

**BEYOND THE CITY LIMITS :  
PEOPLE AND PROPERTY AT WYNBERG  
1795 - 1927**

**By**

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### Terminology

Variations in the spelling of names on transfers and in erf registers was commonplace but, unless otherwise specified, the most regular version is used. Similarly, the terms, coloured or Cape coloured, and free black, were generally employed when referring to ownership of property at various times during the nineteenth century. Consequently these terms are used in this thesis for the purpose of definition according to the official terminology of the day.

## ABSTRACT.

This study of peri-urban development in the Western Cape examines the acquisition and exploitation of property as an important feature in attaining economic power and high social status by upwardly-mobile people in a colonial setting. The choice of Wynberg in the southern Cape Peninsula as a focal point in this process is predicated upon its rapid growth during the nineteenth century in response to the need for a service centre in this comparatively undeveloped area, and the vigorous marketing which followed its recognition as a desirable and convenient place of residence. Its establishment owed much to the presence and requirements of the British military camp at Wynberg, but its continued growth and expansion can be attributed to the activities of the property developers, the efforts of a lively commercial sector and the construction of the Wynberg Railway. This process of residential and economic development is the main theme of the first five chapters of this thesis and is based, inter alia, on intensive primary research in the Cape Town Deeds Office.

By 1880 Wynberg had become the centre of a new surge of growth beyond the city limits of Cape Town, eventually achieving small-town status with its own independent municipality. There were substantial demographic changes in the area and this thesis contends that the multi-faceted development at Wynberg was facilitated both by particular individuals and interest groups. The inequalities in its evolving social formation which included not only landed proprietors but also many landless people, was not unique and was informed by the pervasive colonial belief in the dominance of European organising principles and capitalist market forces in relation to the exploitation of land.

Historically, Wynberg resisted incorporation into the metropolitan area because it had achieved a high level of self-sufficiency by the end of the century. The institution of its municipal council and the defence of its independence prior to and after 1913 when the other Peninsula municipalities were amalgamated with Cape Town, forms the second major theme which is examined in Chapters 6 to 9 of this thesis. Its determined struggle to retain its autonomy ended in 1927 when it yielded to financial and other pressures, whereupon it was formally incorporated within the city limits of Cape Town.

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Unless otherwise stated, all photographs are reproduced from originals in the Immelman collection (BC 600, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Jagger Library, University of Cape Town).

## Abbreviations

- |               |                                     |
|---------------|-------------------------------------|
| D. O.         | Deeds Office, Cape Town.            |
| T.            | Transfer (followed by number).      |
| O.C.F.        | Old Cape Freehold.                  |
| O.C.Q.        | Old Cape Quitrent.                  |
| C.F.          | Cape Freehold.                      |
| C.Q.          | Cape Quitrent.                      |
| C.A.          | Cape Archives.                      |
| C.T.R.& D.Co. | Cape Town Railway and Dock Company. |

### Acknowledgements

I am indebted to the late Dr. R.F.M. Immelman who in 1980 urged me to take up research into the history of Wynberg, using his bibliography and photograph collection begun more than forty years ago, and to continue it in my own style. His great interest in the topic reinforced my own, and this study commemorates the time he spent on Wynberg Hill.

I am deeply grateful for the specialist support I have received from the Cape Town University library staff, in particular from Leonie Twentyman-Jones and Laureen Rushby, and from the staff of the Cape Town Archives and the South African Library. My primary source of information about property was the Cape Town Deeds Office, whose staff showed unfailing co-operation and patience as I searched. My sincere appreciation to fellow-researcher, Margaret Cairns, who first showed me how to find my way into an erf register and how to explore its possibilities; also to Pierre Morgenrood for his invaluable assistance in this field, and for the use of his own family research which he has generously shared with me. I am deeply grateful to all those who have contributed personal experiences or have offered family papers and photographs for study; in particular to Abbas Cloete, and to the Horne, Perrow, Ryklief, McDonald and Peterson families, together with many others. The late William Herbert and "Dick" Tredgold were also rich sources of information, as were several members of the Wynberg Jewish community. I also thank Dave Rhind for information about the Cape Railway system.

My sincere thanks to Professor Basil le Cordeur who guided the early stages of this thesis, particularly in organising the mass of data, and to Dr. Howard Phillips who gave immeasurable support in the final two years of work, encouraging me to examine the broader implications of development at Wynberg in the context of urban history. His insight and enthusiasm, together with his meticulous attention to detail have been of the utmost value to me. I thank my family too for their affectionate support and practical help when my energy flagged. Lastly, my thanks are due to all the people who have lived on or in the environs of Wynberg Hill. They are the substance of this study.

## INTRODUCTION.

The worldwide growth and expansion of cities escalated to an unprecedented extent during the industrial age, not only as a result of the in-migration of people to the urban centres, but also through the absorption of adjacent settlements and country villages by urban sprawl.<sup>1</sup> This outward expansion as a result of the increasing population density at the centre provided one innovative and organic solution to the problem of securing adequate accommodation within easy reach of the growing metropole. This process also spawned such diverse forms as suburbia, satellite towns and squatter shacks in response to the multi-variate needs of the people who worked in urban areas.<sup>2</sup> It shaped their lives as it shaped their built environment, providing one of the key foundations upon which the cities and the great conurbations of the twentieth century proliferated, changing the landscape and demography of nations as they did so.<sup>3</sup>

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1. F.M.L. Thompson (ed.) *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester, 1982); R. Williams, *The Country and the City* (London, 1973); D. Cannadine and D. Reeder (eds.), *Exploring the Urban Past. Essays in Urban History* by H.J. Dyos (Cambridge, 1982).

2. P. Waller, *Town, City and Nation. England 1850-1914* (Oxford, 1983), 145-159; D. Cannadine, *Lords and Landlords: the Aristocracy and the Towns, 1774-1967* (London, 1980), 52-53; G. Ellis (ed.), "The Squatter problem in the Western Cape" (Johannesburg, 1977), 62-79, 114-115.

3. H.J. Dyos and M. Woolff (eds.), *The Victorian City, V 1 & 2* (London, 1973).

Urban historians have identified the nineteenth century as the initial phase of this modern urban development, when residential patterns were re-defined in new and different ways.<sup>4</sup> They have shown how such urbanisation necessitated reform in the administration of cities, towns and villages, achieving better representation for at least some people in matters which directly affected them. They have also noted the concern about public order, sanitation and the provision of other amenities which was expressed by a property-owning, middle class, determined to participate actively in the process of local government.<sup>5</sup>

These themes provide a framework within which this study seeks to explain the metamorphosis of the tiny western Cape settlement of Wynberg, first into a substantial peri-urban village 13 km. from Cape Town, and then, in 1886, into a municipality in its own right. It was able to preserve this status until 1927, when it was finally incorporated into the city of Cape Town, as the other small municipalities of the southern Peninsula had been 14 years earlier.

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4. A. Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (London, 1963); P.J. Waller, *Town, City and Nation* (Oxford, 1983); R.J. Morris, "Urbanisation" in J.Langton and R.J. Morris (eds.), *Atlas of Industrialising Britain 1780 - 1914* (London, 1986), 164-179.

5. D. Fraser, *Power and Authority in the Victorian City* (Oxford, 1979); E.P. Hennock, *Fit and proper persons; ideal and reality in nineteenth century urban government* (1973).

It is debateable whether its independent municipal status alone would have ensured its continuing political autonomy outside the city limits, had this not also been backed, indeed engineered, by an elite group of influential property-owners and business people, who had a vested interest in preserving its "independent" status rather than acknowledging its function as another dormitory suburb of Cape Town. The outcome of this important tussle for control became the pivot on which depended the future status of Wynberg and the final chapter of this thesis is devoted to a discussion of the events which determined its resolution. Thereby, Wynberg was drawn inexorably towards the urban maw, becoming part of the expanding metropole de jure and de facto, thus ending the controversy which had surrounded its relationship with greater Cape Town. Its inclusion completed a structure which has lasted until the present time, when the city limits are once more a divisive issue.

A question which is central to this thesis emerges from this debate: if the Wynberg elite resisted change in an attempt to preserve the power and the privileges they enjoyed, what strategies did they employ in order to organise or re-organise themselves within the social, economic and political constraints which affected them ?

One of the most significant means to achieve this in the nineteenth century was through substantial investment in landed property, which was a mark of pre-eminent social status in Britain and at the Cape. A particular relationship, implicit in the term "land-owner", existed between the possession of land and the exercise of authority, establishing a hegemony of powerful people as their property holdings grew.<sup>6</sup> From the outset, property ownership, which comprised the idea of people as property as well as the land itself and its produce, had played a crucial role in establishing a hierarchy of power at the Cape. The slave-owning "landed gentry" have been identified by Ross and others<sup>7</sup> as a power bloc in the eighteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Following the British occupation of the Cape in 1806, however, there was a perceptible shift towards a social order which increasingly emerged from entrepreneurial competition and the upward mobility of a commercial class.<sup>9</sup>

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6. H.Newby, C. Bell, D. Rose and P. Saunders, *Property, Paternalism and Power* (London, 1978), 28-29.

7. R.Ross, "The Rise of the Cape Gentry", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 9 (1983). Ross suggests that this was not "a capture of the state by the gentry" but rather "an interpenetration in terms of local control over labour, land and public works" (197).

8. L.Guelke & R. Shell, "An early Colonial Landed Gentry: land and wealth in the Cape Colony, 1682 - 1731", *Journal of Historical Geography* 9 (1983), 265-283.

9. R.Ross, "Cape Town, 1750-1850: a synthesis in the dialectic of two continents" in R. Ross and G.J. Telkamp (eds.), *Colonial Cities* (Dordrecht, 1983), 41.

As Walvin has shown in the case of nineteenth century Britain, "land - and its associated political power - was quite clearly no longer the narrow monopoly of a traditional landed aristocracy".<sup>10</sup> This new trend also manifested itself in its colonial possessions as "fortunes made in trade, finance or the law" found their way into landed estates,<sup>11</sup> while upwardly mobile but less affluent tradespeople invested in more modest properties.<sup>12</sup> The availability of land at the Cape and the security which the possession of property could provide was central to such mobility. Successful entrepreneurs and financiers were able to profit as rentiers, and then to raise their social status by purchasing their own country estates.

It is clear that, in this process of acquisition and exploitation of property, the European immigrants to the Cape fared much better than the indigenous people of the area in establishing possession over most of the marketable land and in retaining control over it. Consequently, the problems and challenges which the Cape Colony experienced were substantially different from those confronting the rapidly urbanising countries in Britain and Europe. In no

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10. J. Walvin, *English Urban life, 1776 - 1851* (London, 1984), 127.

11. F.M.L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1963), 21.

12. G. Crossick, "The Petite Bourgeoisie in Nineteenth Century Britain" in P. Thane and Anthony Sutcliffe (eds.), *Essays in Social History* (Oxford, 1986), v 2, 151-187.

sphere was this more graphically illustrated than in conflicting attitudes towards slave labour, an institution well-established at the Cape until the nineteenth century. The emancipation of slaves had a profound effect in the colony, although there was no question of overturning the existing social order. As Armstrong points out, "the rights of property in all but the slaves themselves were to be strictly maintained."<sup>13</sup> The question of slavery has provided a focus for much of the research into the early nineteenth century in the western Cape and studies of the post-emancipation period at the Cape have explored its after-effects in both rural and urban areas.<sup>14</sup> These themes resonate loudly at Wynberg, for it had a large slave population and experienced many of the problems associated with the integration of a substantial number of wage-earners into its small economy.

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13. J.C. Armstrong, "The Slaves: 1652- 1832" in R.Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), *The Shaping of South African Society* (Cape Town, 1989), 164.

14. N. Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa* (Cambridge, 1983); N. Worden, "Rural slavery in the western districts of the Cape Colony during the nineteenth century" in W.G.James & M. Simons, *The Angry Divide* (Cape Town, 1989); R. Shell, "Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope, 1680-1731" (Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Yale University, 1986); M.Rayner, "Wine and Slaves: the failures of an export economy and the ending of slavery in the Cape Colony, South Africa, 1806-1834" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Duke University, 1986).

Their presence as artisans or labourers, and sometimes as small property-owners, created a new element in the social structure, as they competed with immigrant tradesmen and shop-keepers for a share in the local market. Thus, the emphasis in this thesis does not rest exclusively on the large property-owners at Wynberg who had the power to transform events, or not, as they determined; it also examines the role of the small property-owner, who often struggled for survival in adverse circumstances. The substantial demographic changes which occurred in Wynberg during the nineteenth century involved considerable incorporation of "outsiders", which, in turn, resulted in the marginalisation of less affluent people who were already occupying the land as tenants or squatters. With this in mind, an attempt will be made to explore the effects of this incursion upon the landless people and the response or lack of response of the population to their changing circumstances.

A tight focus on a single community like Wynberg allows a number of the key problems raised by the contradictory elements of property-ownership in the nineteenth century Cape to be probed in unusual depth. For instance, how influential was the small property-owner in the development of Wynberg and at which points did the interests of the various classes intersect? Was property-ownership related to the class consciousness which seems to have promoted upward mobility among some of the residents

rather than inhibiting it ? In what sense, therefore, did "property", viewed as a commodity rather than as a resource, lead to its manipulation by a privileged group ? These issues were significant indicators of the way in which the balance of power was weighted in favour of an elite group of Wynberg residents who shaped its progress and ultimately controlled its municipal council.

Although increasing interest has been expressed in the process and the implications of metropolitan development in Cape Town itself,<sup>15</sup> there has been little serious research which focusses on the reasons for suburban growth<sup>16</sup> or upon the processes by which the peri-urban areas became part of the Cape Town Municipality.<sup>17</sup> Yet, an examination of these responses to incorporation is crucial in order to understand the urbanisation process which led to the formation of greater Cape Town.

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15. V. Eickford-Smith, "Commerce, Class and Ethnicity" (Unpublished PhD thesis, Cambridge University, 1989); D. Grant, "The Politics of Water Affairs" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1990); E.B. van Heyningen, "Public Health and Society in Cape Town, 1880-1910" (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 1989).

16. Exceptions are: John Young, "Observatory, a town in the suburbs" (B.A. Hons. dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1994); J. Linnegar, "From village to Municipality" (B.A. Hons. dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1975); N. Kagan, "The Growth and Development of the Municipality of Green Point and Sea Point" (B.A. Hons. dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1975).

17. E. van Heyningen, "The small Greek cities of the Cape Peninsula" in *Contree*, 10, July 1981, 5-8.

Such a study can also shed light on the wider phenomenon of urbanisation in early modern South Africa, an issue still comparatively under-researched by historians, unlike the situation in Europe, N. America and Australia.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, the environs of Cape Town, located within the Cape Peninsula, bounded by sea and mountain, present a unique opportunity to examine the purposes for which land was acquired and the benefits which accrued to its owners. The choice of Wynberg as an example of significant peri-urban development is predicated upon its emergence as an important service centre for a large area of the southern Peninsula, and its subsequent growth as substantial in-migration took place.

Waller has suggested that, historically, towns have their origins in five causes: trade, recreation, defence, religion and administration.<sup>19</sup> From its establishment as a garrison village in the first decade of the nineteenth century, Wynberg slowly became a centre for all these activities. Furthermore, its strategic central position in the southern Peninsula was a major factor in promoting its development and establishing it as a half-way house on the route from Cape Town to Simon's Bay.<sup>20</sup>

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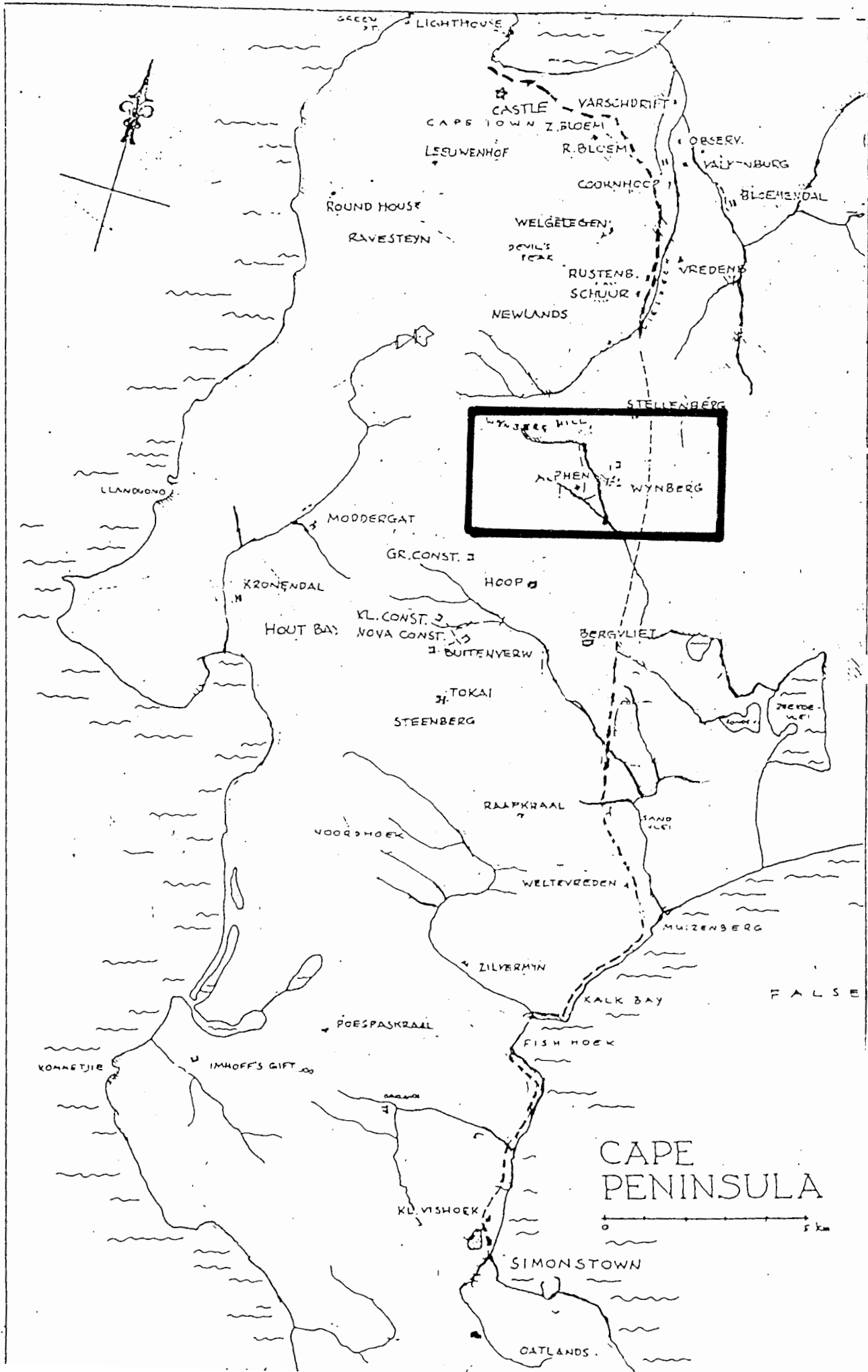
18. G.H. Pirie, "South African Urban History" in *Urban History Yearbook*, 1985, 18-29.

19. P.J. Waller, *Town, City and Nation*, 20.

20. See below, 10. Maps 1.

The Cape Peninsula, showing the water courses, the early estates  
and the wagon-road from Cape Town to Simonstown.

Map dated about 1770, showing Wynberg and its environs.



Wynberg's role as a point of convergence, not only of wagon-roads but also of economic initiatives and market-forces in the southern Peninsula, began to be defined by the 1830s, which saw the original raison d'être superseded by new functions which underpinned its continued growth. Thus, the first steps were taken at this time towards establishing an organised commercial sector which would be able to meet the needs of its heterogeneous population. In the relatively under-developed southern Peninsula, Wynberg soon became a focal point, reaching out far beyond its own, somewhat ill-defined boundaries and extending its influence southwards to the well-to-do farmers of the Constantia Valley and Hout Bay, eastwards beyond the Diep River and northwards across the Wynberg Downs and the Cape Flats.

Subsequently, the question of its boundaries became important, particularly in the latter part of the century when the question of co-operation with the metropolitan area and other suburban municipalities came under discussion. For the purpose of this study, the Wynberg area is designated as "peri-urban" because it did not conform to the clearcut "rural" stereotype during the nineteenth century, nor was it yet fully "urbanised".<sup>21</sup>

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21. H.J. Gans, "Urbanism and Suburbanism as ways of life" in R.E. Pahl (ed.), *Readings in Urban Sociology* (Oxford, 1968), 101-111; M. Strathern, *Kinship at the Core* (Cambridge, 1981); J. Robins, *Elmdon* (Cambridge, 1980).

Indeed, it is Pahl's concept of urbs in rure<sup>22</sup> that best describes the ambivalent attitude towards urbanisation expressed by residents of Wynberg, many of whom had come from urban centres to live in a rural environment, commuting to and from the city every day. Such tension between spatial relations and social relations is extremely difficult to assess,<sup>23</sup> but British urban historians in particular have sought to integrate these often disparate factors, while not losing sight of the social order which guided and informed the actions of the various role-players in this process.<sup>24</sup>

The pioneering work of H.J. Dyos placed him in the forefront of this movement towards a better understanding of the relationship between people and place, which is crucial to any consideration of the underlying values which determine residence patterns and ultimately bring about development. His meticulous examination of the incorporation of Camberwell village into the city of London<sup>25</sup> revealed his ability to "inject a sense of place into general

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22. R.E. Pahl, "Urbs in Rure. The metropolitan fringe in Hertfordshire" in London School of Economics and Political Science geographical papers (1965).

23. J. Waller, *Town, City and Nation*, 16.

24. R. Rodger (ed.), "Urban History: prospect and retrospect" in *Urban History*, V 19, Part 1, April 1992, 1-22.

25. H.J. Dyos, *Victorian Suburb; a study of the growth of Camberwell* (Leicester, 1961).

explanations of change by relating the larger processes at work to the places in which they occurred".<sup>26</sup> Lampard's overview of urban expansion also throws light on the interactive nature of town and country, for he examines the significance of the demographic shifts which took place,<sup>27</sup> emphasising the point at which the depopulation of the rural areas was offset, to some extent, by the flight of urban dwellers to the suburbs and to the country villages surrounding cities.<sup>28</sup> A romantic view of life outside the city encouraged their migration<sup>29</sup> for there was, as Waller points out, "an escapist quality about the picturesque in the most prestigious suburbs".<sup>30</sup>

For Wynberg, its reputation as one of the most beautiful and healthy peri-urban areas of Cape Town became an important factor in promoting residential development in the village, as prospective purchasers compared the obvious benefits to health and life-style in peri-urban areas with the wind-swept streets and

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26. D. Cannadine and D. Reeder (eds.), *Exploring the Urban Past* (1983), xv.

27. E.E. Lampard, "The Urbanising World" in H.J. Dyos and M. Wolff (eds.) *The Victorian City*, V.1 (London, 1973), 28-30.

28. *ibid.*, 15; also J. Waller, *Town, City and Nation*, 145-152; H.J. Dyos (ed.), *The Study of Urban History* (London, 1968), 254-259; A. Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (1963), 71-72;

29. D. Cannadine, *Lords and Landlords*, 38-39; A. Offer, *Property and Politics* (Cambridge, 1981), 328-342.

30. P.J. Waller, *Town, City and Nation*, 147.

often insanitary conditions in Cape Town. Indeed, Offer goes to the heart of the matter, when he observes that "the city, secular and sordid, carries a negative charge", for the manufacturing and commercial areas did not appeal to the well-to-do people whose fortunes were made there, or to the upwardly mobile middle classes.<sup>31</sup>

Offer has also contributed a significant analysis of the economic and political implications of the possession of property as opposed to the purely social advantage it establishes, pointing out that in nineteenth century Britain land was undoubtedly "the principal source of authority and inequality".<sup>32</sup> Perkin concurs that in Britain "the social power of property underlay all the rest",<sup>33</sup> and that inevitably its possession organised a hierarchy of "haves" and "have nots" in a class based society. This thesis will demonstrate that the "man of property", who was instrumental in shaping development in Britain to his own advantage, was also a key figure in the growth of Wynberg, where Galsworthy's observation that "the sacred principle of property, which benefits us all, with the exception of those who suffer by the process", may be recognised in the activities of local

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31. A. Offer, *Property and Politics, 1870-1914*, 175.

32. *ibid.*, 6-11.

33. H. Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880* (London, 1972), 41-42.

property-owners.<sup>34</sup> These "men of property" built an edifice of power and privilege (hard-won in some cases) upon the modest foundations laid in this relatively simple garrison village, and the marketing of property at Wynberg provides a singularly graphic example of these social inequalities.

In this thesis records of the possession and transfer of land are utilised as key tools of analysis in the examination of this process, as they reveal the crucial role played by property-owners and occupiers, who were also rate-payers and voters, in establishing and upholding an independent local authority. This approach has not previously been employed by historians of South Africa. It will be demonstrated that Deeds Office records provide valuable information, not only about Wynberg property transactions per se, but also about the personal circumstances and particular problems of the buyers and sellers, as contained in their correspondence with various officials. In this context, notarial protocols and the records and correspondence of the Surveyor-General's Office are also utilised, for they are rich sources of documentation regarding the background and status of the people involved in this process.<sup>35</sup>

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34. J. Galsworthy, *A Man of Property* (London, 1922), 175.

35. H. Robinson, "Invisible Villagers" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1986). This technique was evolved as a means of determining the history of property ownership in a study of the extent of expropriation and forced sales under the Group Areas Act at Greyton in the Western Cape.

Furthermore, it is possible to move from the particular information provided by the deeds to a recognition of broader patterns and processes. The original maps illustrating this thesis are an attempt to synthesise the general trends in property development at Wynberg in order to identify patterns of growth as well as the special areas of influence of specific investors and speculators. They are based on Deeds Office diagrams and records, as few original maps of this period exist and none which are specifically intended for comparative purposes as these are. Inevitably there are gaps in the records where documents have been lost or destroyed, but, over the period of a century, significant conclusions can be drawn from the data. Additional information has been obtained from mortgage bonds, bankruptcy files, wills, liquidation and distribution accounts and other estate papers, presenting a broad range of opportunities for studying the acquiring and re-distributing property or being parted from it.

The piecemeal development of property at Wynberg underlines the opportunistic nature of the property-market in an area where no pre-determined ground-plan was drawn up, allowing random subdivision and fragmentation of the original land grants. When small portions of government-owned ground were marketed, they were usually divided more symmetrically, but even in these cases plots were not of regular or consistent size.

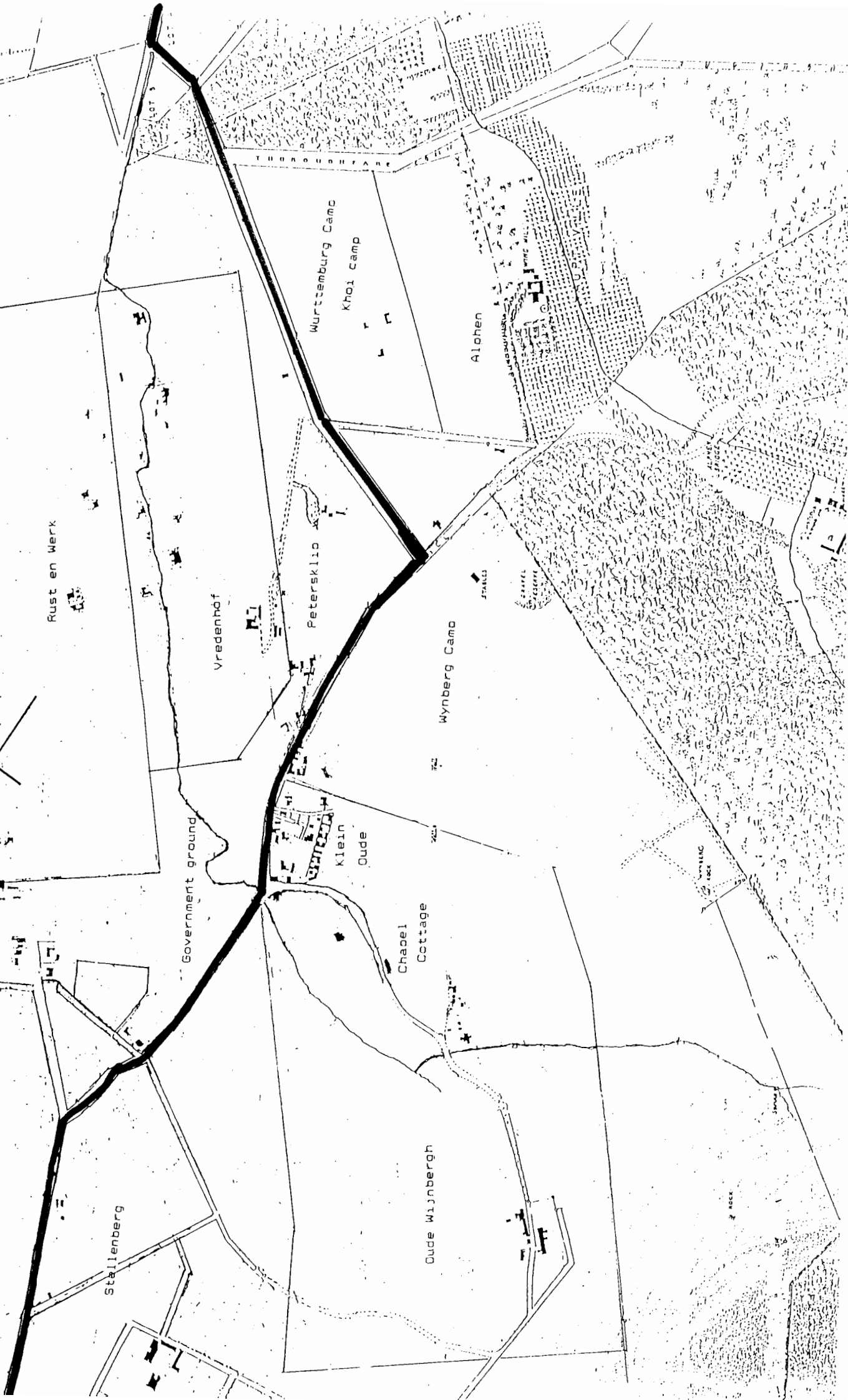
Map and overlay, indicating the relative increase in housing density at Wynberg between 1820 and 1900.

1810

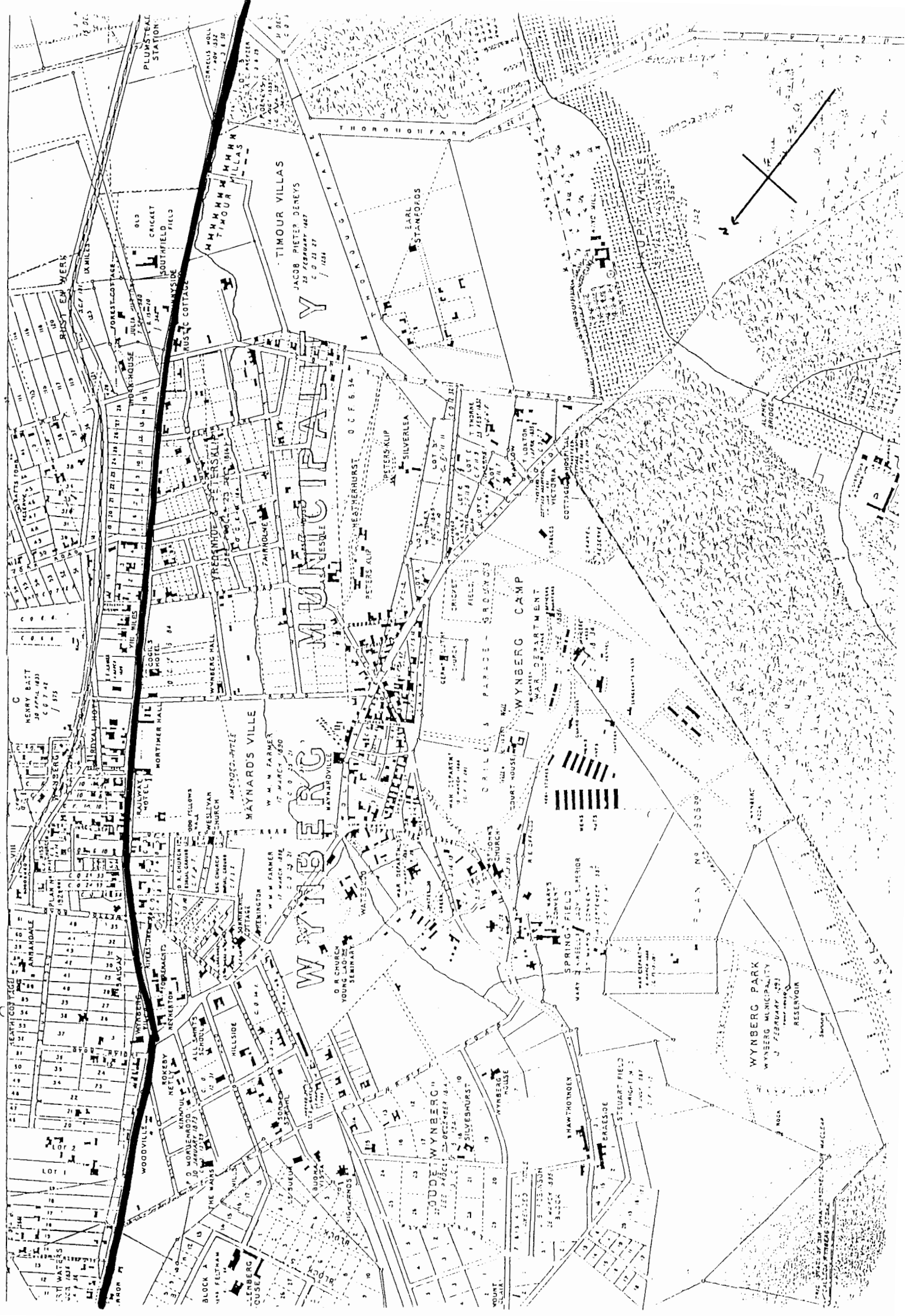
Scale 0

1 mile

Wagon-road before 1814



1890



In this patchwork of house and field there was little regard for access roads or allowance for services. Over time, the onus was upon property-owners to provide amenities or to lobby for them, and this contributed in no small measure to the emergence of a group of proprietors who were prepared and able to take control of development even before a formal local authority was mooted. An alliance was formed between the proprietors, many of whom commuted to their offices in Cape Town daily, and the locally-based businessmen who had a stake in the prosperity of Wynberg. They were the logical contenders for office in local government when it was instituted, and by the 1890s they constituted a power-bloc which would ensure development along the lines favoured by its members, thus strengthening the hand of the private sector rather than that of bureaucratic institutions such as the magistracy, which had previously assumed much of the responsibility for local improvements and maintenance. It is argued in the chapters which follow that such an idiosyncratic system of control by a minority group was not in the interests of other sectors of the Wynberg population, particularly those of the lower to middle-income brackets, who were not able to gain access to property for residential and commercial purposes and therefore were not in a favourable position to participate in local government.

The demand for rented accommodation benefited rentiers but disadvantaged those who were dependent on it, creating overcrowded slum conditions in areas where it was available. Thus, the problems of the city surfaced in a microcosm of urban development. Similar disparities in British towns and cities have been documented by urban historians in a quest to identify the factors underlying this uneven growth. The city of London, in particular, swallowed up numerous fringe villages<sup>36</sup> which had been "discovered" and developed by the well-to do, as Wynberg had been, incorporating them into its sprawl as select suburbia or, in other circumstances, allowing them to degenerate into squalid slums.<sup>37</sup> Thompson and others have defined the contradictory nature of the suburban option in Britain, as the wave of urbanisation swept over the city limits, indicating the way in which it served the needs of a commuter society, without losing sight of the problems that this life-style created.<sup>38</sup>

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36. H.J. Dyos, *Victorian Suburb*; F.M.L. Thompson, *Hampstead. Building a Borough. 1650-1964* (London, 1974).

37. H.J. Dyos and D.A. Reeder, "Slums and Suburbs" in P. Thane and A. Sutcliffe (eds.), *Essays in Social History* (Oxford, 1986), V 2.

38. F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester, 1982); H.J. Dyos and D.A. Reeder, "Slums and Suburbs" in H.J. Dyos and M. Wolff (eds.), *The Victorian City* V.1, 359-386.

Thompson has argued that nineteenth century suburban development was a social patchwork, in which different classes were juxtaposed to serve the needs of the more affluent members of society.<sup>39</sup> Wynberg presents a similar social mixture in which a multiplicity of service activities supported a diverse population in a highly differentiated society, and it is no easy task to isolate dominant themes in the constantly changing circumstances attendant on urban or peri-urban development. Nor is it possible to delineate exactly the ways in which the actions of individuals have shaped a settlement, or whether, paradoxically, it is urban growth itself which has shaped their society. The patterns of change operate in a subtle way and are superimposed upon the existing elements, as villages creep across fields and cities quietly gobble villages.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, which is covered in Chapters 1 - 3 of this thesis, elements of change among the inhabitants, such as the upward mobility associated with property-ownership, were interlinked, as in Britain, with elements of continuity, expressed in social networks, bonded by kinship

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39. F.M.L. Thompson, "The Rise of Suburbia" in R.J. Morris and R. Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City* (London, 1993), 177. Thompson remarks that "these households required the support of a considerable array of service activities to keep houses, gardens, clothes, linen, transport, roads and streets, and persons in good running order, and the workers in such industries, trades and services needed to live locally."

ties and shared cultural values.<sup>40</sup> Yet it is not possible to explain change and continuity purely in terms of a closed community, because changes in local forms and social observances are part of a more general pattern of transformation in society as a whole. Even strong social networks are subject to change, however, when they become less locality-bound, especially as improved transport facilitates travel and outward mobility increases.<sup>41</sup> Chapter 4 of this thesis introduces such a major external influence, the advent of the Wynberg Railway in 1864, which marked a significant stage in the development of the area and which owed a great deal to the intervention of influential property-owners. Ironically, this link with the metropole at first served to heighten the self-sufficiency of Wynberg rather than to attach the settlement more firmly to the city, because it facilitated traffic to and from Cape Town, allowing Wynberg commuters to maintain their preferred country life-style. In chapters 5 and 6 the arrival of an increasing number of professional and business people in Wynberg is explored. Their requirements stimulated the local commercial sector and their presence expedited the provision of additional amenities in the area.

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40. R.J. Morris (ed.), *Class, power and social structure*, 3-5.

41. P.Waller, *Town, City and Nation*, 159-161; J.Simmons, *The Railway in Town and Country* (Newton Abbott, 1986).

Thus, the pattern for control by an elite group, which was established in the early days of the settlement at Wynberg, persisted until the end of the century. This, in turn, led to a significant bid for political control at local government level in the 1880s, and chapters 7 - 8 of this thesis trace the growth of the Wynberg municipality, which was characterised by the determined effort made by a relatively small group of councillors to maintain its autonomy. During this period from 1880-1927, the divisions of class and colour became more marked in Wynberg as inequalities of income and access to amenities were exposed. The emergent coloured middle class was not directly represented on the municipal council, reflecting a similar imbalance on the Cape Town Council. In Chapter 9 the demise of the municipality is charted, in the light of the social and political changes which followed World War 1 and the increasing financial pressures which were placed upon the Wynberg municipal budget.

The establishment and operation of municipal government at the Cape has been examined by Warren, Bickford-Smith, Grant and Van Heyningen,<sup>42</sup> who focus specifically on the growth of municipal responsibility with regard to the associated concerns of health, sanitation, water supply and ethnic relations in a class-based

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42. D. Warren, "Merchants, Commissioners and Ward-masters" (1986); V. Bickford-Smith, "Commerce, Class and Ethnicity"; D. Grant, "The Politics of Water Affairs"; E. B. van Heyningen, "Public Health and Society in Cape Town, 1880-1910".

urban context; but there is a dearth of information about suburban development and the need to extend services to these areas. In its final chapters this study attempts to bridge this gap between the well-documented Cape Town municipality and the little-known activities of local government beyond the city limits.

Although its eventual capitulation to the financial superiority of the consolidated metropolitan centre was inevitable, Wynberg ranked as a significant town in the early years of the twentieth century. It had an expanding population, which numbered 20,404, according to the census figures for 1904,<sup>43</sup> and its population figure stood midway between those of two similar small towns, Grahamstown and Pietermaritzburg.<sup>44</sup> All three towns were subject to a strong British influence and all emerged under colonial rule, which shaped their growth.<sup>45</sup> All shared the stimulus of a

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43. C.P.P. G 19 of 1905, Results of a Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope on 17 April, 1904.

44. *ibid.*, Wynberg, 36; Grahamstown, 32; Census of the Colony of Natal, April 1904, 72-73.

Wynberg	20,404
Grahamstown	13,887
Pietermaritzburg	41,199

45. J. Laband & R. Haswell (eds.), Pietermaritzburg, 1838-1988, (Pietermaritzburg, 1988), 104-110; A.F. Hattersley, Portrait of a City (Pietermaritzburg, 1951); D.H. Thomson, A Local History of Grahamstown, 3-4; M. Gibbens, "Two decades in the life of a city, 1862-1882" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1982); R. Sellick, "Grahamstown, 1883-1904" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1983);

military presence at an important base-camp in the settlement and experienced its particular effects on its growth. Each of these towns developed as educational, magisterial and religious centres for the surrounding areas, but only Grahamstown and Pietermaritzburg achieved the status of university towns. All three were service centres for the surrounding areas and all three produced well-known local newspapers - the Wynberg Times, the Natal Witness and the Grahamstown Journal. The great difference, however, was that Wynberg was more closely linked geographically, economically, socially and culturally to a major urban area, only 13 km. away, than either of the others.<sup>46</sup> The likelihood of absorption into the metropole was much greater for Wynberg than for Grahamstown or Pietermaritzburg, which were able to preserve their independence. The ultimate incorporation of Wynberg into greater Cape Town could therefore only be delayed and not prevented, because its economic base was insufficient to sustain independent development alongside a burgeoning Cape Town.

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46. Ordinance maps of Southern Africa.

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Pietermaritzburg...	80 km from Durban.
Grahamstown.....	124 km from Port Elizabeth.
Wynberg.....	13 km from Cape Town.

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In order to encompass this process, the scope of this study extends from 1795 - 1927 so as to span the whole period of its formal independence, from foundation to incorporation into Cape Town. Archival sources have yielded much useful information, particularly those relating to the Wynberg and Liesbeek Municipalities, the Surveyor-General's Office, the Imperial Military establishment, the S.A. Railway and Dock Company and the records of the Wynberg magistracy. Publications of the Cape Government, particularly the reports of commissions and parliamentary select committees, provided valuable insights into the relationship between the Wynberg municipality and the colonial government too, clarifying the attitudes of the dominant class to reform. Newspapers, similarly, revealed the private concerns of many public figures with regard to issues such as incorporation of the smaller municipalities into greater Cape Town and the political aspects of such matters as sanitation, public health and water supply. The Wynberg Times, in particular, provided a window into current opinion and personal bias within the local population.

In 1993 Rodger suggested that the time was ripe for a broader inter-disciplinary approach to urban history, including the psychological and perceptual aspects of urban life and the adaptation of "recently developed urban anthropological analytical frameworks". He recommended "the use of oral and film evidence" in

the modern period, and "the experience of private individuals...associated with domestic experiences, work pressures, street life, public order, leisure pursuits and reaction to media", as additional sources of data.<sup>47</sup> These areas of research and the "mental maps" of individuals<sup>48</sup> have proved invaluable, especially in the reconstruction of the residential areas and interests of "Cape coloured" people at Wynberg, where documentary information is sparse.<sup>49</sup> These sources have given life to Deeds Office records and have illuminated the factual evidence, social and economic, provided by almanacs and street directories.<sup>50</sup> Assumptions about the actions of people are vulnerable to many subjective factors and cannot be considered reliable without substantive evidence to support them; on the other hand, a broad class analysis from above does not allow the analyst to make more personal contact with the data. Historians must examine the process of history as closely as possible in order to understand the way in which people competed or co-operated in a variety of circumstances.

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47. R. Rodger, "Urban History: prospect and retrospect" in *Urban History*, V 19, Part 1, April, 1992, 19.

48. *ibid.*, 8.

49. Interviews with elderly people, diaries and correspondence in possession of their relatives, and personal contact with the area and its people provided this information about Wynberg.

50. J. Western, *Outcast Cape Town* (Cape Town, 1981). Western used this method in his analysis of the effects of the Group Areas Act on Cape Town and its suburbs.

This thesis seeks to uncover, not only the relationships between people who owned property in Wynberg and those who did not, but also their participation in the progress towards the establishment of its independent status; and this must be seen in relation to the political economy of metropolitan Cape Town and the wider world, particularly the burgeoning British Empire with its associated ideas of power and paternalism, of which Wynberg constituted one small part.

## CHAPTER 1

### Foundations.

From the earliest days of European settlement at the Cape a prominent hill which thrust away from the south-eastern end of the Table Mountain chain attracted attention. Its north-facing slope became the site of Commander van Riebeeck's farm, Boscheuvel, where he planted the vines which were to characterise the area.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the first boundary of the settlement was demarcated from the highest point on the granite spur of this hill, across the Cape Flats to Table Bay. This line was marked by a hedge of wild almond trees and small, fortified outposts, of which the uppermost, Houd-den-Bul, was on the hill near Boscheuvel.<sup>2</sup> From this point there was a clear view to the north and to the south-east, where the coast of False Bay could be seen in the distance. Streams descended both sides of the hill and the thickly-wooded and well-watered terrain had long provided shelter and subsistence for many indigenous people prior to the arrival of the settlers.

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1. H.B. Thom (ed.), *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*, V 2, (Cape Town, Van Riebeeck Society, 1952), 327.

2. E.A. Walker, *A History of Southern Africa* (3rd Edition, London, 1957), 41.

The appropriation and exploitation of the land surrounding this hill is a central theme in the first chapter of this thesis, which outlines the process by which the foundations of a settlement were laid and far-reaching social and commercial relationships were established. Its initial development as a farming area in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was slow, and it was not until the period between 1795 and 1830, after the British occupation of the Cape, that events occurred which accelerated the pace of its socio-economic growth. This time-frame is significant in relation to the growth of the Cape settlement as a whole, and this chapter attempts to contextualise these events within this larger pattern of development,<sup>3</sup> while not losing sight of particular economic incentives at Wynberg.

