Act for restitution, Mr. Nathoo determined his own
criteria for eligibility. Nevertheless, Mr. Nathoo suggested that had restitution come at an earlier time, the choice of redress might have been a difficult decision.

I’m not in my prime … Can you survive the pace of life [in Sea Point] today? The prices are exorbitant. It makes it not worth going back. My brothers and sisters don’t miss Tramway Road. Gatesville has developed nicely. There’s a temple here. We’re near to one another.\textsuperscript{18}

After the inhabitants of Tramway and Ilford streets were removed from the enclave, separation from kin and distance from amenities that they had once patronised were among the greatest impositions of removal. Recognising these impositions and having the choice to avoid them, if Mr. Nathoo had participated in restitution, he might have avoided restoration. Simultaneously, if he were younger, restoration might have been an attractive choice. However, owing to his age, the changes inherent in moving and the more expensive and faster pace of life in Sea Point held no attraction. At his time of life, of greater importance to Mr. Nathoo were his residence close to his siblings and amenities that contributed to his quality of life.

Widowed around 1998, Mr. R. Splinters identified his and other ex-residents’ tenant status in the enclave, the cost of restitution for the government and lack of evidence to verify habitation in the enclave, as reasons for his non-participation in restitution.

If the property was our own, it would be a different story, The government has no money. Who’s going to claim? Who’s not going to claim? … Most of the people don’t have records that they paid some amount of money. In my case, my mother paid all the bills. We didn’t give her anything. I don’t know who the landlord was.\textsuperscript{19}

Owing to the acceptance of oral histories to verify residence and the availability of documents to identify landlords, the questions that Mr. Splinters raised perhaps more expressed a disbelief that the ordinary people of Tramway and Ilford streets could achieve the long-held dream to return to Sea Point.

Difficult as it had been to establish a home in Bonteheuwel, for some ex-residents the township had become their accepted place of home. For Mrs. K. Fischer,

\textsuperscript{18} Interview with Mr. D.N. 18/06/1997.
a woman of almost 80 years old, the decision to stay in Bonteheuwel conflicted with her ever-present attachment to Sea Point: “It’s quite nice here but I still have the feeling of Sea Point.”

Similar to Mr. Nathoo, Mrs. Fischer might have chosen restoration if the choice had come at an earlier time in her life. Mr. A. Jacobs, who played a key role in the establishment of the Sea Point Swifts in Bonteheuwel, identified conditions in Sea Point and the inherent demands of residential change as reasons for his decision to stay on the Cape Flats: “You not safe at night there. No, I won’t go back ... You got to re-establish yourself over again and get used to the people staying there.”

A popular night spot by the late 1990s, Sea Point had become associated with prostitution, gangs, robbery and drug trafficking. Though Bonteheuwel had a reputation for similar criminal activity, Mr. Jacobs was familiar with the township and strategies for safety there.

The Sea Point Swifts also applied for restitution but chose to remain in Bonteheuwel. The Swifts had established a good reputation with young males in the township and wished to continue to serve the residents there. For as long as it continued to serve Bonteheuwel, the football club would represent a legacy of forced removal and symbolise the reconstitution of life and leisure sport in the township.

Seventy-seven year old Mrs. C. Tombeni, who had resided in the council flats, applied for monetary compensation. As discussed in Chapter 5, the Tombeni household moved out of the flats around August 1955 after the city council decided to evict the tenants to allow for the expansion of the electrical department in Tramway Road. The Table Mountain Proclamation that effected the removal of people from Tramway and Ilford streets, occurred in July 1957. Despite the two-year difference between the Tombeni move and the proclamation, Mrs. Tombeni was eligible for restitution. The commission recognised that, after the 1948 election of the National Party and during the early 1950s, media reports about the implementation of the GAA had provoked discussion about removals and had thus stimulated the idea of racially segregated residential areas. The possible race-based removal of the tenants of the flats, therefore, could not be discounted. When she spoke about why she chose financial compensation Mrs. Tombeni said,
I don’t see why we should fight for Tramway Road again… I wouldn’t try to go back again. Because it means I got to go build again. Or the council whatever is going to build again. You got to go pay rent again. I bought this house. So why should I go waste my money like that? 24

Since the Tombeni household moved out of Tramway Road under different circumstances than the other residents of the enclave and, in general, owing to social relations (see Chapter 5) Mrs. Tombeni might have felt less tied to the former residential area than other ex-residents. Similar to Mr. Nathoo and Mr. Jacobs, Mrs. Tombeni also recognised the expense and major personal adjustment inherent in restoration. However, unlike Mr. Nathoo who suggested that age deterred him from returning to Sea Point, age did not seem to influence Mrs. Tombeni’s decision. A woman of almost 80 years old at the time of her interview, Mrs. Tombeni died in August 2000. As Mrs. Tombeni’s direct descendent, Mrs. Lewis, Mrs. Tombeni’s daughter, became entitled to restitution. The deaths of Mrs. M. Lopes in February 1999, Mr. P.F. Jacobs in July 1999, Mrs. S. Panday in December 1999, Mrs. D. Lawrence in April 2001 and Mrs. V. Phillips in July 2001 entitled their direct descendants to restitution as well. The death of Mr. J. Delport in July 1998 did not affect the restitution for which his wife, Mrs. J. Delport applied.

In some households restitution became a difficult subject and a topic that led a few ex-residents to relinquish the hope of returning to Tramway Road. Ex-residents who were married and whose spouses did not share an attachment to Sea Point reluctantly chose monetary compensation rather than restoration. In her application for restitution, Mrs. J. van Eysland applied for financial compensation. Mrs. van Eysland desired restoration but her husband did not want to move from Kensington where the couple resided. In the second excerpt that appears at the head of this chapter Mr. D. Jacobs said he intended to stay in Belhar where he and his wife, Mrs. A. Jacobs have resided for 22 years. Mr. Jacobs was born and raised in Ilford Street and his wife was born and raised in Tramway Road. Mrs. Jacobs’ siblings (Valentine) comprised the largest number of direct descendants among the Tramway claimants who sought restoration and she herself wished to return to Sea Point. 25 However, as a result of her husband’s preference, Mrs. Jacobs chose monetary compensation. The

24 Interview with Mrs. C.T. 07/06/1997.
reason that the Valentine siblings desired to return to Sea Point is perhaps best expressed by the quote of Mr. P. Valentine that appears beneath Mr. Jacob's quote near the top of this chapter. Mr. Valentine and his siblings are fulfilling the long held and anticipated dream of their mother, to return to Tramway Road.

An identity with Sea Point, a sense of loyalty to parents, a need for redress and a desire to return to Tramway Road encouraged participation in redress. Of the Tramway and Ilford streets claimants who sought restitution, some applied for financial compensation and others sought restoration. During the restitution process, some claimants changed the type of restitution that they initially chose: claimants switched from monetary compensation to restoration and from restoration to monetary compensation. Among the ex-residents who applied for restoration, an attachment to Sea Point lay at the heart of their choices. In 1997, 67-year-old Ms. B. Jacobs, who retired from her employment in Sea Point in the mid-1970s, still visited Sea Point with her sister almost every weekend: "We still very much Sea Point minded." Though residents of Bonteheuwel for over 30 years, the Jacobs sisters viewed themselves as belonging to Sea Point. Perhaps owing to their ages, the decision of one of their closest friends, Mrs. D. Barros, to stay in Bonteheuwel and the inherent changes of moving, by late 2000, Ms. Jacobs and her sister chose monetary compensation rather than restoration. The change expressed that though a decision had been made on the application form for restitution in 1997, it continued to be under consideration.

Sea Point has been a constant presence in the lives of Mr. and Mrs. van der Westhuizen. Mrs. van der Westhuizen's father, Mr. J. Petersen was born in Tramway Road in 1910. Mrs. van der Westhuizen, who met her husband in Tramway Road, recalled one of her and her brother's favourite pastimes in the suburb.

During the summer we almost there every weekend. There's so many other places to walk but my husband and myself love going to Sea Point ...There's this shop in Sea Point ...called New York Bagels. [When I lived in Tramway Road] it used to be a bakery, Mason and Mayfield's. My brother worships at Wale Street (in St. George's Cathedral)...Every Sunday morning after church, he goes to Sea Point to buy his bread and produce.27

26 Interview with Ms. B.J. 30/05/1997.
27 Interview with Mrs. P. v W. 16/06/1997.
The continued engagement with Sea Point expressed commemoration of rather than forgetting the past. Mindful of their histories with the suburb, the activities that the van der Westhuizens and Mrs. van der Westhuizen’s brother performed in the suburb were inscribed with pleasant memories of a more youthful time and sense of place.

