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GRAPPLING WITH GRAPES:
WINE TOURISM OF THE WESTERN CAPE

TRACEY RANDLE

A Minor Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the
degree of Masters in Historical Studies

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Compulsory Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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This thesis acts as a series of 'snapshots' into the meaning of 'wine tourism'. Each chapter of my main body of work looks at a different segment of wine tourism in the Western Cape: a fast growing industry that inherits attributes from both the wine and tourism industries. Themes of landscape and the tourist experience track through these separate snapshots, linking them together. A passion for wine and the drinking of wine would seem to have been an enjoyable pastime passed down from epochs of wine lovers and producers that stood before us in the 'winescapes' of time. While this conception of the wine drinking tradition may be presented to us today, it should be remembered that this might not have been the case in times gone by.

Looking back to South Africa and the wine industry in the 1950s where 'wine consciousness' was a real concern for the marketers and makers of wine, we find no such traditions in place. Obstacles to the integration of wine into everyday living came in the form of an avid temperance movement concerned with drunkenness and alcoholism. Over time these obstacles heeded to the power of the wine industry so that increasing emphasis was placed on the role of publicity and marketing of wine. It was perhaps a natural development that wine tourism came to hold particular potential and interest for South African wine producers. The history of wine tourism of the Western Cape is inherently connected to the establishment of our first wine route in Stellenbosch. With a concern for the superiority of the European wine making tradition and landscape, it was only in 1970 that we saw a change in interest to the wine regions and heritage landscapes of our own country. The Stellenbosch wine route was a concept inspired by European example but grounded in local landscape. The significance of the mapping out of this landscape of space into place was a real concern for the wine makers of the regions whose freedom to market and export their wine overseas was severely restricted by legal prohibitions established by the KWV in the 1960s. With the defining of distinct wine regions, came the emphasis of difference of place within the winelands of the Western Cape. Each region has a formula for difference based on some combination of breathtaking scenery, quality wines, first class cuisine, and with increasing frequency the heritage of European roots. The construction of place and landscape identities gives us a sense of the perspective of the marketer and promoter of the wine region. I found it important to explore how this construction of identity of place came to be experienced by and presented to tourists in the present day.

Moving away from a historical focus, I found it enlightening to delve into the actual experience of touring (which for me was the wine route personified) through the constructed 'winescapes' that had come to represent spaces into places. I myself participated in the 'wine tourist experience' through the seeking out of commercialized wine tours that occur within the particular landscape of the 'winescape'. The individual preferences, motivations and past experiences of tourists predicted the kind of experience they chose and interests they displayed on tours. Whether a tourist had an interest in history or not, all three of the tours I participated in, in some way encompassed the viewing and message of European heritage. 'Historic sites' are central parts of tour compositions. While an interest in history is predicated by personal preference, it became clear that tourists seek out examples of local heritage and authenticity. Authenticity of experience and place plays a significant role in the presentation of heritage sites within winescapes. When I came to assess the presentation of history and heritage at the Groot Constantia Wine Estate, it becomes obvious that this significant role is missing. The museum is based on yet another example of European heritage and innovation within 'darkest Africa'. Visiting the different components of the museum myself, was an integral part of the process of evaluating the estate as a heritage site. Understanding how people learn within a museum was interesting 'food for thought' when looking at how the Groot Constantia Museum fell short in the authenticity and enjoyment of experience. The close reading of how heritage was presented at a wine estate returned us to the importance of knowing and understanding the tourist experience. This thesis concentrates on the grappling of these issues existing in the past and present day.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. BACKGROUND

Nigel Morgan, Annette Pritchard and Roger Pride argue that 'destination branding' is one of today's most current methods of place marketing. A brand represents a "unique combination of product characteristics and added values (both functional and non-functional) which have taken on relevant meaning which is inextricably linked to that brand..."¹. Places are now being seen as the world's biggest tourism brands where the "choice of a holiday destination is a significant lifestyle indicator for today's aspiring consumers and the places where they choose to spend their time and income have to be emotionally appealing with high conversational and celebrity value"². In a 2002 tourism campaign, Cape Town was 'branded' as having the "Big Six"- six unforgettable, sights/sites that were not to be missed by the visiting 'tourist'. I saw this campaign in a page spread in "Cape Town: The Official Visitors Guide 2002"³ [Figure 1.1] and a more detailed poster version of the campaign in the Cape Town offices of the Centre for Conservation Education. The Victoria and Alfred Waterfront was characterized as "where the world meets the water's edge", while the Robben Island Museum held its place due to its status as a 'World Heritage Site' where the visitor could witness/partake in "the triumph of the human spirit". The other four of the "Big Six" were included for their positions as 'beautiful and organic nature': Kirstenbosch as an "indigenous garden", the Table Mountain Cableway (not just the Mountain on its own!) was noted for its "spectacular views and rotating cable car, the Cape Point National Park graced with its "breathtaking views" and "wild coastline" made the cut, while the Winelands of the Cape were noted for their "rich cultural heritage, magnificent natural beauty and world class wines"⁴. It is the inclusion of the 'Winelands' as one of the most important, not-to-be-missed sites/sights of Cape Town that shall be the focus of my study.

The Wine and Tourism Industry in South Africa Today

Today, wine is considered "... an important component of the attractiveness of a destination and can be the major motivating factor for visitors"⁵. Wine itself is a vast international business that spans more than "half the globe in terms of grape growing and wine production"⁶. According to 1996 figures⁷, the largest wine producing countries in the world are France, Italy, Spain, the United States, Argentina and South Africa comes in sixth which is quite an impressive achievement considering South Africa is only ranked 18th in terms of acreage under vineyards. According to Cambourne et al, South Africa is one of Australia and New Zealand's major competitors in terms of exporting wine to Europe. South Africa's competitive advantage lies in its relative proximity to the UK market "which currently accounts for 40% of local wine exports"⁸. Additionally, the South African wine industry views wine tourism as a key growth area due to the exposure it gives South Africa wines. In a 2002 report on the wine industry in the Western Cape, the industry was seen to present enormous potential for the development of tourism "which is one of the Cape's most successful job creators. It is estimated that the wine industry directly contributed

¹ Morgan, N; Pritchard, A and Pride, R (Eds) "Introduction" in Destination Branding: Creating the Unique Destination Proposition. Pg. 12

² Ibid. Pg. 4

³ Advert for Cape Town in Cape Town: The Official Visitor's Guide 2002. Cape Metropolitan Tourism. Pg. 30

⁴ All quotations are taken from the poster boards that I found displayed in the Centre for Conservation Education. According to some of the teachers who work at the centre, they remember that there was quite a lot of controversy concerning this tourism campaign of 2002 as the "Big Six" of Cape Town were also made to represent the whole of South Africa. The other four sites/sights (one of which included the Garden route) were to represent the rest of the country, while Cape Town (or rather the Western Cape) had the monopoly over advertising.

⁵ Michael Hall, C et al "Wine Tourism: An Introduction" in C. Michael Hall, Liz Sharples, Brock Cambourne, Niki Macionis with Richard Mitchell and Gary Johnson (eds) Wine Tourism Around the World- Development, Management and Markets. 2000. Pg. 1

⁶ Cambourne et al "The Maturing Wine Tourism Product: An International Overview" in C. Michael Hall et al (eds) Wine Tourism Around the World. 2000. Pg. 25

⁷ Statistics found tables in Ibid. Pgs. 26-35

⁸ Ibid. Pg. 65

*Don't leave Cape Town
without seeing the Big Six!*

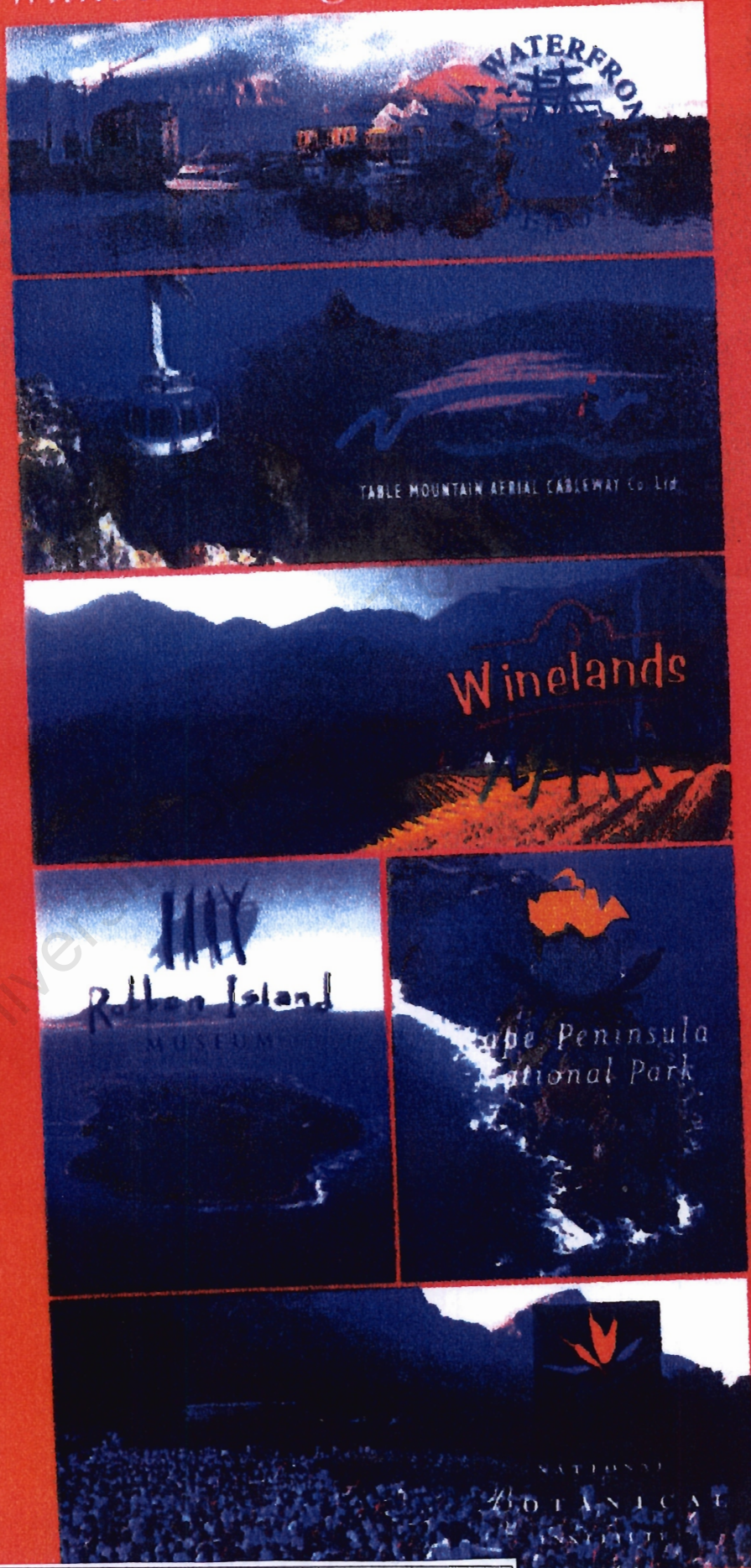


Figure 1.1 'Cape Town's Big Six' in Cape Town: The Official Visitors Guide 2002.

R1.5 billion to the broader tourism industry in 1998/99. Tourism accounts for 8.9% of Gross Regional Product and pulls R15 billion in earnings annually- more than double the contribution of agriculture⁹. It is no wonder then that the South African wine industry is placing such emphasis on the role of wine tourism as a vehicle for creating greater publicity and awareness of South African wine amongst both an international and a local audience. Morgan, Pritchard and Pride see South Africa (along with India, Cuba and Vietnam) as holding huge untapped potential of being tomorrow's winner destination brands with "high emotional pull but currently hav[ing] limited celebrity value..."¹⁰. Victor Teye believes that Africa holds enormous potential for tourism, with between 1989 and 1999, a 6.8 % growth rate in international tourist arrivals. The problem lies in that the tourist industry "is concentrated in [only] a handful of countries" with the majority of African countries having marginal tourism industries. Based on international tourist arrivals of 1998, the number 1 tourism destination in Africa is South Africa who commands 23.6% of international arrivals to the continent¹¹. A responsibility is given to tourism within African counties of "assisting in preventing and alleviating widespread and persistent unemployment in African countries" due to the labour intensity of the work required and this labour is often unskilled¹². With such an immense pressure being placed on the role of tourism in South Africa as a job creator and profit generator, it is perhaps fitting that we explore a specific component of its history and structure in a country that is desperately seeking solutions to poverty and unequal distribution of wealth. How a country brands itself may be critical in not only constructing an image of ourselves for others, but in attracting those 'others' in the form of investors to our shores.

As Simon Anholt argues, "a country's brand image can profoundly shape its economic, cultural and political destiny"¹³. The problem lies in that "today most destinations have superb 5 star resorts, hotels and attractions, every country claims a unique culture and heritage, each place describes itself as having the friendliest people and the most customer-focused tourism industry and service, and facilities are no longer differentiators"¹⁴. So what is it that will persuade overseas visitors to come and visit our shores? While at present currency value plays a key part in South Africa, with the majority of people from overseas getting excellent value for money, according to Morgan and Pritchard, it is increasingly a successfully constructed brand image inscribed with a deep emotional meaning of that place which attracts tourists to visit that country. "In this marketplace what persuades potential tourist to visit (and revisit) one place instead of another is whether they have empathy with the destination and its values"¹⁵. It is understanding how such images and values are created and then received by visitors to South Africa that shall be my concern for this paper.

By looking at one specific realm of tourism: wine tourism of the Western Cape, I can access constructions of place and space and how those constructions are perceived by the tourists who experience them. Wine Tourism can be defined as "visitation to vineyards, wineries, wine festivals and wine shows for which grape wine tasting and/or experiencing the attributes of a grape wine region are the prime motivating factors for visitors"¹⁶. Other definitions of wine tourism regard the main impetus for visitors to indulge in wine-related leisure experiences as being motivated by the destination, the place in which this experience is to occur. Such definitions place emphasis on the notion that visitation/experience may be motivated by "'the attributes of a grape wine region', sometimes referred to as the 'winescape' (Peters 1997) or the 'the wine tourism terroir'..."¹⁷. While it must be acknowledged that not all

⁹ Reid, Roxanne "The Wine Industry in the Western Cape" a report produced for Wesgro's Sector Research Section. Cape Town. December 2000. Pg. 19

¹⁰ Morgan, N; Pritchard, A and Pride, R (Eds) "Introduction" in Destination Branding: Creating the Unique Destination Proposition. Pg. 23

¹¹ Statistics sourced from Teye, V "Africa" in A. Lockwood and S. Medlik Tourism and Hospitality in the 21st Century 2001. Pg. 123

¹² Ibid. Pg. 124

¹³ Anholt, S "Nation Brands: The Value of 'Provenance' in Branding" in Morgan, N; Pritchard, A and Pride, R (Eds) Destination Branding: Creating the Unique Destination Proposition. Pg. 44

¹⁴ Morgan, Nigel and Pritchard, A "Contextualizing Destination Branding" in Morgan, N; Pritchard, A and Pride, R (eds) Destination Branding: Creating the Unique Destination Proposition. Pg. 11

¹⁵ Ibid. Pg. 12

¹⁶ Michael Hall, C et al "Wine Tourism: An Introduction" in C. Michael Hall et al (eds) Wine Tourism Around the World- Development, Management and Markets. 2000. Pg. 3

¹⁷ Ibid. Pg. 4

visitors to wineries or wine regions have landscape or wine-related motivations, these elements or some combination of them are important for wine tourism in a specific setting: the wine tour. Whether the touring traveller to the 'winelands' is motivated by the beauty and significance of the landscape or not, the actual touring experience takes place within a specific setting which the tourist has the opportunity to 'gaze' at and interact with. The landscape in which the touring visitor experiences wine tourism is an important part of understanding how constructions of place and space are presented to that visitor. It is certainly true that while the majority of wine tourism experiences occur within this 'winescape' setting, other experiences such as wine and food festivals and shows take place within urban settings.

What can be said is that wine tourism has come to include many different forms of activities and motivations. For this thesis, however, I concentrate on exploring only those experiences within a 'winescape' setting. In chapter 2, I look specifically at the construction of this winescape for the purposes of creating a wine route. In analyzing the development of the first wine route in South Africa through the pages of agricultural magazine, *'Wynboer'*, I investigate how place is constructed by the creation of a route map of the Stellenbosch wine region. While the creation of the first wine route was an important part of construction of place and how that place and space is presented to the traveller, it is how the traveller in turn experiences that place that brings those constructions of landscape to life. In chapter 3, I test these presentations and constructions of heritage and landscape through the enlivening of these 'winescapes' in the experience of the wine tour itself. In chapter 4, I turn to the encounter of heritage within one specific 'winescape': the museum at Groot Constantia wine estate. The spaces of the 'winelands' of the Western Cape are prime avenues through which conceptions and constructions of South African image and destination branding have taken place. Constructions of 'landscape' are a key part of understanding how wine tourism works, and thus is one of the themes that run through all the chapters in this thesis. The other theme that I explore throughout is the role, behaviour and motivations of the tourist within this landscape. In the following section, I set up some key theory that will frame these two themes throughout the paper.

2. THEORETICAL ISSUES

'Landscape'

'Landscapes' are often what we imagine as we are thinking about our holiday destination: long sun-kissed beaches with palm trees swaying in the a tropical breeze; high mountain peaks with breathtaking views of the world below; miles of lush green hills and cool lakes, and in the case of a winelands' landscape: stretches of neat vineyards as far as they eye can see. These 'landscapes' can represent a feeling about a place but not actually represent that place in true physicality. It is our connection of these real/ sometimes imagined landscapes with our destinations that informs our 'tourist gaze'. According to Urry, when we go away, we look at the environment and scenery differently than we would our well travelled routes at home: we 'gaze' with interest and curiosity. The tourist (in his or her gaze) is more sensitive to visual elements of landscape and townscape than he or she would ordinarily be in their ordinary and everyday environments. The 'gaze' is a prolonged or lingering look that is in many ways deliberate, focused and evaluative. The tourist gaze can perhaps be exemplified by that age-old adage: "time to stop and smell the roses". So the gaze is not only what you see, but what you do and don't do, what you think about a place. It is active; it is something the tourist participates in constructing (through the images and information they already have of the place they have not even visited yet, and what they say about that place once they are back home) and deconstructing (through the assessing of how the landscape they are gazing is significant to them). The 'gaze' can be seen as means through which the visitor may come to understand foreign landscape. Travel and tourism are predominantly about leaving your front doorstep, boarding a plane or getting into a car in the hope of reaching your destination.

Along the way and at your journey's end you will encounter many 'landscapes' (those that are 'real' and those that fit in with some 'imagined space'). On a self-conducted 'wine tour' of the Paarl wine district, one of my travel companions, an exchange student from Northern California, stretched out her arms and signed, "I feel so comfortable here (gesturing out towards the view of the wine-lands and mountain ranges)...this is like home!". J.M Coetzee¹⁸ argues that landscape can represent a specific terrain or the general characteristics of that terrain. The American exchange student clearly saw characteristics of the landscape of Paarl that reminded her of her home in Northern California.

Preston-Whyte specifically looks at the space of the Cape 'wine estate'- he views it as a cultural space that "embodies the ritual and mystique that surrounds the creation of wines. They celebrate the conquest of nature by contrasting the bucolic serenity of vineyards with stark surrounding mountains. They emphasize a cultural heritage with European roots yet with strong local traditions. All combine to produce the cultural experiences that are valued for their range and diversity"¹⁹. This quote from Preston-Whyte remains key to my understanding in how the image of wine routes and 'winescapes' are composed for the viewer. Throughout this thesis, I have found conceptions and constructions of place in descriptions of the wine routes and regions of the Cape that emphasize a cultural heritage based in European roots. It is especially in the construction and marketing of wine routes to the public that European heritage and history becomes an important defining feature of difference. Within the setting of a heritage experience, the museum at Groot Constantia wine estate, I once again come across the saliency of European heritage that given authority to speak of the history of place and space. While such a heritage is used to define place by marketers, estate owners and tour guides, more and more visitors are seeking out spaces that speak of the local heritage and initiative. Visitors to our shores are increasingly seeking out those places/spaces that are "natural, organic, unmistakable and authentic"²⁰ as part of their own cultural identity in response to their commercialized and homogenized home within the 'global village'. This is one of the main themes in my third chapter on touring through the wine regions.

The Tourist

The most important element of the wine tourism experience, is of course the tourist him or herself. It is due to their motivations, expectations and conceptions of being on holiday and participating in wine tour experiences that we can talk about 'wine tourism' in the first place. Erik Cohen suggests a 'tourist typology' to aid researchers and scholars in understanding tourist motivations and behaviour. Cohen speaks about the 'organized mass tourist' who is "highly dependant on an 'environmental bubble' created, supplied and maintained by the international tourism industry. Characterized by all-inclusive, fully packaged holidays, familiarity dominates; novelty [is] non-existent or highly controlled"²¹. During my participation in wine tours, I had no contact with this kind of 'tourist': their 'environmental bubble' works so well that outsiders cannot penetrate its safety or seclusion. Tourists who travel within such groups often do so surrounded by fellow travellers from their own country, if not from their own city. Due to the nature of my study: looking specifically at the experience of 'wine tours' organized by companies that mostly operate with a Volkswagen Kombi buses and with groups of travellers of seven or less, I only really had access to what Cohen would term an 'individual mass tourist'. This type of tourist "will use the institutional facilities of the tourism system (scheduled flights, centralized bookings, transfers) to arrange as much as possible before leaving home; perhaps visiting the same sights as the mass tourists but going under their own steam"²². Of all the tourists I met on the wine tours I participated in, all had return flights; some of their stay in Cape Town was indeed part of a package tour of South Africa as a whole.

¹⁸ Coetzee, J.M. "The Picturesque, the sublime and the South African landscape" in White Writing. 1988.

¹⁹ Preston-Whyte, R "Wine Routes in South Africa" in C. Michael Hall, et al (eds) Wine Tourism Around the World 2000. Pg. 103

²⁰ Muller, H "Tourism and Hospitality into the 21st Century" in A. Lockwood and S. Medlik (eds) Tourism and Hospitality in the 21st Century. 2001. Pg. 63

²¹ Cohen, Erik (1974) as referenced by Peter M. Burns An Introduction to Tourism and Anthropology. Pg. 44

²² Ibid. Pg. 44

One couple, Jan Johannesson from Norway and his companion Zuzana from the Czech Republic were visiting Cape Town as part of an around the world tour including Hawaii, Los Angeles and Australia. Perhaps going through professional tour companies such as Hilton Ross and African Eagle Day Tours is part of what characterizes that 'individual mass tourist's' use of the 'tourism system'. Both the individual and the organized mass tourist are framed in often negative and "inauthentic" terms. The 'authentic' traveller is not considered a tourist, but rather, an explorer who travels "off the beaten track," perhaps following a destination lead given by a travel article rather than simply choosing from a brochure"²³. The independent traveller, on the other hand, is given the status of being more 'authentic' in their pursuit of leisure and pleasure. Like the organized mass tourist, I did not have access to this type of tourist either- these would perhaps be the type of people who would explore the winelands in a rented car, choosing roads and estates that appealed to them. Cohen also speaks of the 'drifter' who seeks "...novelty at all costs: even discomfort and danger. They will try to avoid all contact with 'tourists'. Novelty will be their total goal; spending patterns tend to benefit immediate locale rather than large companies"²⁴. I did not have any contact with a "drifter" type tourist either. However, perhaps we cannot make large typological generalizations when looking for insight into one specific kind of tourist: the 'wine tourist'.

Mitchell, Michael Hall and McIntosh look at specific typologies of the wine tourist. They look at the specialist wine tourist "who visits a vineyard, winery, wine festival or wine show for the purpose of recreation and whose primary motivation is a specific interest in grape wine or grape wine-related phenomenon"²⁵. These authors also talk about the general wine tourist who takes part in such activities for recreation purposes- for purposes of enjoying a day out with either the scenery or social interaction being the main motivation. There are of course, problems with fitting a person into any kind of typology that is often stereotypical and generalized. It may also be that a person may fill the role and attributes of more than one 'type' not only during their lifetime, but also in a single holiday experience. Motivations for tourism and how that leisure experience is to take place, how it is valued will change for an individual during the course of their life- with motivations being constantly reformed and reshaped "according to past life experiences and stages in life"²⁶. Perhaps it would be more fitting to see a tourist as filling a position within a continuum of typologies, with no clear boundaries during their experience, let alone their own lifetime. It is thus very difficult to make any real conclusions of wine tourist typologies that are not stereotypical or simplistic. Exploring tourist motivations and behaviour within 'winescapes' will, however, be one of the most important aspects when analyzing the tourist experiences of the winelands on board a tour bus. Investigating tourist motivations and behaviours will similarly be an important component of understanding one component of the wine landscape: how history is presented at one specific heritage 'site' on the wine estate, Groot Constantia. While I do not in any way pretend that what I observed and noted from the few numbers of tourists I spoke to on tours and at Groot Constantia can say anything conclusive about tourist behaviour in South Africa, my experiences might point towards current trends that make up leisure patterns in South Africa today. There is a gap in tourist research in this country in terms of interviewing and observing tourist 'in situ' that needs to be filled.

It is the perceptions of place by the visitor who enters into these spaces that is coming to take on increasing value in an understanding of wine tourism. Michael Hall et al argue that the perceptions of the traveller are affected by three different elements: their **past experiences** (which would affect their choice of destination), their **preference** (in terms of individual priorities that would reflect their personality and lifestyle choices) and the **information** that would inform their choices as to which destinations they have to choose from. Such information is not only restricted to the medium of travel, food and lifestyle magazines, brochures and newspapers, the internet. Family, friends and work-colleagues play an important part with word-of-mouth influencing many choices and images of destinations. The information we learn about a destination or activity (whatever its form, whether it be through

²³ Ibid. Pg. 44

²⁴ Ibid. Pg. 44

²⁵ Mitchell, R; Michael Hall, C and McIntosh, A "Wine Tourism and Consumer Behavior" in C. Michael Hall et al (eds) Wine Tourism Around the World 2000. Pg. 127

²⁶ Michael Hall, C et al "Wine Tourism: An Introduction" in C. Michael Hall et al (eds) Wine Tourism Around the World 2000. Pg. 6

advertising, literature, television, photographs or other people's experiences) informs, inspires and "socially organizes"²⁷ personal daydreaming. John Urry sees 'daydreaming' as central to the leisure or holiday experience- part of creating our conceptions and perceptions of those places and spaces that we hope to enter into. Therefore, past experiences, preferences, information and daydreaming combine to produce an individual's image of a destination that may or may not be reinforced or displaced on arrival. While I did spend quite a lot of time with the tourists I travelled with (just over 8 hours on a full-day tour), I refrained from asking them too many questions- I wanted them to enjoy the experience they were paying for, but for me it left many questions unanswered. I perhaps would have needed 8 hours with each individual or couple travelling on the bus, before I could coherently and with confidence talk about an individual traveller's past experiences, preferences and what kind of information had led to their choosing South Africa, Cape Town and a 'tour of the winelands' as part of their leisure experience. We cannot say anything concretely about the image a tourist has of a place or space without getting in depth into the elements that would inform this image.

3. CHAPTER BREAKDOWN

Chapter 2: Through the pages of 'Wynboer': A history of wine tourism and publicity in the Western Cape

Chapter 2 concentrates on the historical context of the wine route in the Western Cape. I track the changes as South Africa moves from a country where wine is not well publicized or marketed to the creation of a 'wine-conscious' image. Through the exploration of various wine tours to Europe to the popularity of our own wine routes, Wynboer magazine provides a fascinating 'site' through which to explore the development of this wine-consciousness. In 1971, the first wine route was established in Stellenbosch. Through its inception and growth, we find constructions and perceptions of space and place. Very often, defining distinct wine regions was the impetus for the creation of space into identified place. Wine regions of the Cape are characterized by their natural beauty, world-class wines and with more and more frequency, a strong European settler heritage. How this image has come to embody the 'winescapes' of the Cape rests in the interpretation and understanding of the tourist experience within those constructed spaces.

Chapter 3: Touring through 'winescapes'

This chapter focuses those tourist experiences as I myself visit the 'winescapes' of the Cape through the three wine tours I participate in. When wine routes transform into wine tours, the historical moves into the experiential. Looking at the role of the tour guide and the tourist alike is essential when exploring perceptions of place. The individual preferences, motivations and past experiences of both parties involved in the tour experience are importance considerations in the construction of these perceptions of place. We once again find the saliency of the heritage of the European settler in the historical sites visited on tours. Personal preference was a significant factor in understanding how the tourist valued their wine tour experience- what they chose to 'gaze' at is informed by their own interests. A comparison of two 'winescapes' allows for an interesting study into constructions of public space within a winelands setting. Looking at Nelson's Creek Wine Estate in Paarl and Spier Estate in Stellenbosch gives insightful views into conceptions of authenticity and the local experience.

Chapter 4: Exploring the heritage experience at Groot Constantia Wine Estate

Moving beyond the tour and into a specific heritage 'site' on a wine estate, perceptions and constructions of authenticity become increasingly important for the visiting museumgoer. Chapter 4 looks at the heritage presented at the Groot Constantia Museum complex situated in the leafy green suburbs of Cape Town. The visitor experience comes to the fore once more, as I interview the tourist within a specific heritage setting.

²⁷ Urry, J. The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies. 1990. Pg. 83

WYN-
SKOU
PAARL

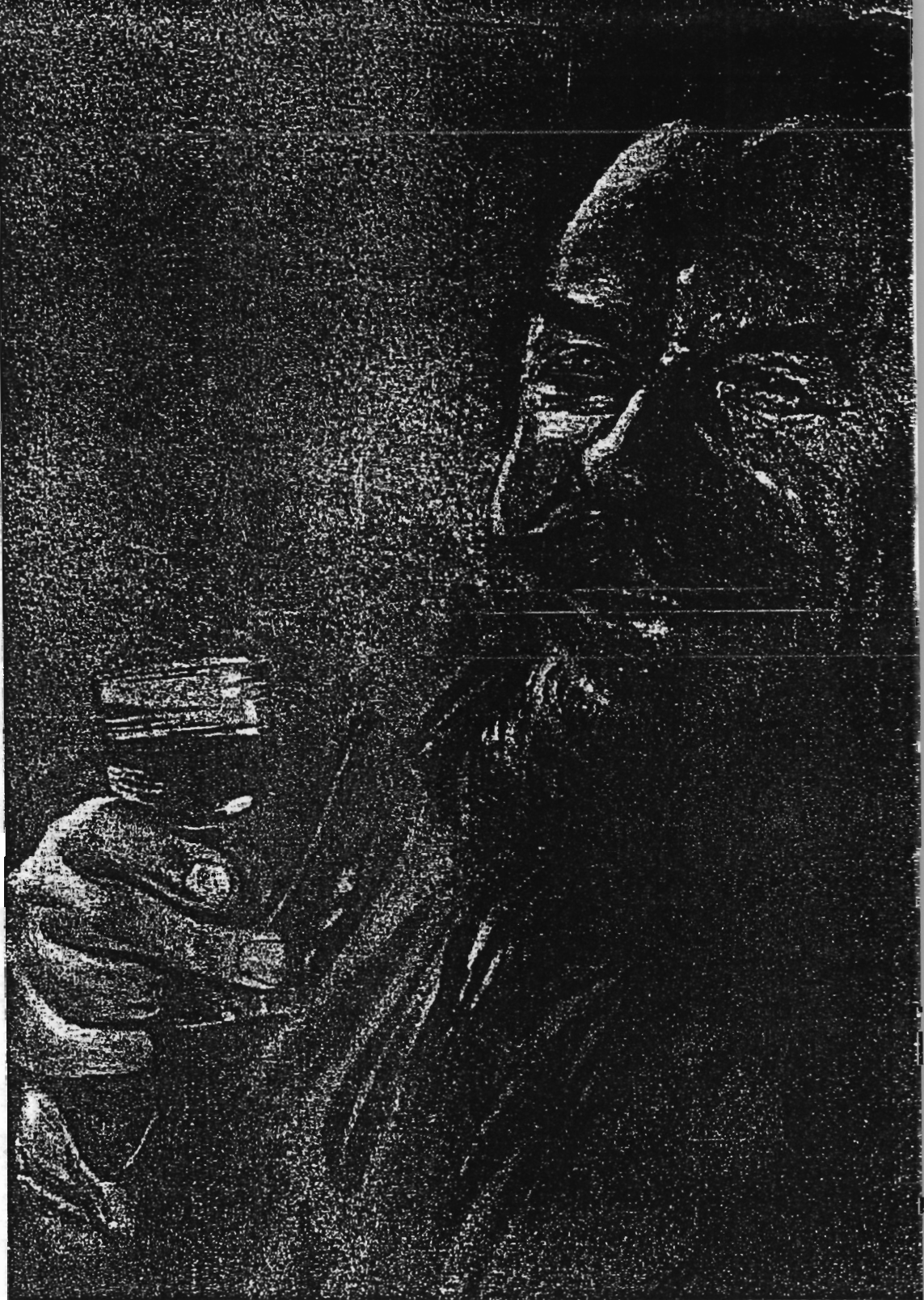
1946

OFFISIËLE
KATALOGUS

WINE
SHOW
P. ARL

1946

OFFICIAL
CATALOGUE



As ons roem op die wyn van ons Suidelike Land
En ons prys ons klimaat en natuur
As ons dankend gedenk aan ons erlike pand
En ons eer ons eeu oue kultuur.

Drink dan die sap van die heerlike wynstok
Wat die harte verjong en verbly
Want dis die wyn wat deur God ons gegee is
Wat ons vreugde die lewe doen kry.

DEEL XV. OKTOBER 1946.

NO. 181.

GEREGISTREER AAN DIE HOOFPOSKANTOOR AS 'N NUUSBLAD.

„DIE WYNBOER”

cover

Figure 2.1: 'Cover' of Wynboer October 1946. NSLA 2548.