Although the policy of the V.O.C. which administered the Cape settlement from 1652 was directed towards containment rather than expansion, the pressure to move beyond the almond hedge was considerable.<sup>4</sup> The discovery of safe anchorages at Simon's Bay justified exploration across the southern Peninsula and, within thirty years, the settlement had leapt the boundary line, forcing indigenous inhabitants to retreat as the settlers advanced or to

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3. R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840* (Cape Town, 1989). This survey of the early history of the colony provides such a socio-economic context.

4. L. Thompson, *A History of South Africa* (Yale University Press, 1990), 37-38.

be incorporated forcibly into their simple economy.<sup>5</sup> During the late seventeenth century the V.O.C. permitted small-scale agricultural development, together with some stock-farming, which was concentrated in the western area of the Cape. In accordance with this policy, portions of the hillside pasture-land and the fertile valley beyond the boundary hedge were given out to Company servants and others. The first of these estates was bought by Herman Weeckens in 1663,<sup>6</sup> and, perhaps because of its proximity to the vineyards of Boscheuvel, it became known as De Oude Wijnbergh farm. Within two years it had passed into the hands of Governor van der Stel,<sup>7</sup> who thereupon transferred it to one of his younger sons.<sup>8</sup> Two more farms were granted adjacent to Oude Wijnbergh soon after it was established; these were known as Vredenhof<sup>9</sup> and Rust en werk,<sup>10</sup> but the name Wijnbergh was to remain associated with all the land south-east of the hill.

<sup>5</sup> See below, p. 104-105.

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 104, for the settlers and the origin of a new society (1670-1700) in H. Wilson and L. Thompson (eds.), *Oxford History of South Africa* (O.H.S.A.) (Oxford, 1971), p. 105.

<sup>7</sup> D.O.G. 1/133, 1 December 1663. Simon van der Stel to H. Weeckens.

<sup>8</sup> D.O.G. 1/225, 14 July 1665. H. Weeckens to S. van der Stel.

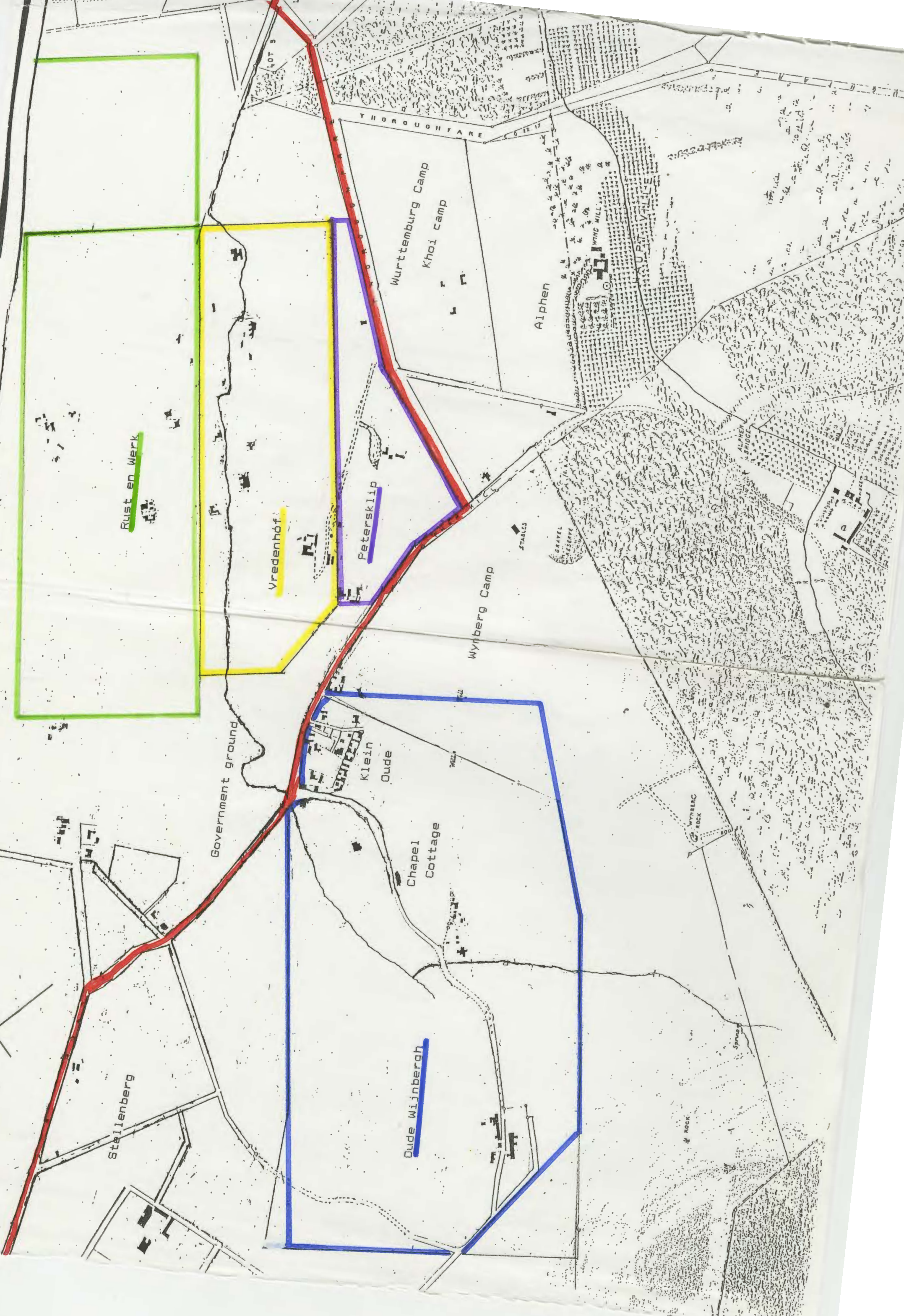
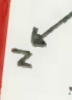
<sup>9</sup> D.O.G. 1/225, 27 August 1665. S. van der Stel to H. van der Stel.

<sup>10</sup> D.O.G. 1/225, 27 July 1665. Simon van der Stel to H. Weeckens.

<sup>11</sup> D.O.G. 1/225, 6 May 1667. Simon van der Stel to H. Weeckens.

**Map 3 : Sketch map of the Wynberg area in 1810.**

Wagon-road before 1814  
1320' 1/2 mile  
2640'



Stellenberg

Government ground

Klein Oude

Chapel Cottage

Oude Wijnbergh

Wyrberg Camp

Petersklip

Vredenhof

Rust en Werk

Wurttemberg Camp  
Khoi camp

Alphen

WYRBERG MILL

WYRBERG ROCK

THOROUGHFARE

Throughout the eighteenth century there was little change to the boundaries of these farms, although Vredenhof was later subdivided to form Petersklip, and stretches of government ground between the farms were allocated for various purposes. Some farms were worked entirely by slaves, while absentee landlords arrived periodically to hunt wild game and inspect their properties. With the establishment in 1743 of a formal winter anchorage at Simon's Bay on the False Bay coast-line,<sup>11</sup> a wagon-route linking the settlement at Simon's Bay with Table Bay came into use. This track, along which a wide range of goods travelled, passed over the hill adjacent to Oude Wijnbergh. However, there was little organised development in its environs during the first hundred years of its recorded existence, except in the nearby Constantia Valley, where wine farmers produced excellent dessert wines.<sup>12</sup>

On the level stretch of ground between the Alphen estate and the wagon-road the V.D.C. established a military outpost, housing the Wurttemberg Regiment<sup>13</sup> and a troop of pandours,<sup>14</sup> forming a

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11. B.B. Brock and B.G. Brock, Historical Simon's Town (Cape Town, 1976), 23.

12. R.F.M. Immelman, Men of Good Hope (Cape Town, 1955), 71.

13. J. Prinz, Die Wurttembergische Kapregiment, 1786-1806 (Stuttgart, 1932), 79. Prinz gives a full history of the regiment and a brief account of its tour of duty at the Cape station.

14. J.A. de Villiers, "Hottentot Regimente aan die Kaap, 1781-1795" in the Archives Year Book for South African History (1970), V 11, 127-135. De Villiers records the presence of pandours at Wynberg and their transference in 1796 to Rietvlei (ibid., 164).

line of defence against possible attack from the False Bay coast. It was not until the final years of the eighteenth century, however, that significant military events, originating in the French Revolutionary conflicts, set in motion a process of change at the Cape. From 1793 Britain and France were locked in war with one another, and it was thus to Britain that the Stadtholder of Holland fled when his country was overrun by the forces of Napoleon. Apparently acting in a care-taker capacity for the V.O.C., a British fleet arrived at Simon's Bay on 12 June 1795 with orders to occupy the settlement.<sup>15</sup> Britain's interest was not entirely altruistic, however, because it had been keeping a watchful eye on the Cape for some time and it had made an earlier abortive attempt to gain control of it.<sup>16</sup>

After a brief campaign, the British troops took possession of the Cape settlement and a surrender document was signed on 16 September 1795.<sup>17</sup> This first period of occupation by Britain was essentially military in character and the strategic position occupied by the Wynberg area, midway between Cape Town and Simon's Bay, was at once recognised by the new rulers.

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15. V.T. Harlow, "The British Occupation, 1795-1803" in Cambridge History of the British Empire (henceforth C.H.B.E.) (Cambridge, 1963), V. 2, 173-174.

16. *ibid.*, 172.

17. *ibid.*, 176.

The War Department decided to establish a visible British presence at the existing camp near Alphen, from which it would be possible to control the wagon-road to Simonstown. In his assessment of the advantages to Britain of its occupation of the Cape, Captain R. Percival noted that "Wynberg would at all times afford an excellent post for our troops with a considerable supply of provisions from the farms in the neighbourhood".<sup>18</sup> Shrewdly he added that "Wynberg is more a post of communication and a salutary quarter for troops than a station for the purpose of defence."<sup>19</sup> Within three years British troops were also deployed in a camp on the upper slopes of the hill, which subsequently became the site of a useful outstation where some training took place and various regiments were billeted.<sup>20</sup>

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18. R. Percival, *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope* (London, 1804), 74. This was sub-titled, "A view of the political and commercial advantages which might be derived from its possession by Great Britain", which indicates his brief in making this survey for the British government.

19. *ibid.*, 78.

20. *ibid.*, 78-79. Percival describes the situation of this camp with "the companies of the 78th, 84th, 95th and 98th on a piece of rising ground". He also observed the presence at the upper end of the camp of a kraal of Khoi, consisting of some five hundred men and their families, adding that "there was a range of stabling and barracks for cavalry and the whole formed a little village of singular and interesting appearance".

This then was the site, embracing the three farms, Oude Wijnbergh, Vredenhof and Rust en Werk, on which Wynberg village would take root and grow to astonishing maturity during the nineteenth century. The upsurge of activity, which emanated from the military camp, stimulated a number of economic initiatives which were to transform this tiny farming community into a substantial growth point, attracting newcomers to the area and establishing it as the most important garrison village for army personnel in the Peninsula beyond Cape Town, as opposed to the naval station at Simonstown. Its sudden emergence did not follow the pattern of other small settlements in the south Peninsula, such as Mowbray, Rondebosch and Newlands, which continued to grow slowly in response to the needs of the local farming community, as they had done since the time of the V.O.C. It would appear that Wynberg sprang into vigorous life from comparative obscurity. Hitherto there had been little commercial activity at Wynberg, but the presence of a large contingent of military personnel necessitated the provision of quantities of supplies and services to the camp, and the tradespeople who provided these prospered. Percival commented that within a few years of his first visit, the landlord of the Halfway House near Wynberg "had been enabled to build a handsome house and purchase a number of slaves and cattle with the profits of his being baker and sutler to the troops at Wineberg"<sup>21</sup>

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21. R. Percival, An Account of the Cape of Good Hope, 78.

Because there were few inns, travellers had to accept whatever accommodation was offered and Percival remarked on its poor quality despite the benefit which the landlords derived from "the number of our countrymen passing and re-passing along the road". It was the camp and its British military personnel which provided the stimulus for development at Wynberg, while their presence gave a particular character to the village which grew up in the vicinity, as it would do in the case of the army establishments at Grahamstown and Pietermaritzburg some years later. This development followed the pattern established in garrison towns in Britain, such as Colchester and Woolwich, where commercial enterprises owed their success to provisioning the military personnel and servicing their equipment.<sup>22</sup> Though Wynberg was never the site of an arsenal or an academy, as Woolwich was, it later acquired a major military hospital and became an important assembly point for troops in transit to other areas.<sup>23</sup> The history of the camp therefore became an integral part of the history of Wynberg and the local population became habituated to the presence of troops and to military routine.

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22. P. Dietz (ed.), *Garrison: Ten British Military Towns* (London, 1986), 12-13; 109.

23. R.W. Brann, "Wynberg Military Base and the Army Officers' Club", *Militaria*, 19 (1), January, 1989, 4-5.

By 1801 daily trips by passenger-carrying ox-wagons along the main road to Simonstown were advertised,<sup>24</sup> making the area more accessible to the military personnel and visitors to the camp. However, to fashionable society in Cape Town at this time Wynberg was an agricultural backwater, remote from all urban amenities. Lady Anne Barnard remarked on its lack of accommodation when her niece's husband was transferred there with his regiment in 1798.<sup>25</sup> The officers and their families were accommodated in the few scattered farm-houses and adjacent cottages, which were hired from local residents.<sup>26</sup> Samuel Plummer, a private in the 22nd Foot Regiment visiting the area in 1801, saw only "a few huts occupied by Dutch farmers", although he did acknowledge that there were "some beautiful gardens with large quantities of vines, apples, pears and quince trees".<sup>27</sup> The beauty of the Wynberg countryside would be noted by other visitors to this part of the Cape<sup>28</sup> and would prove to be an important aspect of its subsequent development.

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24. Cape Town Gazette and Advertiser, 30 May 1801.

25. D. Fairbridge, Lady Anne Barnard at the Cape (Cape Town, 1924), 193-194.

26. *ibid.*, 194.

27. S. Plummer, Journal (London, 1821), 21.

28. R. Semple, Walks and Sketches at the Cape, (1805), 110-114.

Prior to the arrival of the British, and for some years afterwards, supplies of wood, fresh produce and wine were transported to Cape Town by the farmers of Wynberg and the Constantia Valley, were accounted the area's chief contribution to the economy. Although their livelihood had formerly depended on this contact with the town market,<sup>29</sup> after the British Occupation the farmers were able to extend these services to the Wynberg military camp, where there was an urgent need for all these local commodities, in addition to large supplies of fodder for the horses of the cavalry regiments which were stationed there. The quartermasters' requisition orders bear witness to the regular deliveries at the camp by traders and farmers.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, because the war with France had limited the importation of French wines and brandies to the Cape, locally-produced liquor was served during the British Occupation. Members of the military contingent stationed at the Cape and visiting officials acquired a taste for local wines and encouraged their export to Britain, with the result that, after the wars with Napoleon ended, wine continued to be a significant export commodity.<sup>31</sup>

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29. R. Ross, "The Cape and the world economy" in R. Elphick & H. Giliomee (eds.), *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840* (Cape Town, 1989), 256.

30. C.A., BO 5/152. There were also large orders from Cape Town merchants who had received contracts to supply the army.

31. R.F.M. Immelman, *Men of Good Hope*, 71-72; R. Ross, "The Cape and the world economy" in *The Shaping of South African Society*, 254; C.L. Leipoldt, *Three hundred years of Cape Wine* (Cape Town, 1974), 84.

The inn-keeper at the Halfway House was a regular supplier to the Wynberg camp and would have been in a good position to act as middleman for local farmers, while his monopoly over certain supplies was in keeping with local custom under V.O.C. rule.<sup>32</sup> If Wynberg followed the tradition of other garrison towns,<sup>33</sup> liquor outlets would also have been set up near the camp to supply the service-men, increasing the consumption of liquor in the area. Indeed, complaints about the unruly conduct of soldiers who damaged property and crops were received by the Governor from several land-owners, including Johan Dolfuss, the owner of the Oude Wijnbergh farm, who reported in 1798 that his lands had been "devastated" by the British troops.<sup>34</sup> His memorial suggests that the farm was under cultivation and that he had suffered a substantial loss of income. His dissatisfaction may have contributed to his decision to sell his property, although its sub-division was determined by the terms of his divorce settlement with his wife, Helena.

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32. W.M. Freund, "The Cape under the transitional governments, 1795-1814" in R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds), *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840*, 329.

33. P. Dietz, *Garrison*, 16. The author explains that the permanent garrisons were not always popular with townsfolk because their presence increased the level of drunkenness and prostitution in the town.

34. C.A., B.O. 113 / 87, 25 October 1798.

The subsequent sub-division of Oude Wijnbergh set in motion the process by which farm land would be released for other kinds of development and the way opened for the in-migration of settlers from all walks of life, seeking land for residential and commercial purposes. Oude Wijnbergh was put up for sale in two lots; one substantial eighty-four morgen stand, on which the house stood, was sold to F.R. L. Neethling,<sup>35</sup> and the remaining eighty morgen was purchased by the Cape merchant, Alexander Tennant,<sup>36</sup> who owned numerous other properties at the Cape.<sup>37</sup> Very soon after he had purchased this property, Tennant entered into a protracted but unsuccessful correspondence with the Governor, in which he complained that he was unable to plant crops there because there were troops on his land.<sup>38</sup> A year later he sold 487 square roods of his portion to Jan Sintler,<sup>39</sup> a trader, who built the house known as Klein Oude on this site.<sup>40</sup>

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35. D.O., T 49, 1 June 1801. Johan Dolfuss : F.R.L. Neethling.

36. D.O., T 47 & 48, 25 May 1801. Johan Dolfuss and Helena van der Heyde : Alexander Tennant. Dolfuss and his wife had owned the property since 1794 (T 634, 12 December 1794. H. Brand : J. Dolfuss)

37. D.Philip, British Settlers at the Cape since 1795, (Cape Town, 1981), 416-418.

38. C.A., B.O. 3804, 420, 30 August 1802.

39. D.O., T 156, 6 August 1803. Alex. Tennant : Jan Sintler.

40. H. Fransen & M.A. Cooke, Old Houses of the Cape (Cape Town, 1965), 106.

This sub-division of modest proportions near the ford at which the wagon-road crossed the Krakeelwater (the turbulent stream)<sup>41</sup> was to play a significant role in shaping Wynberg, for it was on this piece of ground that the foundations of the village were laid and the first steps were taken towards the marketing of smaller erven at Wynberg. This site fulfilled many of the requirements for further development in an area inhabited largely by the slave labourers and tenants of the Dutch and German "landed gentry", who owned the farms. It was situated in close proximity to the camp, with its potential demand for goods and services, and adjacent to the wagon-road which brought visitors to the camp. Travellers encouraged passing trade and carried reports of the scenic beauties of the area further afield. In a largely undeveloped southern Peninsula, Wynberg was accessible, healthy and attractive in appearance. It seemed that there was little to hinder its progress. At this point in its development, however, a truce was signed in 1802 between Britain and the revolutionary government of France. The Treaty of Amiens stipulated that the Cape should be returned to the Netherlands, now known as the Batavian Republic.<sup>42</sup>

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41. See above, 31. Map 3.

42. W.M. Freund, "The Cape under the transitional governments, 1795-1814" in *The Shaping of South African Society*, 344-345. Freund provides a keen analysis of the social, political and economic changes which the three administrations wrought at the Cape during this period.

Accordingly, the British garrison was withdrawn from Wynberg in 1803 and the Khoi (Hottentot) Regiment which had been stationed at Rietvlei on the west coast, replaced the British at the camp, while the incoming Batavian troops were deployed nearer to Cape Town.<sup>43</sup> However, within a few years the war was renewed and another British force occupied the Cape.<sup>44</sup> Thus, from 1806 British troops were again quartered at the Wynberg camp, but the new garrison found it in a very dilapidated condition.<sup>45</sup> Little attention seems to have been paid to its upkeep by the Batavian government and camp memoranda recorded the extent of the damage, claiming that "the mess-house and the officers' quarters were in a state of decay". This was remedied later in the year when repairs were undertaken by the British government.<sup>46</sup> The people of Wynberg once again found themselves in a key position to supply the garrison, providing labour and services to personnel stationed there and visitors to the camp. Certain of the buildings were allocated to senior officers who were stationed at the camp and were prepared to improve and maintain their own quarters.

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43. J.A. de Villiers, "Hottentot Regimente aan die Kaap", 165.

44. V.T. Harlow, "The Cape Colony, 1806-1822" in (C.H.B.E.), V 8, 216.

45. C.A., CO 5/155, 7 July 1807.

46. C.A., CO 5/180, 23 November 1807. Requisition for timber to rebuild huts at Wynberg.

A few other officers sought property outside the camp, which would provide suitable accommodation for them and their families for the duration of their stay at Wynberg. As a result, several important transactions took place. The first of these was the application in 1807 by an enterprising young officer of the Cape Regiment, Lieut. Louis Ellert, for a piece of sloping ground adjacent to Klein Oude.<sup>47</sup> This occurred shortly before he and a colleague, Lieut. Ernst Egger, were to be married to two sisters, Gertruida and Carolina Baartman.<sup>48</sup> Ellert received this land, and on it the house known as Rozendal was built. It is probable that both families lived on this property till 1810, when Egger also applied for and received a piece of land adjoining Vredenhof.<sup>49</sup> This estate had been purchased in 1808 by their senior officer, Captain Patrick Craufurd, who lived there with his wife and family.<sup>50</sup>

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47. C.A., CO 3865, 454a of 1807. Ellert requested "a small piece of ground, not calculated for the camp, which had a hilly surface, and had lain waste and uninhabited".

48. C.G. de Villiers, *Register of Old Cape Families* (re-written by C. Pama, Cape Town, 1966), 108. Gertruida Baartman (Baateman) married Jacob Louis Ellert and Carolina Baartman married Ernst Egger on 20 July 1807.

49. C.A., CO 3877, 218 of 1810.

50. D.O., CF 577, 28 October 1808. J.C. de la Harpe : P. Craufurd.

In 1811 Ellert submitted another memorial in which he begged "to retain for his wife the house, situated on a piece of ground which only by experience and labour could have been brought to the good state it is now in".<sup>51</sup> Subsequent events indicate that this request was granted and ownership of the much improved property was transferred to his wife, Gertruida.<sup>52</sup> These purchases established a pattern of ownership by military personnel of property situated near the camp. Ellert's comment suggests that he had commenced farming operations on his property and that he and his colleagues regarded the ground as a capital investment. However, very few members of the military contingent stationed at the camp during the first decade of British occupation followed the example of Ellert, Egger and Craufurd. The uncertainties of military service did not usually encourage long-term investment and it was not until the war ended that this trend was reversed. During the war years it was deemed necessary to extend the camp and, in a timely transaction with the government, Tennant decided to exchange his portion of Oude Wijnbergh for the Zonnebloem estate at Woodstock.

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51. C.A., CO 3887, 31 of 1811.

52. See below, 55.

The acquisition of Tennant's land in 1809 increased the camp ground and this also enabled the British authorities to improve the wagon-road and to provide commonage for the local population. A long cottage (later known as Glebe Cottage) was constructed either before or just after Tennant parted with his land.<sup>53</sup> It was built from silver-tree poles, rough brick and plaster in a manner similar to the other buildings in and around Wynberg camp.<sup>54</sup> This building served both as a chapel and a vestry for the British troops and the general public, but it was also used as an ambulant hospital and a store-room.<sup>55</sup> The military camp was now firmly established on the hill, halfway between Cape Town and the naval station at Simon's Bay. Both Wynberg and Simonstown were economically dependent on their powerful clients, the British military and naval establishments respectively, and were further linked by the new "hard" road which was constructed between Cape Town and Simon's Town.

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53. F. Bradlow, "Glebe Cottage, Wynberg and its artists", Q.B.S.A.L., 17 (2), 34-39.

54. R. Lewcock, *Early 19th Century Architecture in South Africa, 1795-1837* (Cape Town, 1963), 79.

55. W. Burchell, *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*, (London, 1822), 104. The drawings by Burchell of the camp indicate its dispersed nature and the primitive construction of the buildings.

This was the work of the highly-skilled engineer-surveyor, Louis Michel Thibault,<sup>56</sup> who made a detailed survey of the area. A map, dated 1811, which accompanies the notes that he made for the construction of the new road, confirms the sparse development in the environs of Wynberg.<sup>57</sup> It shows the camp site with only two houses on the upper slopes of the hill, while the cottage/chapel can be seen further down the slope. On the map the farm-houses of Vredenhof and Oude Wijnbergh with their outbuildings are clearly indicated too, and there is a row of cottages along the border of Sintler's property, Klein Oude, now quite separate from Oude Wijnbergh and adjacent to the Ellert farm, Rozendal. This map also shows the old road from Rondebosch and Newlands winding over the hill and passing Klein Oude before running up to the summit of Alphen Hill. The road split in two at this point, one branch going south towards Simonstown, the other towards the Constantia Valley. However, Thibault's new road cut straight across land belonging to the Rust en Werk and Vredenhof estates and joined the old road at Diep River.<sup>58</sup> Thus the road which passed through Wynberg became a deviation from the new highway, which was completed by 1811.<sup>59</sup>

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56. H.M. Puyfontein, Louis Michel Thibault, 1750-1815 (Cape Town, 1972), 58.

57. C.A., M3/41. General map of abodes and properties situated on the right-hand side of the public road from Cape Town to Simonstown beginning at the Lines and ending at Klaassenbosch.

58. See below, 53. Map 4.

59. H.M. Puyfontein, Louis Michel Thibault, 72.

The latter was used extensively for the transport of supplies to the naval base, but it also expedited travel to and from the outlying areas for coaches and travellers on horse-back. Although the new road by-passed the tiny village which was emerging on and around Klein Oude, this did not inhibit its growth, because the camp on the hill was the focal point of activity in the area and provided the raison d'être for the existence of the village. The periodic influx of military personnel and visitors into the Wynberg area created a steady demand for services, commodities and accommodation in this garrison settlement until the war ended. Thereafter, changing economic and political trends affecting the entire colony, began to determine its subsequent growth. By 1814 it could no longer be suggested that Britain was playing a "care-taker" role at the Cape; the colony was instead regarded as the legitimate spoils of war.<sup>60</sup>

The substantial British army presence at the Cape during the years 1806-1815 ensured their military pre-eminence in this comparatively small settler population. While no consistent immigration plan on the part of the colonial authorities can be identified at Wynberg, this period saw the transformation of the

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60. W.M. Freund, "The Cape under the transitional governments, 1795-1814" in R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652 - 1840*, 324-378. Freund emphasises that conflicting views on the retention of the colony in the early days of the transitional governments had given way to a decision to consolidate in 1814.

scattered farming units and the small properties of the tradespeople into a cohesive though heterogenous settlement node. When Sintler died in 1816 he left Klein Oude to Rachel van der Kaap, his common-law wife, who was his sole heir.<sup>61</sup> A year after she took transfer of the property she sold a large part of it to Philip Barchveld, a shop-keeper,<sup>62</sup> but she retained a portion of the land, and later married Abraham Zasman, a local tradesman.<sup>63</sup> After she died, her children and their descendants continued to live there and to practise the Islamic faith, the property remaining a small Muslim enclave for many years to come. The subsequent sub-divisions of Klein Oude and the two or three erven granted on the adjacent ground belonging to the military housed the expanding group of tradespeople who served the camp.<sup>64</sup>

This tiny hub of activity provided a centre-point for future growth which was achieved by the systematic sub-division of the larger estates into marketable erven, attracting large and small investors. This came about as the result of private enterprise and the over-riding influence of the military personnel. Because

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61. D.O., T 149, 13 September 1816. Jan Sintler : Rachel van der Kaap.

62. D.O., OCF 6/121, 18 June 1817. R. van der Kaap : Philip Barchveld.

63. D.O., T 14, 5 February 1839. Deceased estate of Rachel Zasman : Abraham Zasman.

64. See below, 53. Map 4.

there had been little improvement in the housing provided by the military, it is hardly surprising that the officers stationed permanently at the camp aspired to more comfortable quarters for themselves and their families. They began to examine the surrounding properties with a speculative eye and it was at this point that, fortuitously for them, a large stretch of farm land became available for residential development. After the initial sub-division of Oude Wijnbergh in 1801, Neethling had held onto his portion of it until 1809, when he sold it to the merchant, William Maude for 40,000 guilders (about £1000).<sup>65</sup>

Eight years later, when Maude died, it was sold jointly to Captain William Proctor and George Reynolds for 130,000 guilders (£3750).<sup>66</sup> At this stage financial dealings at the Cape were still conducted in the former currency,<sup>67</sup> creating some uncertainty about exchange rates for paper money and coin. Yet, even allowing for the effects of inflation after the war, this was an appreciable increase in price, if not in value. This transaction marked the beginning of systematic investment in property in the vicinity of Wynberg, both by people with military connections, and

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65. D.O., T 120, 14 August 1809. F.R.L. Neethling: W. Maude.

66. D.O., T 171, 27 August 1817. W. Maude (deceased estate) : W. Proctor & G. Reynolds.

67. E.H.D. Arndt, Banking and currency development in South Africa, 1652-1927 (Cape Town, 1928), 23-24.

by speculators and tradespeople who could benefit by settling there. After two months Reynolds disposed of his interest in the Oude Wijnbergh property at a profit to Hendrik Vos,<sup>68</sup> and Proctor immediately acquired it, at the same price, from Vos.<sup>69</sup> As soon as he had sole ownership of the property,<sup>70</sup> Proctor proceeded to recover his considerable financial outlay by sub-division and re-sale of portions of the estate. On the day of its consolidation, Proctor sold a large erf on the upper slopes of the hill to an extensive Peninsula property-owner, Captain George Jackman Rogers,<sup>71</sup> who held the post of Registrar of Deeds and Slaves at the Cape.<sup>72</sup>

Just prior to his purchase of land from Proctor, Rogers had been able to acquire five morgen adjacent to it;<sup>73</sup> this was a portion of the land which the colonial authorities had exchanged with Tennant but which was no longer needed for military purposes. As

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68. D.O., T 153, 5 September 1817. G.Reynolds : H. Vos. Reynolds received 74,500 guilders for his share of the property.

69. D.O., T 154, 5 September 1817. H.Vos: W. Proctor. Vos was his wife's grand-father, which is probably how this arrangement came about.

70. D.O., OCF 6/134, 3 October 1817. Consolidated grant to W. Proctor.

71. D.O., T 53, 3 October 1817. W. Proctor: G.J. Rogers.

72. P.Philip, *British Residents at the Cape* (Cape Town, 1981), 354.

73. D.O., T 35, 13 June 1817. Colonial government : G.J. Rogers.

Registrar of Deeds and a serving officer, Rogers was in a prime position to obtain information about government plans for land which was under the control of the War Department. His Wynberg property was aptly named Springfield because on the hillside there were numerous bubbling springs which flowed into a stream that fed the Krakeelwater. Next Proctor sold a large piece of ground west of the Krakeelwater to Captain William Underwood,<sup>74</sup> who built Waterloo House on this fine site near the river.<sup>75</sup> The sale of these erven realised more than 150,000 guilders, which suggests that Proctor was marketing his land very successfully. In the following year he sub-divided three smaller erven adjacent to Underwood's property,<sup>76</sup> but he made no further sales until 1820 when he decided to sell the main portion of Oude Wijnbergh, on which the house and opstal were situated, to his colleague, Captain Joseph Hare, for 130,000 guilders. This sum, which was paid for one quarter of the original eighty-four morgen, was as much as Proctor and Reynolds had paid for the entire property only three years earlier; and they had paid more than thrice the price that Maude had paid for it in 1809.

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74. D.O., T 54, 10 October 1817. W. Proctor : W. Underwood.

75. P. Philip, *British Residents at the Cape*, 435.

76. D.O., T 15, 1 May 1818. W. Proctor : J. Dreyer; T 95, 4 August 1818. W. Proctor : John Humphries; T 183, 14 December 1818. W. Proctor : H. Dredrichs.

This suggests that there had been a considerable increase in demand for property in Wynberg with a concomitant rise in value. Proctor had enriched himself substantially by his speculation in property at Wynberg, showing himself to be a shrewd businessman. He had been fortunate to operate in a seller's market and had obtained an excellent return on his investment. All the larger properties were purchased for residential purposes, although farming was continued on some of them; the owners of the smaller erven near to Klein Oude, such as Diedericks, Dreyer and Rosa, used their properties for commercial enterprises.

Before Proctor sold his house to Hare, he once more assisted Rogers to enlarge the Springfield property by sub-dividing an erf from Oude Wijnbergh and transferring it to him.<sup>77</sup> On that day Rogers also acquired another large piece of military property,<sup>78</sup> which extended Springfield further up the hill. This meant that both Hare and Rogers now had large estates, abutting onto each other and extending from the boundary line of the camp ground to the border of the Stellenberg estate.<sup>79</sup>

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77. D.O., T 99, 14 July 1820. W. Proctor : G.J. Rogers.

78. D.O., T 98, 14 July 1820.

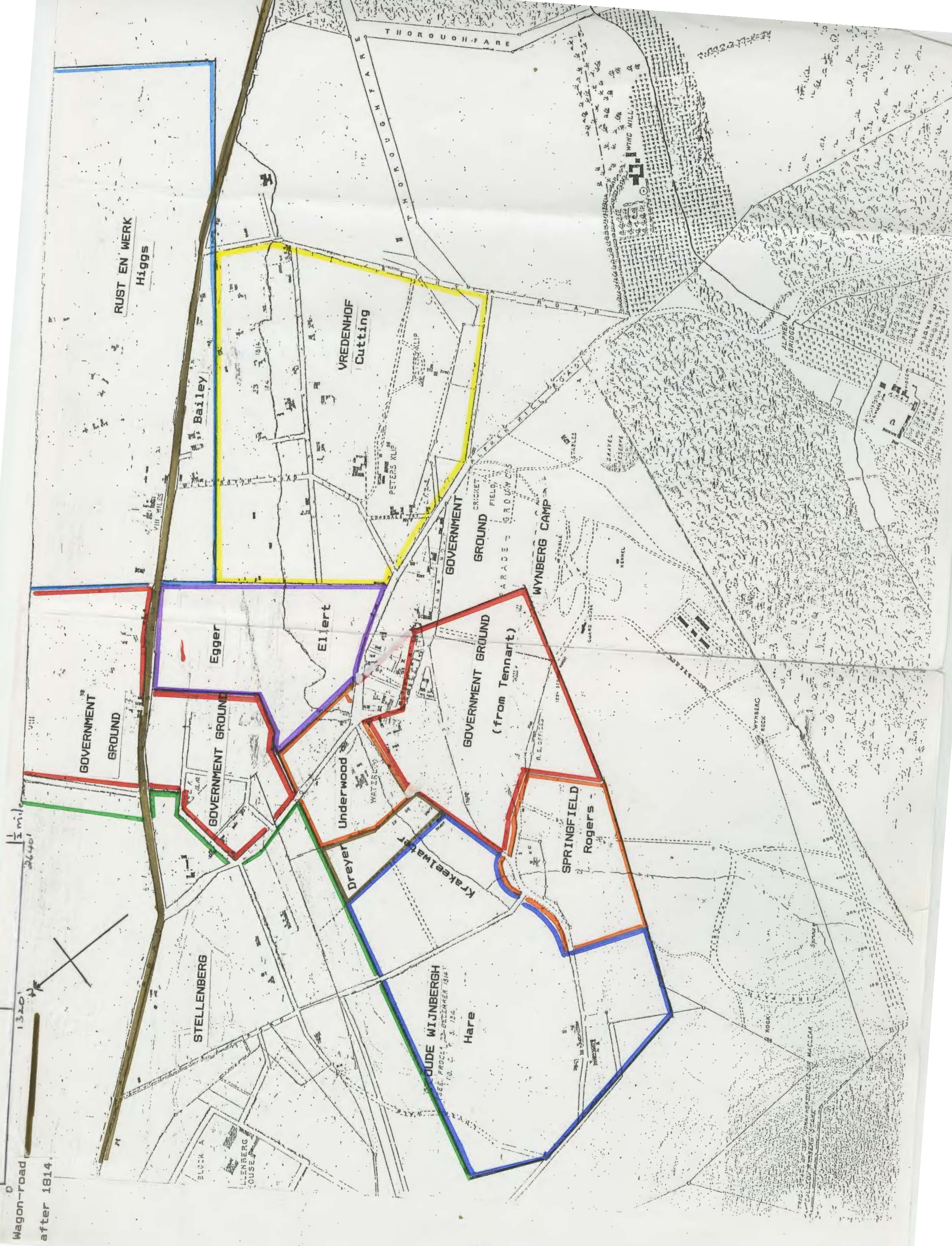
79. See below, 53. Map 4.

May 4 : Sketch map showing the major sub-divisions of the farm,  
Oude Wijnbergh and the new road to Simonstown in 1820.

SCALE.

Wagon-road  
after 1814.

1320'  
1/2 mile  
2640'



A month later Proctor disposed of the remainder of his property near to Klein Oude, in two erven<sup>80</sup> and left the district to farm successfully in the Malmesbury district, where he had bought a large property.<sup>81</sup> Thus, within three years, Proctor had fragmented the first and largest grant of land made in the area, although the Hare property continued to bear the name, Oude Wijnbergh. Hare was one of the few British military men whose influence in Wynberg was not of a transitory nature,<sup>82</sup> and he and his large family occupied the diminished estate for almost forty years. On the hillside around his homestead he created a beautiful garden where indigenous plants were allowed to flourish and where exotic species were cultivated; it was in his hands that Oude Wijnbergh regained its status as a manor-house. In the late 1820s Rogers also took up residence on his beautiful and productive farm, Springfield, adjacent to the Hare homestead, having previously leased part of it to his distinguished colleague, Captain James Fehrzen, who died there in 1828.<sup>83</sup>

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80. D.O., T 130, 21 July 1820. W. Proctor : Pierre Rosa; T 220, 25 August 1820. W. Proctor : J. Bell.

81. P. Philip, *British Residents at the Cape*, 334.

82. R.R. Langham-Carter, "The Hares of Wynberg" in *Familia*, May, 1978. Hare was attached to the Department of Customs as the official wine-taster, whose job it was to test and certify Cape wines for export purposes. When he took up residence in Wynberg, he involved himself in local affairs and served as a Justice of the Peace.

83. C.G. Botha, *Social life in the Cape Colony in the 18th Century* (Cape Town, 1970), 58-60.

Although Oude Wijnbergh was the first farm to be split up and it was on one of its sub-divisions, Klein Oude, that the nucleus of the village developed, it was the adjacent estates, Vredenhof and Petersklip, and the one to the east, Rust en Werk, which provided the land for the extensive expansion of the settlement. The pattern of development on these farms followed a different course to the systematic and profitable sub-division of Oude Wijnbergh; their fragmentation highlights the problems associated with the purchase of real estate in the Cape and its sometimes unfortunate consequences. Unlike Proctor, who benefited hugely from his investment in the Oude Wijnbergh estate, Craufurd had little success with his purchase of Vredenhof.<sup>84</sup> It appears from his insolvency papers that he relied on mortgages to buy the property and that he subsequently over-extended his credit.<sup>85</sup> By 1817 he was heavily in debt and was declared bankrupt. Philip notes that Craufurd asked to be allowed to sell his landed property by private contract "so that he might be spared the disgrace".<sup>86</sup> When he offered all his property for sale (this included the three houses on the Vredenhof estate), it was bought by one of his brother officers, George Glaeser,<sup>87</sup> an army surgeon, who was

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84. See above, 43.

85. C.A., MOIC 2/64, No. 560 of 1817.

86. P. Philip, *British Residents at the Cape*, 80.

87. D.O., T 71, 7 January 1818. P. Craufurd : G. Glaeser.

married to a daughter of another of the Baartman sisters.<sup>88</sup> The court granted Craufurd's petition for rehabilitation on 7 August 1818 and the next day he and his family left for England. Craufurd's unfortunate experience was a fairly common one in the unpredictable financial climate at the Cape, where one man might be bankrupted while his neighbour prospered in the same area. Much depended on the extent to which buyers were forced to mortgage their properties, making them vulnerable to fluctuations in the money market at the Cape. The only sources of finance at that time were money-lenders, who operated freely at the Cape, and the Lombard Bank, which was controlled by the government.<sup>89</sup>

In 1808 a Discount Branch of the Bank had been established and this accepted deposits from the public, on which interest was paid at 5%, while discounts were offered at 6%. Thus cash was attracted to the Bank, which was then able to make funds available for mortgages.<sup>90</sup> The Discount Branch, where money could be invested or readily accessed by the public, prospered until the arrival of Governor Lord Charles Somerset. These favourable conditions were reversed by his irrational decision in 1814 that, in future, no

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88. C.G. de Villiers, Registers of old Cape families (Cape Town, 1966), 108.

89. E.H.D. Arndt, Banking and Currency Development in South Africa (1652-1927) (Cape Town, 1928), 172-173.

90. *ibid.*, 178-179

interest would be paid on deposits.<sup>91</sup> This resulted in the resignation of the Bank's President, Sir Francis Dashwood, in protest against this imprudent step. Somerset insisted that there was no risk involved, but, in due course, investors withdrew their deposits from the Discount Branch as they matured, and sought more rewarding investments for their cash, such as the purchase of property or merchandising. In an attempt to stabilise the position of the Bank, loan facilities were increased, but Arndt contends that control was lax and money was advanced to people who were financially irresponsible. This inefficiency caused many insolvencies as property was encumbered with heavy mortgages and businesses were set up with substantial loans.<sup>92</sup> In Wynberg, as elsewhere, there were those who prospered by using the credit facilities of the Bank wisely, while others failed miserably in their attempts to meet their huge financial commitments.

Yet, despite the many insolvencies, people were not deterred from investing in land and making the same mistakes that Craufurd had done. Lieutenant Egger was one of those unable to keep up the lifestyle of a landed gentleman on a junior officer's pay. Moreover, he was already deeply in debt to the Bank when in 1820

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91. *ibid.*, 185.

92. *ibid.*, 192.

he purchased an additional strip of land adjacent to that of his brother-in-law, Ellert, from Glaeser.<sup>93</sup> This purchase brought bankruptcy a step closer and by 1824 he could no longer meet his financial obligations. His entire estate was sequestered and an examination of his insolvency papers<sup>94</sup> reveals that for some years he had been living beyond his means. He had mortgaged all his assets, including numerous slaves, in order to maintain his extravagant life-style. Although his property was sold up, it did not leave his family when it was transferred to one of his debtors, Pieter van Dyk, a shop-keeper,<sup>95</sup> because Van Dyk was also Egger's brother-in-law (Van Dyk had married the elder sister of Gertruida and Carolina Baartman). When strong family connections existed, as in this case where Van Dyk and Glaeser were related to Egger by marriage, these ties could be invoked in times of financial difficulty. Others, like Craufurd, who lacked such support, went to the wall. Thus, Egger, his wife and his children remained at Rozendal with his widowed sister-in-law, Gertruida Ellert. After Egger left the army, he was appointed the pound-master at Wynberg<sup>96</sup> and was rehabilitated with the assistance of his wife's family. In 1829 Gertruida Ellert bought

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93. D.O., T 71, 13 October 1820. G. Glaeser : E. Egger.

94. C.A., MOIC 2/156, No. 975 of 1824.

95. D.O. T 50, 21 October 1825. E. Egger : P. van Dyk.

96. Cape Almanac (1830), 310.

back Egger's ground from Van Dyk,<sup>97</sup> and the Ellert/ Egger ground was united into a substantial estate, which extended from the border of Klein Oude as far as the new road to Simonstown.<sup>98</sup>

Military men with insufficient capital were not the only participants in land speculation, however, and Philip remarks on the alacrity with which British working-class immigrants purchased property at the Cape in the early years of the nineteenth century. Property-ownership represented "the principal distinguishing mark of the upper classes",<sup>99</sup> and thus provided a powerful motivation for settlers to emigrate to the colonies, where land was readily available. The plight of the marginalised rural working-class in Britain has been emphasised by historians,<sup>100</sup> who have also drawn attention to the declining wages of artisans, dispossessed of their crafts by the Industrial Revolution.<sup>101</sup> Many of them were forced to live in degraded conditions in large cities where work was available, and so many sought a better life-style in the colonies instead.

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97. D.O., T 115, 28 August 1828. P. van Dyk : widow Ellert.

98. See below, 136. Map 5.

99. P. Philip, "The vicissitudes of the early British settlers at the Cape", Q.B.S.A.L., 49, June, 1986, 159.

100. E.J. Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State*, (London, 1983), 138-142; E.J. Hobsbawm and G. Rude, *Captain Swing* (London, 1975).

101. E.J. Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State* (1983), 148-156.

Although they might not have been in a position to own property in Britain, the acquisition of land was associated with social advancement. This desire for improved social status was a feature of many of the property transactions which took place at Wynberg in the 1820s. These upwardly aspiring immigrants were not always able to back their investments with enough capital, however, and more insolvencies resulted. William Cutting,<sup>102</sup> who arrived at the Cape in 1817, exemplifies the attempts made by men with little capital to improve their social standing by acquiring landed property. He had married Sarah, the daughter of Robert Cooper,<sup>103</sup> a non-commissioned officer with whom he had lodged at the Wynberg camp, and by 1820 he was working as a carter with two wagons on the road to Simonstown. He and his wife had rented Vredenhof from Glaeser and when the latter decided to sell the estate, Cutting took two substantial mortgages from the Lombard Bank in order to purchase it.<sup>104</sup> Unfortunately he was unable either to make his business pay or to derive enough income from his property to meet his expenses and, when he was declared insolvent in 1827, he was indebted to the extent of £21,000.<sup>105</sup> There is no obvious reason why Cutting did not market some of his

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102. P. Philip, *British Residents at the Cape*, 85-86.

103. *ibid.*, 74-75.

104. D.O., T 73, 10 October 1820. G. Glaeser : W. Cutting.

105. C.A., MOIC 2/304, No. 112 of 1827.

land, as Proctor had done, except that he wished to keep up the appearance of a substantial land-owner. When he was unable to sustain this fiction, the bank fore-closed, reducing him to the status of tradesman once more. His insolvency also estranged him from his parents-in-law, who disinherited their daughter in favour of her children as a mark of their displeasure.<sup>106</sup> Lacking the kind of support which had been provided to Egger by his relatives, Cutting's property was sold off in order to discharge his debts, thereby precipitating the next phase of growth at Wynberg. Within a three-month period in 1827, the second largest estate in the area was sub-divided into twenty-one lots of varying size, which were sold to W.Scott,<sup>107</sup> P. van Dyk,<sup>108</sup> J. Dunbar,<sup>109</sup> A. Merckel,<sup>110</sup> W. Usher,<sup>111</sup> Colonel Daniel,<sup>112</sup> J. Zeeman,<sup>113</sup> A. Sutherland<sup>114</sup> and J. Bailey.<sup>115</sup>

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106. C.A., M00C 77/1/162; see also P.Philip, *British Residents at the Cape*, 75.