Similar to ex-residents of Protea Village, District Six and Ndabeni, for the ex-residents of Tramway and Ilford streets who participated in restitution, memories related to forced removal infused the process of redress with meaning. Memory in fact, was inherent to restitution. When she spoke about why she chose restoration, Mrs. C. Kulati recalled the natural beauty in the ambit of Tramway Road and activities that she performed with friends during her youth.

I usually tell my daughter ‘You don’t know what life is’ ...we used to know the flowers ...we used to have different things to do at different times ...we used to go to the mountain ...If we want a different spot we go ...to the beach. Themes that evoke memory of liberty and carefree days are prominent in Mrs. Kulati’s excerpt. These themes give specific meaning to Tramway Road and Sea Point and contribute to the decision to seek restoration.

To re-create the sense of community that has come to define the memory of Tramway Road some claimants implored others to seek restoration. Mrs. E. Mitchell sought restoration because her friends from the enclave encouraged her to return.

I wasn’t very anxious about it but the others [said] ...‘Say yes, say yes. It will be nice if we can all be together again.’ I thought yes, it will be nice if we can all get together to again. But Sea Point isn’t [like the] time when we were there.

Restoration offered an opportunity to reside again near to people who had been separated more than three decades ago. However, time had changed and life in the enclave cannot be reproduced. For Mrs. Mitchell, the idea of living among old friends in Tramway Road conflicted with the sense that the past is past. By May 2001, Mrs. Mitchell changed her choice of restitution to monetary compensation.

26 Interview with Mrs. C.K. 03/04/1998.
27 Interview with Mrs. E.M. 17/06/1998.
During the four years of the restitution process, the probability of achieving restoration and the decisions of friends and kin to return to Tramway Road probably encouraged ex-residents who initially chose financial compensation to switch to restoration. To have a substantive number of people to return to the land, Lopes also encouraged people who initially chose compensation to apply for restoration. Of the people who were interviewed, Mrs. V. Arnolds and Mrs. T. Ramasammi initially chose financial compensation but switched to restoration. During her oral history interview, Mrs. Arnolds said that after more than 30 years in Bonteheuwel and after renovating her house she did not want to leave the township. The claimant list for May 2001, however, listed Mrs. Arnolds as an applicant for restoration. During personal communication with Mrs. Ramasammi after her oral history interview, she said she did not want to leave Salt River where she resided. However, the final claimant list also listed Mrs. Ramasammi as an applicant for restoration. The claimants' ability to change their initial choice was a benefit of a protracted restitution process that lacked clear guidelines and policy.

As discussed in Chapter 8, adults and elderly people found it difficult to begin anew on the Cape Flats. For ex-residents who were children at the time of removal, the memory of how removal had affected their parents played a key role in the decision to seek restoration. When Ms. M. Issacs spoke about why she sought restoration, a memory of her mother and the hardship that her mother experienced in Bonteheuwel seemed ever present.

Maybe I’m sentimental. But I never liked Bonteheuwel ...It’s not because I compare Sea Point with Bonteheuwel. But I think it’s more because of my parents ...it’s also because we were wrongfully moved ...I’ve got to do it especially for my mother ...I’m sure she would have loved me to go back ...it’s not going to be easy but ...it will definitely be better than Bonteheuwel. For instance this afternoon I phoned garden services. I phoned four different companies. Do you know they are afraid to come to Bonteheuwel ...Fine I understand that it’s not safe. It’s not easy living in Bonteheuwel. But other than that I think that it’s more for my parents.31

Restoration permitted for residence in a suburb that offered a better quality of life than that in Bonteheuwel. Restoration also allowed for an important step in the reconciliation of removal. Similar to that of Ms. Issacs, the memory of how removal
THE PAST MEETS THE PRESENT: Land commissioner advocate Wallace Mgcoi (front right, with sunglasses) with former residents on the site of their once-lively neighbourhood — now a park — in Tramway Road, Sea Point.

PICTURE: LEON KNIFE
### Claimants for Tramway Road, May 2001

**Restoration**

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affected parents and the elderly ex-residents of the enclave motivated Lopes to conclude the restitution process at the earliest possible date. Lopes anticipated that the achievement of restitution would be sweeter if ex-residents who had now reached their elderly years would witness the return of the land from where they were removed. As a result, when elderly ex-residents died during the restitution process, their deaths heightened Lopes’ anxiety that re-dress was not proceeding as planned.

Towards Restitution: A Focus on Some of the Later Process

On 21 April 1997, Lopes formally lodged the Tramways Community Claim. The number of claimants totalled 159 claims.\(^1\) By August 1997, the Tramways claims were among the more than 16,000 claims submitted in South Africa.\(^2\) By January 2000, approximately 63, 455 claims had been lodged by people who had been removed under the nation’s past race-based laws.\(^3\) Of these claims, 12,000 had been lodged in the Western Cape and approximately 4,000 of these had been settled.\(^4\) Organisational problems at the commission and between the commission and Department of Land Affairs (DLA) affected the rate at which claims advanced through the bureaucracies of the commission and DLA.\(^5\) While the DLA represented the state, up until 1998 the commission operated autonomously from the DLA. After 1998, the commission was absorbed into the DLA. Changes in policy on restitution, poor working relations with claimants and expressions of bureaucratic power, all affected how the commission fulfilled its responsibilities.\(^6\)

Once the Tramways claims were lodged with the commission, Ms. P. Wernich, a researcher at the commission, verified that removal had occurred and investigated the evidence of eligibility that claimants’ submitted with their applications. Press coverage in 1959-1961 on the Tramway and Ilford streets removal, substantiated the claim that forced removal had occurred under the GAA. A 1994 article on the removal of the enclave by Professor U. Mesthrie further substantiated

\(^1\) Interview with Ms. M.I. 08/08/1998.

\(^2\) Date of lodging was recorded in “Commission of Restitution of Land Rights, Tramways Community Claim. Sea Point West.” September 1997; the number of claims was stated in “Tramways Road Restitution Claims,” Letter from Mr. M.W., LLB to the Honourable Minister of Land Affairs, Ms. T. Didiza. 30 05 2001.


\(^4\) Field. “Memory, Restitution and Democracy,” in Field (ed), Lost Communities, p. 158.

\(^5\) Cape Times 25 06 2001.

\(^6\) Brown et al. Land Restitution in South Africa, p. 3.

that residents had been relocated under the GAA. Given the evidence that the removal had occurred under a race-based law, Wernich focused mainly on verifying each claimant's eligibility for restitution.

While Wernich investigated the validity of the claims, the Tramways Committee and its members participated in activities related to their restitution process. On 17 November 1998, at Tafelberg High School (formerly King’s Road Primary School), the committee and other ex-residents of the enclave attended a meeting with approximately 100 residents of Sea Point West. The meeting was held to inform the public that the park that lay between Tramway and Ilford streets (the roads had been redirected) would be rezoned for residential purposes. (See Figure 6.) Mr. Mgoqi the regional commissioner of the commission, Mr. Chris Joubert (the Ward Councillor for Sea Point and the son of the proprietor of Joubert’s Butchery where the residents of the enclave shopped), Mr. Dave Daniels (head of Planning), a member of the city council, Davison, and commission researchers Ms. Pam Wernich and Ms. Helena Broadbridge, also attended the meeting.

The residents of Sea Point West were officially informed that until forced removal in 1961, people had lived where the park lay and that under the Act, some people sought restoration.38 Owing to news reports of the restitution for Tramway Road, in the Cape Times on 16 and 23 April 1997, at least some existing Sea Point West residents most probably knew already that removal had occurred and that people sought to return to Tramway Road.39 The residents voiced concern for the loss of the park, the aesthetic and real estate value of the proposed housing, the number of people who would live at the housing site, the preservation of private property in Ilford Street and the stability of ownership in the new housing.40 The Tramways Committee, the commission and City Council staff responded to the questions and before the meeting ended, so that the residents might be kept informed about the process of Tramways restitution, they were invited to register their names and addresses with the commission.41

The main text of the article that the Cape Times published on April 16th focussed on a reunion of the ex-residents of Tramway and Ilford streets that occurred at the Church of the Holy Redeemer and in the park in Tramway Road. Some ex-

residents of the former enclave had never relinquished their ties with the Holy Redeemer, while ex-residents, such as Lopes, renewed their ties with the church during the restitution process. Similar to the Anglican Church that ex-residents of Protea Village attended, because it had survived time and had played a prominent role in the lives of the Christian residents of the enclave, the Holy Redeemer became especially meaningful during restitution. Religious service at the Holy Redeemer and meetings in the church hall, St. Andrew’s Hall, emphasised that the memory of the injustice and pain of the past shadowed the present. Limited space prevents discussion of how the Holy Redeemer and St. Andrew’s Hall added meaning to the restitution process.