WYN-
SKOU
PAARL

1947

18 - 9 - 1947

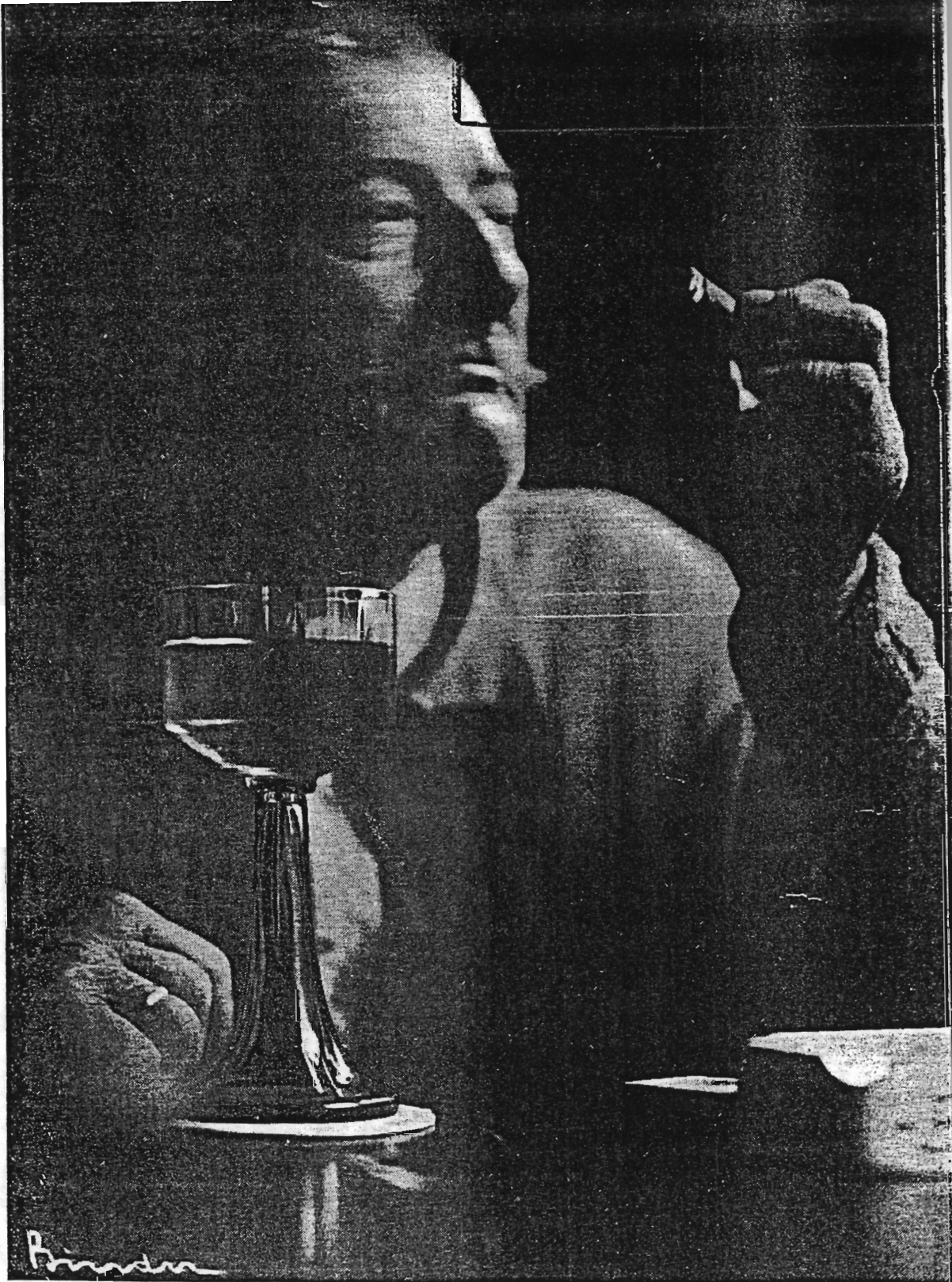
OFFISIËLE
KATALOGUS

WINE
SHOW
PAARL

1947

18 - 9 - 1947

OFFICIAL
CATALOGUE



Werk Sonder Plesier is Slawerny

DIE WYNBOER

DEEL XVI. SEPTEMBER 1947

NO. 192.

GEREGISTREER AAN DIE HOOFPOSKANTOOR AS 'N NUUSBLAD.

Figure 2.2: 'Cover' of Wynboer September 1947. NSLA 2548.

CHAPTER 2

THROUGH THE PAGES OF 'WYNBOER': A HISTORY OF WINE TOURISM AND PUBLICITY IN THE WESTERN CAPE

Today, wine tourism is considered an important part of both the wine and tourism industries. As Michael Hall et al acknowledge, "wine and tourism have been intimately connected for many years, but it is only recently that this relationship has come to be explicitly recognized by governments, researchers and by the industries themselves"¹. Taking into account the increasingly important role that wine tourism is playing in countries all over the world, it is perhaps pertinent to turn back the clock to its development in our own country. Discussing South Africa's own development towards a tourist destination that is now considered to herald one of the most beautiful "winescapes"² in the world is interesting to juxtapose against the establishment of 'wine tourism' in those "old world" European wine regions. Firstly, however, it is perhaps of even greater importance to revisit the meaning of the concept 'wine tourism'.

As a specific type of tourism, 'wine tourism' has been defined as "visitation to vineyards, wineries, wine festivals and wine shows on which grape wine tasting and/or experiencing the attributes of a grape wine region are the prime motivating factors for visitors"³. This type of tourism embodies a very specific type of experience or *desire* for experience that explicitly targets the senses as the conductor through which the leisure experience is supposed to take place. As 'wine tourists' we are urged to taste and smell the flavouring scents mingling in the red wine we swirl around our palate, to breath in visually the incredible landscapes that these wines are produced on. These sentiments are the very sales pitches that 'wine tourism' is based on: a promise of the heady mixture of sight, smell and taste that leads to an enjoyable (and chargeable) leisure experience. These experiences take place within a specific setting- within landscapes of leisure. The wine route is leisure landscape personified, and the way that different routes and regions promote and market their attributes is of great importance when trying to explore constructions of landscape. Such investigations tell us about who wine regions and routes think they are and what they think defines them. In the next chapter I shall go into more detail about how these 'winescapes' are presented and what they represent to a visitor as I myself shall take part in "wine tourist" experiences. Such experiences witness notions of how the visitor understands what wine regions and routes are saying about themselves, as well as what kind of actual experience they might have (as opposed to the one that is constructed for them). I shall concern both the next chapter and this one with the role of wine routes and tours to vineyards as part of the wine tourism experience and history. I unfortunately do not have the space in this paper to delve into the interesting and exciting world of wine festivals and shows- characterised by their symbolic nature, which can tell us a great deal about perceptions and ideals of the past and present.

Rather, I have concentrated on exploring the history of wine tours and vineyard visitation in this country. In so doing I have turned to the pages of an agricultural magazine that was established in 1931 and that is still in existence today: "*Wynboer*" the official magazine of the K.W.V (the Ko-operatiewe Wijnbouwers Vereniging Van Zuid-Afrika or in the Co-operative Wine Growers Association). In 1931, the K.W.V brandy expert, Mr. H J David, saw the need for a wine industry magazine. With such a vision in mind, David went on to single-handedly create 'Wine and Spirit- a South African Review', later to be renamed *Wynboer*. At its 50th anniversary, G R F Meyer commented "at the outset the magazine endeavoured to serve the wine farmer with information, technical advice and encouragement. *Wynboer* overcame many hurdles, mostly financial, saw many changes in the industry as well as amongst consumer needs. *Wynboer* has broadened its spectrum to reach the general public and in this has become an important educational tool in leading people to the enjoyment and proper consumption of products of

¹ Michael Hall, C.; Johnson, G; Cambourne; Macionis, N; Mitchell, R and Sharples, L "Wine Tourism: An Introduction" in C. Michael Hall et al (eds) *Wine Tourism Around the World- Development, Management and Markets*. 2000. Pg. 1

² This concept was developed by Peters (1997) as quoted in *ibid*. Pg. 4.

³ *Ibid*. Pg. 3

DIE WYNBOER



(Foto: Martin Steyn)

Mej. Lauraine Townsend, van Kaapstad, tweede van links, wat as „Mej. Feerskou” gekroon is, het saam met die ander vyf finale mededingers in die wedstryd, ’n besoek gebring aan die paviljoen van die Wynawerheid op die Van Riebeeck-Feerskou.

Miss Lauraine Townsend of Cape Town, second from left, who was crowned “Miss Festival Fair,” paid a visit with the other five finalists in the competition to the pavilion of the Wine Industry at the Van Riebeeck Festival Fair.

Figure 2.3: ‘Cover’ of *Wynboer* April 1952. NSLA 2548.

DIE Wynboer

FEBRUARIE 1960 FEBRUARY



Figure 2.4: 'Cover' of Wynboer February 1960. NSLA 2548.



Figure 2.5: 'Glass/ Peaches advert' in Wynboer March 1960. Pg. 1. NSLA 2548.

the vine. Its aim is also to embrace the beauty and traditions surrounding wine, to create a platform for wine discussion, always to promote our excellent local products- and thus continues to serve the wine farmer"⁴. This magazine provides an intriguing avenue through which the history of wine tourism and the publicity and marketing of wine can be traced. Not only can we find such histories in the pages of this magazine, but also intertwined within them are concerns and opinions of the times that can speak of broader issues such as the political, social and economic conditions prevalent at the time. I have used the *Wynboer* magazine collection from the National Library of South Africa, which although the magazine began in 1931, only carries the monthly editions from 1946 onwards. I used this arbitrary year as my starting point and scanned through monthly editions until 1981, the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the magazine, and incidentally the 10-year anniversary of South Africa's first wine route in Stellenbosch.

The magazine did indeed both change its content and style as time and trends passed by. We find in the late 1940s a publication dedicated to the issues and concerns of the 'Wynboer' or 'wine farmer'- issues, adverts and articles relating specifically to the technical and scientific advancement of the South African wine farmer. Subject matters were particularly related to the making of wine, the agriculture of the land and new methods of processing and bottling wine as well as controlling pests. One could find adverts for various types of glass, pesticides and wine pressing machinery. The magazine represented a world dominated by the rugged, but honourable and hard working man connected to his land and often bible [as represented in the cover pages of *Wynboer* in Figure's 2.1 and 2.2];- a 'wynboer' was certainly not considered to be a woman. During the late 1940s and into the 1950s, women's presence was only felt through the photographs showing beauty queens or 'beautiful women' visiting (certainly not entering or staying) in the wine world of men. Groups of "beauty queens", who have donned high heels, elaborate hairstyles and silk dresses could be found posing next to the heavy machinery and equipment in wine cellars- never using the equipment, simply as a contrast between beauty and work that was to characterize the perception of their only place within the wine industry [Figure 2.3 is one such example].

By 1960, not only had anonymous beauties been upgraded to the position of being able to advertise and consume wine, but the magazine was seriously starting to take the female consumer into consideration [Figure 2.4]. *Wynboer* explained in their February 1960 editorial that they were "'extending the range of reading matter in order to offer greater variety and a better service and in doing so reach the whole family, the farmer, the woman and child"⁵. It is from this edition onwards that we find features such as "The Housewife's Corner"⁶ detailing recipes using wine or spirits and tips for serving alcohol and food for the entertaining housewife. By March 1960, full-page advertisements had changed from marketing only heavy machinery and pesticides to having peaches served by a nail polished "mum" to her open-mouthed son [Figure 2.5]. More and more, *Wynboer*; came to include the face and the concerns of the woman consumer. This is not to say, however, that women were not represented in traditional and stereotyped roles within the magazine, as it was still in the role of the 'wynboer's housewife' or the 'beautiful socialite' that women were confined to. Perhaps one of the *Wynboer's* greatest omissions was the erasing of the 'real wynboer'- the farm worker or labourer- from the pages of the magazines. Labourers and workers (in South Africa as a result of the political and economic conditions, they most often tended to be 'coloured' or 'black' people), like their woman counterparts, were consigned to the anonymity of the front cover- as possessions of the wynboer, as something owned. Very infrequently was the full face of the 'coloured' or 'black' labourer or worker shown to the camera [see Figure 2.6], whereas the white wine estate owner or chairman of the K.W.V almost always was given a full facial shot as well as the privilege and status of being identified [Figure 2.7].

One front cover that epitomizes this situation that of the April 1962 edition of *Wynboer* [Figure 2.8]. It shows the Chairman of the K.W.V shaking hands with the Minister of Agriculture (as described in the contents page)

⁴"Wynboer kom ver- in diens van die wynboer" Special 50th anniversary edition of *Wynboer*. October 1981. Pg. 9. NLSA, 2548.

⁵"A new look for Die Wynboer" in *Wynboer* February 1960. Pg. 3. NSLA 2548.

⁶"With a Glass of Wine: the Housewife's Corner" in *Wynboer* February 1960. Pg. 10. NSLA 2548.



geregistreer aan die H.P.K. as Nuusblad

DIE Wynboer

NOVEMBER 1960

Figure 2.6: 'Cover' of Wynboer November 1960. NSLA 2548.

DIE WYNBOER



H. F. THERON

Voorsitter van die K.W.V.

Chairman of the K.W.V.



Geregistreer aan die H.P.K. as Nuusblad

DIE Wynboer

Figure 2.8: 'Cover' of Wynboer April 1962. NSLA 2548.

standing over a sculpture of a strong, prominent 'Wynboer' commanding a 'small' and insignificant worker. There are no guesses to the role these men believed they represented in this metallic creation. The *Wynboer* magazine tells of the domination and conquering of 'white man' over the land (as well as over labouring man). Over time we can trace many changes and differences in the various representations of people right up until the 'glamorization' of wine with associations to the 'jet set' [Figure 2.9], the rich and famous and designer fashion houses. We find the saliency of trends such as cocktail parties come to the fore; we can trace representations of history, the increasing importance of art in relation to the 'winescape' as well as the popularity of cuisine and food in connection to wine. The articles and adverts that I read through, scanned 35 years of political, social and economic issues that affected the wine industry and the wine farmer and the deeper ambiguities and subjectivities of what and who and how they were represented. It was mainly, however, for the articles and notes on wine tourism and publicity that I sought out in this paper⁷. It is to such a history that I turn.

1. THE PUBLICITY AND MARKETING OF WINE

Wine tours and routes are one way in which wine is publicized and promoted, in which it is "made public". Wine routes are effective means of encouraging people to drink and buy wine that encompasses a sought after leisure experience. The history and development of the wine route in South Africa shall specifically be my concern in this chapter. It is important, however, to briefly explore attitudes towards wine in South Africa through the more customary forms of publicity and marketing found in the pages of *Wynboer* magazine. Investigating perceptions of wine and wine drinking over a period of 35 years allows us to situate the development of South Africa's first wine route within a broader context of attitudes towards wine. Aside from the creation of wine routes as part of efforts of increasing customer awareness, there were other more traditional methods of publicising the use and purchase of wine- through the media and advertising. Other methods were more specific to the wine industry where it was believed that "it is good publicity for any industry (or firm) to sponsor feasts, concerts, theatre performances, to support scientific research or other cultural undertakings, in order to link up the publicity for one's product with festive events of cultural achievements. Publicity of this kind is one field of collective advertising"⁸.

Perhaps partly inspired by such sentiments, South Africa's first wine festival was held in April 1950 in Montagu. It was an occasion where "vonkelende wyn, sprankelende musiek, sierlike vlotte, aanvallige dametjies en opgewonde vrolikheid"⁹ came together. We see that wine was made to link with these other "leisure activities"- listening and dancing to music, eating food and of course sampling the different types of wine. It was argued that the "tasting of wines at wine festivals could prove the most effective means of bringing our best wines to the immediate attention of the public in the most congenial circumstances"¹⁰. It would seem that the promoting of a wine-conscious nation was of great concern for the wine industry. The latter years of *Wynboer* magazine editions seemed to characterize wine and the drinking of wine, "as part and parcel of [man's] civilized life"¹¹, a part of man's history. With such an acknowledgment of the importance of the history and tradition of wine making and wine drinking, it is interesting to turn back from 1965 to an earlier article on the publicity of wine in South Africa.

⁷ There are a great deal of developments and events within 'Wynboer' and the wine industry that I did not have the time to explore. The plethora of advertisements themselves deserves equal and adequate attention that I just do not have the space for in this paper. One could trace the development of certain advertising methods and trends of the time- to look at the development of the glamorization of wine. This would be a more example-led way of exploring the development of wine promotion and marketing. Many papers, in fact, could be written using the material found in *Wynboer* magazines over time. Issues such as an in depth look into the development of the K.W.V; views and legislations concerning the "Native policy" of liquor consumption in South Africa; the role of women in the world of wine, representations of masculinity through the pages of *Wynboer* magazine.... These are all topics which deserve in depth analysis and which could greatly enhance our understanding of the history and representations of wine and liquor in South Africa. Unfortunately, I have had to restrict my paper to the development of the wine route and wine tourism itself in South Africa, while highlighting some of the basic developments in the publicity and promotion of wine.

⁸ "Collective Wine Publicity" by H.A. Jajin in *Wynboer* October 1949. Pg. 21. NSLA 2548

⁹ "S.A se eerste wynfees" in *Wynboer* June 1950. Pg. 7. NSLA 2548

¹⁰ "Wine Tasting at the Montagu Wine Festival" in *Wynboer* June 1950. Pg. 8. NSLA 2548

¹¹ "Cult of Wine" in *Wynboer* September 1965. Pg. 3. NSLA 2548.

wynboer

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glad geregistree
NUARIE 1976 JANUARY
stered at the G.P.O. as a newspaper

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Figure 2.9: 'Cover' of Wynboer January 1976. NSLA 2548.

The publicity of wine was a concern for the writers and readers of *Wynboer* from as far back as 1949. There was a concern to make South Africa a "wine-conscious"¹² country. On the eve of 1950, debates raged over whether the South African wine and liquor industry should publicize its products in a collective campaign. It was believed the problem lay with "the majority of the population [being]...non-wine drinking" where wine at the dinner table was not custom as it was in France and Italy. H.A. Jajin argued that in South Africa, wine making was not "an ancient and honoured craft which is intimately connected with the customs and the history of the people"¹³ and that in fact the wine industry was seen as just another industry. In 1949, there was a call for a collective publicity campaign that would deal with the ignorance of wine and its uses. The advantage lay in the greater scale that such a campaign could give than individual farmers could afford. It was argued that wine could be promoted through the indirect lines of editorial columns and daily press and periodicals as in other "wine drinking nations".

While it was felt that connecting wine to sociable affairs (such as in South Africa's first wine festival at Montagu) was a good way of publicising the product to the public, it was deemed more important that a collective advertising campaign should concentrate on promoting "wine at your dinner table"¹⁴. By October 1950, there was an appeal in *Wynboer* by the Chairman of the Wine and Spirit Association of Great Britain for a wine education and publicity fund. The article spoke of the desirability of a campaign promoting the sale of wine and the education of the public through booklets, leaflets, lectures, public tastings, films, articles in the press and wine weeks. In 1959, £ 40 000 was being allocated to the various forms of local publicity of wine by the K.W.V.¹⁵ Such a large sum was allocated since the K.W.V believed that "today publicity is a powerful means not only of promoting the sale of products, but also of creating goodwill for an industry"¹⁶. That same year, Minister Paul Sauer, speaking on finding a larger market for South African wines, commented, "...South Africans are not a wine drinking nation and it should be our major endeavour to alter the pattern of refreshment in South Africa in order to make it one"¹⁷. Sauer saw an enormous potential local market that should be given greater attention rather than putting more efforts to exportation of wine to foreign countries. Exporting wine involved the problem of competition with other wine producing countries where South Africa lacked "superior advertisement and salesmanship methods"¹⁸. So even by 1959, it was still not believed that South Africa had a strong wine drinking tradition, as can be seen by Sauer's take on the wine industry summed up in his observation: "wine is an acquired taste...South Africans have not yet acquired it"¹⁹. In 1960, a special fund of R1 Million was created by the Minister of Finance to further the progress of research and publicity of the wine industry. From the same fund, the Minister of Agricultural Technical Services placed an amount of R20 000 pa for five years at the disposal of K.W.V for a publicity programme involving demonstrations, lectures and wine tastings²⁰. The government was placing great resources into the development of the publicity and marketing of wine. In 1962, the SABC (South African Broadcasting Company) was to broadcast a symposium reflecting every aspect of the "story of wine". The programme was so popular that it was re-broadcast to the public. For the writers of *Wynboer* the program represented South Africa's "new approach to wine" where previously any mention of wine was strongly discouraged on SABC- the product of pressure by vocal teetotalers.

One of the biggest obstacles to the acceptance of wine as a staple of the dinner table and at social occasions was the strong temperance movement in South Africa. The lateness in the staging of South Africa's first wine festival was partly due to strong temperance opposition against the drinking of alcohol at public and social events. In fact, as one writer wrote in discussion of this first festival: "another "temperance" myth has been successfully exploded. Despite their fondest hopes, South Africa's first wine festival was a complete and eminently sober success...it was

¹² "Collective Wine Publicity" by H.A. Jajin in *Wynboer* October 1949. Pg. 21. NSLA 2548

¹³ Ibid. Pg. 21

¹⁴ Ibid. Pg. 25. NSLA 2548

¹⁵ Figures taken from 'The K.W.V Annual Report of 1958' printed in *Wynboer* July 1959. Pgs. 27/28. NSLA 2548

¹⁶ Ibid. Pg. 27

¹⁷ "Minister Paul Sauer on finding a larger market for South African wines" in *Wynboer* November 1959. Pg. 13. NSLA 2548

¹⁸ Ibid. Pg. 13

¹⁹ Ibid. Pg. 13.

²⁰ Figures taken from "The K.W.V Annual report of 1962" printed in *Wynboer* June 1963. Pg. 7. NSLA 2548

pleasing to place on record that not a single instance of abuse was reported to the committee in charge of wine tasting. Thus the “temperance” outcry in the national press was given the lie, and thus the ghost of prohibition which tried to stalk the scene of celebrations, was very successfully laid [to rest]”²¹. In 1948, drunkenness was characterized as a psychological disorder where it was most prevalent amongst those people “of nervous inheritance or temperament”, such people that “find it difficult at most times to maintain their balance and modify their behaviour to comply with their environment”²². Space for long “scientific” discussion was given in *Wynboer* to the effects and damages of alcohol. Not only was drunkenness a ‘psychological problem’ (one based on “inherent nervous defects”²³), but also, there were another three ‘classes’ in which the causes of drunkenness could be divided: ignorance, economic conditions and fashion. Only certain sections of the “Cape Coloured Population” were seen to be the ‘drunkards’ of society. It was especially those ‘Skolly Types’ “consisting of the habitual loafers, drunkards, dagga-smokers, and ex-convicts...” who were “so apt unduly to colour European opinion regarding the whole coloured population”²⁴.

By 1952, a new class of drunk had appeared on the social stage: the ‘alcoholic’. The ‘alcoholic’ was not merely confined to the ‘lower social strata’, but rather was a ‘disease’ that could affect the ‘inner maladjustment’ of the upper classes as well. An alcoholic was characterized as a person who “drinks because he has to if he has to go on living. His drinking is uncontrolled- he drinks compulsively, just as compulsively as a kleptomaniac steals”²⁵. In this frame, drunkenness – “habitual excessive drinking”²⁶ should not be considered as the same problem as alcoholism. Drunkenness was something that the lower social classes were afflicted by whereas alcoholism was something that was almost acceptable in that it was a ‘clinical disease’- something not that one brought upon oneself, something that was far less dirty and disgusting, and more credible than its slum and street counterpart. Hastings Beck was to write in 1971 “although wine has been known and loved by mankind over so many thousands of years, alcoholism is a comparatively recent discovery. It dates back to around the time of Dr. Sigmund Freud about a century ago. Before that we had drunks who have been promoted to the ranks of alcoholics in this new chapter of psychology”²⁷. It is interesting that *Wynboer*, a magazine devoted to the promotion of wine and the wine farmer’s interests, should discuss issues such as alcoholism in its pages. While it would seem that the magazine was trying to present an objective view of the problems of alcoholism and drunkenness, it should be kept in mind that in fact all such articles in some way supported the sale and promotion of wine- never the prohibition of it. For example, in the 1952 article “What is an Alcoholic?”, concluding comments very much supported the continued sale of wine: “[it is] one of my beliefs that prohibition of all spirits and the wide sale of natural wines and light beer might be a potent weapon in the prevention of the ill effects of alcohol in our population”²⁸. Hastings Beck considered to what extent wine had a role in the problem of alcohol abuse. Beck argued it was not unreasonable “to query whether the wine-lover, the wine farmer and the wine maker should change their ways of life just because a few abuse liquor and others suffer from it”²⁹. In fact, he saw the use of natural wine as a “cure” for the alcoholic for as far as he knew wine had never been the drink of the alcoholic. It is interesting to note that spirits such as whiskey were considered the most popular of the alcoholic beverages amongst the South African population. As competitor to the sale and consumption of wine, it would only be in the wine industry’s best interests if the drinking of spirits was prohibited. Beck explained that “you would expect the willpower which is strong enough to give up drink altogether to be strong enough to limit it...to its mildest form... [wine] demands to be sipped”³⁰.

²¹ “Wine Tasting at the Montagu Wine Festival” in *Wynboer* June 1950. Pg. 8. NSLA 2548

²² “The Problem of drunkenness” by I. N. Selzer in *Wynboer* January 1948. Pg. 31. NSLA 2548.

²³ Ibid. Pg. 32

²⁴ Ibid. Pg. 32

²⁵ “What is an Alcoholic” in *Wynboer* September 1952. Pg. 12. NSLA 2548.

²⁶ Ibid. Pg. 12

²⁷ “Wine and Alcoholism” by Hastings Beck in *Wynboer* August 1971. Pg. 17. NSLA 2548

²⁸ “What is an Alcoholic” in *Wynboer* September 1952. Pg. 12. NSLA 2548.

²⁹ “Wine and Alcoholism” by Hastings Beck in *Wynboer* August 1971. Pg. 17. NSLA 2548

³⁰ Ibid. Pg. 17.

Over the years, this concern for alcoholism and the prohibition of spirits was to change to an emphasis on the education of the correct use of wine. In 1959, importance was laid on the continuous education of wine "to encourage the proper consumption of wine and to discourage the abuse of it"³¹. In 1963, the importance of adult education of wine- not in terms of discouraging abuse but rather in popularizing knowledge of wine spirits and liquors through a series of public lectures- came to the fore. Emphasis was placed on the proper use of alcohol in terms of what occasions a specific type could be used and how they should be served. By October 1979, it was mainly on the young that this education on responsible drinking was targeted. Dr L Anset contested that parents, schools and communities should abandon "outworn programs directed entirely towards the prevention of alcohol abuse"³². Rather than discouraging younger people to give up drinking alcohol altogether, there was a call for community leaders and better educational material so that "the watchword for the public should not be total abstinence but responsible drinking"³³. In support of this argument, Anset explained that there was evidence that "drinking early in life by young people does not lead to heavier consumption..."³⁴. It was always towards of the support of the wine industry through the encouragement of the education and proper use of wine that arguments seemed to be steered, rather than on the prohibition of wine altogether.

Studies on the drinking patterns of white South Africans were encouraged to be used in research for the advertising of wine to the public. Figures on who were regular drinkers or abstainers as well as liquor preferences were "interesting factors which should be of interest to the [Wine] Industry to obtain a clearer pattern of who its customers are. The advertising man can also see where he can aim his market"³⁵. Despite discussions of the problems of alcoholism and drunkenness in South African society within the magazine, it was to the importance of the marketing, sale and image of wine and the wine industry (and the concern for the problems and plights of the wine farmer) that was the *Wynboer* magazine's first and foremost concern. It would seem that the wine industry's emphasis on marketing and promotion of wine had paid off so that by 1963 with 30 million gallons of wine being consumed in South Africa with sales continuing to rise. It was argued that the trend in the country's drinking pattern was towards wine- a vast difference from earlier years characterized by the ignorance of the use of wine. *Wynboer* believed that "wine is news and good business in South Africa today"³⁶. K.W.V was going beyond the promotion of wine to consumers and the public by aiming handbooks and manuals on wine and the sale and service of wine to the licensees, counter staff and wine stewards who should have knowledge about wine. A full section of the handbook was devoted to the ways and means of promoting the sale of wine in hotels and restaurant outlets.

Perhaps one of the biggest coups for the wine industry was the introduction of wine for sale in grocer stores. The 27th of July 1966 saw the opening of the first wine department in a South African retail chain- Selcourt Checkers in Springs. Wine would be available to the public "in the same way as the ordinary groceries and soft goods which they purchase"³⁷. This was another effort to encourage the consumption of wine in a country where spirits were the most popular alcoholic beverage of the public. The opening of a wine department in a grocer's store was an effort of "not encouraging increased drinking but appealing for more discriminating tastes in the consumption of alcoholic beverages"³⁸. The granting of a grocer's wine licence was to be only in those "areas where the sale of wine fell below the 30 percent of the total liquor sales by off-sale outlets"³⁹. This measure was meant to supplement rather than to overtake the selling of wine in bottle stores- it was a measure that was the product of the Liquor

³¹ The K.W.V Annual Report of 1958' printed in *Wynboer* July 1959. Pg. 27. NSLA 2548

³² "Responsible Drinking: An educational challenge" by Dr. L Anset (pseudonym) in *Wynboer* October 1979. Pg. 20. NSLA 2548.

³³ Ibid. Pg. 21.

³⁴ Ibid. Pg. 20

³⁵ "Drinking Pattern of White South Africans" in *Wynboer* May 1966. Pg. 13. NSLA 2548.

³⁶ "K.W.V launches country-wide promotion campaign aimed at on and off consumption outlets" in *Wynboer* November 1964. Pg. 11. NSLA 2548.

³⁷ "Wine on sale now in Grocer Shop" in *Wynboer* September 1966. Pg. 5

³⁸ Ibid. Pg. 5

³⁹ Ibid. Pg. 5.

Die Wynboer

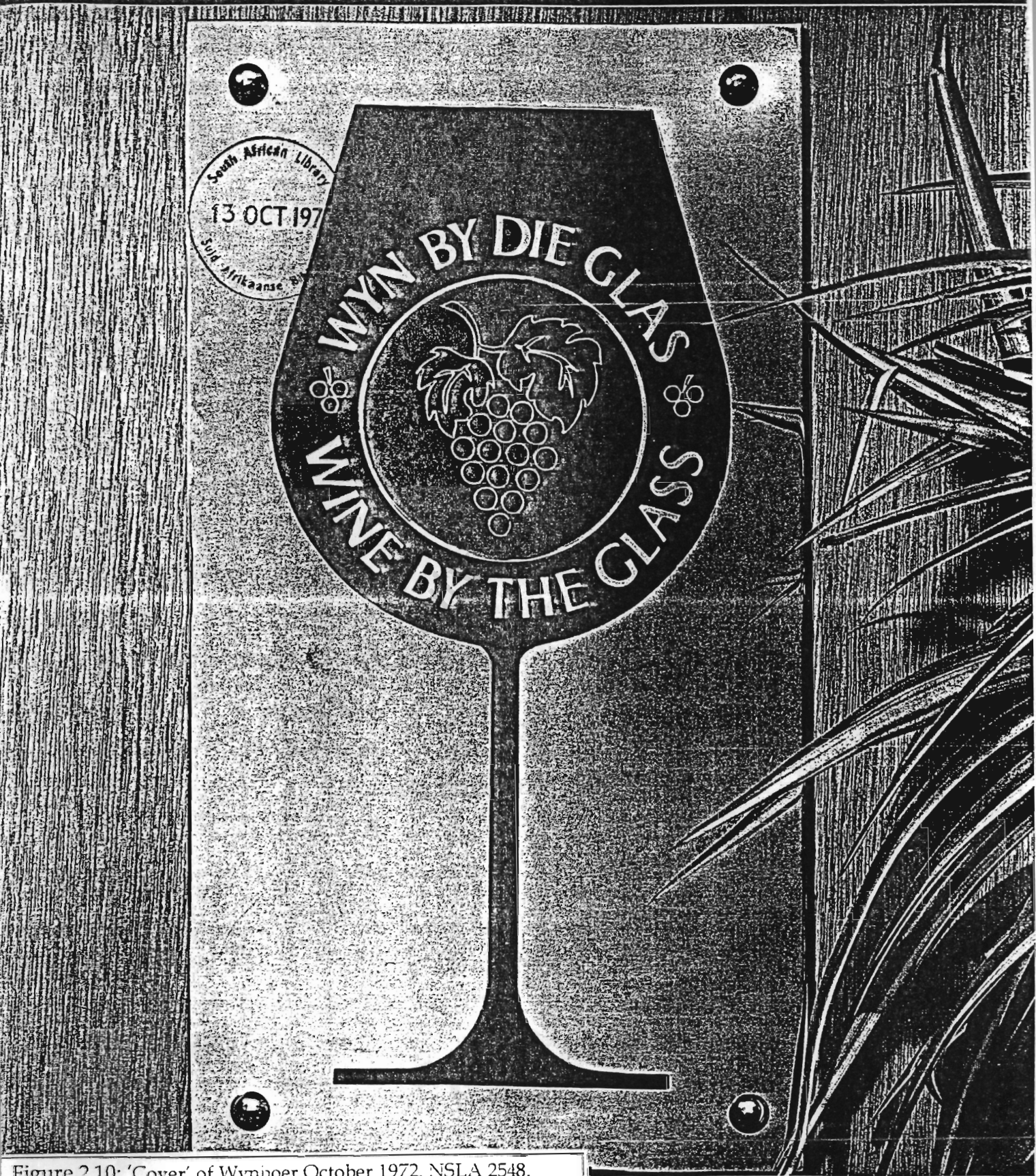


Figure 2.10: 'Cover' of Wynboer October 1972. NSLA 2548.

Amendment Act No. 88 of 1963 amending the original liquor act of 1928. As set out in this amendment, there were certain restrictions to the sale of wine in grocer's shops: it was only the sale of unfortified wine that was accommodated; the wine had to be set aside on special shelves, separate from the other goods in the store and sales were only permitted during bottle store hours. The response from the public was overwhelming with 3,000 bottles of wine being sold in less than the first month of the wine department being open.

In 1971, the role of promotion and advertising of wine came under the spotlight with an investigation by the Liquor Board on restrictions on liquor advertising in South Africa. It was argued that liquor advertisements increase alcohol consumption and that it "romanticises the product and is therefore misleading because it does not reflect the "truth"⁴⁰ with specifically targeting the youth. The K.W.V argued, "no proof exists that liquor advertising increases liquor consumption and consequently its abuse, but it can be proved that advertisements have little or no effect on consumption"⁴¹. Interesting then that in 1970, K.W.V was spending R200 000 on a campaign to promote the consumption of sherry on the Reef and in Durban. The campaign was concerned not only with promoting sherry in its traditional form, but also as "a modern day drink for young people"⁴². The K.W.V was to launch this campaign through the mass media: in newspapers, magazines and in cinemas as well as by organizing sherry tastings at bottle stores. R 200 000 is a great deal of money to spend for a company who does not believe that advertising increases the consumption of wine as well as arguing that advertising has minimal effects on young people's attitudes towards drink. The counter argument maintains that the copy and visuals of advertisements were glamorized to tempt young people to drink. K.W.V's response was that "the presence of attractive young people in such adverts is not a cynical or fictitious situation but a reflection of actuality. Most people drink in civilized circumstances and advertising is aimed at the majority"⁴³. We see almost a denial of the very goals that K.W.V was aiming towards- the increased consumption of wine amongst the younger generations.

In 1972, we find one of the biggest campaigns that K.W.V launched actually targeted the young: the "Wine by the Glass" campaign. It is only in the last twenty years or so that restaurateurs and wine drinkers may order their wine by the glass- before then, they were forced to purchase the entire bottle, which might have deterred the customer who only wanted one or two drinks. K.W.V's "Wine by the Glass" campaign was designed to satisfy the demand for light wines at prices that did not perturb the consumer but that in fact encouraged the trying of different wines without having to buy a bottle each time. With so much importance being placed on the encouragement of the consumption of wine, it is no wonder that K.W.V believes that "light wine is undoubtedly the beverage of the future"⁴⁴. One of the most important facets to the smooth running and development of this campaign was the implementation of an appropriate symbol signalling the sale of wine by the glass. An image of a glass holding a bunch of grapes within with the 'Wine by the Glass' quotation [Figure 2.10] was to become the symbol of this campaign. As was the case with the map of the Stellenbosch wine route, it can be seen that symbols play an important part in making the imaginary "real". The symbolic glass was to represent the physical glass of the wine buyer - no longer dependent on the buying of a bottle and perhaps more at the free will of his/her own tastes and desires.