107. D.O., T 12, 20 April 1827. W. Cutting : W. Scott.

108. D.O., T 15, 20 April 1827. W.Cutting : P. van Dyk.

109. D.O., T 23, 23 April 1827. W. Cutting : Jas. Dunbar.

110. D.O., T 58/59, 4 May 1827. W. Cutting : A Merckel.

111. D.O., T 104/105/106, 18 May 1827. W. Cutting : W. Usher.

112. D.O., T 109, 18 May 1827. W. Cutting : Colonel J. Daniel.

113. D.O., T 193/194/195, 15 June 1827. W.Cutting : Jan Zeeman.

114. D.O., T 197, 15 June 1827. W. Cutting : A. Sutherland.

115. D.O., T 135/136, 15 June 1827. W. Cutting : W. Bailey.

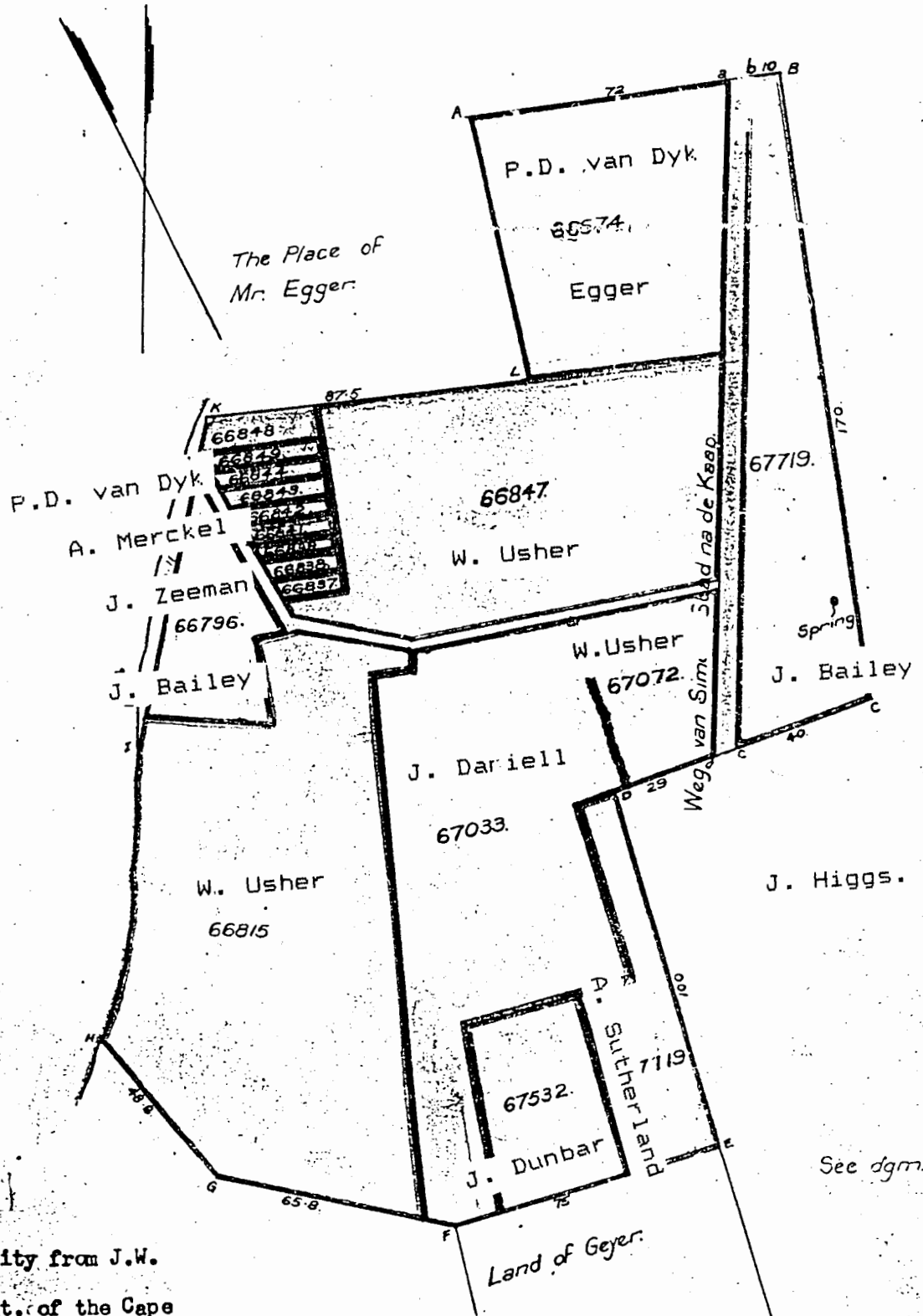
Diagram of the sub-division of the Vredenhof and Petersklip  
estates as the result of the bankruptcy of W. Cutting.

This diagram substitutes dgm 53/1812  
annexed to O.C.F. 6-84.

Fig. A.a.d.D.E.F.G.H.I.K.L.

ERF 66571 CAPE TOWN  
at Wynberg.

The Diagram A.B.C.D.E.F.G.H.I.K.L. represents the places Vredenhof  
and Petersklip, containing (exclusive of the Road to Simons Town)  
67 Morgen and 136 Square roods of Land situated in the Cape District  
at Wynberg near the Camp.

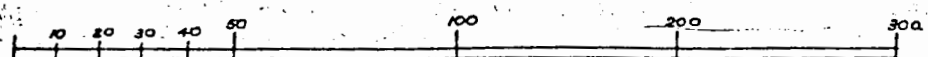


ERF 66571  
Comp M 18 M. 19  
Ref.

See dgm. 53

Surveyed by authority from J.W.  
Stoll Esqre. Landdt. of the Cape  
District, 21 April 1817, by

(Sgd.) John Melvill  
Govt. Surveyor.



The purchasers of these erven indicate the heterogeneous nature of the population, some being of Dutch and others of British origin; most of them, like Van Dyk, Merckel, Dunbar and Bailey were shopkeepers, while Zeeman was an inn-keeper. Colonel Daniel was the only military man and he bought the erf on which the Vredenhof manor-house was situated, retaining it for some years before eventually selling it to William Usher.<sup>116</sup> The sudden fragmentation of this substantial estate was the direct result of Cutting's insolvency; it was never reconstituted, although for some years Usher<sup>117</sup> did own the major portion of it, including the Vredenhof and Petersklip homesteads. Usher had once been a soldier but not an officer and, therefore, was not ranked as a gentleman. In a memorial to the Governor Usher describes himself as "a government servant of some twenty years standing, having been a surveyor's clerk in America and having served in the army from 1809 - 1817."<sup>118</sup> He had contracted "Walcheren fever" during the campaign in the Netherlands but had taken part in the battle of Waterloo. In 1816 he was ordered to the Cape "in consequences of his poor health", and by 1822 he was employed as a clerk at the Ordnance Department. Like Cutting he seems to have had ambitious ideas, but he had the business acumen to develop them successfully

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116. D.O. T 88, 6 May 1832. J. Daniel : W. Usher.

117. P. Philip, British Residents at the Cape, 436.

118. C.A., CD 3975, 4.

and thus fared better than Cutting did. When Usher discovered that the land he had bought from Cutting's insolvent estate was not suitable for the large dairy herd which he had envisaged, he applied for five hundred morgen of ground at Zeekoeivlei. His petition was not favourably received, however, and on it an official commented: "What business can an ordnance clerk have with cattle-breeding and an additional 1000 acres of land ?" It is clear that the authorities did not regard Usher as a "gentleman" entitled to apply for such privileges. As yet the aspirations of the upwardly mobile settlers were still subject to the entrenched privilege of the upper class elite who administered the colony, and it would be some time before a new generation could overcome the stigma of "trade". Nevertheless, Usher possessed two manor houses and a substantial estate. He had acquired sufficient capital to invest with confidence and without the need for a large mortgage; nor did he become insolvent after he had established a successful dairy farm on his property. Some years later he opened an equally popular inn, which he and his wife managed successfully until 1850.<sup>119</sup> Usher was only one of a growing number of middle-income salary-earners, who had decided to invest in property in the Wynberg area and operate a business or trade on that site.

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119. Cape Almanac (1848), list of inhabitants (unpaginated).

Some of these small entrepreneurs, like Usher, were former military or naval personnel without rank, while others, like Cutting's father-in-law, Cooper, sought security in commerce on retirement. He was one of those who had purchased a site close to the camp before he left the army.<sup>120</sup> He established a trading store near to the existing shop of Barchveld and the cartage business owned by the Zelman family. Others were civilian immigrants from Britain, Europe or St. Helena, hoping to make a fresh start in the colony by acquiring their own property. For instance, Pierre Rosa and Hendrick Diedericks,<sup>121</sup> who had purchased properties from Proctor, also went into business, as a mason and a shoe-maker respectively, while Van Dyk, Merckel and Bailey all opened shops on the land they bought from Cutting's insolvent estate, and Zeeman opened a public bar on his property. As in Usher's case, these enterprises all appear to have survived and even prospered, because all were listed in the Cape Almanac of 1830.<sup>122</sup> This small group of businessmen formed the nucleus of a commercial sector in Wynberg and they were soon joined by other entrepreneurs, who hoped to achieve economic stability, sometimes in the face of considerable difficulty.

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120. D.O., T 14, 28 January 1825. H. Crowcher : R. Cooper.

121. See above, 48 (Diedericks), 50 (Rosa).

122. Cape Almanac (1830), 310.

William Moore,<sup>123</sup> originally from St Helena, provides a case of a man who was three times rehabilitated after insolvency,<sup>124</sup> yet became a well-known businessman in Wynberg. Moore was a baker, who had attempted to set up a business in Cape Town, but had been unsuccessful until he moved to Wynberg in 1825,<sup>125</sup> and opened up a profitable store and bakery in partnership with James Bailey. It would appear that initially the business was situated on land belonging to Bailey, who was a relative of Moore by marriage.<sup>126</sup> In 1824 Bailey, who was also a baker by trade, had purchased part of the farm, Rust en Werk,<sup>127</sup> when it was sub-divided into two portions by its current owner, John Carnall, who was in financial difficulties.<sup>128</sup> The other section was bought by John Higgs,<sup>129</sup> a member of the Royal Engineers, who became one of the most important developers in Wynberg.

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123. P. Philip, *British Residents at the Cape* (1981), 286-287.

124. C.A., MOIC 2/48, no 413 of 1814; MOIC 2/62, no 551 Of 1818; MOIC 2/111, no 902 of 1822.

125. P. Philip, "The vicissitudes of the early British settlers at the Cape," *Q.B.S.A.L.*, 40, June 1986, 160.

126. P. Philip, *British Residents at the Cape* (1981), 11.

127. D.O., T 103, 21 May 1824. J. Carnall : Jas. Bailey.

128. G. Theal, *Records of the Cape Colony* (London, 1897-1905) XXVII, 132. Carnall's property was eventually sequestrated on 22 August 1826 and he was banished from the colony for five years.

129. D.O., T 72, 14 May 1824. J. Carnall : J. Higgs.

The sub-division of Rust en Werk was significantly different from that of Oude Wijnbergh for profit by its owner, Proctor, and the forced sale of Vredenhof to enable its owner to discharge his debts. Rust en Werk was sub-divided into several parts by investors with different objectives and the marketing of this farm took place over an extended time period. Its initial sub-division between William Bailey and John Higgs was the first since the original grant in 1692,<sup>130</sup> and it opened the way to ownership of erven which were at some distance from the camp, but adjacent to the new section of the wagon-road. Bailey had made a promising investment in 1824, but when he bought additional land from the insolvent estate of Cutting in 1827,<sup>131</sup> he seems to have overreached himself financially. Before he was declared bankrupt in 1830,<sup>132</sup> however, he sold both his portion of Rust en Werk and his other plots to Moore,<sup>133</sup> keeping these assets in the family. Bailey and Moore then moved the bakery to the smaller site nearer the camp. The support and co-operation of relatives thus provided a strategy for their survival, as it had in the Ellert/ Egger/van Dyk case,<sup>134</sup> enabling the family to overcome this set-back.

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130. D.O., OCO 6/191, 3 May 1692. First grant to Hendrik Zeegers and Jan Harmans. Numerous subsequent transfers.

131. See above, 61.

132. C.A., MOIC 2/191, no 1010 of 1830.

133. D.O., T 128, 7 September 1829. J. Bailey : W. Moore.

134. See above, 57-58

By 1831 Moore had disposed of most of the land which he had acquired from Bailey, retaining only one erf, which was the site of their family home and business in Wynberg village. He sold the large erf on the upper slopes of Alphen Hill to Richard Usher,<sup>135</sup> the son of his neighbour, William; the other properties, adjacent to the wagon-road, were sold to J.G. Cruywagen, a well-known merchant.<sup>136</sup> Moore, his wife and family concentrated their energies on building up their business and did not invest capital in property; but they did assist their son, William, when he extended his commercial interests beyond the family bakery to a coach service to and from Cape Town. By 1830 their stage-coach left Wynberg daily at 8.30 a.m., returning at 4.30 p.m.<sup>137</sup> The Moores' venture was so well patronised that by 1833 they also had coaches travelling to Simonstown three times a week.<sup>138</sup> The son came to grief, however, because he, too, over-committed himself financially by investing in property. When S.V. Cloete, the owner of Stellenberg, decided to market the portion of his estate through which the wagon-road passed,<sup>139</sup> Moore saw this as a

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135. D.O., T 169, 22 March 1831. William Moore : R. Usher.

136. D.O., T 81, 22 July 1831. W. Moore : J.G. Cruywagen.

137. P.R. Coates, *Track and Trackless* (Cape Town, 1970), 34; see also *S. A. Commercial Advertiser*, 17 September 1830. Subsequent issues of the paper carried arrival and departure times for the benefit of local residents and visitors.

138. *Cape Almanac* ( 1833), 217.

139. D.O., T 194, 28 August 1832. S.V. Cloete : W. Moore, Jnr.

tempting opportunity to acquire land on the road along which the coaches travelled. Unfortunately most of his capital was tied up in the coaching business and he had to take a substantial mortgage from Cloete in order to purchase the ground. Within the next two years he got into financial difficulties and in 1834 his land was put up for auction in his insolvent estate.<sup>140</sup> However, with the assistance of his father and mother, he was rehabilitated and he was able to resume his business operations.

Family solidarity and opportunities for diversification of commercial interests in this under-developed area were clearly stabilising factors in the local economy. Over-confidence and under-capitalisation remained an on-going problem, but, on balance, the survival rate among middle-income entrepreneurs at Wynberg was high, as this thesis will attempt to demonstrate. Perkin has characterised the entrepreneur as the linch-pin of modern English society because "he conceived the end, found the means, bore the burden of risk and paid out the other factors of production".<sup>141</sup> It was small entrepreneurs of this ilk who formed the backbone of village growth in Wynberg, and it was the lively spirit displayed by these individuals which gave the impetus for further development.

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140. C.A., MDIB 2/495, no 33 of 31 August, 1833.

141. H. Perkin, *The origins of modern English Society*, 222.

Among the new entrepreneurs one man, in particular, was associated with the successful marketing of fixed property in the 1820s and the 1830s. This was John Higgs,<sup>142</sup> who had bought half of the farm, Rust en Werk, in 1824.<sup>143</sup> From this modest initial investment, Higgs was to emerge as a key figure in the expansion of Wynberg and, through his enterprise, he was to extend the residential area beyond the confines of the village to the land surrounding it. His speculative ventures, together with those of his heirs, were to determine the shaping of Wynberg for some years to come.

Although there is doubt as to the exact date of his arrival at the Cape, his true identity<sup>144</sup> and his source of income, his influence on Wynberg is clearly documented from 1824, when he made his first property investment there. Four years after his first purchase Higgs sub-divided his portion of Rust en Werk and sold the larger section to Henry Batt,<sup>145</sup> a former ship-steward, and

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142. C.A., MD00 6/9/36, no 7911. Information which appears on his death certificate suggests that John Higgs was born in 1780 at Chorley, Berkshire and was the son of John and Sarah Higgs. He was married twice; his first wife had one child, also named John, who pre-deceased his father. This son and his father's second wife, Mary Anne Laws, accompanied Higgs to the Cape where nine children were born to the couple in the course of their marriage.

143. See above, 66.

144. F.R. Bradlow, "A Sequel to the Cato Street Conspiracy", Q.B.S.A.L., V 25 (4), June 1969, 109.

145. D.O., T 38, 17 August 1828. J. Higgs : H. Batt.

another entrepreneur who had made a substantial fortune at the Cape.<sup>146</sup> Batt named his property, Plumstead, and the thickly wooded area near the Batt homestead became known as Batt's Wood; this name survived for many years after the area had been cleared of its growth of trees. As more plots became available a small village of that name grew up between his land and the road to Simonstown. Like Moore, Batt also purchased a large piece of ground near the wagon-road from S.V. Cloete;<sup>147</sup> he then subdivided this additional land into two large erven and sold one to Simon Morley,<sup>148</sup> who had a butchery, and the other to George Apsey,<sup>149</sup> a wagoner. The latter and his son-in-law, Edward Wetton, were to become significant figures in the evolving Plumstead community, which would become a distinct unit later in the 1830s. When he died in 1833 or 1834,<sup>150</sup> an impressive tomb

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146. P. Philip, *British Residents at the Cape*, 19. The firm, Batt and Almond, and later Batt and Viret, were wine merchants; they also supplied dry goods to the navy. His final will, drawn up in 1832 (C.A., M000 7/1/120, no 33 of 1832) showed that Batt owned several properties at the Cape, in addition to his land in Wynberg, and that his estate was worth about thirty thousand pounds, making him one of the wealthiest residents in Wynberg.

147. D.O., T 169, 17 June 1831. S.V. Cloete : H. Batt.

148. D.O., T 215, 14 December 1832. H.Batt : S. Morley.

149. D.O., CO 6/8, 20 February 1832; CO 7/42, 30 April 1832. H. Batt : G. Apsey.

150. No death certificate exists for him but cession documents are available (NCD., 39/24 nos 3441 -3444, 3465,) in the notarial protocol of J.S. Merrington, acting for M.D. Batt with J.D. Jackson (executor) and the sisters of Henry Batt: Sarah Batt of Plumstead, Kent and Mary Anne Batt of Walesworth.

was erected near the house on his property at Plumstead; but today there is only a small slab in a childrens' play-ground off Sussex Street, reading simply: "Henry Batt, founder of Plumstead village."<sup>151</sup>

Although Higgs had sold a large portion of Rust en Werk to Batt, he had retained for development an elongated strip of the land, which lay alongside the wagon-road. In 1830 he sub-divided it into several erven, one of which he sold to the Wesleyan Mission<sup>152</sup> as the site of their Chapel. The other erven went to private individuals : Thomas Mullins,<sup>153</sup> James Orchard, an inn-keeper,<sup>154</sup> and Batt,<sup>155</sup> who bought an additional plot on the wagon-road midway between his other stands. It would appear that Batt provided mortgage bonds for all these purchasers and, when he died, Mullins, Orchard, Apsey and the trustees of the Wesleyan Chapel were still indebted to his estate, together with several

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151. R.R. Langham-Carter, "Some mementoes of the Okes family", *Africana Notes and News*, V 20, 1972-73. The author describes the property during the time when it was occupied by the Okes family in the 1840s. Immelmann records that by 1960 the vault had deteriorated to such an extent that it required restoration. No funds were available for this purpose and it was removed (U.C.T. Archives, BC600, Immelman collection, Cape Argus newspaper clipping)

152. D.O., T 100, 9 February 1930. J. Higgs : Wesleyan Mission.

153. D.O., T 32, 19 October 1830. J. Higgs : Thos. Mullins.

154. D.O., T 34, 19 October 1830. J. Higgs : J. Orchard.

155. D.O., T 99, 9 February 1830. J. Higgs : H. Batt.

other local property owners.<sup>156</sup> Although Higgs does not appear to have been in a position to offer bonds, he is an excellent example of a tradesman who prospered in Wynberg through his own efforts, always remaining solvent.

Higgs constructed houses and cottages on some erven either before or after he sold them and some years later, in a memorial which he submitted to the government, he provided information about his early life which may explain his success as a building contractor. He declared that he had been employed in the service of the Royal Engineers as "Overseer of Works for twenty-two years, seven of which he spent in the erection of Martello Towers, batteries, etc. on the coasts of Kent and Sussex, and fifteen years in the Colony."<sup>157</sup> Higgs added that in 1824 he was superannuated "from age and infirmity" by the Board of Ordnance with a small pension of sixty-eight pounds per annum, and it was in that year that he made his first investment in Wynberg. Thereafter he directed the skills which he had acquired in the army to his own purposes and soon he was in a position to buy back some of the land he had sold to Batt.

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156. C.A., NCD 39/24, 3470 -3479. These bonds were all ceded to his widow, who continued to draw income from them for some years after Batt's death.

157. C.A., CD 4000, no 27 of 1839. This statement places his arrival at the Cape in 1809, which conflicts with the theory that he could have been involved in the Cato Street conspiracy.

On this ground at the south-eastern end of Rust en Werk, Higgs built houses which were available for hire;<sup>158</sup> these became an additional source of income to this innovative man. It was the diversity of his operations which encouraged a wide range of smaller investors to enter the Wynberg property market and, in subsequent chapters, it will be argued that he thereby satisfied the housing needs of a wide variety of people. Higgs was never a man of property by the standards of the landed gentry, and he and his family appear to have lived modestly in a house on Wynberg Hill. Yet, an examination of Deeds Office records shows that he marketed more property than anyone else in the area during the twenty-year period from 1824 - 1844 and his career as a land speculator significantly influenced other parts of the Wynberg area. It was the initiative and the practical assistance, which entrepreneurs like Higgs brought to the little settlement that gave a constant impetus to the development of Wynberg, although its outward character remained that of a simple rural village. In the creation of this image, no small part was played by the thatched cottages, strongly reminiscent of those in the English countryside, and the small Georgian houses which were built by Higgs and his contemporaries in the leafy lanes of Wynberg and Plumstead in the first part of the nineteenth century.<sup>159</sup>

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158. D.O., T 84, 26 July 1831. H. Batt : J. Higgs. These cottages were popular with Indian visitors who looked for accommodation in Wynberg while on long leave from India.

159. C.A., A 443. Sketches made by Charles D'Oyly (circa 1830).

On the other hand, many people of local origin also purchased erven created by sub-division, and their houses combined features of English design with Dutch vernacular architecture.<sup>160</sup> Dormer windows in the English style began to appear in the original Dutch thatched roofs, while in others, bay windows and porticos were added.<sup>161</sup> The melding of architectural styles reflected a similar interaction in the life-styles of these two groups of settlers.

In Wynberg a balance was preserved between people of Dutch and German origin, such as the Barchveld, Ellert, Egger, Sintler, Zeeman, Diedericks, Dreyer, Van Dyk, Cruywagen and Cloete families, and the incoming British contingent, represented by Hare, Proctor, Underwood, Rogers, Higgs, Batt, Cutting, Moore, Bailey, Apsey, Mullins and Orchard. The presence of many people who were not of European origin gave an added dimension to the character and the racial features of the local population. Their contribution should not be under-estimated in any assessment of the residential patterns and other demographic features of Wynberg. An amalgam of these and other elements became an integral part of village development during the first half of the nineteenth century, as families intermarried and newcomers were incorporated into the small community.

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160. R.W. Lewcock, *Early Nineteenth Century Architecture at the Cape* (Cape Town, 1963), 118.

161. *ibid.*, 314-315.

Thus, the heterogeneous population of Wynberg assumed a coherent form in the 1820s, as the realities of class and culture began to shape the social structure and the British immigrants created a milieu in which they could feel at home on the African continent. This "transportation of British values and identity" characterised many colonial settlements,<sup>162</sup> just as British visitors to Wynberg from military and civil establishments in India had brought with them their own cultural contributions to what must have seemed an alien life-style.<sup>163</sup> It was at this stage that "cricket on the Green", horse-racing and riding to hounds were introduced in the colony, usually by British military visitors,<sup>164</sup> and these pursuits undoubtedly increased the British character of Wynberg village, already evident in its close connections with the garrison at the camp. The military had been both a visible and a profitable presence since the early days of occupation, but the importance of Wynberg as a garrison village was somewhat diminished following the cessation of hostilities with France.

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162. N. Canny and A. Pagden, *Afterword: from identity to independence* in N. Canny and A. Pagden (eds.), *Colonial identity in the Atlantic World* (New Jersey, 1987), 269

163. A.D. King, *Colonial urban development, culture, social power and environment* (London, 1976), 124-125. King has discussed the meeting-point of Anglo/Indian cultural relationships in the "bungalow compounds" of military cantonments under similar circumstances.

164. A.F. Hattersley, *An Illustrated Social History of South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg, 1969),

In a report to the Colonial Secretary in 1826, Major-General Bourke (Acting Governor of the Cape) stated that Wynberg was "unsuitable and expensive to maintain as a permanent barracks in peace-time",<sup>165</sup> adding that there was no possible advantage in stationing a detachment or keeping up houses for staff-officers in Wynberg. Bourke perceived a value for the site in residential use, however, and he proposed that the land belonging to the military should be sold off to private persons, because, he believed, "in a few years a beautiful village would be raised on this spot which remains now, in great measure, uncultivated from what I conceive to be a mistaken idea of its importance as a military station."<sup>166</sup>In view of the sub-division and re-sale of land by Proctor and others taking place adjacent to the camp at this time, this observation is understandable.

From the tone of Bourke's letter it is clear that there were insufficient funds available for the proper maintenance of the camp, which, once again, was allowed to fall into disrepair. Yet his recommendations were not wholly implemented by the colonial authorities because there were factors which militated against the sub-division of this land for residential use. One of the

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165. G.M. Theal, Records of the Cape Colony, 170. Letter from Lieutenant-Governor Bourke to Mr Hay, Government House, 29 July 1826.

166. *ibid.*, 171.

most important of these was the discovery of pure water at a depth of only twenty-four feet at the sites of three bore-holes, which were sunk by members of the Royal Engineers.<sup>167</sup> These water sources were supplemented by the stream, which flowed from the natural springs on the hillside above Rogers' estate and provided the water-supply for the village. This natural water supply, together with the excellent situation of the camp, favoured its continued existence, although it was to be many years before permanent barracks were to be established at Wynberg.<sup>168</sup> Another reason why this land was not alienated lay in the fact that it had been regarded by the local residents as commonage since its acquisition by the colonial authorities in 1809. Although most of the land adjacent to the cantonment came under the jurisdiction of the military, it had been used by local residents for a variety of purposes; and this would prove a matter of contention sixty years later, when access to the water sources was disputed.<sup>169</sup> From the evidence brought before the parliamentary commission appointed to deal with the matter at that stage, it was clear that "from time immemorial" the commonage had been looked upon as open to all and on it wagons were out-spanned, cattle were pastured and firewood

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167. U.C.T. Libraries, BC600, 1. R.F.M. Immelman, "The Wynberg camp".

168. R.W. Brann, "Wynberg military base and the Army Officers' Club", *Militaria* (Cape Town, 1929), 4-5.

169. Cape of Good Hope Votes and proceedings of the House of Assembly, 1883, V II, S.C. 17 of 1883. Report of the Select Committee on the grant of land at Wynberg and the Cape Flats.

was collected. It was also used as a meeting point for social and recreational activities, which involved both the civilian and the military population, as people assembled there to listen to the military band or to watch the regimental parades and sporting activities. There was thus a growing sense of community amongst the settler population, while religious gatherings which were conducted in the barn-like store-house on the commonage, later known as Glebe Cottage,<sup>170</sup> offered further opportunity for social contact, albeit within sectarian parameters.

As Hattersley has pointed out, "the church was practically the only institution which could give focus to social energies and cultivate a feeling of common responsibility".<sup>171</sup> Yet, prior to the British occupation, no provision had been made in the area for a church, which in itself emphasises its undeveloped character in the eighteenth century.

From the earliest days of European settlement at the Cape, attendance at church services had always been limited for those living in the out-lying areas by the distance which separated many of them from the moedergemeente of the Dutch Reformed Church in Cape Town and the Lutheran Church in Strand Street. Most of the

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170. F.R. Bradlow, "Glebe Cottage, Wynberg and its artists", Q.B.S.A.L. V 17 (1962), 36.

171. A.F. Hattersley, An Illustrated Social History of South Africa (Pietermaritzburg, 1969), 121.

early settlers were members of these central congregations, although services were held from time to time in private houses at Wynberg, Newlands and at the camp.<sup>172</sup> With the advent of the British army units, a strong Anglican presence was immediately established and early church records indicate that baptisms and marriages were performed at the camp from about 1810.<sup>173</sup> Military chaplains and visiting clergy ministered to the garrison and their families, and by 1821 the growing Anglican congregation had raised enough money to convert the store-house on the Green to an English Chapel, which has the distinction of being the second oldest place of worship for Anglicans at the Cape, after the Simonstown Naval Chapel.<sup>174</sup> The Reverend W. Wright was appointed as the first clergyman at the Chapel, which was open to Anglicans of all races and which was also used by the Dutch Reformed Church members for their services. Wright worked so diligently that his congregation numbered 120 within six weeks of his first service.<sup>175</sup> He had come out to the Cape as a missionary from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and he pursued his calling with vigour at Wynberg and elsewhere.

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172. A. Dreyer, *Kerksouvenir van Wynberg* (Cape Town, 1925), 4.

173. CA, A 1939, 1/1/1, 1/2/1. Anglican Church records.

174. K. Vos, *The Church on the Hill* (Cape Town, 1972), 5.

175. *ibid.*, 6; also A.F. Hattersley, *An Illustrated Social History of South Africa*, 121-123. Wright associated himself with Dr. John Philip in his missionary work and he published a pamphlet on slavery at the Cape of Good Hope.

If the Anglican church represented the British establishment in Wynberg, the arrival of the Wesleyan preachers reflected the vitality of the Evangelical Movement which was taking hold amongst working-class people and the upwardly mobile commercial class in Britain.<sup>176</sup> Their open-air meetings were particularly suited to the rural areas of the colony where there were few formal structures for religious observance. When the Reverend Barnabas Shaw of the Wesleyan Church arrived in Wynberg in 1816 to preach in both English and Dutch to the local population, his early meetings were usually conducted under a tree. He also mentioned that he met with a group of soldiers who "regularly assembled for religious worship in a small chapel which they had created in the midst of a forest".<sup>177</sup> The non-conformist churches were not popular with some members of the Anglican establishment and according to Shaw the first Wesleyan Chapel which had been built in the village had been "burned to the ground by the order of the Colonel of the Regiment".<sup>178</sup>

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176. H. Perkin, *The origins of modern English society, 1780-1880*, 356-362; E.J. Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State*, 51-53.

177. B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa* (London, 1841), 53.

178. *ibid.*, 53.

By the time that Shaw returned from his evangelical work in the eastern Cape, however, the congregation had moved to the new chapel which had been established on the ground purchased from Higgs in 1832. Shaw took up residence in Wynberg at the Chapel Cottage, which had been provided by members of the congregation under the leadership of Captain Underwood of Waterloo House, who had offered a donation of fifty pounds towards its construction.<sup>179</sup> Shaw gathered many followers from a wide cross-section of the population and, with the assistance of generous members of his congregation, he started a Sabbath School where free blacks were taught reading and writing, simple arithmetic and, of course, the Christian gospel.<sup>180</sup> The rival British denominations thus competed for converts among the local population, including the slaves, thereby increasing their congregations, and challenging the evangelical activities of their Dutch counterpart and its clergy. In its turn, the moedergemeente of the Dutch Reformed Church in Cape Town decided in 1834 that the increased number of their congregation resident in the southern Peninsula warranted the formation of a new gemeente,<sup>181</sup> and, after consultation, Wynberg was selected as the appropriate centre. A ceremony, marking the dedication of the

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179. *ibid.*, 177.

180. *ibid.*, 163.

181. A. Dreyer, *Kerksouvenir van Wynberg*, 4.

Dutch Reformed Church building in 1832, was attended by many prominent members of the English-speaking community, including the Governor, Sir Lowry Cole, his wife, and other members of the Anglican and Wesleyan congregations.<sup>182</sup> Dr Abraham Faure of the moedergemeente acted as consultant to the Wynberg gemeente until 1834, when his brother, Philip, became its spiritual leader. The appointment of the dynamic young Philip Faure was a significant event for the Wynberg district because his influence extended beyond the limits of his own parish.<sup>183</sup>

Thus, the churches brought together the scattered population of Wynberg and its environs and their buildings were a visible symbol of stability and permanence. There were other features too which suggested that the foundations of the village were firmly established - the growing number of houses and shops, the military post-office located at the Chapel Cottage and the village green where Moore's stage-coaches halted near the camp. With the advent of a regular coach service to and from Cape Town, people began to think of Wynberg as a destination and not merely as a halfway house on the journey to Simonstown. Wynberg was no longer a staging-post through which travellers passed briefly, but had

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182. *ibid.*, 23.

183. *ibid.*, 23. Faure became Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church at an early age and the respect which he engendered among all sections of the community made him a force to be reckoned with in the fifty years of his ministry.

become a substantial settlement with an expanding population. As people entered the area in ever-increasing numbers, Linnegar's comment that Wynberg grew "not by settlement, but by accretion"<sup>184</sup> is apt; but, as it also suggests, there are difficulties in quantifying this process and it is not possible to make any but general statements about the size and distribution of the Wynberg population before mid-century. Deeds Office records confirm property-ownership, but do not indicate whether the owners lived on their properties, or if these were inhabited by an unspecified number of slaves or tenants. Nor are reliable population figures available because census returns for Cape Town included residents of its immediate environs, while those for the Cape District had an even wider scope.<sup>185</sup>

The separate list of inhabitants of Wynberg, published in the Cape Almanac of 1830,<sup>186</sup> gives a tantalising glimpse of the local population. This was the first edition in which such a list appeared, indicating, perhaps, its recognition as a place of permanent residence. As Judges has pointed out in her references to the Almanacs, however, great caution is necessary when using these lists because the people cited comprise only one member per

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184. J. Linnegar, "From village to municipality: a history of Wynberg to 1903" (B.A. Hons., University of Cape Town, 1975), 91.

185. Cape of Good Hope Blue Books, 1828 - 1832.

186. Cape Almanac (1830), 319.

household, which may have included many others and they cannot be regarded as accurate indicators of the total number of people resident in an area.<sup>187</sup> Nevertheless, the Almanacs do provide valuable insights into the broad spectrum of occupations in which the people of the growing village of Wynberg were engaged at that time. They do not indicate whether they were self-employed or employees, but the listing of occupation with each name does make it possible to identify areas of employment and to emphasise the gaps which still existed in the provision of amenities like medical care and civil administration. Analysis of this list<sup>188</sup> reveals the presence of only one (military) surgeon, Dr Gird, and a mid-wife, Sanna Thomassen. Only four locally based government officials are listed: one police-officer, John Quinn, and a pound-master, Ernst Egger; a school-master, John Church, and a post-master, Isaac Balston. The names of only two military officers appear, presumably because most of the regiments stationed at the

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 187. S. Judges, "Poverty, living conditions and social relations - aspects of life in Cape Town in the 1830's" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1977), 5-6.

188. Cape Almanac (1830), 319. See also Appendix A.

Shop-keepers	13
Artisans (mechanics)	28
Labourers	5
Medical care	2
Officials (local)	4
Officials (Cape Town)	4
Military officers	2
Farmer	1
Others, retired people	10

camp were transients, but the absence of permanent camp staff in 1830 may also confirm its decline in importance. On the other hand forty-one tradespeople, seven of whom were women, and five labourers, who may have been manumitted slaves, were included. No less than six shoe-makers were enumerated; there were eight men employed in trades associated with building - their names suggest that all were of European origin, with the exception of Abdol of Batavia, a mason. A tailor and a tanner were also listed; a blacksmith, a gardener and five wagonners: among the latter were the Zelman brothers and Philip Ryklief. The only fisherman listed is Abdol of the Cape, who may have been a manumitted slave. It is apparent, however, from a comparison with Deeds Office records that a number of well-known, resident property owners were not included in the Almanac list; Henry Batt, Jan Zeeman, John Higgs and William Bailey were all living in the area at this time but their names do not appear. The selective nature of the Almanac suggests that there were other omissions too, a contention supported by a memorial submitted by "the residents of Wynberg" on 12 November 1828. In this memorial the population of the area is assessed at "1300 souls - 600 white and 700 black",<sup>189</sup> but there seems to be no way of verifying whether this is a more realistic number than can be deduced from the Almanac. Presumably the figures in the memorial include all the members of all the

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189. C.A., CO 3938, no 538, 12 November, 1828.

households which were canvassed for support, but there is no clear indication how the memorialists arrived at the total figure. In addition, the Almanac lists only those people who lived in Wynberg village, whereas the memorialists may have included in their calculations all the people who lived in the district, extending from Stellenberg to Diep River and from Constantia to the Cape Flats. They demanded that "a police establishment be formed", asserting that "the black population of Wynberg has greatly increased in the last few years". They explained that "bands of desperadoes, who have no ostensible means of obtaining a livelihood, infest the village and the most disgraceful scenes of riot and drunkenness are a daily occurrence; and that within the last few weeks robberies of the most daring description have been committed".<sup>190</sup> If the picture of disorder and lawlessness which is described in the memorial was not exaggerated, then it indicates that there were many unemployed people in the area, even before the emancipation of the slaves. These memorialists, who were alarmed at the dangers to which they and their property had been exposed, suggested that "rigorous measures for the detention and punishment of offenders" were essential for the restoration of the village "to its former state of order and quiet".<sup>191</sup>

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190. C.A., CO 3938, No 538.

191. *ibid.*, 538.

Although there was a resident Field-Cornet at Wynberg<sup>192</sup> who was empowered to act in regard to certain local disputes and problems, his duties had been re-defined during the brief period of Batavian rule, weakening his authority and requiring him to refer decisions to the Governor and his advisers.<sup>193</sup> It is clear that some decisive action to institute proper policing was deemed necessary by a number of local residents. Yet their anger and consternation did not receive any immediate response from Governor Sir Lowry Cole, who took office in 1828. He was hampered by a restrictive colonial budget and a fluctuating local economy<sup>194</sup> and it is hardly surprising that the demands of Wynberg residents did not warrant attention at that time. It was not until the term of his successor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, that they would be granted the administrative structures which they had requested for their safety and comfort. In the interim, one police officer, seconded from the prison establishment at Rondebosch, was stationed at Wynberg in 1830<sup>195</sup> but he must have been hard-pressed to cope with the many hazards of maintaining law and order. Moreover, the evident disorder in Wynberg reflected the social problems which

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192. Cape Almanac (1829), 202. The Field Cornet from 1828 - 1835 was J. van Rheede van Oudtshoorn.

193. H.O. Mandelbrote, "Constitutional development" in The Cambridge History of the British Empire, V 8, 371.

194. Keith S.Hunt, Sir Lowry Cole, a study in colonial administration (Durban, 1974), 126-127.

195. Cape Almanac (1830), 319.

were being experienced more widely in Cape Town during this period.<sup>196</sup> Not only were these related to vagrancy and the excessive consumption of liquor, both of which were deplored by "respectable" people, but they were also aggravated by the poor standard of policing, which failed to control the criminal element. This increased the level of tension and hostility towards the unemployed under-class who were perceived as constituting a threat to the property and security of the well-to-do. These issues were acknowledged by the urban public and were discussed in the local newspaper, the South African Commercial Advertiser, which condemned the unruly situation.<sup>197</sup> This highlighted the lack of an efficient administrative framework which would meet the needs of people in both urban and rural areas.

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196. K. Elks, "Crime, community and police in Cape Town, 1825-1850" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1986), 51.

197. K. McKenzie, "The South African Commercial Advertiser and the making of middle class identity in nineteenth century Cape Town" (M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1993), 95-97.

Although some changes, involving the integration of the previous social and administrative traditions at the Cape with British principles and procedures, had taken place, it was, as Peires has pointed out, a gradual process.<sup>198</sup> This was particularly evident in a rural area like Wynberg where the owners of the large farms in the vicinity were still the slave-owning "landed gentry" of Dutch and German origin, as in the time of the V.O.C. - the Eksteen, Colyn, Cloete, Versveld, Dreyer and van Reenen families had long associations with these farms and with viticulture.<sup>199</sup> Some members of these families became anglicized, but their use of the Dutch language persisted, particularly in many of the memorials submitted by them to the English-speaking Governors.<sup>200</sup>

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198. J.B. Peires, "The British at the Cape, 1814-1834" in R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), *The Shaping of S.A. Society, 1652-1840*, 495.

199. C.L. de Bosdari, *Cape Dutch Homes and Farms, their architecture and their history* (Cape Town, 1964), 34-35, 38-41. These families were associated with the Bergvliet, Groot Constantia, Nova Constantia, Alphen and Claassenbosch farms. See also D. Fairbridge, *Historic Houses of the Cape* (Cape Town, 1922).

200. C.A., CO 3865, 454a of 1807: Ellert; CO 3878, 365 of 1810: Kirsten; CO 3888, 227 of 1811: Dreyer; CO 3942, 212 of 1829: Cloete and others; CO 4016, 81 of 1843: van Breda.

Dutch was, of course, still in current use in official and legal documents, such as wills and title deeds, because the existing language rights of the people had been protected in terms of the surrender document, which had been signed after the occupation of the Cape by Britain;<sup>201</sup> nor was the use of Dutch currency replaced by the British pound until 1831.<sup>202</sup> Roman-Dutch law was also retained, although in some respects it was adapted in terms of English legal principles, which not only facilitated the growth of commercial activity but also introduced new features into land-ownership.<sup>203</sup> The large loan-places of earlier times were replaced by the system of perpetual quit-rent, which explains the large number of grants and re-grants that took place in the first part of the nineteenth century. A major difficulty for the British was that the Cape did not pay its way and capital investment was essential to improve the financial position of the colony.

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201. E.F. Watermeyer, "The Roman Dutch Law in South Africa" in *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, V 8, 858.

202. E.H.D. Arndt, *Banking and Currency Development in South Africa, 1652-1927*, 61-64.

203. E.F. Watermeyer, "The Roman Dutch law in South Africa" in *C.H.B.E.*, V 8, 864-865. The author explains that, in 1828 Ordinance 39 introduced a Register of Deeds for keeping records of landed property; and a Land Board and a Surveyor-General were appointed to facilitate the process of sub-division and transfer.

Consequently, much of the unalienated Crown land was sold by auction<sup>204</sup> and those who wished to purchase were granted freehold title to the land. This marketing strategy brought in additional revenue for the provision of public utilities by the cash-strapped colonial authorities.<sup>205</sup> Support for these innovations, which facilitated the transfer of land and the sub-division of large estates, was received from settlers of all classes. Moreover, this process encouraged speculation on a lesser scale and it marked the entry of small land-owners, many of whom were tradespeople, into an area previously dominated by large land-owners. This has been demonstrated convincingly in the fragmentation of the three large farms at Wynberg and the changing profile of property-ownership in the area. Within three decades all the farm land surrounding Wynberg Hill had been appropriated, primarily for domestic and commercial use, although it still maintained its rural character. Some settlers had acquired government ground, while the privately-owned farms in the Wynberg area had been sub-divided, by design in some instances, and by default in the case of insolvencies. Although no planned development had been established, with hindsight it is possible to discern a pattern of expansion in the sub-division, beginning on the Oude Wijnbergh estate between 1817 and 1820, proceeding to the Vredenhof farm (and its sub-division,

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204. L.C. Duly, *British Land Policy at the Cape, 1795 - 1844. A study of administrative procedures at the Cape* (Durham, 1968), 100.

205. *ibid.*, 100.

Petersklip) in the 1820s and followed almost immediately by the sub-division of Rust en Werk after 1824.<sup>206</sup> Some property-owners, such as Higgs and Proctor, profited by sub-division and re-sale of land, while others established businesses on their properties, as Usher and Moore did, increasing the yield from their investment in that way. By means of favourable business and marriage alliances, families were able to stabilise their finances and, by the 1830s, a group of tradespeople and small land-owners had emerged from this heterogenous population to form the nucleus of a stable commercial sector. It was a similar process to that which had taken place in the vicinity of the Simon's Bay naval base,<sup>207</sup> following a pattern associated with British military and naval stations worldwide.<sup>208</sup> The initiative shown by these entrepreneurs who had met the challenge of supply and service to the camp, provided the internal dynamic for development within the little settlement, but over time the local economy began to develop a life of its own. There was a healthy vigour in the diversity of the civilian population which would stimulate economic growth during the next half-century.

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206. See above, 31, 53: Maps 3 and 4.

207. R.E. Brock and B.G. Brock, *Historical Simon's Town*, 28-32.

208. P. Dietz, *Ten British Military Towns* (1986), Introduction.

The evidence from the Cape Almanac, the Deeds Office and contemporary accounts suggests that this population included a well-to-do elite class of European origin, some of whom were serving or retired military personnel, who enjoyed the benefits and status provided by the ownership of property and a rural life style. There was also a small petit bourgeoisie made up of a few local government officials, tradespeople and shop-keepers, most of whom were also property-owners, who were in a position to supply services to the rest of the population. In addition, there was a substantial landless working-class who were marginalised in rural society and availed themselves of whatever opportunities existed for their subsistence as wage-earners. Lastly, until 1834, there was a large slave population, who occupied an interstitial position where they played an essential role as farm labourers, artisans and domestic workers. All these elements contributed to a broadly-based society with clear class distinctions that were similar to the military hierarchy which operated in the British camp among the senior and junior officers, the non-commissioned officers and rank and file of the garrison. This was not surprising because the settlement owed its foundation to the presence of the military camp and was grounded in supplying and servicing its personnel.