Once Wernich verified the applications of the Tramways claimants, the commission formed an opinion as to whether the Land Claims Court would accept the claims as valid. The claims were then referred to the DLA. As a representative of the state, the DLA was to form its own opinion as to the validity of the claims. Upon the decision of the DLA, the commission could, if necessary, send the claims to the Land Court. The court dealt mainly with contested claims or claims about which the commission sought further judgement. One of the matters upon which the court was to deliberate was whether the claimants were a group or community. In 1998, when the Tramways claims were to be sent to the Land Court, the court was backlogged with claims. Owing to the backlog, the Tramways claims could have taken 18 months to two years to appear before the court and one more year to be processed through the court. Given this backlog, the Tramways claimants opted to negotiate a settlement with the Minister of Land Affairs. Section 42D, a 1997 amendment to the Act provided that rather than have their claims referred to the court, claimants could negotiate a settlement with the Minister. The mandate to negotiate a settlement came from the DLA and occurred after motivation from the office of the regional commission in Cape Town. Once the agreed upon settlement was clarified by all the parties - a representative of the claimants, the City Council of Cape Town and the Minister, - it would be signed by all parties, an event which would bring to a close the restitution process.

43 Personal communication with E.D. 02/10/2000 and 10/06/2001.
The Act provided that a claim should be defined as a community claim or a group claim. Although claimants for Tramway Road identified themselves as a community, the Act did not recognise them as such. The Act defined community as "any group of persons whose rights in land are derived from shared rules determining access to land held in common by such group, and includes part of any such group."\(^{45}\)

The link between common land ownership and way of life figured prominently in the legal definition of community. The state's definition of community supported capitalist ideology and created a separation between people who had different links to land. Despite the state's definition, the Tramways Committee and Davison who had resigned from the commission in February 1999 and as of July 2000, worked with the Tramways committee as the project co-ordinator, argued that though they did not hold their land in common, residents of Tramway and Ilford streets lived in a community.

The residents lived in a specific locale and participated in social relations that had developed over time and that linked the residents to each other. This definition of community, common in modern definitions of the term, was also found among ex-residents of District Six and Windermere.\(^{46}\)

During the restitution process Tramways claimants identified themselves as a community and initially Lopes had lodged a community claim.\(^{47}\) However, since the claimants did not meet the definition of "community" as stated in the Act, they were defined as a group and each claimant had to submit a claim of his or her own. Though Lopes lodged a group claim in April 1997, as noted above, he lodged them as the Tramways Community Claim. The identification of the group of claims as belonging to a community signalled the Tramways Committee's disagreement with the narrow and legalistic definition of community in the Act and their intention to contest the definition.

Due to the decision to negotiate a settlement with the Minister, Davison and the Tramways Committee had to convince the commission that the Tramways claim constituted a community claim. Davison was concerned about the consequences of a group claim: a group claim permitted that only one person of the dispossessed household could return to the land. A community claim held no such restriction. The different formula used to calculate the sum granted to group and community claimants


\(^{46}\) For Windermere see Field, "The Power of Exclusion," p. 48.

\(^{47}\) Personal communication with E.D. 02/10/2000.
meant that community claims received more money for monetary compensation and restoration.

In addition to part of her aforementioned argument to the commission, Davison argued that historically that the first residents of the Tramway Cottages, the employees of the Sea Point and Green Point Tramway Company, had formed a community. Davison argued that the tramway company owned the cottages and as a singular landlord, held the land in common. Since the men who lived in the cottages were employed with the tramway firm, employment with the company constituted shared rules of access to the land. Davison argued that the residents of the Tramway Cottages lived on an undivided portion of land from 1873 to 1897 when the land was subdivided and sold to private landowners. Davison added that the earliest tenants of the Tramway Cottages were most probably not consulted about the sale of their dwellings and were not given the opportunity to purchase their homes. The residents of the cottages had no choice but to accept the subdivision and sale of the land by the tramway company. On the other hand, had they been given the option to purchase their dwellings, structural poverty would have prevented several if not all of the residents from purchasing their homes.48 With respect to the people who resided in Tramway and Ilford streets at the time of removal, Davison argued that the residents formed a community because they shared a common set of rules. A prominent shared rule constituted a concern for the economic security of elderly members of the household. Offspring who reached working age, worked to provide for younger siblings and aged parents.49 Davison told the commission that,

To insist on a purely formal and narrowly legal definition of community, preventing Tramways claimants from identifying as members of a community, is to multiply the injustices of the past, which refused to permit freedom of choice in respect of particular rights now entrenched in the South African Constitution.50

In pressing the commission to recognise that the inhabitants of the enclave lived as a community, Davison recognised that in the modern-day definition of the term, people who lived in a particular locale formed a community through social relations that they

48 "Tramways Restitution Claim – Group or Community?" Minutes, 02/07/2000.
49 "Tramways Restitution Claim – Group or Community?" Minutes, 02/07/2000.
50 "Tramways Restitution Claim – Group or Community?" Minutes, 02/07/2000.
developed over time. Acts of reciprocity were a hallmark of the enclave and a key social relation that promoted the production of Tramway and Ilford streets.

In keeping with the definition of "community" in the Act – a definition that upheld the importance of the ownership of property -- Mr. Roberts, the new regional commissioner, Ms. L. Waring, a commission research assistant, and Ms. P. Osman, a commission legal officer, rejected Davison’s argument. A fact that weakened Davison’s argument was that the land that formed the enclave belonged to different landlords. However, though multiple ownership was evident from deeds records, it was less clear in Davison’s argument and the commission’s view that all of the dwellings in the enclave did not originate with the Green Point and Sea Point Tramway Company. The enclave was comprised of three types of dwellings, cottages, houses and the council flats. As discussed in Chapter 1, each dwelling type had a different history and different landlords. However, though the landlords of the Tramway Cottages and houses of the southside of Ilford Street had changed over time, the landlords of those dwellings had always been the same. Wondering if this fact might have made a difference to Davison’s argument, in May 2001 I mentioned this fact of ownership and the history of the dwellings to Davison. Davison seemed surprised at the different histories of the housing and the possibly significant information about the ownership of the cottages and Ilford houses. In response, however, Davison said, “well they (the claimants) all wanted to keep their claims together.” Rather than divide the Tramways claims into two parts one of which might have been defined as a community the claimants kept their claims together. As a result, collectively the Tramways claimants were subject to the definition of community in the Act. If indeed a conscious decision, it emphasised that among the Tramways claimants there lay a kindred spirit, an aspect important to community.

In July 2000, the Tramways Committee was comprised of Mr. B. Eyssen, the grandson of Mr. N. Thomas, who had chaired the Tramway Road Association in 1959-1961; Mr. H. Hawtrey whose paternal grandparents moved to Tramway Road around the 1930s; Mr. D. Jacobs, a descendant of the Jacobs household of Ilford Street (1923); Ms. U. Lawrence, whose paternal lineage in Tramway Road dated to 1898; Mr. L. Lopes, whose maternal grandmother had moved to Tramway Road

51 “Tramways Restitution Claim – Group or Community?” Minutes. 02.07.2000.
52 Erfs 125. 1043-1044, Deeds Registrar.
53 Personal communication with Ms. E.D. 26/05/2001.
around 1932; and Mr. P. Valentine, whose maternal grandparents, the Octobers, had resided in Tramway Road from around 1920. Lopes chaired the committee and performed the majority of tasks but worked in a collective manner with its members. During restitution meetings, Lopes also consistently encouraged participation from the larger claimant membership. The rest of the committee and Davison as well projected an approachable and trustworthy presence. Davison began to work as the project co-ordinator of the Tramways claim, at no charge, in July 2000 after Lopes telephoned her several times to express his concern for the Tramways claims at the commission. Davison asked the rest of the Tramways claimants if they would like her to assist them in their restitution process. Other than the role that non-government organisations fulfilled with claimants in rural areas, the position of a project co-ordinator to claims for restitution was unique to the Tramways claims. Combined with her management skills Davison’s experience with the commission and history of working with members of the public who entered into a working relationship with the state became invaluable to the Tramways Committee. During meetings with the claimants, Davison encouraged the committee and claimants to control as much of the restitution process as possible and to recognise and exercise their collective power.