K.W.V's determination to break into the market of the younger generation was further evidenced in 1977 with the "Purdey" sherry promotion. "The cool, glamorous heroine...", Purdey, played by Joanna Lumley in the hit 70's British television series, 'The New Avengers', was to promote South African sherry "in an impressive advertising campaign aimed at increasing awareness, especially amongst the younger set, that sherry is an exciting drink, blending perfectly with today's modern lifestyle"⁴⁵. The connection of wine and television really began in 1976

⁴⁰ "Restrictions on Advertising" by G R F Meyer (ed) in *Wynboer* July 1971. Pg. 5. NSLA 2548

⁴¹ *Ibid.* Pg. 5

⁴² "Massive Sherry Promotion Campaign" in *Wynboer* November 1970. Pg. 23. NSLA 2548.

⁴³ "Restrictions on Advertising" by G R F Meyer (ed) in *Wynboer* July 1971. Pg. 5

⁴⁴ "Wine by the Glass: Big New K.W.V Promotion" in *Wynboer* October 1972. Pg. 8. NSLA 2548.

⁴⁵ Both quotations taken from "Purdey Promotes South African Sherry" in *Wynboer* November 1977. Pg. 4. NSLA 2548.

with the allowance for wine and beer advertisements on commercial television (but not at this stage for spirits). The decision of SABC to exclude spirits from television advertising was in line with official policy of the Malan Commission of the late 1950s whose recommendations lent towards the encouragement of the consumption of light wines. Television in this instance was seen by the wine industry as a “most powerful communications and educational tool” which if properly used could make great contributions towards that establishment in South Africa “of a healthy and responsible pattern of consumption to the benefit not only of the producer but also of the consumer”⁴⁶. Therefore, by 1977, it was believed that South Africa was on the eve of a new era in wine drinking with a full generation “taking us on a wave of increased demand for natural wines”⁴⁷. ‘Wine consciousnesses seemed to have come full circle in South Africa, from relative obscurity and ignorance to increasing public demand for wine. In this last section, I have touched on some of the main issues that I felt saw the development of the importance of the publicity and promotion of wine. I believe, however, that the trend towards a greater wine consciousness was built and maintained by a development that transformed our ‘winelands’ into popular ‘sites’ of leisure and recreation: the creation of South African wine routes. In fact, the first wine route was an integral part of not only enlightening both local and overseas ‘travellers’ of what our ‘winelands’ had to offer, but of popularizing and stylizing the drinking of South African wine ‘on site’, within a ‘leisured landscape’. Exploring the history and development of the first wine route in South Africa is an important way of assessing and understanding the evolution of such trends.

2. A HISTORY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN WINE ROUTE

An ‘Old World’ Perspective

Michael Hall et al argue, “visits to vineyards have been part of organized travel at least since the time of the Grand Tour, and likely even since the times of ancient Greece”⁴⁸. It was not until the mid 19th century however, “that wine began to appear as a specific travel interest”⁴⁹. Michael Hall et al argue that there were a number of factors that aided this increase in interest, the primarily being the transport revolution created by the development of the railways that enabled greater ease of access to wine regions and leisure destinations for the masses. Secondly, these masses took the form of a new middle class, furnished with a new status and a disposable income as well as leisure time. A social revolution had this emergent middle class seeking quality wine and wine experience along with the aristocracy. Michael Hall et al see the third major factor that connected wine and travel as the publication of the 1855 “Classification of the Wines of Le Gironde” which “for the first time explicitly and officially gave wine, and wine-growing regions, a destinational identity”⁵⁰. This classification gave government sanction to the wines of the Bordeaux region of France. This had the effect of reinforcing the “quality and regional characteristics of Bordeaux wine” as well as providing a “marketing tool for a region and identified specific chateaux as classified growths which in themselves became visitor attractions”⁵¹.

The “active development and marketing of wine tourism product [is] a relatively recent phenomenon even in European countries with a long established wine producing history”⁵². As for wine trails or roads themselves, they have been part of the German tourism industry since the 1920s in the form of the “*Weinlehrpfad*” (the instructional

⁴⁶ Both quotations taken from “Wine and Television” in *Wynboer* November 1976. Pg. 2. NSLA 2548.

⁴⁷ “Amateur Wine Cellar: A Revolution in Wine” by Vaughan Johnson in *Wynboer* September 1977. Pg. 45. NSLA 2548.

⁴⁸ Michael Hall, C et al “Wine Tourism: An Introduction” in C. Michael Hall et al (eds) *Wine Tourism Around the World- Development, Management and Markets*. 2000. Pg. 3

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* Pg. 3

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* Pg. 3

⁵¹ *Ibid.* Pg. 3

⁵² Michael Hall et al “The maturing wine truism product: an international overview” in C. Michael Hall et al (eds) *Wine Tourism Around the World- Development, Management and Markets*. 2000. Pg. 31

wine path)⁵³. Such a wine path “help[ed] to explain and therefore sell German wine, and by the end of the 1970s practically all the 11 wine regions had their own *Weinstraßen* [wine road]”⁵⁴. While this was the case in Germany, “wine tourism only began to gain momentum in France during the 1980s as a result of declining rural economic conditions which led many wine-growers to consider direct sales to tourists in order to expand and diversify farm incomes”⁵⁵. Michael Hall et al see wine tourism in Europe as having “been developed in the form of official wine roads and wine routes”⁵⁶. In France especially, we find the linking of wine routes and local attractions such as heritage sites as well as country crafts and restaurants specializing in local cuisine. Such enterprises are telltale signs of the benefits of wine tourism to a region. Once realizing that wine routes were becoming synonymous with the attraction of tourists (and thus a further income), many other countries across the world began establishing their own wine routes.

Experiencing the foreign

This is where South Africa fits into the picture. In the case of the establishment and creation of South Africa’s first wine route in the Stellenbosch district, it certainly was an endeavour that was inspired by European example. The first wine route was started in Stellenbosch in 1971- it was not the first time, however, that South Africans had had the opportunity to experience a wine route or wine tour. In an issue of *Wynboer* in April 1950 I found the first advert for a “South African Viniculturists’ Tour”⁵⁷ to Europe arranged by Thos. Cook & Son (S.A) Ltd⁵⁸. The tour was advertised as a “unique opportunity for South African viniculturists to visit the leading vineyards, installations and cellars of North Africa, Italy, Switzerland, France and England”⁵⁹ leaving Cape Town 11 August 1950 and returning 26 November 1950. This tour was certainly not aimed at the general public, and perhaps not even the wine lover or connoisseur. This tour was “especially designed for [the]...interest and recreation”⁶⁰ of a specific target audience, a privileged few “in the know” of the cultivation of grapevines- the ‘viniculturist’. The tour was specifically and practically organized so that these viniculturists would have been present at their harvest time in February/March in their own country and would return by November “in time for the development of the 1951 crop”⁶¹. Thomas Cook himself saw the importance of the opening up of “opportunities for ordinary people culturally to enrich and morally to uplift themselves through excursions”⁶². And while by no stretch of the imagination was the aim of the ‘viniculturist’s tour’ to morally uplift travellers to a state of Cook’s ideal of a temperance movement (in fact as a tour for ‘wine makers’ it could be said to encourage the very opposite) its aim can be seen as a cultural upliftment- a journey towards greater knowledge. The tour company was to leave in August “at a time when they can do so without endangering their interests in this country”⁶³. Highlights of the tour included visits to plants with “the most up-to-date machinery utilized in wine production and vineyard cultivation”⁶⁴ as well as visits to some of the most famous vineyards in countries such as France and Italy. While this fully escorted tour was devised explicitly for “professional interest”, it also made space “the more personal aspect of a holiday tour”⁶⁵ as well as including a programme of a more general interest. Interestingly, while the tour was specifically targeted towards those with a “professional interest”, it still made provision for married

⁵³ Michael Hall, C et al “Wine Tourism: An Introduction” in C. Michael Hall et al (eds) *Wine Tourism Around the World- Development, Management and Markets*. 2000. Pg. 3

⁵⁴ Ibid. Pg. 3

⁵⁵ Michael Hall et al “The maturing wine tourism product: an international overview” in C. Michael Hall et al (eds) *Wine Tourism Around the World- Development, Management and Markets*. 2000. Pg. 31

⁵⁶ Ibid. Pg. 36

⁵⁷ “South African Viniculturists’ Tour 1950” in *Wynboer* April 1950 Pg. 18. NLSA 2548

⁵⁸ An interesting history of the Thomas Cook travel company can be found in James Buzard’s *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* where definitions of tourist and traveler are explained and juxtaposed.

⁵⁹ “South African Viniculturists’ Tour 1950” in *Wynboer* April 1950 Pg. 18. NLSA 2548

⁶⁰ Ibid. Pg. 18

⁶¹ Ibid. Pg. 18

⁶² Buzard, J *The Beaten Track*. Pg. 49

⁶³ “South African Viniculturists’ Tour 1950” in *Wynboer* April 1950 Pg. 18. NLSA 2548

⁶⁴ Ibid. Pg. 18

⁶⁵ Ibid. Pg. 18

couples with the usual discount for couples travelling together as opposed to a single traveller. In December 1960, we find a planned tour of Europe being advertised for "South African Wine Farmers and Producers (and their wives)"⁶⁶. Such specifically designed tours would have course been created to target the kind of person who would have bought or read the *Wynboer* magazine. In the earlier years, this role would probably have been the 'professional' wine farmer *himself* (it would seem that wine farmer and producer was considered to be a man, as many tours make accommodation for the "wine farmer's" wife).

Over time, the overall emphasis on tours being designed for the "professional interest" began to give way to tours that were aimed at "wine lovers whether they be amateurs, connoisseurs or professionals in the wine trade..."⁶⁷ as in a tour advertised in 1952 of the vineyards of France, the Rhine and Moselle. Tours moved away from the importance of European expertise and example to an emphasis on the cultural and social significance of travelling to the well know wine regions of the world. "For those in the trade [such a tour was]...a unique opportunity to visit these renowned districts...so that they may return to South Africa and be able to use that most important phrase "I have been there"⁶⁸. Such promises began to be the catch phrases of many of these tour advertisements. The 'role of sightseeing' and holiday and leisure time came to claim greater saliency over the set up of the tours to Europe. By 1965, tours could be organized for the under 30s with emphasis on value for money as well as on the number of sights to be visited in a short space of time. One such tour bragged of the "drie-en vyftig Europese stede en dorpe"⁶⁹ that would be visited by luxury bus on the tour. Time and cost saving were important factors to consider as the 3 month "vinicultrists' tour" gave way to the enviable two week all inclusive, value for money, tour of 52 well-known European towns and cities. Not only was the European wine landscape being prized for its expertise and example, but more and more frequently for its aesthetic beauty. As one advert acknowledges: "it is a happy coincidence that vines invariably grow in scenically attractive country..."⁷⁰. It was a countryside that for its visitors brought a 'happy coincidence' of attractiveness, but its beauty could also have the effect of bringing the traveller rest and rejuvenation as they were encouraged to "cast aside the cares of your own travail and come along with us to Europe. Enjoy the glorious country-side in its fresh green mantle of spring, soak up a little history, drink other Farmers' wines and return refreshed and ready for another year of work"⁷¹. This idea of a holiday bringing rest and rejuvenation to the traveller is conceptually very different to the earlier "study" (and thus essentially still "work") tours of the viniculturist.

Readers of *Wynboer* were given many opportunities to travel on wine related tours all over the world. All the way through to 1981 tours were advertised to the "new world" wine regions of Chile, Argentina, Sicily and even California, but it was only in 1970⁷² that their own South African countryside became promoted as an interesting landscape to visit. In December 1970, a review was published of the book "Wine Country, Journeys along the Cape Wine Routes" edited by Merwe Scholtz. The reviewer explained that it was not a book written about wine in a technical sense and "nor has it been written by connoisseurs", but rather it was a travel book "written as a guide for people who want their travels to have meaning" as "it takes the reader from Outshoorn to the Cape, and from the Cape North to Clanwilliam, with visits to Waveren and the Breede River"⁷³. The significance of having a wine region "mapped" out and explained should not go unrecognized when we remember the effect that the "Classification of the Wines of Le Gironde" had on wine tourism in France. Perhaps it is the creation of a "destinational identity" that allows would be travellers to desire travelling to and identify with the regions that are

⁶⁶ "A specially planned tour of Europe for South African Wine Farmers and Producers (and their wives)" in *Wynboer* December 1960. Pg. 3. NSLA 2548

⁶⁷ "Tours of the Vineyards of France, the Rhine and Moselle" in *Wynboer* March 1952. Pg. 7. NSLA 2548

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* Pg. 7

⁶⁹ "Besock EUROPA heirdie Vakansie" in *Wynboer* March 1965. Pg. 1. NSLA 2548

⁷⁰ "Visit the Winelands of Europe" in *Wynboer* March 1967. Pg. 11. NSLA 2548

⁷¹ *Ibid.* Pg. 11

⁷² In 1960, there was an attempt to create a map of "Die Wynland Van Suid-Africa" (*Wynboer* January 1960. Pg. 11). Rather than an actual guide for the public or visitors, it was published by the K.W.V as a colour poster meant for educational purposes of the wine districts of the Cape where wine was produced.

⁷³ "Journey along Cape Wine Route" in *Wynboer* December 1970. Pg. 13. NSLA 2548

promoted. Interestingly, the book written by Scholtz is advertised as being “lavishly illustrated” in both full colour and black and white photographs and maps. Such a representation allows the reader to “see” [and thus daydream about] the various wine regions even before they have left the doorstep of their own home- an often very important part of travel in the present day. When the reader finally decided to go on such a journey along the Cape wine route, psychologically they would not be entering into the terrain ‘alone’- they would be tracing in the safe footsteps of someone who has already been there and done that before (and who had lived to tell the tale). Not only would the traveller have a kind of mental visual map before they arrived, but a physical one as provided by the book to guide them along the “correct” path and journey. It is in the power of maps to construct a specific landscape that the establishment and popularity of the first South African wine route was based.

The “Stellenbosch Wine Route”: Mapping a landscape

In 1971, the first wine route was opened in Stellenbosch and since then South Africa has had 14 established wine routes in various regions, the majority within 100km of Cape Town with the furthest away being along the Orange River. According to Simon Rappoport in “South African Wine”⁷⁴, the ‘Stellenbosch Wine Route’ was the brainchild of Frans Malan of the Simonsig Estate and Niel Joubert of Spier who, while touring Burgundy with their wives in 1969, went on a tour of the ‘Route de Vins’ at Morey-St-Denis. It was from the European example that Malan and Joubert were inspired to start their own wine route in South Africa. Back in Stellenbosch, Spatz Sperling of Delheim became similarly intrigued with the idea of Malan and Joubert. One of the first steps that was instrumental to the establishment of a wine route was the creation of a wine route ‘map’. In the December 1970 issue of *Wynboer* there was discussion of the desirability of having an illustrated map of the Cape “wine route” which would indicate the locality and products of some of the better known Cape wine farms which produce their own estate wines⁷⁵. It was a move put forward by the Cape Society of Estate Wine Producers with Frans Malan as the chairman. At the time that this article was written, “about 20 estate wine producers in the larger Stellenbosch area... [had] already indicated their willingness to co-operate with this plan”⁷⁶. Estates such as De Hoop, Mooiplaas, Muratie, Neetlingshof, La Provence and of course Simonsig, Spier and Delheim were amongst those listed. The wine route was centred around the Stellenbosch district as firstly, it was the farmers of this region whose initiative it was to implement such a route and secondly, they saw the “distances there...not too great. Elsewhere wine farms would be perhaps more thinly scattered, ruling out, say, a day’s outing from Cape Town and back”⁷⁷. Therefore, there is a conception of a wine route that involves a one-day return trip (so no need to concern oneself with finding accommodation) – thus a timesaving venture, a trip that is not too far from the “safe”, “well known” home base of Cape Town and yet far enough away to allow the visitor to admire the change in scenery from ‘cosmopolitan cityscape’ to idyllic vineyard and farmland. In addition, it was a route that prized itself on having a great deal of estates in a relatively small space- maximizing the value of the tour, merging time saving with high density “attraction” visitation. As Frans Malan proudly states at the opening of the wine route on the 17 April 1971, “die distrik het ook meer wynboere per kilometre as enige ander plek in die land”⁷⁸. At the opening there were 19 famous or well-known estates that were linked to the Stellenbosch wine route- by the end of the 1971, it was hoped that this figure would double.

Farms would be illustrated on the face of the map along a clearly indicated “wine route” while on the flipside, information would be laid out concerning the wines that would be available (and if not ready yet, the dates of when they would be) as well as visiting days and hours. Furthermore, each homestead on the estate was to be illustrated by a colour photograph and details would be given of “some historical interest” to “some of the oldest

⁷⁴ Hughes, D: Hands, P and Kench, J *South African Wine*. Struik Publishers: Cape Town. 1992.

⁷⁵ “A Map of the Cape ‘Wine Route’” in *Wynboer* December 1970. Pg. 16

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* Pg. 16

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* Pg. 16

⁷⁸ “Minister Open Kaapse Wynroete” in *Wynboer* May 1971. Pg. 11. NSLA 2548

and most important wine producing farms in Stellenbosch⁷⁹. Denis Wood argues that maps “make present- they represent- the accumulated thought and labour of the past” and that they ‘work’ “by serving interests”⁸⁰. The wine route map of Stellenbosch was designed by wine farmers with an interest in getting their wines well known and making cellar-door sales by representing the Stellenbosch region as one that contains a network of estate wine connections. As Wood explains, “because these interests select what from the vast storehouse of knowledge about the earth the map will represent, these interests are embodied in the map as presences and absences”⁸¹. If we look at a 1978 map of the Stellenbosch wine route⁸² [Figure 2.11] as reproduced on the front cover of an edition of *Wynboer*, we can examine just such presences and absences that support and enforce the wine farmers’ interests. There are two classifications made between differing types of cellars: The private farm cellars would be those farms where wine is made from grapes grown on the estate (represented by the symbol of a bunch of grapes) while co-operative cellars “turn into wine the grapes grown by co-operative members” (represented by some sort of crest)⁸³. Aside from these wine cellars, the other important features are the various types of roads such as national highways, as well as tarred and untarred roads (and although not represented in the key, there are train tracks as well). Between points, these roads are marked by the distance in kilometres, so it would seem the key concern would be for tourists or visitors, who travelling by car from Cape Town (from which all the roads lead), find their way to the various wineries to buy wine directly from the cellar door. Other elements included on the map are local restaurants, hotels, a golf course and garages or petrol stations and even a ‘Viticultural Research Institution’. The map is geared towards the leisure experience of the day-tripper (there is also the inclusion of hotels for when the day-tripper wants to extend his/her trip into the Stellenbosch winelands). So, while these specific features have been picked out to represent the ‘Stellenbosch landscape’, other elements have been left out. There would seem to be no sign of where the people who work on these farms live- how are the labourers who produce the wine represented? They are not.

The map becomes a “natural” representation of the landscape to the traveller who “trusts in” the accuracy of the map and the direction given. The landscape becomes the map and the map becomes the landscape. Wood contends that transformative forces “attendant to the interests of this or that particular class or industry or part of the country, conspire to mask their interest, conspire to...naturalize this product of so much cultural energy”⁸⁴. Who is the person/people who are accountable for this map, its conception or reproduction? Wood explains that the naturalization of the map “takes place on the level of the sign system in which the map is inscribed”⁸⁵ - so through the symbols representing private farm cellars and co-operatives, through the marking out of national (and thus official?) roads is part of such a naturalization process. What secures and cements this process is the application of such signs and symbols into the “real world”, into and onto the actual landscape of Stellenbosch. The Society of Estate Wine Producers saw it important to have an emblem designed for identifying those estates part of the wine route on the farm gate. In addition, the society wished the Divisional Council of Stellenbosch to provide clear road signs indicating the wine route. It was hoped that 25 000 maps would be printed in time for the following Cape tourist season with the result that “armed with these [maps] and following the road signs, tourist and other wine lovers will know exactly where they may buy their own wines directly from the farm and when they will be welcome”⁸⁶. The wine route was to become a system based on mapping and symbols- a symbolic guidance system set to deliver the visitor through uncertain terrain into the welcoming arms of the wine selling estate owners.

⁷⁹ “A Stellenbosch Wine Route” in *Wynboer* April 1971 Pg. 24. NSLA 2548

⁸⁰ Wood, D. *The Power of Maps*. 1992. Pg. 1

⁸¹ *Ibid.* Pg. 1

⁸² “Die Stellenbosse Wynroete” Cover of *Wynboer* November 1978. NSLA 2548.

⁸³ Preston-Whyte, R. “Wine Routes in South Africa” in C. Michael Hall et al (eds) *Wine Tourism Around the World- Development, Management and Markets*. 2000. Pg. 105

⁸⁴ Wood, D. *The Power of Maps*. 1992. Pg. 2

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* Pg. 2

⁸⁶ “A Map of the Cape ‘Wine Route’” in *Wynboer* December 1970. Pg. 16. NSLA 2548

The plans for a production of a map of the Stellenbosch wine route were quite in advance of the actual conditions on many of the 20 farms that were to be “put on the map”. Very few of the producers on these estates were ready with wine for selling to the public. In fact in 1970, at only six of the wine farms on the wine route could travellers purchase wine. By 1977, with 12 estates and 4 co-operatives on the wine route, there was still one estate where wine was not for sale⁸⁷. Wood maintains that “we are always mapping the invisible or the unattainable or the erasable, the future or the past, the whatever-is-not-here-present-to-our-senses-now and, through the gift that the map gives us, transmuting it into everything it is not...into the real”⁸⁸. This is the very essence of the map of the Stellenbosch wine route. The creation of the map was the first and most important step in the creation of a route- the map not only enabled the creation of the wine route, but it was the very cornerstone on which the route was based. The map charted the invisible- there was no “physical wine route” engraved on the Stellenbosch landscape but rather hundreds of highways, town, dirt and track roads. A “wine route” by necessity, by its very nature, creates a clear path for the would be visitor, a path that specifically chooses one road over another, highlighting one feature over another. Essentially, the map of the Stellenbosch wine route is the embodiment of a wish for the future- one in which visitors would physically travel along the wine route. The map represents a wish or desire for its pictographic signs on paper to become “real”. If the map was the first step towards making the Stellenbosch wine route “real”, then the second was to implement on “site/sight” markers that supported and furthered the goal of the map. Route signs and “official” wine estate markers would bring into existence a representation of the world that had previously been restricted to paper.

As Wood explains “the map doesn’t let us see anything, but it does let us know what others have seen or found out or discovered...”⁸⁹. What we see are the dreams and desires of the people who created the map, who created the “Stellenbosch wine route”. It is their ideas and perceptions about this space, this landscape that informs the construction and presentation of the map and wine route. “Maps construct- not reproduce -the world”⁹⁰. As Wood notes, maps are so powerful that they can speak for themselves, they have the ability to make their authors disappear- from the face of the map we cannot tell what the intentions are behind the map makers. What were the needs that drove Frans Malan, Niel Joubert and Spatz Sperling to create a wine route? Were their farms struggling to sell their wine? Was their concern to increase the number of visitors in the area? What made them change from selling just wine to selling an “experience”? One can assume they wanted visitors and map readers to venture into the Stellenbosch “winescape”, to visit physically the estates where the wine was made and to taste wine within the setting where the grape was grown. They wanted to connect visitors to the landscape, and thus a good experience to the wine that they drunk, to buying that product. As Preston-Whyte notes the emergence of wine routes over the last three decades “has taken place against a background of social and political change in the country” so that there are a complexity of factors that influence change and that “it is difficult if not impossible to attribute causation to specific events”⁹¹. It is possible to recognize all of the actions or events that might have contributed to the construction of a wine route or wine tourism itself. Thankfully, however, some of the key developments leading towards the route’s inception can be recognized. Preston-Whyte argues that energetic innovation was necessary for the development of the Stellenbosch wine route, “this energy [could]...be repressed by stifling regulations but benign political change and exposure to globalizing influences may release it”⁹². Perhaps it was against such stifling regulations that the likes of Malan, Joubert and Sperling were trying to fight. It is certainly true that the South African wine industry was “no stranger to regulation”⁹³.

⁸⁷ “Die Stellenbosse Wynroete” in *Wynboer* July 1977. Pg. 12. NSLA 2548

⁸⁸ Wood, D. *The Power of Maps*. 1992. Pg. 5

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* Pg. 7

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* Pg. 17

⁹¹ Preston-Whyte, R. “Wine Routes in South Africa” in C. Michael Hall, et al (eds) *Wine Tourism Around the World- Development, Management and Markets*. 2000. Both quotes taken from Pg. 103

⁹² *Ibid.* Pg. 103

⁹³ *Ibid.* Pg. 103

Robert Preston-Whyte sees the development of the first wine route in South Africa to be a “product of leadership, determination and endurance in the face of obdurate bureaucracy”⁹⁴. Aside from many of the estates on the route not even having the ability to produce wine for the public, there were other greater obstacles in the path of Malan, Joubert and Sperling before what seemed like the straightforward concept of a wine route came into being. The biggest problems that faced these three wine farmers were not related to disagreement amongst the Stellenbosch wine farmers or even with the task of encouraging local and international tourists to visit the route, but rather with government legislation that prohibited the tasting of wines at vineyards and estates before people bought the wine—the very *raison d’être* of the wine route in the first place. As Preston-Whyte explains, “the prolonged negotiation with government agencies over revisions in the liquor law to permit such tasting indicates that the diffusion of new ideas and practices across cultural and national boundaries can be a complex matter”⁹⁵. Aside from the restriction of tasting wine on estates that directly affected the establishment of a wine route, there were other regulations that stifled free and fair trade amongst all wine farmers of the Western Cape. The formation of “De Ko-operatiewe Wijnbouwers Vereniging Van Zuid Afrika Beperkt” (K.W.V) had a great deal to do with the implementation of these regulations and restrictions.

The K.W.V was formed in 1918 under the impetus of its creator, Charles William Henry Kohler, as a response to dealing with the problem of wine overproduction. K.W.V was set up “to control the sale and disposal of products of its members in such a way that will always be assured of an adequate income for such products”⁹⁶. At the very outset, 1 807 members signed on, but in 1978 it was boasted that over 5 000 members were joined⁹⁷. The “influence of K.W.V grew further in 1924 when the Wine and Spirit Control Act No. 5 required all producers to join the organization and empowered them to set minimum prices for wine distillation”⁹⁸. It is no wonder then that in 1978, K.W.V boasted over 5 000 members as it was not out of free will but mandatory regulation. Preston-Whyte argues that the K.W.V was further empowered in 1940 by the Wine and Spirit Control Act No. 23, as “wine production now required a permit obtained from the K.W.V and all transactions between producers and sellers had to be sanctioned by them”⁹⁹. In 1956, legislation allowed K.W.V to impose a quota system on vineyards limiting the number of vines that could be planted, and only vineyards performing within the quota system could produce grapes for winemaking. It was under such heavy restrictions and regulations that wine farmers such as Malan, Joubert and Sperling laboured. Preston-Whyte believes that “while the objective of controlling overproduction was doubtless well-intentioned, the monopolistic power of the K.W.V did not encourage entrepreneurial innovation in the wine industry which, until the early 1990s, ‘dozed happily in isolation’ in a state of ‘subsidized slumber’”¹⁰⁰. It was no wonder they started touring the famous wine regions of the world in search of an idea that would improve their situation while at the same time not present not too much resistance or opposition to legislative regulations. Preston-Whyte maintains, “it took the collapse of apartheid to liberate the industry from the mindset of state protection”¹⁰¹ as in 1992 the Quota system was eliminated.

It cannot be denied that there were improvements made at the hand of K.W.V in terms of increasing the production of wine at the Cape— in 1918 production was at 658 920 hectolitres in comparison to 1978 where levels had reached about 6 million hectolitres¹⁰². While this is a dramatic improvement over time, it is perhaps even more telling that between 1992 and 1999, the number of wine producing cellars grew by 52 percent as wine producers entered into the market. Legislation introduced in 1973 concerning an introduction of quality control through

⁹⁴ Ibid. Pg. 106

⁹⁵ Ibid. Pg. 106

⁹⁶ Hands and Hughes (1997:14) quoted in Ibid. Pg. 103

⁹⁷ “C W H Kohler and the K.W.V Story” in *Wynboer* September 1978. Pg. 25. NSLA 2548

⁹⁸ Preston-Whyte, R “Wine Routes in South Africa” in C. Michael Hall, et al (eds) *Wine Tourism Around the World- Development, Management and Markets*. 2000. Pg. 103

⁹⁹ Ibid. Pg. 104

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. Pg. 104

¹⁰¹ Ibid. Pg. 104

¹⁰² “C W H Kohler and the K.W.V Story” in *Wynboer* September 1978. Pg. 25. NSLA 2548

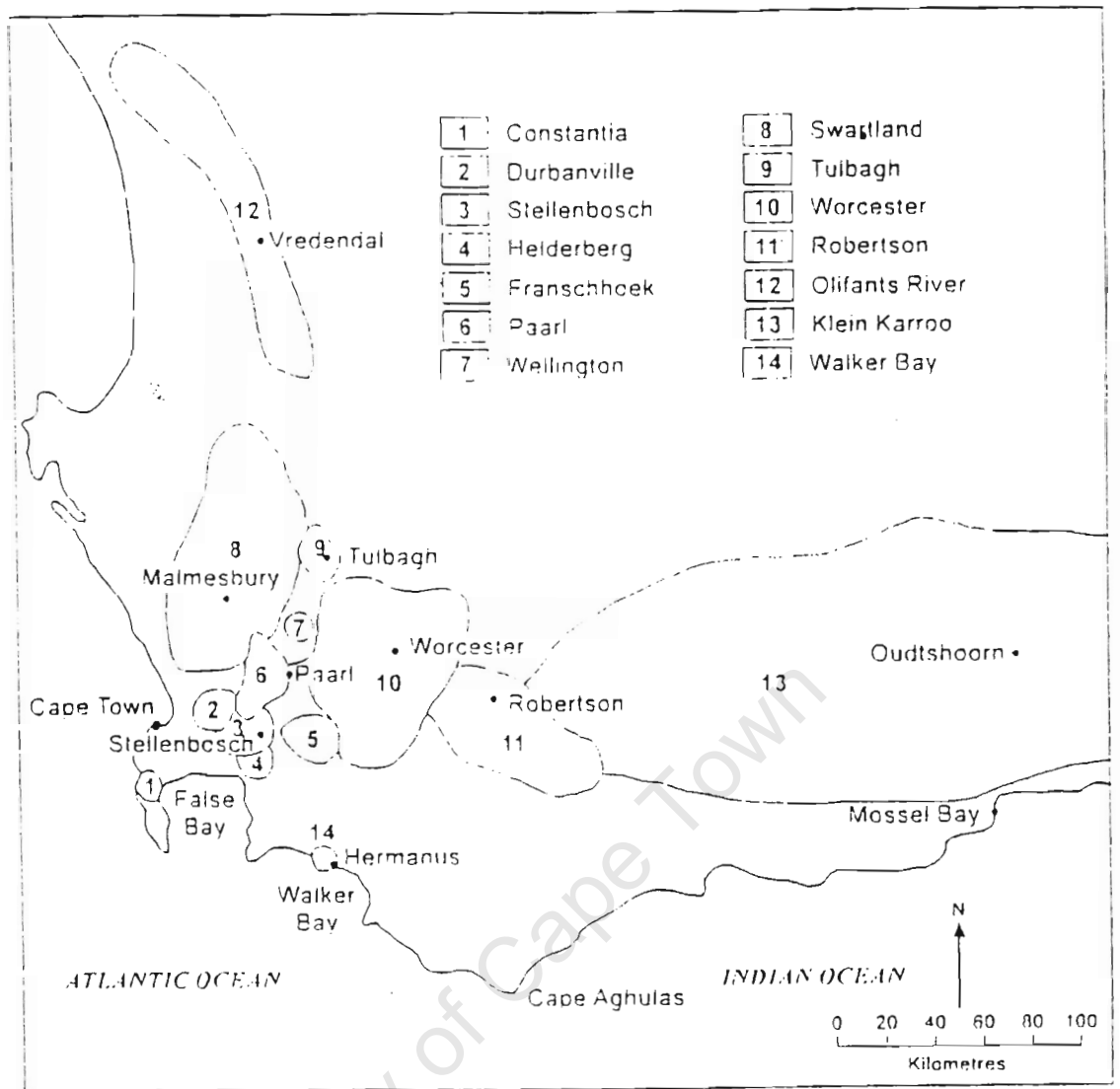


Figure 2.12: Map of "Wine Routes of the Cape" in Preston-Whyte, R "Wine Routes in South Africa" in C. Michael Hall, et al (eds) *Wine Tourism Around the World- Development, Management and Markets*. 2000. Pg. 107

“authenticating the claims on the wine label as to the vintage, area of origin and cultivar”, was perhaps one of the regulations that aided South Africa’s transition towards a quality product accepted according to international standards. Such improvements, however, do not make up for the severe restrictions that both South African wine farmers must have faced and those people who would have been restricted from farming altogether. Perhaps the move towards “wine tourism” was as much a product of opposition to harsh restrictions as it was of innovation and opportunity.

The three men who were driven towards the route’s establishment might not have predicted the effect their initiative would have on the South African wine industry as well as tourist patterns and trends. In 1977, the value of the Stellenbosch wine tour and its instigators was already being realized as André Roussouw commented, “in sewe jaar se tyd het hierdie wynboere veel gedoen, glo ek, om wyn in ons land beter bekend te stel en om dit in die voorkamers en op die eettafels van vele gesinne te plaas wat voorheen net bier en brandewyn geken het”¹⁰³. In 1977, of all the tourists that came into the Stellenbosch information bureau, 90 percent asked about the Stellenbosch Wine Route. In fact, the route was so popular that tour operators and groups were booked up to a year in advance just to go on a ‘one day’ tour. It was estimated that tourists visiting the Stellenbosch wine route increased every year by 40 percent and that in December 1976 there were 10 000 visitors representing a 7th of all visitors that year¹⁰⁴. When they first started out, Malan, Joubert and Sperling were no doubt faced with a great deal of scepticism from other wine farmers- most likely due to the fact that those involved had to pay for everything themselves: the printing of the route map and all the associated costs with bringing a wine route into existence. According to André Roussouw, as a result of the popularity and awareness created of the wine route and surrounding wine region, K.W.V decided to sponsor the yearly printing of the route map.