However, such a categorisation does not adequately reflect the complex social formations at Wynberg or its varied interest groups, which must be seen against the background of Cape colonial society as it came to grips with a changing social structure. Ross has precisely defined these elements in his analysis of the complexities of growth in central Cape Town,<sup>209</sup> which was mirrored in microcosm in Wynberg. Ross also delineates the role of Cape Town as a service centre for British mercantilists while, at the same time, noting the many variables which created social and economic boundaries in a many-layered society. He suggests that "this structure demands a multivariate analysis rather than a reductionist approach",<sup>210</sup> thereby acknowledging that it is not advantageous to narrow the focus of urban research in the Cape or its environs, but rather to broaden its base to include the many cross-cultural influences which enrich the analysis, off-setting the more deterministic and even mundane socio/economic processes of urban expansion.

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209. R.J. Ross, "Cape Town, 1750-1850: synthesis in the dialectic of continents" in R.J. Ross and G. J. Telkamp (eds.), *Colonial Cities* (Dordrecht, 1985),

210. R. Ross, "Structure and culture in pre-industrial Cape Town; a survey of knowledge and ignorance" in W.G. James and M. Simons (eds.), *The Angry Divide* (Cape Town, 1989), 42-46.

This approach would also seem to be appropriate for a study of Wynberg, as has been shown in this chapter. The relationship between people and place, between the social status attached to owning ground and the economic activities which are associated with its acquisition, was crucial in determining the growth process of the settlement. By 1834 the people of Wynberg and the colonial authorities had together laid the foundations of a thriving garrison village of mixed ethnic and racial origins. The favourable conditions for economic growth which were present at Wynberg were rooted in the symbiotic relationship existing between the Camp and the local population; but the corner-stone for further progress was "the spirit and practice of enterprise and accumulation", which Peires regards as characteristic of the British incomers.<sup>211</sup> This was communicated to all traders, encouraging a progressive attitude among members of the small business sector, which stimulated development in the area. It also enhanced the property market as investment in landed property increased at Wynberg, establishing its reputation as one of the most sought-after and desirable residential areas in the southern Peninsula and ensuring further growth throughout the nineteenth century.

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211. J.B. Peires, "The British and the Cape 1814-1834" in R.Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), *The Shaping of South African Society*, 480.

## CHAPTER 2

### The Shaping of Wynberg

1832 - 1842

Until the 1830s Wynberg tradespeople had derived their principal income from servicing the military camp, but a gradual reduction in the number of military personnel stationed there<sup>1</sup> limited the demand for goods and services. Some stimulation of the small commercial sector was essential in order to ensure its continuing vitality. This chapter outlines the significant new trends in socio / economic development at the Cape and its implications for Wynberg and its environs. The legal and fiscal changes introduced into the colony during the previous decade by the British government were intended to shore up its flagging economy by encouraging capital investment and local trade. As Peires observes, "the abolition of special concessions and monopolies, the adoption of sound money and fair credit....and the proper registration of private property in land, were all essential pre-conditions for the development of a fully capitalist free economy"

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1. See above, 73/74.

2. J.B. Peires, "The British and the Cape, 1814-1834" in R.Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), *The Shaping of South African Society* (Cape Town, 1989), 510-511.

Yet it was not only the policy-decisions made at government level which ensured further development at Wynberg, but also personal decisions made by individuals about investment in the area which promoted growth. Warren has stressed that the rising Cape Town commercial bourgeoisie were "preoccupied with the acquisition of property and its use as a means of financial security".<sup>3</sup> Wynberg provided a safe haven for those who were seeking opportunities in the peri-urban areas to invest surplus capital. Moreover, in this period, Meltzer has traced "the transformation of a small and initially isolated group of Cape merchants and traders into a self-conscious social and political power bloc",<sup>4</sup> and it was from their ranks that the leaders of a new Cape gentry would emerge.<sup>5</sup>

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3. D. Warren, "Merchants, Commissioners and Ward-masters: municipal politics in Cape Town, 1840-1854" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1986), 173.

4. J.L. Meltzer, "The Growth of Cape Town commerce and the role of John Fairbairn's Advertiser (1835 - 1859) (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1989), 33.

5. C. Crais, *The Making of the Colonial Order* (Cambridge, 1992), 35-36; E. Bradlow, "The Culture of a Colonial Elite: the Cape of Good Hope in the 1850s", *Victorian Studies* (Spring, 1986); R. Ross, "Structure and Culture in pre-industrial Cape Town" in W. James and M. Simons (eds.), *The Angry Divide* (Cape Town, 1989), 3-4.

As in Britain, their acquisition of land, together with an understanding of the role implicit in land-ownership, provided access for the newly-rich of the commercial sector to this gentry and its power structure.<sup>6</sup> Wynberg, where land was readily available, offered ample scope for investors, as John Higgs had already discovered and would exploit to its fullest extent in the next decade. It was viewed as an enticing, speculative possibility, clothed with the beauty of a country garden, which few prospective purchasers could resist. The brilliant and perceptive natural scientist, Sir John Herschel, who spent a few months in the village during 1834, wrote of its natural assets: "It is a region of such glorious flowers and rich aromatic scents.....there is a spell upon that hill and heath; one never tires of it and it never comes twice upon one in the same aspect."

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The sketches of Wynberg made by Sir Charles D'Oyly in the early 1830s also capture the rustic atmosphere of the village and those he made of Mr Carey's Quercus Cottage and Springfield, the home of Major Rogers, are particularly evocative, calling up the pastoral images much favoured by the Romantic poets and novelists of the

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6. F.M.L. Thompson, *English landed society in the nineteenth century* (Leicester, 1963), 127-128.

7. D. Evans, T. Deeming, B. Evans and S. Goldfoot, *Herschel at the Cape. Diaries and Correspondence, 1834-1838* (Cape Town, 1969), 55, 69-70.

period.<sup>9</sup> The concept of rustic beauty, coupled with profitability, proved to be an important factor in the development of the little village, ensuring that at least some of the capital generated in Cape Town was spent in Wynberg. While the successful accumulation of property by the newly-rich undoubtedly played a major role in defining status and establishing a hierarchy of power in the Wynberg district, as it did elsewhere, it was not the only factor which shaped its development. The presence of a large group of landless people, which had been noted in the residents' memorial of 1828<sup>9</sup> and was substantially increased after the emancipation of the slaves in 1838, continued to be a cause for concern among the upwardly-mobile villagers and the well-to-do upper classes.<sup>10</sup> The threat which they were perceived as presenting to orderly development was a spur to further demands for effective local control in the area.

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8. C.A., A 443, The Chas D'Oyley Sketches. These two are also reproduced with comments in R.Lewcock, *Early 19th Century Architecture* (Cape Town, 1969), 314-315.

9. See above, 83/84.

10. E.J. Evans, *The Forging of the modern State* (London, 1983), 138-147. The examples of revolt among landless rural labourers and unemployed urban workers in Britain were sensitive issues during this period and it is not surprising that British settlers were disturbed by similar problems in the colony and their possible consequences.

Civil disobedience in the rural areas had been experienced in Britain during the early days of the Industrial Revolution,<sup>11</sup> especially in response to the enclosure laws.<sup>12</sup> These scenes of riot and rebellion were in sharp contrast to the images of rural peace and tranquillity envisioned by the Romantic writers, occasioning a rapid reaction from the government in the execution and deportation of the offenders. Thus, the colonial authorities were well aware of the need for measures to safe-guard the settler population, particularly in view of the imminent emancipation of slaves at the Cape. It was in this context, as much as in response to petitions from the public<sup>13</sup> that some action was taken at Wynberg.

This chapter traces the establishment of an administrative framework under the jurisdiction of a local magistrate, who initially would implement the emancipation process, but whose multiple duties would later include the maintenance of law and order in the district, the supervision of educational facilities for the increasing population, together with the provision of an infrastructure for the expanding residential and commercial

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11. *ibid.*, 160-166.

12. *ibid.*, 144-147.

13. K. Elks, "Crime, community and police in Cape Town, 1825-1850" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1986), Chapter 3, 99-103.

sectors. In this he was assisted by the Field-Cornet and members of the community with a vested interest in these projects. This added greatly to the standing of Wynberg, extending its influence in the southern Peninsula and promoting the marketing of property in the area. It will be demonstrated that after 1834 there was an appreciable increase in the number of erven made available to purchasers at Wynberg as buyers and sellers alike realised its potential.

By 1834 the farms Oude Wijnbergh, Rust en Werk and Vredenhof (with Pietersklip) had all been sub-divided; indeed, with the exception of a comparatively small area of centrally-situated government property and the camp ground,<sup>14</sup> all the land available for further development at Wynberg was privately owned. Large estates existed side by side with pockets of smaller erven, and modest commercial ventures were scattered across the whole area. The exploitation of farm land and forced sales of insolvent estates, coupled with a lack of planning, had resulted in a haphazard distribution of residential erven, which varied greatly in size and shape. This pattern characterised many of the Cape Peninsula's peri-urban settlements which had been shaped by private enterprise rather than by any planned approach by the colonial authorities. As the population of Cape Town had

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14. See above, 53. Map 4.

increased, a process of decentralisation had taken place and, after 1830 the residential areas on the outskirts of the town, including the Gardens, Green Point and Woodstock (Papendorp) were designated as "suburbs" in the Cape Almanacs.<sup>15</sup> The more distant settlements on the Simonstown road were termed "country places", as they had been known during the late eighteenth century; these included Mowbray (Driekoppen), Rondebosch and Newlands (all situated between Woodstock and Wynberg), while even further afield were Constantia and Muizenberg.<sup>16</sup> Although these "country places" had evolved from land grants to the V.O.C. personnel, they were situated outside the city limits; and, as Warren points out, their residents were not subject to the same tax obligations as the property-owners in town.<sup>17</sup> This peri-urban investment encouraged further development later in the nineteenth century but, as these isolated settlements were transformed into village communities, each with its own interests and character, they carried within them the seeds of future tensions.

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15. The editions of the Almanac from 1830 all differentiate between the inner metropolitan area and its environs.

16. H. W.J. Picard, *Gentleman's Walk* (Cape Town, 1968), 135-136; the *Cape Almanacs* regularly defined "country places" in relation to the towns.

17. D. Warren, "Merchants, Commissioners and Ward-masters", 6.

Before long their inhabitants perceived the importance of obtaining control over the limited resources of the southern Peninsula in order to consolidate their position;<sup>18</sup> in particular, some Wynberg residents exhibited strong self-interest and the independent spirit which characterised future development of the village. In this and subsequent chapters, these issues will be explored in terms of the dialectic which existed between people and place, between city centre and the peri-urban areas, between a central authority and a diffusion of power.

If the first significant event in the foundation of Wynberg is taken to be its recognition as an important garrison village in the early nineteenth century, then the second was undoubtedly its establishment as the centre of an extensive magistracy in 1838. At once Wynberg became a focal point in the southern Peninsula and was placed in a dominant position vis-a-vis those settlements which eventually fell within the jurisdiction of its magistrate.

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18. See particularly Chapters 6 and 7. Access to a reliable water supply was an important factor and Grant has explored the divisive effect of this conflict. (D. Grant, "The politics of water supply", M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1989).

This followed the promulgation at the Cape of the Emancipation Act in 1834, whereby slavery was abolished in all British colonies<sup>19</sup> and, in terms of this act, Major George Longmore was appointed as Special Magistrate to Wynberg in November 1834.<sup>20</sup> It is probable that the proximity of the village to the slave-owning communities of the Constantia Valley and the surrounding farms made it a logical choice as an administrative centre for one of these special magistrates. Thereafter, the impact of emancipation, with its social and economic implications, was felt both by long-standing residents and farmers in the district as well as by newcomers, who relied on unfree labour to work their lands and to perform household duties.

This Act brought about substantial changes in the lives of both masters and servants,<sup>21</sup> particularly in areas such as the Constantia Valley where the economy was wholly slave-based. Their

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19. Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, 10 January, 1834, Paras XIV-XVII. This Act made provision for the institution of Special Magistrates, whose duty it was to look after the interests of freed slaves and their former masters during the four-year period of apprenticeship, which preceded their full emancipation in 1838.

20. C.A., G.H. 23/11, 64, 22 November 1834; Dictionary of S.A. Biography (H.S.R.C., Pretoria, 1987), V. 5, 460;

21. E. Hengherr, "Emancipation and after: a study of Cape slavery and the issues arising from it, 1830-1843" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1953), 190; N. Worden, "Adjusting to Emancipation; freed slaves and farmers in the mid-nineteenth century in the south-western Cape" in W.G. James and M. Simons (eds.) *The Angry Divide* (Cape Town, 1989), 32-33.

slaves and their considerable real estate holdings had become their principal financial assets because, prior to emancipation, the Cape economy had suffered a crippling loss of revenue occasioned by the reduced demand for its export wines.<sup>22</sup> Rayner, who has made an in-depth study of the failure of the wine trade at the Cape, argued that this, together with the emancipation of the slaves, was a double blow for the wine-farmers, because slaves not only provided labour, but had also been regarded as mortgageable assets in times of need. She noted, however, that their extensive farms were mortgaged as frequently as their slaves were.<sup>23</sup> In the light of her analysis, it would be logical to assume that the Constantia wine-makers survived the lean years in the knowledge that the value of their substantial real estate holdings would always secure a mortgage to see them through the difficult times. This proved to be a strategy for survival for many farming families, as Cape land-owners in general found that it became more difficult and expensive to maintain their large properties and their stock without slave labour. Meltzer suggests that this contributed to the conversion of farm land to

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22. R.F.M. Immelman, *Men of Good Hope* (Cape Town, 1955), 72. Immelman records that 1826 saw the zenith of its popularity but thereafter it suffered a steady decline. He also notes that for many years the naval and military garrisons continued to be the most assured local market for the hard-pressed wine-makers.

23. M. Rayner, "Wine and Slaves: the failure of the export economy and the ending of slavery in the Cape Colony, 1805-1834" (PhD thesis, Duke University, 1986), *ibid.*, 206, 267.

residential use by its sub-division into more manageable erven;<sup>24</sup> it was during the 1830s, for example, that S. V. Cloete, the owner of Stellenberg, began to dispose of portions of his estate to Batt, Moore and others.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, it follows that the replacement of slave-labour by wage-labour produced an increase in demand by less affluent purchasers for smaller erven which did not require costly maintenance. This demand could be especially well met in the Wynberg area where an uneven pattern of sub-division persisted, making both large and small erven available.

In view of the economic changes facing both masters and slaves during this period, it is not surprising that the leading Cape newspaper, the South African Commercial Advertiser, soon adjusted its focus from its moral evaluation of slavery to an assessment of the material advantages which might result from the award of financial compensation to recompense slave-owners for their loss.<sup>26</sup> Meltzer shows that the amount and means of distribution of this compensation was to have a significant effect on the economy of the Cape especially during the period 1837 - 1840, when

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24. J.L. Meltzer, "The Growth of Cape Town commerce and the role of John Fairbairn's Advertiser; 1834-1859", 62-63.

25. See above, 64 (Moore), 67 (Batt).

26. J.L. Meltzer, "The Growth of Cape Town Commerce", 43-44. Meltzer quotes Fairbairn's statement, even before emancipation, that he "anticipated a great increase in trade, building and in Joint Stock Companies".

most of the money was received in one form or another.<sup>27</sup> Rather than the depression and bankruptcy so often assigned to this period after emancipation, she argues that "once a serious look is taken, the picture that emerges is one of stimulated economy approaching, if not attaining, boom conditions."<sup>28</sup> This refutes the traditional idea that emancipation resulted in severe poverty and bankruptcies among former slave-owners.

This injection of cash into the economy was welcomed by local businessmen, and Meltzer suggests that abolition and the compensation money set a changed tempo in commercial life, "presenting new experiences and creating fresh opportunities for business at the Cape."<sup>29</sup> Hengherr, too, makes the point that it was not only merchants and large land-owners who had benefited, because "compensation had brought relatively small sums of money into the hands of many, rather than very large sums of money among only a few capitalists." She then goes on to suggest that "a type of establishment was needed which would provide small-holders with an outlet for their money on a more profitable basis than merely

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27. *ibid.*, 56-59. Meltzer notes that, although it is likely that manipulation of these funds occurred in the settlement of outstanding debts and mortgages or in the purchase and importation of goods from Britain or elsewhere with the compensation money, much of it did reinforce Cape Town's economy.

28. *ibid.*, 56.

29. *ibid.*, 81-82.

banking it."<sup>30</sup> In the light of these observations, it is significant that a considerable portion of the residential growth and commercial investment which took place in Wynberg in the 1830s, was due to the small investor. The main options open to them at this time were investment in property, which promised capital gains; or in small business development and investment in the Wynberg Joint Stock Company, which was announced in 1840.<sup>31</sup> The listed Board members provide an indication of local support for the venture. The first President was the surgeon, Dr. Gird, who had recently purchased a property at the south-western end of Wynberg near the Diep River,<sup>32</sup> while the commercial sector was well represented by William Bailey (uncle to William Moore and partner in their bakery), William and James Morris (shop-keepers), Thomas Loxton and Thomas Thorne (coach services), John Marshall (inn-keeper) and the notary, J.G. Borchers.<sup>33</sup> In the following year Abiam Tubb and his son joined the Board, immediately after they had bought out the stage-coach company belonging to Thorne; Higgs, Zeeman (the inn-keeper), Mannix (a shoe-maker) and Rosa, who was involved in the building trade, all served on the Board in

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30. E. Hengherr, "Emancipation and after...", 68.

31. Cape Almanac (1840), 297. No surviving records of this Company could be found, although it was advertised in the Almanac and its Board members were listed from 1841-1848.

32. D.O., T 59, 18 February 1839. C.L. Fredrik : H.H. Gird.

33. Cape Almanac (1841), 297.

the early 1840s.<sup>34</sup> The presence of the latter group and other tradesmen indicates the involvement of smaller investors as well as more affluent businessmen. All of these men had a vested interest in the promotion of the commercial sector in Wynberg and all of them owned at least one property in Wynberg. It would appear from the subsequent disposal of assets of members of the Stock Company that property investment formed a substantial part of its interests.<sup>35</sup>

Land continued to be the most attractive investment for the majority of an increasing number of business people, whether they had commercial interests in Wynberg or elsewhere. They had amassed considerable capital in the Cape Colony, and they were looking for property, both inside and outside the urban centre of Cape Town. Both Meltzer and Warren stress the hegemonic role played in this regard by members of the Cape commercial bourgeoisie - the nouveaux riche of the business world - who sought social advancement by means of their "high-profile wealth".<sup>36</sup> Two of these men, James Maynard and Philip Morgenrood, played a key role in shaping development at Wynberg during the next half-century through the nature and extent of their accumulation of property in

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34. Cape Almanac (1842), 340-341;

35. C.A., CO 4089, 133, 1856. Insolvent estate J. Morris vs J. Maynard.

36. J.L. Meltzer, "The growth of Cape Town commerce", 32-40.

the area. While the influence of broad socio-economic trends and political events on the growth pattern of Wynberg cannot be denied, adequate regard must also be given to the role played by key individuals in shaping events in the village and the district at this crucial juncture. Indeed, the arrival of James Maynard proved to be the catalyst needed to bring about one of the most important stages in its growth. Warren's comment that, in any assessment of development, "non-economic factors such as ethnicity, religious affiliation and family factors can carry weight",<sup>37</sup> has particular significance in relation to the actions of Maynard and his family. They had forged valuable business alliances by their commercial activities and their marriages even before James Maynard settled in Wynberg; James, in particular, had shown a single-minded determination to make his presence felt in the commercial world. His background was typical of many British immigrants, yet his progress in the commercial sphere at the Cape was exceptional.

His father and mother, Levi and Sarah, had arrived in the Cape Colony with their four children on 1 May, 1820 aboard the *Aurora*, bound for Algoa Bay. They were attached to Sephton's party of British settlers for the Eastern frontier.<sup>38</sup> The father and sons

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37. D. Warren, "Merchants, commissioners and ward-masters." (1986), 71.

38. D. Nash, *The Settler Handbook* (Cape Town, 1987), 114-116.

were listed as husbandman and sawyers respectively. They came from the country district of Huntingdonshire, where the two sons, James and Joseph were born, but they had moved to Hoxton Market, Shoreditch, London, prior to emigrating to the Cape.<sup>39</sup> Family records show that they left for Algoa Bay on 15 May, 1820 but all returned to Simon's Bay on 13 June, and it is probable that they stayed in Simonstown for several years while they established themselves.<sup>40</sup> Their elder daughter, Leah, married William Anderson,<sup>41</sup> who was a member of a well-known family firm based in Simonstown, where he was a staunch member of the Wesleyan congregation.<sup>42</sup> In 1824 Levi moved to Cape Town<sup>43</sup> where he established himself, probably supplying timber to passing ships.

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39. U.C.T. Libraries, BC 114, Maynard papers, 1, 27. This information was copied by R.F. M. Immelman from family records, written in a Book of Psalms by Levi Maynard.

40. BC 114, Maynard papers, 1, 28. This information is contained in a small note-book and it would appear that no member of the Maynard family disembarked at Algoa Bay or travelled to the Eastern frontier, presumably because they saw better prospects in Cape Town. This is corroborated by a letter sent by them to Sephton from Simonstown, dated 29 June, 1820; it is signed by all three male members of the Maynard family and requests the return of Levi's deposit. (C.A., CO 158, 1/AY, 8/71).

41. C.A., CO 4572, 6, 7 July, 1821. Marriage licence, William Anderson : Leah Maynard.

42. P. Philip, British Residents at the Cape . (Cape Town, 1981), 5.

43. BC 114, Maynard Papers, 1, 27,

The Cape Almanac lists him as a sawyer at an address in Boom Street in 1827,<sup>44</sup> by which time separation papers had been drawn up between him and his wife, with his sons as trustees for their mother.<sup>45</sup> By that time his son James was already listed as a resident of Grave Street in the Cape Almanac<sup>46</sup> where he is mentioned as "a debt collector". Yet his account book for this period indicates that he also traded vigorously in various commodities,<sup>47</sup> and it is likely that he collaborated with Anderson and his son, who were ships' chandlers. In 1830 James was joined by his brother, Joseph, at their new address in Church Street,<sup>48</sup> and in the same year William Anderson also established himself as a merchant not far from his brothers-in-law.<sup>49</sup> During the next ten years the family extended their business interests and increased their contacts, and by 1835 James was a well-known bachelor with substantial assets. He was in a position to offer large amounts of cash on mortgages to those who needed them and,

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44. Cape Almanac (1827), 150.

45. C.A., NCD 39/17, no 2724. These papers indicate that there were family problems prior to her death two years later (Government Gazette, no 1160, 4 April 1828).

46. Cape Almanac(1826), 132.

47. BC 114, Maynard papers, 5, 1.

48. Cape Almanac (1830), 283. J.M. & Jos. Maynard, 30, Church Street, Cape Town.

49. *ibid.*, 2278. He is listed as W. Anderson & Co., merchants, Burg Street.

within a fifteen-year period, he had established himself as an influential member of the Cape town business community.<sup>50</sup> His successful career in the money-market was to have significant implications for Wynberg. Like his well-to-do contemporaries at the Cape and in Britain,<sup>51</sup> Maynard wished to possess a country estate, which reflected his newly - acquired wealth and status; moreover, as a successful financier, he was also alert to local business opportunities when he began to buy land in the Wynberg area. His first acquisition was through default on the part of one of his clients, the widow Ellert, to whom he had advanced money as a mortgage on her property. He is cited as trustee in her insolvent estate and in 1835 he took over the small farm, Kozendal, in settlement of her debt to him.<sup>52</sup> A few months later she sold him the ground which had belonged to Ernst Egger, which she had bought in 1829.<sup>53</sup> These two properties became the site of his home, Maynard's Villa, where he lived for almost forty years; the ground bears his name to this day.

50. J. Warren, 'Merchants, Commissioners and Warehousemen', p. 102, 103.

51. G. F. Jones, *Property and Politics* (Cambridge, 1961), 249-252; cf. also G. F. Jones, *The origins of modern English society* (London, 1970), 179-181.

52. *Ann. of G.M.*, 30 September 1835; according to the entry in the insolvent estate of Christina waite van der Walde.

53. *Ann. of G.M.*, 17 March 1836; cf. also *Ann. of G.M.*, 18 March 1836.

It was in this house that his nephew and heir, William Mortimer Maynard Farmer, was born.<sup>54</sup> Mary Anne Maynard had married William Farmer in 1834<sup>55</sup> but it was not until 1837 that they took up residence in Strand Street where Farmer opened a hardware store and ironmongery in partnership with his younger brother, Henry.<sup>56</sup> Her return to Wynberg followed the insolvency of her husband and his brother,<sup>57</sup> and, although they started trading again, their business venture does not appear to have been very successful. No further record of William Farmer has been found after 1847.<sup>58</sup>

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54. U.C.T. Libraries, BC 114, Maynard papers, 5, 2. Mary Anne records the birth of "my little William at my brother's house, Maynard's Villa" on 3 December 1836. This is contained in a small personal note-book with other details relating to her courtship and marriage.

55. Parish Register (marriages), Parish Office, St John's Church, Wynberg. William Farmer to Mary Anne Maynard at the English Church, Rondebosch, 17 February 1834.

56. **Government Gazette**, 7 April 1837, advertisement of goods for sale by William and Henry Farmer; also a private letter to the author from a descendant of the Farmer family, Mrs Margaret Yates, Honiton, Devonshire. She provided information about the Farmers and their family business, an ironmongery in Gainsborough, Lincs.

57. C.A., MDIB 2/522, 11 February 1841. William's portion of the debts was settled by the agent, Charles Mathews, while Farmer was visiting London; Anderson, his brother-in-law, who held a bond of fifteen hundred pounds on the property, withdrew his claim against the firm.

58. **Government Gazette**, 15 and 27 April 1847. Two announcements of the sequestration of his business were published but, as no further proceedings are recorded, it must be concluded that his debts were settled once more.

By the early 1840s Mary Anne and her son had taken up permanent residence in the comfortable house which her brother provided for her adjacent to his own. Unlike her husband, James went from strength to strength, advancing money for loans and mortgages and re-investing his profits in property. In the course of their complex financial manipulations of estates, there were many opportunities for financiers to acquire properties on terms which were favourable to them. In 1836 Maynard had bought another piece of ground in the deceased estate of Isaac Balston,<sup>59</sup> the former post-master of Wynberg, and in 1839 he secured a large portion of Underwood's land.<sup>60</sup> Both of these purchases enlarged his own estate and extended it as far as the piece of government ground between the road to Wynberg and the wagon-road.<sup>61</sup> In 1841 Maynard also acquired a large property at the south-eastern end of Wynberg, one belonging to Thomas Thorne, the omnibus proprietor,<sup>62</sup> and the other in the deceased estate of a former client, Coenraad Preyser.<sup>63</sup> Shortly after this he made a generous gift of

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59. D.O., CF 7/1, 4 October 1836. Estate I. Balston : J.M. Maynard.

60. D.O., T 160, 25 June 1839. W. Underwood : J.M. Maynard.

61. See below, 136. Map 5 indicates the extent of the ground which was part of the Maynard estate.

62. D.O., T 1174, 21 September 1841. T. Thorne : J.M. Maynard.

63. D.O., CF 4/41, 28 February 1841. C. Preyser : J.M. Maynard.

four hundred pounds to the Wesleyan Mission; Shaw records his appreciation of this gesture by "his good friend Maynard",<sup>64</sup> who also made his property available for out-door "tea-meetings" of the congregation which were advertised on hand-bills by the chapel council.<sup>65</sup> Maynard remained a staunch supporter of the Wesleyan Church throughout his life, although he also made substantial donations to St. John's Anglican Church, to which his sister, Mary Anne, and her son belonged.

In 1839 Maynard had made a joint bid with Higgs for a large and well-situated property through which the wagon-road passed and which was owned by Mrs Jacobz (formerly Ziederman); her former husband had purchased this land from Moore in 1833,<sup>66</sup> but she had acquired it in her separation settlement with him.<sup>67</sup> It would appear that some form of collaboration was intended between Higgs and Maynard, but Higgs lacked the financial resources of Maynard and, as his capital was heavily committed to his building projects, he was forced to withdraw from the joint venture.<sup>68</sup>

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64. B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa* (London, 1840), 188.

65. BC 114, Maynard papers, 5, 4.

66. D.O., T 48, 17 July 1833. W. Moore : J. Ziederman.

67. D.O., T 70, 8 February 1839. L.C. Jacobz (formerly Ziederman) : J.M. Maynard.

68. C.A., CD 4002, no 27, 12 January 1839. There is a statement of consent to transfer being made in the name of Maynard, signed by Higgs at the end of the memorial.

Maynard did not enter into competition with Higgs in building houses at Wynberg, preferring at this stage of his career to further his property investments in central Cape Town.<sup>69</sup> Like other rentiers, Maynard derived a considerable income from his tenants and he was soon recognised as one of Cape Town's premier landlords, whose investments gave him access to political as well as economic power.<sup>70</sup> Property had provided Maynard with the means to achieve the status for which he had worked so single-mindedly. Indeed, he did not marry till he was forty-six and there is some doubt as to the success of this union with the widow of Charles Napier,<sup>71</sup> but throughout his long and energetic career Maynard's Villa remained his family home and a source of personal pride. He continued to extend this property over a period of years, his largest acquisition being in 1842 when he bought Plumstead which had belonged to Henry Batt from the estate of his widow.<sup>72</sup>

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69. D. Warren, "Merchants, Commissioners and Ward-masters.", 163-165. Warren emphasises the systematic way in which Maynard advanced his interests in the business world as rentier and financier.

70. *ibid*, 62.

71. C.A., CO 4574, 71, 17 October 1846 (Special licence, J.M. Maynard to the widow Napier). There were no children of the marriage and they were undoubtedly separated at the time of his death.

72. D.O., T 49, 7 February 1842. M. Bond Dowse (Batt) : J.M. Maynard.

He also put in a successful bid for a strip of government land, which lay between his own estate and the land he had bought from Underwood,<sup>73</sup> and by 1844 he was in a position to consolidate all this property.<sup>74</sup> His estate was the largest privately owned unit in Wynberg, surpassing in extent even the substantial properties of Hare, Rogers, Usher and Higgs. Like Napoleon, whose achievements he is said to have admired very much,<sup>75</sup> Maynard was intent on increasing his domain and, as his property lay at the heart of an expanding residential area with ready access to the existing infrastructure, its acquisition was in keeping with the shrewdness with which he was to build up a huge property empire at the Cape. Thus, in the 1830s and the early 1840s Maynard accumulated land at Wynberg rather than marketing it. Higgs, on the other hand, was actively involved in building houses on his property and selling or renting them, thereby following in the footsteps of the new British middle-class who had commenced such systematic building operations in the early nineteenth century.<sup>76</sup> "The builders of most houses usually worked in small units, rarely

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73. C.A., CD 4002, no 28, 13 July 1839.

74. D.O., CF 8/15, 3 September 1844.

75. U.C.T. Libraries, BC 114, 1/8. Maynard had the iron gates, which had stood in front of Napoleon's tomb at St Helena prior to his re-interment in France, shipped to Cape Town and placed at the entrance to his own drive-way.

76. R.J. Morris, "The Middle Class and the Industrial Revolution" in D. Fraser and A. Sutcliffe (eds.), *The Pursuit of Urban History* (London, 1983), 293-294.

constructing more than two or three houses at any one time... The final owner might buy from the speculative builder or have been the original plot-owner."<sup>77</sup> This process for providing middle- and working-class housing was very similar to that adopted by Higgs. It was typical small town expansion which did not require a great capital outlay and brought an immediate return. Meltzer has pointed out that much land in the environs of Cape Town was also opened up and advertised as appropriate for lower income group housing between 1837 and 1845,<sup>78</sup> suggesting that speculative building for sale or rental to tradesmen and labourers was a lucrative investment during the post-Emancipation period in the Cape Peninsula.

It is not surprising, therefore, that after his purchase of a large piece of ground from S.V. Cloete,<sup>79</sup> Higgs commenced his most ambitious speculative project in Wynberg to date in like manner. This was a substantial residential development on the hillside between the Oude Wijnbergh estate of Joseph Hare and the wagon-road. Initially he built a row of cottages which became known as Higgsdorp and extended along Higgs Lane.<sup>80</sup> They were

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77. *ibid.*, 294.

78. J.L. Meltzer, "The growth of Cape Town commerce", 62-63.

79. D.O., T 37, 9 October 1838. S.V. Cloete : J. Higgs.

80. See below, 136. Map 5.

intended to "supply to a great extent the deficiency at present experienced in Wynberg of houses for respectable mechanics, shopkeepers and labourers".<sup>81</sup> Higgs made this statement in a memorial submitted to the Governor in 1839, in which he declared that he had already expended about three thousand pounds on land and cottages, but he now found that his project to lay out several new streets for access to his houses was frustrated by the discovery that his land was separated from the main road in the area by a strip of government land. He complained that this placed him "in a distressing dilemma and that it is a great and vicious evil to present holders of land that such small patches of government land adjoining property should be put up for auction." He added that there was "a numerous class of speculating adventurers who gain a disreputable livelihood " by buying up such pieces of land and holding other property owners to ransom when they needed access to their land. Presumably there had been some conflict of interest between himself and another investor - there is evidence to suggest that this may have been Maynard because the two owned adjacent land.<sup>82</sup>

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81. C.A., CD 4001, no 70, 27 May 1839.

82. C.A., CD 4002, no 28, 13 July 1839. There is an addendum to this memorial, in which Maynard made a request for three small lots of government land. It refers to the sale being very different to that of Higgs and suggests that the latter had no "reasonable grounds for complaint."

These irritations did not deter Higgs, however, and when he was granted the strip of land which he requested,<sup>83</sup> this energetic developer built several cottages and houses of a substantial nature, with an access road on the sloping hillside adjacent to the road to Wynberg village.<sup>84</sup> A few years later the Cape Almanac reported that "an entirely new suburb has recently been laid out and, to this, Mr Higgs, the spirited proprietor, has given the name Sunninghill". The compiler of the Almanac then added: "The buildings that have lately been erected and others still in progress indicate that the population is fast increasing and that the neighbourhood bids fair to be the most flourishing and valuable, as it is already the most beautiful part of the Cape Colony."<sup>85</sup> It was this edition of the Almanac that first referred to Wynberg as "sweet Auburn", together with a glowing account of its rural beauty and healthy climate.<sup>86</sup> In the 1830s Higgs also built several houses on a wooded stretch of land near the wagon-road at the south-eastern end of Plumstead village. One of these, Forest Cottage, he sold to an army officer, Bulstrode Cumberland, whose wife lived there during her pregnancy, while he completed his tour of duty in India.<sup>87</sup> Today not a trace remains of "the

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83. C.A., CD 4001, no 70, 27 May 1839. A note is added to this document granting the request.

84. See below, 136. Map 5.

85. Cape Almanac (1845), 191.

86. *ibid.*, Introductory sketch (unpaginated).

labyrinthe of oak woods" through which Herschel strolled to the  
Cumberlege cottage and which characterised the neighbourhood when  
Higgs built there.<sup>88</sup> Towards the end of the 1830s this ground  
(formerly part of Rust en Werk), became known in Deeds Office  
records as Sussex Place and was extremely popular with military  
visitors to Wynberg. The ground adjacent to the Cumberlege  
property becoming the site of Sedgeley's Indian Cottage Hotel,  
while several other cottages built by Higgs were rented as holiday  
homes. Higgs undoubtedly played a major role in early  
residential expansion at Wynberg and his extensive building  
operations must have provided not only accommodation but also  
employment for a number of artisans. He exemplifies the short-term  
investor who bought property and developed it for re-sale and  
profit-taking, while others, like Maynard, accumulated land with  
an eye to its capital appreciation in the long term.

The third significant participant in this process of development  
was Philip Morgenrood, who also undertook extensive property  
transactions in the Wynberg area. Like Higgs and Maynard, he  
emerged from a working-class background and he too became a long-

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87. D.O., T 68, 15 July 1838. J.Higgs : B.W. Cumberlege. This  
house and its environs is mentioned in the diary of Sir John  
Herschel, when he and his wife stood as god-parents to the  
Cumberlege infant (D. Evans et al, Herschel at the Cape, 60).

88. D. Evans et al, Herschel at the Cape, 60-61.

term investor at Wynberg. He was one of the ten children of Hendrik Nicolaas Morgenrood (also called Morgenroth), about whom little is known apart from the birth and baptismal records of his children.<sup>89</sup> He might have lived at Wynberg, which was given as the birth-place of two of his sons, Philip and Joseph Rynhardt, when they were baptised at the Strand Street Lutheran Church. Philip Leeb, a well-to-do bachelor, who ran a general dealer's shop in Plein Street, was the boys' god-father and took a keen interest in their welfare. Philip worked for him in the shop and, at an early age, became Leeb's agent and, ultimately, his heir. Leeb was also a property speculator and provided finance for other purchasers in the form of mortgage bonds and loans. One of the property investments in which Philip acted for Leeb was a twenty-three morgen stand named Waterloo,<sup>90</sup> which was situated near the Diep River. At that time this area was looked on as part of Wynberg and comprised a number of irregularly-shaped allotments which varied greatly in size.

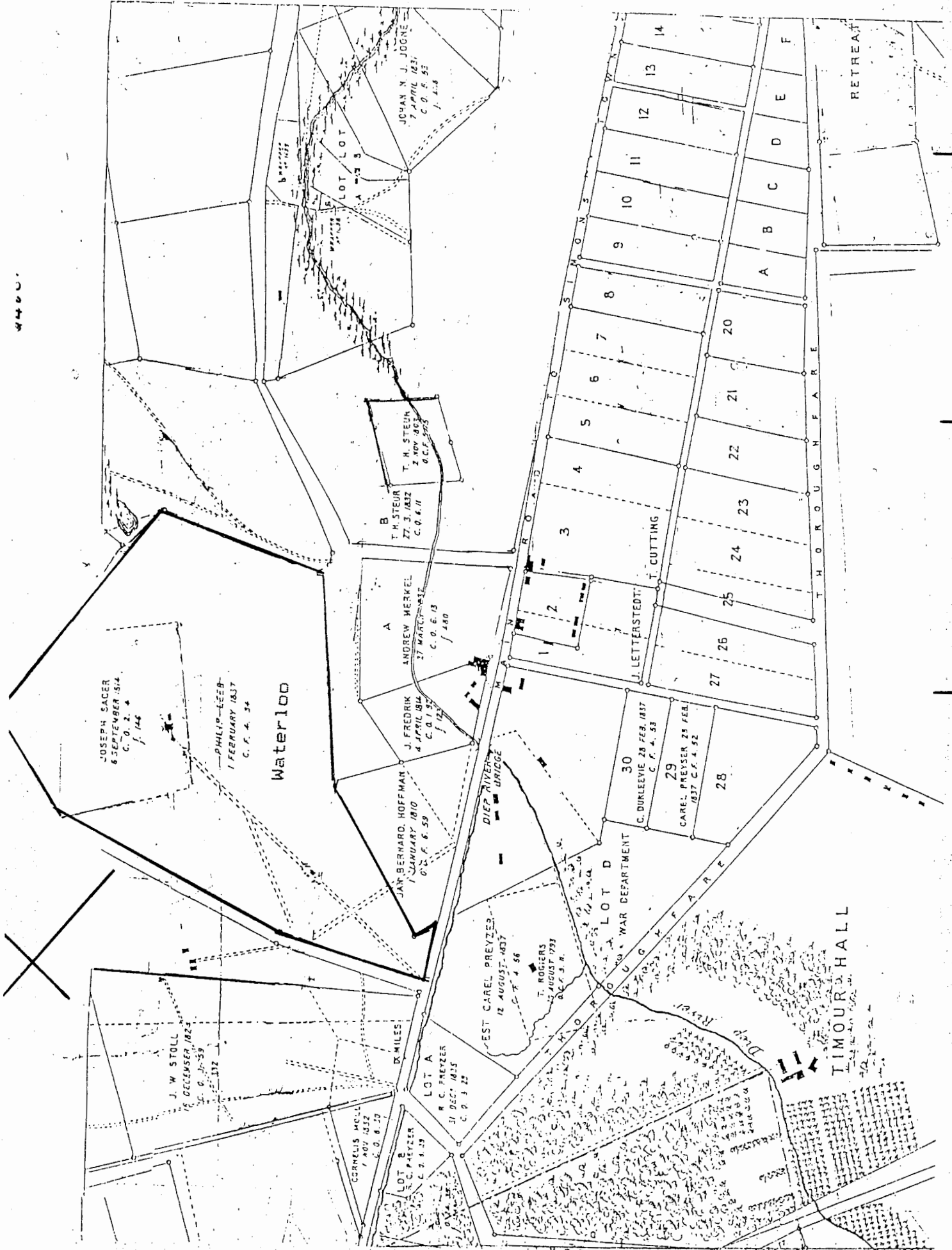
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89. P. Morgenrood, "Philip Dominicus Morgenrood - the squire of Wijnbergh's Hoogte" (Part 1), *O.B.S.A.L.* (5), 4, 1983, 287; see also a copy of the Morgenrood genealogical records in the possession of Pierre Morgenrood, a descendant of the family.

90. D.O., OCF 4/34, 1 January 1837. J. Sager : P. Leeb. This property was formerly known as Orange, when it was acquired as redeemed quit-rent ground by Sager on 6 August 1814, but it was renamed Waterloo by Leeb.

Diagram of the farm, Waterloo, and other erven  
near the Diep River circa 1837

4460



JOSEPH SAGER  
6 SEPTEMBER 1814  
C. O. 2. 4  
1/144

PHILIP LEEB  
1 FEBRUARY 1837  
C. F. 4. 34

Waterloo

ANDREW MERVEL  
27 MARCH 1817  
C. O. 6. 13  
1/180

J. FREDRIK  
4 APRIL 1814  
C. O. 1. 51  
1/122

JAK BERNARD HOFFMAR  
1 JANUARY 1810  
C. F. 6. 59

EST CAREL PREYZER  
12 AUGUST 1837  
C. F. 4. 56

T. ROGERS  
12 AUGUST 1793  
C. F. 3. 11

LOT A  
R. C. PREYZER  
31 DEC 1835  
C. O. 3. 22

LOT B  
R. C. PREYZER  
C. O. 3. 13

LOT C  
C. DURLEEVIE 28 FEB. 1837  
C. F. 4. 53

LOT D  
WAR DEPARTMENT

J. LETTERSTEDT

29  
CAREL PREYZER 25 FEB.  
1837 C. F. 4. 52

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A

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24

25

26

27

T H O R O U G H F A R E

RETREAT

1 mile

2460

SCALE

1 mile

2460

SCALE

1 mile

2460

SCALE

1 mile

2460

The near neighbours to Waterloo were the Fredrik,<sup>91</sup> Merckel,<sup>92</sup> Mol<sup>93</sup> and Preyser<sup>94</sup> families, with whom Leeb and Morgenrood must have been well-acquainted as they were all members of the Strand Street Lutheran Church.<sup>95</sup> Like Leeb and the elder Morgenrood, most of these proprietors originated from the kingdom of Wurttemberg in south Germany and it is possible that they may have had connections with the Wurttemberg regiment which was stationed at Wynberg for some years in the latter part of the eighteenth century;<sup>96</sup> but it has not been possible to establish this connection. Leeb's own substantial property, Waterloo, was probably managed for him by members of the Morgenrood family, who were resident in Wynberg during this period.

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91. D.O., CO 1/92, 4 April 1814. Grant to Michiel Fredrik.

92. D.O., T 196, 29 November 1822. M. Fredrik : G.A. Merckel.

93. D.O., CO 6/30, 1 November 1832. Grant to C. Mol.

94. D.O., CO 8/29, 31 December 1835. Grant to C. Preyser.

95. Death notices and baptismal certificates in the Lutheran Church records confirm the close relationships between these families.

96. See above, 29.

It was acquired in two pieces between 1833 and 1837,<sup>97</sup> and it was certainly a well-furnished and well-equipped estate, as its sale inventory indicates.<sup>98</sup> Morgenrood must have gained a broad knowledge of the Wynberg property market before he negotiated the sale, on behalf of Leeb, of the whole property in 1839. It was bought by Matthew Donough,<sup>99</sup> who had been in partnership in Cape Town with another well-known Wurttemburger, Baron von Ludwig, and, on purchasing this property, Donough entered into a bond of three hundred pounds with Leeb. Bonds were often agreed between buyers and sellers, as few people appear to have had sufficient capital to purchase without a bond. Cash was a scarce commodity and those who had access to it were in an advantageous position.

An examination of the protocols of such notaries as W.S. Merrington, E.A. Buyskes and J.H. Redelinghuys for the period 1825-1837<sup>100</sup> indicates that Leeb, in addition to Batt and Maynard, provided finance in the form of mortgage bonds for a number of purchasers in Wynberg. Until 1837 the colonial government had monopolised formal banking operations at the Cape and all attempts to establish a private bank had been blocked by the colonial

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97. D.O., CG 7/34, 1 February 1837. Consolidated grant to P. Leeb.

98. Government Gazette, No 1725, 11 January 1839.

99. D.O., T 42, 5 July 1839. P. Leeb : M. Donough.

100. C.A., NCD 11/1 62; 39/1-29; 67/1-10; 87/1-39.

authorities, particularly by the Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg.<sup>101</sup> Therefore, in the absence of any other financial institutions, a network of non-formal banking services was provided by businessmen like Maynard and Leeb, who made substantial profits in this way. These men also served as trustees and executors to those who had enlisted their help, and pragmatic decisions had to be made when a conflict of interest arose between ties of kinship or friendship and financial obligations. Very little research has been carried out in this aspect of fiscal policy during the early nineteenth century at the Cape, and property transactions in the Wynberg area provide some insight into the hidden agenda of private banking in the Colony. Many fortunes, including that of Maynard, were made in this way,<sup>102</sup> which emphasises the centrality of property as the major capital asset in the Cape money market. But the frequency with which property changed hands and the complex wills which were designed to protect the interests of heirs bedevilled transfers, sometimes brought families to the brink of disaster. A case in point occurred when G.A. Merckel, the owner of the Halfway House at Diep River, died

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101. E.H.D. Arndt, *Banking and Currency Developments in South Africa (1652 - 1927)*, (Cape Town, 1928), 197, 222-234; also R. Ross, "The Cape and the World Economy, 1652-1835" in R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), *The Shaping of S.A. Society, 1652-1840* (Cape Town, 1989), 260-262.

102. P.D. Morgenrood, "Susanna van der Poel: a woman of substance at the Cape" (Copy of MS, awaiting publication in Q.B.S.A.L., in possession of H. Robinson).

suddenly in 1834. He left a contentious joint will which required his eldest son to compensate the other heirs to the amount of forty-five thousand guilders before the son could inherit his father's property.<sup>103</sup> The sale of the property and the distribution of the proceeds among all the heirs seemed to be the only solution to the problem. Yet this would have deprived the entire family of the livelihood which they derived from the inn and the matter was allowed to remain unresolved for almost five years in the hands of the executors, Leeb and Jurgens.