By July 2000, the Tramways Committee and Davison were part of a task team that included the commission, representatives of the City Council and Mr. Feinstein, ANC Member of Parliament for Sea Point West. The task team represented the type of partnership that was important to restitution and development. It was through meetings of this nature that the City Council - the owner of the park in Tramway Road - agreed to return the parkland to the claimants, at no charge. Despite the difficult subject of returning the parkland to the Tramways claimants, during its meetings with the council representatives the Tramways Committee consistently enjoyed a positive relationship with the former. The committee, however, consistently encountered difficulty with the commission. In addition to the protracted restitution process, the committee disliked the commission’s attempt to participate in the development of Tramway Road. The lack of the commission’s mandate to participate in development and the manner in which the commission approached development made it difficult

56 Personal communication with Mr. L.L. 30/06/2000.
for the committee to view the commission’s interest positively. During a task team meeting, in July 2000, wherein the subject of the development of housing in Tramway Road arose, Roberts encouraged the Tramways Committee to work with the Cape Town Community Housing Company. A private non-profit organisation, the company designed, financed and constructed dwellings that occupants of the dwellings purchased through monthly payments to the company. Since the Tramways Committee anticipated that they, and the rest of the claimants, would participate in the design and terms of ownership of the housing and perceived this activity as part of their personal and collective process of restitution, they found Roberts’ support for the housing company intrusive. In the development of Doornkop and Riemvasmaak, both located in the rural area, experience emphasised that the participation of the national state in development was part and parcel to restitution. The Tramways Committee, however, resisted the attempts of the commission to participate in the development of Tramway Road. The difficulties that the committee encountered with the commission, the lack of the commission’s mandate to participate in development and the claimants’ desire to control development stimulated resistance to state intervention. Unlike the need for the development of schools, health facilities and business in rural areas, the urban location of Tramway Road rendered state’s participation unnecessary. Indeed, with regard to rural areas the DLA argued that without the intervention of the state, restoration threatened to reproduce the undeveloped conditions that persisted after forced removal.

Roberts’ suggestion that the housing in Tramway Road be a restitution village that included other members of the public who had experienced removal under race-based laws also irritated the committee. Similar to the residents of Riemvasmaak and Doornkop, as part of their long-held dream to be back together in Tramway Road, the Tramways claimants envisaged that only ex-residents of the enclave would reside in the new housing development. Lopes’ confidence in the Tramways Committee and later, the Tramway Road Community Trust to manage the development of

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59 Minutes of the Tramways Claim Committee Meeting, 04/07/2000.
housing without the direct involvement of the state emphasised an advantage of restoration in an urban area by an urban group that had and used resources. The day after the task force meeting, in a letter to Mr. D. Daniels, a city council representative of the task team and the then Director of Planning and Economic Development, Lopes rejected Roberts' intentions to direct any aspect of the development of housing in Tramway Road.  

By late 2000, four years after Lopes had lodged the Tramways claims, the claims had advanced considerably through the commission. Combined with Davison's co-ordinating role, Lopes' persistent contact with commission staff and his availability for meetings supported the progress of the claims. Though employed full time at British Petroleum (BP), Lopes was able to devote considerable time to the restitution process. BP permitted Lopes to attend meetings related to restitution at any time of his workday. The availability of a telephone, facile machine and electronic mail at BP permitted Lopes during spare moments at work, to tend to the unending tasks he encountered as the Chair of the Tramways Committee. Gillian Lopes, Lopes' wife provided invaluable emotional support to her husband especially when he lost faith in 1999, after the death of his mother, that restitution would be achieved. Mrs. Lopes also readily answered the many telephone calls of Tramways claimants and other people who dialled the Lopes' residence.

By August 2000, the Tramways Committee and Davison had negotiated a sum of R25,000 for claimants who sought restoration and R17,500 for claimants who sought monetary compensation. The government originally offered all of the Tramways claimants R17,500. This sum reflected the cost of a serviced site in the Western Cape. Though Davison stated that she and the committee argued that due to the cost of rebuilding in Sea Point, claimants who sought restoration should be awarded a greater sum than the amount usually given, it is almost certain that her experience with government was crucial to this stage of the restitution process. Feinstein, then a member of the Finance Portfolio Committee, proposed that he discuss the proposed sum for claimants who sought restoration with Mr. Trevor Manuel, the Minister of Finance. It is unknown whether Feinstein discussed the sum

61 Letter from Mr. L.L. to Mr. D.D 05/07/2000.
62 "Tramway Road Restitution Claims," Letter sent from Mr. M. Walton, LLB to The Honourable Minister of Land Affairs, Ms. T. Didiza, 30/05/2001.
64 Personal communication with E.D. 09/10/2000.
with Manuel. Feinstein, however, did support the claimants in whatever manner he could. To assist claimants with the design of housing, Feinstein, whose parents lived in King’s Road in the 1950s, recommended his friend, Dr. J. Noero, Professor of Architecture and Town Planning at the University of Cape Town.\footnote{Information on the residence of Feinstein’s parents obtained in a personal communication with MP Feinstein 10/06/2001. Other information in this sentence received from personal communication with E.D. 02/10/2000.}

The agreed upon sum for the Tramways claimants was higher than the sum that the commission initially offered but considerably lower than the amount that the ex-residents would have received if the commission had recognised the claimants as a community. Restitution payments for community claims were based on the current value of the dispossessed land. The park in Tramway Road was valued at R5-million.\footnote{\textit{Sunday Metro Times}, 24/06/2001.} If the 110 Tramways claimants been defined as a community, and if the sum of R5 million were divided among them, they each would have received R45,454.54. Davison perceived that if the Tramway claim had gone to the Land Court, the court would have defined the claim as a community claim.\footnote{Personal communication with E.D. 10/06/2001.} As could be expected, actions taken for sound reason during the restitution process had future implications.

It is unknown how the commission determined the ceiling for the sum of money allotted to the Tramways claimants. Ex-residents of District Six negotiated a settlement of R39,000 for each claimant who sought restoration for District Six. Each of the African claimants who had been removed from Luyola, Simon’s Town and who sought restoration were to receive R42,000. Each of the Luyola claimants who applied for monetary compensation are to receive R17,500. The commission defined the Luyola claim as a community claim. Presumably the sum that Luyola claimants who sought restoration were to receive was based on the value of the land from where they were dispossessed.\footnote{Given the definition of “community” in the Act, the ex-residents of District Six could not be defined as a community, yet their monetary settlement was similar to the Luyola settlement and considerably more than the agreed upon sum for the Tramways claimants who sought restoration. The difference between the sum for the claimants for District Six and Tramway Road raises questions about the determination of funds for restoration. Did the popular notion of “the District Six community” and the constructed and emotive power of the memory of District Six,}
influence the decision about how much the ex-residents of District Six who sought restoration would receive?

As with all claimants who sought restoration, the Tramways claimants were eligible for government grants for housing. A sum of R3,000 per claimant was available through the Discretionary Restitution Grant and R1,440 per claimant was available through the Planning Grant. People who had not previously owned a house and who had a monthly income below R3,500 were eligible for a housing subsidy. Any money that was granted to claimants who sought restoration was to be credited to the bank account of the Tramway Road Community Trust. The total sum of the government grants mounted to approximately one fifth of the anticipated cost to develop the housing that Noero agreed to design for Tramway Road. The Tramway Trust aimed to solicit more funds from foreign governments and private sources.

Owing to the manner in which the committee and Davision worked to support restitution, by November the claimants who sought restoration had hired Mr. M. Walton, a lawyer, to establish a legal entity. The claimants needed to form a legal entity to take possession of the park. Subsequently, the claimants established a trust and elected a board of trustees. In comparison to the progress of the Tramways claims, in November 2000, seven years after they lodged their claims, claimants for Red Hill, Simon’s Town had not received any reply from the commission while claimants for Protea Village experienced a similar delay. The claimants for Red Hill and Protea Village each had a committee but neither had the benefit of a full time coordinator. Though the claimants for District Six had attracted the attention of the city and national governments and had established various committees they formed a considerably large group and their different interests contributed to a protracted restitution for District Six.