Not only was there emphasis on attraction of overseas or foreign visitors to the region, but local wine lovers were encouraged to explore their own winelands rather than booking an overseas wine tour. In an editorial in a 1976 edition of *Wynboer*¹⁰⁵, importance was placed on people learning about their own wines and country rather than spending money on an overseas tour that did not ‘give the personal touch’. The editor acknowledged that while wine tours to foreign countries were “in vogue”, they were overpriced. This turn towards local wine tours is a far cry from the “viniculturist’s tour” of 1950 in which professionals were seeking the example and knowledge of “old world” wine countries. Perhaps this move towards local tourism can be evidenced by the 100 000 maps of Stellenbosch wine route printed between November 1975 and February 1977. Wine routes based on printed route maps also depend a great deal on automobile transportation- people with their own or hired cars exploring the landscape. Such maps are developed as systems of control- over autonomous individuals driving their cars along roads. A map (and its associated road signs) is perhaps one of the simplest ways of guiding people to reach *your* destination. Targeting the local residents and communities of South Africa, those people with their own transportation, would have been only a logical step towards increasing those visitor numbers to wine estates. By 1976, The Stellenbosch wine route (and now the Paarl wine route as well) were being characterized in terms other than just an experience that involved the tasting of wine from the source. Perceptions of landscape within wine tours and on wine estates concerned more than those joys of wine tasting. Culture, history and lifestyle came to define spaces and places. Where the Stellenbosch wine route led, others followed, and the creation of multiple ‘routes’ led to constructions of difference and sameness between neighbouring regions. To move beyond the development of one wine route and into constructions of identity of many routes is instrumental in understanding perceptions of wine landscape (or ‘winescape’) in the Western Cape. So out of the mapping of space, and into perceptions of place is where we can closely examine constructions of ‘winescape’. One way of exploring such perceptions is through analyzing the constructions that the wine routes and regions themselves present to the

¹⁰³ “Die Stellenbosse Wynroete” by André Roussouw in *Wynboer* July 1977. Pg. 12. NSLA 2548.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* Pg. 13

¹⁰⁵ “Wyntoere- waarde vir geld?” in *Wynboer* May 1976. Pg. 2. NSLA 2548

visitor. This will be my concern for the last section of this chapter- it also sets the way for exploring conceptions of winescape from the visitor's point of view, which I will deal with in the next chapter.

3. CREATING DIFFERENCE AND SAMENESS: Perceptions of landscape from the wine routes' point of view

The 'Wine of Origin' System

While landscape and the beauty of the landscape has always been a 'drawcard' to encourage travellers to visit the winelands, it should perhaps be remembered that Cape winelands have not always been separated into or perceived as separate districts. While the first wine route was established in 1971, a 'Wine of Origin' system that separated the winelands into distinct districts was only introduced in 1973. Reid explains that "based on European systems, it provided local winemakers with a frame of reference in international markets and, by extension, led to the geographical division of the Western Cape winelands into regions, districts, wards and estates"¹⁰⁶. Dave Hughes argues, however, that the 'Wine of Origin System' was not so much introduced to help local wine farmers and makers, as it was to enable K.W.V to "sell Cape wines to the developing European Common Market (now the European Union). The K.W.V had the sole right to export and no other producer could build an export market as approval had to be obtained for each order"¹⁰⁷. Even though in reality this was a system that was implemented for the benefit of K.W.V, it did have positive effects for the production and exportation of South African wines. One of the biggest obstacles to the acceptance of South African wines on the international market was the perception of the low quality and standards of Cape wines. Hastings Beck, in one of his monthly *Wynboer* articles, was to comment on the problem of the naming of Cape wines in 1969- before the 'Wine of Origin' system came into place. Beck explained, "The wine-makers of each of these wines [referring to a riesling and a cabernet] are entitled to use the varietal name for their wines. But so is anyone who makes a blend with little if not any of the riesling or cabernet in it. There is no control over the naming of our wines. And if this does not actually bring our wines into disrepute, it certainly militates against the building up of the names of any of our wines"¹⁰⁸. With the implementation of the 'Wines of Origin' system in South Africa, Beck was to praise it as "one of the most momentous steps in the history of the wine industry of the Cape and a notable contribution to the economy of the whole country"¹⁰⁹. There is no doubt that Hastings was writing for and employed by a magazine that was an official publication of the K.W.V, and hence highly biased towards the company's own interests. Despite this, perhaps there is some truth in realizing that the 'Wine of Origin' system was "a measure which must raise the reputation of our wines by ensuring their quality and confirming their integrity"¹¹⁰. A special seal with the status of a certificate, was applied to the necks of certified bottles which guaranteed any statement appearing on the local wine label laying claims to "the geographical origin of the wine (origin); the grape variety used (cultivar); the vintage year stated (vintage) or any combination thereof"¹¹¹.

As part of this 'Wine of Origin' system, fourteen areas were defined formally for the purposes of implementing and certifying the "Area Wines of Origin"¹¹². These were Caledon, Malmesbury, Paarl, Piketberg, Robertson, Stellenbosch, Tulbagh, Worcester, Swellendam, Constantia, Durbanville, Olifants River, Boberg and the Little Karoo. A space was left on the seal for the inclusion of the words "Superior" or "Estate" or both: "these will identify a Wine of Origin as being of superior quality or deriving from a recognised estate, or both, as the case may be"¹¹³. In terms of wine routes, this defining of areas stands largely as it does today, except with a few additions

¹⁰⁶ Reid, Roxanne "The Wine Industry in the Western Cape" a report produced for Wesgro's Sector Research Section. Cape Town. December 2000. Pg. 17

¹⁰⁷ Hughes, Dave. *Hughes on Booze*. 1997. Pg. 70-71.

¹⁰⁸ Beck, Hastings "Names of Cape Wines" in *Wynboer* June 1969. Pg. 11. NSLA 2548

¹⁰⁹ Beck, Hastings "Wines of Origin in South Africa" in *Wynboer* July 1972. Pg. 19. NSLA 2548.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* Pg. 19

¹¹¹ "Wine of Origin Seal comes into effect" in *Wynboer* December 1973. Pg. 20. NSLA 2548.

¹¹² *Ibid.* Pg. 20

¹¹³ *Ibid.* Pg. 20

and subtractions. If we look at Preston-Whyte's map of the wine routes of the Cape [Figure 2.12], we find the addition of the Helderberg region (formally part of the Stellenbosch wine route), the Walker Bay region (perhaps inclusive of Caledon area) as well as the Wellington area. Whatever the boundaries or regions, there holds great significance for the conceptualization of space in the dividing of South Africa's winelands into distinct wine regions. Preston-Whyte argues, "The concept of bounded space is vital to the idea of a wine route since it defines for its wine producing members an identity that proclaims unique attributes for their wines and cultural heritage"¹¹⁴. We can see an example of the value that is placed on pride of place and space in the inclusion of the Wellington region as a wine producing and wine touring area: "[Wellington]...is a small wine route in close proximity to Paarl. Its larger neighbour easily could accommodate it. However, the close proximity of the nine wine producers and the presence of the nearby town of Wellington nestling in the foothills of the Hawekwa mountains provides a territorial identity for the route"¹¹⁵. Pride of place and space, as well as the right to bottle and successfully market those special and unique features, means that landscape is characterized by difference rather than sameness. As Preston-Whyte explains, "in order to stress the attributes that distinguish them from their competitors, wine route associations tend to employ a rhetoric that stresses the nature of the grapes and the wines they produce, the soils and climate that gives them their distinctive character and the cultural heritage that nurtured them"¹¹⁶. Not only then are landscapes characterized by distinct geological and climatic features that are set to differentiate them apart, but even more importantly, these differences are highlighted and entrenched by the 'cultural heritage' of that specific region. So, while Constantia is noted for its winelands being "well watered in winter by organic rainfall over Table Mountain, cooled by summer sea breezes from nearby False Bay, shaded from the fierce westerling sun by the mountain and blessed with excellent soils"¹¹⁷, Stellenbosch is characterized differently. Stellenbosch's climate and positioning is noted by its vineyards that "make use of sandy alluvial soils in valley bottoms and acidic decomposed granitic soils on the surrounding mountain slopes"¹¹⁸. It is these differences that would perhaps encapsulate that well-used French word to describe climate, soil and landscape: '*terroir*'.

Defining space into place

And while many such differences in soil, climate and positioning within landscape perceivably make up the characteristics and defining features of space, it is more noticeably the associated cultural, historical and 'lifestyle' attributes that come to cement those spaces as places. Each route seeks to combine certain elements of '*terroir*', 'lifestyle' and heritage to make a recipe of uniqueness, an emblem of difference between itself and the wine route across the road. A great deal of discussion centres around the perceptions and constructions of the various wine routes in the Cape, it would be interesting to explore whether such conceptions of space relate to how the local communities perceive the space they live in. Preston-Whyte discusses some of the conceptions of place that certain wine routes have articulated in their defining of *self* over *other*. He argues, for example, that the Stellenbosch Wine Route proclaims: "amongst the wines sold on the Stellenbosch Wine Route, 13 received Double Gold and 63 Gold Veritas Awards, the highest honour for excellence in winemaking in this country"¹¹⁹. So, would a Stellenbosch resident, or even for that matter more generally a resident of Cape Town, define and conceptualize the various wine regions as they are defined by the differing wine routes? Through media and press coverage, the town of Franschoek in comparison to Stellenbosch, has come to be seen "... as the gourmet capital of the country..."¹²⁰. Arguably, one of the Franschoek Wine Route's most notable characteristics lies, in the "the French reputation for fine food... everywhere in evidence with acclaimed restaurants that offer everything from Cape country fare to

¹¹⁴ Preston-Whyte, R "Wine Routes in South Africa" in C. Michael Hall, et al (eds) *Wine Tourism Around the World*. 2000. Pg. 107

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* Pg. 108

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* Pg. 107

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* Pg. 108

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* Pg. 109

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* Pg. 108

¹²⁰ Clement Stafford, Lynne "France in Africa" in the *Clicks ClubCard Magazine* March/April 2004. Pg. 56

French cuisine"¹²¹. Restaurants and hotels serving gourmet food increasingly became an additional attraction for wine routes, and in Franschoek's case, it was one of its defining features. Such conceptions of space into place work by tuning into the desires and aspirations of its audience, by tapping into those experiences we believe we have to have to make our lives meaningful. The "gourmet capital" is a specific characteristic or unique trait that is used to sell the image of the Franschoek Wine Route to visitors and tourists. Not only do wine routes peddle the wares of the vineyard, but of other 'leisure' goods and consumables such as chances for the visitor to go 'trout fishing', 'river rafting', to visit estates that produce cheese, racehorses, roses, artwork...etc. Preston-Whyte would perhaps see the emphasis on features such as the culinary delights of a town as attractions to lure the visitor on a route that "is forced to take a back seat on grounds of wine quality"¹²².

Therefore, while Stellenbosch is marketed as the capital of quality, Franschoek is marketed as the capital of gourmet. From this point, we can see wine tours and route developing into what they are today: far more than just wine tasting and purchasing. Rather, a whole lifestyle experience was being sold, one that involved the feel and sight of scenic beauty, of aromatic wine, superb cuisine and historic significance- a package that could be moulded and adjusted to individual taste and time. A tour of the winelands became characterized as a "treasure hunt"¹²³ of knowledge, culture and enjoyment. As Marlene van Eeden states in her article on the 10-year anniversary of the Stellenbosch wine route, "die Wynroete verkoop nie net landgoedwyne nie- hy verkoop ook 'n wynkultuur. Deel van dié kultuur is om die wyn self in die kelder te sien, om die wynmaker te ontmoet, om die staan en lê van die wyne te leer ken en natuurlik om te proe...Jy gaan nooit nét om te koop nie, want om te proe, dis ook deel van die wynkultuur"¹²⁴. Aside from characteristics of 'terroir' and 'lifestyle', perhaps the most often used feature to define place by these regions was their history and heritage. While in this chapter it is important to look at the important role that constructions of history and heritage play in defining of place, it will be interesting in the next chapter to see whether such perceptions carry any saliency in the visitor's understanding of those places.

The Heritage that defines place

Along with this mix of culinary and adventure attractions that wine routes purport to offer, perhaps the most utilized to instil a sense of tradition and 'authenticity' of the vine is the prevalence of the cultural heritage of place and people. In almost all descriptions of the various wine routes, we find the connection of the vines with people who first laid them. In Constantia, it is the providence of the arrival of the Commander of the first Dutch settlement, Jan van Riebeeck, to the Cape of Good Hope in 1659 that is exalted on high, as "Constantia was the first farm dedicated to wine farming"¹²⁵. In the history that is written of Constantia, what Jan van Riebeeck begins, Governor Simon van der Stel seems to follow and the history could simply not be finished without the fame that the Cloete family brought to the estate (and the Cape region) resulting in the claim of Napoleon Bonaparte's taste for Constantia wines. Van Riebeeck, van der Stel, the Cloetes and Napoleon make a recipe for history that defines (and confines) the history of Constantia. Many such recipes are found in the defining of wine routes and regions from all over the Cape. For Franschoek, the 'recipe' lies in the founding of the town by French Huguenots towards the end of the 17th century who "brought with them a culture steeped in the tradition of the vine..."¹²⁶. In Stellenbosch, we find another legacy of Governor Simon van der Stel: his vineyards, 18th century Cape Dutch architecture, and oak-lined streets (giving the town its obvious nickname-'Eikestad': 'Oak Town'). In the 2002 South African Wine Directory, we can find other wine regions that are characterized by their heritage and history. For Worcester it is the importance of Lord Charles Somerset's founding of the town in 1820 that speaks of its heritage, even if it is not related to the tradition of the vine. For Durbanville, it is only the history of the vine,

¹²¹ Preston-Whyte, R "Wine Routes in South Africa" in C. Michael Hall, et al (eds) *Wine Tourism Around the World* 2000. Pg. 107

¹²² Ibid. Pg. 108

¹²³ "Wynland vir die Toeris" in *Wynboer* August 1980. Pg. 4. NSLA 2548

¹²⁴ "Eerste wynroete word tien" by Marlene van Eeden in *Wynboer* May 1981. Pgs 7-8

¹²⁵ "Wine regions" in the *SA Wine Industry Directory 2002*. Ampersand Press: Wynberg. 2002. Pg. 112

¹²⁶ Ibid. Pg. 113

“where wine was first made 280 years ago”¹²⁷, that defines it as a place steeped in tradition. Whatever the form, history and heritage of space is used to define place.

In a *Wynboer* editorial in 1976, sentiments were such that “wherever they go visitors are always enchanted with the natural beauty so typical of the Cape Winelands...and if they are in any way interested in history they take great interest in rediscovering the past, in what is in fact the cradle of South Africa”¹²⁸. Such a conception of South African history would have fitted in with Denis Conolly’s early understanding of the settlers role in the formation of this country: “The story of South Africa has been the unrelenting struggle of its early pioneers and the generations that followed to carve out a destiny in a most primitive land and against the most helpless odds. The achievement of welding together a nation of such diverse elements- of many races ranging from the very backward to the highly advanced- in a short span of 300 years, has no parallel in the history of mankind”¹²⁹. This history places importance on the role of European pioneers, white settlers and colonizers in transforming the land from ‘darkest Africa’ into civilization. The immigrant settlers who became the wine and produce farmers of the Cape were given some of the credit for this transformation from the ‘darkness’ into the ‘light’. In the *Wynboer* editorial of 1976, the ‘winelands’ were seen as the cradle of this more civilized nation. No longer was the history and knowledge of overseas “old world” wine countries being prized, but the local history and ‘tradition of wine making’. In an article in *Wynboer* on the Stellenbosch wine route, the area was being valued as “grond, klimaat en wynkennis wat oor 300 jaar strek, word hier saamgevoeg om wyne te produseer...”¹³⁰. For visitors, local history and knowledge became an interest as ‘behind the scenes’ cellar tours, where they could learn about wine production and meet the people who make the wine, became increasingly popular. In fact, for many years, K.W.V had been entertaining tourists and visitors in tours through their cellar doors. In 1966, the number of visitors visiting the K.W.V cellars in Paarl had already reached an impressive 26 000 people. “Tourists came by the busload to Paarl to see the famous cellars, the largest in Africa and among the biggest in the world...the visitors come from practically every civilized country on the globe”¹³¹. The tour involved discussion of the wine making process and letting visitors see for themselves the giant vats of wine. In the next chapter, I shall return to the concept of cellar tours in when I myself participate in wine tours of the Cape.

It would seem that scenic beauty, and the histories of times gone by, were becoming important characteristics of visiting the wine route. Frans Malan speaks of “die dorp en omgewing van Stellenbosch bied natuurlik ook behalwe die pragtige natuurskoon, ‘n ryke kulturele en argitektoniese erfenis. Verskeie museums, ‘n groot aantal historiese geodes wat pragtig gerestoureer is, bied aan die besoeker ‘n beeld van drie eeue se ryke geskiedenis”¹³². Malan believes that through the centuries, wine, culture and courtesy had always gone hand in hand in old winelands. “In Stellenbosch is dit ook so-”¹³³. For the visitor it was the appeal of the continuing of such tradition of wine and culture that might have seemed attractive. The conception of the role of the history and “tradition” of wine making and drinking is very different for Frans Malan in his 1978 article on Stellenbosch than it is to conceptions of ‘wine consciousness’ in South Africa 30 years earlier. Going back to 1949, we remember those ‘wine publicity’ campaigns and articles in *Wynboer* that chastised the South African public for its lack of knowledge of or desire for wine. It was not so much that history and “tradition” had once again appeared in 1978, but rather the importance of these characteristics to a wine region had. It would seem then that wine and “culture” had not gone ‘hand-in-hand’ for three centuries, but rather, was a product of the desires and goals of the moment. In realizing that landscape becomes emotionally and metaphorically connected to cultural heritage, comes the

¹²⁷ Ibid. Pg. 112

¹²⁸ “Visiting the Winelands” in *Wynboer* January 1976. Pg. 2. NSLA 2548

¹²⁹ Conolly, D. *The Tourist in South Africa*. Sixth edition. Travel Guide (PTY) LTD: South Africa. There is no publication date in the book, but the University of Cape Town Libraries received it in 1974. The book can be found in the ‘Rare Books Collection’ at UCT Libraries. Pg. 14

¹³⁰ “Die Stellenbosse Wynroete” by Frans Malan in *Wynboer* November 1978. Pg. 20. NSLA 2548

¹³¹ “Record number of visitors to K.W.V” in *Wynboer* February 1967. Pg. 23. NSLA 2548.

¹³² “Die Stellenbosse Wynroete” by Frans Malan in *Wynboer* November 1978. Pg. 20. NSLA 2548.

¹³³ Ibid. Pg. 20

awareness of the constructed-ness of the image of a particular place- made even more obvious with the connection of a place to a cultural heritage based on European immigration and history. Why is it not the history of the workers of the vine that is glorified in the construction of an image of place? In the first place, was it not those workers and vine labourers who shaped that space into place? Perhaps what we are witness to is the winning of the histories of 'great men' over those of ordinary men and women. According to Pritchard and Morgan, tourism is a product of gendered societies and as a result, "its processes are gendered in their construction, presentation and consumption"¹³⁴. Space and place "are cultural constructions subject to change and negotiation"¹³⁵. There are no politically neutral spaces. They argue that discourses of male tourism landscapes are constructed to celebrate masculinity and patriarchy and to exclude women.

Creating 'sameness' out of 'difference'

What an area lacks in time and history, they make up for in innovation of vine. The comparatively recent wine producing areas of the Orange River, the Swartland and the Walker Bay regions are noted for their fresh innovative styles and modern winemaking- giving a fresh spin on wine and conceptions of "wine country". Preston-Whyte argues that the visitor is expected to recognize the value and difference in landscape between routes and that there is a "mix of environmental, cultural and social features that convey a distinct character to each wine route"¹³⁶ which would help the visitor to recognise that value and difference. And while it is certainly true that there are distinctive features between each wine route and region, it is perhaps their how their spaces and places are conceptualized that bonds them together in an intricate sameness. Each wine route has a "recipe" for identity that uses a mix of natural, cultural, historical and "lifestyle" features to different degrees. Magically, whatever the mix, the underlining outcome is the same: all the wine routes or regions rely on some sort of combination of these features to define them. More than this, it is the general features of the regions being characterized as places richly immersed in "rich cultural heritage, magnificent natural beauty and world class wines"¹³⁷(as marketed in Cape Town: The Official Visitor's Guide 2002), whatever the combination, that predicates them as sights/sites worth viewing. In the end, it is their sameness rather than their difference that is marketed to the overseas visitor. As we saw in the Cape Town 'Big Six' campaign, it is the 'Winelands' of the Cape, rather than a specific region or wine route that is symbolic and representative of the sights/sites to see at the Cape. It is perhaps this interesting and complex interaction between difference and sameness that constitutes how place and space is conceptualized for both the construction of marketing campaigns and of place identities. Exploring such constructions can tell us a great deal of how a place wants to be perceived, but perhaps the missing factor from this equation is how the visitor or viewer will conceptualize and experience this landscape. The perspective of the visitor to wine regions and routes is an important perspective that is very rarely given attention. Looking from the point of view of the visitor, or 'wine tourist' can give a different angle through which to explore constructions and conceptions of landscape.

¹³⁴Pritchard, A and Morgan, N "Privileging the male gaze: gendered tourism landscapes" *Annals of Tourism Research*. Vol. 27. No. 4. 2000. Pg. 886

¹³⁵ Ibid. pg. 899

¹³⁶ Preston-Whyte, R "Wine Routes in South Africa" in C. Michael Hall, et al (eds) *Wine Tourism Around the World* 2000. Pg. 108

¹³⁷ All quotations are taken from the poster/publicity boards that I found displayed in the Centre for Conservation Education, associated Advert for Cape Town in *Cape Town: The Official Visitor's Guide 2002*. Cape Metropolitan Tourism. Pg. 30

TOURING THROUGH 'WINESCAPES'

In the introductory chapter, I briefly looked at definitions of wine tourism, where I established that the landscape in which the visitor experiences wine tourism, especially and specifically in the form of 'wine tours', is an important part of understanding how constructions of place and space are presented to the visitor. In a 2002 wine industry report of the Western Cape, it is argued, "with the ultimate aim of promoting wine tourism, brand building for exports should focus at least partly on the beauty of the Cape winelands because of the competitive edge it affords Cape wines. Efforts can build on the existing wine routes such as Stellenbosch, Paarl, Constantia, Franschhoek, Worcester, Robertson, the Olifants River and the Klein Karoo, which are already major tourist attractions"¹. Whether it is touring through the winelands, buying a bottle in the local supermarket, or looking at the history of wine tourism, landscape, or rather "winescape"², plays an important part in the discussion of what characterizes that wine or wine experience. As we saw in the previous chapter, the first wine route established in South Africa, the Stellenbosch Wine Route, was inextricably connected to a conception of landscape: through the construction of a "map" to guide visitors to wine estates on the route. Today, tour companies, such as 'SMS Tours', entice visitors and travellers to "experience the tranquillity of the mountains, vineyards and orchards, savouring the tastes of all they offer"³. 'Cape Escape Tours' similarly encourage visitors to explore the "majestic mountain ranges and picturesque vineyards"⁴ while 'Cape Rainbow Tours' describes a "relaxing day travelling through the spectacular mountain scenery and lush fertile valleys of the Cape Winelands"⁵. The promise of beautiful landscape does not, however, stand-alone. Almost without exception, tour companies promise a mix of historical 'sites'/sights and cultural heritage (as we saw in the previous chapter) alongside this beautiful and picturesque landscape. In the next chapter, it will be specifically to the inclusion of a heritage site on a wine estate that I shall be concerned. For the moment, however, this chapter will be looking at the 'wine tour' experience in depth- from the point of view of the tour guide, the tourist and by comparing two 'winescape' spaces in the form of Nelson's Creek and Spier Wine Estate.

1. INTRODUCING WINE TOURS

Taking Part in Wine Tours...

As part of my research into the history of wine tourism of the Western Cape, I participated in three 'wine tours' through official tour companies into the 'winelands' of the Cape. I chose 'wine tours' as an avenue through which to experience wine tourism, a way of delving into only one aspect of that tourism in depth. The establishment and history of the first wine route in South Africa had been an important development in the wider scope of the growth of the wine tourism industry in this country. Wine tours are an embodiment of the constructed route map- a living out of real landscape and 'sites' in what was restricted to the realm of paper. For me such an experience was an important part of getting into the mindset of a wine tour- to partake both physically and mentally in a 'wine tourism' experience for myself. The tours were a significant part of immersing myself in the landscape, into how those spaces and places are presented (rather than conceptualized in the case of the development of the wine route) to the visitor and viewer. I went on my first 'winelands' tour, run by 'African Eagle Day Tours', on the 21 April 2003, a public holiday in South Africa: 'Family Day'. I chose the 'African Eagle' full day wine route tour perhaps for

¹ Reid, Roxanne "The Wine Industry in the Western Cape" a report produced for Wesgro's Sector Research Section. Cape Town. December 2000. Pg. 19

² This concept was developed by Peters (1997) as quoted in Michael Hall, C et al "Wine Tourism: An Introduction" in C. Michael Hall, Liz Sharples, Brock Cambourne, Niki Macionis with Richard Mitchell and Gary Johnson (eds) Wine Tourism Around the World- Development, Management and Markets. 2000. Pg. 4

³ Tour Pamphlet from 'SMS Tours' "Come and enjoy the BEST of CAPE TOWN with us" 2004.

⁴ Tour Pamphlet from 'Cape Escape Tours' "The Winelands: Stellenbosch, Franschhoek and Paarl" Full Day Tour Pg. 5. 2004.

the same reasons as the visitors I accompanied on the tour did: it offered a wide range of experiences and 'sites' combined into one tour. My decision of which tour company and tour to choose was based on the brochures I scanned. Highlights of 'The African Eagle' 'wine route' tour included the town of Stellenbosch, a cellar tour and wine tasting at a Stellenbosch wine estate, a trip to Paarl including a wine tasting at one of their estates as well as a tasting and visit to Franschoek with the Huguenot Memorial. There was also the opportunity to view "Nelson Mandela's former prison (Victor Verster) and the "opportunity to purchase wine" and time permitting to view cheetahs at 'Spier Wine Estate'. It was a tour that encompassed three different 'wine regions', included wine tastings and a cellar tour as well as 'historical' sites of attraction. On this tour, I was lucky enough to accompany a range of tourists from varying backgrounds and nationalities.

The first couple the African Eagle tour guide, Peter, picked up was Damian and Christine Doran from Belfast who were staying in the Mount Nelson Hotel as part of their honeymoon in South Africa. Marie-Christine and Allen Govirden from Mauritius were enjoying a two-week holiday at the Cape. There was also Pat Perkins from the United Kingdom and Bert Denneboom from Holland who were mixing business with pleasure while in Cape Town. On my second tour I was not so lucky to get a wide range of tourists to accompany me, in fact there was only one couple besides myself who chose to go on a 'winelands tour'. In comparison to the full day tour I participated on with African Eagle, I chose Hilton Ross's half-day winelands tour on the 26 February 2004, as another avenue to explore the 'landscape' of the winelands. This tour only offered a quarter of the sites that the full day tour visited, with only one wine tasting taking place in the Stellenbosch area and a Stellenbosch city tour as well as an optional cheetah visit. According to Hilton Ross tour guide, Chris de Coning, the afternoon half day tours are not as popular as the full day tour (which is only R80 extra for double the 'sights' being seen) or as the morning half day tour (where visitors prefer to pack as much as they can into their day by getting up early to go on tours). Due to the severely restricted time of a half day tour (with the majority of it spent travelling to the winelands in the first place) it only really consisted of a city tour and stop over in the town of Stellenbosch and one wine tasting at the Spier Wine Estate.

For my last tour on Saturday 13 March 2004, I chose a full day winelands tour once again, although this time run by Hilton Ross and guided by Chris Wilkie, as it offered a vast range of experiences and 'sites' to visit within one tour. This tour included a visit to Paarl and a wine tasting and cellar tour at the Nelson's Creek Wine estate: "this estate made history by being the first to assist its workers to produce their own wines- bottled under the New Beginnings label"⁶. The tour also included a Stellenbosch city tour and a visit to the town of Franschoek. Three different 'couples' besides myself participated in the tour, one couple mixing holiday with work (as Ann had an orthopaedic convention to attend at the Cape Town International Convention Centre). There was also Jill and Ken Corey from London who were spending two weeks holiday in Cape Town, as well as a mother and daughter pair, the Gessers from Germany who were visiting South Africa for just a week. Understanding the motivations of the visitors from varying backgrounds and nationalities that I met on my tours was instrumental in perceiving why they chose to go on a wine tour in the first place and what kind of experience they had or were looking for. So while these few examples cannot say anything definitive about tourist patterns in South Africa, they can point towards experiences and trends within the 'wine tourism' landscape.

Positioning myself within the experience

During all the tours I partook in, I was immediately aware of the disruptive nature of my presence. Meeting the tour guide at the beginning of the tour always consisted of a negotiation of my presence. I had obviously negotiated with the tour companies to participate in the tours - in many times a long process of explaining what I was studying and what my intentions were. From secretary, to supervisor, to manager, I explained my field of

⁵ Tour Pamphlet from 'Cape Rainbow Tours' "Day Tours, Half Day Tours and Garden Route Tours" 2004.

⁶ Quotation from "The Cape Winelands" in Tour Pamphlet from 'Hilton Ross' "Day Tours, Half Day Tours and Garden Route Tours" 2002

study and the work of my thesis. Of the seven or so companies I approached, only two granted me permission: 'African Eagle Day Tours' and 'Hilton Ross'. Both these companies were willing to be open to assessment and even covered the costs of the tour (approximately R400 in the case of a full day tour and R300 for a half day tour), placing me in the status of an 'educational': a position allocated to tour students learning the ropes of tour guiding. While such negotiations had taken place with company managers and tour organizers, very seldom had the message of my position as a University of Cape Town master's history student participating in the tour for the purposes of my thesis, reached the actual tour guide. On all three tours, I had to renegotiate and explain my position and to request permission to ask questions and write down observations. I similarly felt that it was important to explain my line of study and position within the tour to the actual tourists who were taking the tour as part of their holiday in Cape Town.

Throughout all the tours, I felt very conscious of my position within the tour group. The tourists participating on the tour certainly more than accepted me, however, I was not simply a fellow traveller. On my three tours, I met fourteen tourists in total and all of them were on holiday in Cape Town from a foreign country (some were mixing business with pleasure). I, on the other hand, was not from a foreign country- I was a local Capetonian, an 'insider' of local knowledge and experience, but in relative terms an 'outsider' of the tour experience- I was not a 'real' tourist even though I participated in acts of 'gazing' and tasting wine the same as everyone else. On the 'African Eagle' winelands tour, while stopping at Siedelberg Wine Estate for a lunch and wine tasting, my position (and finances) as a student became obvious as I ate my homemade sandwich while the rest of the tour group indulged in the culinary delights of an expensive menu. It is interesting that a local student should not be made to feel they have to purchase into the 'wine tourism' experience within such a setting. They perhaps could not get by with bringing a homemade sandwich on the trip. There were instances within all three tours in which I chose a different path to that of my fellow travellers when given the chance of free time. In none of the tours did I accompany individual couples as they explored the shopping 'sites' of Stellenbosch. The company I kept was rather with the tour guide. Obviously, the tour guide was not a 'tourist' either, however, due to *his* (in all my tours I had male tour guides) employment as a guide his status was that of a "trained" local. While I did not fit in with certain activities and experiences that the tourist participated in, I did not have to concern myself with all of the responsibilities of the tour guide either. Our guide had to be armed with the capabilities and knowledge of being able to point out certain sites, attractions, points of interest and be able to answer any questions that might be raised concerning local fauna and flora, the country's political and economic conditions, or any other issues that the tourist might raise.

Out of all the parties of couples and singles travelling on the tours, I was the only woman travelling on my own, and I was the youngest person to participate in all of the tours. My position within the tours consisted of something of a 'limbo' state: I was not tourist (and therefore did not have to pay for my experience) yet I was not tour guide either (and therefore not being paid to provide an experience). I was participating in a leisure experience, yet I was doing so for work purposes- my very presence as student/researcher on the tours went against 'normal' holiday structure: as holidaying and leisure time are supposed to be an escape from the work related environment. I was thus conscious of disrupting the "rules" of a leisure experience by posing too many questions to the tourists during the day, I did not want to bombard them with excessively 'work-related' questioning and answering (and thus potentially an unpleasant leisure experience?). My understanding of what it was like to be a wine tourist was greatly enhanced by awareness of my own position on the tours: of how I felt different to the 'tourists' I accompanied.

The Role of the Tour Guide

This is not to say that I had a totally separate experience to the people I accompanied on wine tours. I took in the scenery, listened to commentary and enjoyed the wine tasting experience perhaps as much as my fellow travellers. One common trait was the importance of the role of the tour guide in constructing and shaping both of our

experiences of the winelands of the Cape. The tour guide on all three of my wine tours was crucial in directing the 'gaze' of his tour party. It is interesting that the 'gazing' itself takes place within a tour bus or car (as in the half day tour of the winelands, the group was small enough that we could all fit in a car). Our view and conception of the landscape we passed by was very much affected by our position within a moving vehicle. As mobile travellers, we 'gazed' at the outside world from within a confined space considered "safe" from the outside, unknown and unfamiliar world. In the case of both full day tours that I partook in, they took place within a Volkswagen Kombi Bus that is surrounded by windows from all sides. While we had the capability of viewing every angle of the surroundings through the windows, we were still physically confined within. In fact, within such a vehicle, not every person has access to a door or exit due to the design of the bus to accommodate a relatively large number of passengers (in both full day tours the tour bus fitted eight people comfortably). The travellers within the bus are hence contained within the safety of a locked vehicle while the outside world is confined without. Such containment presents quite an aloof way of viewing the landscape that one passes through- the viewer does not have to come into contact with it but at the same time can 'gaze' (and thus perhaps appropriate for the memory and the imagination) at its images. John Urry sees travelling within an air-conditioned vehicle as "insulating the passengers from almost all aspects of the environment except through the windscreen"⁷.

From within this insulated environment, the tour guide is very much in control of the tour itself. The tour party was made up of visitors from destinations all over the world (excepting myself, but I was a 'local' to Cape Town, not to the 'winelands' of the Cape), we were in his care: we trusted in the safety of the experience and in his competency as a driver. The tour guide in this instance takes on many roles that do not only relate to local knowledge, although this was perhaps the most important characteristic of the tour guide: someone to point out important features on the landscape that we would not be able to see/know by ourselves. For example, Pat Perkins, one of the tourists I met on the African Eagle Tour, had been living in London and around the world as a photographer for the last 15 years. Originally, however, Perkins was native born to South Africa and had chosen to come back to Cape Town on a working holiday. It is interesting that Perkins chose to participate in an organized wine tour in what was essentially his home country- he explained that he wanted to get the 'full experience' which he believed he could not get by touring on his own. Paying for such an experience fitted in with a pattern of travel that defined him more as a 'tourist' than a local - as his accommodation was within a 'guest house' in Green Point and he had also been on the customary trip to the Kruger National Park as part of his holiday. It was Perkins' belief in the superior knowledge and experience that a guided tour would offer him that influenced him in participating in an organized tour. Tour guides are perceived as giving us an experience that presumably we cannot get anywhere else, they are perceived as offering something that the visitor could not obtain on their own: local knowledge and safety of passage. Weiller and Ham contend that the demand for tour guides is greater in places where "there are significant barriers to independent travel"⁸. Such barriers would include "a native language different from that spoken by the majority of visitors to the region, threats to safety and personal security, political barriers and a lack of tourism infrastructure. It seems the more exotic and unfamiliar the natural and cultural environments of a destination, the more likely that a visitor will engage the services of a guide"⁹. Tours might also be a preference for visitors who are only visiting for a limited period and who want to pack all they can into their holiday experience. It might be that "first time travellers seem more likely to seek the comfort and security of a guided experience"¹⁰.