When the widow Merckel decided to marry Johan Georg Rathfelder in community of property,<sup>104</sup> Rathfelder applied for control of their joint assets.<sup>105</sup> Following the transfer of the property to his name,<sup>106</sup> Rathfelder made the necessary financial arrangements for

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103. C.A., MOOC 6/9/1, No 1771 of 1834. The young man, who was still a minor at the time of his father's death, was forced to repudiate his legacy in favour of his mother because he did not have the financial resources to disburse this sum of money; nor, in fact, did any other member of the household.

104. C.A., CO 3968, 49. Rathfelder arrived in the colony as a member of a group of contract workers from Europe under the aegis of a Dutch sea-captain, Coenraad Brandlicht (CO 3976, No 121). Rathfelder, too, came from Wurttemberg and it is probable that, prior to his marriage, he had assisted the widow Merckel with the management of the inn, which was to have far-reaching consequences for himself and for the Merckel family.

105. C.A., CO 3998, No 135. 6 December 1838. Memorial addressed to Governor George Napier.

106. D.D., T 110, 19 March 1839. Estate G.A. Merckel : J.G. Rathfelder.

the heirs by taking substantial bonds, totalling almost one thousand pounds, with Leeb.<sup>107</sup> The interest on bonds of this kind provided regular income for the bond-holders, usually over a long period of time, as it did in this case, in that they were not redeemed until Rathfelder's death some thirty years later.<sup>108</sup> Thus Leeb, and later Morgenrood, had a long-standing financial interest in "Rathfelder's" Inn, as it came to be known. It is likely that the new owner used some of this capital to improve the property and thus increase the value of his investment. Like him, the early property owners at Wynberg were prepared to go to considerable lengths to maintain and improve their assets, and it is not surprising that so many of them were constantly deep in debt. However, the genial inn-keeper of "Rathfelders" became a well-respected figure<sup>109</sup> and possession of the inn undoubtedly raised his standing in the Wynberg community.

Just as the possession and retention of property marked the status of the upper classes, so it became a prime factor in upward mobility for the less privileged. Thus, Morgenrood became a man of property in his own right when his god-father died in 1840,

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107. C.A., MDDC 13/1/121, No 45, Liquidation and distribution account of Leeb. Rathfelder's two bonds and that of Donough were inherited by Philip Morgenrood as heir to Leeb's estate.

108. C.A., MDDC 6/9/41, No 8770, 1 April 1873.

109. F.R. Bradlow & O.H. Spohr, "King of the Landlords; Johan Georg Rathfelder, 1812 - 1873", Q.B.S.A.L., 20 (2), December, 1965.

bequeathing the major part of his considerable estate to him.<sup>110</sup> This comprised landed property in the vicinity of Plein Street in Cape Town, including the general dealer's shop where the youthful Morgenrood had begun his career as a shop-assistant. His apprenticeship with Leeb had served him well indeed, ensuring his acceptance into the commercial sphere and allowing him to pursue all the business interests established by Leeb, provide bonds to those who required them and continue to trade in the shop.<sup>111</sup> This income, in addition to the rents he received from several properties, enabled him to marry and support a family,<sup>112</sup> while at the same time accumulating enough capital to undertake property investments in Wynberg. Like Maynard's business career, Morgenrood's was distinguished by the shrewdness with which he invested. His first purchases in the Wynberg area were two plots on the upper and lower slopes of Wynberg Hill, which were sold to him by Higgs in 1840;<sup>113</sup> a year later he consolidated these properties by purchasing the intervening plot from his brother,

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110. C.A., MOOC 7/1/143, Nos 106, 107, 108. This was the mutual will of P. Leeb and J. Gunther; also MOOC 13/1/121. Liquidation and distribution account of P. Leeb.

111. P. Morgenrood, "Philip Dominicus Morgenrood..." Q.B.S.A.L. (5), 4, 1983, 289-290.

112. P. Morgenrood, "A Family of Shipwrights", *Familia* XVII, 2, 1980, 27. Marriage register, Lutheran Evangelical Church, 7 July, 1841, Philip Dominicus Morgenrood to Johanna Louisa Hogg.

113. D.O., T 138, 18 December 1840. J. Higgs : P.D. Morgenrood.

Joseph Rynhardt Morgenrood,<sup>114</sup> who had bought it from Higgs in 1839. In 1842 Morgenrood extended his investment by acquiring another plot from Higgs<sup>115</sup> and a fine erf at the top of Wynberg Hill, sub-divided from the Stellenberg estate of S.V. Cloete.<sup>116</sup> This substantial block of land was to become the nucleus of his later property investments which were to have a significant effect on the Wynberg Hill area during the next twenty years. Many of the property investments made by Morgenrood at this time were characterised by his willingness to assist the members of his family and, perhaps, to share his inheritance from Leeb with them. Two close relatives bought property in 1841 and it is probable that they were assisted by Morgenrood. His widowed mother, Eva Catharina Morgenrood, bought a piece of government land on the crest of Sunninghill,<sup>117</sup> shortly after she was married to William Parsley, himself a widower with several children.<sup>118</sup>

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114. D.O., T 173, 26 October 1841. J.R. Morgenrood : P.D. Morgenrood.

115. D.O., T 55, 10 October 1842. J. Higgs : P.D. Morgenrood.

116. D.O., T 121, 17 November 1842. S. Cloete : P. Morgenrood.

117. D.O., CF 7/1, 16 March 1841. Civil Commissioner : E.C. Morgenrood.

118. St John's Church, Wynberg, Marriage register, 16 September 1839. William Joseph Parsley (widower) to E. C. Morgenrood.

The adjacent stand was bought by Thomas Alder, a war veteran, who was employed as a gardener and also supported a large family.<sup>119</sup> This was bought from him by Morgenrood in 1844 and consolidated into his mother's property.<sup>120</sup> In 1841 Morgenrood's sister, Alida, and her husband, Dennis Hanafey, also purchased a large plot of ground at Plumstead, assisted with a bond from Morgenrood.<sup>121</sup> This valuable site had originally been the property of Thomas Mullins,<sup>122</sup> and fronted onto the wagon-road near the Wesleyan chapel. Morgenrood then turned his attention to Wynberg village and bought several plots near the camp from the estate of Robert Cooper.<sup>123</sup> This property became the site of a shop run by William Brading, who married Philip's sister, Elizabeth. This venture was so successful that Brading was able to acquire his own property some years later.<sup>124</sup> Throughout this period Morgenrood, his wife and their children lived in the house beside his shop in Plein Street,<sup>125</sup> but he always remained alert to opportunities in

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119. D.O., CF 7/2, 16 March 1841. Civil Commissioner : T. Alder.

120. D.O., T 914, 9 August 1844. T. Alder : P.D. Morgenrood.

121. D.O., T 44, 4 May 1841. J. Firmalter : D. Hanafey.

122. D.O., T 8, 5 July 1839. T. Mullins : J.D. Firmalter.

123. D.O., T 92, 14 October 1842. R. Cooper : P.D. Morgenrood.

124. D.O., T 90, 8 April 1851. T. Cutting : W. Brading. Eventually he purchased the Klein Constantia farm from Dirk Cloete (D.O., T 205, 16 February 1876. D. Cloete : W. Brading)

125. Cape Almanacs (1841 - 1851), Lists of Cape Town inhabitants.

Wynberg and never overlooked the needs of the members of his family who lived there.

While the actions of these three men, Higgs, Maynard and Morgenrood, and their families were clearly instrumental in shaping the broad outlines of Wynberg and Plumstead during this period, the activities of smaller investors are not so easily perceived. Nonetheless, these purchasers played a significant role, particularly in the Plumstead area, where clusters of smaller erven created focal points of greater population density. Deeds Office records show that during the 1830s numerous erven were granted to small investors of all classes at the northern end of Plumstead. The latter was originally the south-eastern section of the Stellenberg estate which Cloete had sold to Batt and Moore in 1832.<sup>126</sup> Batt had sub-divided his portion to the east of the Bamboesvlei road and sold large erven to George Apsey, a wagoner, and Simon Morley, a butcher.<sup>127</sup> Other erven were granted in that vicinity in 1833 - 34,<sup>128</sup> among them a property to Ellen Holland,<sup>129</sup> which she sold after her re-marriage<sup>130</sup> to Robert

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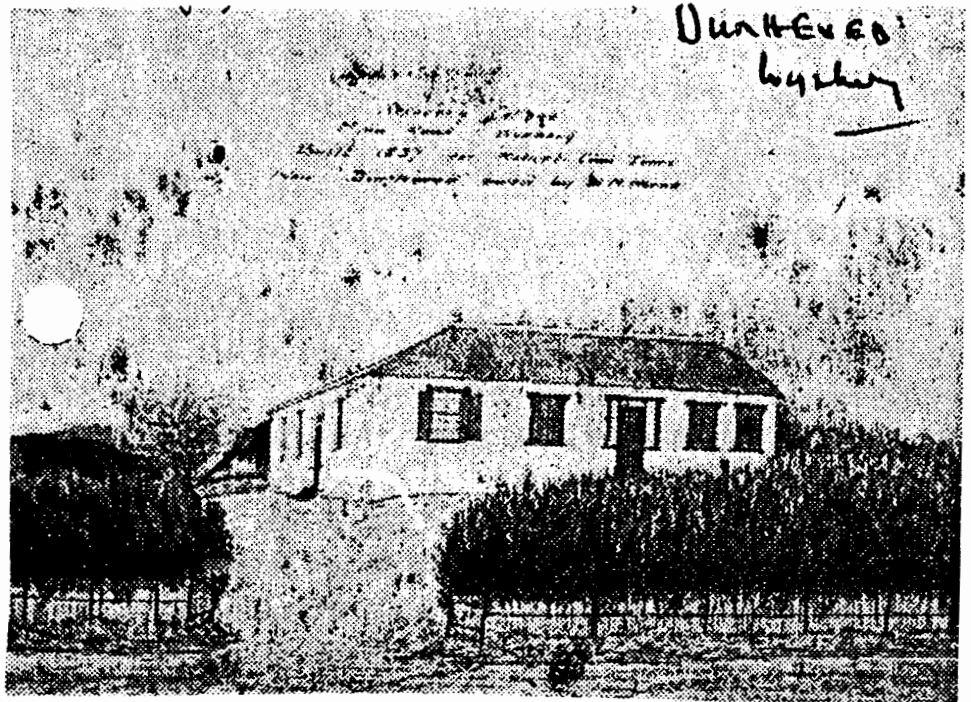
126. See above, 68, 71.

127. See above, 67 (D.O., T 30, 20 February 1832. H. Batt : G. Apsey; T 215, 14 December 1832. H. Batt : S. Morley).

128. D.O., CG 7/3, 7/4 and 7/5 were granted on 1 April 1833 to Abraham Thwaites, S. Jobson and Mary Humphries; CG 7/15 on 30 April 1833 to Fortyn Abrahams.

129. D.O., CG 8/1 on 19 March, 1834 to Ellen Holland, the widow of saddler, John Holland.

Croft-Jones<sup>131</sup> who opened the first private school recorded in Wynberg at his house, named "Recovery Cottage".<sup>132</sup>



*AFTER ALL THESE YEARS: Ever since 1856 the family of Mr. W. N. Horne, the well-known surveyor, has owned Dunheved, one of the picturesque group of old-fashioned houses on the right of the Main-road, just as it enters Wynberg from town. Recently a young typist in a city office discovered the original architect's sketch for the building when, as Recovery Cottage, it was erected for a Mr. Robert Croft Jones in 1837. There have been few changes to the place in 101 years, and the old approach to the house, shown in the drawing, is now a drive for cars instead of carriages and horsemen*

130. St John's Church Parish Office, Wynberg. Marriage register, 1 September 1834, Henry Balfour to Ellen Holland.

131. D.O., T 64, 21 April 1836. E. Holland : J. Jeary (for Croft-Jones).

132. Information obtained from a day-book, formerly belonging to the Croft-Jones family. Now held by Dr. Tredoux, (present occupier of this property). Croft-Jones had served in the Mercantile Marine of the English East India Company prior to and settling in Wynberg.

Map 5: Wynberg during the period 1840 - 1845, showing the land owned by the Maynard, Higgs and Morgenrood families.





The Horne family outside Dunhevid circa 1890  
(Horne family album)

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Plumstead village now extended along both sides of the wagon-road from this point at its junction with the Cape Flats road, as far as Rathfelder's Inn, south-east of the village. Numerous plots were also marketed in that area. In 1838 twenty lots of government ground on the road near the Diep River were advertised for sale,<sup>133</sup> and, in the following year, Thomas Mullins sub-divided his property into one large and seven smaller erven.<sup>134</sup> Most of these plots were used for commercial as well as residential purposes, establishing a second business centre at Plumstead, in addition to that in Wynberg village. As the movement of people and goods along the wagon-road increased steadily, Apsey and his son-in-law,

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133. S.A. Commercial Advertiser, 17, 24 November, 1838.

134. D.O., T 8, 5 July, 1839. T. Mullins : J.D. Firmalter; T 12-19, 9 July 1839. Sold by Mullins to A.J. Thomas, I. Upjohn, P.J. Hanson, J. Dicks, W. Cressey, J. Loxton, J. Marshall.

Edward Wetton, set up a livery-stable on Apsey's property near the junction of the Bamboesvlei road and the road to Simonstown, servicing the coaches and private vehicles using the road. Their services were also much in demand as saddlers and harness-makers.<sup>135</sup> In 1838 Apsey also began to sub-divide and market that part of his ground which was furthest from the wagon-road - it is possible that he might have needed money to extend the livery-stable. Most of these buyers of Apsey's land were emancipated slaves and free blacks who began to seek property in the area near the wagon-road, alongside the settlers of European origin. On the same day that Apsey had bought his property, he had sold part of it to Jan van Mauritius (alias Latief, and later known as Fransman);<sup>136</sup> and between 1838 and 1842 he sold nine more erven of which at least four were sold to the free blacks Hammat,<sup>137</sup> Pedro,<sup>138</sup> Abdol of the Cape,<sup>139</sup> and William Marcus (for his natural son, Samardien).<sup>140</sup> All these men had sufficient capital to purchase

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135. A.M.L. Robinson, "The Cape in the 1830's", Q.B.S.A.L., XII (2), December, 1957, 71; also J. Linnegar, "From village to Municipality" (Hons. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1975), 42.

136. D.O., T 31, 20 February 1832. G. Apsey : Jan van Mauritius.

137. D.O., T 96, 18 August 1840. G. Apsey : Hammat.

138. D.O., T 97, 18 August 1840. G. Apsey : Pedro.

139. D.O., T 98, 18 August 1840. G. Apsey : Abdol of the Cape.

140. D.O., T 140, 26 July 1842. G. Apsey : W. Marcus. During this period Apsey also sold plots to T. Cottle (T 926, 10 November 1838), J. Denton (T 785, 3 July 1838), E. Beale (T 158, 8 February 1839), J.G. Borchers (T 1324, 22 October 1841).

their plots and it is probable that they were tradesmen, who set up small businesses of their own or worked for others in the area. Some may have found employment at the livery-stable, while leather-workers were also required by Wetton's workshop.<sup>141</sup> Some years later Wetton purchased an adjacent property<sup>142</sup> on which he opened a tannery, where leather was prepared for his business, and this provided additional employment for a number of workmen. Several of these families retained their land throughout the nineteenth century, and their influence and that of their descendants will be examined in subsequent chapters. Research has established that many free blacks and emancipated slaves were, or became, members of the Muslim faith.<sup>143</sup> This was as true in Wynberg as elsewhere in the Cape and the emergence of a Muslim community in Plumstead had implications for the whole district in that it provided a focal point for the other Muslim families who were spread throughout the southern Peninsula.

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141. U.C.T. Libraries, BC 600, R.F.M. Immelman, Wynberg bibliography and notes.

142. D.O., T 939(b), 8 September 1849. R.Shaw : E.Wetton.

143. R. Shell, "Rites and Rebellion: Islamic conversion at the Cape, 1806 - 1915", *Studies*, 5 (1983), 1-45.

In the late 1830s one family who were to play a key role in this development purchased a strategically placed piece of property from Martha Batt.<sup>144</sup> The purchaser was Philip Ryklief, who is described in the deed of transfer as a free black.<sup>145</sup> It is possible that he might have been living in the area for some time as a tenant, because he is listed in the 1830 Cape Almanac.<sup>146</sup> Ryklief was the son of an Englishman, probably named Ratcliffe, who came to the Cape in 1795 and married Johanna Barbara, a local woman who was the daughter of Jan van Boegies and Samieda van der Kaap. Philip was their only child and he married the step-daughter of Abdul Logies, the first Imam of the Palm Tree Mosque in Long Street, Cape Town. The Imam had married an English widow with one daughter, Sophia, by her previous marriage;<sup>147</sup> Philip and Sophia Ryklief had converted to the Islamic faith shortly after their marriage. Their Wynberg property was to be their family home for almost a hundred years and today some of their descendants still live in Wynberg. The other plots sold by Batt's widow at the same time were bought by the free black, O'Deane,<sup>148</sup>

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144. D.O., T 248, 7 September 1834. Estate H. Batt : M. Dowse (Batt).

145. D.O., T 1292, 16 October 1838. M.Bond Dowse : P. Ryklief.

146. Cape Almanac (1830), 319. List of Wynberg residents.

147. Ryklief family tree in possession of S. Ryklief of Elsie's River, Cape. This was compiled by the Colonial Orphan Chamber in winding up the estate of Isaac Ryklief in 1929.

148. D.O., T 1293, 16 October 1838. M.Dowse : O'Deane.

about whom little is known, and by Sarah Adams, who is described in the deeds as the widow of James Norton.<sup>149</sup> Not far from Ryklief, the free black, John Rabboula (or Rabullah), had been granted an erf in 1833.<sup>150</sup> and he and his wife, Belle, held this for some years. Some distance to the south-east along the wagon-road, the free black, Benjamin, had purchased the ground of Cornelis Mol in 1835.<sup>151</sup>

In the same area Friday, who is described as a Prize Negro and is also mentioned in the 1830 Almanac, received a large erf in 1844. A memorial to the Civil Commissioner from Friday<sup>152</sup> indicates that he had been negotiating for this land since 1837 and had probably lived on it for some years before taking transfer of it. Sales of this sort, which can be substantiated by documentation, suggest that an unspecified number of people, who were not of European origin, and who may have been freed slaves or free blacks, occupied their own property in Plumstead and near the Diep River.

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149. D.O., T1294, 16 October 1838. M. Dowse : Sarah Adams.

150. D.O., cq 7/4, 30 April 1833. Grant to John Rabboula.

151. D.O., T 204, 1 December 1835. C. Mol : Benjamin.

152. C.A., CO 4021, no 14 of 1844.

The brisk pace of property sales, both large and small even at Wynberg and Plumstead, was a clear indication of the growing importance of the area as a regional development centre for the southern Peninsula during these years. In response to the needs of the increasing number of permanent residents, a reliable transport service was established in the 1830s. According to Coates,<sup>153</sup> there were at least two regular coach services which operated on the wagon-road between Cape Town and Simonstown from 1835 to 1845, making Wynberg more accessible to visitors and enabling local residents to commute to places of employment in Cape Town and elsewhere. One company was owned by Thomas Thorne, who had numerous coaches running from his Cape Town base in the Heerengracht to Wynberg and other destinations. In 1836 he took a partner, I. Upjohn, who bought a plot at Plumstead at this time<sup>154</sup> and probably looked after the south Peninsula routes. The other coach service owned by the Moore family continued to operate after the younger Moore's insolvency in 1834. They had substantial backing in the form of their successful bakery and shop in Wynberg, but, when Moore's father died in 1836,<sup>155</sup> his unrehabilitated son decided to repudiate his inheritance in

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153. P.R. Coates, *Track and Trackless* (Cape Town, 1970), 28.

154. See above, 137.

155. C.A., MOOC 1/133, no 28 of 1836.

favour of his mother, so that she could run the bakery on behalf of himself and the other family members. She then opened an additional shop in the Heerengracht, Cape Town, which her son managed for her and which became the town terminus of their coach service. There was sufficient competition between these two services to make the ventures something of a gamble and they vied with each other to attract customers. In 1838 Thorne and Upjohn introduced the new "omnibus" on their routes, making a daily run from Cape Town to Wynberg and back carrying eight inside passengers and several more perched on the box. Reputedly, they accomplished the 13 km. journey to Wynberg in only one hour, without any stops other than those occasioned by the horses' needs!<sup>156</sup>

Yet, within a year, Thorne and Upjohn had sold out the Wynberg route and its omnibuses to Abiam Tubb and his son, William. Moore also bought an omnibus and for a few years the rival omnibus companies operated on this route. Just before Tubb became insolvent in 1843, he sold his vehicles to Moore, who incorporated them into his service.<sup>157</sup> Moore did not remain unchallenged for long, however, because in 1844 a rival company was set up by Thomas Cutting (the son of William Cutting), in partnership with

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156. P.R. Coates, *Track and Trackless*, 31.

157. *ibid.*, 33-34.

William Boyce. This service ran from their head-quarters in Durban Road, Wynberg to Cape Town and Simonstown for a further two years until the local men reached a compromise and amalgamated the two services, monopolising the trade on this route for the next fifteen years.<sup>158</sup>

As traffic in and out of Wynberg increased, the wear and tear on the few major roads must have been considerable and their condition deteriorated. When the problem assumed serious proportions, Thomas Morris, the Field-Cornet for Wynberg,<sup>159</sup> submitted several memorials which drew attention to various infrastructural problems which had become more pressing with the residential expansion across Wynberg Hill,<sup>160</sup> and which stressed the lack of funding for much-needed repairs. Yet Wynberg was fortunate in that it had residents who were prepared to take action themselves in order to safe-guard their investment in the village. The memorial submitted in 1839 includes a subscription list, to which many of the inhabitants had already contributed,

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158. *ibid.*, 34-35.

159. Cape Almanac (1840), 308-309. T. Morris was listed as Field-Cornet for the Village of Wynberg, assisted by W. Morris.

160. C.A., CD 4000, 37, 38, 39 of 1840.

"for fencing and gravelling a road from the Dutch church in Wynberg village to the Simonstown road, it communicating with the only public road that leads to the Flats within two miles".<sup>161</sup> The work had been started but not completed and Morris suggested that, "it would be a cause of regret if the road remained unfinished for the want of attendance from government". No grant of money was forthcoming, however, as a note on the memorial states "it could not be justified". The responsibility for its completion fell upon the residents, who seem to have raised the funds by further subscription, because the road was completed during the 1840s,<sup>162</sup> providing a direct route to the wagon-road.

Included in the three memorials from Morris were applications for the well-placed piece of ground next to that of Alder, which were refused. The reason he gave for requesting the land was as compensation for the extra work he had done in organising road maintenance in the area, for which he had received no payment. Further memorials were submitted in 1843 and 1848,<sup>163</sup> which re-

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161. C.A., CO 4000, no 13, 28 May 1839. This road and the Bamboesvlei Road would have provided the only access to the church for the farming families living on the Cape Flats.

162. C.A., CO 4016, 81. This memorial was submitted by G.H. van Breda on behalf of the Dutch Reformed congregation, of which he was an elder, but it is clear that Dutch and English church-goers, both of whom benefited from the improved access to their churches, had funded the road.

163. C.A., CO 4018, no 458 of 1843; CO 4043, no 101 of 1848; CO 4039, nos 106 and 162 of 1848.

emphasised the need for the regular upgrading of roads in the area, as commercial activity had increased at Wynberg and was extended into the surrounding countryside. This economic and residential development was not without problems, however, as there was a dearth of skilled tradesmen in the area, a situation which had been observed by Herschel when he embarked on renovations to his property, Feldhausen in 1834.<sup>164</sup> Before emancipation, this could be attributed in some measure to the well-established practice among settlers of using household slaves to perform such tasks as building and household repairs.<sup>165</sup> After they gained their freedom, however, at least some of these skilled workers entered the local labour market as tradesmen,<sup>166</sup> and the presence in Wynberg and Plumstead of an emergent group of wage-earners had important implications for the settlement. Relatively few of the total number of freed slaves were skilled, however,<sup>167</sup> and it is not easy to determine how many of them

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164. D.Evans et al, Herschel at the Cape. Diaries and Correspondence 58.

165. R. Ross, "The occupation of slaves in 18th century Cape Town", *Studies in the history of Cape Town*, (Cape Town, 1980), V 2, 1-14.

166. A. Bank, "The role of slaves in the economy of early nineteenth century Cape Town," *Cape Slavery and After Conference Papers*, University of Cape Town, August 1989, 6-9; B. & N. Warner, *Maclear and Herschel; diaries and correspondence at the Cape of Good Hope* (Cape Town, 1984), 35-36.

167. N.Worden, "Adjusting to Emancipation; freed slaves and farmers in the mid-nineteenth century in the south-western Cape" in W.G.James and M. Simons (eds.), *The Angry Divide* (Cape Town, 1989), 32-33.

overcame the problems of adjustment and established themselves as independent, productive members of the community. Yet, whatever their numbers, their achievements were undoubtedly swamped by the ever-increasing numbers of unemployed and poverty-stricken workers, who were faced with unwilling employers, reluctant to pay a living wage - " the legacy of an era of slavery".<sup>168</sup>

Many ex-slaves merely exchanged the bondage of slavery for other forms of bondage to miserably low wages, debt to former masters and alcoholism brought about by the "dop" system. This serious problem was perpetuated by the availability of cheap liquor, which was sold not only at the inns but also by the "smuggling houses", which operated without a liquor licence.<sup>169</sup> These illicit spirits were sold very cheaply and the dealers were difficult to prosecute because they worked behind the "front" of a private house.<sup>170</sup> There is every reason to suppose that such "smuggling houses" existed in Wynberg and Plumstead, in addition to the recognised liquor outlets. Proof of this may be found in the later court records, where numerous prosecutions of "illicit houses" are

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168. N. Worden, "Post-emancipation labour in the Cape hinterland, 1838-1856.", in S.A. Historical Society, (Biennial National Conference, University of Cape Town, 1985), Conference papers, Part 2, 1-2.

169. K. Elks, Crime, community and police in Cape Town : 1825-1850" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1986) 139-142.

170. *ibid.*, 144-145.

recorded.<sup>171</sup> It appears that some of the liquor was consumed in full view on the street, contributing to an increase in lawlessness and disorderly conduct in the district. W. McKay, the Civil Commissioner at the Cape who lived at Wynberg during this period, gave evidence to the Commission examining the behaviour of the aboriginal peoples of the British Empire that "Hottentots of both sexes were seen in large numbers, at all times of the day and night, in a state of drunkenness and entire nakedness... along the Wynberg and Simonstown roads".<sup>172</sup> Two memorials, which were submitted in 1836 by residents requesting the establishment of a police court and the appointment of a resident magistrate,<sup>173</sup> suggest that the people of European origin who signed them believed that the inhabitants who were not of European origin were the disruptive element in the community and they attributed a high level of criminal activity to them. The Wynberg settlers were not alone in their dissatisfaction with the possibility of "disorder" which might follow emancipation;<sup>174</sup> they formed part of a general demand for security for persons and property expressed by

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171. C.A., WBG/ 1/1/1/1, 1839-1842.

172. British Parliamentary Papers, No. 425 of 1837. Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines (British settlements), Appendix 7, 151-152.

173. C.A., OO 3991, no 54 of 1836 (this requested the establishment of a police court); no 108 of 1836 (this requested the appointment of a resident magistrate).

174. K. Elks, "Crime, Community and Police in Cape Town, 1825-1850" (1986), 26.

colonists as a whole. Eventually the Wynberg petitions were acted upon as part of the general restructuring of the urban and peri-urban administration which took place just before the prescribed period of apprenticeship for emancipated slaves ended on 1 December 1838, the date when former slaves entered the open job market. In 1838 the newly installed Governor, General Napier, decided to retain some of the Special Magistrates as Resident Magistrates, in areas where their services were deemed necessary to maintain law and order.<sup>175</sup> He appointed Resident Magistrates to Caledon, Paarl, Malmesbury and Wynberg, while the Legislative Council passed an ordinance which provided for court buildings, a gaol and staff in areas where these facilities were needed.<sup>176</sup>

On 24 January 1839 Major Longmore, formerly the Special Magistrate, became the Resident Magistrate of the Wynberg district, which incorporated the field-cornetcies of Wynberg, Rondebosch, the environs of Wynberg, Cape Downs, Simonstown, Wildchutz Brand and Noordhoek, all of which had hitherto formed part of the Cape Division. This was a development of the greatest importance to the people of Wynberg as it would open the way to self-sufficiency within the colonial administrative framework. It

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175. C.A., CG 49/32. Despatch : Lord Glenelg to General Napier, 5 August 1838.

176. Ordinances of the Cape Colony, Legislative Council, Ordinance 1, 23 January 1839.

also satisfied the need for more effective police protection which had been expressed by the colonists. Yet there was a very small and ill-equipped police force to uphold the authority of the law. Only two constables were appointed at Wynberg,<sup>177</sup> although others were also appointed to patrol the large area of the Wynberg Magistracy.<sup>178</sup> This in no way diminished the status which the village had achieved, however, because Cape Town itself was not well policed;<sup>179</sup> and in spite of the limited facilities, some progress must have been made in controlling the lawlessness which had disturbed the residents because the compiler of the Cape Almanac commented in 1845 that, "since the establishment of a police court a great improvement is evident, means having been afforded by the government of checking and punishing on the spot, petty thefts and drunkenness and of detaining individuals".<sup>180</sup> However, names of those so convicted do not begin to appear until court records were kept after 1839; these records indicate they were convicted of various offences, including vagrancy and drunkenness, which led to assault and theft.<sup>181</sup>

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177. Cape of Good Hope Blue Book, 1840, 192. Two constables were appointed at a salary of £31 - 10 each per annum; one was to act as gaoler.

178. Cape Almanac (1841), 148. The compiler of the Almanac notes that there were two "white" and three "coloured" constables at Rondebosch.

179. K. Elks, "Crime, community and police in Cape Town, 1825-1850", 27-30.

180. Cape Almanac (1845), 217.

Major Longmore presided over the Wynberg court from 1839 - 1846, when he was retired, in view of his impending insolvency.<sup>182</sup> Major Richard Wolfe succeeded Longmore as Resident Magistrate in 1847, after the brief term of office of J.J. le Sueur. Wolfe was a member of a distinguished family and had held a military command both at Wynberg camp and on Robben Island.<sup>183</sup> When he returned from the latter station, he and his family settled in Wynberg at Sunninghill Cottage, formerly the home of the Higgs family.<sup>184</sup> Wolfe was accounted "a keen lawyer, as well as a fierce old soldier", and he directed his efforts towards reducing the high incidence of drunkenness in the area.<sup>185</sup>

Thus, the institution of the magistracy at Wynberg was a

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181. CA, 1/ WBG 1/1/1/1 - 1/1/1/9 Wynberg court records: 1839 - 1847. A survey of clerk of the court records for these years has indicated a predominance of offenders, who frequently committed such offences, but few were identified by surnames, although some were listed as "coloured".

182. C.A., G.H. 23/16 (154), 14 September 1846; MOIB 2/666, no 86, 12 October 1846. He had been living above his means since his arrival in the colony. All his property was sold up on 5 January 1847 to settle promissory notes held against him by Andries Brink (Dictionary of South African Biography, V 5, 490).

183. R.T. Wolfe, *The Wolfes of Forenachts* (Guildford, 1893), 8-11.

184. D.O., T 187, 8 April 1848. M.A. Higgs : R. Wolfe.

185. R.T. Wolfe, *The Wolfes of Forenachts* (1893), 11. His obituary, quoted here, makes special mention of his sterling work in this respect.

stabilising factor in the growth process taking place in the area, contributing to better administration and providing a check to the problems of vagrancy, disorder and alcohol abuse. In a period characterised by moral imperatives and official respectability, both in Britain and its empire, "the idle, rootless lower orders represented more than a moral affront; they threatened progress".<sup>186</sup> The paternalism which was to inform relationships between the upper and lower classes in the nineteenth century was manifested very clearly in the attitude of the church towards education and welfare in its institutions. During the 1830s and the 1840s the Christian churches extended their influence and missionary work to all sectors of the population,<sup>187</sup> and not long after the slave bells were officially silenced in 1834, the bells of several churches began to ring out across Wynberg Hill. The increased activity of the various church bodies at Wynberg focussed the attention of people living in its environs on the village.

By 1836 Dr. Faure, like the Rev. Shaw of the Wesleyan Chapel, had built a school-room adjoining the Dutch Reformed Church and, with the assistance of the catechist, O. Keet, was giving instruction to converts and the "heathen".<sup>188</sup> The strong

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186. E.J. Evans, *The Forging of the Modern State* (1983), 279-280.

187. M. Wilson & L. Thompson (eds), *The Oxford History of South Africa, South Africa to 1870* (London, 1969), 283-284.

188. A. Dreyer, *Kerksouvenir van Wynberg* (Wynberg, 1929), 24-25.

evangelical movement in all churches attracted followers from among the local population and the Wynberg gemeente acquired many new members. According to the Cape Almanac, this prompted the congregation to enlarge their place of worship "so that every individual might have some means of attending Divine Service".<sup>189</sup> In 1839 Faure had taken up residence in the newly acquired pastorie ter Waterloo aan den Wijnbergh, which Dreyer identifies as the former Waterloo House, purchased for two thousand pounds from the estate of Underwood,<sup>190</sup> whose heirs sold the remainder of his property to Maynard.<sup>191</sup> The latter was a staunch supporter of the Wesleyan Chapel at Plumstead, which had also grown rapidly in the 1830s with the assistance of his generous contributions to its funds. The Anglican Church, too, was fast out-growing its limited accommodation at the Cottage Chapel and in 1839 the foundations for a church were laid on a site which had been granted to them further up the hill.<sup>192</sup> Even before St Johns' church was completed in 1840, a room in the Glebe Cottage became the home of a School of Industry for the poorer females of the village.<sup>193</sup> Lady D'Urban, the Governor's wife, was instrumental in

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189. Cape Almanac (1843), 316.

190. A Dreyer, Kerksouvenir van Wynberg, 25.

191. See above, 116.

192. K. Vos, The Church on the Hill (1972), 16-17.

193. F.R. Bradlow, "Glebe Cottage: Wynberg and its artists", Q.B.S.A.L.(2), December 1962, 217.

establishing this school in 1836, the girls being taught reading, writing arithmetic and sewing.<sup>194</sup> According to Parish records,<sup>195</sup> she expended considerable effort in teaching at the school and encouraging the girls to better themselves. After her death in 1843, a new school-house was built on the remaining government ground on Sunninghill<sup>196</sup> with funds raised to commemorate "the virtue and excellence of the benevolent foundress".<sup>197</sup>

In Wynberg, as elsewhere in the Cape in the early days of the British administration, education was not co-ordinated and was largely a matter for church or private initiative.<sup>198</sup> Although Governor Lord Charles Somerset had introduced free government schools in the 1820s, the prescribed medium of instruction was English,<sup>199</sup> and the attendance of Dutch speakers dropped.<sup>200</sup> For

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194. Dictionary of S. A. Biography, V 2, 207.

195. Parish Office, St Johns' Church, Wynberg, Minutes of Church Council meetings, 1839/1840; also K. Vos, The Church on the Hill, 139.

196. D.O., CF 8/10, 1 June 1846. The land grant was the piece of government ground adjacent to the erven of Alder and Morgenrood; the trustees were the church-wardens of St John's Church, Longmore, Carey and Steuart.

197. Cape Almanac (1845), 218.

198. W.M. Freund, "The Cape under the transitional governments, 1795-1814" in R. Elphick and H Giliomee (eds.), The Shaping of South African Society, 1652- 1840, 347-348.

199. T.R.H. Davenport, "The Consolidation of a new society: the Cape Colony" in M.Wilson and L.Thompson (eds), The Oxford History of South Africa, South Africa to 1870, V.1, 284.

those who could afford to pay, itinerant school-masters, with varying degrees of proficiency, had set themselves up in their own establishments, as Croft - Jones had done at Recovery Cottage. By 1838 the free school at Wynberg had closed due to lack of support; yet educational facilities were needed in the area, for during this period Croft-Jones had 16 boys registered at his school.

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The appointment in 1839 of a colonial Superintendent-General of Education, James Rose Innes, improved the education system, which was given credibility when six well-qualified teachers were appointed to upgrade government schools in the Colony.<sup>202</sup> Wynberg was allocated one of these teachers<sup>203</sup> and, following the appointment of John McNaughton, the village became an educational centre for the area, far surpassing the other village schools at Mowbray and Rondebosch, and adding substantially to its regional status. On 1 June 1841 McNaughton set up his school in a room which had been hired by the authorities at Glebe Cottage. He

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200. E.G. Nalherbe, Education in South Africa, 1652 - 1952 (Cape Town 1925), 83.

201. Cape of Good Hope Blue Book, 1838, 206.

202. W.T. Ferguson & R.F.M. Immelman, Sir John Herschel and education at the Cape (Cape Town, 1961), 52-58. This new system was based on recommendations made by Sir John Herschel and the Colonial Secretary for the Cape, Charles Bell.

203. C.A., DD 499, 55 ; miscellaneous letters.

quickly refurbished the ill-equipped premises, displaying an efficiency which would characterise his future management of the school where tuition in both English and Dutch was given.<sup>204</sup> Church and state institutions were well-represented on the local School Commission<sup>205</sup> and Dr. Faure, in particular, gave his whole-hearted support to McNaughton throughout his tenure as principal of the Wynberg Established School.

Within six months McNaughton had enrolled seventy pupils (sixty-four males and six females)<sup>206</sup> and three years later he entered into an agreement with John Higgs for the erection of a larger school building on Sunninghill, at the heart of the new residential suburb that Higgs was developing. By this time the enrolment was between 70 and 80 pupils<sup>207</sup> and, on completion of

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204. C.A., 1/WBG, 17/9. Educational returns for the period 1 October 1842 - 30 September 1843 and correspondence relating to the establishment of the school; also D.H. Thomson, *The Story of a School* (Wynberg, 1961), 17.

205. D.H. Thomson, *The Story of a School* (1961), 18. The author reports that the School Commission at Wynberg consisted of a number of well-known residents of both Dutch and English origin. The members were: the Hon. Sir John Truter, W. McKay, Major Longmore, Rev. Holt Okes and Rev. J. Haddey (of the Anglican and Wesleyan churches respectively), Dr.P. Faure, Messrs J. Hare, J. Steurt, J. Carey (church-wardens of the Anglican Church), J.G. Borchers, D. Eksteen and M. Louw (deacons of the Dutch Reformed Church).

206. C.A., 1/WBG, 17/9. Educational returns for 1 October 1842 - 30 September 1843.

207. Cape of Good Hope Blue Book, 1845. Educational returns, 1844; Cape Almanac (1845), 296.

the new school in 1845, McNaughton moved them into it. He presented the Superintendent-General of Education with this fait accompli<sup>208</sup> which Rose Innes not only accepted, but also supported, agreeing that government would assume responsibility for the rent of the new building. This school, which provided accommodation for nearly a hundred pupils for over fifty years, would set the standard for educational achievement in the village where several other schools were established during the next thirty years. It became another incentive for settlement in the area, being conveniently situated in the new Sunninghill suburb which had been established by Higgs, who had also made ground available for the school.

The actions of the large-scale speculators, such as Higgs, undoubtedly shaped the physical dimensions of Wynberg, providing infrastructure and amenities while pushing out its boundaries and establishing broad areas of residential and commercial growth. The housing schemes pioneered by Higgs maintained the vitality of the property-market and fulfilled the needs of purchasers, but it was well-to-do investors like Maynard and, later, Morgenrood, who gave substance to the developing settlement. At the same time, the smaller land-owners also played a vital role in cementing the social structure and determining its character, while the

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208. CA, SBE, 5/1, 407.

entrepreneurial activities of Usher, Moore, Thomas and William Morris, Cutting, Zeeman and Rosa broadened the scope of commercial investment in Wynberg. All these small business men were founder members of the Wynberg Joint Stock Company, which provided opportunities for local investment.<sup>209</sup> It has been demonstrated that many of the inhabitants, who had set up in business in Wynberg in its early days, had ploughed back their profits into improved premises and equipment for the benefit of family members, as in the case of the Rathfelder, Usher, Moore, Ryklief and Zelman families. Apsey and his son-in-law, Wetton had also acquired substantial erven for business purposes, but they marketed their land in order to extend their interests. All these families redistributed their accumulated assets among the younger family members and relatives, who thereby improved their social and economic status. By mid-century a new generation was moving into the established businesses, which had been set up in the 1820s and 1830s, as sons carried on or diversified their fathers' commercial interests. They determined patterns of growth within their own sphere of influence and created focal points in Wynberg and Plumstead by promoting their particular concerns.

Thus, large and small property transactions, together with commercial enterprises played a crucial role in shaping the

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209. See above, 109-110.

outward form and the features of Wynberg, as well as its economic progress. The post-emancipation period produced challenges for the entrepreneurs in the business sector, encouraging them to find their own level in the support system for the increasing residential population. Moreover, this process was under-pinned by the new administrative structures and the improved amenities at Wynberg, which confirmed its status as a significant growth point in the southern Peninsula.

## CHAPTER 3

### Consolidation.

#### Part 1: Status and Stability.

1845 - 1864

The 1840s proved to be a crucial period in the growth of Wynberg as increased investment in landed property by incoming business and professional people and the consequent expansion and diversification of the existing commercial sector strengthened its small economy. Its establishment as a magisterial centre and the provision of a reputable public school and several churches had raised its status as a residential area, and stability (or the appearance of stability) characterised its development. Towards mid-century the Wynberg economy became more reliant on permanent residents and less dependent on the patronage of the transient military contingent, although it continued to derive considerable benefit from the "Indian visitors" on furlough from duty at stations in India.<sup>1</sup> This chapter examines the impact of these affluent newcomers on the local economy, while not losing sight of earlier relationships which had been established between various sections of the population.

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1. R.R. Langham-Carter, "Cape India Families", *Familia*, 1975 (2), 114; see below, 181-184.

The patronage of well-to-do customers had been essential for the economic development of Wynberg because patron/client relationships ensured that the interests of both parties were served. Thus, an elite group retained their hold over large-scale property ownership in the area, while this was reinforced rather than challenged by the petit bourgeoisie who looked to their own business interests for advancement. Warren and Meltzer have rightly argued that the possession and the diversification of property interests were pre-eminently associated with "the dominant classes",<sup>2</sup> whose activities in these decades have provided the main focus in scholars' discussion of local politics and economic life in metropolitan Cape Town. Property ownership and wealth gave access to political power and authority, and many well-to-do people sought to improve their status by the acquisition of a country house outside the city limits within which their business interests lay.<sup>3</sup> Investment in landed property played a significant role in securing their power base, as it helped entrench their political rights and voting power in a property-based political system.

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2. D. Warren, "Merchants, Commissioners and Ward-masters" (M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1986), 62-64; J. Meltzer, "The growth of Cape Town commerce" (M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1989), 61-64.

3. H. Newby et al, *Property, paternalism and power* (London, 1975), 38. Newby states that "urbanisation has strengthened rather than dissipated the prestige of rural life; a move to the countryside is still a move up the status ladder in Britain, especially for the urban middle class".

At the level of central government this became a basic feature of the system when representative government became a reality in the Cape Colony in 1853, after deep-seated dissatisfaction with the existing system of government" had been expressed by a wide cross-section of the Cape Town population.<sup>4</sup> The influence of the propertied middle-class was apparent as its members mobilised around issues of importance to them, such as the Anti-Convict Agitation,<sup>5</sup> at length assuming key positions in parliament. At the Cape, as in Britain during the nineteenth century,<sup>6</sup> there was an increasing contest for power within a middle class which was not in itself homogeneous. Kirk has noted that "the political arena contained a distinct element of economic rivalry"<sup>7</sup> and Warren has traced the process of adjustment as several interest groups co-operated or competed to further their economic aims.<sup>8</sup> The latter concludes that members of the Cape commercial bourgeoisie were able to dominate the Cape Town Municipal Council, which had been established in 1840, and that this provided a

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4. D. Warren, "Merchants, Commissioners and Ward-masters", 205-206.

5. *ibid.*, 201-210; A.F. Hattersley, *The Convict Crisis and the Growth of Unity* (Pietermaritzburg, 1965), 120-122.

6. R.J. Morris, *Class, power and structure* (Leicester, 1986), 17.

7. T.E. Kirk, "Self-government and self-defence in South Africa: the inter-relations between British and Cape politics, 1846 - 1854" (D.Phil., Oxford, 1972), 491-492.

8. D. Warren, "Merchants, Commissioners and Ward-masters ", 229-232.

platform for them to exercise their influence.<sup>7</sup> They were eligible for office in local government by virtue of their considerable property investments and locally-based businesses, whereas the merchant elite, who were strongly supported by their British parent companies, were well represented on the Legislative Council, where their interests were best served.<sup>10</sup> It is clear that these two groups were driven by different motivating forces, the one based within the colonial economy and the other rooted in British business interests. The way in which each achieved their economic objectives impinged upon colonial development, and their rivalry significantly affected progress at Wynberg during the 1850s, provoking wide-spread debate among the commercial and professional circles. Although the participation in local government by the propertied sector of the Cape Town middle-class has been well documented,<sup>11</sup> there is less information available concerning the **petit bourgeoisie** and the working-class and what role they played, if any, in shaping development at the Cape. Their acquisition of property has received little attention because it did not necessarily open the

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, G. M. Smith, *The Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1800* (London, 1928), p. 128.