In light of the experience of claimants for Constantia, the decision of the Tramways Committee to negotiate a settlement under Section 42D of the Act, rather than have the Tramways claims proceed to the Land Court, seemed wise. In March

68 Personal communication with E. D. 28/06/2001.
69 Personal communication with E.D. 28/06/2001.
70 Personal communication with E.D. 02/10/2000.
71 For Red Hill see the Cape Argus 02/11/2000; information on Protea Village is based on personal communication with E.D. 09/10/2000.
2001, six years after claimants for Constantia had lodged their claims with the commission, the Constantia claims were due to appear before the court.\textsuperscript{72}

As Chair of the Tramways Committee, Lopes was to sign a Section 42D negotiated agreement in December 2000. The agreement that Lopes was to have signed would have concluded the process of restitution for Tramway Road. Eager to end the process, Lopes anticipated that he would sign the document. The City Council would return the parkland officially only after it signed the agreement and Lopes dearly wished to have the land returned. Walton and Davison, however, advised Lopes that the agreement was not a workable agreement. The agreement permitted for the participation of the commission in the development of housing in Tramway Road. The agreement referred to the claimants who sought restoration but made no mention of the claimants who sought monetary compensation. Lopes had been mandated to represent all the Tramways claimants.\textsuperscript{73} Had Lopes signed the agreement, he would have privileged the claimants who sought restoration: claimants who sought restoration would have achieved restitution and claimants who sought monetary compensation would have not achieved restitution. The guidance that Lopes received from Walton and Davison in December and most probably from Davison, in particular, during the restitution process on the whole, prevented significant error.

In the months after Lopes' refused to sign the December agreement, the commission did not draft a new agreement. Though the December agreement suggested that the Tramways claim had reached its final stages, the commission informed the Tramways Committee in May 2001 that there were too many claimants for Tramway Road. Davison attributed this development to a lack of clear guidelines at the commission. Owing to legal decisions, since Lopes initially lodged the Tramways claims, the number of eligible claimants already had been reduced. When Wernich completed her research on the Tramways claims in August 1999, she concluded that 159 claimants were eligible for restitution. Yet, Land Court decisions on tenant claims in 1999, which were applicable retrospectively, compelled the Tramways Committee to inform its members that the rules for valid claims had changed. The court clarified the definition of “direct descendant.” The court also ruled that a grandchild of a dispossessed person could not claim for restitution if the grandchild’s parent had lodged a claim. Similarly, a child was ineligible for restitution.

\textsuperscript{72} Cape Argus 28/03/2001.
if the child’s parent had applied for restitution. By July 2000, the number of claims for Tramway Road had been reduced to 110. (See Table 8.) In May 2001, after no discussion about the claimant list for almost a year, the commission’s questioning of the claimant list frustrated the Tramways Committee. The committee threatened to inform the media. Feinstein proposed that the committee discuss its frustration with Walton, and if necessary, the committee, Feinstein and others, develop a media strategy. Also frustrated with the protracted process of restitution, in June, claimants for Ndabeni considered invading Wingfield.

Walton had originally been hired only to create a legal entity for the claimants. Under the provisions of the Act, the commission should have provided money for the hire of Mr. Walton, through the Legal Aid Board. Funds were not forthcoming, however, and a benefactor paid for the services that Walton provided. While the commission would have paid legal fees for only the establishment of a legal entity, the Tramways claimants found that they required legal services for other activities. Walton’s services in July 2001, played a pivotal role in the restitution process.

Despite the commission’s questioning of the number of claimants for Tramway Road, the commission had committed itself in writing to a claimant list of 110 households. To this end, Walton contacted Advocate Wallace Mgoqi, Roberts’ predecessor and the Chief Land Claims Commissioner. On 30 May, Feinstein hand delivered a letter that Walton had produced to the Minister of Land Affairs, Ms. T. Didiza. The letter addressed concern over the delay of an agreement and the commission’s recent questioning of the claimant list. Mgoqi and the Minister contacted Roberts and compelled him to sign an “in-principle” agreement wherein he stated that he accepted the 71 claimants who sought monetary compensation and the 39 who sought restoration. On 24 June 2001, the Sunday Metro Times announced that Didiza had directed the commission to settle the Tramways claim. On 27th June, Lopes signed an in-principle agreement, a document that recognised all of the claimants and confirmed the sums they were to receive (see Annexure). The document recognised that definition of the Tramway claim as a group claim remained unresolved. Chief Commissioner Mgoqi, viewed the Tramways claim as a community

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73 Personal communication with E.D. 28/06/2001.
74 Verification of urban restitution claims: a discussion. Letter from Ms. K. Ryan, LLB to Mr. L. Lopes, 28/04/2000.
75 Tramways Committee Meeting, 26/05/2001.
76 Cape Argus 29/06/2001.
claim but the final definition of the Tramways claim rested with Didiza. Didiza agreed with the commission's definition of the Tramways claim as a group claim.

On 15 September 2001, almost 40 years after the removal of the inhabitants of Tramway and Ilford streets, the Tramways claimants who sought restoration officially received the land where their homes once stood. Having achieved its mandate of restitution, the Tramways Committee dissolved and the work ahead passed on to the Tramway Road trustees, a body that included Lopes and Davison. The trustees had already begun to plan a strategy to encourage foreign governments and members of the private sector to donate funds for the building of housing in Tramway Road. In the long term, the trustees aimed to establish a financially stable trust and strong residential group in Sea Point.

CONCLUSION

Under the Restitution of Land Rights Act, 1994, ex-residents of Tramway and Ilford streets applied for redress for removal. Identity with Sea Point, the memory of removal and stage of life affected whether ex-residents participated in restitution and what form of redress they sought. At the Western Cape regional office of the Land Claims Commission, the challenge of processing the thousands of claims that South Africans submitted was exacerbated by organisational problems and the working relationship between the commission and claimants. In response to the problems it encountered, the Tramways Committee developed and received support that became integral to advancing the Tramways claims through the commission. While claimants such as those for Red Hill have entered their seventh year of restitution, the Tramways Committee achieved restitution in just over four years. The resources that helped the Tramways Committee to advance its claim through the commission raises concern for claimants, especially those in rural areas, who have fewer if any resources to assist them in their restitution process.

From the 1920s through to 1961, the political economies of segregation and apartheid produced and reproduced a mainly Coloured working-class enclave in Tramway and Ilford streets. Owing to the affect of the political economies on their lives, the residents of the enclave performed activities through which they themselves participated in the production and reproduction of the residential area. The activities that residents performed both reflected the political economy and expressed the affect of the economy on their lives.

The link between the enclave and the political economy dated back to the late 19th century. The enclave began in 1877 when the Green Point and Sea Point Tramway Company erected cottages in Tramway Road for workers of the tramway firm. As dwellings that were defined as suitable for the working class, the cottages inscribed the social class of its intended occupants on the landscape. Owing to the importance of class and indicators of class, people who resided in the cottages after the turn of the 19th century were most probably members of the labouring class. By the 1920s, most, if not all, of the residents of the cottages were Coloured. By the late 1930s, Coloureds also resided in the houses that lay opposite the cottages. The houses were built for members of the white middle class in 1901. For similar reasons, houses were also built in Ilford Street. In contrast to the houses and cottages, in 1903, a hostel was built in Tramway Road for African male staff of the Municipality of Green Point and Sea Point. Owing to the removal of Africans from Sea Point, mainly Coloureds came to occupy the hostel, later called the council flats. The different types of dwellings in Tramway and Ilford streets emphasised the race- and class-based values of the political economy.

From the 1920s and for most of the 1950s, the political economy permitted for the production and reproduction of Coloured households in Tramway and Ilford streets. Unlike Africans who had to reside in the location, and in relation to their total exclusion, Coloureds were able to reside throughout Cape Town. In the enclave, Coloureds lived in extended, solitary, simple, and nuclear households. Households were key to the production and reproduction of the enclave. Extended households, the constitution of which varied, often comprised parents, unmarried offspring and the marital unit of a married offspring. Extended multiple domestic groups formed when
two or more marital units that were related by consanguinity or marriage, co-resided. A single, widowed or divorced person comprised a solitary household. A widowed person with offspring in the home constituted a simple household. A married couple or a married couple with children formed nuclear households. Extended households sometimes contracted when the marital unit of the married offspring moved into a dwelling of their own in the enclave. Over time, this activity contributed to there being several households in the residential area that were related to each other. The residence of kin in Tramway and Ilford streets helped to produce an enclave that had cohesive qualities associated with family. The habitation of kin in the residential area contributed to the reproduction of the enclave.