The composition of a 'wine tour' itself is predicated on the guide being knowledgeable about specific information that would particularly relate to an understanding of the wine making process in South Africa as well as of a knowledge of wine in general. Wine tourism, however, lends itself to more than just knowledge of wine. While a

⁷ Urry, J. *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. 1990. Pg. 61

⁸ Weiller, B and Ham, S "Perspectives and Thoughts on Tour Guiding" in A. Lockwood and S. Medlik (eds) *Tourism and Hospitality in the 21st Century*. 2001. Pg. 256

⁹ *Ibid.* Pg. 257

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Pg. 257

knowledge of wine is important for the tour guide, we should remember that guided tours may vary widely in terms of length, seasonality, location, type (cultural, environmental, industrial, educational, adventure...etc), transportation, terrain and clientele so that the "nature of tour guiding and the skills required by an individual guide can vary widely"¹¹. Wine tours do not take place only on wine estates; there is the landscape that one has to travel through in order to reach those tasting sites and the historical towns and sites that are stopped in along the route. The tour guide plays an essential role in pointing out those historical, cultural and natural landscapes. We would all look where he pointed, listen when he talked and gain access to the landscape and its attributes through his personal construction of it. The message that the guide "imparts to a group of tourists relative to the natural and cultural values of a place may in a large part determine what they will think, feel and do both in the short term (on-site) and possibly even in the long term (once they have returned home)"¹². One of my tour guides, Chris de Coning from the Hilton Ross Half Day Tour, openly acknowledged his subjective role in the imparting of knowledge to his 'tourists'. De Coning told me that a tour guide does not have to get the information 100% correct, that it was his embellishments that made it interesting. He explained that he 'never let facts stand in the way of a good story' and that 'at the end of the day, it does not really matter, because five minutes after it had been said, people have already forgotten it'. This opinion expressed by De Coning perhaps reminds us of the very individual nature of that the tour guide brings to the wine touring experience. A guide's knowledge, personal opinions and even motivations for touring play an important of how that message and image of South Africa is imparted to his tour group.

Interestingly, all three of the tour guides I met came from backgrounds outside the tourism industry. Despite his view of history's place within the tour experience, Chris De Coning in fact came from a position as a history teacher before he turned to tour guiding. Peter, from 'African Eagle', had had a career as a computer engineer in an office environment for the majority of his life so that when he retired he was inspired to spend time 'enjoying what South Africa has to offer in the company of people who are trying to enjoy it themselves'. Chris Wilkie similarly came from a background of computer engineering, complete with a full masters degree as well as time spent as a medic in the South African army. Each of these guides did not intentionally start out their careers with the mind to becoming a tour guide, but it is what they have turned to in order to earn a living. They came from varied backgrounds and interests, and hence the stories they told and the message they imparted to their tour groups was very different. In some cases this resulted in different messages being told about the same space. On the half-day tour with Chris de Coning, the pink and white Oleander bushes' planting along our national highways, were pointed out to travellers in the car. De Coning explained that the plant was poisonous and that its use was to repel insects that would stick to the windscreens of the cars travelling along the highway. Chris Wilkie, on the full day Hilton Ross tour of the winelands, similarly pointed out the poisonous Oleander bushes, although his explanation of their placement alluded to the deterring of motorists from stopping their cars to pick the pretty flowers on the side of the road. Although not a 'site' of history, both these tour guides chose to speak about the positioning of the same poisonous plant, but whose message ultimately had quite different meanings. What the reason for the placement of the Oleander bushes along the national highway might mean I do not know myself, but perhaps the 'real' reason might lay somewhere between the two messages imparted by the tour guides. This is only one example of how the same space or 'site', or in this case plant, may come to take on different meanings for those who interpret its message.

Weiller and Ham contend that the most important thing a guide does is to "facilitate a bonding between their clients and the places they lead them; connecting people and places in powerful ways that nurture respect and caring about these places"¹³. We should be viewing tourists and visitors to South Africa as President Nyerere of Tanzania did: "To have visitors is a special honour...a visitor [who] comes to Tanzania, stays for a while, and

¹¹ Weiller, B and Ham, S "Perspectives and Thoughts on Tour Guiding" in A. Lockwood and S. Medlik (eds) *Tourism and Hospitality in the 21st Century*. 2001. Pg. 256

¹² *Ibid.* Pg. 261

¹³ *Ibid.* Pg. 261

leaves praising this country, is a good ambassador for us abroad, and he is an ambassador who costs us nothing"¹⁴. How a tour guide talks about a country, the kind of ideology he or she frames their descriptions and explanations of space, is very important for the development of the visitor's conception of place. We want the visitor to leave South Africa with a positive perception of our places that not only mitigates their eventual return within our borders, but that encourages an emotional connection to those places exemplified perhaps through the faithful purchasing and promoting of our wines, people and image in their foreign hometowns. For Cape Town, current economic conditions and problems of third world rife poverty become more and more apparent to the overseas tourist as they move farther away from the wealthy leafy green suburbs, sandy beaches and shopping Meccas of the southern suburbs. Part of touring the 'winelands' of the Cape involves the problem for tour companies of actually getting there. There is no route to the winelands that can practically avoid these spaces of poverty amongst derelict and polluted wasteland. The hundreds of rows of informal settlements and black-bag lined houses are stark contrasts to the plush hotels and guest houses with mountain and sea views that the tourists are comfortably accommodated in. Travelling through these spaces to reach the lush, green, mountainous 'winescapes' of the Cape, always opens up discussion between tourist and tour guide of the political and economic conditions of the majority of the population who live in the Cape. How a tour guide deals with these issues will have a very real effect on the kind of attitude the visitor will have towards the country. Chris de Coning for example, spoke of the endless waiting lists that people, who earn under R1 500 a month, were on to receive subsidized housing by the government. De Coning explained that while this was a good idea, people had been waiting on those lists for over a decade. Chris Wilkie on the other hand, brushed aside such issues to focus on the positive side of the situation, with many more 'black' and 'formerly disadvantaged' people now entering into universities, technicons and the business sector than any other post-colonial country in Africa. It is perhaps a difficult line to tread between being blatantly honest about the conditions in South Africa and presenting a view that is perhaps either overly positive. The way that each guide deals with the positive and the negative aspects of the landscape and the people who inhabit it is thus also open to the personal interpretation of the guide.

The history of place and space that each tour guide did deal with similarly varied according to the 'sites'/messages that they felt were important, so that even though I participated in a winelands tour three times, I learnt something different each time. What message is imparted and how that message is told is largely due to the tour guides themselves. It is perhaps due to de Coning's training as a historian that a great deal of the tour content was focused around the establishment of a Dutch colony at the Cape with the importance being placed on the role of Jan Van Riebeeck. One of the roles of Van Riebeeck was to come "halfway across the world to the tip of darkest Africa" to set up a refreshment station. According to de Coning's narrative, another important historical role-player in the history of the Cape was Governor Simon van der Stel, who was instrumental in the establishment of vineyards in the Stellenbosch (and in the establishment of the oak-lined streets of the town that we see today as he gave away '49,000 oak seedlings' for free so that he could have oak barrels for the wine making process) and Constantia regions. De Coning's was a historical narrative that very much fitted in with those conceptions of place that I looked at in the previous chapter. As we saw in the defining of route and regional identity in the previous chapter, European cultural heritage and roots are given pride of place amongst the sea of histories in the wine regions of Stellenbosch, Franschoek and Constantia. It is perhaps the same for de Coning, the establishment of the Cape winelands lay in the hands of two white, European men. While effectively, a whole cornucopia of rich indigenous history lay dormant for the tourists who listening to de Coning's construction of Cape history, he did mention briefly the role that 'Cape Malay slaves' had in the sculpting out of the land into a wine region. For the other two tour guides, history of the Cape did not take pride of place and importance. For Chris Wilkie it was the modern sights and agricultural landscape that was the focus of his commentary with the modern wine making process and growing olive industry in South Africa being a focal point. For Peter from 'African Eagle', it was important not to give a running commentary all the way through the tour and he invited the tourists to ask him

¹⁴ Teye, V "Africa" in A. Lockwood and S. Medlik (eds) *Tourism and Hospitality in the 21st Century*. 2001. Pg. 125

questions when they felt the need, rather than engage in constant dialogue with people who might want to 'enjoy the scenery for themselves'.

The guide's role in the tour process should not be underestimated when looking at the messages and perceptions of place that are imparted to tourists. On the two full day tours of the winelands that I participated in, there were many opportunities for 'heritage gazing' as we were taken to a range of museums and culturally significant sites through which to understand the history and identity of place. The actual 'heritage sites', such as the Franschoek Huguenot Monument and Garden, the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Victor Verster Prison, that we visited were not so much the choice of the tour guide, but of the tour company. This being the case, I shall rather look at the conceptions of space and place that the inclusion of these 'sites' construct within the frame of what the visitor experiences rather than the role the tour guide offers.

2. THE WINE TOURIST EXPERIENCE

In the introductory chapter I explained that it is perhaps difficult to fit tourists within typologies that might only be relevant to specific times and periods in their life, if not the actual tour experience itself. Defining and exploring who a tourist 'is' within a tour experience is difficult to ascertain in such a confined time of a wine tour. I did not want to disrupt their leisure and pleasure experiences within 'winescape' settings too much as it goes against conceptions I had of what it meant to be on holiday: away from everyday work environment. I can, however, say something of who the wine tourist is and what motivates their experiences through the looking glass of their past experiences and preferences. Just how rewarding such a study would be for understanding constructions and conceptions of space from the visitors'/viewers point of view can be seen if we just skim the surface of just a two examples of visitor past experiences, preferences and information.

Jill and Ken Corey from London chose to go on an organized tour of the Cape Winelands as part of their two week holiday in Cape Town. Their interest in wine and wine regions was something that had been built on over the years as they had participated and travelled along the wine routes of Australia and even their home country of England. For the Coreys, tasting and learning about wine was not only an interest in the foreign countries they travelled to, but an interest they pursued back in their home country. Similarly a couple from Texas, on the same Hilton Ross full day tour as the Coreys, spoke of the wine regions of France, Italy as well of their own home town wine estates in Texas. For both of these couples, visiting the wine regions of the Cape was part of a history of such interest and activity. Therefore, their past experiences had influenced the choices in leisure and recreation activities in the country they currently were visiting. These two couples could perhaps fit in with Mitchell, Michael Hall and McIntosh's specialist wine tourist¹⁵ who visits a vineyard, winery or wine region for the purpose of recreation but whose primary motivation is an interest in wine or wine-related phenomenon. It would certainly seem that both couples from London and Texas had specifically sought out the wine tour experience as part of this motivating interest in wine routes and regions around the world.

Perhaps part of the information that would have influenced their choice was the availability and popularity of South African wines back in their London and Texan supermarkets. The Coreys explained that they enjoy drinking wine on a daily basis with meals and as part of relaxation and they often used to buy the South African "Two Oceans" label, but that Australian wines were coming to dominate the UK market. We need to learn more about the Coreys, their preferences, past experiences and how they are informed to make the choices about leisure activities and destinations. In the last section of this chapter, I look specifically at the Coreys attitudes towards landscape and space as it is embodied at a small wine estate (Nelson's Creek), in comparison to a large commercialized estate (Spier). While the couples from London and Texas may be seen to embody a specialist wine

¹⁵ Mitchell, R; Michael Hall, C and McIntosh, A "Wine Tourism and Consumer Behavior" in C. Michael Hall et al (eds) *Wine Tourism Around the World* 2000. Pg. 127

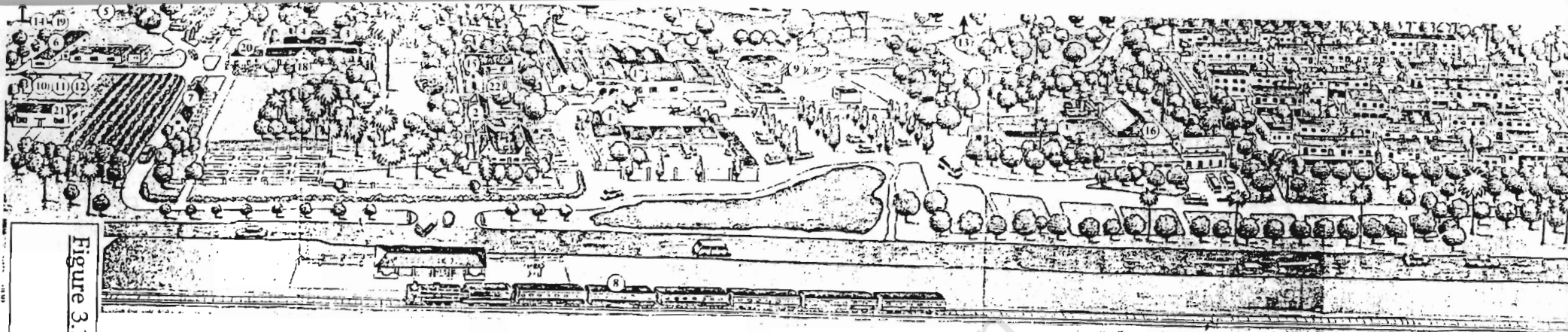


Figure 3.1: Pamphlet and map of Spier Estate. Collected from the estate on while participating on a tour of the winelands with 'Hilton Ross', 2004

CONFERENCE CENTRE

Conference Centre opposite the Conference Centre, 127 or 809 1100. E-mail: info@spier.co.za Fax: 24

RESTAURANT

at Cape Malay buffet which includes curries, salads, breads, curries, Malay hot and cold desserts. You stroll inside the 150 year old Jonkershuis Terrace, which is the favoured summer awaits you here! Lunch - 12.30 to 3pm to 10pm Monday to Saturday, minimum of 30 people can be arranged.

BAR & CAFE

le restaurant and lively festive side variety of steaks, fish and a magnificent view. A wonderfully to relax, with a special kiddies' menu, get together with friends or colleagues, fine, for lunch and Wednesday to Sunday



WATERFRONT RESTAURANT

phus, the Riverside Pub is the ideal spot serves the full Taphus menu. With 18 big screen TV broadcasting all the major face to gather friends and family together nt. Open daily from 10am to close.

WATERFRONT RESTAURANT

We invite you to enjoy a Spier Deli picnic around the lake, under the shady trees or at rustic wooden benches the banks of the Eerste River. It famous picnic baskets contains tuck, salads, pate, quiche, smoked teds cheeses and biscuits, baguettes.

Halal, vegetarian, corporate individually packed and children's baskets are available on request. Bookings for the Spier Picnic Basket must be made at least two days in advance. Please note that no private picnics, braais, music or pets are allowed. If the weather appears questionable, please call us to enquire about weather conditions at the Estate.

THE SPIER DELI

The Spier Deli has cakery and delicatessen to cater for those who prefer to make up their own picnic or snacks. A vast selection of delectable goodies is on offer, with disposable plates and cutlery on hand and a wide variety of country produce available for you to take home. There is also a sit down section where platters, pastries, desserts, teas, coffees and other specialities are served.

CAFF SPIER

The Spier cafe is a charming coffee shop which offers wholesome breakfasts and light lunches. Enjoy a spread of salads, pastries, desserts and specialty coffees and teas. Open daily from 8am to 3pm

FIGAROS & TOTOS - see no 16

ACTIVITIES

THE SPIER VINTAGE TRAIN

Take a leisurely trip from the Spier Monument Station in Cape Town in the luxury of Spier's renovated carriages dating back to the 1950's. Operating on a charter basis and for selected shows during the festival, the train presents a wonderfully relaxed way to travel to the estate, or a number of exciting destinations in the Western Cape.



The Spier Monument Station is situated adjacent to the Civic Centre in Old Marine Drive off Herring Boulevard.

THE SPIER SUMMER ARTS FESTIVAL

From November to March each year, a host of African and international stars perform as part of Spier's annual Festival. All performances take place in our open air amphitheatre with jazz, opera, comedy, dance and classical concerts on offer.

Some of the artists who have appeared in our past Festivals include David Helfgott, Abdullah Ibrahim, Chris de Burgh and productions of the operas Tosca, La Boheme and Salome, Dido and Aeneas, The Magic Flute and Carmen.

HORSE RIDES AT SPIER

Horses, ponies and cart rides provide entertainment and rides for you on your visit to Spier. Riding enthusiasts may prefer a Trail Ride, while children in vinyl ponies and cart rides under supervision on the lawn of the Estate. The Spier Wedding Carriage, with two horses, a driver and footroom can turn a wedding into a fairy tale occasion.

Pony Rides and Cart Rides: 11am to 4pm weekends, public holidays and during peak season. Vineyard Cartage Rides: 11am to 4pm daily. Bookings are essential.



THE CHEETAH OUTREACH PROGRAMME

Spier has made land available to a group of hand raised cheetahs in the care of the Cheetah Outreach Programme. Enjoy a personal encounter with one of our ambassador cheetahs. Entrance donations help fund the Cheetah Outreach Programme. The cheetahs can also be booked for private functions.

EAGLE ENCOUNTERS

Spier is home to Eagle Encounters, whose core function is the rehabilitation of birds of prey. We receive birds that have been injured, poisoned or illegally removed from nests, our primary objective in every case being to release a healthy, fit, successfully hunting and able-breeding raptor back into the wild. Whilst visitors relax and enjoy the experience at Eagle Encounters, they are in fact learning about and contributing to the conservation of these magnificent masters of the sky. Flying demonstrations are held daily.



DE ZALZE WINELANDS GOLF ESTATE

Our picturesque golf course on the banks of the Blaauwklippen River is designed by Peter Mackintosh to international standards and each of the 18 holes offers its own unique challenge.

TENNIS AT SPIER

Overlooked by the Helderberg mountains, our three all-weather tennis courts (one of which is flood-lit) adds yet another option to your leisure-time activities. Spier has hosted many international stars here including an exhibition match between Anna Kournikova and Amanda Coetzer.



FACILITIES

DIE OPSTAL

Spier's Manor House was built in 1884 and has been restored to reflect the influences of the Dutch, English and French settlers who farmed the region. Recognised as a national monument, the house contains a priceless collection of antique furniture, art and ceramic work.

THE VILLAGE HOTEL, FIGAROS & TOTOS

With 155 rooms nestled in traditional Cape styled buildings centred around six private courtyards and swimming pools. The Village offers a total escape to those in need of some time out from the world. The rooms are decorated in an unassuming manner but furnished in luxury and providing a peaceful environment. You will have the opportunity to experience the informal yet generous hospitality for which Spier is already well-known.



Figaros Restaurant, situated adjacent to the reception area of the hotel, offers a breathtaking view of the surrounding Helderberg mountains. Open seven days a week and offers breakfast and dinner from a mouthwatering menu prepared from fresh Cape produce.

Toto's Bar, situated adjacent to Figaros, is open seven days a week for drinks and cocktails, or for light tasty meals.

CONFERENCES & BANQUETS

Spier offers incomparable diversity, quality, setting and style with a host of different venues to choose from. Whether you require the high-powered environment of the 430-seater auditorium, the flexibility of three breakaway rooms at the Spier Conference Centre, the intimacy of the Manor House (Die Opstal) for a private dinner or cocktail party or the perfect setting for a wedding, Spier's banqueting team will orchestrate the entire event giving you the finest attention to detail and top class service.

RETAIL

THE WINE CENTRE

The Wine Centre is a one stop wine shop, has magnificent original Dutch gabled barn dining facilities over 200 local wine estates. It offers you a taste and purchase some of South Africa's most including our own range of Spier wines. The Wine Centre is open 7 days a week from 9am to 5pm, with formal wine tastings on the hour from 10am to 4pm.

WINE CELLARS

The Wine Cellars are open from Monday to Friday from 10am to 4pm. Home to our range of Spier Wines by winemaker J.

THE SPIER SHOP

This charming outlet offers collectables that include lavender and herb filled sachets to exquisitely smelted dresses, crockery, glass and silver and ethnic Africa. The Spier shop is a delight for both tourists and locals in search of a memento or special gift. Call (021) 809 1100 for more information. Open Daily from 9am to 5pm.

CAPE TAPESTRY WEAVERS

Here the ancient art of hand weaving has been revived. You find an innovative and exceptional form of expression. Cape Tapestry is truly unique and woven in limited editions. Weaver free to interpret the design as she sees fit. The masterpieces. The studio at Spier maintains a collection of tapestries that its weavers are free to use as guides for their work. They are also offered the option of commissioning a tapestry custom-made. Located behind the Farmstead.

DANEEL DIAMOND MANUFACTURERS

Daneel Diamond Manufactures can be found at Die Opstal at Spier. Diamonds and award winning jewellery, direct from the factory, can be bought here. The diamonds are polished in Stellenbosch and Spier. Welcome to arrange a visit to the factory.

INDEMNITY

Trading hours are seasonal and subject to change. All facilities and amenities at their own and sole risk. Parents and guardians of minors are solely responsible for their minors on the premises and visitors assume a knowledge that the Spier Companies, its officers and employees accept no liability of whatsoever nature in regards to their visit to the premises and/or the use of any of the facilities and/or amenities available.

tourist, the majority of the other tourists I encountered on my tours, would perhaps fit more easily into that general tourist category- those people who partake in 'wine tourist' activities for recreation purposes to enjoying a day out in spectacular scenery amongst fellow travellers. I came to realize their general interests when the opportunity to taste and buy wine was presented on the tours.

Preston-Whyte argues that tasting wine is the *raison d'être* of any route, however, it is certainly not the only (and in a few of the cases of the tourists I met certainly not the most important) feature of going on a wine route or taking a wine tour. On the half day tour that I participated in through Hilton Ross, I accompanied only one other couple: Jan Johannesson from Norway and Zuzana from the Czech Republic who had spent 5 weeks travelling to different destinations around the world. They chose to spend their last day in Cape Town (and effectively the last day of their around the world trip) on a half day guided tour of the winelands. Their first priority had been to go up Table Mountain as the 'Lonely Planet Guide' had said it was the most significant and representative site of Cape Town. They chose to go on a wine tour because they have an interest in wine, they drink wine on a daily basis at home and they had been on wine tours all over the world. Interest or no, the importance of an actual wine tasting at a South African estate became of less importance when they were offered the opportunity of seeing cheetahs in captivity. Despite the fact that they had chosen to spend their last day on a tour of the Cape winelands, and that they had an interest in wine, the only wine tasting on the wine estate of Spier in Stellenbosch, turned out not to be of great importance when compared to the petting of cheetah cubs within a barbed wire cage. While such behaviour certainly speaks of individual taste and preference of what was considered a 'cannot-be-missed' site to see, it is interesting to note that a number of other tourists that I met along my wine tours, similarly did not rank the actual experience of tasting Cape wines as very important on their 'to-do' list.

On the first full-day tour I participated in, run by 'African Eagle Day Tours', Damian Doran from Belfast did not even like wine, as vodka was his beverage of choice. His newly married bride, Christine, had decided they go on a wine tour in the hope that it would encourage her husband to drink wine more often, and where better for him to gain a liking of wine than from some renowned South African wine estates that she had heard of back home. As it turned out, their fellow travel companion from England, Pat Perkins was mainly a beer drinker and rarely, if ever, drank wine. On my other full day tour conducted by Hilton Ross, the Gesser daughter and mother couple from Germany, also went on a wine tour as part of their travels in the Cape. It was obvious throughout the tour that the mother detested wine in general, and she explained that she never normally drank alcohol at all.

Whatever the personal choices, preferences, or reasons for liking or disliking wines, there was something about a wine tour of the Cape that appealed to these overseas visitors enough for them to book and pay R400 for a full day tour. For the Dorans from Belfast, it was important for them to visit Cape Town and see/experience all it had to offer. Their tour of the winelands fitted in with a pattern of packaged tours of the Cape: they had gone up Table Mountain, spent a half-day tour travelling around the city on an open-air bus, had taken a tour around the Cape Peninsula (including Cape Point) and had visited Robben Island. Their pattern of site visitation had broadly fitted in with a concern for visiting the 'Big Six' of the Cape as was advertised in the 2002 Cape ad campaign I spoke of in the introductory chapter. Wine tourists may choose to visit wine estates because they want to learn more about wine and the winemaking process or it may simply be an avenue through which to explore the local countryside and scenery and the people who inhabit it. This is not to say that the actual wine tasting was not of importance for these visitors, it was perhaps more an avenue through which to explore 'life' at the Cape, to see the amazing and spectacular vistas of the winelands of the Cape that they had been promised in their tour brochure. All of these tourists who were not so interested in the wine tasting experience, could perhaps fit into the category of general wine tourist- someone who is interested in the experience for recreational purposes. I had chosen the three tours I went on for their many site/sight inclusive nature, perhaps these visitors had done the same and had used the tour as a way of experiencing leisure at the Cape within breathtaking settings.

Connected with wine tasting would be the consumer activity of purchasing the wine that you tasted at a specific estate. As we saw in the previous chapter, the principles behind setting up the first wine route in Stellenbosch in 1971 aimed to provide a new market through which wine farmers could promote and sell their wines to the public. Michael Hall et al note, however, “few people will actually have the desire to purchase wine as the only reason for visiting a winery”¹⁶. Along with wine tasting not being of central importance, neither was the actual purchasing of wine. It is important to note, however, that the tourists I accompanied on tours, most often bought wine from places and estates they felt an emotional connection to. We can see this evidence in the next section in an in-depth look at Nelson’s Creek Wine Estate situated on the outskirts of Paarl.

‘Gazing’ within Winescapes: Presentations of Heritage and ‘Beautiful Landscape’

I can only really make conclusions of perceptions and experiences of wine landscapes by looking at my own experience as a tourist, and superficially observing the actions and reactions of others. How did I as a ‘wine tourist’ perceive and receive the images I was confronted with and positioned within? Urry asks that we consider what the object of the tourist gaze is. It could be landscape, townscape, an ethnic group, a lifestyle, historical artefacts, bases of recreation or ‘sand, sun and sea’. Due to the diverse nature of the settings of wine estates in South Africa (for example, some wine estates in the Walker Bay region are only ten minutes away from the nearest sandy beach!) , and the varied nature of wine tourism itself, perhaps the object of the wine tourist gaze is all of these. As part of all three wine tours of the Cape, the space of the townscape was entered into and it was most often within these spaces that perceptions of heritage and history were presented to the tourist. In all three wine tours, we stopped in the town of Stellenbosch normally for an hour where each individual or couple could have a chance to walk around and explore the town, or perhaps to visit the ‘Village Museum’. Interestingly, in the ‘African Eagle’ full day tour stopover in Stellenbosch, travellers were encouraged to visit the museum, however, all of them (excepting myself) chose to explore the sights and sounds of Stellenbosch shops and market stalls. On the Hilton Ross full day tour, the tour fare included entrance into the ‘Village Museum’ in Stellenbosch (a heritage ‘site’ which I briefly compare to the Groot Constantia Manor House Museum in the next chapter) as well as to visit either the Huguenot Memorial Museum in Franschoek or a walk through the gardens attached. Exploration of the histories of the past was an important element that was included in the tour, which added variation to our tour sightseeing of landscape, winescape and wine bottle. More than this, the majority of the history that was presented to the tourist, once again fitted in with those earlier constructions of place based on European heritage that we found in chapter 2. The Village Museum itself consisted of four restored houses that dated between 1709 and 1850. Each restored house represented a stage in the status of a Stellenbosch resident. So while ‘Schreuderhuis’ is representative of a primitive early dwelling of 1690 to 1720, the opulent ‘Grosvenor House’ of the Secretary of Justice in Stellenbosch is furnished in styles of the period 1800 to 1830. While history becomes ‘enlivened’ through the period costuming of the museum staff in each house, it is still essentially the heritage and history of the European white settler that is glorified and personified. Where are the residences of the slaves? What about the dwellings of the indigenous people who used to live in that area before white settlers came? Why are South African towns, museums and tours still ten years into democracy representing the heritage of ‘great white men’?

It is not only in the town of Stellenbosch that such a history is being presented, but in Franschoek as well. On the Hilton Ross full day winelands tour the entrance fee into the Huguenot Memorial Museum and Gardens was included in the costs of the tour. Tourists were given the opportunity to choose either the museum or gardens to visit. It is no wonder that the majority of travellers on the tour chose to enjoy a stroll amongst the rose bushes than to walk into yet another space where European heritage dominates. It was only myself along with the couple from Texas who ventured into the Huguenot Memorial Museum dedicated to the French settlers who carved out the land into a ‘wineland’. On the full day winelands tours I participated in, the spaces of Stellenbosch and Franschoek were noteworthy as places of European heritage and culture- spaces to admire traditions of wine making and

¹⁶ Michael Hall, C et al “Wine Tourism: An Introduction” in C. Michael Hall et al. (eds) *Wine Tourism Around the World*. 2000. Pg. 6

settler innovation and determination within a landscape that was considered to be situated in 'darkest Africa'. The only 'heritage site' that had some connection to a 'black' heritage on the wine tours was the scheduled stop outside the 'Victor Verster Prison' in Paarl to talk about the 'long walk to freedom' that Nelson Mandela took in finally leaving its gates behind. We did not have to go into the prison (as well we might not want to) to establish the significance of the space as a 'historical site'. It was enough for tourists to drive past its outside gates and to view it from within the confines of the tour bus. The 'African Eagle' tour pamphlet uses Mandela's former prison as one of the sites advertised that tourists would see on their tour. On the Hilton Ross full day tour, the heritage stopover was not advertised in the brochure and our guide, Chris Wilkie, made quite a dramatic revelation of announcing to the tour group what the prison we were parked outside signified. But where Nelson Mandela's name was mentioned, little historical commentary followed. There were gestures towards the struggle of apartheid, but ultimately good won over evil and Mandela got to walk free and now we all live in a happy democratic society. The brief narratives we were told fitted in like the reminding of some well known fairytale- only there was no in depth discussion of the conditions and 'battles' fought and lives that were lost in the attaining of this freedom. The inclusion of this site on the tours does indicate, however, some form of change to what is coming to constitute the heritage and history that is representing South Africa. Another example of this slow moving change can be found in the frequent visitation of tour companies to the wine estate of Nelson's Creek- the first wine estate in South Africa to give a group of farm workers their own land to cultivate, produce and bottle wine on. In section 4 of this chapter, it is specifically to the visitor experience at this wine estate that I turn.

Whether motivating factors for coming on the tour were history, townscape or the features of a lifestyle that included wine and leisure, the most important was perhaps landscape. Whatever the reasons for choosing a winelands tour, for the majority of tourists, motivations for doing so centred on experiencing the Cape's 'winescapes'- to see the beautiful and picturesque countryside in which all these other objects were positioned. From a tourist's point of view, South Africa is filled with real (the one's they actually 'gaze' at) and imaginary (the images and memories they construct and keep in their minds) landscapes. Steven Robins¹⁷ reminds us that landscape in Cape Town can have real political symbolism and meanings. Robins describes Cape Town as the 'Fortress City' in that even though we are a decade into the times of a 'New South Africa', there still exists a racialized divide between Cape Town's historically white inner city and suburbs and the townships situated in the outer city. The poverty of the 'black and coloured' working class is separated from the white suburban middleclass by stretches of wasteland, a network of highways and national roads and misused and polluted waterways. Where do the 'Winelands' that the "Cape Town: The Official Visitor's Guide 2002" talks about fit in which such spatial layouts? The winelands of the Western Cape are situated, similar to the white middle and upper class suburbs, in separate landscapes of scenic beauty. Brock Cambourne et al argue that "wine and tourism are identified more by location the anything else"¹⁸. In a South African context, the traveller will find wine estates and 'winescapes' situated within a rural setting which is a space that is becoming increasingly popular amongst tourists as places to relax, get away from the 'rat race' and get back to nature. The attraction to the countryside may be derived "in part from the disillusionment with elements of the modern... [it is a space] that is *thought* to embody some or all of the following features: a lack of planning and regimentation, a vernacular quaint architecture, winding lanes...the virtues of tradition..."¹⁹.

One of the products of a wine growing region is not only its grapes and wines but its scenery as well. The nature of wine making is based on the growing of grapes and the cultivating of vineyards which as a by product happens to construct a landscape that is green and aesthetically pleasing to the eye. While this green 'winescape' is certainly pleasing to look at, we must remember that it is no less unconstructed as say a city centre, but perhaps less honest of its construction. We take 'winescapes' to be an embodiment of 'naturalness' and 'simplicity'. There is nothing simple, however, in the construction and production of an industry that relies on careful planning of space (i.e. in

¹⁷ Robins, S "City Sites" in S. Nuttall and C. Michael (eds) *Senses of Culture*. 2000.

¹⁸ Cambourne, B et al "The Future of Wine Tourism" in C. Michael Hall, et al (eds) *Wine Tourism Around the World* 2000. Pg. 298

¹⁹ Urry, J. *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. 1990. Pg. 97. Emphasis authors own.

choosing the most advantageous site for placing a vineyard in terms of climate, soil, positioning...etc) and the manual labour of people who are needed to harvest those grapes to turn them from vine into wine. Urry explains that seeing landscape as a spectacle, something worth paying R400 to 'see', is a post-modern attitude to countryside contrasted with previous emphasis on the 'use' of the land. A part of the creation of this 'spectacle' of landscape is the erasing of all signs that constructed it in the first place especially the farmer labourers and machinery. Urry explains that "the countryside is there to be gazed upon, and ideally one should not be gazing upon other people, whether workers or other tourists"²⁰. Wine production is based on harvesting at only certain times of the year, which means that there are only certain periods where one will find workers harvesting the grapes (although this does not mean they do not have to work on the vines the rest of the year round). As someone who participated in the act of 'gazing' at the landscape myself, I was never conscious of the labour or farm equipment that was necessary for the production of the vineyards that stretched out before my eyes. However 'natural' and 'simplistic' the setting might seem, there is inherent constructedness and selectivity present in the 'winescape' that the tourist is viewing.

Vineyards are not a naturally occurring phenomenon, those rows of lush green or red grapes have to be cultivated and managed into the form that is presented to the viewer's eye. Derelict and polluted land, squalid living conditions are features that I have never witnessed on a wine estate. In South Africa, however, they may be features that you might witness on the way to those estates. Robins' description of spatial layout of Cape Town middle and upper class suburbs and working class and areas of poverty certainly rings true to the placement of wine estates within the landscape. Within the winelands of the Cape, there are enclaves of perfect picturesque countryside interspersed amongst spaces of wasteland pollution and poverty, spaces most often inhabited by the very people who pick the grapes that produce world-class award winning wines. As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, all the tours I participated in had to pass through these zones of poverty and pollution before the sanitized and spectacular green landscape of the winelands could be reached. Each passing through brought discussion of potentially 'negative issues' of the South African image to the fore. It was largely up to the individual tour guide as to how they framed such discussion, and what the message (and image of Cape Town) they were trying to convey to the tourists. Urry adds that the category of tourist is a relatively privileged one in rural areas. "To be able to claim such a status it is normally necessary to be white, and to be wealthy enough to own a car [or pay astronomical fees to have someone drive you around] and to be able to organize and purchase certain kinds of accommodation..."²¹. Nowhere is this more true than in a South African context. With increasing frequency, spaces that were created by sweat and toil are being noted for their potential as a 'leisured landscapes'. There may be good intentions behind a visitor's desire or preference towards the viewing and experiencing of picturesque landscape: some tourists are extremely concerned with the preservation of the spaces they enter into. Concerns for preservation and goals towards rural development and upliftment, might add authenticity to their experience. The wine estate of Nelson's Creek is well visited and well liked for its role in participating in such rural initiatives. I now take a more in depth look into this site in the following section in comparison with the more commercialized wine estate of Spier.