<sup>10</sup> See Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, G. M. Smith, *The Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1800* (London, 1928), p. 128. The *South African Yearbook of International Law*, 1972, 10, 1, 1-12, also discusses the role of the Cape Town middle-class in the 1850s. The *South African Yearbook of International Law*, 1973, 11, 1, 1-12, also discusses the role of the Cape Town middle-class in the 1850s. The *South African Yearbook of International Law*, 1974, 12, 1, 1-12, also discusses the role of the Cape Town middle-class in the 1850s.

way to their significant intervention in policy-making. However, the highly-stratified and self-contained community at Wynberg presents an excellent opportunity to observe, not only the investment of large landed proprietors, but also the strategies for financial survival and social acceptance among the less affluent members of society. Williams has suggested that there are perceptions of socially and legally defined "rights" attaching to all those who own property and upon this an ideology of property rights may be defined.<sup>12</sup> He argues that this concept of property ownership as a kind of power characterises not only the attitudes of the upper classes, but also those of rural entrepreneurs and small land-owners, who wish to maintain their independence. This phenomenon manifested itself to a marked degree in Wynberg during the nineteenth century and the possession of property and business interests underpinned the efforts made by working-class artisans, whether they were of indigenous, slave or European immigrant origin, to share in the social and economic life of the village. By the 1840s such people - the market-gardeners, shop-keepers, traders and artisans were building up a position of importance in Wynberg by supplying services and commodities to the other inhabitants. These tradespeople, who would have been very small fry in Cape Town, emerged as bigger fish in Wynberg waters.

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12. R. Williams, *The Country and the City* (London, 1953), 104-106.

Yet, a somewhat ambiguous relationship existed between the smaller Wynberg entrepreneurs who had some financial standing but did not have influence with local or central government in Cape Town, and those landed proprietors, such as Maynard, Hare and Rogers, who did. In his analysis of the part played by landed proprietors of the commercial class in shaping municipal policy, Warren has identified James Maynard, permanently resident in Wynberg from 1835, as one of the more outspoken critics of colonial policy,<sup>13</sup> particularly in areas where it interfered with the pursuit of commercial interests. At a meeting relating to the Market Relief Ordinance he expressed his contempt for the Legislative Council, "who nod or sit still, just as the Governor chooses to pull the string".<sup>14</sup> As a proprietor he expressed himself forcibly on the subject of a more representative government, in line with views expressed by other members of the commercial bourgeoisie at this time. Warren indicates that Maynard was also in the forefront of the conflict between proprietors and the occupiers of rented property, defending "the right of every man to earn 6% on his money".<sup>15</sup> As he saw it, the man who paid the piper called the tune

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13. D. Warren, "Merchants, Commissioners and Ward-masters" (1986), 64.

14. Quoted *ibid.*, 187.

15. Cape Town Mail, 4 December, 1847.

and he made trenchant comments on "the double burden of the municipal tax and the road tax".<sup>16</sup> His driving ambition made him a difficult man to cross, as subsequent events in his personal life and his business career indicate, but his Wynberg estate must have given him an opportunity to escape from his turbulent career, as well as a welcome relief from the tax problems of town property, which so irked him. Whatever dubious motives his opponents attributed to him as "a tight-fisted, Cape Town landlord",<sup>17</sup> at his country house he was able to assume the role of benefactor and patron. His impatience with inadequate local government in Cape Town led him to stand as a municipal candidate in 1848 and he was elected to the Cape Town Council where he continued to express himself in a characteristic manner in an effort to bring about change.<sup>18</sup>

Henceforth, although Wynberg did not fall under the jurisdiction of Town House, it had representation there through the good

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16. *ibid.*, 22 July 1848. The newspaper reports that these rates each amounted to three pence in the pound and Maynard is quoted as saying that "they were a very considerable charge on property in these times".

17. D. Warren, "Merchants, Commissioners and Ward-masters", 233. Warren notes that Maynard was accused of making a practice, "whenever he lets a house, of requiring that the tenants should be responsible for the rates" (Cape Town Mail, 7 April 1849). Warren indicates that Maynard was an established rentier by 1840 and that he owned numerous properties in Cape Town for this purpose.

18. *ibid.*, 52.

offices of Maynard, who looked after their mutual interests. In 1847 he had also increased his status in the economic sphere when he was offered a directorship in the Union bank under Hamilton Ross,<sup>17</sup> which firmly established his reputation in financial circles. This partnership also brought him into close contact with his fellow-directors, Stein, Landsberg and Zeederberg, who were to become his associates in other ventures directly related to Wynberg.

Although it was the large landed-proprietors like Maynard who profited most by the accumulation of property, the smaller land-owners in Wynberg also benefited from the spin-off associated with the major transactions, as their properties too appreciated in value. Most of these erven had entered the second and third generation of ownership by the mid-century and had been purchased before Maynard and Morgenrood made their extensive investments. It is important not to overlook these small property-owners who, at different periods in Wynberg's history, comprised both free blacks and European immigrants. Shop-keepers and tradesmen, such as Cooper, Usher, Moore, Zasman, Rosa, Van Dyk, Ryklief, Apsey, Wetton and numerous others, were all in possession of well-placed properties, where they conducted their businesses and trades.

<sup>17</sup> U.C.T. Libraries, BC 114, R.F.M. Immelman Collection, Copies of documents relating to Hamilton Ross.

A substantial number of these Wynberg residents had raised their status by diversifying their interests. In the case of the Cutting and Moore families, their innovations in the transport services had brought them success, while in other cases business partnerships were confirmed by marriage alliances and joint family backing, which enabled young people to set up their own ventures in which their interlinked commercial connections were secured by the family property investments. For instance, two families with shoe-making businesses of long-standing were united when William Mannix married H. Diederick's daughter, Suzanne;<sup>20</sup> and Michael Butler took over the well-established retail business belonging to the widow of Philip Barchfield when he married their daughter, Louisa.<sup>21</sup> The business was extended when he went into partnership with James Brading, brother-in-law to Morgenrood, who had purchased the adjacent plot to that owned by Butler and his wife. On the other hand, when William Moore's sister, Susan, married William Tubb,<sup>22</sup> the two families were running rival omnibus companies; it is not surprising, therefore, that Moore purchased Tubb's stock when Tubb's father went insolvent. Others improved their prospects by marriage into upwardly mobile families

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20. St. John's Parish Office, Wynberg, Parish Register, 8 June 1835, William Mannix to Suzanne Diedericks.

21. *ibid.*, 30 June 1834. Michael Butler to Louisa Barchfield.

22. *ibid.*, 26 June 1840. William Tubb to Susan Moore.

or with members of the professional class. Rebecca Wetton had married Dr. Thomas Merritt;<sup>23</sup> her niece, Susan Apsey later married the well-to-do butcher, Thomas Morris,<sup>24</sup> and Moore's daughter, Amy, became the second wife of inn-keeper, J.G. Rathfelder.<sup>25</sup> When William Usher's son, Richard, married Jane Fairfield, the daughter of a civil servant in the India service, at St. John's church in 1843,<sup>26</sup> he was described in the parish register as "a gentleman living on the rent of his property". There is a nice irony in this - fifteen years earlier the government had dismissed his father's request for additional land as "an unsuitable one for a store-keeper".<sup>27</sup> Possession of property had changed the Ushers' status within a space of fifteen years, as it had for others who were accepted into the new Cape gentry. Land-ownership represented a step up the social ladder for tradespeople, just as a "country house" was a measure of social standing for the affluent town-dweller.<sup>28</sup>

23. *ibid.*, 20 October 1834. Thomas Merritt to Rebecca Wetton.

24. *ibid.*, 27 March 1843. Thos. Morris to Susan Apsey.

25. *ibid.*, 15 December 1848. Johan Georg Rathfelder to Amy Moore.

26. *ibid.*, 26 June 1843. Richard Usher to Jane Fairfield.

27. See above, 53.

28. P.-D. Waller, *Town, City and nation* (Oxford, 1983), 206; H. Newby et al, *Property, paternalism and power* (London, 1978), 38; F.M.L. Thompson, *English landed society in the nineteenth century* (London, 1963), 110-111.

It was a sign of the times, perhaps, that the self-made immigrant from Europe, epitomised by Maynard, was able to assume the role of "squire" in the village thanks to his estate at the heart of this expanding settlement. Maynard was undoubtedly one of the wealthiest property owners in a district which included influential members of the anglicized Afrikaner families: the Cloetes, the Van Bredas, the Versvelds and the Van Reenens, all of whom were established land-owners of long standing. None could rival the speculative activities of Maynard in the property market, however, as he continued to accumulate land in the area, in addition to his extensive investments in Cape Town and elsewhere. In 1846 he had become a member of the board of the Wynberg Joint Stock Company,<sup>29</sup> which gave him added insight into business activities within the area. In 1847, once again acting in his capacity as trustee for an insolvent estate,<sup>30</sup> Maynard was able to extend his property to include the portion of Wynberg village which occupied the slopes of the hill immediately above Maynard's Villa. This meant that he had come to own a corridor of land which straddled the entire Wynberg settlement from east to west.<sup>31</sup> It was flanked on one side by the Sunninghill development

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29. Cape Almanac (1845), 195.

30. D.O., T 74, 7 October 1847. J.M. Maynard, acting on behalf of M. Overmeyer.

31. See above, 136. Map 5.

and on the other by Vredenhof and the remainder of the old Rust en Werk farm , most of which now belonged to the Higgs family and had become known as Sussex Place during their tenure. Thus Maynard's property was the largest and most impressive in the Wynberg area, superseding the original estates, Oude Wijnbergh, Rust en Werk and Vredenhof, which had all been sub-divided many times.

There were others who owned substantial estates in Wynberg but none was situated in the pivotal position which Maynard's estate occupied. The Higgs family possessed several large stands which had not yet been marketed, but John Higgs died in 1845,<sup>32</sup> ending twenty years as an entrepreneurial pioneer. His family did not acquire more property in Wynberg, although they continued to hire out existing cottages and sold a few stands in the next decade. They, and more particularly his wife, managed his existing business ventures assisted by Thomas Mathew, the father-in-law of her daughter, Julia. He provided valuable support to the widow Higgs. Her son, George, also assisted her and speculated on his own account, although he had entered the army like his father, and was often absent from Wynberg. Hare and Rogers each held large portions of Oude Wijnbergh, but this land was on the periphery of the settlement; nor were they in a position to accumulate land and

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32. C.A., MOOC 6/9/36 of 1845.

capital as Maynard had done. Hare suffered a long period of ill-health prior to his death in 1856,<sup>33</sup> and Rogers experienced financial problems which forced him to sell Springfield to Alexander Cherry in 1846.<sup>34</sup> Although he had disposed of his estate, Rogers continued to live in retirement at Wynberg in Little Springfield Cottage.<sup>35</sup> The other large land-owners in Wynberg were the Usher family on Alphen Hill, and Philip Morgenrood, who also held several properties, but neither had sufficient land to influence growth in the village at this point in its development. Maynard, on the other hand, had been able to extend his land-holding and, during the period when he built up this large property investment, he parted with very few pieces of land in Wynberg.

One of these he sold to P.B. Borchers,<sup>36</sup> the Civil Commissioner of the Cape,<sup>37</sup> and another to his brother and partner, Joseph

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33. C.A., MOOC 6/9/74 of 1856.

34. D.O., T 50, 7 October 1846. G.J. Rogers : A.J. Cherry. The estate had remained intact apart from one small property, known as Willow Spring Cottage, which he had sold to Ker Baillie Hamilton, a brother officer, in 1835. (D.O., T 266, 4 December 1835. G.J. Rogers : Ker Baillie Hamilton).

35. Cape Almanac (1848), List of residents. Eventually he was declared insolvent in 1851 and a long financial wrangle ensued (MOIB 2/744, Est. 26, 6 February 1851; MOIB 2/757, Est. 106, 13 October 1851; MOIB 2/770, Est. 50, 21 May 1852).

36. D.O., T. 42, 12 January, 1846. J.M. Maynard : P.B. Borchers.

37. Dictionary of S.A. Biography (Cape Town, 1972), V 2, 69-70.

Maynard.<sup>38</sup> These were two beautiful view sites, sub-divided from the Julia estate which he had purchased from Mrs Ziederman on the Simonstown road and facing the Hottentots Holland mountains. Both these men must have commuted to Cape Town on a regular basis, as did James Maynard and others who had professional and business commitments in Cape Town. Borchers and Joseph Maynard built handsome houses on these plots, where they were content to reside for the rest of their lives. In his autobiographical memoir Borchers writes enthusiastically about the "picturesque village" and the "extensive views", which were among the finest he had observed in his wide-ranging travels. He describes the comfortable and convenient life-style among hospitable neighbours and he notes that "our plain but neat church is but a few minutes distant from our dwelling.... while at False Bay, we have the opportunity for change of air and recreation within a few miles".<sup>39</sup> As he and others pointed out, its central situation, its amenities and "its smiling aspect"<sup>40</sup> influenced potential purchasers. These pleasing conditions encouraged investment and stimulated the local property-market, which had already benefited from the favourable publicity circulated by earlier visitors to Wynberg.<sup>41</sup>

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38. D.O., T 199, 18 March, 1848. J.M. Maynard : Joseph Maynard.

39. P.B. Borchers, *An Autobiographical Memoir* (Cape Town, 1861), 451.

40. *Cape Almanac* (1842), 341-342.

41. See above, 98-99.

Wynberg at Mid-century



A reproduction of a painting by George Angas, circa 1849.  
It depicts the road to Wynberg (now Aliwal Road), showing the  
Wynberg Public School (right) and the Industrial School for girls  
(left).

The availability and suitability of land at Wynberg for commercial as well as residential purposes was a key factor in changing the demographic composition of the area. The lists of residents which were published in the Almanacs of 1848/1849<sup>43</sup> underline the changes which had come about in Wynberg since the first list of inhabitants appeared in 1830.

Table showing occupations in the Wynberg area, 1830-1849.<sup>44</sup>

	1830	1848	1849
Military men	2	1	3
Professional men	-	14	18
Church men	-	3	7
Medical men	1	3	5
Government officials (in Cape Town)	4	6	8
(in Wynberg)	4	8	6
Widows, single women.	7	9	11
Other men (no occupation listed)	8	-	-
Shop-keepers	10	18	24
Tradespeople	24	29	29
Inn-keepers	3	8	10
Labourers	5	1	0

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43. Cape Almanac (1848 & 1849), not paginated. These were the only lists of residents published after the 1830 list.

44. Cape Almanacs (1830, 1848 and 1849).

The groups showing the most substantial increase were the shopkeepers (from 10 to 24) and the inn-keepers (from 3 to 10), while the number of tradespeople increased less markedly (from 24 to 29). The most notable difference lay in the number of professional people listed in the later issues (19 in 1830; 34 in 1848; and 44 in 1849). On the other hand no names of labourers were listed in 1848/1849 (1 in 1848), whereas there had been 5 listed in 1830.

The listed occupations confirm that a substantial change in the expectations and life-style of at least some Wynberg residents had taken place, because a wider range of amenities and services was available to the residents in 1849 than had been the case twenty years earlier. The lists in the 1849 Almanac include two doctors and two well-known surgeons, George Makrill Nealds and Henry Drew, as well as an apothecary, F. Engels. There were four attorneys and an advocate, in addition to the magistrate and the clerk of the Court; a custom's official, George Rowan, and an architect, Thomas Goodban, accountants Alexander English and Justus Meyer, and the three school-masters, McNaughton, Croft-Jones and Alexander Byrne (the master of the Infant School). Several of these professional men travelled from the village to their offices in Cape Town, while others practised in Wynberg. John Stuart, the

Master of the Supreme Court, Mr Justice Musgrove, George Frere, Her Britannic Majesty's Commissioner for the Cape and Portugal, John Carey, the Registrar of Deeds, and P.B. Borchers, the Civil Commissioner, were among the public figures who also commuted to town. Their military colleagues, George Rogers, K.B. Hamilton, Alexander Cherry and Joseph Hare all lived in semi-retirement in the village, while other residents like the Maynard brothers, Harry Remington Horne and George Longmore travelled regularly to Cape Town. These businessmen and civil servants formed the nucleus of a growing body of professional people who would exercise their influence to ensure the development of Wynberg during the next ten years, while some upwardly-mobile tradespeople are identified in the Almanac; Thomas Cutting and his son were listed as omnibus proprietors and yet, once again, no mention was made of Wetton, indicating that there were omissions. The names of very few coloured people appear in the Almanacs,<sup>45</sup> although there were undoubtedly many who traded in Wynberg. Some of these property-owners were descendants of the people who had bought erven from Apsey some years earlier, but few of the names were those which appear on the original deeds;<sup>46</sup> however, they were

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45. Cape Almanac (1848 and 1849), unpaginated. There were four other carriers listed: Ryklief, Badrodien, Slamodien and Haybittel; yet no mention is made of the Zisman family. The name of Sabina, a canteen-keeper, was also recorded, possibly because she was a licensed trader.

46. See above, 138.

registered as rate-payers in the lists published in the Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette.<sup>47</sup> In the case of former slaves, names were changed, sometimes informally and sometimes by marriage, which complicates the tracing of connections between them.<sup>48</sup> Few transfers to or from "coloured" people were recorded at Wynberg in the 1850s, although Friday's land was sold in his deceased estate to James Maynard in 1853,<sup>49</sup> while another important transfer took place a few years before Apsey died.<sup>50</sup> In 1852 he sold his remaining property in two lots, one to Dr. Gird,<sup>51</sup> and the larger portion to Salie Hendricks,<sup>52</sup> whose family occupied this site for more than 70 years, alongside the earlier purchasers of Apsey's land. By the 1850s, therefore, there were a number of Muslim families, who earned a living as shopkeepers and tradesmen, living in this area known as the Flats.

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47. Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, 21 December, 1848. The following people were listed in the Gazette but did not appear in the Almanac: Spadille, Kitty, Moos, Titus, Clement, Kamies, Miles, James Honey (husband of Dina Fish, formerly van de Kaap), all of whom, except Honey, were referred to as "coloureds" or free blacks in Deeds Office records. On the other hand, there was a positive correlation for the names of "whites", listed in the 1848 list and the Cape Almanac of that year.

48. F. Bradlow and M. Cairns, *The Early Cape Muslims* (Cape Town, 1978),

49. D.O., T 990, 2 May 1853. Deceased estate Friday : J.M. Maynard.

50. St. John's Parish Office, Wynberg, Burial records, 17 October 1855, George Apsey at Wynberg.

51. D.O., T 1911, 16 November 1852. G. Apsey : H. Gird.

52. D.O., T 1910, 16 November 1852. G. Apsey : S. Hendricks.

The Ryklief family, whose property fronted onto the road to Simonstown, was well placed to provide a venue for an informal market, midway between the Muslim families who lived on the Wynberg Flats and those who lived in Wynberg village. The daily Muslim prayer services were conducted in langer, or prayer-rooms, because there was no mosque in Wynberg; but in 1848 Muslims acquired a burial ground beside the Dutch Reformed cemetery.<sup>53</sup> Thus, in the predominantly Christian ethos of Wynberg, the Islamic community formed a close-knit social and economic unit. The realities of slavery in the colony were still very recent, however, and upwardly mobile "coloured" tradesmen and artisans, whatever their religious affiliations, undoubtedly found many obstacles to their progress. Many of the British settlers, who competed with them for the business opportunities, plied trades which were traditionally linked to slaves: Hanaphy, Mannix, Wetton, Honey, Rosa, Parsley and numerous others were carpenters, masons, wheelwrights, tin-smiths, shoe-makers and grooms, for instance. Others established shops which brought a wider variety of goods to the Wynberg market-place and catered for the requirements of the upper classes, whereas the coloured traders concentrated on selling fresh produce and fish, which were hawked

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53. D.O., T 10, 1 June 1848. Colonial Government : Badrodien.

or marketed in less formal circumstances at roadside stalls, thus satisfying the day-to-day needs of the growing number of people. The local commercial sector thus expanded on several levels in response to the demands of a much wider range of customers, and a more organised approach to meeting these needs was apparent. The importance of Wynberg as a service centre for the district was emphasised when, in 1847, an attempt was made to establish a formal market<sup>54</sup> under the supervision of a market committee, comprising J. Versveld, H. Dreyer (both local farmers), W. Moore, W. Morris and James Mortimer Maynard (all members of the Wynberg Joint Stock Company). It was known as the Mortimer Market, indicating the guiding hand of the latter in the negotiations, and served Wynberg, Plumstead, Sunninghill and the village of Claremont. It handled supplies of livestock, agricultural produce and wood for local consumers.<sup>55</sup> The Market did not operate for more than a few years, however, because it was destroyed by fire. Thereafter the coloured traders resumed their informal marketing of produce in the area and balance was restored within the local economy. On the one hand, the tradespeople strove to hold on to what they had achieved, whether at the level of specialist shops and services or in a much less formal way; on the other hand, the

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54. C.A., 1/WBG, 17/7, 2 February 1847. This was approved by Magistrate le Seuer after considerable negotiation which allowed twice weekly markets on ground granted by the Ordnance Department under the supervision of a Market Master, J. Versveld.

55. *ibid.*, 18 April 1847. No other records appear to have survived.

wealthy customers upheld their traditional status as patrons of the up-market enterprises, while the less affluent sector supported the more modest ventures. As the wealth gap between the commercial and professional elite and the rest of the inhabitants of Wynberg widened, the social differentiation also increased. The attempts made by some tradespeople to improve their assets and thus advance their status in the community underlines the perceived importance of these relationships.

A vital factor in this second phase of development was the degree and nature of the social and economic interaction which occurred between the various sectors of Wynberg society. This was made more complex by the continually changing complement of the military camp and the periodic influx of "Indian visitors". The latter were, in fact, British army personnel or East India Company officials who chose, while on long leave, to visit the Cape on full pay rather than make the long sea-voyage back to Britain, where they would be on half-pay.<sup>56</sup> A note attached to the Population Census published in the Cape Almanac of 1825 suggests that, in the early days of the colony, the influence of the "Indian gentlemen" was regarded by the authorities as peripheral.

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56. R. Langham-Carter, "Cape India families", *Familia*, 1975 (2), 114.

57. Cape Almanac (1825), 165.

During the 1840s and the 1850s, however, their influence cannot be so casually dismissed. Hattersley suggests that their presence brought a good deal of money into circulation at the Cape.<sup>58</sup> While he was staying at the Chapel Cottage in Plumstead, Rev. Barnabas Shaw estimated that "those gentlemen benefit the colony to the annual amount of more than fifty thousand pounds",<sup>59</sup> and a substantial portion of this cash flow must have found its way to Wynberg.

Although the patronage of the visitors undoubtedly gave momentum to the economic growth of the village and encouraged social and sporting activities, the visitors' most important contribution may have been in establishing the popularity of the village and advertising its charms further afield. The healthy climate of Wynberg attracted those who were recovering from illnesses contracted while on service in less salubrious parts of the Empire, and it was deemed beneficial for their wives and children, who had been subjected to the debilitating effect of the Indian

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58. A.F. Hattersley, *An Illustrated Social History of South Africa* (Cape Town, 1973), 153. The author quotes Captain John Haughton, who calculated that "there are always from 50-60 Indian visitors from the three Presidencies and they spend annually the sum of £80,000 at the Cape".

59. B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa* (London, 1841), 12.

climate. Consequently, some expectant mothers chose to reside at the Cape for the duration of their pregnancy. Bulstrode Cumberlege had purchased a property from Higgs some years earlier to accommodate his wife during her pregnancy, when he had to return to India to complete his tour of duty,<sup>60</sup> while Martha Cardew, the wife of a British army officer, came from India for the birth of her third child in 1841.<sup>61</sup> The transient nature of their sojourn at the Cape makes it difficult to assess the exact numbers of Indian visitors who stayed at Wynberg in any one year, but every **Cape Almanac** between 1832 and 1848 carried a list of at least fifty heads of households who arrived at the Cape with their wives and children, which corroborates the figures given by Haughton. The 1842 **Almanac** stressed their preference for Wynberg, "where the Indian visitors usually reside".<sup>62</sup> Because many of them sought accommodation in the Wynberg area, there was an increase in the number of inns and lodging houses between Alphen Hill and the

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40. See above, 123.

61. R.F.M. Jammelman, "The Cape Sketches of Martha Cardew, 1842-1843", *Africana Notes and News*, 14 (5), March 1961, 164-180. In the eighteen months she spent in Wynberg, she executed some fine botanical sketches and landscape drawings of the area, which provide insight into the attraction of the village for visitors.

62. **Cape Almanac** (1842), 340. There was a decline in the popularity of the Cape among the "Indians" after 1860, some preferring to visit the Australian settlements; and after the opening of the Suez Canal others used this as a swifter route to and from the East. It enabled many British citizens who were employed there to return "home" during their long leave rather than spend it in the Cape Colony.

Simonstown Road. Sedgely's Indian Cottage Hotel near the Constantia Road<sup>63</sup> and Mrs Usher's boarding-house in Durban Road were especially well patronised. Many furnished houses were also offered for hire, among them the cottages at the south-eastern end of the village, built by Higgs and managed by his wife after he died.<sup>64</sup> Some of these lodgings were far from satisfactory, however, as Captain Haughton reported while renting a cottage from Mrs Higgs.<sup>65</sup> Yet, the visitors had <sup>to</sup> content themselves with these arrangements if they wanted to stay in the restful and healthy ambiance of Wynberg, as many of them did. It is not surprising, however, that the substantial renovations which were made in the 1850s to the oldest of the local inns, the Halfway House at Diep River, were welcomed. This was in line with the general improvements to amenities and infrastructure in the area, brought about in response to the more sophisticated demands of both visitors and permanent residents. Under the efficient management of J.G. Rathfelder, the inn became a fashionable meeting-point,

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63. A.F. Hattersley, *The Convict Crisis and the Growth of Unity*, 36.

64. See above, 171.

65. Quoted in D.H. Varley, "The Haughton Letters", *Q.B.S.A.L.*, V 10, September 1975, 80. "We have taken it for six months and are taught to consider the rent moderate at ten pounds a month. We have learnt that the term "furnished" at the Cape never includes linen, crockery, pots and pans, or indeed anything but a few chairs and tables, a carpet in one or two rooms, perhaps, and two or three bedsteads without curtains and one very thin mattress on the boards."

not only for local people and Indian visitors, but also for army and navy officers from Wynberg and Simonstown, and upper class Capetonians.<sup>66</sup> Hattersley comments that "Rathfelders had become an institution and that the subsequent traditions of the house grew from the personality of the owner".<sup>67</sup> By the 1850s the Inn had acquired a reputation for excellence which may have been somewhat exaggerated, however, for a Russian traveller, Goncharov, who visited the Cape in 1853, commented ironically on the fare: "Breakfast consisted of omelette, cold tough beef and hot tough ham".<sup>68</sup> Nevertheless, the inn satisfied the needs of local customers and Indian visitors, providing a venue for a variety of events and adding to the social status and popularity of Wynberg. It was the undisputed head-quarters of the Cape Hunt and many packs of hounds were accommodated at its kennels out of season.<sup>69</sup>

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66. F. Bradlow and O.H. Spohr, "King of the Landlords", Q.B.S.A.L., V 29, June 1965, 38.

67. A.F. Hattersley, "Rathfelder's Inn, Diep River", Q.B.S.A.L., V 16 (4), December 1962, 143. The author describes Rathfelder as "a man of generous emotions", who possessed at the same time "the grace of an accomplished host".

68. I.A. Goncharov (translated by N.W. Wilson from *Fregat Pallada* with additional notes by D.H. Varley), "A Russian View of the Cape in 1853" (Part 1), Q.B.S.A.L., V 15 (2), December 1960, 57-59. The inn was apparently being enlarged at this time because Goncharov mentions that "the principal wing was being built but the hotel meanwhile was being housed in a smaller wing".

69. A.F. Hattersley, "Rathfelder's Inn, Diep River", Q.B.S.A.L., V 16 (4), December 1965, 39. The writer described how the Hunt set out from the Inn, following various routes across the Flats, and returning late in the day. On the occasions when the weather encouraged an early return to Rathfelder's, they would find an immense cold turkey set out for the Hunt Breakfast.

The military contingent and the visitors did much to keep alive this type of English sporting tradition at the Cape. Not far from the Inn cricket was played on the large piece of ground owned by Mrs Higgs, whose son, George, was a keen cricketer, like many of his colleagues in the Volunteers.<sup>70</sup> In 1857 the Cape Monitor, reporting on a recent match, remarked that "Mrs Higgs field is in capital order and the band of the 87th Regiment was in attendance. Mr Rathfelder supplied the refreshments".<sup>71</sup> Although Goncharov was not impressed by the fare at Rathfelder's Inn, he was most enthusiastic about its surroundings, describing Wynberg as "a glorious place like a big park with gay little villas...the summer residences of the Capetonians.... namely the English businessmen". He goes on to describe the villas which "barely peep from the depths of their gardens and flowering bushes",<sup>72</sup> and the impressive tree-lined avenues.

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70. A.F. Hattersley, *An Illustrated Social History of South Africa*, 117.

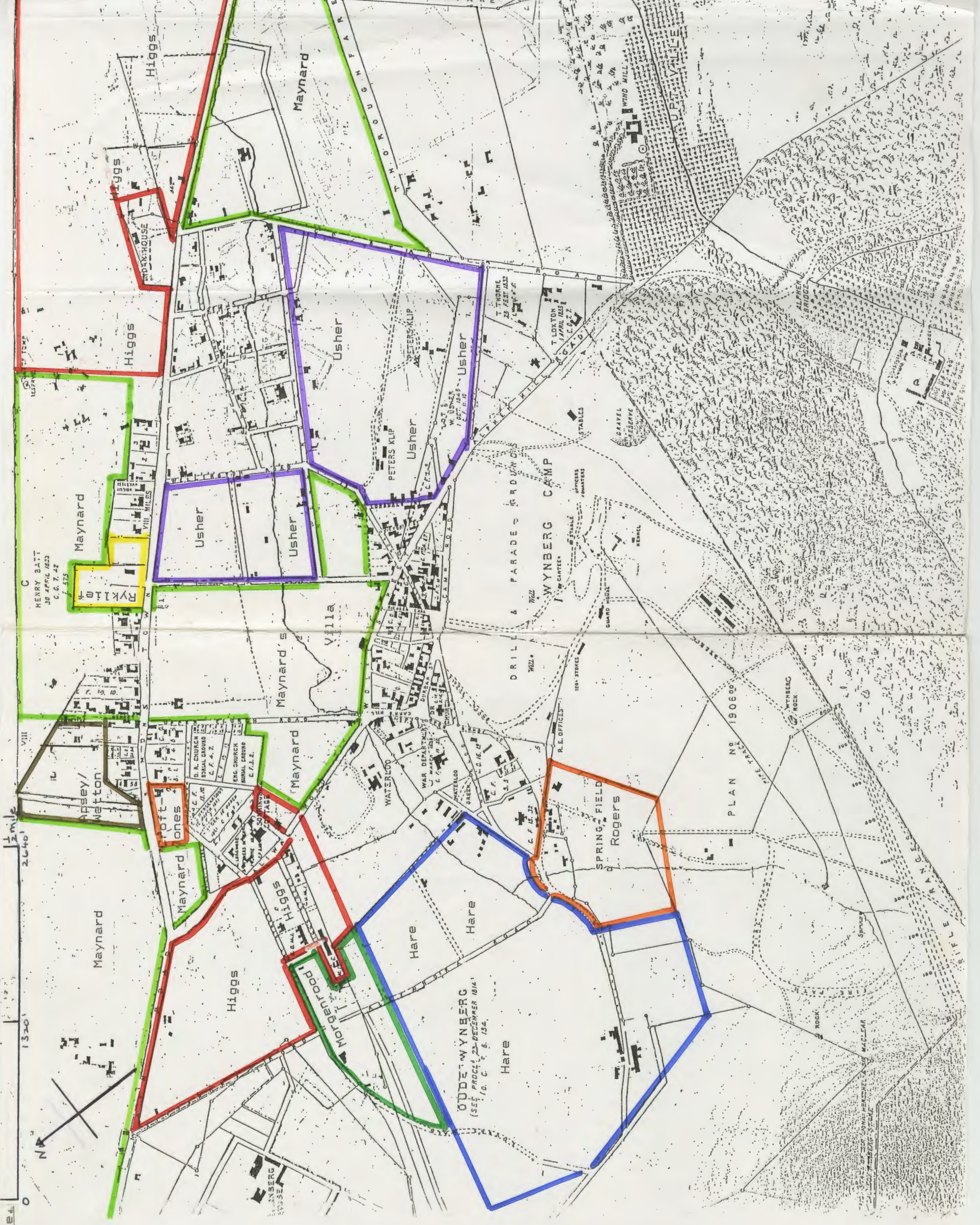
71. *Cape Monitor*, 17 January 1857.

72. I.A. Goncharov, "A Russian View of the Cape in 1853" (Part 1), *O.B.S.A.L.*, V 15 (2), December 1960, 57-58.

Scale 1/2 mile

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VIII  
HENRY BATT  
30 APRIL 1923  
C. G. 7. 42



PLAN NO 190600

OUDE WYNBERG  
(SEE PROCESSES DECEMBER 1914)  
I. O. C. 6. 134

SPRINGFIELD ROGERS

WYNBERG CAMP

MAYNARD

USHER

MAYNARD

HIGGS

MAYNARD

HARE

HARE

HARE

HARE

HARE

HARE

HARE



Sketch of St John's Church with adjacent cottages by  
by Catherine Cloete of Springfield circa 1855

When Emma Rutherfoord<sup>73</sup> spent a few days in the area with the Hare family at Oude Wijnbergh in January 1853, she too was taken with the beauty of the surrounding countryside, but was critical of its inhabitants. She noted that, "although Wynberg is quite overflowing with visitors, no one seems to roam the beautiful hills or to admire the scenery"; of her hosts she commented that "they rarely go beyond the garden and were quite astonished at my roving propensities as I explored both the hills alone".<sup>74</sup> She adds: "It is a dreadful, flirting, gossiping little village....

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73. J. Murray (ed.), In Mid-Victorian Cape Town (Cape Town, 1953). Emma Rutherfoord, who later married ds. Andrew Murray, was the daughter of the well-known Cape businessman, H.E. Rutherfoord. (D.S.A.B., V 3, 729).

74. *ibid.*, 39. Presumably she is referring to Alphen Hill and Wynberg Hill.

and there are a great many idle young ladies and gentlemen who have nothing better to do than to amuse one another".<sup>75</sup>

This rare glimpse of the younger generation of well-to-do Wynberg families is significant in as much as it reflects a life-style associated with the landed gentry. Like many of the other visitors passing through Wynberg, both Emma Rutherford and Goncharov appeared to perceive the area merely as a fashionable play-ground for the wealthy, and took no account of the substantial population of permanent residents of all classes, including the large proportion of tradespeople and working men and women, whose presence was essential for the provision of services. The opinions of the monied classes, both old money and the nouveaux riche dominated social mores and attitudes at the Cape, disregarding the social revolutions which had very recently begun to transform British and European social structures. As elsewhere in the British Empire, "The military thought of themselves as a colonial aristocracy";<sup>76</sup> this was clearly observable in Wynberg where British army officers like Rogers, Hare, Proctor, Underwood, Wolfe and others could be regarded as the local landed gentry - and with some justification in view of their large estates. They also held positions of leadership and authority in the area, whether in

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75. *ibid.*, 39-40

76. R.V. Turrell, "A Cape periodical: the Cape Monthly Magazine" (B.A. Hons. dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1974), 71.

their official capacities or as members of church and educational bodies. They involved themselves in philanthropic work for the Anglican and Methodist churches - indeed, it was the patronage of the upper classes which maintained the church charities and enabled them to engage in missionary work, as well as educational and welfare work among the poorer classes. Hare, Longmore, Carey and Steuart, Wolfe and others served as trustees for the building and maintenance of the Anglican Church, its missions and the School of Industry, just as the Van Breda, Dreyer, Cloete, De Kock, Meyer and Van Reenen families underwrote the Reformed Church interests.

However, with the increasing influx of well-to-do business people such as the Maynards and the Morgenroods, together with professional men and their families who moved to Wynberg from Cape Town and even further afield, the "military aristocracy" was gradually replaced by these newcomers. The village appealed not only to these former urban-dwellers, seeking a peaceful country life within reach of the city, but also to retired farmers and those who had larger rural properties.<sup>77</sup>

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77. F.M.L. Thompson, "The rise of suburbia" in R.J. Morris and R. Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City* (London, 1993), 169-170.

Dyos has described a very similar process in his study of Camberwell, where the social composition changed radically between 1840 and 1860, as middle class people migrated there from the city centre.<sup>78</sup> Like Wynberg village, Camberwell "was healthy and it was accessible" and, as Dyos puts it, people "leap-frogged" over the intervening ribbon development along the highways, in order to reach the outer, unspoiled areas and thus realise their ideal of a "separate family-dwelling outside the city limits".<sup>79</sup> Subsequent development reveals a number of cases where families moved from the inner suburbs of Cape Town to the "rural" environment of Wynberg, while others, formerly farmers or country residents from further afield, chose Wynberg as appropriate for retirement. One elite group replaced another, and the steady influx of purchasers bent on acquiring a substantial "country cottage" characterised this period, reflecting current trends among the upwardly mobile in Britain.<sup>80</sup> Their arrival coincided with a period during the 1850s when several large properties belonging to well-known Wynberg residents changed hands after their owners died and their properties were sold or sub-divided by their widows and heirs.

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78. H.J. Dyos, *Victorian Suburb: a study of the growth of Camberwell* (Leicester University Press, 1966), 34-36.

79. *ibid.*, 82-83.

80. D. Cannadine, *Lords and landlords, the aristocracy and the towns, 1771 - 1967* (Leicester, 1980), 38; F.M.L. Thompson, *The rise of suburbia* (Leicester, 1982), 19.

Alexander Cherry of Springfield,<sup>81</sup> Joseph Hare of Oude Wijnbergh,<sup>82</sup> and Richard Wolfe of Sunninghill<sup>83</sup> died within a year or two of each other and their properties were sold to prosperous Cape Town men. Oude Wijnbergh was transferred to two of Hare's married daughters and sub-divided by them. J.T. Eustace, a retired military man who became vice-president of the Cape Chamber of Commerce, bought the portion on which the homestead stood,<sup>84</sup> while G.H. van Breda, a member of the wealthy Cape farming family, bought the remainder which stretched as far as Waterloo Green.<sup>85</sup> Their neighbour was Chief Justice Steuart, who had decided to move from his property on the Bamboesvlei Road to a more fashionable area on Wynberg Hill, adjacent to Oude Wijnbergh.<sup>86</sup> Daniel Cloete bought the entire Springfield estate,<sup>87</sup> with the exception of the plot which had already been sold to Harry Remington Horne,<sup>88</sup> whose brothers, John Templer Horne and William Henry Horne,

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81. C.A., MDOC 7/1/85 of 1854.

82. C.A., MDOC 6/9/74 of 1856.

83. C.A., MDOC 13/1/217 of 1855.

84. D.O., T 150, 6 May 1857. Estate J. Hare : C.W. Kinlock; T 105, 9 January 1858. C.W. Kinlock : R.T. Trotter; T 16, 2 May 1860. R.T. Trotter : W.T Eustace.

85. D.O., T 35, 3 August 1860. R.T. Trotter : G.H. van Breda.

86. D.O., T 195, 20 October 1852. G. Robb : J. Steuart.

87. D.O., T 300, 23 December 1854. A.I. Cherry : D. Cloete.

88. D.O., T 1293, 10 July 1852. A.I. Cherry : H. Remington Horne.

joined him in Wynberg. They bought Recovery Cottage when Croft-Jones decided to move to Cape Town, and his house, renamed Dunhevid, became the Horne family home for almost a hundred years

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Although Richard Wolfe's widow continued to live with her unmarried daughters in their home on Sunninghill, Wolfe's son, Richard, sold the rest of his father's property to Charles Manuel in 1859.<sup>90</sup> Like his father, Manuel was an influential member of the commercial sector, and had been elected to the Cape Parliament when representative government was granted to the colony in 1853.<sup>91</sup> Manuel's interest in the area may have been stimulated after his widowed mother's marriage to Dr Samuel Bailey.<sup>92</sup> The couple settled in Wynberg after his retirement in 1845 as Superintendent of the Somerset Hospital, and Bailey became District Surgeon for the Wynberg district.<sup>93</sup> In 1860 Manuel extended his Wynberg property investment to include the plot which Morgenrood had sold

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89. D.O., T 445, 14 June 1860. R.E. Croft-Jones : W.H. Horne.

90. D.O., T 400, 22 November 1859. R.E. Wolfe : C.J. Manuel. The younger Wolfe had acquired the land adjacent to his father's house from Philip Morgenrood, in his capacity as executor of his mother's estate (T 203, 15 December 1856. Estate E.C. Morgenrood (widow Parsley) : R. Wolfe.)

91. Men of the Times (Transvaal Publishing Co., 1906), 305.

92. St. John's Church, Wynberg, Marriage register, 3 April 1846, S. Bailey (surgeon) to R. Manuel (widow).

93. D. Stapelton-Cotton, "Isaac Manuel", *Familia*, XVI, 1976 (1), 17.

to George Carr a few years earlier,<sup>94</sup> and the house on this double plot became known as Longwood. Manuel let this property to William Shaw, a wealthy farmer from the Overberg district. He had been one of a group of six retired civil and military officers from Indian service, who became farmers in the Overberg district between 1831 and 1844.<sup>95</sup> It is possible that Shaw moved to Wynberg to be near his friend and colleague from the Overberg, T.B.C. Bayley,<sup>96</sup> who had already settled in Wynberg.<sup>97</sup> Bayley, Shaw and Manuel shared a common interest in breeding race-horses and were active members of the local Turf Club. The rural atmosphere of Wynberg thus provided the ideal setting for people who had retired from full-time farming but wanted to continue their former interests on a smaller scale. Another substantial property was sub-divided for such a purpose after Richard Usher pre-deceased his father in 1853;<sup>98</sup> Usher seems to have lost interest in land-ownership following the death of his only child<sup>99</sup> and, in the absence of any grand-children, he sold most of his property to

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94. D.O., T 2131, 20 December 1852. P.D. Morgenrood : Geo. Carr; T 313, 20 February 1860. Geo. Carr : C.J. Manuel.

95. R.R. Langham-Carter, "The Shaws of Muirton and Wynberg", *Familia*, October 1976, 63-67.

96. R.R. Langham-Carter, "The Benefactions of Thomas Butterfield Bayley (1810-1870)", *Q.B.S.A.L.*, March 1967, 88-93.

97. D.O., T 232, 20 August 1861. M.J.Harris: T.B.C. Bayley.

98. C.A., MOOC 6/9/63, no. 2072, 16 July, 1853.

99. C.A., MOOC 7/1/215 of 1854.

Henry Dumbleton,<sup>100</sup> a horse-breeder who had previously farmed at Avontuur near George.<sup>101</sup> This prime site on the crest of the hill, facing the Constantiaberg, was occupied by the Dumbleton family for ten years. The rest of Usher's considerable property was sold in smaller lots, resulting in a fragmentation of this area similar to that which had occurred when William Cutting became insolvent. Usher sold three erven to William Hawkins,<sup>102</sup> another member of parliament, J.W. Langford,<sup>103</sup> and Johan Rathfelder.<sup>104</sup> The latter was a relative of J.G. Rathfelder, the inn-keeper of the Halfway House, and is sometimes confused with him because they were both named Johan. This man opened a butchery at this property and later bought the Belle Ombre estate at Constantia. Finally, Usher sold the ground on which the Vredenhof homestead stood to W.G. Anderson,<sup>105</sup> and returned to England with his wife and daughter-in-law. Philip Morgenrood bought the stand which had belonged to Richard Usher from his widow,<sup>106</sup> having

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100. D.O., T105, 8 April 1854. W. Usher : H. Dumbleton.

101. U.C.T. Libraries, BC600, Wynberg papers of R.F.M. Immelman.

102. D.O., T 78, 8 April 1856. W. Usher : W. Hawkins.

103. D.O., T 335, 10 May 1860. W. Usher : J. W. Langford. According to the St John's Parish Register, John Langford was a former member of the Bombay Civil Service, who had married Cecilia, the daughter of Major Longmore, in 1845.

104. D.O., T 312, 27 January 1857. W.Usher : Johan Rathfelder.

105. D.O., T 247, 19 February 1857. W. Usher : W.G. Anderson.

106. D.O., T 311, 27 January 1857. R.Usher (widow) : P.D. Morgenrood.

already acquired a large stand on the Simonstown Road from Usher at the same time.<sup>107</sup> Morgenrood's brother-in-law, Brading, had purchased his own property from Thomas Cutting in 1853<sup>108</sup> and opened a high-class grocery shop there. Like the Rathfelder butchery, it was geared to providing a level of service required by the new range of more demanding customers who were moving into the area. Within a period of five years, therefore, almost all the old hill properties had changed hands and the socio-economic gap between the rising ground and Plumstead had widened perceptibly. Only the Maynard and Morgenrood land-holdings remained a constant factor in this changing scene. Morgenrood, who had been acquiring land in Wynberg since 1840, took up residence there in 1859.<sup>109</sup> The reasons for him to move from his Plein Street home to Wynberg are not clearly discernible, unless he too decided to follow the popular trend towards a rural life-style. A contributory cause for his removal from Cape Town may have been the closure of the St Martin Church in Long Street, with which Morgenrood had been deeply involved for some years and to which he had contributed generously.<sup>110</sup>

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107. D.O., T 311, 27 January 1857. W. Usher : P.D. Morgenrood.

108. D.O., T 1, 1 March 1853. T. Cutting : J. Brading.

109. P. Morgenrood, "Philip Dominicus Morgenrood - the squire of Wijnbergh's Hoogte" (Part 1), Q.B.S.A.L. (5), 4, 1983, 295.

110. *ibid.*, 291-294. This church had been established by ds. George Stegman who inclined to the Reformed Lutheran service and, in 1847, he formed a new congregation which included Morgenrood and other like-minded people.

When the St Martin congregation broke up, Morgenrood may have decided to start afresh in Wynberg, where he and his wife had a long-standing friendship with Dr. Faure and his family, in addition to close family relationships in the village. He did not abandon his commercial interests, however, although he had already closed his shop next door to his house and leased it to a tenant in 1852.<sup>111</sup> Henceforth he conducted his financial business from an office in Barrack Street,<sup>112</sup> which became his main concern. He received a comfortable income from the interest on mortgage bonds which he issued and rental on properties in Cape Town and elsewhere. Although he did not operate on the grand scale of James Maynard, Morgenrood did not limit his speculation to the Wynberg area, as he owned properties in Cape Town, Mowbray, Rondebosch and Kalk Bay too.<sup>113</sup> Yet, from the time he moved to Wynberg he concentrated on acquiring more property on Wynberg Hill, near the site of his first purchase. His most significant investment was the twenty-three morgen stand which he bought from the widow of

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111. C.A., N.C.D., 87/23, 27 October, 1852.