Through their reciprocal relationships and the transmission of housing, residents further contributed to the perpetuation of Tramway and Ilford streets. The reciprocal relationships of women included lending each other money, giving each other food and caring for each other’s children. Caring for one another’s children helped women to establish a relationship with each other and for children to establish a connection with one or more other household in the residential area. While kin and friends often participated in acts of reciprocity, they also transmitted their housing to each other when they moved out of the residential area or into another dwelling in the enclave. The transmission of housing played a key role in residents’ control of the make-up of Tramway and Ilford streets.

The enclave was comprised of the working class, petit bourgeoisie and new petit bourgeoisie. Owing to the limitations of Coloureds in the capitalist economy which intertwined with segregation and apartheid, most of the residents performed manual labour and belonged to the working class. The manual labour that the residents performed responded to the needs of whites in Sea Point and Cape Town. The response of the residents to the labour needs of whites emphasised their limitations in the labour market and their active participation in their economic well-being. The majority of women shared the similar occupational status of washerwomen and domestic workers. From the 1930s, factory work helped to break the historical cycle of entrance into domestic services among females: rather than enter the washing and domestic trades, some females chose employment in factories. Men worked as artisans, drivers, gardeners, City Council employees and employees of private business. Owing to their different types of labour, men held different occupational
statuses. The different types of labour that females and males performed reflected the gender division of labour in society at large.

The marked difference between the wages that females and males earned emphasised the devaluation of women, a social value that was embedded in the structure of the political economy and that was reflected in the gender division of labour. In 1961, females earned substantially lower wages than the wages that men earned. Female factory workers earned considerably higher wages than women who performed domestic services but wages that represented the low average wage of males. The higher wages of males meant that the participation of males in the labour market was crucial to the economic well being of homes.

The presence of three social classes in the enclave promoted the occurrence of inter- and intra-class distinction and tension. Class tension was inherent to capitalism. Inter-class distinction and tension occurred between residents in Tramway Road and residents in Ilford Street. Inter- and intra-class distinction occurred between people who lived in the houses and cottages in Tramway Road and the residents of the council flats. The different occupational statuses of working-class men promoted the occurrence of intra-class status. Class tension, however, co-existed with relationships that transcended class barriers. People who lived in Tramway Road and Ilford Street and in the flats participated in friendships with each other.

Owing to economic circumstance and segregation and apartheid, the residents participated in leisure activity in the enclave and just beyond the residential area. Through their performance of leisure at public places in the enclave, residents participated in the production of a place that supported public life and social interaction. Children, young adults and men interacted mainly in Tramway Road and at the Parker shop and café. Men who participated in leisure at the café might have belonged to the lower ranks of the working class in the enclave. The participation of children and men in activity in the road, shop and café indicated an age and gender bias in the use of public space in the residential area. In keeping with the expectation that women stay in their homes, women participated in public activity within the boundaries of their dwellings.

The frequency of interaction in the enclave promoted the development of expressions of human and spatial territoriality. The location of the enclave in Sea Point, a geographic area that ranked high in the hierarchy of Cape Town, encouraged these expressions of territoriality. Young adults expressed human territoriality when
childhood friends established primary relationships with a non-resident of the enclave. Young adults expressed their sense of human territoriality through emotional tension and physical conflict. Children participated in expressions of spatial territoriality through physical conflict with youngsters who resided elsewhere in Cape Town. Expressions of spatial territoriality communicated the perceived status of the enclave and helped to single out people who might enter the enclave and disrupt the sense of status prevalent there.

In 1959, the residents were officially notified that under the Group Areas Act, they had to leave Sea Point. The Act was key to the production of race-based residential areas throughout metropolitan Cape Town and South Africa. In response to the notices, the residents effectively mobilised their resources. Through Mr. Wannenburg, an attorney, the residents formed the Tramway Road Association (TRA). The TRA and Mr. Wannenburg presented the residents as an organised group when the TRA appeared before the Group Areas Board to request an extension of stay. The residents sought an extension to allow those who so wished, to find housing elsewhere, as a group. Residents’ desire to move into one locale where they could remain together emphasised their wish to reproduce elsewhere, the fabric that contributed to their quality of life in the enclave. The TRA obtained a total of three extensions.

By December 1961, however, most of the residents were forcibly removed to Bonteheuwel and Rylands on the Cape Flats. Other residents found housing in Cape Town and elsewhere on the Flats. Removal resulted in impositions that exacerbated the emotional affects of forced relocation. In Bonteheuwel, ex-residents of the enclave experienced loss of employment, loss of identity and status, and a deep sense of dislocation and placelessness. Over time, in Bonteheuwel and elsewhere on the Cape Flats, residents gradually established their lives. Some residents eventually moved out of Bonteheuwel to reside in new and established Coloured suburbs.

In 1997, under the Restitution for Land Rights Act, ex-residents of Tramway and Ilford streets applied for restitution. Restitution permitted for redress through restoration and monetary compensation. Restoration of land in Tramway Road was possible because most of the land where the enclave had lay was converted into a park. To help to bring about restitution, the Tramways Committee established private and political support. This support that the committee established was key to advancing the Tramways claims through the land commission, the body that
processed applications for restitution. In September 2001, the claimants for Tramway Road neared the conclusion of restitution. Ex-residents of the enclave who chose restoration aimed to develop housing where the park lay and re-establish homes in Tramway Road. The achievement of restitution near the start of new century is especially meaningful for a new beginning in Tramway Road.
The Sources Consulted is organised as follows:

I. **ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWEE LIST**
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## I. ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWEE LIST

**List of Interviewees**

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*Not an ex resident of Tramway Road. Interviewee lived near or worked in Tramway Road.
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   3/GSP Green Point and Sea Point Drainage Reports
          Letter Book of the Town Clerk
          Letters Despatched to the Town Clerk
          Letters Received Town Clerk
          Letters Received Municipal Engineer
          Meetings of the Council of the Municipality of Green Point and Sea Point
   CPP Minute Books
          Minutes of Meeting of Commissioners
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          Municipal Clerk Reports
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ANNEXURE
Interview Guide
Tramway Road and Ilford Street, Sea Point

Personal Background

Name? Date of Birth? Place of Birth? Where did you live in TR/IS? Did you have any brothers and sisters did you have? What is your birth order? Where you born at home or in a hospital? Did your family move from one dwelling to another in TR/IS? Did you have any relatives in TR/IS? Where? Did you see yourself as belonging to any particular race?

Parents

Mother
Year of mother’s birth? Year your parents married? Did your mother have a paid job? What type of work did she do? Ask for all of mother’s job history. How did she manage with her job and young children? Did your mother employ someone to help her with her paid work? What did your mother tend to do after supper in the evening? Was your mother ever ill for long periods of time? What was the illness? Did your mother have friends with whom she socialised? Where? What did you know of you mother’s political views?

Father
Year of father’s birth? Did your father have a paid job? What type of work did he do? Ask for all of father’s job history. Did your father employ someone to help him with jobs? What did your father tend to do after supper in the evening? Was your father ever ill for long periods of time? What was the illness? Did your father have friends with whom he socialised? Where? What did you know of you father’s political views?

Grandparents
Did any parents live with you? Which grandparent? Did your grandparent have a paid job? What sort of things did your grandparent do in the home ie. did grandmother do any housework of look after you or your siblings to help your mother?

Home

Did your family rent or own the home? If rented, how were payments made? To whom? Do you know who much the rent was? How many rooms did your family have? Where did you sleep? Did you share your sleeping area? How was your sleeping area furnished? Did any of your siblings sleep in another part of the home? Where did you bathe? How did your family arrange bathing? Did your family have use of the living room? How was it furnished? Did anyone sleep in the living room at any time? What sort of furniture did the kitchen have? Did a lodger, friend or relative live in your home at any time? Where did they sleep? Eat? If clothes needed to be mended or made who did that? Did your family have any pets? Raise any chickens for consumption? Did your home have a telephone? When? Did your home have a radio? Where was it located? Who listened to the radio? Which language did you speak at home? Did your family ever talk about politics? Did any relatives visit your home? Which relatives? At any particular time?
Meals
Where did you eat meals? Did you ever eat in another room? Who usually cooked meals? On what? What were common supper meals? Did you eat any special type of food on special days?

Illness
Do you recall having a serious illness? Who cared for you? Were any of your siblings seriously ill? Who cared for them? Did you ever visit a doctor? Did you ever take home remedies? What for? Who made them? What were they made of?