3. COMPARING 'WINESCAPES': A TALE OF TWO ESTATES

Even within the wine estates, within wine landscapes, there are spaces set aside specifically for the purposes of giving wine tastings. Preston-Whyte sees such a separate construction of space as allowing for and encouraging the "public expression of attitudes, beliefs, opinions and values"²² which constructs these places as a form of "public space". This is an important aspect to consider when looking at how space is conceptualized in what is most cases a privately owned place. For me, a 'winescape' is not only a description or conception of a specific landscape space within a winelands region, but also of those spaces set aside for wine tasting. Aside from wine tasting rooms there

²⁰ Ibid. Pg. 98

²¹ Ibid. Pg. 99

are also often restaurants, art galleries, curio shops, picnic areas, amphitheatres, function rooms, museums and even lakes and cheetah research centres in the case of Spier Wine Estate that are set aside for use by the public and tourists. These can all fit within a conception of what constitutes a 'winescape': a landscape set aside for the production, promotion and enjoying products of the vine. As Preston-Whyte would say, "wine estates share with other forms of public spaces their ability to be many things: 'a place, an idea, an ideal, a contested concept'"²³.

A play of passion at Nelson's Creek

One wine estate that conceptualizes and realizes an ideal of the new South Africa, has formed a "New Beginnings" wine label run and owned by 16 vineyard workers on Nelson's Creek Wine Estate. Victor Titus, the cellar master of Nelson's Creek, spoke²⁴ of the formation of the 'New Beginnings' enterprise in 1997. In 1997 Advocate Alan Nelson donated 9 hectares of his farmland to sixteen workers as a reward for being a part of making his 1996 Chardonnay achieve championship status. This land was to be cultivated for making wine under the label "New Beginnings"- as Titus explains it was a 'new beginning' for the workers themselves and for the South African wine industry. Similarly, Preston-Whyte explains a "wind of change is blowing" that is seeing workers produce, bottle and make profit from their own wine and with increasingly frequency, visitors are appreciating the "social and economic transformation of the winelands..."²⁵. One of the advantages of wine tourism for wineries is the brand loyalty and links it creates between producer and consumer. This would certainly seem to be in evidence at the Nelson's Creek wine estate. Victor Titus approached the wine tour and tasting on the estate in a very personalized manner; he personally conducted a tour of the vineyards (explaining concepts such as cultivars and 'terroir'), gave simple and clear descriptions of the wine making process within the cellar and added his own personal stories into the mix of history and technology. Titus conducted a wine tasting for just the seven of us 'tourists' around a big table on the veranda overlooking the estate of Nelson's Creek. He explained how to assess the wine we tasted and always asked us for our opinion. He was jovial, encouraging and straightforward in his explanations of taste, sight and smell. All the tourists thoroughly enjoyed this experience (which took nearly an hour and a half) and a space for social interaction and conversation was set up between each other. A space was certainly created that encouraged the expression of our attitudes and opinions of the wine we tasted and our experiences from other wine estates around the world and in our hometowns. Titus had used the wine tasting experience to create a "public space" based on expressions of opinion.

My fellow travellers left the estate with an experience of local Cape wine along with purchases of their favourite wine, mail-ordering lists for their home countries and contact numbers of Titus himself. Anna and Scott from Texas purchased two bottles of the Nelson's Creek 2001 Pinotage (a South African blend of the grape varieties pinot noir and cinsaut- known locally as heritage). They chose the wine for its uniqueness to South Africa specifically and alluded to it being an interesting addition to their wine collection back home. The Coreys from London, similarly purchased two bottles of the Pinotage as well as two bottles of the Rosé as it was an off-dry Rosé that they said was hard to find. The combination of the importance of the meaning and transformation of the estate in giving an opportunity to its farm workers and the passionate enlivening of wine by Titus was an important feature of their enjoyment of the experience they partook in, and in perhaps their potential future loyalty to the wine estate. Even large-scale wineries see wine tourism as important to the running of their business as "the benefit lies in the opportunity we have to make a lasting impression on a consumer...positive experiences in [our] retail room affects

²² Preston-Whyte, R "Wine Routes in South Africa" in C. Michael Hall, et al (eds) *Wine Tourism Around the World* 2000. Pg. 112

²³ Ibid. Pg. 112

²⁴ I was lucky enough to get to speak to and interview Victor Titus twice over the past year. The first time came from an impromptu and informal interview conducted by myself and two other students of history who were travelling through the open roads of the Paarl region during the summer month of March 2003. I was to unexpectedly meet up with Titus again when a Hilton Ross 'full-day tour' of the winelands stopped at Nelson's Creek for wine tasting and a cellar tour. This former Headmaster of a Paarl school is, in a manner of speaking, continuing his career in education by teaching tourists and schoolchildren, and university students like myself, about the wine making process and educating them about responsible wine making within a South African context.

²⁵ Preston-Whyte, R "Wine Routes in South Africa" in C. Michael Hall, et al (eds) *Wine Tourism Around the World* 2000. Pg. 114

purchase behaviour in the marketplace”²⁶. While the larger wineries and estates realize the value of wine tourism, their methods of creating a lasting impression may be counterproductive.

A play on passion at Spier

The same Hilton Ross full day tour of the winelands that took the group to Nelson’s Creek, also took us to Spier wine estate. Looking in depth into a comparison between this large wine company with the small estate of Nelson’s Creek provides interesting insight into how tourists experience and make meaning from wine and ‘winescapes’. The origins of Spier wine estate begin in 1692 with the granting of farmland to German settler, Arnout Janz by our familiar Cape governor, Simon van der Stel. It is noteworthy that the origins of the estate do simply begin with European initiative, but in a pamphlet of the estate, it is acknowledged that the settlement of the land “dates back to the early Stone Age and today implements are still to be found scattered across the estate. Towards the end of the 17th century, when the first European settlers reached the area, the land was already populated by Khoi cattle farmers who migrated seasonally between the West Coast and what is now known as the Stellenbosch district”²⁷. While there is an acknowledgement of a history other than that that glorifies European roots, this message is not the one we had in our experience of the estate. As part of a tour group (and many other people at Spier also used this type of experience to visit the winelands of the Cape) we were not subjected to any kind of history at all. Jill and Ken Corey from London did not enjoy the trip to Spier at all, they found the setting to be very commercialized and contrived and very impersonal. The wine tasting took place within a large tasting area with seating capacity of at least 40 people. Our tour group was in fact joined by two or three other groups- Spier organizes mass tastings to accommodate the large number of tourists that visit their premises. On both of the Hilton Ross tours I participated in- one a half day and the other a full day tour of the winelands- the tour guides stopped at Spier for a wine tasting (in the case of the half-day tour, it was the only tasting that occurred) and a combined wine tasting was done by Dean Williams. In both cases Williams found himself having to conduct the tastings in two languages- effectively twice for those present, one part would be said in English, and then the same comment would be repeated in German. While Williams was clearly very good at what he did, the process was far more impersonal than the tasting we had had at Nelson’s Creek, there was no real time to ask questions, or discuss wine making or even really savour the taste of each wine. The whole tasting took fifteen minutes.

Comparing two estates

This was certainly not that metaphorical ‘public space’ of discussion and exploration of opinions that we had experienced at Nelson’s Creek. It was, however, still a “public space”, but of a different form- one that had different intentions and goals- to give an experience to as many people as possible and to encourage their consumption and use of the products and facilities available at the site. Spier was surrounded by many such impersonalized “public spaces”. The Spier estate not only boasts a wine tasting ‘site’ but no less than 5 restaurants, excluding the ‘Moyo’ African cuisine restaurant, picnic sites, a winelands golf estate, eagle enclosures, a cheetah outreach programme (where the visitor may have a “personal encounter” with one of the “hand-raised cheetahs”), tennis courts, a museum containing antique furniture, a hotel, conference and banquet centres, wine centres and cellars, tapestry weavers, diamond manufacturers, a curio shop and even a private steam train. No expense is spared to lure the visitor to its ‘sites’ and attractions, the only thing missing was evidence of the vineyards on the estate [see map of the Estate in Figure 3.1]. Even on the map in the pamphlet of the estate, there is no evidence of the vineyards that produce the wines that the visitor so quickly has to assess in its wine tasting room. For me, the space that has been conceptualized at Spier estate does not traditionally fit into conceptions of a ‘winescape’ space of a ‘traditional’ wine estate and hence I rather refer to it as the ‘Spier Estate’. It is more like an experiential playground for the young and old that capitalizes on our desires to get out into the country and nature, to

²⁶ Michael Hall, C et al “Wine Tourism: An Introduction” in C. Michael Hall et al. (eds) Wine Tourism Around the World. 2000. Pg. 13

²⁷ Quotation taken from a pamphlet and map of Spier. Collected from the estate on while participating on a tour of the winelands with ‘Hilton Ross’. 2004.

experience wine and make connections with people within a spectacular setting. At both Nelson's Creek and at Spier, there are constructions of "public space", but these are quite different conceptually and spatially. Each space encourages different behaviours and activities that a visitor can immerse themselves in. But perhaps a visitor who had never heard of Spier before would have the same expectations of any other wine estate before the visit. In some cases, the visitor might be pleasantly surprised and enjoy the "all inclusive" experience that is presented to them (as in the case of the couple from Norway and the Czech Republic who valued highly their cheetah in captivity experience), in other cases, like the Coreys from London, there might be disappointment and dislike. Such tourist behaviour could be seen as the "product of heightened expectations, deflated hopes, exaggerated fears, or frustrated plans..."²⁸.

Michael Hall et al believe that it is the "smaller wineries that add the romance, mystery and magic to the industry"²⁹. The Coreys from London who visited both the estates of Nelson's Creek and Spier would perhaps tend to agree with them. It is difficult to make such statements without a deeper understanding of how the Coreys value space and place from their previous experiences, perhaps then we could connect a pattern of their desire to seek out 'authentic' place and space. Another important motivating factor for this couple might have been making personal connection with the winemaker or wine owner. Such motivations might be indicative of concerns "for such things as the believability and passion associated with the wine interpretation and therefore raise issues of authenticity"³⁰. Issues of authenticity are important aspects to consider when exploring a visitors motivations and experience of space and place. There has been great debate over the years concerning what is considered an authentic experience and "how much of modern tourist behaviour is a quest for authenticity"³¹. More than anything, MacCannell argues, tourists embody a quest for 'authenticity' in wanting to see the 'real lives' of other people. Tourists seek out the 'back regions' of tourist sites/sights, as these regions are associated with intimacy and the authenticity of experience. How are the front/back regions presented in a wine tour: are we shown the 'inner workings' or behind the scenes of the wine making process where 'outsiders' are allowed further in than regular patrons? Wine cellar tours especially allow the visitor into the back regions and inner workers of a wine estate. We become party to the 'secrets' of the wine making process. Preston-Whyte argues that winescapes are places shrouded in mystique and intrigue. Part of this mystique may very well lie in our poor understandings of how vines are turned into wines. At Nelson's Creek, Victor Titus conducted a private in-depth tour of the wine making process leading us from vine to wine. Our connection with Titus and the estate of Nelson's Creek might have been a product of the private exploration into the world of wine, allowing us into the back regions and telling us the 'secrets' of the winemaking process. I don't believe this tour Titus gave in the back regions of his winery was a case of "staged authenticity"³² where a back region is 'created' for site/sightseers who are looking for an 'authentic experience'.

Titus's tour and the estates' aim of rural empowerment (which was never over emphasized) felt very authentic for those who participated in it. On the other hand, at the Spier Estate, we were not given a 'behind-the-scenes' tour, we only participated in a mass wine tasting and were given an opportunity to pet caged and hand raised cheetahs. This experience was supposed to allow for a "personal encounter with one of ambassador cheetahs"³³ for 'The Cheetah Outreach Programme' (presumably a programme that helps cheetahs in the wild?). It was in this space that I found a form of "staged authenticity"- a contrived staging of reality where the visitor for a price might experience not so untamed Africa within a leisure landscape. The image of the cheetah (and the African-ness and

²⁸ Michael Hall, C et al "Wine Tourism: An Introduction" in C. Michael Hall et al. (eds) *Wine Tourism Around the World*. 2000. Pg. 8

²⁹ Ibid. Pg. 16

³⁰ Mitchell, R; Michael Hall, C and McIntosh, A "Wine Tourism and Consumer Behavior" in C. Michael Hall et al (eds) *Wine Tourism Around the World* 2000. Pg. 127

³¹ Weiller, B and Ham, S "Perspectives and Thoughts on Tour Guiding" in A. Lockwood and S. Medlik (eds) *Tourism and Hospitality in the 21st Century*. 2001. Pg. 260

³² MacCannell, D "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings" in the *American Journal of Sociology* LXXIX (3): 589-603

³³ Quotation taken from a pamphlet and map of *Spier*. Collected from the estate on while participating on a tour of the winelands with 'Hilton Ross'. 2004

'wildness' it represents) was used as if the animal had an excellent PR manager as it was made clear that the cheetahs could "also be booked for private functions"³⁴. It was not the career of a 'fallen-from-grace' rock star that was trying to be promoted but the survival of a rare African animal through the same medium. For the tourist I accompanied on the wine tour, this was not an authentic experience.

While it is interesting to look at such perceptions of authenticity and contrived commercialization, there perhaps is a thin line to walk between the two. Even at Nelson's Creek, we can find instances of 'staged authenticity in the form of "Qunu huts" that were constructed alongside the 18th century gabled farmhouse. According to Titus, Qunu is the birthplace of Nelson Mandela and the village where he grew up. The huts that were constructed at Nelson's Creek were built by people from Qunu who were brought from the Eastern Cape. When asked why these huts were built at the wine estate, Titus replied that they provided an "attraction" for the tourists so that they would not have to travel to the Eastern Cape to see them. The huts used to house the arts and crafts of local artists, but they now stand empty. It is exactly these types of examples where wine estates try to bring in the imagery of 'Africa' into their 'gabled' histories that are telling about constructions of image and authenticity. In the same frame, we may even find redemption at the Spier estate. Spier runs and funds many development projects for the communities surrounding the estate. While Spier Vineyards is a commercial and profitable enterprise, at the same time employees of the company collectively own 25% of the shares through a trust and each year 25% of the profits are distributed to the employees as well as Spier allocating "funds to the Trust to facilitate the construction of housing for employees to live on Spier"³⁵. Other projects spearheaded by the company include the creation of a primary school, an arts trust and environmental sustainability programmes amongst others. While this message of community and environmental development is part of a pamphlet I picked up produced by Spier, it was not part of their discourse of selling and marketing wine. Which is more honest in its message? Looking from all sides, there is perhaps no clear line.

We can perhaps draw conclusions about how space within a wine estate is conceptualized and access underlying motivations of attracting visitors to a site. An estate, like Spier, might value success in attracting the largest numbers of visitors to an estate. While this certainly increases brand exposure, there might be a decrease in visitor satisfaction in the experiencing that product. Tim Dodd sees this as a prioritizing of a sales rather than a developing of closer relationships with individuals. Michael Hall, Johnson and Mitchell, argue however, that countries must be careful of over-estimating (through excessive creation of tourist accommodation, and facilities) the contribution that tourism has to make to a process of local development which may lead to "stagnation, regression, and eventual loss of profitability of local tourism and its authenticity"³⁶. Dodd believes estates and wineries should rather be focusing on "Relationship Marketing"³⁷ where sales and the increase in the number of visitors may be an outcome of emphasis on the establishment of close relationships with customers. Part of this conception of marketing is ensuring that the visitor leaves the estate with a positive experience. More than this, however, I believe this 'people approach' results in personal and emotional connections to that estate place and space. Such connections may be evidenced by the vocalizing a love of that space back in a home country or through a purchasing of a bottle of wine produced by that estate. "Wine, noted for its attachment to place, ...is also a tangible, transportable and durable product that can be experienced in a number of locations before, during and after the on-site winery experience (which tends to be less tangible, transportable and durable)"³⁸. Wine, like a piece of that 'winescape' bottled, lends itself to a representation of that place and space through the sensitive sensations on taste buds. In buying a bottle to drink in our dining and living rooms back home, we are allowed to

³⁴ Ibid

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Michael Hall, C; Johnson, G and Mitchell, R "Wine Tourism and Regional Development" in C. Michael Hall et al (eds) Wine Tourism Around the World. 2000. Pg. 200

³⁷ Dodd, T "Influences on cellar door sales and determinants of wine tourism success: results from Texas wineries" in C. Michael Hall et al (eds) Wine Tourism Around the World. 2000. Pg. 138

³⁸ Mitchell, R; Michael Hall, C and McIntosh, A "Wine Tourism and Consumer Behavior" in C. Michael Hall et al (eds) Wine Tourism Around the World- 2000. Pg. 132

revisit that experience and place through the smell of tannin, the sight of deep red tincture and the smooth aromas that literally come from the soil that the grapes were grown in. Perhaps the Coreys from London will take that aromatic sip of wine, picture those sun-stroked green vineyards and share the memory of the warmth of summer on their skins as they sit in distant cold climates. This is wine tourism in its full art: the memory of place and space aided through tangible reminders.

CONCLUSION

“Tourism is fundamentally about the difference of place while wine is one of those rare commodities which is branded on the basis of its geographical origin”³⁹. This chapter has dealt with constructions of space into place and the difficulties of exploring the ‘tourists’ perceptions of landscape that is presented to them. The experience of participating in wine tours alongside tourists, who choose to partake in wine tours as part of their leisure experience, was helpful in understanding key issues of constructions of landscape and authenticity. The rural settings that wine estates are situated in predicated their position within our uniquely South African spatial constructions. More and more these tilled and toiled landscapes are being converted into ‘leisured landscapes’. Delving into such issues provides interesting ‘food for thought’ which should not be overlooked as we see the tide of time change towards a future that places increasing importance on ‘winescapes’ as spaces of leisure.

University of Cape Town

³⁹ Michael Hall, C et al “Wine Tourism: An Introduction” in C. Michael Hall et al. (eds) *Wine Tourism Around the World*. 2000. Pg. 17
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EXPLORING CONSTRUCTIONS OF HERITAGE AT GROOT CONSTANTIA WINE ESTATE

According to a recent article in the Cape Argus¹, close to two million overseas 'tourists' arrive on our shores each year. How they spend their time and money is of critical importance to understanding contemporary leisure trends in South Africa. 'Wine tourism' is a pastime that is becoming extremely popular in this country; in fact, it is seen as one of the most defining features of Western Cape tourism. Visiting the 'Winelands' of the Cape district is a 'cannot be missed' feature, part of the "Big Six"² [see Figure 1.1 from Chapter 1] of visiting Cape Town that I spoke about in the introductory chapter. Along with the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront, Table Mountain, Robben Island, the Cape Peninsula National Park encompassing Cape Point and the Kirstenbosch Botanical Gardens, there are the 'Winelands' of the Cape. We are given a representation of Cape Town that emphasizes natural beauty (the botanical gardens, the nature reserve, Table Mountain) and heritage (found in the V&A Waterfront's constructed British Maritime history³ and Robben Island as a former Apartheid Prison and now World Heritage Site). Where does the 'Winelands of the Cape' fit into such representations? In the previous chapter we found they fitted in with the 'natural' beauty category, but with more and more frequency, heritage 'sites' are being presented as part of the scenic 'Winelands' experience - such as visiting the Huguenot Memorial Museum in Franschoek as part of a wine tour. In a tourist information map⁴ of the winelands regions including Franschoek, Stellenbosch, Paarl and Wellington, we find many different types of activities being associated with wine- such as arts and crafts, hiking, mountain biking, fishing, and even sports car hiring. Along with such activities are the descriptions of "museums and monuments" situated within these 'winescapes'. In these wine regions, we find no less than ten 'heritage' sites being advertised alongside such winelands adventures. In Cape Town, the wine estate of Groot Constantia specifically houses a museum dedicated to wine.

According to Isabelle Frochot, wine museums are one of the most common attractions in France with several being found in each wine region. They are often the result of enthusiastic actions of local individuals. Such wine museums "usually present a history of the wines in the region concerned, a detailed explanation of the wine making process and the various local traditions associated with wine"⁵. In the Bordeaux region, the "Maison des Vines de Bordeaux" includes an audiovisual presentation, permanent wine tastings as well as shops and information. It also welcomes 50, 000 visitors each year, half of them being foreigners. Some wineries that are open all year round welcome 70, 000 visitors annually through their doors. Both wine makers and tourism organizers have realized the need to make wine more accessible and attractive to a wider audience and with the development of a varied range of attractions, as we can find being presented in the Stellenbosch, Paarl and Franschoek regions. Associated leisure activities to a wine route or wine region are attempts to encourage people to visit wineries and estates. Wine estates and regions invest heavily in visitor centres as an attraction. Such ventures go beyond the financial gains of the direct sales made at the vineyards, but contribute to developing a strong winery image where customers can familiarize themselves with the brand. In France, heritage attractions located in close proximity to a wine region (even if not directly related to wine) are increasingly popular amongst tourists. 'Les Hospices de

¹ Moses Mdewu Mackay "Tourism in Africa needs big research boost, say experts" in *Cape Argus*, Wednesday 29 October 2003: Pg. 10.

² Advert for Cape Town in *Cape Town: The Official Visitor's Guide 2002*. Cape Metropolitan Tourism. Pg. 30

³ Nigel Worden has discussed extensively the history and redevelopment of the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront from the 1980s to the mid 1990s. Part of Worden's argument is that the Waterfront's maritime heritage is very much a construction- "an imagined past that pervades the Waterfront atmosphere". As a result of this focus on British maritime heritage, other histories are left out i.e. the Dutch, the Khoi, convicts, slaves, as well as Africans and the labourers who worked at the harbour. Quotation in this footnote from: Worden, Nigel "Unwrapping History at the Cape Town Waterfront" in *Public Historian* Vol. 16. No. 2 Spring 1994. Pg. 39. Another article which deals with such issues is: Worden, Nigel "Contesting Heritage in a South African City: Cape Town" in B. Haw and R. Jones (eds) *Contested Urban Heritage: Voices from the Periphery*, 1997. While such a constructed heritage is provided to attract the tourists, it should not be forgotten that it masks one of the most popular "shopping Meccas" in Cape Town.

⁴ 'Winelands Adventure Map' 2002. An initiative of 'Winelands Tourism'.

⁵ Frochot, Isabelle "Wine Tourism in France: A Paradox?" in Michael Hall, C et al. (ed) *Wine Tourism Around the World: Development, Management and Markets*, 2000. Pg. 70

Beaune' (an old charitable hospital) welcomes over 400, 000 visitors a year! Frochot explains that the most common ranked visitor activity is visiting heritage sites, whereas visiting wine cellars comes in only fourth⁶. The heritage industry is nothing to be laughed at. John Urry maintains 75% of overseas visitors to Britain visited a museum or gallery during their stay⁷. It is no coincidence that Britain's largest mass organization is the National Trust with nearly one and a half million members. It has even been argued that Britain earns more from arts and tourism than it does from the motor industry"⁸. "Leisure is not only big business; it is becoming the biggest business. Tourism is the single largest industry in the world, and the American public now spends more time on recreation than any other part of the household economy, including food and housing"⁹.

These are certainly some impressive figures, and one wonders about the potential for South African tourism and the heritage industry. There is a desperate need in this country for more in-depth research into tourism and leisure activities, as well as and tourist behaviour and motivations. Throughout this chapter, I shall be concentrating on one case study: the Groot Constantia wine estate and museum complex in the Cape Town southern suburbs. I will be looking in depth into presentations of heritage and history that have been created at the Manor House, the Jonkershuis orientation/information centre as well as a brief description of the Wine Museum. This chapter is a focus on one aspect that can be found within a 'winescape': a heritage site/sight. It was clear that heritage played an important part in the constructions of space into place of wine routes and regions as we saw in the chapter that looked at the history of the Stellenbosch wine route through he pages of *Wynboer* magazine. In the third chapter, we similarly saw that heritage was an integral part of the wine tour experience, with the content of tours deeply embedded in South Africa's past. History and heritage is something that has come to define (and confine) place in the Cape wine landscape. How the visitor experiences and prioritizes this heritage is a product of personal and individual preferences and motivations. Since heritage has become inextricably linked to the 'winescape' of our nation, it is perhaps relevant to explore one wine estate that focuses specifically on its own history. In 1995, Joanne Winter gave a historical analysis of the Groot Constantia museum complex in her honours dissertation and I think it would be interesting to revisit the estate almost a decade later.

Winter addresses the history of the wine estate, the changing uses and perceptions of the heritage at Groot Constantia, and gives an assessment of the visitor experience. This being the case, I shall not simply reinterpret and redefine her work. Rather than focusing on how heritage has been/is *constructed* at the Groot Constantia Wine Estate as Winter did, I shall rather explore how such heritage is *presented* at the estate. I would like to centre my research more on the actual problems of the displays and what they mean for the learning patterns of the people who visit them. Is Groot Constantia as it stands today in 2004 really a viable and interesting site for visitors to learn and experience history? I will be basing my arguments on my own experiences of visiting the Groot Constantia museum complex, as well as on a field trip I participated in with a class of Grade 5 pupils from Fish Hoek Junior School. I also conducted a few rudimentary interviews with the museum staff who run/curate the museum as well as with Myrtle Edwards, the educator who runs the school trips for Groot Constantia. These all proved enlightening experiences, which I believe can tell us a great deal about perceptions of education, learning and heritage tourism at a site like Groot Constantia. I also found it necessary to observe and interview the tourists who visited the museum to access their own experience and motivations for coming to a 'heritage' site on a wine estate. As in the previous chapter, these teach us about leisure motivations and patterns- an important part of fitting 'wine tourism' within the broader picture. Therefore, I will use the commercial heritage site of Groot Constantia as a springboard into issues of heritage presentation, leisure and learning patterns as well as effective display/exhibit design.

⁶ Frochot explains that 80% of people that visit wine regions are primarily concerned with seeing heritage sites.

⁷ Urry, John "Gazing on History" in *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. 1990.

⁸ Taylor, Mark "Preface" in Alan Chadwick and Annette Stannett (ed) *Museums and the Education of Adults*. 1995. Pg. 3

As part of trying to create a better understanding of tourist motivations and experiences on a wine estate and specifically on a heritage 'site' on an estate, I thought it would be insightful to look beyond my own experience and towards those that actually involved visitors to Groot Constantia. I conducted a series of interviews with the visitors who visited the Groot Constantia Manor House Museum over roughly a four-hour period in which time I interviewed 10 groups of people. More specifically, I interviewed visitors after they had spent time in the Manor House and requested their permission to ask a few questions as they left the museum. With interviews over such a short period of time and with such a few participants it is difficult to make any concrete observations that have any real significance- such research deserves longer, more in depth and continual assessment from anything from a month to a year¹⁰. So while I justifiably do not think I can lay any real concrete argument of visitor patterns at Groot Constantia, let alone wine estates in general, I do believe the representative sample can speak of wider issues that can be found in the literature on leisure patterns and wine tourism. It is important to realize that wine tourism is only a segment of a broader tourist industry and that leisure patterns within this segment may speak of broader trends.

On the way to Cape Point...

It was interesting to note that of all the visitor groups that I spoke to, the majority were visiting the Groot Constantia wine estate as part of an extended day trip that included a tour of Cape Point. It was convenient that the Groot Constantia estate fitted within this route for many tourists so that they felt they could have a day that also included a wine estate and specifically, an estate that had a museum. Frochot argues that tourists or visitors are attracted to wine regions where there are a wide choice of opportunities for wine tasting and visiting various attractions (such as the connections we find in the winelands regions of Paarl, Stellenbosch...etc of wine and outdoor activities such as golfing, fishing, hiking). This multiplicity of functions perhaps speaks louder than wine tourism in general, but that can be expanded to talk about current leisure trends. As John Falk and Lynn Dierking note, over the past couple of generations, the amounts of time devoted to leisure has increased so that men and women average approximately 40 hours of free time per week (this is obviously dependent to a large degree on wealth and class within society). While this free leisure time has opened up, there is at the same time a psychological perception of time as scarce. Hence, when people become involved in leisure time they intend to make the most of it: "one form of this is the increasingly common effort to combine what were previously disparate activities- for example, combining eating, shopping, and museum-going into a single experience"¹¹. Visiting Groot Constantia as only part of an inclusive tour of the Cape Peninsula would perhaps fit in with such leisure patterns.

Taiyamu and Miguel Domingos from Angola were one such couple on their honeymoon in the Cape and who decided to include some wine tasting on their way to Cape Point. They chose Groot Constantia as apposed to other estates as they felt it was an easy detour off the route. Interestingly, they did not know about the museum until their arrival on the estate. Travel companions, Ian Marais from South Africa and Cathy Fox from Ireland similarly chose Groot Constantia as it was "on the way to Cape Point". Interestingly, according to the tour guides of Hilton Ross and African Eagle Day Tours, the Cape Point Tour is the most popular of all the tours they offer. Perhaps its popularity is due to the inclusive nature of the tour as it incorporates many features and 'sites' of Cape Town. In the "Cape Escape Tours"¹² brochure, the 'Cape Point and Peninsula Tour' includes attractions such as a tour

⁹ Falk, John H and Dierking, Lynn D. *Learning From Museums: Visitor experiences and the Making of Meaning*. 2000. Pg. 207

¹⁰ I was quite hesitant of disturbing the 'leisure experience' of the visitors I interviewed. As John Urry notes, travel and tourism, is exceptionally centered on time and activities away from the ordinary and everyday work life. I was concerned not to interrupt or be intrusive on their experience of the wine estate and of the museum too much by asking multiple questions that might 'feel like' work. I kept my questioning short and did not try to press issues. Most interviews were under five minutes long.

¹¹ Falk, John H and Dierking, Lynn D. *Learning From Museums: Visitor experiences and the Making of Meaning*. 2000. Pg. 209

¹² Tour Pamphlet from 'Cape Escape Tours' "The Winelands: Stellenbosch, Franschoek and Paarl" Full Day Tour. Pg. 3. 2004

through the Twelve Apostles mountain range; Camps Bay, Llandudno and Muizenburg beaches; Hout Bay fishing harbour, Chapman's Peak, "Constantia Valley", Cape Point, Kirstenbosch Botanical Gardens and there is even the option of going up Table Mountain. If such attractions rolled into one tour are not enough for the eager traveller, there is even an incredible 'Full Day Combination Tour' that includes the Cape Point and Peninsula, the Cape of Good Hope Nature Reserve as well as a tour of "Stellenbosch and The Winelands"¹³. Such combination tours show evidence of the popularity of the multitasking of activities in tourism. Wine tourism especially lends itself to such combinations of heritage gazing, wine tasting, shopping, eating, golfing and even for those who dare, river rafting. Space at the Spier Estate is a key example of an embodiment of including disparate activities (the majority not even related to wine) into one space. While Spier was a space that was conducive to multiple experiences and activities, it was felt that it missed the 'authenticity' of experience. It was an overtly constructed space of leisure, rather than a subtle 'authentic' winescape (as arguably found at Nelson's Creek)

Motivations and Personal Interest

While some tourists chose Groot Constantia for its ease of access on a Cape Point and Peninsula tour, others specifically chose the estate for its historic content. Louis and Frieda Mangelschot spent their last day of holiday in South Africa visiting Groot Constantia before returning to their home in Belgium. They specifically chose Groot Constantia to see the Manor House and Wine Museum. They were not interested in tasting the wine. The tourists I have mentioned so far who visited Groot Constantia speak to the importance of individual tourist motivations and interest. The Mangelschots from Belgium spent three weeks on holiday in South Africa; they arrived in Johannesburg, travelled to the Limpopo River and Natal, visited Clanwilliam and finally took the Garden Route down to Cape Town. They told me that they had also visited the Drosty Museum in Swellendam and the Graaff Reinet Museum through their journeys in South Africa. Their visit to the Groot Constantia museum fits in with a history of interest in heritage sites and institutions. Falk and Dierking argue that in order to understand what people learnt from a particular museum visit (and conceivably a wine tourism experience), the researcher has to know a lot more about them than merely what exhibitions they visited and for how long. Understanding someone's museum experience involves many variables i.e. why the visitors chose to come, with whom they visit and why, what they already know, what their interests are, what their prior museum experiences are and what subsequent reinforcing events occur in their lives. This is obviously not the kind of information that I could get out of a five-minute interview. It would have perhaps been interesting to know whether the Mangelschots visited museums and heritage sites in their own towns and cities back home in Belgium. It would seem that there was pattern of interest in visiting different museums all over South Africa as they travelled which might extend to an interest in history in general. The motivation for many people to visit museums is "to construct, elaborate, and relive their personal experiences"¹⁴. People may learn more about themselves and their experiences through reflection inspired by exhibits and moods stimulated in these settings.

Perhaps we can also understand a visit to Groot Constantia by Peter Maltbie (similarly on the way to the Cape Point), accompanied by his nephew visiting from United States for three months and a South African friend, 'Frikkie', in terms of issues of motivation. Maltbie originally came from Boston and has been living in Cape Town for the last nine years where he owns his own photographic studio in the Bo-Kaap. My interview with this group was one of the longest, lasting about fifteen minutes. Maltbie had brought his nephew and friend to Groot Constantia because he wanted to "show off" what Cape Town has to offer and felt that Groot Constantia was an excellent site for a tour around the Cape Peninsula as the setting was beautiful. It was, however, specifically for the heritage of the site that Maltbie chose Groot Constantia Maltbie explained that as the estate was one of the oldest established wine farms in South Africa and that the Manor House was so well preserved and restored and furthermore that its presentation was "authentic". Interestingly, as a photographer, Maltbie had commercially

¹³ Ibid. Pg. 6

¹⁴Falk, John H and Dierking, Lynn D. Learning From Museums: Visitor experiences and the Making of Meaning. 2000. Pg. 20

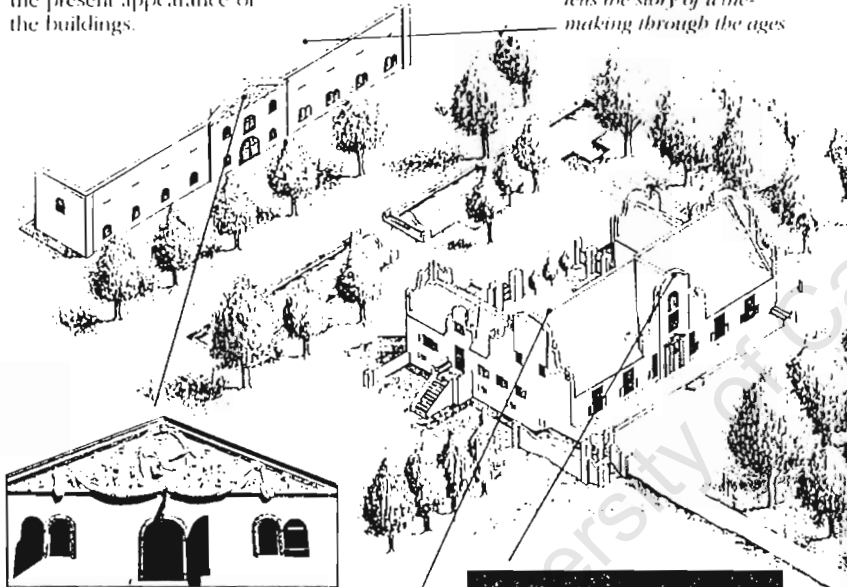
Groot Constantia 10

NEWLY APPOINTED CAPT. GOVERNOR Simon van der Stel named this farm Constantia; it was the first piece of land granted to him in 1685. The most likely of several theories regarding the origin of the name is that it honours the daughter of Rijckloff van Goens, who supported the governor's land application. After Van der Stel's death in 1712, the farm was subdivided into three. The portion with the manor house, built around 1685, was renamed Groot Constantia. Hendrik Cloete bought the estate in 1778. His family owned it for three generations thereafter, and was responsible for the present appearance of the buildings.