112. Cape Almanac (1855), List of Cape Town residents.

113. P. Morgenrood, "Philip Dominicus Morgenrood..." (Part 2), Q.B.S.A.L. (6), 1, 1983, 21-22.

Higgs.<sup>114</sup> This property extended from Aliwal Road to the border of Stellenberg and was bounded by the road to Simonstown on one side and by the road to Newlands on the other.<sup>115</sup> It was part of a large portion of Stellenberg, acquired by Higgs in the 1830s and had apparently been used for the excavation of gravel for road-building by government personnel. In addition to the presence of the gravel pits, it was in a derelict condition. In a petition submitted by Morgenrood to the government he stated that "there were a number of holes and hollows, and large heaps left all over the ground, making it wholly useless and unfit for agricultural or building purposes, until levelled".<sup>116</sup>

Neighbouring land-owners supported Morgenrood in his claim for restitution from the government, on the grounds that they deplored the unsightly state of this large stretch of land, which brought down the value of their own properties. From the comments of the Surveyor-General, which are filed with the memorial, it would appear that Morgenrood did not succeed in his claim, as such use of materials for road-building was allowable under Roman-Dutch law. In fact its condition may have been the reason why Morgenrood

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114. D.O., T 198, 8 August, 1859. M.A. Higgs (assisted by T. Mathew) : P.D. Morgenrood.

115. This later became known as Tennant Road.

116. C.A., CO 4126, 1858. The extensive folder accompanying this memorial included letters from other property owners in the area: W. Blore, J. McNaughton and T. Butterfield Bayley.

was able to obtain the ground for a low price.<sup>117</sup> His decision to buy it may have been influenced by its proximity to three important roads,<sup>118</sup> but it is also possible that he saw its potential for development of the same type that Higgs pioneered on Sunninghill. A diagram which accompanied his later sale of a large erf to F.S. Watermeyer shows clear sub-divisions into small erven.<sup>119</sup> However, he did not pursue this scheme and later marketed the land in a completely different way, which will be discussed in subsequent chapters. His simultaneous purchase of the land adjacent to it from H.C. Dreyer suggests his personal interest in the site; and his willingness to put up this now considerable property as security against a loan of one thousand pounds from S.V. Cloete,<sup>120</sup> which he needed to complete the purchase, indicates his determination to obtain this ground.<sup>121</sup> Morgenrood

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117. The property was assessed at twenty-three morgen in extent and Morgenrood paid eleven hundred and fifty pounds for it (D.O., T 159, 8 August 1859). This may be calculated as approximately fifty pounds per morgen. He paid the equivalent of two hundred and fifty pounds per morgen for the other plot which he bought adjacent to it (T 39, 3 November 1859). Thus the gravel pits property may be regarded as a bargain.

118. See above, 136, Map 5.

119. D.O., T 308, 27 January 1864.

120. C.A., NCD 124/9, no 1047, C.J. Buissine.

121. P.Morgenrood, "Philip Dominicus Morgenrood" (Part 1), Q.B.S.A.L., (5), 4, 294. It is likely that Morgenrood was having cash flow problems at this time, due to his involvement with the St Martin Church. He had purchased the church property in Long Street for £3150, in order to save them embarrassment when the church was disbanded.

and his family occupied the house on the property which he had bought from Dreyer until such time as he had built a beautiful new home on the opposite corner, "Wijnbergh Hoogte". By 1860, therefore, Morgenrood ranked second to Maynard as the most significant owner of undeveloped land in the residential part of Wynberg. Unlike Maynard, however, he never became involved in politics or held public office. As already indicated, between 1850 and 1860 almost all the land surrounding the Maynard property had changed hands, with the exception of the Higgs property at the south-eastern end of Wynberg (Sussex Place) and the earlier purchases of Morgenrood.

During this period Maynard did not extend his estate further but contented himself with consolidating his standing in the village. He continued to give practical support to the Wesleyan Chapel, and its charities; he provided the land<sup>122</sup> and, together with his brother, the funds for a larger church building, which was erected in 1857 adjacent to Maynardville on the road linking the Dutch Reformed Church with the Simonstown Road. Tea-meetings continued to be held on his estate and in 1851 he opened his grounds to "picknickers (sic) in the summer months".<sup>123</sup> While he enjoyed

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122. D.O., T 218-241. J.M. Maynard : Methodist Church. Deeds Office records include various transfers and powers of attorney by members of the Farmer and Anderson families, executed by them between 1854 and 1874.

123. U.C.T. Libraries, BC 600, 6, 1. An original pamphlet, advertising this intention, exists in the Immelman collection.

making benevolent gestures of this kind, in this case there was an ulterior motive in publicising his estate, for the pamphlet added his declared intention "of disposing of his property in lots". The pamphlet does not clarify which part of the property would be sold, however, and there is no evidence that this plan was implemented in the 1850s, perhaps because Maynard was heavily involved with his duties as a Commissioner in Cape Town. On the other hand, he may simply have decided to wait for a more advantageous moment to market his land; this would come after the Wynberg Railway Company was launched in the 1860s, with Maynard a leading member of the syndicate promoting this venture.

From the outset Maynard featured prominently in the debate concerning transport in general, and, in particular, the inclusion of Wynberg in the plans for a railway system in the colony; moreover, his forthright comments on the subject gave direction to its development. Other residents in the area also contributed to the proposals, which were put forward during the 1850s, as people who lived in the villages along the Simonstown Road increased their use of the public transport system.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Cape Almanac and Advertiser (1856). No pagination.. The first time-table for "Cabs, Omnibuses and Travelling Conveyances" appeared in 1856, indicating that fourteen of the twenty omnibuses which were in service at the Cape stopped at Wynberg.

Many vehicles travelled along the route, and the omnibuses which served the general public appear to have been extremely uncomfortable.<sup>125</sup> By mid-century it was apparent that their owners would not be able to continue their monopoly of the transport system for much longer. Maynard's own experiences on the omnibuses almost certainly increased his interest in promoting some alternative link between Cape Town and Wynberg, as similar experiences must have done for other commuters who made the dusty journey to town every day. Wynberg residents were becoming more aware of the need to lobby for improvements if they were to maintain their reputation as the "most flourishing and valuable" growth point in the southern Peninsula. This was also apparent in the increasing interest which had been shown in the provision of a hard road to the Flats. The existing one was little better than a cart-track and the farmers and their agricultural produce had to travel along this route in order to reach the wagon-road to Cape Town and the Wynberg market. In 1848 the residents of the Wynberg district had made a concentrated appeal to the government to finance the Cape Flats road in a petition signed by more than a hundred people.<sup>126</sup>

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125. P.R. Coates, *Track and Trackless* (Cape Town, 1970), 35.

126. C.A., CO 4039, 162, August 1848.

Maynard, newly appointed to the Cape Town Municipality, added his own memorial with the request that "the road be made hard to facilitate the transport of crops to Wynberg, thus helping the farmers".<sup>127</sup> This request was granted, and convict labour was used for the upgrading of the road, while property owners gave access to their land for materials.<sup>128</sup> The local economy benefited significantly from the improved infrastructure between Wynberg and the Cape Flats, while the organisation of the project indicated a growing solidarity among the residents, tradespeople and farmers of the district who signed the petition.

It is clear that by the middle of the nineteenth century Wynberg already had particular advantages which enabled it to attain a degree of superiority over its neighbours. There was a concentration of small businesses in the vicinity of Plumstead adjacent to the road to Simonstown,<sup>129</sup> while the commercial sector in Wynberg village had consolidated its position in the area. It was self-contained with regard to its religious and educational facilities, which made it a focal point in the peri-

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127. C.A., CD 4039, 106, October 1848.

128. C.A., CD 4043, 101, 1848.

129. Cape Almanac (1848 and 1849). These are separately listed as Plumstead.

urban area, and its clergy and school-masters were respected. Its control over the magistracy since 1838 made the surrounding district dependent on it and assured its semi-autonomous administrative status, while its magistrates and bureaucrats were public figures who wielded considerable influence. These factors must be considered in conjunction with the continued presence of military personnel, distinguished visitors and well-to-do farmers of the Constantia Valley, together with the increasing number of professional and business people who were taking up residence in Wynberg. It is clear that they were in a good position to flex their corporate muscles and this they did to some purpose in the period from 1855 to 1865, when the railroad negotiations were conducted.

At a time when Cape Town had but recently achieved metropolitan status, Wynberg had emerged as a force to be reckoned with among the villages of the southern Peninsula. A railway would provide increased contact with the surrounding areas and the farmers in the hinterland, promoting the commercial interests of the villagers and improving the value of property in the district. These factors would shape the proposals, which were put forward by Maynard and others, for the introduction of a railway system in the western Cape and add to the enthusiasm with which these plans were pursued.

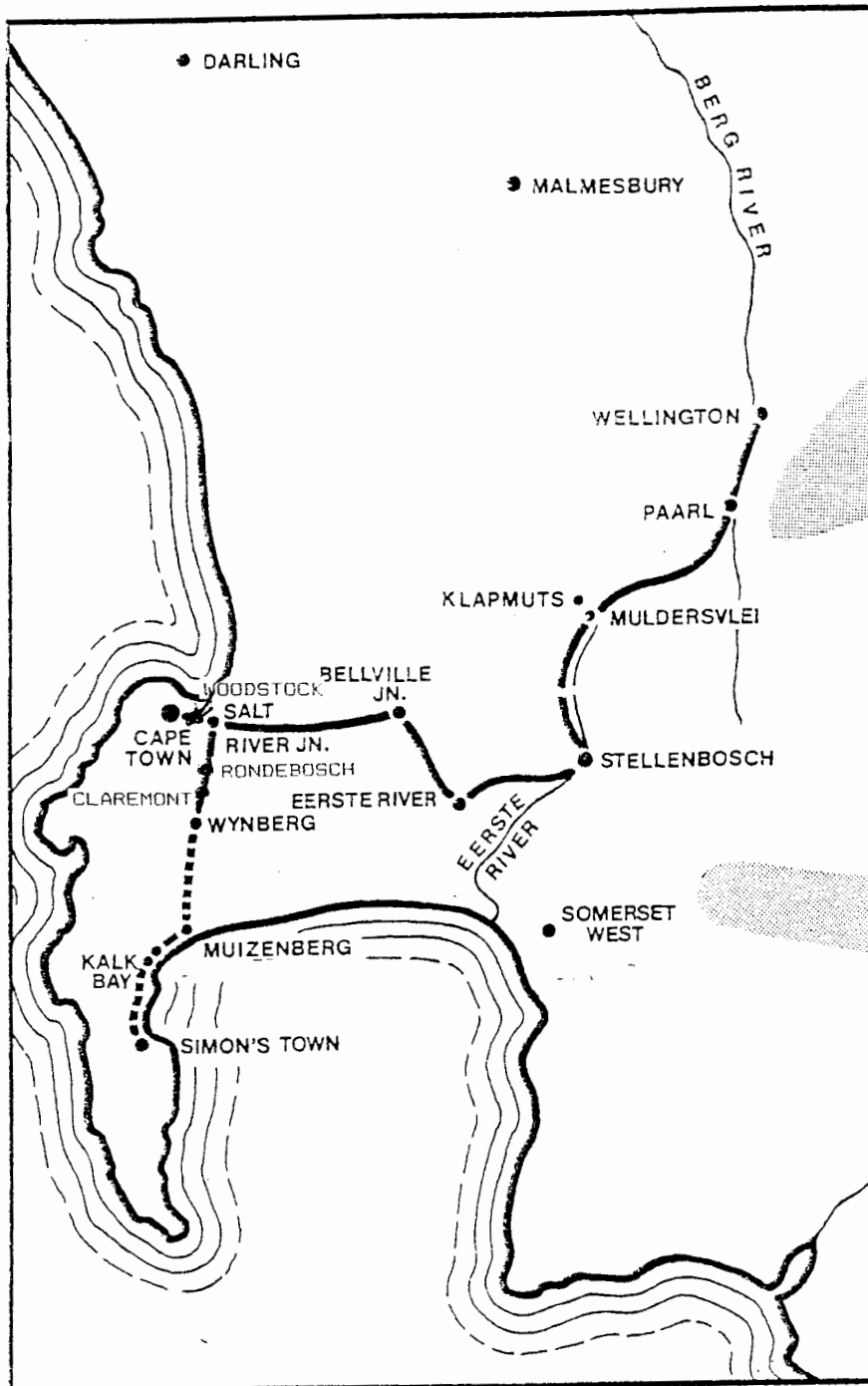


Diagram of the projected railway system  
for the western Cape.

## CHAPTER 4

### The Wynberg Railway

1850 - 1864

The construction of the first railroads at the Cape played a significant part in the transformation of Wynberg from a secluded country village into a small satellite town from which commuters could travel quickly and easily to Cape Town. Yet, rather than increasing its dependence on the metropole, the train service promoted the self-sufficiency of the Wynberg area, already well-established as a residential growth point before the advent of the railway. By making even more feasible residence in the country and work in town, the railroad allowed many of those employed in Cape Town to enjoy a life-style outside the city, thereby satisfying "Middle-class yearnings for a whiff of the country"<sup>1</sup> At the same time it made the area more accessible to visitors and improved the delivery of goods to and from Cape Town. This was in line with similar development which occurred in other countries where a railway system had been introduced, encouraging the existing commercial and residential development and promoting new growth in its wake.<sup>2</sup>

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1. F.M.L. Thompson, "The Rise of Suburbia" in R.J. Morris and Richard Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City* (London, 1993), 169.

2. *ibid.*, 175.

Moreover, by mid-century Wynberg had acquired a number of satellite communities of its own, which depended upon the services provided at Wynberg, and they also benefited from this new amenity. This focussed attention on Wynberg as a junction point of road and rail traffic for the southern Peninsula, with other settlements conjoined to it rather than itself serving merely as one of a string of village/suburbs linked to Cape Town.

The process by which Wynberg became part of the railway system, and its confrontation with central and local government which accompanied this process, emphasised its independent approach to the planning of the line, setting the tone for its future relationship with Cape Town. Purkis has drawn attention to the need for government intervention to raise the necessary capital for railway construction, "even in countries far richer than the Cape Colony".<sup>3</sup> It is remarkable, therefore, that the Wynberg line was almost entirely funded by local capital, and its completion, in the face of many difficulties, was a measure of the innovative spirit and the self-sufficiency which would characterise Wynberg and underpin its development during the next sixty years.

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3. A.J. Purkis, "The politics, capital and labour of railway building in the Cape Colony, 1870-1885" (PhD. thesis, University of Oxford, 1978), 1.

The age of industrialisation had changed the face of rural and urban Britain by the mid-century,<sup>4</sup> but mechanisation arrived more slowly in its colonies. The Cape, in particular was still essentially an agricultural and trading centre in 1850, lacking industrial development and investment opportunities. Hitherto, the acquisition and exploitation of land had been the principal objective for capital investment, but the railways offered new opportunities to businessmen based in Britain and the Cape, such as the wealthy merchants, J. Bardwell Ebdon, George Watson and E.J. Jerram, and financiers such as Maynard, Stein and Landsberg of the Union Bank.<sup>5</sup> It also brought into sharp focus the rivalry between the British merchants and the local commercial sector which was strengthening its position in the Cape money-market.<sup>6</sup>

This chapter examines the business interests and the trends in public opinion which drew Wynberg residents into the controversy surrounding railway development in the peri-urban environs of Cape Town. Its pivotal position in the southern Peninsula came under discussion, focussing attention on its growth potential,

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4. G.R. Hawke, *Railways and economic growth in England and Wales, 1840-1870* (Oxford, 1970); J. Simmons, *The Railway in Town and Country* (Newton Abbot, 1986).

5. See below, 220, 230.

6. J.L. Meltzer, "The Growth of Cape Town Commerce and the role of John Fairbairn's *Advertiser*, 1834-1859" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1989),

emphasising its intention to follow its own path and revealing its powerful lobby in the political and economic spheres in Cape Town. This vital period of development coincided with the granting of representative government at the Cape, offering an opportunity for the expression of the colonial view-point, albeit a limited one, and the pursuit of local interests.

Serious discussion about a railroad system at the Cape commenced in the late 1840s, but little progress was made for some years. In 1847 the Commercial Exchange examined a proposal from Edward Leahy,<sup>7</sup> a civil engineer, in which he made a case for the construction of a railway line in the western Cape by pointing out that the transport of produce and wine from the Boland to Cape Town markets could be facilitated by a regular train service, supporting his contention with a report on the current returns for produce of the western Cape. Leahy suggested that a railway could be constructed "this side of the first range of mountains" and, following confirmation of the returns and a discussion of the cost of construction with the members of the Exchange,<sup>8</sup> four possible lines were projected from Cape Town to Wellington (or Paarl), with branches to Wynberg, Somerset West and Stellenbosch.

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7. C.A., CO 4047, 59 of 1847.

8. C A, C C 2, Commercial Exchange Minutes, 21 April 1849.

The report was submitted to the Colonial Secretary with a covering letter from R.W. Eaton, secretary of the Exchange and brother-in-law of the influential J.B. Ebdon, who also expressed interest in the project. Various suggestions were made about the acquisition of land and funds for the project,<sup>9</sup> but at this point the Colonial Engineer, G.W. Pilkington, condemned the scheme because of the excessive cost and the difficulties of constructing a line across the Cape Flats.<sup>10</sup>

Thereafter, the Commercial Exchange seems to have lost interest in the idea and there was no further exploration of the project until 14 August 1851, when J.R. Thomson and Co. of London (to whom the Cape Town merchant company, Thomson and Watson, was affiliated) put forward a railway scheme. Its practicability was acknowledged by Lieutenant-Governor Darling<sup>11</sup> and, six months later, the Cape Town Railway and Dock Co. (C.T.R. & D. Co.) was floated in London and issued a prospectus.<sup>12</sup> At the same time a Cape committee of the C.T.R. & D. Co. was authorised; it met in March 1854, appointing directors who were all members of the Commercial Exchange and

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9. C.A., CO 4490, 4 March 1850. Report and letter from E. Leahy and R.W. Eaton to the Colonial Secretary. Further discussion followed and a prospectus was drawn up.

10. C.A., CO 600, no 4, 24 June 1850. Report from the Colonial Engineer to the Colonial Secretary.

11. G H 23/23, Darling to Newcastle, 6 July, 1853.

12. The Times (London), 9 January 1854.

leading Cape businessmen and entrepreneurs, but none of whom represented Wynberg residents or their interests.<sup>13</sup> The scheme was not implemented, however, as there was an enforced period of idleness during the Crimean War. It was not until 1857 that the C.T.R. & D.Co. was able to reopen negotiations with the Cape government.<sup>14</sup> In his opening address to Parliament in April of that year, the Governor announced that he had directed that surveys and estimates be made for lines from Cape Town to Wellington, with branches to Wynberg, Somerset West, Stellenbosch and Malmesbury; and from Port Elizabeth to Grahamstown via Uitenhage.<sup>15</sup> In May a petition signed by 1400 Cape residents, advocating the construction of railways in the colony, was presented in the House of Assembly by the member for Cape Town, Charles Darnell; the petition was seconded by James Maynard, the member for the Cape District.<sup>16</sup>

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13. CA, A 2324, C.T.R.& D. Co. Minutes, 8 March 1854. The directors were J. Bardwell Ebdon, Geo. Thompson, T. Watson, S. Bushell and E.J. Jerram.

14. CA, A 2324, Minutes, 30 March 1857; also CO 691, no 33, letter from J.H. Reid (solicitor for C.T.R.&D.Co.) to the Colonial Secretary.

15. Cape of Good Hope: Votes and proceedings of the Legislative Council - 1857, 3.

16. Cape of Good Hope: Votes and proceedings of the House of Assembly - 1857, no 28.

A Select Committee on "the advisability of introducing railroads in this colony" was appointed, allowing conflicting demands to be presented for and against various lines and branch lines in all these areas, together with much argument from the eastern, western and northern Cape districts.<sup>17</sup> After reviewing all the evidence, the Select Committee decided that only the Cape Town to Wellington line should be constructed and that the government should negotiate with and provide sub-guarantees for an approved company.<sup>18</sup> The Eastern Cape members of parliament later wrote a letter to the press in which they complained that this was one more instance of a lack of fair play towards the Eastern Cape.<sup>19</sup> Residents of the southern Peninsula were also angered by this decision; moreover, their dissatisfaction was aggravated by the results of a government survey of the Cape Town to Wellington line with possible branches to Wynberg, Stellenbosch and Malmesbury, which was carried out by the Colonial Engineer, R. Pilkington.<sup>20</sup> He contended that the Wynberg branch line, in particular, would enjoy little commercial viability, because it would carry only

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17. C.P.P., SC 4 - 1857, 1-35.

18. The resolutions of the Select Committee were adopted by the Legislative Council which approved it on 26 June (Votes and proceedings of the Legislative Council - 1857, 294). It was signed by the Governor on 29 June (Act 20 of 1857). Its full title was "An Act for the construction of a railway from Cape Town to Wellington". There was no mention of any other lines.

19. Cape Argus, 11 August 1857.

20. C.P.P., G 26 - '57, 12 - 21.

passenger traffic, passing, as it did, through mainly residential areas. He estimated that it would bring in annual revenue of £11,737, while its costs would total £7,528. The C.T.R. & D.Co. were so concerned with getting the contract for the line ahead of their competitors that the minor issue (for them) of whether the line should include Wynberg seems to have been shelved. It was at this point that the inclusion of Wynberg in the railway system might have been abandoned if it had not been for the pro-active support given by local residents to the construction of such a branch line.

Within two months, a petition signed by about two hundred people<sup>21</sup> was drawn up by the joint efforts of Dr. Samuel Bailey and Felton Mathew (son-in-law of the widow Higgs), both of whom owned properties on the border of the Stellenberg and Oude Wijnbergh estates. The petition carried the names of almost all the property owners of the Wynberg and Claremont area, who expressed their "unanimous opinion" that the Wynberg line would prove economically viable, because the present transport system carried more than £15,000 worth of goods, produce and passengers per annum to Cape Town. In addition, they pointed out that "the trade to Simonstown would be greatly benefited by considerably shortening

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21. C.A., CO 4099, W 81 of 1857 (See Appendix C for full text of petition). Unfortunately parliament had already been prorogued but the petition was forwarded directly to the Governor.

the transport from that place to Cape Town". Their memorial is argued in the lively and determined tone which was to characterise their participation in the sometimes acrimonious debate which would centre on the route to be followed by the Cape Town to Wellington line. The proposed exclusion of Wynberg from the scheme featured prominently in this debate and the efforts made by Wynberg residents to ensure that the line would include the villages along the Simonstown road were widely publicised. Several members of the Maynard family were represented in the petition,<sup>22</sup> while James Maynard also wrote a letter to the *Commercial Advertiser* in which he reaffirmed the ideas which had been expressed in the petition and added that, in his opinion, the best route for the line would be via Wynberg, with a deviation at the 8th milestone across the Cape Flats to the Boland.<sup>23</sup> After complex and extended discussion about finance and procedures between the government and various companies which had expressed interest in the tender, it was announced that a contract had been signed on 5 October 1858 by the Cape government and the C.T.R. & D.Co.<sup>24</sup>

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22. William Anderson, William Farmer, Mary Anne Farmer and Joseph Maynard signed the petitions and later became share-holders in the venture.

23. *S.A. Commercial Advertiser*, 23 July 1857.

24. *The Times* (London), 6 October 1858.

Their contract was to construct the first colonial railway line from Cape Town to Wellington via Salt River and the Cape Flats; once again, no mention was made of any branch lines, and again, the hopes of Wynberg residents were disappointed. Maynard did not let the matter rest, however, and between 21 January and 9 April 1859, he sent a series of letters to the *Commercial Advertiser* in which he reiterated the need for a rail link between Wynberg and Cape Town and expressed his conviction that it would be a viable proposition.<sup>25</sup> He earnestly advocated the resumption of talks on the subject; his persistence was rewarded on 23 April 1859 when a meeting of the C.T.R. & D.Co. board was held at which the possibility of a branch line to Wynberg was raised and discussed.<sup>26</sup> This was followed by a public meeting under the chairmanship of J.D. Thomson (of the C.T.R. & D.Co.) on 30 April at the Commercial Exchange. This was attended by a number of well-known Cape businessmen,<sup>27</sup> but only Maynard and Hawkins represented Wynberg residents at this gathering, although Manuel was also a property owner there.

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25. S.A. *Commercial Advertiser*, 21 January, 5, 9, 17 February and 9 April 1859.

26. CA, A 2324, 23 April 1859, Minutes.

27. Cape *Argus*, 3 May 1857. The paper reported the names of those present were: Brounger, Ebdon, Jerram, Reid, Watson (all of the C.T.R. & D.Co.), and Wicht, Maynard, Stein, Piers, Rudd, Duprat, Jones, Hawkins, Manuel and Pickering.

Thomson initially expressed the view of the planners that it was not desirable to deviate the main line to Wellington through Wynberg as the outlay for the extra five miles of line would increase the cost of transport for anyone or anything travelling beyond Wynberg. Thus he made his position (and therefore the position of the C.T.R.& D. Co.) perfectly clear to the meeting. At the same time, however, he acknowledged the need for a rail link to Wynberg and other villages along the Simonstown road and he proposed that another company be established to build a railway line from between the 2nd and 3rd milestones (Salt River) to Plumstead village, with intermediate stations at Mowbray, Rondebosch and in the vicinity of Claremont. The length of the line would be six- and-a-half miles and the estimated cost £65,000. Annual earnings were estimated at £10,846 and the overall expenses at £9,780 per annum.<sup>29</sup> These figures indicated that the venture was aimed at the present convenience of passengers rather than at immediate profit-taking. Funds for the line would be raised by a new company to be known as the Cape Town and Wynberg Railway Company, which would seek capital of £100,000 in 10 shares.

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29. Cape Argus, 3 May 1859. The report on the meeting stated that deposits of 1/6 per share would raise £750, which would be spent on preliminary expenses, including an Act of Parliament for the railway. The meeting also decided to ask parliament for support, but not for sub-guaranters.

A provisional committee was elected at the meeting, consisting of Messrs Jerram, Ebdon, Watson (all of whom were directors of the C.T.R.& D.Co.) and Brounger (their engineer). It is abundantly clear that at this stage of planning the initiative lay with the C.T.R.& D.Co. and that the best course for Maynard was to fall in with the plans of his colleagues. This he did, although, characteristically, it was not without protest. The only "dissenting voice", as the Cape Argus put it,<sup>29</sup> came from Maynard, who maintained his original standpoint that a deviation of the trunk line at the 8th milestone and from there across the Flats, would be a preferable route to Stellenbosch, Paarl and Wellington.<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, he seconded the motion for incorporating another railway company to construct the Wynberg line, which was forwarded to the government.<sup>31</sup>

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29. Cape Argus, 3 May 1859.

30. See above, 213.

31. A62 of 1859, Cape of Good Hope: Annexures to the Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly - 1859 (unpaginated), Message no 16. This comprised a copy of a resolution passed at a meeting held at the Commercial Exchange on 30 April, together with a list of the members who voted; also a covering letter to the Colonial Secretary from the chairman of the C.T.R.& D.Co., J.D.Thomson, dated 2 May 1859. He stated that it was necessary to get the Act through the present session of parliament and that the English capitalists who were participating in the C.T.R.& D.Co. were interested in being involved in this project as well. It also included a message from Governor Sir George Grey, dated 27 May 1859, expressing his approval of the scheme.

The Assembly agreed to consider it with a promptitude<sup>32</sup> which suggests that some preparatory groundwork had already been done by interested parties. The motion was immediately referred to a Select Committee on the Cape Town and Wellington Railway Bill.<sup>33</sup> Nor had Maynard wasted any time in submitting a letter (on 30 April, the same day as the meeting at the Commercial Exchange took place) to John Stein, his colleague in the Union Bank and chairman of this Select Committee on the Railway.<sup>34</sup> Maynard pointed out that, "while riding to Wynberg in the omnibus", he and Hawkins had agreed that, as Brounger had the authority from the C.T.R. & D.Co. to make any alteration to the line "that the government would pay for ", it would be advisable to apply to them for an additional grant of £30,000 (since Brounger had quoted the figure of £10,000 as the cost per mile for the line); in these circumstances the alternative route for the main line via Wynberg could be viable and could be undertaken as part of the Cape Town to Wellington line. He added shrewdly that, "as the Cape Division is liable for the sub-guarantee, it is only reasonable that they should derive some benefit from the railway it is liable to have to pay for",

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32. C.A., CO 5322, no 614, Colonial Secretary to J.D. Thomson, 3 May 1859.

33. S.C. 1 of 1859, Cape of Good Hope: Votes and proceedings of Parliament - 1859, Appendix 2, 94.

34. *ibid.*, Report and proceedings of the Committee of the Legislative Council on the Cape Town to Wellington Railway, v - vi. Private letter from J. Maynard to J. Stein, 30 April 1859, cited in full as evidence.

and the letter makes it clear that Maynard had not abandoned his plan for the main line to pass through Wynberg, rather than a branch line.<sup>35</sup> Both Maynard and Brounger were invited to give evidence to the Select Committee on 5 May,<sup>36</sup> and several other letters written by Maynard to the press in 1857, together with the Bailey/Matthew petition, were presented in evidence to the Committee. Maynard also provided a map of the proposed route which supported the informed and constructive testimony which he gave on this occasion. "There is every reason to expect," he urged, "that £10,000 or £12,000 annual income would be derived from the Wynberg line".<sup>37</sup> His belief was that traffic would double and treble in the future as people made up their minds to reside permanently in the neighbourhood, for "they would not have to endure the present inconvenient and expensive method of travelling".<sup>38</sup> He was convinced that many people, who "at present used horses or carriages to make the trip to town," would probably decide to travel by rail.<sup>39</sup>

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35. *ibid.*, v.

36. *ibid.*, 16 - 21, Brounger; 21 - 27, Maynard.

37. *ibid.*, 25-26.

38. *ibid.*, 22.

39. *ibid.*, 27.

Maynard also produced well-researched facts and figures to show that farmers in the Boland could supply produce directly to Wynberg and the southern suburbs by this route, rather than going through Cape Town markets. His financial expertise would have made him aware of the potential of Wynberg as a marketing and distribution centre for the district and also of the possibility of opening up the Wynberg Flats for development.<sup>40</sup> He also estimated that at least four hundred people travelled to and from Cape Town per day by omnibus, paying 30/- per month from Rondebosch and Claremont and £2 from Wynberg. He calculated that, at an average of 30/-, the passenger revenue of the railway would be at least £7,200 per year and that goods would produce half as much more.<sup>41</sup> His reputation as a businessman and a financier made his evidence credible, and it is clear that he had prepared his case with great care in order to refute the claims of the late Colonial Engineer (Pilkington) and of Brounger that the route would be unprofitable. He must therefore have been bitterly disappointed when the results of the inquiry were made known on 18 May, rejecting his suggestions. The Select Committee recommended that the line be built as a branch of the main line and on the same terms.<sup>42</sup>

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40. See above, 202. He had already examined this aspect of development when he presented his petition related to the improvement of the road to the Flats.

41. S C 1 - 1859, 26 -27.

42. *ibid.*, ii.

On 28 May the House of Assembly debated the motion to extend the sub-guarantee provided by Act 20 of 1857 to cover the cost of constructing the railway to Wynberg, thus confirming that both projects were under the aegis of the C.T.R.& D.Co.<sup>43</sup> Maynard responded by sending petitions to both houses of parliament, asking that the inhabitants of Wynberg (including himself, as a considerable land-owner), who would be asked to contribute heavily to the sub-guarantee should the railway be a failure, should be relieved of this contribution, as this should be paid only if the main line and not a branch line passed through Wynberg.<sup>44</sup>

The presentation of this petition coincided with the meeting held at the Commercial Exchange for the purpose of forming the Wynberg Railway Company on 31 May 1859. When the names of the provisional committee were announced, Maynard's name was conspicuous by its absence, although those of his partners in the Union Bank and other close colleagues were listed.<sup>45</sup>

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43. Cape of Good Hope: Votes and proceedings of the House of Assembly - 1859, 277-278.

44. C.P.P., C 18 - '59, Votes and proceedings of the Legislative Council - 1859, 197; Votes and proceedings of the House of Assembly - 1859, 303.

45. Cape Argus, 30 June 1859. The committee consisted of: R.H. Arderne, J. Barry, W.S. Bronger, H.G. Christian, J.B. Ebdon, M. Glazebrook, T. Jones, E. Jerram, J. Letterstedt, J. Reid, J.D. Thomson, S. van Reenen, P. van der Byl, J. Watson, J. Wicht, W.G. Anderson, W. Hawkins, M.J. Louw, C. Manuel, E. Landsberg and J. Stein (the last three named were colleagues of Maynard in the Union Bank).

It is not clear whether he stood back from the project out of pique at the rejection of his proposals, but, as subsequent events were to indicate, he had not abandoned his interest in it. Share applications for the Wynberg Railway Company were invited in July 1859<sup>46</sup> and meetings were held to solicit support in Rondebosch, Claremont and Wynberg.<sup>47</sup> By October, 3685 shares of the 5000 offered had been subscribed for by the public,<sup>48</sup> but this was short of the total needed to commence operations. In January 1860 the Cape Argus reported that the deposits on shares, which were required to fund the initial expenses, were coming in very slowly.<sup>49</sup> Although it was announced on 30 January that all the remaining shares had been subscribed for by local residents, the Cape Argus warned that this did not necessarily mean that they would be taken up;<sup>50</sup> nevertheless, the Company gave notice that it intended to apply for an act of Parliament and announced that a survey of the line had commenced.<sup>51</sup> It was clear that no further delays were anticipated.

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46. Cape Argus, 2 July 1859.

47. *ibid.*, 19 and 21 July 1859.

48. *ibid.*, 18 October 1859.

49. *ibid.*, 10 January 1860.

50. *ibid.*, 2 February 1860.

51. Cape Argus, 4 February, 1 and 22 March 1860.

On 21 July the Wynberg Railway Bill was read in the House of Assembly<sup>52</sup> and a Select Committee was appointed the following day.<sup>53</sup> It was at this point, however, that the financial problems which were to plague the Wynberg railway project began to be experienced, as the first of several procedural difficulties hampered its progress. Compensation claims were received from influential land-owners at Mowbray and Rondebosch, notably J.W. Eksteen and J. Wicht, whose properties were affected by the proposed route of the railway line.<sup>54</sup> This slowed the passage of the Railway Bill to the extent that no further decision on it could be taken by the time that the Parliamentary session ended on 17 July.<sup>55</sup> At this point the Cape Argus queried, "What has become of the Wynberg railway line ?"<sup>56</sup>

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52. Cape of Good Hope: Votes and proceedings of the House of Assembly - 1860 , 271.

53. *ibid.*, 282.

54. C.P.P., A 59, 25 June 1860. This petition from several property owners who objected to the provision of compensation at the same rate as that awarded by the Road Board. They demanded a "true, fair and equitable price" (Cape of Good Hope: Votes and proceedings of the House of Assembly - 1860 , 285).

55. *ibid.*, 409, 413.

56. Cape Argus, 10 November 1860.

There was no reply until 12 January 1861, when the provisional committee recommended, at a meeting attended by thirty or forty people, that the bill be re-submitted at the next session of parliament.<sup>57</sup> The protagonists of the Wynberg line were not prepared to abandon their efforts to improve the transport service, however, and the paper reported that overseas capital would be sought, if necessary, in order to complete the project; in addition, the Company had assumed responsibility for the unpaid deposits, the costs of the survey and the Bill. In April 1861 the full details of the Bill were published once again in the Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette and the voting rights of shareholders were defined in such a way that it was impossible to exert control over the company unless a large block of shares was held.<sup>58</sup> When the Bill was read for the first time in the House of Assembly,<sup>59</sup> objections were received once more from land-owners.<sup>60</sup>

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57. *ibid.*, 15 January 1861.

58. *Government Gazette*, 19 April 1861. One vote could be cast for every five shares, two for ten or more, three for twenty-five, four for thirty-five, five for fifty and seven for one hundred shares. Nine directors would be elected at the first meeting after incorporation.

59. *Cape of Good Hope: Votes and proceedings of the House of Assembly - 1861*, 51.

60. *ibid.*, 57. A petition from nine land-owners at Mowbray and Rondebosch, who objected to the Bill, stated that the line would "materially injure landed proprietors' property". This action was spear-headed on this occasion by H.R. Brand and seconded by M.K. Louw.

Their delaying tactics were countered by two petitions which supported the railway scheme and were signed by many influential residents.<sup>61</sup> In the first petition the objections of the land-owners who were holding up the project were deemed "a waste of time in the circumstances", and it was declared that, "any further delay caused by fruitless and unnecessary enquiry may prevent the House from giving consideration to the more important provisions to the Bill, and thus cause disappointment to the public". The petitioners, numbering over 500, represented an influential cross-section of that public whose "interest and convenience" the Bill promoted. Wynberg was well represented by its land-owners and by its propertied tradespeople, who desired a more efficient and speedy service. In the Wynberg area few of the signatories did not own property of some kind, but it is significant, perhaps, that no identifiable "coloured" residents were signatories, whether they owned property or not. Their participation in this debate does not seem to have been solicited, although their names appeared on the earlier railway petitions.<sup>62</sup>

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61. C.P.P., C 46 - '61. The first of these petitions (16 July) was signed by T. Watson and 358 landed proprietors and others and was aggressive in tone, urging a speedy resolution to any difficulties relating to the acquisition of land (Cape of Good Hope: Votes and proceedings of the House of Assembly - 1861, 211); the second (17 July) was signed by R. Palmer and 194 land-owners and residents and expressed satisfaction with the railway scheme (Cape of Good Hope: Votes and proceedings of the House of Assembly - 1861, 215). See Appendix B (Railways).

62. See above, 205; also Appendix B for earlier petitions.

The "coloured" people played no obvious role in the further negotiations about the implementation of the railway scheme, maybe an indication of the growing marginalisation of "coloured" people by those of European origin, which has been emphasised by Cape historians.<sup>63</sup> Despite opposition from supporters of the Cape Town and Wynberg Railway Bill, Eksteen and his sympathisers continued to contest the passage of the Bill through parliament, until they secured concessions by further amendments to it.<sup>64</sup> This provoked the exasperated comment in the *Cape Argus* that these amendments favoured the land-owners in every respect and were designed "to meet possible and impossible contingencies".<sup>65</sup> These tactics also established convincingly the power of the European property-owning class to make their voices heard and to exact full value for their investment in property.

Unfortunately the harsh words and resentment which accompanied all phases in the implementation of this scheme adversely affected relationships between different sections of the urban and peri-urban populations and encouraged existing rivalries between them.

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63. V. Bickford-Smith, "Commerce, class and ethnicity" (Unpublished PhD. thesis, Cambridge University, 1988), 14-15 ; S. Trapido, "The Origins of the Cape Franchise Qualifications of 1853", *Journal of African History*, 5 (1), 1964, 37-54.

64. *Cape of Good Hope: Votes and proceedings of the House of Assembly - 1860*, 409, 413.

65. *Cape Argus*, 6 August 1861.

This friction may have prompted the editors of the Cape Monthly Magazine, Alfred Cole and Roderick Noble, to comment ironically about Wynberg and its inhabitants at this time: "Dull, drowsy, decayed Wynberg - with its tumble-down cottages, with grass-grown roofs; with its well-kept roads and its ill-kept fences and gardens; with its utterly respectable population who affect a sort of aristocratic reserve and exclusiveness. It is to be hoped that a railway line will not disturb their decorous tranquillity."<sup>66</sup>

The veiled antagonism, expressed in these words, would surface in various ways again and again during the next half-century, as metropolitan interests and those of the other villages of the southern Peninsula, conflicted with those of Wynberg. In real terms Wynberg presented a very different appearance from that suggested by the Cape Monthly Magazine; its commercial enterprises, its excellent school, its flourishing churches and its Magistrate's Court made it a focal point for the surrounding area. It possessed an expanding population, inter-related in many ways and able to articulate their needs and grievances.

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<sup>66</sup>. Cape Monthly Magazine (May, 1862), 294.

The railway project provided an opportunity for Wynberg residents to show their solidarity, but, at the same time, it emphasised the conflicting issues which were raised by the inhabitants of the villages along the route during the construction of the line. Separate meetings were held in the various centres through which the railway would pass, in order to discuss these problems, which ranged from terms for expropriation of land for the line to the siting of the stations and sidings. These discussions were often divisive and provided an indication of the rivalry which was driving a wedge between the various communities. Nor was the financial climate of the time favourable for the implementation of major public works, as a period of recession settled on the colony. These were the circumstances in which Act 35 of 1861 (to incorporate the Wynberg Railway Company) was eventually passed on 9 August.<sup>67</sup> The incorporation of the Wynberg Railway Company could now commence and, at a meeting of share-holders on 31 August, the provisional committee resigned en bloc and set a meeting for 7 October to elect directors for the Company.<sup>68</sup>

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67. Cape of Good Hope: Votes and proceedings of the House of Assembly - 1861 , 320; Votes and proceedings of the Legislative Council -1861 , 327.

68. Cape Argus, 3 September 1861.

When meetings of share-holders were held in several suburban villages, ostensibly to discuss finances, these often spilled over into a discussion about control, and a split in their ranks became apparent. The conflict appears to have centred on whether the finances should be controlled by "overseas capital" or whether "local interests" should be paramount, with all its implications for the election of directors for the Company.<sup>69</sup> In the midst of a recession this issue became a very sensitive one, as the dangers of overseas "exploitation" were stressed by local businessmen. Warren remarks on the importance of the "London connection" to Cape mercantile houses,<sup>70</sup> and it is not surprising, perhaps, to find this dependence highlighted when the firm of Thomson, Watson and Co. emphasised that, "in its funding and operation it was entirely dependent on London".<sup>71</sup> Both Thomson and Watson were, of course, leading members of the C.T.R. & D.Co. provisional committee and their firm embodied British involvement and interference, which "local capitalists" (like Maynard) resented.

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69. *ibid.*, 10, 29 September; 3 October 1961.

70. D. Warren, "Merchants, Commissioners and Ward-masters" (Unpublished B.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1986), 55.

71. *ibid.*, 56-57.

"A recipe for rivalry", as Warren puts it,<sup>72</sup> was present in the growing confrontation between the long-established mercantile elite and the rising commercial class who dominated local politics. This formed the background to the railway controversy which followed, the Cape Argus carrying reports of meetings at Rondebosch and Wynberg at which it was hinted that the representatives of the C.T.R. & D. Co. were acting for "the English capitalists" and undermining "local initiative".<sup>73</sup> This was followed by a meeting at Mowbray at which some share-holders expressed the wish that there should be only "colonial directors" for the line and that there should be no connection with the C.T.R. & D. Co. A motion was then passed to open a provisional share list of those prepared to subscribe if all the directors were local.<sup>74</sup> This movement to exclude the C.T.R. & D. Co. directors from the Wynberg company culminated in a meeting which was held shortly before the main meeting on the morning of 7 October, at which a resolution was passed that no director of the C.T.R. & D. Co. could be a director of the Wynberg Company.

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72. *ibid.*, 76.

73. Cape Argus, 12 and 24 September 1861.

74. *ibid.*, 5 October 1861.

Maynard was heavily involved in all these meetings, but not, of course, in both companies. At the meeting which followed, with Stein in the chair the share-holders rejected the idea of "mixing up the business of the two companies", and when the election of directors took place, it was clear that only men with "local financial connections" had been favoured. Maynard, his brother-in-law, W. Anderson, and his co-directors in the Union Bank, Stein, Zeederberg and Landsberg, were all elected. The other directors were Barry, Jones and Logie, who had been members of the provisional committee, and Sheppard, who had served on the Select Committee of Parliament in 1857.<sup>75</sup> The Cape Argus carried a full report of all these events and two days later an editorial expressed support for the new Board of the Wynberg Company, which was to meet that day.<sup>76</sup> Maynard had been waiting in the wings for this opportunity and he and his colleagues were now in a position to influence future developments in the company, which was constituted without those members of the C.T.R. & D.Co. who had instigated the scheme.

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75. Cape Argus 8 October 1861.

76. *ibid.*, 10 October 1861.

Because some delay now ensued in revealing the next steps to be taken by the directors, the Cape Argus accused the Wynberg Company of "secretiveness" about its plans,<sup>77</sup> but the latter rebutted this accusation by announcing that they had appointed Marcus Smith as their engineer and that he would "re-survey the line".<sup>78</sup> There is no indication whether this was intended to cut costs or to reduce litigation over compensation; when his report was made public, however, the directors were able to assert that he "had reduced the heavy works of the previous survey without crossing valuable property".<sup>79</sup> The financial state of the company now claimed attention and at its first annual general meeting in 1862, its chairman, John Stein, revealed that only three thousand of the five thousand shares which had been subscribed for, had been taken up.<sup>80</sup> It is possible that the uncertain progress of the company had given would-be investors cause to re-consider, but the continuing recession in the colony is as likely an explanation of the shortage of capital for investment.

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77. *ibid.*, 9 November 1861.

78. *ibid.*, 19 November 1861.

79. *ibid.*, 7 December 1861.

80. *ibid.*, 11 February 1862.

Apart from this, all other problems appeared to have been solved, but Stein made the ominous prediction that, unless more shares were sold locally, they "might have to be disposed of at less advantageous prices in England".<sup>81</sup> In fact the Wynberg Company was now moribund and was in danger of collapse because insufficient funds were available to put into operation the long-awaited plans. It faced a desperate situation, of the type with which Maynard was so familiar in his business dealings with insolvent estates. On 15 February the Cape Argus reported that Maynard had proposed terms on which he would be prepared to take up the remaining Wynberg Railway shares.<sup>82</sup> Characteristically, he suggested that he receive a 5% discount if he paid for his shares before 1 July and that thereafter he receive the usual 6% interest on his money from that date until the line was opened. At their next meeting on 28 February, the other directors agreed to this proposition with alacrity, on condition that all other shareholders could enjoy similar advantages. Maynard had saved the situation in a dramatic manner and his power in the company was now considerable.

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81. Cape Argus, 11 February 1862.

82. *ibid.*, 15 February 1862.