School
Did you attend school? Where? What did the interior of the school look like? About how many children were in your different Std(s)? What type of subjects do you recall? Do you recall the names of teachers? Did the school stage events such as concerts? Any other events? Did you perform in concerts? Did you have special duties as a student any time? How did teachers discipline students? Did you change schools? What was the last Standard you completed? Why did you stop school?

Work
Did you any housework? About how old were you when you began to do housework? What were some of your first chores? How did your chores change as you grew older? Did you ever help your mother with her paid work? Did your father do any housework? Did you ever help your father with his paid work? How old were you when you got your first paid job? How did you get the job? What was your next job? How did you get that job? (Ask about work history.)

Leisure
Where did you play when you were a child? What games did you play? Who did you play with? Did you ever go to the beach? What did you do there? Did you go to the mountain? Did you play with white children around TR/IS? Did you have to stop playing to be at home by a certain hour in the evening? Did you have any hobbies? Which cinema did you go to? Did you use the shops in TR? Did you see yourself and other TR/IS people as different in any way from people in other places in Cape Town?

Special Occasions
Did you have any birth parties? Who attended? How did your family prepare for special annual celebrations (Christmas, Eid, Deepvali)? Any special type of food prepared? Ask about other celebrations (Easter, 21st birthday, weddings, anniversaries.)
Religion

Did your family follow a religion? Did they attend a particular church/mosque/temple? How much would you say religion meant to you as a child? Did either of your parents do any work for the place where they worshipped? Did your family pray before a meal? Who said the prayer? Any member of your family read the scriptures regularly?

Funerals

Did you attend any funerals in TR/IS? Whose? Where? Did your family visit gravesites on certain occasions? Where as the gravesite?

Forced Removal

Do you recall when your family received the letter stating you had to move? Do you recall any reactions of your mother/father? Do you recall reactions of any other family members or people in TR/IS? Did you know why removal was happening? If yes, what were some of your thoughts about that? Did you attend any meetings about removal? Do you recall when your family left TR/IS? What do you recall about that day? Where did your family go when they were removed from TR/IS? How did your family transport furniture? Who moved with you? Did any family members to elsewhere? Did any members get seriously ill shortly before or after removal?

New Residential Area

What was the place like? What do you recall about your new home? Did you have any neighbours? Did any people of TR/IS live nearby? Were there any shops in the area? Where were you working at the time? Did it take longer to get to work? How did you travel? Where was your father working at the time? Did he keep his job or change jobs? Did your mother keep her job? What did your mother think about her new home and residential area? Your father? Did you see/visit anyone from TR/IS? Did you go back to TR/IS at any time after removal?

Restitution

Have you applied for restitution? Have you attended restitution meetings? Have you found them of any use? What form of restitution have you applied for? If person seeks restoration what do you imagine it would be like to live in TR again? If person is not seeking restoration why not?
SECTION 42D FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT

for the settlement of

URBAN TENANCY LAND CLAIMS IN TRAMWAY AND ILFORD ROADS, SEA POINT

concluded between

DEPARTMENT OF LAND AFFAIRS

Represented by Minister Thoko Didiza, Minister of Agriculture and Land Affairs,

(Referred to in this Agreement as "the State")

and

THE TRUSTEES FOR THE TIME BEING OF THE TRAMWAY ROAD COMMUNITY TRUST

A Trust duly registered in terms of the Trust Property Control Act, No. 57 of 1998, with Registration No. IT69/2001, duly represented by LEONARD LOPES

(Referred to in this Agreement as "the Trust")

and

THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN

Established as a municipality in terms of the provisions of Sections 12, 14 and 16 of the Local Government : Municipal Structures Act, No. 117 of 1998, as read with the City of Cape Town Establishment Notice (Provincial Notice No. 279 of 22 September 2000 [Provincial Gazette Extraordinary No. 5588]) as amended, duly represented by His Worship the Mayor, Peter Marais

(Referred to in this Agreement as "the City")
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* * * * *
DEFINITIONS

In this Agreement, unless the context clearly indicates otherwise:

1.1 "the Act" means the Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994 (as amended).

1.2 "Claimant Settlement Agreement" means an agreement of the type contemplated in Clause 6.

1.3 "Claimants" means the persons:

1.3.1 Who were previously tenants in Tramways and Ilford Roads, Sea Point, Cape Town or their direct descendents; and

1.3.2 Whose restitution claims have been verified and accepted by the Commission;

namely those persons listed on Schedule One or Schedule Two (as annexed 2 and 3).

1.4 "Designated Land" means that land in Sea Point West, Cape Town, presently owned by the City, and commonly known as Tramway Park, namely erven 102, 103, 105, 106, 107, 110, 113, 126 and portions of erven 125 and 843, situated in Sea Point West, Cape Division, which erven together measure approximately 7620 square metres in extent.

1.5 "the Development Claimants" means those of the Claimants whose names are recorded on Schedule One, namely the Claimants who have elected to accept membership of the Trust, and who will therefore enjoy the use and occupation of the Designated Land to be donated and transferred to the Trust by the City.

1.6 "the Financial Compensation
Claimants means those of the Claimants whose names are recorded on Schedule Two, namely those Claimants who have elected not to seek membership of the Trust, who will then not be entitled to use or benefit from the Designated Land, but who have accepted the sum of Seventeen Thousand Five Hundred Rand (R17 500,00), to be paid to each of them by the State, in full and final settlement of their restitution claims.

1.7 “the Implementation Agreements” means the agreements referred to in Clause 5.1.

1.8 “the Parties” means the State, the Trust and the City.

1.9 References to persons include corporate bodies, and vice versa.

1.10 The singular includes the plural, and vice versa, and reference to any gender includes any other gender.

1.11 Any reference to a statutory provision includes a reference to that provision as modified, amended, replaced or re-enacted from time to time.

INTRODUCTION

2.1 The Act has been promulgated to provide for the restitution of rights in land to persons or communities dispossessed of such rights since 19 June 1913 as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices.

2.2 The Trust has been registered in order to take transfer of the Designated Land from the City, and to hold that Land in common for the use, benefit and occupation of the Development Claimants, who have become members of the Trust. A copy of the Trust Deed executed by the Initial trustees and registered with the Master of the High Court for Cape Town, incorporating a copy of the Letters of Authority issued by the Master, is attached as “A”.

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2.3 The Commission on Restitution of Land Rights, on behalf of the State, has verified and accepted the restitution claims of the Claimants under the Act, and has determined, pursuant to negotiations with the Claimants, what amounts should be awarded to the Claimants in full and final settlement of their claims.

2.4 The City has agreed to transfer the Designated Land to the Trust for no consideration, subject to the provisions of Clause 7 below. The costs of transfer (including all conveyancing fees and duties and taxes payable in respect of the transfer) must be paid and/or waived by the State as contemplated in Clause 7 below.

OBJECTIVE OF THIS AGREEMENT

The objective of this Agreement is to settle the Claimants' restitution claims.

CLAIMANTS

4.1 It is recorded that, as appears from the aforesaid provisions of this Agreement, the Claimants are divided into Two (2) groups on the basis of the nature of the settlements they are prepared to accept in relation to their restitution claims under the Act. These Two (2) groups are:

4.1.1 The Development Claimants, who are more fully described in Clause 1.5.

4.1.2 The Financial Compensation Claimants, who are more fully described in Clause 1.6.

4.2 The Trust warrants that it is duly authorised to conclude this Agreement on behalf of both the:

4.2.1 Development Claimants; and the

4.2.2 Financial Compensation Claimants.
IMPLEMENTATION AGREEMENTS

5.1 The State and the Trust (representing all the Claimants) have reached agreement on the terms of further agreements which relate to this Agreement, namely the following:

5.1.1 A standard Financial Compensation Claimants Settlement Agreement, a copy of which is attached marked “B”.

5.1.2 A standard Development Claimants Settlement Agreement, a copy of which is attached marked “C”.

5.2 In this Agreement, the ancillary agreements referred to in 5.1 above, will be referred to as the “Implementation Agreements”.

SETTLEMENT AGREEMENTS AND PAYMENTS TO CLAIMANTS

6.1 The State hereby agrees to pay, and the Claimants hereby agree to accept the following sums in full and final settlement of their restitution claims:

6.1.1 Each of the Seventy-one (71) Financial Compensation Claimants will receive the sum of Seventeen Thousand Five Hundred Rand (R 17 500).