Wine Museum

A superb collection of artifacts and drinking vessels tells the story of wine-making through the ages.



★ Cloete Wine Cellar

This façade, commissioned by Hendrik Cloete and built in 1791, is attributed to Louis Thibault. The Rococo pediment was sculpted by Anton Aureith.



★ Manor House

This museum contains an authentic representation of 17th-century life. Most of the antiques were donated by Alfred A de Pass, a member of a wealthy family of Dutch origin.



Cape Gable

The tall gable, added between 1799 and 1803, left a void later filled by Anton Aureith, who created a niche containing the sculpted figure of Abundance.

STAR FEATURES

- ★ Manor House
- ★ Cloete Wine Cellar
- ★ Jonkershuis



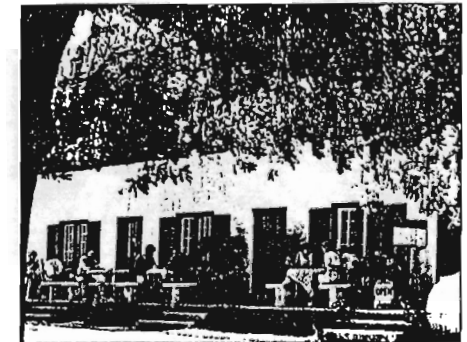
Groot Constantia

The Mediterranean climate of temperate summers and cool, rainy winters has ensured the success of the vines planted on this estate.



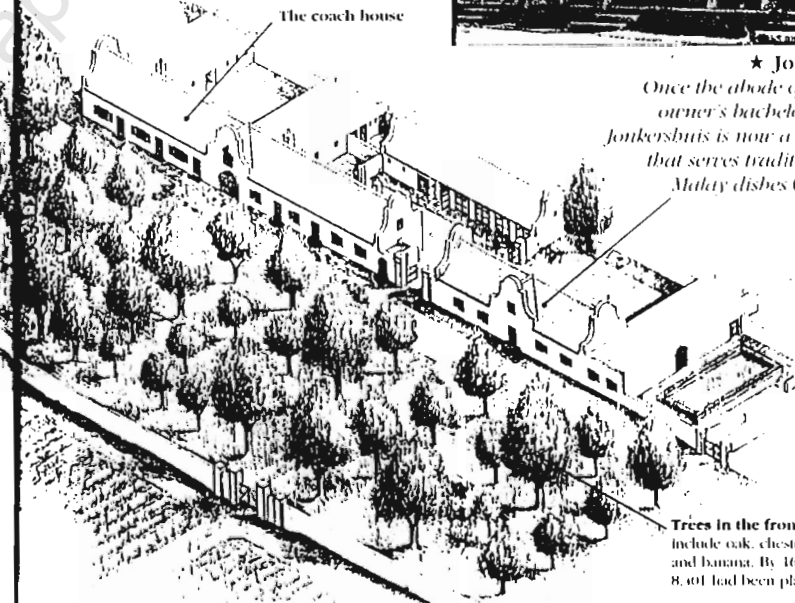
Vin de Constance

This naturally sweet Muscat de Frontignan by Klein Constantia (until 1712 part of the Groot Constantia estate) is made in the style of the early 18th-century wines.



★ Jonkershuis

Once the abode of the estate owner's bachelor sons, the Jonkershuis is now a restaurant that serves traditional Cape Malay dishes (see p312).



The coach house

Trees in the front garden include oak, chestnut, olive and banana. By 1695, some 8,000 had been planted.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GABLE DESIGN



Government House (1750) is an example of the convex-concave or 'lobed' gable style.



Ilbertus (1771) has a convex-concave gable style, also called the Cape European.



Klein Constantia (1799) has a classical gable, inspired by the Italian Renaissance.

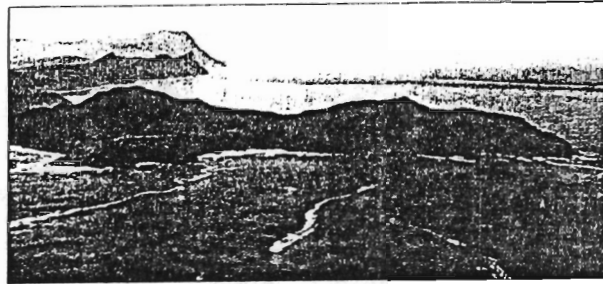


Nederburg (1800) has a convex-concave outline, broken pediment and low pilasters.

Figure 4.2: 'The Cape Peninsula' in Dorling Kindersley Eyewitness Travel Guide: South Africa, 1999, Pg. 60-61

The Cape Peninsula

FOR FOUR CENTURIES, the Cape Peninsula's most prominent feature, Table Mountain, has been a welcome landmark for travellers. A rugged mountain chain that stretches from Table Bay to Cape Point soars out of the sea to a height of 1,087 m (3,566 ft) above sea level, dwarfing the high-rise buildings of the city and its surrounding suburbs. The impressive front wall of Table Mountain as well as the surrounding butresses and ravines are a spectacular natural wonder. The rock formations and twisted strata indicate turbulent geological processes that span a 1,000-million-year history.



Cape Point juts into the southern Atlantic Ocean and forms the tip of the peninsula's mountain chain. A scenic drive leads to the Cape of Good Hope Nature Reserve (see p93), which offers hiking and mountain biking trails. The less energetic can ride the funicular to a lighthouse and superb views.



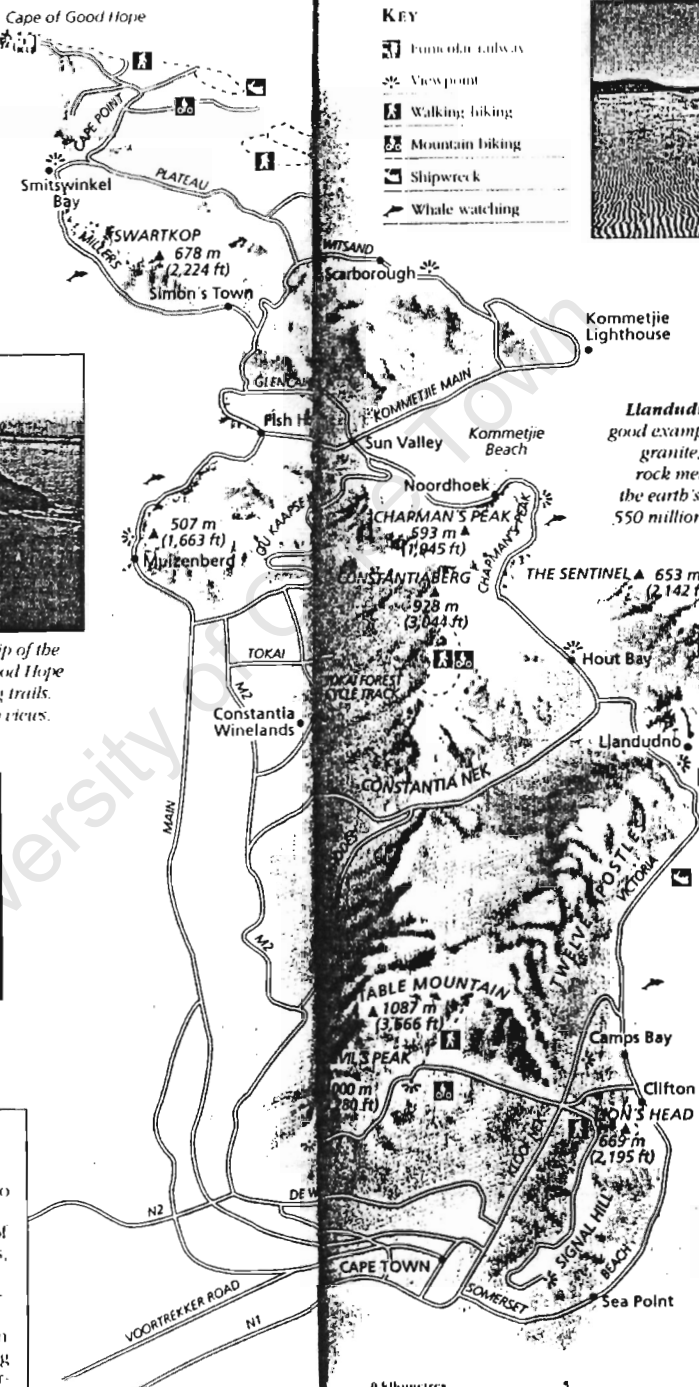
The Constantia Winelands (see pp96-7) nestle on the southeast slopes of the peninsula's mountain range, within easy reach of the city. The fertile slopes, combined with a mild Mediterranean climate, create perfect conditions for choice grape cultivars.

TABLE MOUNTAIN'S TABLECLOTH

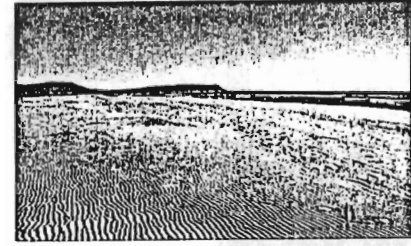


The tablecloth

An old local legend tells of the Dutchman, Jan van Hunks, who engaged in a smoking contest with a stranger on the slopes of Devil's Peak. After several days, the disgruntled stranger had to admit defeat and revealed himself as the Devil. Vanishing in a puff of smoke, he carried van Hunks off with him, leaving behind wreaths of smoke curling around Devil's Peak (which is where the cloud begins pouring over the mountain, forming the famous "tablecloth").



- KEY**
- Funicular railway
 - Viewpoint
 - Walking/hiking
 - Mountain biking
 - Shipwreck
 - Whale watching



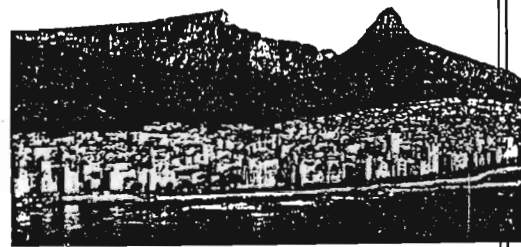
At Noordhoek, the little rocky coves of the Atlantic seaboard give way to wide, unspoilt beaches. Noordhoek village is surrounded by small holdings and horse farms, and outrides on the wide stretch of sand are popular.



Llandudno displays good examples of Cape granite, formed by rock melting under the earth's crust some 550 million years ago.



The Sentinel is an impressive rock outcrop that towers at the mouth of Hout Bay. It forms part of what is known as the Graafwater Formation, which lies above a base of Cape granite.



Sea Point, below Signal Hill, is built on metamorphic rock. This is the oldest of the peninsula's rock formations and weathers easily. Several road cuttings and old quarries in the area exhibit the red clayey soils that typify these strata.

0 kilometres

photographed a great deal of wine estates such as Nederburg and Boschendal. He felt that he had seen many estates, but that Groot Constantia was the most important. It was also a well-rounded choice in that it was both a wine estate and a museum so that if his nephew were only to see one wine farm during his stay, it would encompass different aspects (which once again speaks of tourist motivations of efficient time usage). So, Maltbie's motivation for visiting Groot Constantia was one based on the 'multitask' nature of the estate, but it was also a decision that rested on prior knowledge (in having been to Groot Constantia before) and on personal experience (having commercially photographed many wine estates, he knew what he was 'looking for' in a wine estate to show off).

Who told you?

I tried to ask all the visitors I interviewed why they had chosen to come to Groot Constantia and how they had been informed. Rob and Corry Kosterman from Holland happened to come across the estate in an 'Eyewitness Travel Guide' of South Africa, which they brought on their tour. Represented in Figure 4.1 and 4.2 are pages from a 1999 edition of that guide. Figure 4.1 shows the estate of Groot Constantia, which shows a map of the Manor House, Jonkershuis and the Wine Museum. It gives a short summary of the history of ownership of Simon van der Stel and Hendrik Cloete. In this representation, emphasis is placed on the scenic landscape that is present at Groot Constantia with the "Mediterranean climate of temperate summers and cool, rainy winters..."¹⁵ as well as on the unique design that is the 'Cape Gable'. In Figure 4.2, it is interesting that we find 'The Constantia Winelands' as part of the sites that represent "The Cape Peninsula" as we found in the brochure of the 'Cape Escape Tours'. It is perhaps for such an inclusion on the Cape Peninsula map, that tourists see visiting Groot Constantia as part of the route to Cape Point (such as the Domingos' from Angola). Here we can see the key role that is played by the media, specifically in relation to guidebooks and how people rely on them to direct and experience their holiday. The Kostermans even brought the guidebook into the Manor House and on their tour of the estate- like a secure and safe umbilical cord to the outside world. Museums have begun to join the ranks of an increasingly market driven world so that it should not be surprising that visitors limit their choices to well-promoted and well-advertised venues. I myself even relied on brochures and well publicized tour companies in choosing which wine tours to go on. On the other hand, a mother and daughter group, Maria and Christina Alonso, travelling on holiday from Spain together, had heard about Groot Constantia from a friend who had visited the estate on their own holiday. For the mother and daughter group from Spain, it was a prior reference and experience of someone they knew (in other words, word of mouth) that encouraged them to come to the estate.

Visitor perceptions of the Museum: Lovely furniture but what does it all mean?

When asked what they thought they found most significant about the museum and the history of the wine estate, almost all the visitors commented on the furniture and architecture of the Manor House. The Kostermans from Holland commented on the quality and good maintenance of the Manor House and furniture within it. A family from Britain, Amber and Paul Hayes with their two-year-old daughter, Francesca, explained that they found the architecture most interesting and similarly that it was all so well preserved. They had wanted to come to the Groot Constantia museum as they had read it was one of the oldest wine estates in South Africa. For the Alonsas from Spain it was also the beauty of furniture that struck them the most. The Mangelschots from Belgium and the Domingos from Angola both saw the Manor House and its furniture as examples of "how people used to live". The Mangelschots explained that one could get a sense of the "richness of people's lives" in the seventeen and eighteen hundreds while Miguel Domingos commented that he did not know that they were so sophisticated in the way 'people' used to live (in terms of the equipment found in the kitchen and the aesthetic beauty of the furniture...etc). Essentially, however, the furniture was all the visitors could talk about- when asked about the significance of the museum and what they found striking about the history of the wine estate, almost all the interviewees responded

¹⁵ Dorling Kindersley Eyewitness Travel Guide: South Africa, 1999. Pg. 97

within some sort of context of the furnishings and architecture of the Manor House. There really was nothing else they could have commented on, as there was no written evidence in the Manor house that told of the history of the people who lived within it. As a visitor walks into the entrance hall, they are provided with a catalogue that details each object in the house by number: it tells the age of the object (or when it was made and by whom if it is possible) as well as what it is made of and perhaps what period it came from i.e. Baroque. The identification of the object in the title of the handbook is the only clue as to what it was used for. What is missing is a whole depth of meaning and an understanding about the underlying social interactions that would have occurred behind these objects that a visitor can only guess at. A visitor leaves the museum with many questions such as "what was that?", "how was it used?", and "who used it?" One is only left to comment on the architecture of the house and the aesthetic value of the contents within. I shall look at the display within the Manor house and how it is used in greater depth in the next section when I discuss my own personal experience of the museum complex. Suffice to say that the longest time visitors spent in the house was around 15 minutes. A family group which I did not have time to interview, as I was in the process of conducting one with another group, were in and out of the museum in the record time of five minutes. As Joanne Winter comments, a "deathly silence pervades the Manor House" and the only evidence of life can be seen in the employed attendants and the "visitors who pass through the homestead rather quickly and quietly"¹⁶.

The most interesting interview came from an impromptu discussion with a German tour guide who was showing his teenage son around Cape Town. Klaus Fritz Bleibtreu conducts tours for a number of different tour organizations in German, English and Afrikaans. Bleibtreu was originally a mechanical engineer, but two years ago as part of his retirement, he took up tour guiding as a hobby. He argues that tour companies do not like sending tour groups to Groot Constantia. The image of the estate is that it is "sitting on a very high horse". Bleibtreu explains that the tourists find the service poor, the wine to be unexceptional and the customer care for tourists from abroad not highly praised, in fact staff were found not to be engaging with the public. He said it was a shame, as there should be bus loads of visitors, especially with the historical nature of the estate- with Groot Constantia being the oldest historical wine farm- especially for the Dutch people as it is part of their heritage. As a tour guide, he felt that something was missing from the Manor House and Museum. Despite arguing that the museum exhibition was quite well done and that the furniture and objects being nicely kept "which is good for the heritage of the country", Bleibtreu found that tourists always left feeling "the passion" was missing from Groot Constantia. He argued that the written descriptions for the items in the house did not enlighten the tourist about the things they really wanted to know (like about slavery); and while the information/orientation centre was nice in that it gave a history of the renovation of the house, it lacked a human quality. On the other hand, Bleibtreu explained that tourists loved to visit the Stellenbosch Village Museum¹⁷.

The museum consists of four restored houses dating from 1907 to 1850. Each house represents a different stage in the times and status of a person who lived in Stellenbosch i.e. The Schreuderhuis is representative of a primitive early dwelling of a local resident dated around 1690-1720. In comparison, the third house visited is the opulent 'Grosvenor House' that was furnished in the style of someone with the occupation of Secretary of Justice with fashions of the period 1800 to 1830. Not only is the house furnished in styles of the various periods, but within each of the four houses, there was a guide to tell you about the history of the house and the people who would have lived in it. The guides were dressed in period costume that exemplified the styles and status of the particular people who would have lived in the various houses. Visitors almost always interacted with the guides and asked questions about the past and the history presented to them. Bleibtreu argued that tourists found this museum to be

¹⁶ Winter, Joanne. *Groot Constantia Estate: Challenging the perception that Groot Constantia has a "palatable and compelling history"*. Completed in partial requirement of BA (HONS) Degree for the History Department. UCT. 1995. Pg. 56

¹⁷ I happened to visit the Stellenbosch Village Museum earlier in the year as part of a 'winelands tour' I went on run by 'African Eagle' Tour company. Our stopover in the town of Stellenbosch included 40 minutes of "free time" where individual tourists could go off on their own to explore the town. Interestingly I was the only person out of a Kombi bus of tourists to visit the museum whereas everyone else headed

“more authentic” as they could more readily understand the past presented to them (and the various differences in class and periods). He felt that the information and friendliness from the Stellenbosch Village Museum and staff was excellent and that it was always a highlight for the tourists who visited it as part of their winelands tour. In the next section, I shall be analysing my own experience of the Groot Constantia wine estate and be setting it relation to Klaus Bleibtreu’s comments of inadequate authenticity.

2. VISITING THE MUSEUM

An important part of assessing how heritage is presented to the visitor at Groot Constantia in the present day is the experience of being a visitor myself. I spent roughly three hours looking at the various elements present in the orientation centre, the Manor House and the Wine Museum build in Hendrik Cloete’s former cellar. I examined labels, descriptions, photographs, text, objects and displays in far more detail than I ordinarily would have done had I been exploring the estate as a leisure activity with a group of friends or family members. In fact, my “visitor experience” cannot in all honesty be called that at all, not only did I spend more time examining the museum complex, but there was one thing that set me apart from all the other visitors: I was alone. I had come to the wine estate as a student of history armed with my notebook and pencil and what I thought was an analytical mind. Having a companion would have been disruptive to my patterns of observation and note making. Being alone in an ‘academic frame of mind’ was where my experience fell short as one of the main reasons that people visit heritage sites and museums is for social interaction. This is not to say that solitary visitors get a lesser experience from the museum, in fact, the single visitor may even seek out museum spaces for the solitude it affords and the restorative power it provides. According to Falk and Dierking however, the majority of visitors to museums in America do so in either family groupings (more than half the museum visitors consist of family groups) or all-adult groups, school groups and increasingly organizational groups (such as senior citizens, art clubs, scouts...etc) where “much of social interaction is a way for visitors to connect and find meaning...”¹⁸. Today, meaning making is one of the key aspects in the of the museum experience. This, however, is quite a postmodern concept.

The Postmodern Museum

With postmodernism, came the acknowledgement that museums are not isolated from subjective thought and political motivations. Museums are more than just places of study, education and entertainment- the act of collecting and display has had political and ideological dimensions that cannot be overlooked. Joanne Winter argues that since the 1960s there has been a growing trend to develop museums that reflect the living conditions and interests of all strata of society. People are no longer interested in seeing the “great metanarrative” stories, but rather, “people increasingly seem attracted by representations of the ‘ordinary’, of modest houses and of mundane forms of work”¹⁹. It would certainly seem that a characteristic of postmodernity is that there is no one single way of perceiving reality “that there should be a recognition of difference; and that there is a diversity of metanarratives that liberate from all conformity...thus, there is no one dominant philosophy, ideology or agenda”²⁰. We find a move in many museums to present a history that takes into account multiple voices and different perspectives so that the visitor is left to make their own decisions and judgements about the history they construct and remember in their own minds. Kevin Walsh argues, however, “The basic form of representing the past through the static museum presentation has not really altered in spite of many changes in fashion and style”²¹. This is certainly true of the Groot Constantia Museum complex where there is no consideration given to multiple perspectives or views.

towards the gift shops and open-air markets in central Stellenbosch. Perhaps it was felt that it was better to experience Stellenbosch through an exploration of it in the present day rather than in the past as I experienced it.

¹⁸ Falk, John H and Dierking, Lynn D. Learning From Museums: Visitor experiences and the Making of Meaning. 2000. Pg. 91

¹⁹ Urry, John “Gazing on History” in The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies. 1990. Pg. 130

²⁰ McLean, Fiona. Marketing the Museum. 1997. Pg 17

²¹ Walsh, Kevin. The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post Modern World. 1992. Pg. 31

During this research, however, I will show that the estate has the potential of a prime site to highlight the multiplicity of perspectives that make up history.

MacCannell explains that there is a post-modern irony in the fact that “modern man is losing his attachment to the work bench, the neighbourhood, the town, the family, which he once called “his own”, but at the same time, he is developing an interest in the “real lives” of others”²². John Urry clarifies that the fascination with other people’s work is bound up with the post-modern breaking down of boundaries, especially between the front and backstage of people’s lives. “Museum-going and tourism are part of the modern search for authenticity...”²³. We can see this search for authenticity present in Klaus Bleibtreu’s comments concerning the desire of his tour groups to have an “authentic experience”. The Stellenbosch Village Museum was more popular amongst tourists as it brought history “alive” in the form of museum staff dressed in historical costume. Such a drive towards authenticity can be taken to the extreme in the creation of an entire historical town as has been created at “Colonial Williamsburg”²⁴ in America. From the “authentically” dressed townspeople who can only answer questions that relate to that period, down to the disguise of telephone wires and dustbins, “authenticity” masks a very constructed heritage. As Fiona McLean notes, by “dressing up the objects through diorama, living history, and contextualization, the model can become more real than the reality it supposedly represents- it becomes hyperreality”²⁵. “The objects are no longer revered for their authenticity, but merely contribute to an imagined re-creation of their reality”²⁶. Heritage attractions such as Colonial Williamsburg and the Stellenbosch Village Museum are extremely popular amongst the public as they offered both historical insight and a form of entertainment. The entertainment value of exhibitions is more and more being considered an important facet of the museum experience. Dean believes that “communication occurring in a relaxed, enjoyable environment promotes willingness to learn and to continue learning”²⁷.

Falk and Dierking contend there has been a revolutionary change within museum culture in the last 25 years that has seen “the importance of visitors and the visitor experience achieve ascendancy over the single-minded pursuit of the collection and preservation of then object”²⁸. We can track this change towards a greater concern for the visitor experience through the aspirations for visitor learning in the museum over time. David Dean argues that one of the most comprehensive changes to occur within the museum during postmodernity is a move towards a more proactive stance in their communities, where an educational mission becomes a primary focus of exhibitions. This may certainly be the case today, but it should not be forgotten that the “public museums” of the early 19th century were similarly concerned with the education of their publics. The British government in the late 18th and early 19th centuries saw its role in society as that of a patriarchal father figure ruling over his family where the state was inspired to form “surveillance and control [over the citizens of the state] as attentive as that of the head of a family over his household and goods”²⁹. Culture became thought of as a useful tool for governing, a vehicle for the exercise of new forms of power. Museums along with libraries, galleries and exhibitions found their place within this plan. A capacity was given to high culture as a resource to regulate social behaviour. Therefore, the museum spaces that had once been private, restricted, and socially exclusive, opened up as socially inclusive spaces where the public could increase their knowledge of the world through gazing at exhibitions and displays of natural and cultural artefacts. Linear history became a conventional way of representing the past in institutions like museums. Fundamental to modernist thought is the idea of progress “a progress which invested in attributing faith in

²² Ibid. Pg. 107

²³ Falk, John H and Dierking, Lynn D. Learning From Museums: Visitor experiences and the Making of Meaning. 2000. Pg. 211

²⁴ Handler and Gable give an excellent account of the construction of authenticity and the presentation of heritage at ‘Colonial Williamsburg’ in Handler, R and Gable, E. The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg. 1997.

²⁵ McLean, Fiona. Marketing the Museum. 1997. Pg. 20

²⁶ Ibid. Pg. 20

²⁷ Dean, David. Museum Exhibition: Theory and Practice. 1994. Pg. 6

²⁸ Falk, John H and Dierking, Lynn D. Learning From Museums: Visitor experiences and the Making of Meaning. 2000. Pg. 205

²⁹ Bennett, Tony. The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics. 1995. Pg. 18

humankind's dominance over the environment"³⁰. The working class man was thought to enter into the museum, walk through the rooms representing the wonders of progression from savage Neanderthal to "civilized man" in the national present. "Civilized man" would thus exit the museum himself a product of progression, saved from the evils of drunkenness, immorality, anarchy and ignorance. While both in the past and in the present there was a concern for the education of the public, there are very different motivations and expectations behind such goals. In the emerging public museum of the early 19th century, the education of the public from within the museum was seen in terms of regulation of social behaviour with an outcome that people would leave better citizens of the nation-state.

Today, there is a greater emphasis placed on "active efforts to communicate the information contained in collections"³¹. The benefits of doing so would be the hope of "engendering interests and curiosity that will develop into long-term personal growth and enrichment"³². These are intangible benefits at a personal level. In postmodern society, the educative role of the museum is no longer seen a programme to induce state benefits, but rather benefits on a personal and individual level. Changes have occurred so that the "primary and central relationship of museology is between the museum and its visitors and other clients and not between the museum and its collection"³³. It is the importance of the visitor experience and motivations that have come to the fore with how visitors learn and what they learn being of central importance. As can be shown in this research, this concern for the visitor and their experience is not apparent at the Groot Constantia Museum. The proposals that I make concerning the change of such policies towards visitors and interest in their needs and behaviour, is very postmodern in nature as is the product of most of my ideas within this paper. I have a real concern for promoting those "multiple voiced" accounts of the past and for emphasizing the role of the visitor and their learning and meaning making experience within the museum.

In the postmodern museum, more emphasis is being placed on how the visitors interact with the exhibits themselves. Dean explains that "an understanding of human learning...is useful for developing exhibitions that serve audience needs"³⁴. Information about how humans physically, physiologically and emotionally function is valuable to a museum planner who wants to attract and hold an audience³⁵. In this research, I explore in-depth issues of learning within the museum as they are important facets in understanding the visitor experience. Falk and Dierking note that there are two different types of motivation for learning. There is intrinsic learning where people learn because they want to and extrinsic learning where people learn because they feel they have to. The museum provides a prime space through which highly effective intrinsic learning may occur. The majority of people who seek out museums as a leisure experience do so because they want to, because they choose to do so. Intrinsic motivations are linked to "free-choice" learning which "tends to be non-linear, is personally motivated, and involves considerable choice on the part of the learner as to what to learn, as well as where and when to participate in learning"³⁶. This type of learning occurs in places like museums, while watching television, reading a newspaper or talking with friends. Falk and Dierking have noted that America has changed from an 'Industrial Society' to a "knowledge based economy" where knowledge and meaning making are seen as a key to social and economic well-being. The public perception of the role that museums can play in their lives has changed. Will South Africa too develop along such lines in the future?

The Orientation/Information Centre

³⁰ McLean, Fiona. Marketing the Museum. 1997. Pg. 16

³¹ Dean, David. Museum Exhibition: Theory and Practice. 1994. Pg. 5

³² Ibid. Pg. 6

³³ Weil, S quoted in McLean, Fiona. Marketing the Museum. 1997. Pg. 22

³⁴ Dean, David. Museum Exhibition: Theory and Practice. 1994. Pg. 19

³⁵ Perhaps the benefits to the state of the 19th century of attracting a museum audience has transcribed into benefits for commercial businesses as many museums become privatized and concerned about making profits.

³⁶ Falk, John H and Dierking, Lynn D. Learning From Museums: Visitor experiences and the Making of Meaning. 2000. Pg. xii

The Jonkershuis building houses the Groot Constantia museum information/orientation centre as well as a restaurant of the same name where the discerning guest can extend their historical experience by having a "Huguenot breakfast" or perhaps "Strandloper Mussels". The centre consists of a number of printed information panels detailing the history of restoration of various buildings and the history of the Cloete ownership and occupation of the farm. There is also a model of the Groot Constantia Museum complex, a glass cabinet displaying a number of artefacts such as pottery and bottle fragments that were found on the site, and a cutaway glass section of the "original" cow shed floor. The layout and content of the museum has not changed since Joanne Winter examined it as part of her honours dissertation in 1995 with the one exception of their being English, Afrikaans *and* Xhosa titles to the information boards. The Xhosa titles, however, are ineffectual adages that do not extend to the rest of the museum setup where all the explanatory text and guidebooks are written in either English, Afrikaans or German. The overall effect of the orientation centre is to instil an understanding of the restorative process to the buildings on the estate and of the owners who lived within them.

Little is said of those who lived or worked in the house except for the Cloete lineage. One is left with an extremely partial and inadequate history that leaves out a multitude of social and political interactions, complexities and relationships. The history projected by Groot Constantia is "one of grandeur, opulence, peace, success and that the Cloetes were the only people who lived there"³⁷. In fact, this image of opulence at Groot Constantia may leave a visitor to the museum with a flawed image of the past. Louis and Frieda Mangelschots explained they were most affected by the "richness of people's lives" that must have been present in the Groot Constantia of the yesteryear. Miguel Domingos commented that he never knew that people were so sophisticated in the past with all the beautiful furniture and kitchen equipment that they had at Groot Constantia. Nowhere in the museum information centre or in the Manor House does it make clear that not everyone at the Cape would have lived within such a house or had such a lifestyle. In fact, wealth was distributed amongst a very few settler farming elite. A visitor may also have not read in the handbooks (which are only available in English, Afrikaans and German) that almost all the furniture and artefacts within the house come from a collection donated by wealthy overseas collector, Alfred De Pass in 1926. Hence, they perhaps cannot understand that the furniture's presence, let alone its placement within the Manor House, is extremely contrived. Cloete and his family are used as the symbolic metaphors for the entire Museum complex and wine estate in that he was a successful farmer, which as Winter notes, is beneficial to the contemporary commercial image of the estate. The history presented at the orientation centre is one that focuses on white male ownership of the estate, so that not only are slaves, workers and women of the past left out, but of the present as well (which is reinforced at the Manor House Museum). Nowhere do we find information about the current work force on the estate. In the Wine Museum, we find no mention of the work force that would have created the famous Groot Constantia wine over the centuries.

Winter details some of the history of Groot Constantia in her honours dissertation, which clearly shows that there is indeed a rich history that steps outside the confined boundaries of successful white male ownership. Groot Constantia could potentially have an important role to play in informing the public and visitors to the Cape of the highly constructed nature of heritage by focusing on what objects and buildings symbolized or signified rather than what they were made of or how they were restored. Winter discusses the work of Martin Hall³⁸ in understanding the symbolism of 18th century Cape Dutch houses. Situating Groot Constantia within a colonial landscape of power, prestige and insecurity would allow museum visitors to step out of the boundaries that isolate the estate in the wealthy Constantia suburb and bring it into the relevance of the wider history of the Cape. While I was interviewing Peter Maltbie about his tour of Cape Point and his motivations for choosing the Groot Constantia wine estate as a stopping place, he used our discussion space to ask about the high ceilings and large proportions of the Manor House. I felt that because of our conversation (as Maltbie and his group were exiting the museum), a

³⁷ Winter, Joanne. *Groot Constantia Estate: Challenging the perception that Groot Constantia has a "palatable and compelling history"*. 1995. Pg. 47

³⁸ Hall, Martin "The Secret Lives of Houses: Women and Gables in the Eighteenth-Century Cape" in *Social Dynamics*, Vol 20, No 1, 1994.

space was opened up him to ask questions that he had considered while walking around the museum. His question was not addressed by any of the material in the information centre and could not be guessed simply from examining the objects present in the museum. It is interesting that Maltbie would rather have left the museum without having these questions answered rather than approaching one of the museum staff (which are at hand only at the entrance/exit of the museum). As Dean notices, "museum exhibitions ought to offer answers to the questions visitors want answered- questions about how things work, how events occurred, and what people and the world were like long ago"³⁹. Perhaps Maltbie's experience speaks to the unapproachable nature of the museum staff that I shall discuss in the following section. By interacting with myself and one of the other museum staff members, Maltbie's time inside the museum was significantly increased. While staff member Elna Steyn pointed out the structure and architecture of Cape Dutch houses in relevance to his question, I felt it necessary to interject that the large scale of the house might be symbolic of colonial possession and domination of the land and a desire from Simon van der Stel to imprint an authoritative mark on a landscape that would have been perhaps both foreign and threatening to him. As Martin Hall explains, the avenue of trees and Baroque Cape Gable were features that were designed to be seen by all people approaching it. There is definitely a space within the Groot Constantia to enlighten people about such issues that run deeper than the construction of a building to an understanding of those buildings as subjective objects that were built within cosmological frameworks. Discussion of such frameworks could highlight issues of identity within the emergent gentry class of the 17th century and hence make the experience more meaningful for the visitors as they think of their own experience.

The museum staff recognizes that the visitors to the museum "always ask about the slaves" as "it is what they want to hear, it is what they find interesting". Despite recognition and knowledge of what "visitors want to hear", there is nothing within either the orientation centre, Manor House or Wine Museum that reflects this interest. I would imagine that visitors go home extremely disappointed after having expectations of seeing and hearing about a slave past- it is perhaps one of the reasons that tour companies avoid Groot Constantia as place for tourists to visit. When asked why there was not a concentration on the issues that highlighted slavery and interaction between various classes, the museum staff replied that they simply did not know enough about slavery at Groot Constantia in order to include it in the history of the estate (in that there was not enough evidence that documented what their lives were like on the farm).