6.1.2 Each of the Thirty-nine (39) Development Claimants will receive the sum of Twenty-five Thousand Rand (R 25 000), to be paid to the Trust on their behalf.

6.2 Each of the Development Claimants, in addition to the award of Twenty-five Thousand Rand (R25 000,00), will be entitled to the following grants, subject to the Development Claimants (whether through the Trust or otherwise) submitting applications in the prescribed form, and subject to the Development Claimants and those applications complying the applicable criteria, conditions and rules:

6.2.1 A restitution discretionary grant of Three Thousand Rand (R3 000,00), each such grant to be paid to the Trust on behalf of the relevant Claimant; and
6.2.2 A restitution planning grant of One Thousand Four Hundred and Forty Rand (R1 440,00), each such grant to be paid directly to the service providers who are appointed by or on behalf of the relevant Claimant to render the relevant planning or related services; and/or directly to the City for costs relating to surveying, consolidation, road closure, environmental impact assessment, advertising and rezoning;

Provided that each of the Development Claimants will be entitled to benefit only once from each of the grants mentioned above, irrespective of the number of sites to which any Development Claimant is entitled to within the Designated Land.

6.3 The compensation award due to each Development Claimant must be paid by the State to the Trust within Thirty (30) days after that Development Claimant has delivered to the State the original of a duly signed and completed Development Claimant Settlement Agreement.

6.4 The State must, within Thirty (30) days after receipt from any Financial Compensation Claimant of a duly signed and completed Financial Compensation Claimant Settlement Agreement, pay the sum of Seventeen Thousand Five Hundred Rand (R17 500,00) to that Claimant by electronic transmission into an account nominated in writing by that Claimant.

6.5 The Trust warrants that:

6.5.1 The Trust will use all amounts received from the State in terms of this Agreement, namely all amounts due under this Agreement to the Development Claimants, only to meet the reasonable and necessary costs of developing the Designated Land for and on behalf of the Development Claimants (or their spouses or other direct descendants, as the case may be).

6.5.2 The Trust will account and report to the State in respect of its use and administration of all funds received by it from the State in terms of this Agreement, as and when the State may reasonably require, in order to enable the State to verify that all such funds have been or are being used in the manner stipulated in Clause 6.5.1.
6.6 The State acknowledges that it has already received considerable documentation containing much of the information which is required by the Claimants in order to complete the Financial Compensation Claimant Settlement Agreements, and the Development Claimant Settlement Agreements. The State accordingly undertakes to give all such assistance to the Claimants as may be necessary, to enable them to complete and submit those Agreements in the manner contemplated in this document.

LAND AVAILABILITY

7.1 The City hereby agrees to transfer the Designated Land to the Trust for no consideration in accordance with and subject to the following provisions:

7.1.1 The Trust acknowledges that it is a statutory requirement that the Designated Land be surveyed and rezoned prior to transfer, which surveying and rezoning will be undertaken by the City at the cost of the Trust.

7.1.2 As soon as possible after signature of this Agreement, the City and the Trust will meet, liaise and co-operate for the purpose of doing all things lawful and necessary to obtain the rezoning of the Designated Land from its present zoning as public open space to a zoning which will allow for the occupation of the Land in accordance with a site development plan prepared by or on behalf of the Trust, and approved by the City.

7.1.3 While the City will give all such assistance to the Trust as may be reasonable in order to obtain that rezoning, and to obtain it as soon as possible, it is confirmed in order to avoid doubt that:

7.1.3.1 Because persons who are not Parties to this Agreement are entitled to object to or oppose the intended rezoning, it is not possible for the City to warrant that the rezoning will be obtained, or, if so, when it will be obtained.
7.1.3.2 Although the City will give consideration to waiving or causing the waiver of any fees or charges which may relate to or arise from the rezoning of the Designated Land (including surveying, consolidation, road closure, environmental impact assessment and advertising costs), it may be that all or some of these fees or charges will indeed have to be paid, all of which will be for the account of the Trust.

7.1.4 The State must use its best efforts to assist the City and the Trust in obtaining the rezoning of the Designated Land so as to permit the Trust to develop that Land as residential accommodation for the members of the Trust.

7.1.5 If the rezoning is obtained, the City must (subject to Clause 7.2 below) attend to registration of transfer of the Designated Land to the Trust as soon as possible thereafter.

7.1.6 If the rezoning of the Designated Land cannot be obtained despite the best efforts of the Trust, the City and the State, the City will not transfer that Land to the Trust. This will not, however, preclude the Trust from approaching the City for suitable alternative land owned by the City.

7.1.7 The Designated Land will be transferred to the Trust voetstoots, and the City will not be responsible for either latent or patent defects in the Designated Land.

7.1.8 The Trust will be responsible for all expenses and costs relating to the development of the Designated Land for the purposes contemplated in 7.1.2 above, including costs relating to the provision of bulk infrastructure and internal services, and all related costs such as connection fees.

7.2 The State must:

7.2.1 Instruct the state attorney to attend to the registration of transfer of the Designated Land to the Trust as soon as the rezoning of that Land has been obtained, on the basis that all the fees and charges of the state attorney will be borne by the State. The City hereby consents to the appointment of the state attorney for this purpose.
7.2.2 Direct that all other costs and charges (i.e. apart from those referred to in 7.2.1 above) relating to the transfer of the Designated Land, including all transfer duty and/or other taxes or duties which may be payable by the Trust, be defrayed in full from money appropriated by Parliament for that purpose in terms of Section 42(1) of the Act; on condition that the State may, in the alternative, in relation to transfer duty and/or any other taxes or duties which may be payable by the Trust, direct, in consultation with the Minister of Finance, that, in terms of Section 42(2) of the Act, no transfer duty or any other taxes or duties will be payable by the City or the Trust in connection with the registration and transfer of the Designated Land into the name of the Trust.

AVAILABILITY OF STATE FUNDS

The State confirms that monies awarded in respect of the settlement of the Development Claimants’ claims, and calculated in accordance with the figures provided in Clause 6, will be made available from the capital budget in order to give effect to this Agreement.

LAND CLAIMS COURT

9.1 The Parties hereby consent that this Agreement may, on application by any Party, be made an order of Court in terms of Section 14 (3) of the Act.

9.2 The provisions of the Act will apply in relation to any dispute regarding the interpretation and implementation of this Agreement.

AMENDMENTS

No amendment to or variation of this Agreement will be of force or effect unless reduced to writing and signed by the Parties affected by it.
NOTICES AND DOMICILIA

11.1 The Trust chooses the following physical address as its *domicilium citandi et executandi* for all purposes:

19 Rambler Road  
Diep River  
Cape Town

11.2 The State chooses the following physical address as its *domicilium citandi et executandi* for all purposes:

The Director-General  
Department of Land Affairs  
Jacob Maré Street  
Arcadia  
Gauteng

11.3 The City chooses the following physical address as its *domicilium citandi et executandi* for all purposes:

The Municipal Manager  
Paul Sauer Building  
No. 1 Adderley Street  
Cape Town

11.4 All notices contemplated in this Agreement must be delivered by hand or despatched by registered post to the addressee’s *domicilium* address. Notices delivered by hand will be deemed to have been received, unless the contrary is proved, on the first working day after delivery. Notices sent by registered mail will be deemed to have been received, unless the contrary is proved, Seven (7) days after the proven date of despatch.

11.5 Any Party may change its *domicilium* address to another physical address within the Republic of South Africa, by giving Seven (7) days’ written notice to that effect to all the other Parties.
ASSIGNMENT

No Party will be entitled to cede, assign or transfer any of its rights and obligations under this Agreement without the prior written consent of the other Parties.

WAIVER

No extension of time, latitude or other indulgence which may be given or allowed by any Party to any other, will constitute a waiver or novation of this Agreement, or affect such Party’s rights, or prevent such Party from strictly enforcing due compliance with each and every provision of this Agreement.

FORMALITY

This Agreement will take effect and become binding upon the Parties only when signed by all the Parties, failing which no Party may claim the existence of an agreement from negotiations having been conducted or concluded in regard thereto or by reason of this Agreement having been drafted or signed by any of the Parties.
AUTHORITY

The signatories to this Agreement warrant that they are duly authorised to sign this Agreement on behalf of the Parties hereto.


Minister Thoko Didiza
For the Department of Agriculture and Land Affairs
(For the State)


LEONARD LOPES, on behalf of the Trust


for the City of Cape Town