Despite such an argument, Joanne Winter describes quite a rich history that can be found of the estate. There have been slaves at Groot Constantia "since 13 July 1685 when a deed of grant was issued to Simon van der Stel for Constantia"⁴⁰. Simon van der Stel bought his first slave, Jan van Oldenburg van Bengale in 1680 and by 1688 he owned 22 slaves who worked at the Groot Constantia estate. It is clear to me that there is public interest in such issues, and for a space to be present where the discussion of slavery not only involves actual characters and events that occurred at Groot Constantia specifically, but that characterizes the Cape more generally. Winter explains that by 1709, van der Stel owned 60 slaves, which was a large number for this early stage of the colony and in comparison to later in 1773 where only 10 slave owners in the Cape owned more than 50 slaves. It is also known that van der Stel's slaves had diverse ethnic origins and homelands. The break down of van der Stel's slaves in 1907 into 42 male, 14 female and 4 children is even known. Such facts that pertain specifically to Groot Constantia can be used to instil a more general understanding of slavery at the Cape- to fit in with broader patterns of where slaves came from and to discuss, as Robert Ross⁴¹ did, the large sexual imbalance prevalent at the Cape. I think the objects and furniture within the Manor House would take on greater meaning for the visitor if it was placed within a broader socio-economic context of interactions and relationships that might have characterized life at the estate in the past. Even an object such as a serving dish would take on greater significance when placed within a context of understanding of who would have been served and who would have served. Winter also discusses the Hendrik

³⁹ Dean, David. *Museum Exhibition: Theory and Practice*. 1994. Pg. 25

⁴⁰ Ibid. Pg. 8

⁴¹ Ross, Robert. *Cape of Torments: Slavery and Resistance in South Africa*. 1985.

Cloete period in terms the treatment of his slaves, which can be gauged by what food and clothes they were given, and the treatment of their illnesses by doctors in Cape Town. Cloete can be seen to be a slave owner who was concerned for the welfare of his slaves (as a 'property'), but it should be remembered that the Dutch period was characterized by an array of laws and savage public punishments for the slaves of the Cape.

On the 16 October 2003, I took part in a Grade 5 Fish Hoek Junior School field trip to Groot Constantia run by Myrtle Edwards⁴² who works at the Centre for Conservation Education⁴³ under the auspices of the Western Cape Education Department. I thought it would provide insight to compare how history and heritage is presented at a primary school level in comparison to how tourists and adults experience the Groot Constantia museum complex. The teaching that takes place of schoolchildren at Groot Constantia has perhaps never received historic research or attention, which is surprising when one notes that schoolchildren make up a third of all visitors⁴⁴ that come to Groot Constantia. As to the content of the programme on the history of the Groot Constantia estate, it very much fitted in with the historical aspects that were emphasized in the orientation centre and Manor House museum. We dealt primarily with the history of the ownership of the estate by Simon van der Stel and Hendrik Cloete as well as the specific characteristics of the Cape Dutch styled Manor House. I was still left without any indication of the lives of slaves or women who would have been an integral part to the running of the estate. Mrs Edwards explains that she does offer special programmes which schools may select that focus on the slave life at the estate. It is, however, extremely infrequent that they do so. She also offers a programme that can be conducted all year round as well as specifically on Women's Day in August called the 'Women of Groot Constantia' which includes a history and discussion of both the 'madams' and the women slaves of the estate. This is also an infrequently chosen programme. Edwards explains that women's history is more often than not centred on women who do extraordinary things or women that are "kind to other people" such as nurses. What is left out is a history that takes into account the lives of ordinary women and slaves. It should be acknowledged, however, that the "programme" that Mrs Edwards taught was far more detailed and informative than the information boards at the orientation centre as was the tour she gave of the Manor House. I 'learnt' and remembered more from the Grade 5 field trip than I ever did trying to extract the history from a tour I conducted on my own as an 'adult'.

Going beyond conceptual analysis of slave lives, history could be 'brought to life' through the simple insertion of a narrative story about slave life in South Africa. André Brink's novel, "A Chain of Voices"⁴⁵ might provide an insightful avenue through which visitors may experience the emotions of slaves and slave owners of the past. 'A Chain of Voices' is a fictionalized account based on events and court proceedings that occurred as a result of a slave revolt on the farm 'Hou Den Bek' in the Koue Bokkeveld region of the Western Cape. Both physically and conceptually it was an event that happened separate from the history of Groot Constantia. Despite such differences (as there was never an organized revolt or rebellion in the history of Groot Constantia), Brink's novel provides a

⁴² Myrtle Edwards has been running the Groot Constantia Programme for almost twenty years, in fact she even conducted the programme when I went on a school fieldtrip to Groot Constantia while being a pupil at Grove Primary School. The Centre for Conservation Education offers a wide range of series for teachers, scholars and individuals: such as special conservation programmes, the hire of artefacts for educational purposes, a reference library, assistance with establishing a school museum or archive, periodic professional development courses for teachers and even illustrated lectured to adult interest groups. The pamphlet that details such services and programmes is sent to all the schools in the Western Cape at the start of the year.

⁴³ Teaching programmes are provided for Grades 4 to 12 which include a range of topics that cover the "conservation of the natural, manmade and social environment"⁴³. According to Edwards⁴³, newsletters and programmes are sent out to all the schools in the Western Cape at the beginning of the year, and by the first term, the programmes are fully booked for the rest of the year. Therefore, it would seem that such programmes are extremely popular amongst the school community and that outside, more 'experiential' learning is an important part of the school curriculum. The majority of the programmes offered to schools are essentially practical in nature with trips to the Liesbeeck River, a 'Fynbos Hike' to learn about the environment and plants and animals as well as a visit to a "Rocky Sea Shore" being available. The Groot Constantia Museum School that is run by Mrs Edwards is, however, separate to these other programmes. The programmes include the History of Groot Constantia tour that I experienced and programme on Viticulture and Cellar Tour of Groot Constantia run from February to April each year. In February of 2004, I was lucky enough to attend this cellar tour run by Edwards which places greater emphasis on the wine making process.

⁴⁴ This is according to figures presented by Winter, Joanne. Groot Constantia Estate: Challenging the perception that Groot Constantia has a "palatable and compelling history". 1995. Pg. 73

⁴⁵ Brink, André. A Chain of Voices. 1982.

door through which people may better understand the slave experience and the multiple and conflicting mindsets of slaves and slave owners. It has been argued that “the stronger the emotional value, the more likely sensory information is...to pass into memory”⁴⁶. I believe that experiences and feelings have much to offer historians and the visitor to museums, where often emotions are lacking in histories of the past. We should not deny these diverse emotions, as they are a great part of who we are as individuals, families and as communities, to deny the emotions of the past is perhaps to deny them in the present. In South Africa today, we live in a time where it is vital to recognize and respond to other peoples’ emotions for these are the very grounds that understanding and tolerance is built on. And if perhaps in a fleeting moment a reader of an extract from André Brink’s novel thought about the present in terms of the past, in terms of the awareness of multiple voices and truths that confront them, then perhaps in some small way, history would have made a difference. It might have been useful in a museum such as Groot Constantia to place segments of text that allowed visitors to better understand those objects and furniture in terms of the social interactions that would have taken place. Perhaps it would be interesting to place a written dialogue of an interaction between slave and slave owner [inspired by the Brink novel] into the actual Manor House kitchen. This would give visitors a keen insight into how people might have felt or thought in the past. It would involve a mingling of fact and fiction that might result in a space of ‘hyperreality’ where a fictionalized past becomes more “authentic” and “real” than the original. I believe that we should look beyond the boundaries of separating ‘archival fact’ from inspired narrative fiction. Hayden White sees narrative as “...more than a mode of explanation, more than a code, and much more than a vehicle for conveying information...it is a means of symbolizing events without which their historicity cannot be indicated”⁴⁷. White argues that the very success of a narrative is in “revealing meaning, coherence, or signification of events that attests to the legitimacy of its practice in historiography”⁴⁸. Most importantly, White makes the comment that to deny the content of what is narrative is to deny it its value as a truth (as truths can be different). “To do so would entail the denial that literature and poetry have anything valid to teach us about reality”⁴⁹. The mixing of historical fact in the realm of the imagination should not be seen as a risk. To me this is the very value of Brink’s book, by planting the source material in the reader’s imagination, it ‘becomes theirs’; it becomes part of them, it evokes their own thoughts and emotions. In the same way, why should historical fact be kept separate from emotion and imagination within the museum? Learning is not just about facts and concepts; intrinsically motivated learning (where people learn because they want to) is a “rich, emotion-laden experience”⁵⁰.

As part of the Grade 5 school trip to the Groot Constantia Manor House, the children were given a guided tour through the house in the usual question and answer format, where personal time to explore the house was limited. The liveliest part of the tour was when the Grade 5 students were given the free run of the empty cellar and storage rooms underneath the house where they shrieked and screamed in delight of exploring the dark rooms while I heard a group reinforcing the ghost stories they had heard about the estate earlier in the outing. Falk and Dierking argue that museums should capitalize on such emotional responses of the children finding the ghost stories exciting and scary: “fun, excitement, joy, mystery, sadness, surprise, pathos, anticipation, and empathy are all emotional experiences that can and should be considered fundamental constituents of learning”⁵¹. The authors reinforce the concept that education and entertainment are not mutually exclusive aspects of the leisure experience. It is perhaps also important here to acknowledge the role of narrative in learning. The Fish Hoek Grade 5 Primary schoolchildren responded most to the stories that were told to them in a more informal setting, they remembered the stories and utilized what they remembered to heighten an experience they shared together while exploring the underground cellars of the Manor House. Falk and Dierking note that narrative or ‘story form’ is an important avenue through which information can be shared. Narrative scripts can be seen as the basic building blocks

⁴⁶ Falk, John H and Dierking, Lynn D. Learning From Museums: Visitor experiences and the Making of Meaning. 2000. Pg. 18

⁴⁷ White, Hayden. ‘The Content of Form’ Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation. 1987. Pg. 53

⁴⁸ Ibid. Pg. 54

⁴⁹ Ibid. Pg. 44

⁵⁰ Falk, John H and Dierking, Lynn D. Learning From Museums: Visitor experiences and the Making of Meaning. 2000. Pg. 21

⁵¹ Ibid. Pg. 185

through which people structure their knowledge; it acts as the basic means through which they “organize, interpret and predict their world”⁵². Especially in the case of children, they recall more events from stories that are based on familiar event sequences: “people tell them stories about their experiences [which]...help to provide meaning and significance to events”⁵³. We can connect such benefits of narrative with the discussion above of the mixing of narrative in the form of Andre Brinks’ novel and “historical fact”. Both for children and for adults, narrative offers an avenue into making a meaningful and memorable experience.

The Manor House

The Manor house is a Cape Dutch style house built by Simon van der Stel, but lived in by a number of owners until the last occupation of the Cloete family in the 1880s. It consists of a number of furnished rooms (a hallway, dining room, two bedrooms, a study, a workroom and a kitchen) where objects and furniture from the De Pass collection are appropriately arranged. As Winter notes, the visitor’s understanding of restoration and the history of the Cloete family are only reinforced in the actual physical setting of the house. The slaves and workers of the past were once more hidden in the constructions of heritage and history. The only information available comes in the form of the catalogue detailing each object in the house: its title, what it is made of i.e. teak, if possible who made it and when it was made...etc. There are no information boards or interactive displays within this part of the museum. Visitors do have the option of purchasing a information booklet⁵⁴ (available in English, Afrikaans and German) if they want to learn more about the estate, but once again it is centred on the “owners and occupants” of the Manor House from 1685 to 1885. There is one small section out of the entire booklet which is dedicated to “servants and slaves” in the Simon van der Stel era. The section mainly consists of a number of paragraphs outlining the specific personalities that lived and worked on the farm during Van der Stel’s occupation with very little else to explain what ‘slave life’ was like.

The majority of rooms have rope barriers between the viewer and the objects in the room. While this barrier certainly serves to protect the objects within its boundaries, it at the same time mystifies them. A visitor must have the persistence to flip through the catalogue to find the object they are interested in, but often objects are placed so far behind the barrier that one cannot even read the identifying number of the object. I felt I should have more patience as a student trying to analyse the construction and presentation of the display, but in the end, I became too frustrated and spent the rest of my time aimlessly looking at the objects neither understanding their significance nor meaning. There are no information boards whatsoever in the Manor House, which only further isolates an understanding of the lives of the people who once lived or worked within their walls. Winter argues that such displays of objects would be worthwhile if they enabled visitors to visualize the way artefacts worked and were used in their original environment.

David Dean contends that a museum’s prime medium is tangible objects. There are, however, different ways in which museums may utilize these objects in display. Dean recognizes the differences between the different forms of communication. A **display** can be seen as a presentation of objects for public view without any significant interpretation whereas an **exhibit** is a localized grouping of objects and interpretive materials that form a cohesive unit within a gallery. An **exhibition**, in contrast, is a comprehensive grouping of all elements (including displays and exhibits) that forms a complete public presentation of collections and information for public use. Dean argues that there are many different types of museums, that some might even reject the incorporation of objects into their displays with a focus on informational and concept content. “By and large [However], the uniqueness of museum

⁵² Ibid. Pg. 48

⁵³ Ibid. Pg. 49

⁵⁴ Van der Merwe, Matthijs P.S. “Groot Constantia 1685-1885: Its owners and Occupants”1997.

exhibitions rests in their employment of the “real thing”⁵⁵. On the one side of the spectrum is the object display which consists of a “presentation of objects purely for the objects’ sake; no interpretative information is involved. It is like setting a collection of vases or ceramic figures on a shelf in a home. The intent is simply to arrange the objects attractively, relying upon them to speak for themselves”⁵⁶. The Manor House museum at Groot Constantia would seem to fit into an object-orientated display with all relationships, values and meanings hidden beneath a gleaming veneer of wood polish. Dean characterizes this display as “open storage” where all that is required is to place objects in public view and let them speak for themselves- “this form of exhibition harks back to earlier, largely obsolete display methodology”⁵⁷. As Dean criticizes, “what does a painting, a bone or a rock communicate in and of itself?”⁵⁸ It could certainly be argued that the objects within the museum would have significance in terms of aesthetic appeal, but is this the story that the museum wants to communicate? On the other hand, the information centre with its information boards would fit in on the other end of the spectrum with an information-centred display where objects are either not present or of minimal importance (such as the glass cabinet of ceramic and glass artefacts with little or no interpretative information). This kind of display lays great importance on text, graphics and other materials. The intent of some information-based displays is to communicate an idea or concept or to transmit a message regardless of whether there are collections available to assist in interpretation. The only concept that the orientation centre is trying to instil is the importance of restoration to heritage sites. The Wine Museum can perhaps be found in the middle ground between the two as it contains both text and real objects. I shall not be dealing in depth with the wine museum itself as my opinions closely correlate with Winter’s arguments in her dissertation. Suffice to say that the Wine Museum which denotes the history of wine drinking around the world and of glass manufacture, leaves out the most important part of its very existence: the workers who made the wine- may they be the slaves of the past or the labourers of the present day.

Issues of display deeply affect how a visitor perceives and understands the information that he or she is witness to. One of the biggest problems with barrier exhibits is their nature of prohibiting touch. Most people prefer active participation to passive observation as “touching reinforced, confirms, and adds to the information gained through the eyes”⁵⁹. This being the case ““Do Not Touch” signs are psychologically offensive because they deny basic human learning behaviour”⁶⁰. Falk and Dierking explain that our perceptual system is central to learning. Information must in some way be perceived- it must be seen, heard, smelled, tasted, touched or in some way sensed. Successful museum displays are often those that play on a number of these senses. Groot Constantia is a clear example of how having only one sense stimulated- in the passive observation of objects- leads to an inferior and disappointing experience for the visitor. Another means of including the other senses in a museum is to allow the visitor to interact with historic figures as is done at the Stellenbosch Village Museum and in Colonial Williamsburg in America. Such a venture would encourage staff and visitor interaction so that greater knowledge, meaning and insight is gained from their museum experience.

Dean argues that people identify and feel comfortable with subjects that show recognizable activities (such as life cycles, and everyday functions or objects) and human relationships (such as family, children...etc). Familiarity with an image or situation evokes memories. This leads to recognition, interest, curiosity and subsequent learning”⁶¹. The Groot Constantia Manor House has the potential to provide a prime site for recognition and identification as at it is based on what everyone has in common: a home. Whether that home is either more or less grand than the Groot Constantia Manor House is not of importance- every person who walks through the doors has the ability to compare where they live to the Manor house where people used to live in the past. Nothing is more familiar than one’s home and it is always interesting for people to enter into the homes of others. The Manor House could serve

⁵⁵ Dean, David. *Museum Exhibition: Theory and Practice*. 1994. Pg. 3

⁵⁶ Ibid. Pg. 4

⁵⁷ Ibid. Pg. 5

⁵⁸ Ibid. Pg. 5

⁵⁹ Ibid. Pg. 26

⁶⁰ Ibid. Pg. 26

as a site where real household objects of the present day could stand alongside the artefacts from the past as examples of change over time as well as some characteristics that perhaps have stayed the same. I always thought an interesting comparison would be to highlight narrative that describes what times were like in the past with opinions and perceptions of the present. Once again to take the kitchen as an example, perhaps it would provide a meaningful experience if visitors were to hear narrative or dramatized accounts of women working in the kitchen in the past (describing who was working in the kitchen, what they were using, doing...etc). Such accounts would be set in comparison to the voices of modern women discussing the woman's place in the kitchen today- perhaps a young women saying that her husband did all the cooking as compared with the voice of another older women explaining that she still "slaves" away in the kitchen for her family in the present. Perhaps such an initiative would allow the visitor to make meaning out of the objects and furniture they were seeing and to situate the experiences of women within their own pasts. It would also create a more sensory experience where visitors could listen as well as observe.

The important role of museum staff

I conducted informal interviews with each of the three staff members I met on 23 October 2003 over a three-hour period while I waited to interview visitors after they had toured the museum. In between interviewing the visitors, I would ask the museum staff questions about the museum and their own experiences of working within it. I obviously came into these interviews with my own agendas of wanting to understand how history was presented at the Groot Constantia museum, but it soon became clear that there are more prevalent issues, which concern the lives of the museum staff. While Karel Adams and Sammy Waterloo explained that it was a beautiful place to work and that they really enjoyed their work, there were other problems that relate outside of the realm of history. For example, no transport is provided to get to or from work with the outcome that each of them have to pay R20 a day for transport to and from Groot Constantia. They also explained that they would not leave Groot Constantia for a different institution or job, as they were concerned about receiving their pension once they retired. It becomes clear that even within "academically inspired" interactions there are present socioeconomic/political contexts that are perhaps of more concern than "how history is presented" at Groot Constantia.

Interestingly, none of the Groot Constantia Museum staff has attended any courses based on historic content or theory for their training. Both Sammy Waterloo, who has been at Groot Constantia for ten years, and Karel Adams⁶², who has been there for fourteen years, have completed courses that pertain only to front of house skills and 'customer care'. David Anderson notes that museum learning is impoverished by its relative isolation from current educational theory and practice. Anderson goes on to discuss the concept of "different ways of knowing" between museum curators and university based design historians that could be seen in a conference held in Whitworth Art Gallery in Britain in 1993. Anderson explains that "the design historians were extremely efficient in deploying theory to support their arguments; the curator, by contrast, relied heavily upon practical knowledge gained from long contact with collections".⁶³ The problem was that "curators seemed to find it very difficult to explain *how* they did what they did and *why* they were even doing it"⁶⁴. It would certainly seem true that the museum staff at Groot Constantia struggled with issues of the conceptualization of the museums role in society and the community. Anderson would characterize such an example in terms of the "inability of the curators to theorize the nature of their work [which points] to a lack of self-examination on their part, and a lack of awareness of the need for change"⁶⁵.

⁶¹ Ibid. Pg. 28

⁶² It is interesting to note that Karel Adams's work at Groot Constantia fits in with a pattern of family occupation at the estate. Karel explained that his father worked in the museum before him as has his uncle and wife.

⁶³ Anderson, David "Gradgrind Driving Queen Mab's Chariot: What Museums Have (and Have Not) Learnt from Adult Education" in Alan Chadwick and Annette Stannett (ed) Museums and the Education of Adults. 1995. Pg. 12

⁶⁴ Ibid. Pg. 12

It was certainly true that Elna Steyn⁶⁶, who has been working at Groot Constantia for almost a year and a half, realized that the biggest aspect that had to change in the museum was the number of visitors that attended. Elna said that the numbers were very low and that they should be higher. She also commented that she was very surprised and enlightened about the statements that Klaus Bleibtreu made concerning the lack of customer care at Groot Constantia and why tour companies did not recommend it. Her solution to this was to have a visitor comment book where visitors could write down their comments and experiences of visiting the museum, and hence the museum staff would be more aware of the problems and shortcomings of the museum. Elna and the other museum staff, clearly had a profound understanding of their collections, but they all in some way struggled to articulate and understand what the construction of such collections said about the history that was represented. Elna recognized that changes to the display of the objects should take place, and that the museum should completely do away with the catalogues that identify the objects and furniture placed around the museum. Elna showed me designs she had made on her own initiative for the improvement of this system detailing the layout of the museum and the proposed positioning of information stands within the rooms pointing out the objects and their relevance. While Elna recognized the need for a more approachable system in which visitors would actually engage in the setting rather than frustratedly flipping through a catalogue looking for the numbers of the objects within the room, she did not see there to be a need for change in what was presented to the visitor conceptually. When asked why there weren't any boards giving detailed descriptions of the uses of the objects and who would have interacted within the house (such as the slaves, women...etc), Elna replied that the information would not fit in amongst this setting as the house had the status of a national monument and information boards would be out of place in such a context.

All three of the staff members that I interviewed said the best part of their jobs was meeting and interacting with different people, as they were all "people persons".¹ Falk and Dierking maintain that museum staff and volunteers may positively influence the museum experience especially when they are "skilled interpreters" helping to facilitate and make the experience meaningful for visitors. Studies have shown that the time spent at individual exhibits increased dramatically when a staff member was available to answer questions informally for visitors (as in the case where I interviewed Peter Maltbie). Falk and Dierking also explain that one of the key ways people learn is through 'modeling': through observation and imitation of 'role models' who can be powerful mechanisms for affecting learning and behavior. Much of how a child learns patterns of behavior (how to walk, talk, eat and even how to behave in different settings) is simply by watching or listening. Elna believes that she learns something new everyday, especially through the interaction with tourists. So while all the staff members at the Groot Constantia museum are "people person's", very little interaction between the visitor and the staff member occurred while I was present. All of the staff were present at the front of the house while groups were allowed to wander through the rooms on their own. In fact, despite the staff reinforcing their roles in the museum in giving tours of the house and answering queries from the visitor, I found that they did not give a single tour, nor were they approached by any one of the visitors as to questions they may have had about the furniture within the room. Anderson notes that museum staff would be more able to defend their position and the academic value of their work had they been able to utilize alternative learning theories to explain how and what they knew. So while I can analytically criticize the position of the museum staff at Groot Constantia, they are neither in a position to be

⁶⁵ Ibid. Pg. 12

⁶⁶ Elna Steyn is perhaps the newest person to have arrived on the Groot Constantia Museum team, having joined them in July 2002. She may be the newest, but she is by no means inexperienced as she worked almost 14 years at the Castle before moving across to Groot Constantia. Before that she was the personal secretary at the Afrikaans Literary Museum in Bloemfontein and before that at the 'Old Presidency Museum'. One of her favourite anecdotes she likes to tell is that she failed history in Matric, but now today she lives and works with 'history'. When asked how Elna had learnt about the history of the estate and of the Dutch period in general, she explained that while at the Castle, she had spent 2 or 3 months working in the William Fehr Collection doing research and reading books in preparation for the creation of a furnished "Dutch Room" in the Castle. Elna was concerned with researching design patterns for lace and embroidery of the soft furnishings such as cushions that would make up the room. Once she found "authentic" patterns and designs in the history books she took them to the different guilds where the embroidery was sewn by hand, and Elna herself even did the stitching together of the material by hand, as "they did not have sewing machines back in the 17th century". The 'authenticity' of the sewn cushion was very important to Elna, despite the object being wholly constructed and designed in the present day

critical of mine or self aware of their own. In relation to the conference he partook in, Anderson explained that many of the museum staff certainly had training in the study of objects within their collections, but not in how the public learnt from collections or about the disciplines those collections represented. Perhaps it would be interesting to use this chapter as a discussion point from where once the museum staff has read my interpretations, they discuss and explain their points of view and criticize mine.

Targeting Audiences

It is also important that museums should be concerned with the experiences of visitors who are not 'tourists' to the country. The local community is an important facet of maintaining and facilitating the museums position within society. This is still not a concern for the Groot Constantia Museum. Joanne Winter provides a breakdown of visitors to visit Groot Constantia in 1992: out of 7 509 visitors for December 1992: 6 356 were white, 482 were Indian, 445 were African and 226 were 'Coloured' visitors. Winter clarifies, however, that the majority of non-white visitors came from school groups. In the townships, parents attitudes towards their children visiting museums is ambivalent as they are less likely to believe that museums preserve heritage - as the only past that is presented ignores their very existence. Falk and Dierking note that there is a growing gap between those privileged educated individuals who actively seek out the museum experience and the "have-nots" communities. "There are portions of any population that are chiefly preoccupied with a struggle to survive- to provide food, clothing, and shelter for themselves and their families"⁶⁷. With such struggles being fought on a day-to-day basis in this country, it is very difficult to encourage the museum visiting experience as part of leisure time. The 'have-nots' are at an extreme disadvantage as they often have little or no disposable income and relatively little commitment to what museums traditionally offer.

Museums should always be open to attracting new audiences. Adults especially, are a neglected group when it comes to the advocacy of the benefits of learning and interaction within a museum. Museums can help to build identity, self-awareness and self-confidence, which are sorely needed skills in a society characterized by poverty and human rights violations. Museums are prime sites where sociocultural bonding and communication can occur within a 'safe' non-antagonistic environment. Such communication and bonding can only take place if the 'social space' which museums contain presents multiple points of view and a more inclusive presentation of history that takes into account more than just "the view from the top". In order to attract different segments of society to a museum there has to be a "tapping into people's personal history, creating personal connections with the institution and facilitating positive family experiences and interactions are all ways to build positive expectations and enhance motivations for visitors"⁶⁸. Perhaps an inclusion of the history of the slave population from Groot Constantia as well as approaching issues about present day labour and conditions would make the museum complex a more accessible and meaningful space for communication. As Falk and Dierking surmise, "learners want to be able to "see themselves" within an exhibition...either consciously or unconsciously, they are seeking [to have the opportunity to explore]...who they are and how and what they need and/or are curious about"⁶⁹.

CONCLUSION

Wine tours have become increasingly popular on South Africa's modern leisure landscape. Museums and heritage sites are being sought out as meaningful and 'authentic' components to such tours. The only way we can better understand such trends and leisure patterns is through direct and recurrent interaction with the people who are involved in them: the tourist community. By interviewing the "leisure seekers" we can better comprehend the importance of personal motivations and interests in deciding on which leisure experiences to choose. In

⁶⁷ Dean, David. *Museum Exhibition: Theory and Practice*. 1994. Pg. 22

⁶⁸ Falk, John H and Dierking, Lynn D. *Learning From Museums: Visitor experiences and the Making of Meaning*. 2000. Pg. 181

⁶⁹ *Ibid*. Pg. 182

postmodernity, people have become extremely self aware of spending their free time involved in meaningful and authentic experiences with the result that entertainment has mingled with history to produce a popular form of heritage that highlights the social nature of museum visiting. Education and learning have similarly become integral parts to such an experience. It is unfortunate that the Groot Constantia Museum does not take advantage of and instil such desires within their visitors. Groot Constantia does not present a viable and interesting site for visitors to learn and experience history. It ignores an entire history from below and leaves the visitor with a picture of the past that is inaccurate and meaningless. The Museum does have the potential to do so through mechanisms such as an inclusion of multiple perspectives, the use of narrative within the "factual" account of the past and a playing on the 'senses' within the museum experience. We have to concentrate both on how heritage is presented to tourists as well as local communities and school children. What would be the result within the museum? One author asks that in "trying to turn authority over to the visitor, do we end up with a mystifying display which replaces collections with a preoccupation with ourselves as curators, in the guise of presenting our role in an unprivileged way?"⁷⁰ But, "unless more of us are brave enough to try we will not know"⁷¹.

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⁷⁰ Phillips, D as quoted in McLean, Fiona. Marketing the Museum. 1997. Pg. 18

⁷¹ Ibid. pg. 18

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

It is difficult, if not impractical, to make conclusions on a broad level- such as about wine tourism in general- when the study I have completed has focused on specific elements of that tourism. However, perhaps this is where the value of the work lies. I had varied interests when I entered into this project, which gave me the chance to explore wine tourism from different angles. Therefore, while each of the three main chapters of this thesis has acted as a separate 'snapshot' into the meaning of 'wine tourism', they have allowed for detailed interpretation and analysis that might not have been possible from a broader overview. Although each chapter did indeed look at a different segment of 'wine tourism' in the Western Cape, there were also deeper connections and themes that ran through all three chapters. In the introductory chapter, I looked at the definition of 'wine tourism' as a leisure activity or experience related to wine within a specific landscape setting: the 'winescape'. Additionally, I briefly examined some theoretical issues concerning the significance of landscape in the 'wine tourism' experience as well as the role of the tourist within it. This chapter acted as a frame of reference for the following main body of the thesis.

Chapter 2, on the history of the first wine route in Stellenbosch through the pages of *Wynboer* Magazine, was important for a number of reasons. *Wynboer* itself was an integral part of understanding the development of the publicity and marketing of wine in the Western Cape. It was imperative to look beyond current discourse of the heritage of the wine drinking tradition of South Africa back to the times of the 1950s where 'wine consciousness' was a real concern for the marketers and makers of wine. Obstacles to the integration of wine into everyday living came in the form of an avid temperance movement concerned with destruction of 'society' through drunkenness and alcoholism. Concern for teetotalism changed over time for a concern for education in the correct use of wine. Obviously, exploring debates concerning alcoholism and the promotion of a wine conscious nation through the pages of an agricultural magazine- one officially commissioned by the KWV- tells us of the first and foremost concern for the expansion of the wine industry rather than an objective view of the problem of alcoholism in society. With escalating emphasis being placed on the role of publicity and marketing of wine, it was perhaps a natural development that wine tourism came to hold particular potential and interest.

The history of wine tourism of the Western Cape is inherently connected to the establishment of our first wine route in Stellenbosch. This is not to say that South Africans had not had the opportunity to experience a wine and leisure experience before. Throughout the 35 years of *Wynboer* magazine editions I analyzed, there were many opportunities for the travel conscious wine farmer to experience the wine regions of the world through specially organized tours. I looked at the development of these tours from those that were moulded for a specifically professional interest to those that were concerned with the experience of leisure and pleasure in these heritage laden landscapes. It was only in 1970 that we saw a change in interest to the wine regions and heritage landscapes of our own country. The Stellenbosch wine route was a concept inspired by European example but grounded in local landscape. The significance of mapping out this landscape of space into place was a real concern for the wine makers of the regions whose freedom to market and export their wine overseas was severely restricted by legal prohibitions established by the KWV. The establishment of the 'Wine of Origin System' in 1973 ironically aided the sculpting a market for place within this legislation. With the defining of distinct wine regions came the emphasis of difference of place within the winelands of the Western Cape. Each region had a formula for difference based on some combination of breathtaking scenery, quality wines, first class cuisine, and with increasing frequency the heritage of European roots. The construction of place and landscape identities gives us a sense of the perspective of the marketer and promoter of the wine region. I found it important to explore how this construction of identity of place came to be experienced by and presented to tourists themselves in the present day.

Moving away from a historical focus, I found it enlightening to delve into the actual experience of touring (which for me was the wine route personified) through the constructed 'winescapes' that had come to represent spaces into places. Chapter 3 moved past the historical and into the experiential- it was a means of gaining physical access into the 'wine tourist experience' within the particular landscape of the 'winescape'. I participated in three tours that helped me to understand the role of the tour guide and tourist alike in the touring experience. The role of the tour guide should not be underestimated when looking at how the tourist gaze is directed and how the characteristics and identity of place is framed. The individuality of the tour guide played a significant part in the expression of a message and construction of place. It was especially in the telling of the historical message based on European heritage that the individual and personal nature of the tour guide came to hold great importance. It was equally essential to address the experiences of the receivers of this message. The individual preferences, motivations and past experiences of the tourists themselves predicted the kind of experience they chose and interests they displayed on the tour. There were wine lovers and cheetah fanatics alike- each whose interest structured the way they valued their experiences. Whether tourist had an interest in history or not, all three tours I participated in, in some way encompassed the viewing and message of European heritage. 'Historic sites' were a central part of tour composition as I showed in the inclusion in tours of visitations to the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Huguenot Memorial Museum in Franschoek. While an interest in history is predicated by personal preference, it became clear that tourists were seeking out examples of local heritage and authenticity. Such an argument is supported by the comparison of two 'winescapes'. Exploring the experiences that tourists had at the Nelson's Creek Wine Estate in Paarl and the Spier Estate in Stellenbosch made for such a comparison. The authenticity of experience in the tasting and telling of stories within the new democratic South African setting of Nelson's Creek stood in opposition for the tourists to the constructed commercially synthesised space presented at Spier.

Authenticity of experience and place played was a significant feature that was missing in the presentation of one specific heritage site within a winescape. In my last chapter, I chose to assess the presentation of history and heritage at the Groot Constantia Wine Estate. Tourists who visited the museum as part of a wine tourism experience might have left disappointed had they expected a history that was based on the everyday lives of all the people who would have lived on the estate in the past. Instead the museum was based on yet another example of European heritage and innovation within 'darkest Africa'. With a museum that was based on the placement and polish of furniture rather than a narrative of past experiences and conditions, it is no wonder that the museum provides an inadequate space for learning about the past. Visiting the different components of the museum myself, was an integral part of the process of evaluating the estate as a heritage site. While it was important to access what history was presented to me, it was of even greater significance that I thought about the history and heritage that was missing. Throughout this museum experience, one wonders where are the stories and histories of the slaves, women, and workers who toiled to create this land? The role assigned to narrative in the expression of diverse and multiple voices in the creation of a history, presents a positive and exiting solution to this problem. Understanding how people learn within a museum was interesting 'food for thought' when looking at how the Groot Constantia Museum fell short in the authenticity and enjoyment of experience. The close reading of how heritage was presented at a wine estate returned us to the importance of knowing and understanding the tourist experience. Visiting a wine estate was only part of a wider experience for a visitor to our beautiful city- most often it was included on a trip to Cape Point- to see all the sights and unforgettable landscapes that Cape Town has to offer.

Wine tourism is part of that mysterious leisure experience we all crave to seek rejuvenation, rest and relaxation or adventure and history as might be the case. Exploring different 'snapshots' of wine tourism has allowed the space to consider and analyze the nature of presentations and constructions of space and place not only in the past, but in the present day. 'Grappling' with issues surrounding wine tourism has been for me an fascinating and exciting journey- one that I look forward to enjoying again as I make my own excursions into the 'winescapes' of the Western Cape.

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