His own large block of shares, together with those of his relatives and colleagues, who could be counted on to vote with him, gave him a controlling interest in the company. The 6% interest he would receive justified his twenty thousand pound investment and in terms of his own share allocation (in all 2060 shares, together with a further 200 in the hands of his relatives and business partners), he and his associates could control decision-making in the company because voting powers were tied to the number of shares held.<sup>83</sup> Successful business operations like this were his prime interest in life and the outcome of this coup must have been most gratifying, especially in view of his initial reverses in his attempts to contribute to the planning of the line. In this case he was also able to demonstrate his concern for the public at large and particularly for Wynberg itself. After the protracted delays and irritations caused by Eksteen and his supporters regarding compensation claims, it must have given him satisfaction to know that this would present few problems in the area beyond Claremont, where almost all the land through which the projected line would pass, belonged to him.<sup>84</sup>

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83. See above, footnote 28.

84. See Map 6, showing the route of the line and the land owned by Maynard. Sections of this were transferred to the Railway Company at a later date. (T 62, 63, 3 October 1866).

As Maynard was about to visit England, he was deputed to monitor the interests of the Company there and to supervise the purchase of materials.<sup>85</sup> When he set sail on this occasion, he did so on a very different basis from that on which he had arrived at the Cape in 1820; he was now a powerful land-owner and financier, who had attained political influence in addition to his acknowledged expertise in currency affairs and banking. On the eve of Maynard's departure, however, the next moves in the railway drama were set in motion.

The C.T.R.& D.Co. directors were still smarting from their defeat in the election for the Wynberg Company board and were no longer prepared to be so co-operative in their promotion of the Wynberg line, with which they had initially been so closely associated. It was understood, in terms of the Wynberg Railway Acts of 1857 and of 1859, that there could be junction points on the Cape Town - Wellington line for additional branch lines. On 5 April 1862, however, when the Wynberg Company formally asked for the terms on which the C.T.R.& D.Co. would allow them to make such a junction and use the section of their line from Salt River into Cape Town, they were informed that they would have to take the matter to the London Board and to the Governor for a decision.<sup>86</sup>

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85. Cape Argus, 1 March 1862.

86. C.A., A 2325, Correspondence, Stein to C.T.R.& D.Co., 5 April 1862; A 2324, Letter file, C.T.R.& D.Co. to Stein, 9 April, 1862.

Furthermore, the C.T.R.& D.Co. reiterated their opinion that the two lines should be operated by one company, as had been their original intention. The response of the Wynberg Company to this challenge was their formulation of the Wynberg Junction Bill,<sup>87</sup> which re-affirmed their right to make such a junction in terms of Act 35 of 1861. The bill was referred to a Select Committee,<sup>88</sup> but, after consideration, it was pointed out that the Railway Act of 1857 gave exclusive rights to the C.T.R.& D. Co. for fifty years. Although Stein protested against this monopoly<sup>89</sup> and an editorial in the Cape Argus supported this view,<sup>90</sup> in their summing-up the Select Committee recommended that the Junction Bill be dropped. This was done.

Meanwhile, Maynard had arrived in Britain and, on behalf of the Wynberg Company, he had approached the London Board of the C.T.R.& D. Co. with a financial solution for the provision of joint running powers over the disputed section of the line. He

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87. Bill no 20 of 1862. For authorising the junction of the Wynberg and Wellington lines of railway (Cape of Good Hope: Votes and proceedings of the House of Assembly - 1862, 114).

88. C.P.P., S C 1 - 1862, Report and proceedings of a Select Committee on the Wynberg Junction Bill, of 20 June - 14 July 1862.

89. *ibid.*, 43 et seq. On 3 July 1862 the Committee took evidence from Watson and Stein regarding the running powers on the line.

90. Cape Argus, 10 July 1862. "A district line to the country" was strongly advocated by the editor.

had offered a 57% share of the gross receipts to the C.T.R.& D.Co. as rental and towards the maintenance of the line, while the balance was retained by the Wynberg Company.<sup>91</sup> However, there was no further discussion on the matter before Maynard left England, stating that their correspondence should form the basis for a draft agreement.

In August 1862 the Wynberg Company took a decision to commence the building of the line, as tenders had been awarded to Langford and Pepper of Stellenbosch to undertake the earthworks and masonry for the first section.<sup>92</sup> Accordingly, on 14 August the first sod was turned on the farm, Alma, belonging to P.W. van der Byl near the Observatory.<sup>93</sup> The construction of the line at last appeared to be under way. By the time Maynard returned to the Cape, however, "material differences" between the original agreement and the draft lease submitted by the local branch of the C.T.R.& D.Co. to the Colonial Secretary had emerged.<sup>94</sup>

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91. C.A., A 2325, Letter to G. Lathom-Brown, managing-director of the London branch of C.T.R.& D. Co., from A. Hamilton (acting for J.M. Maynard), 30 June, 1862.

92. C.A., A 2325, Minutes of Wynberg Company meeting, 8 August 1862.

93. Cape Argus, 16 August 1862. The paper reported that a gathering was held at which a bottle of champagne was broken against the first barrowful of earth and a "tiffin" was served to those involved.

94. C.A., CO 4412, no 194, C.T.R.& D.Co. meeting, 23 August 1862.

A lengthy period of bargaining began, but by December 1862 no agreement had been finalised and a deadlock was reached<sup>75</sup> as both sides dug in their heels on a variety of points. It was clear from the tone of the negotiations that the C.T.R.& D. Co. wanted to have control over the management of the line, as had been their intention when they first broached the scheme, while the government was reluctant to become involved in the power struggle between the Maynard faction of the Wynberg Company and the local C.T.R.& D. Co. directors. It seemed that the only alternative to sharing the existing section of the line from Cape Town to Salt River was that a second line be constructed by the Wynberg Company for their own use. At this point a farcical element entered the picture as the proposal called for two lines literally running side by side over the same distance between Salt River and Cape Town; but no other compromise seemed possible. Accordingly, on 1 May the Wynberg Railway Amendment Bill was introduced into the Legislative Council by J.W. Wicht; its main objective was to allow the Company to borrow money by an issue of debentures in order to construct the second line.<sup>76</sup>

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95. C.A., A 2325, Minutes of Wynberg Company meeting, 19 February, 1863; A 2324, Minutes of C.T. R.& D. Co. meeting, 23 February, 1863.

96. Cape of Good Hope: Votes and proceedings of the Legislative Council - 1863, 17.

The Bill was accompanied by a petition in its favour, signed by the Wynberg directors, shareholders and the general public.<sup>97</sup> A petition from dissenting shareholders was also received, asking that they be protected from pecuniary loss should the amendment be passed, and two others from supporters of the C.T.R.&D.Co.,<sup>98</sup> and members of the Cape Town Municipality,<sup>99</sup> who all expressed their opposition to the inconvenience and the dangers which would be occasioned by the second line passing through the city.

The Cape Argus now expressed the fear that those C.T.R. & D.Co. members who were also members of parliament would use their influence against the Bill, and suggested that the Wynberg Company should be supported against a "body of London speculators".<sup>100</sup> The Bill was referred to a Select Committee and evidence was given by representatives of both companies. On 5 July the Committee expressed its approval of the Bill,<sup>101</sup> and it was passed by both the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council later in the

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97. C.P.P., C 8 - '63. Votes and proceedings of the House of Assembly - 1863, 167.

98. C.P.P., C 1 - '63. Cape of Good Hope: Votes and proceedings of the House of Assembly - 1863, 167.

99. C.P.P., C 6 - '63. Cape of Good Hope: Votes and proceedings of the House of Assembly - 1863, 167.

100. Cape Argus, 23 May 1863.

101. Cape of Good Hope Select Committee Reports - 1863 S C 1 - '63, Report and Proceedings of the Committee of the Legislative Council on the Wynberg Railway Extension, 5, 17, 25, 31, 43, 71.

month.<sup>102</sup> Although the Wynberg Company had won this political skirmish with the C.T.R.& D.Co., which had been out-manoeuvred by the "local men", the C.T.R.& D.Co. were not ready to abandon the field. They continued to stone-wall the project to build the second line, realising perhaps, that the final battle would be a financial one. The line between Salt River and Wynberg was now well advanced. The iron bridge over the Liesbeek River had been completed and the Wynberg Company could not afford further delays.<sup>103</sup> The cost of construction had been pushed up by compensation payments, the expenses of litigation and the preparation of bills for Parliament. This was in addition to the cost of the large number of gates and level-crossings that were required because the train passed through a number of residential areas, and the bridges and culverts which crossed the many streams and gullies on the route. However, as the Wynberg Company directors set about raising the money to implement their plans, they suffered a serious reverse. A letter arrived from the Colonial Secretary, informing them that the Railway Amendment Act must now receive the Royal Assent and the approval of the War

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102. Cape of Good Hope: Votes and proceedings of the House of Assembly - 1863, 265. Votes and proceedings of the Legislative Council - 1863, 128-130, 134. During these sessions letters to the Governor from both companies were presented and studied.

103. C.A., A 2325, Minutes of a Special General Meeting of the Wynberg Company, 14 August 1863 and a director's meeting, 17 August 1863. At these meetings it became clear that, until further monies could be borrowed, there would be cash flow problems.

Department because, as planned, the second line would pass through the outworks of the Castle.<sup>104</sup> The Cape Argus pointed out that "this would considerably delay the process", as nothing further could be done until permission to proceed was received from Britain, and the War Department was "notoriously slow". In the circumstances, the Cape Argus recommended a resumption of the negotiations for the Wynberg Company to lease the existing line.<sup>105</sup>

The Wynberg Company appealed unsuccessfully for a local decision on the matter and the Governor made his position in the matter clear when he commented in a letter from the Colonial Secretary to the Wynberg Company, that it was preferable that "this first private enterprise may not present the spectacle of two competing railways, running side by side, and dividing the traffic which one is more than equal to.....and the cutting up of the Public Parade by two rival establishments".<sup>106</sup> The delays predicted by the Cape Argus ensued and nine months passed before news was received at the Cape that the Act had been approved in London.<sup>107</sup>

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104. C.A., CO 5328, no 657, Colonial Secretary to Wynberg Railway Company, 30 July 1863.

105. Cape Argus, 1 August 1863.

106. C.A., CO 5328, no 717, Colonial Secretary to Wynberg Railway Company, 17 August 1863.

107. *ibid.*, 343, Colonial Secretary to Stein, 16 April 1864.

During the intervening period no consensus could be reached by the companies, although various proposals were examined by them and by the government. All the negotiations achieved was continued quibbling over fire insurance risks, the question of who should pay for the gatekeepers' and stationmasters' houses and a falling dividend on the share-holders' investment.<sup>108</sup> As time went on the delays became more and more costly for the Wynberg Company and the directors had to give promissory notes to stave off insolvency because all other attempts to raise money were stalled until the Bill was approved in London. On the other hand, the progress made by the engineer and his construction team was splendid; on 15 April 1864, their line from Wynberg to Salt River was inspected and declared safe for the carriage of passengers and on 2 May trains ran for one day over that section of the line to prove their point.<sup>109</sup> Ten days later the Wynberg Company directors decided to apply for running powers on the Cape Town - Wellington line.<sup>110</sup>

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108. C.A., A 2324, Minutes of Wynberg Company meeting, 2 September 1863; A 2325, Minutes of C.T.R. & D.Co. meeting, 13 November 1863; A 2324, Minutes of Wynberg Company meeting, 17 November 1863.

109. C.A., A 2325, Minutes of a Wynberg Special General Meeting, 11 May 1864. It was stated that fares of 1s. each way were charged and a profit of £6-13-5 was made on traffic carried.

110. *ibid.*, Minutes of Wynberg Company meeting, 12 May 1864.

On the following day a notice to that effect appeared in the Government Gazette.<sup>111</sup> The directors were aware that political action would be difficult because the C.T.R. & D.Co. had a strong lobby among the western Cape members of the government. It was fortunate, therefore, that the Governor had decreed that the next sitting of the Cape Parliament would take place at Grahamstown in the eastern Cape, as this enabled the Wynberg Company to exploit the rivalry which existed between the eastern and western Cape members and lobby for a favourable vote there. In addition, both Maynard and his brother-in-law, Anderson, were favourably regarded in the eastern Cape where they had long-standing business connections, principally through the Union Shipping Line, for which Anderson was the agent.<sup>112</sup> Whereas the C.T.R. & D. Co. were viewed with suspicion by eastern Cape politicians, who had been ousted from the railway scheme, Maynard was on familiar territory and could expect a more sympathetic reception. The Wynberg Company was also assisted by the fact that some members of the government who opposed the amendment, were not prepared to make the long journey to Grahamstown to do so.

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111. Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, 13 May 1864. It would be necessary to petition the government to amend Section 41 of Act 35 of 1861 in order to obtain the running powers on the line.

112. M.M. Murray, *Union Castle Chronicle* (Glasgow, 1953), 34. In 1864 Anderson opened the Port Elizabeth office of the Union Line, which brought benefits to eastern Cape residents and exporters. He was assisted by his nephew, William Farmer, who became manager of this office.

In the course of the sitting the Bill was referred to a Select Committee<sup>113</sup> at which Smith (the Wynberg Company engineer) and Bourne (the Colonial Engineer) gave evidence in favour of the new amendment. Ernest Landsberg, a Wynberg Company director, gave evidence that large quantities of produce and many passengers could be brought to and from Wynberg and Cape Town at a cheaper rate than by road. He also made it clear that the share-holders had made a loss of £10,000 so far and that the only reason why the line could not open to the public was the unco-operative attitude of the C.T.R. & D.Co. in not allowing the Wynberg Company to use their line.<sup>114</sup> These arguments out-weighed the objections voiced by Brounger, and the Select Committee expressed its approval of the Bill on 5 July.<sup>115</sup>

The Bill passed in both houses and, although both the Cape Town and London boards of the C.T.R. & D.Co. petitioned against the Bill at Westminster, Cardwell, the Secretary of State for Colonies, refused to set it aside.

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113. SC 2 - '64. Two sittings of the Committee, which consisted of Messrs Wicht, De Roubaix, Wood, Van Breda and Godlonton, took place on 28 June and 5 July. These members of parliament appeared sympathetic to the Wynberg Company and the matter was expedited.

114. SC 2 - '64, Cape of Good Hope Select Committee Reports - 1864, 1, 8, 11. Landsberg spoke persuasively and mentioned that "loads of wood, wine, brandy, flour, beer and vegetables" could be transported by the Wynberg railway line.

115. *ibid.*, 14.

The British-funded company had been out-maneuvred by the local men once again.<sup>116</sup> The Amendment Act stated that the Wynberg Company had the right to make the junction with the Cape Town - Wellington line, subject to a toll to be determined by arbitration. Wynberg trains could now run from Salt River to Cape Town on the line owned by the C.T.R. & D.Co. Yet it was a hollow victory. The C.T.R. & D.Co. had lost the parliamentary skirmishing but they were about to win the financial battle which had been going on concurrently with the political process. With its recognition as a branch line of the Cape Town - Wellington line, the Wynberg Company was now required to maintain the same high construction and maintenance standards for stations and equipment as the C.T. R. & D.Co.<sup>117</sup> It did not have sufficient funds to do this. The Wynberg Company, now so close to achieving its objective, found itself at a standstill due to cash flow problems.

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116. C.A., CO 831, Petition from Watson to the Colonial Secretary, 9 July 1864; GH 28/82, E 94/64, C.T.R. & D.Co. to Colonial Secretary, 13 August 1864; GH 23/29, Governor to Secretary of State for Colonies, 19 September 1864; C 5329, no 789, Colonial Secretary to Stein (chairman of Wynberg Railway Company), 19 September 1864; C 831, Stein to the Colonial Secretary, 30 September 1864; CO 5329, no 863, Colonial Secretary to Stein, 21 October 1864: in it he confirmed that the Bill had been approved.

117. C.A., CO 845, no 47, 14 October 1864.

The combined financial expertise of Maynard, Stein and Landsberg failed to raise the bank loans needed to underwrite the completion of the project.<sup>118</sup> The only alternative would be certain personal guarantees or mortgage bonds which the directors of the Wynberg Company were no longer prepared to give.<sup>119</sup> Co-operation with the C.T.R.& D.Co., which had the expertise and overseas financial backing to cope with the many problems of managing and maintaining the line provided the only reasonable solution to the impasse. In order to avoid further embarrassment, therefore, the Wynberg line was leased to the C.T.R.& D.Co. for the sum of three thousand pounds per annum over five years.<sup>120</sup> This arrangement would ensure reasonable dividends to the Wynberg Company share-holders, who must have experienced considerable relief at this complete reversal of events.<sup>121</sup>

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118. C.A., A 2325, Minutes of Wynberg Company meetings, 23 & 30 June 1864. The Wynberg Company applied for a loan of £15,000 from the Union Bank, which was prepared to offer only £2,500. Further negotiations with the Commercial Bank and the Standard Bank were to no avail.

119. C.A., A 2325, Minutes of the Wynberg Company meetings, 7 & 28 July 1864.

120. C.A., A 2325, Minutes of Wynberg Company meetings, 15 September 1864. It was suggested, as a last resort, that the C.T.R.& D.Co. be asked to advance the money needed for the completion of the service amenities for passengers and staff.

121. C.A., A 2324, Minutes of C.T.R.& D.Co. meetings, 14 November 1864. It was decided to authorise Watson to sign the agreement to lease the Wynberg line. At a further meeting on 17 November, the chairman was authorised to confirm the lease which was signed on 19 November. The lease was endorsed on behalf of the government by the Colonial Secretary. (C 831, 26 November 1864).

This gave the C.T.R. & D.Co. full responsibility for the operation of the entire line, as they had originally intended when they proposed the project some seven years earlier. The long-awaited service could now commence and the line was opened to traffic on 19 December 1864. The Cape Argus, which had followed this story assiduously as it unfolded, reported that the excitement on that day was tremendous and the railway officials had their hands full controlling the crowds who waited at the stations.<sup>122</sup> Burman comments that "the Wynberg Railway Company, having built the line and lost the battle for its control, had little more to do than to sit back and collect the profit, which they did, paying regular dividends".<sup>123</sup>

The struggle to establish the Wynberg line and ensure its completion is a striking example of the power exerted by a small group of single-minded individuals who had the necessary leadership, together with access to financial resources and political clout, to sustain such an extended series of manipulative actions in order to achieve their objectives. The campaign to get the trains running to Wynberg was concentrated into a ten-year period during which it was constantly in the

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122. Cape Argus, 19 December, 1864. The newspaper reported that the extended period of anticipation had whetted the appetites of passengers, who "treated themselves to the best accommodation the railway could afford".

123. J. Burman, Early Railways of the Cape (Cape Town, 1984), 39.

public eye - in the local and overseas press, at the parliamentary sessions and in the commercial world in Britain and at the Cape. What is remarkable is that neither party abandoned this struggle which put Wynberg on the map, literally and metaphorically, in a more significant manner than any other single development. The railway passed through all the other suburban villages but it was known as "the Wynberg line", thereby focussing attention on the area and giving it additional status. Plumstead station (later Wynberg station) was the terminus of the line until 1884, when the railway was extended to the False Bay coast and Simonstown.

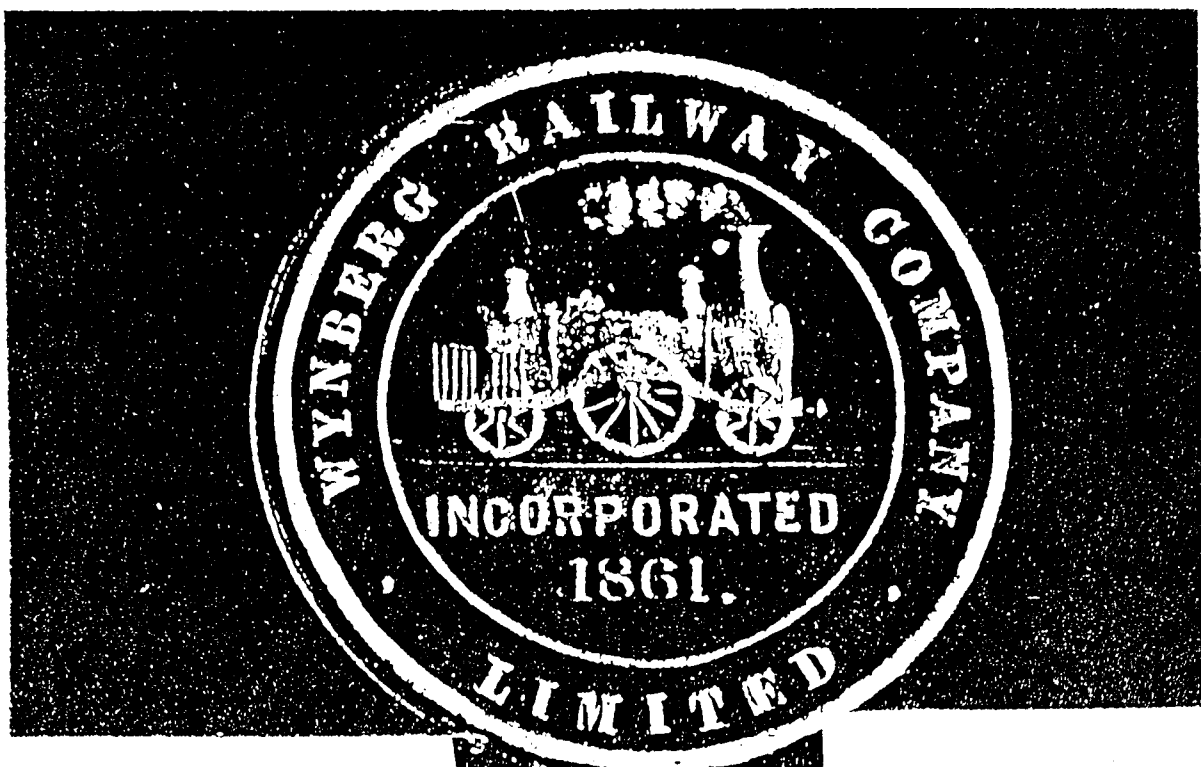
The railway debate also revealed very clearly the conflict between public and private interests at the Cape and the lengths to which the protagonists would go, politically speaking, to reach their individual goals. It indicated, too, the degree of competence in handling large projects which had been attained by the professional sector in the colony. The planning ability, the expertise and the capital resources were to be found in sufficient quantities to undertake complex public works, and private enterprise was ready to expand the limited economy of the Cape. Moreover, this was a timely development since it helped develop locally management and financial skills which the discovery of diamonds in Griqualand West in the next decade and the opening of the Witwatersrand gold-fields in the 1880s were to demand in large quantities.

Although the severe recession in the 1860s acted as a brake on the advance of mechanisation, symbolised by the introduction of the railway scheme, the future held great promise for the country as a whole, and had implications for the smaller settlements such as Wynberg. On the one hand, the recession increased the marginalisation of the poorer (and usually "coloured") classes, but on the other, it allowed time for the small but well-equipped middle class community to take stock of their assets and to consolidate their position. The power base of this class at Wynberg was augmented during the next two decades by the arrival of more well-to-do and influential residents, to which the railroad contributed in no small measure by ensuring their comfort, convenience and speed on journeys to and from Cape Town. The disparity between this well-to-do middle class and the poorer sector was to increase during the next fifty years as the Wynberg population expanded and the upper and lower classes moved further away from each other. It is significant that the railway line marked the division between the more prosperous parts of Wynberg and the less affluent areas "below the line". Kellett has commented upon this "barrier effect" in British cities,<sup>124</sup> where "the effect of severance and isolation" by intrusive railway sidings was more extreme than in Wynberg.

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124. J.R. Kellett, "The railway as an agent of internal change in Victorian cities" in R.J. Morris and Richard Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City* (1993), 187.

Nevertheless, this separation by the line determined the future status of "lower Wynberg" as an area of lower-income housing. Yet, despite the negative effect of the railroad in emphasising social distance, its positive influence lay in its transformation of a rural settlement to an urbanised village. Progress clattered towards Wynberg along the rail tracks and new decisions faced the residents as they contemplated the changes it would bring.



## CHAPTER 5.

### "Veiled new town" or rural village ?

1860-1880

Contradictory influences were at work during this phase of development at Wynberg, slowing the steady progress which had been maintained in the first half of the nineteenth century but not halting it completely. After the establishment of the rail link with Cape Town in 1864, the way ahead seemed clear for continued growth; but, instead, a period of diminished property sales and limitation in the commercial sector was experienced, marking a low point in economic development. Although the colony-wide recession of the 1860s was limited in duration, it bit deeply into development. This chapter examines the ways in which it restricted government spending on public works and other state-funded projects, including the military establishment at Wynberg and the public school, while also inhibiting private investment in both country districts and urban areas.<sup>1</sup>

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1. M.Wilson & L.Thompson (eds.), *The Oxford History of South Africa*(Oxford, 1975), V.1, 328-331; V.2, 8-9; also R.F.M. Immelman, *Men of Good Hope*, 191. The latter author refers to this period as "the dismal sixties".

Wynberg residents were forced to draw upon their own resources for survival during this financial crisis, which encouraged people to find solutions to the problems themselves, even turning some of these to their advantage. Thus, their self-sufficiency increased in proportion to their competence in riding out the recession, while protecting localised business interests which were the backbone of the Wynberg economy. This chapter also examines the events which influenced the direction of Wynberg's subsequent economic growth, which was consistent with the independent spirit which had manifested itself among middle-class entrepreneurs at an early stage of development at Wynberg.

To some extent Wynberg was comparable at this stage of its growth to small towns like Grahamstown<sup>2</sup> and Pietermaritzburg,<sup>3</sup> which had similar military foundations but had also developed an independent economic life which was threatened during the recession. They, too, had established schools and churches, which served the surrounding areas, and were magisterial centres of some importance; but their greater distance from a larger town removed the possibility of incorporation into another urban area, a circumstance which threatened the independence of Wynberg.

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2. M. Gibbens, "Two decades in the life of a city" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Rhodes University, 1982), 34-35.

3. J. Laband & R. Haswell (eds.), Pietermaritzburg, 1838- 1988 (Pietermaritzburg, 1988), 102-109;

Pietermaritzburg also had the advantage of being a regional centre of government - a small colonial capital -<sup>4</sup> while Grahamstown was the judicial capital of the eastern Cape.<sup>5</sup> In addition, they functioned as important market towns, whereas the Cape Town market, rather than the Wynberg market, attracted most of the produce from the outlying farming districts of the Boland and the western Cape. On the other hand, Wynberg was the first to have its own railway system<sup>6</sup> which facilitated transport to and from Cape Town, encouraging commuter traffic but not necessarily increasing its dependence on the metropolitan areas or closing the gap between town and country.

Wynberg stood at a cross-road, one branch leading towards suburban development and ultimate incorporation into the urban sprawl of Cape Town; the other towards an independent existence with control over its own resources under a separate local authority. The time was not yet ripe, however, for the realisation of such autonomy and no steps could be taken in that direction during the recession.

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4. *ibid.*, 86-89.

5. M. Gibbens, "Two decades in the life of a city", 341-342.

6. *ibid.*, 70-71. Grahamstown was bypassed when the line from Port Elizabeth to Kimberley was established, while Pietermaritzburg did not become a railhead until 1880 (Laband and Haswell (eds.) *Pietermaritzburg*, 126).

In the decade following this depressed period, however, the foundations for administrative self-sufficiency were laid, as a further wave of professional people, intent on acquiring a better life-style on the fringe of the metropolitan area, were attracted to Wynberg. The determination shown by Wynberg residents to maintain their independence beyond the city limits encouraged the creation of effective local government structures, usually associated with new town rather than suburban development. "The road to "suburbanity"<sup>8</sup> seemed to have little appeal for the well-to-do middle-class residents or the villagers of Wynberg. In his broad overview of this intermediary phase of urban development in England, Waller suggests that precise definition is difficult when determining whether the historian is dealing with the emergence of a suburb or a veiled new town.<sup>9</sup> Peri-urban forms in which rural and urban society mingled were essential elements in the expansion of cities, but they also threw up contradictory elements.

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7. *ibid.*, 145-146, 250-251.

8. H.J. Dyos, "Urbanity and Suburbanity" in D. Cannadine and D. Reeder (eds.), *Exploring the Urban Past* (Cambridge, 1982), 28-31.

9. P.J. Waller, *Town, City and nation* (Oxford, 1983), 158-159.

Paradoxically, Wynberg was situated in an area where the open fields had not yet been swallowed up by housing development; yet it was also close enough to the metropolitan area for its residents to feel the social and economic ties to the centre, now more firmly established by the railway line.<sup>10</sup> Yet, despite this powerful link to the city centre, a complex blend of locally-based interests prevailed when determining its status. The apparent contradiction between the rural environment of the village and a lively determination on the part of many of its residents to create a progressive business sector with all the amenities required to make it self-sufficient can be explained, to some extent, in terms of their vested interests.

Although, to all outward appearances, Wynberg was in the country, a growing number of its inhabitants were not country-folk and had migrated from urban areas for a variety of reasons. The well-to-do property-owners who had left Cape Town to escape its urban and climatic disadvantages hoped to preserve the rural peace and privacy which they had found in Wynberg, while maintaining close links with the city centre through their business interests or in their official capacities. On the other hand, the market-gardeners, shop-keepers, traders and artisans, who were firmly based in the village, were building up a position of importance by

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10. P.J. Waller, *Town, City and Nation*, 238-239.

supplying services and commodities to other inhabitants in the area, including the military camp, albeit on a lesser scale than in earlier decades. It was to their advantage to emphasise the self-sufficiency of the village and to discourage outside competition. Thus, some residents commuted to work in Cape Town and returned, thankfully, at the end of the day to the quiet of the countryside, while others lived and worked within the Wynberg area, either from choice or by necessity.<sup>11</sup> The labouring poor remained at the bottom of the social hierarchy, but, even here there was hope of employment and charitable support in this protected economic environment.

Identification with a shared locality had formed a bond, albeit at times an uneasy one, when controversial issues came to the fore. Nevertheless, the villagers had begun to act in concert for their mutual benefit, a fact to be seen in their support for the numerous petitions which were submitted to the colonial authorities from the area. Initially it had been the well-to-do land-owners who had pressed for improvements in the administration of the area between 1830 and 1845,<sup>12</sup> when local residents bore the brunt of the expenses incurred in road-making and providing

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11. R.E. Pahl, "The Rural/Urban Continuum" in R.E. Pahl (ed.), *Readings in Urban Sociology* (1960), 268-273. The author presents an analysis of the elements of "the commuter village".

12. See above, Chapter 2, 143-145.

drainage. When they appealed to the authorities for better roads and upgraded amenities in the 1850s and 1860s,<sup>13</sup> however, it became apparent that they had been joined by some small property-owners, who perceived that they too had a stake in the prosperity of the Wynberg area. Although they offered access to materials on their land for road-building, they expected government funding for the project in return for their taxes. The 1846 petition relating to the Cape Flats road, for instance, was signed by 140 people and represented a very broad spectrum of interests, from those of farmers to those of tradespeople.

Other memorials were submitted emphasising the various needs of the inhabitants, which ranged from requests for additional grazing facilities for cattle<sup>14</sup> to demands for the removal of the pound from the centre of the village<sup>15</sup> and complaints about cattle straying onto private property,<sup>16</sup> which indicated clearly the dual nature of the area. The several petitions and the prolonged correspondence conducted with the colonial authorities in connection with the establishment of a market in Wynberg in 1847

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13. See Chapter 3, 202; Chapter 4, 212, 220.

14. C.A., CO 4072, 150 of 1853. This was a request for more commonage for the village; CO 4082, R 45 of 1855, in which Ryklief and several others applied for land at Zeekoeivlei for grazing.

15. C.A., CO 3986, 58 of 1836. This was initiated by Dr. Gird.

16. C.A., CO 4030, 436 of 1846. This was submitted by James Maynard.

indicated the importance of a commercial outlet for local produce, ranging from stock to agricultural produce, and from wood to fodder.<sup>17</sup> In 1861 a memorial was submitted which stated that the villages of Wynberg and Plumstead, containing a large number of inhabitants, were as yet without any postal delivery. They complained that "mail may lie, and often does lie for days and weeks in the post-offices of the villages respectively, unless casually called for and very great inconvenience is caused thereby".<sup>18</sup> The memorialists requested a daily delivery of mail and one central post-office, which were granted to them.

The petitions relating to railway matters, particularly those which were submitted in 1857 and 1859,<sup>19</sup> included signatures from all sections of the Wynberg population, indicating their willingness to become involved in issues which concerned them. It is notable, for instance, that on the petition submitted in 1859, protesting against the levy of a sub-guarantee for the Cape Town to Wellington line, many of the Wynberg signatories were small tradesmen and shop-keepers.<sup>20</sup>

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17. C.A., 1/WBG, 17/7.

18. C.A., CO 4123, C 18, W 27 of 1861.

19. C.A., CO 4049, W 81 of 1857; C 18 of 1859.

20. C.F.P., C 18 of 1859, Votes and proceedings of the legislative Assembly - 1859, 197; Votes and proceedings of the House of Assembly - 1859, 303. See above, 212, 220.

It is possible, of course, that pressure from above was exerted upon them, but it is equally possible that many of the tradesmen resented the levy, particularly in view of the reluctance which the C.T.R. & D.Co. had shown to extending the line to Wynberg, an unwillingness which affected all levels of the residential and commercial sectors. The solidarity shown by these residents indicates a degree of preparedness for independent decision-making, which would find expression in a local authority within two decades.

Even before the issue of the Wynberg railway line had been raised, however, improved communication had made residents of the southern Peninsula aware of what was happening in the other villages, and this encouraged competition between them. A feeling of resentment had been aroused among the other peri-urban communities which felt that Wynberg had been singled out for advancement by the authorities when they had established the seat of the magistracy there and had assisted with the promotion of schools, churches and roads in the vicinity of the military camp. In 1862 this resentment found expression in criticism of the Wynberg Public School, where much had been achieved in a comparatively short time by the pioneering vigour of McNaughton.<sup>21</sup>

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21. D.H. Thomson, *The story of a school* (Wynberg, 1961), 74.

In a review of the extensive report on public schools at the Cape by Dr Langham Dale, the Superintendent-General of Education, the editors of the Cape Monthly Magazine, Alfred Cole and Roderick Noble, cited the Wynberg school as an example of excessive outlay on education by government.<sup>22</sup> In this report Langham Dale suggested that the growth of the colony had overtaken the intention of the original Government Memorandum of 1839, which had stated that the education authorities would provide "in certain centres of the population, a means of obtaining education of a superior kind, entirely without costs to the parents of the pupils".<sup>23</sup> It was emphasised in the review that, of all the schools in this class, Wynberg was the most costly in its annual maintenance. At the same time the writers stressed that, "in referring to this school we wish to say nothing in dispraise of its master, who has deservedly obtained the character of an earnest, skilful and successful teacher, but we ask on what grounds a free school is maintained by the government at the annual cost of three hundred and eighty-three pounds, in such a place as Wynberg".<sup>24</sup>

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22. Cape Monthly Magazine (January, 1862), 30.

23. *ibid.*, 32.

24. *ibid.*, 34.

Then they came to the crux of their argument: "It is a great advantage to the inhabitants of that favoured spot to have their children well-taught for nothing, but why is it that the country at large, through the general taxation, should pay for the education of the well-to-do folk at Wynberg?"<sup>25</sup> Although educational favouritism is the theme, it is clear that local rivalry extended beyond that sphere and that the various village communities were looking critically at one another. Wynberg, labelled "sweet Auburn"<sup>26</sup> among the villages of the Cape, had become a natural target for criticism. Its reputed health, wealth and beauty did not endear it to other less favoured areas, a feature apparent in the tart condemnation that "Claremont, Rondebosch and Mowbray are places as important and populous as Wynberg, but the inhabitants of these villages have to educate their children at their own expense, while their neighbours a little further along the road are being instructed at the cost of the country in Latin and Greek, Geometry and Algebra, the Higher Mathematics and the elements of Physical Science - whatever that may mean."<sup>27</sup>

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25. *ibid.*, 34.

26. Cape Almanac (1842), 317.

27. Cape Monthly Magazine (January, 1862), 37.

It was not only the excellence and exclusive standards of McNaughton's school in Wynberg which rankled; it was also the apparent complacency with which free schooling was accepted by the local residents while their neighbours had to pay for amenities of a similar standard. Unfortunately, critics of the school seized this opportunity to voice their opposition, just as McNaughton's retirement was imminent and as the recession began to be felt, highlighting the need for economy and providing the opportunity for change. This came about when the new Governor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, arrived to take up his duties in 1862, and was faced with mounting dissatisfaction about the depressed financial position of the colony, aggravated by political tension in the eastern Cape. One of the economies implemented by the government was contained in the recommendations of the Watermeyer Commission which had been appointed in 1860 to investigate the state of education system at the Cape.<sup>28</sup> It is likely that the government was influenced by the need for stringent fiscal control rather than by local jealousies, but the implementation of the findings of the Commission had an immediate and retrogressive effect on the status and administration of the Wynberg Public School and must have gratified its critics.

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28. C.P.P., G. 24 - '63. Report of the Watermeyer Commission on the government education system (February, 1863).

The Commission reported that McNaughton wished to retire for reasons of ill-health and that "arrangements for discontinuing the school will probably be completed by the end of the first quarter of 1863".<sup>29</sup> It also stated baldly that "an elementary school for boys of the poorer class seems desirable";<sup>30</sup> by 1863, consequently, the high school was no longer in operation.<sup>31</sup> This was a severe blow to the reputable public school and to the educational self-sufficiency of the area which it had served. This change was ostensibly in keeping with current liberal sentiment for the upliftment of the male masses,<sup>32</sup> but it did not necessarily meet the needs of the Wynberg population; nor were boys of "the poorer class" especially favoured by the recommendations of the Commission, because their parents would now have to contribute to the teachers' salaries, thus placing school attendance beyond the means of many poor people.

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29. C.P.P., G 24 - '63, lvii.

30. *ibid.*, lviii.

31. Cape of Good Hope Blue Book, 1863, Y8.

32. E. Drus, "The development of education at the Cape from 1859-1892" (Unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1940), 15. Drus refers to Langham Dale as "a laissez faire liberal" and it could well be that the Wynberg School was the victim of the effects of liberal thought on policy and planning.

In Wynberg there were undoubtedly some "poor whites" living alongside their well-to-do neighbours, but the term "poor" applied more generally to the local coloured population, as it did elsewhere in the Cape.<sup>33</sup> If they had been side-lined by the "exclusivity" of McNaughton's free school, the poor were now directly disadvantaged under the new dispensation. In his evidence to the Commission, Langham Dale had stated that the inhabitants should have a voice in the appointment of the teacher and in the management of the school.<sup>34</sup> The inference which can be drawn is that the government was about to shift a large proportion of the responsibility for the education of their children onto the parent body, as the Watermeyer Commission recommended that parents should participate in the funding of the school on a pound-for-pound basis with the government.<sup>35</sup>

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33. G.M. Fredrickson, *White Supremacy. A comparative study in American and S.A. history* (New York, 1981), 184, 262-263.

34. E.L. Maurice, "The development of policy in regard to the education of coloured pupils at the Cape, 1888-1940" (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 1966), 128. Maurice suggest that Langham Dale opposed any system of free schools because "he feared that careless and indifferent parents would shift to the government the duties which he thought naturally devolved on them".

35. C.P.P., 6 24 - '63, lvi - lix. Mr Justice E.G. Watermeyer made two main recommendations: firstly that the established schools should be replaced by undenominational schools of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd class; and secondly, that the teachers' salaries should be provided in equal part by the parents of the pupils and the government.

It must have been difficult for the less affluent residents to understand why the government should decide to suspend free education of a high standard at Wynberg and replace it with a fee-paying elementary school. On the other hand, the wealthy parents were not unduly inconvenienced by the down-grading of the school, as those who wished to do so had the financial resources to send their children to secondary schools elsewhere or to employ private tutors. Ironically, it was once again the poorer pupils who were disadvantaged, because they could not afford to travel further afield to complete their education. The marginalisation of the poor and the landless people at Wynberg was exacerbated by this covert discrimination, marking the deepening of divisions along racial lines, which would become more and more apparent in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>36</sup>

The reconstitution of the Wynberg School was commenced under the aegis of Dr. Faure, who called a public meeting at which a Board of Managers was elected, who would act as guarantors for the salaries of teachers at the school.<sup>37</sup>

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36. V. Bickford-Smith, "Commerce, Class and Ethnicity" (Unpublished PhD. thesis, Cambridge University, 1988), 75-76, 444.

37. C.A., S.G.E. 5/9, 7, 17 December 1863. This letter from the Board of managers to Langham Dale confirmed the arrangement. The Board was made up of Faure, the Rev Burton Phillipson (St John's Church), the Rev. P. Batchelor (Wesleyan Church), Messrs F. Engels and G de Kock (parents), and Justus Meyer (secretary).

Langham Dale gave his approval for its continuation in its original quarters<sup>38</sup> and the inexperienced Burton Tubb was then appointed as master-in-charge. He had the unenviable task of collecting the balance of the monies needed to run the school and pay his own salary after the half-share granted by the government had been received.<sup>39</sup> The way in which local residents dealt with this setback to educational excellence at Wynberg was indicative of their determination to limit the damage as far as possible. Although the number of boys attending the school dropped sharply,<sup>40</sup> Tubb seems to have coped with the many problems which beset the school and which were symptomatic of the general malaise in the colony. It was on this somewhat precarious basis that the school survived and weathered the depression, although the high standards set by McNaughton were sacrificed.

The Wynberg camp was also adversely affected by the recession. Its personnel had already been reduced in number by the mid-century, while the Wynberg Cavalry was maintained on a volunteer basis, parading only on ceremonial occasions.<sup>41</sup> When Prince Alfred

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38. C.A., S.G.E. 5/9, 13, 20 December 1863.

39. C.A., S.G.E., 5/9, 7.

40. Cape of Good Hope Blue Book, 1864, Y8. Educational returns list the number of pupils registered as elementary pupils under Burton Tubb at 50; whereas 80 boys had been registered at the school in 1863 under McNaughton (Blue Book, 1863, Y8).

41. Cape Argus, 14 August 1857.

visited the Cape in 1860, he was escorted by a detachment of the Cavalry as he passed through Wynberg.<sup>42</sup> The scene of military pageantry is captured in a lively drawing by Bowler,<sup>43</sup> but, during this period, the camp was rarely the focus of attention which it was on that occasion. Immelman declared that the camp was regarded by the British government "as a military station for temporary occupation by one regiment of cavalry and one of infantry, undergoing some military training."<sup>44</sup> This was a marked decline from the bustling establishment it had been in the early part of the century. Although the camp still occupied the commanding and extensive site on the hill, it was poorly equipped and there was little permanent accommodation. Many of those who occupied the camp were in transit to and from the eastern frontier.<sup>45</sup> Sick and wounded men from the conflict were also brought to the Wynberg camp, where they were hospitalised in temporary accommodation to benefit from the area's invigorating climate.

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42. A.F. Hattersley, "Rathfelder's Inn, Diep River", Q.B.S.A.L., 16 (4), June, 1962, 146.

43. C. Pama, Bowler's Cape Town (Cape Town, 1977), 88.

44. U.C.T. Libraries, B.C. 600, 2. R.F.M. Immelman, "A short history of Wynberg camp".

45. W.B. Smith (ed.), A Short History of the Wynberg Military Base (Wynberg, 1988), 14. The compiler records that it was argued that in view of the state of comparative security at the Cape, the Castle and the Simonstown Naval Base were regarded as adequate, and a third military base was no longer considered necessary.

In 1859, however, a decision appears to have been taken to establish a large, permanent military hospital at the camp.<sup>46</sup> The Cape Monthly magazine reported that, after the Crimean War, numerous huts, strongly built to resist the Russian winter, were assigned for removal to the Cape Colony rather than let them fall into enemy hands.<sup>47</sup> Conflicting reports about the cost of this removal, estimated at £80,000, were current at the time;<sup>48</sup> in the end, the project was scaled down dramatically, in keeping with the current government economies, and only a small sanitorium was established in one wooden building. The loss of the financial benefits which a large hospital would have ensured was undoubtedly a blow to the local commercial sector in this depressed period. The editors of the Cape Monthly Magazine did not miss the opportunity to drive this point home: "There stands all that remains of this fair vision of prosperity....the annual thousands expended, the enhanced house rents, the liberal contracts for house and garden produce, which for a time gladdened their sight. 'Twas a vision too fair for reality!"<sup>49</sup> Their sarcastic emphasis underlines the vital role which the garrison had played in stimulating the Wynberg economy.

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46. *ibid.*, 22.

47. Cape Monthly Magazine (September, 1861), 294.

48. Cape Argus 19 March 1861.

49. *ibid.*, 294-295.

It was fortunate that the troops were not removed altogether, as was the case at Grahamstown when its garrison was transferred to King William's Town in the 1860s.<sup>50</sup> Gibbens comments that Grahamstown suffered a loss of prestige with their departure, in addition to an economic loss,<sup>51</sup> and this could well have been the case at Wynberg, where the military tradition was as strongly entrenched as it was in Grahamstown.

Yet Wynberg had the advantage in that by 1860 it had also attracted a large number of non-military residents, who brought their own particular influence to bear in supporting its self-sufficient image during the next half-century. However, as the restrictive effect of events in the wider world impinged upon development in Wynberg, the economies of the upper classes resulted in the poor becoming relatively poorer in this close-knit economic environment. The property market was also affected and the pace of sales in Wynberg slowed during the recession, as investors husbanded their resources. Although there were a number of estate transfers, Deeds Office records confirm that a smaller number of sales took place during this period in comparison with the steady marketing of property during the previous twenty years.

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50. M. Gibbens, "Two decades in the life of a city: Grahamstown" (1982), 60-64.

51. *ibid.*, 61. Gibbens estimates that 52 houses were vacated by officers of the regiments with very short notice, which was followed by decreased rents and no demand for the building trade.

Nevertheless, a few transactions were concluded in the early 1860s and brought to the area at least two families of standing in the colony. Subsequent to the death of the widow Higgs in 1863, her executors released for sale the large piece of land known as Sussex Place, to the east of Plumstead; the major portion of this was purchased in 1863 by Richard Southey,<sup>52</sup> the well-known politician of eastern Cape origin. In that year Southey was appointed Colonial Secretary, a post which he held until 1872.<sup>53</sup> He named his new estate Southfield, and its consolidation renewed interest in this area, which had been so favoured by the Indian visitors earlier in the century. He was also a keen sportsman and he revived the flagging cricketing tradition of Mrs Higgs' field, restoring the pitch and establishing Southfield as a centre of sporting activity.<sup>54</sup>

After Mrs Higgs died, the piece of land adjoining Southfield and the house on it, known as Forest Cottage, was purchased in 1865 by Julia Hutton,<sup>55</sup> the wife of Carl Watermeyer, a Cape Town attorney

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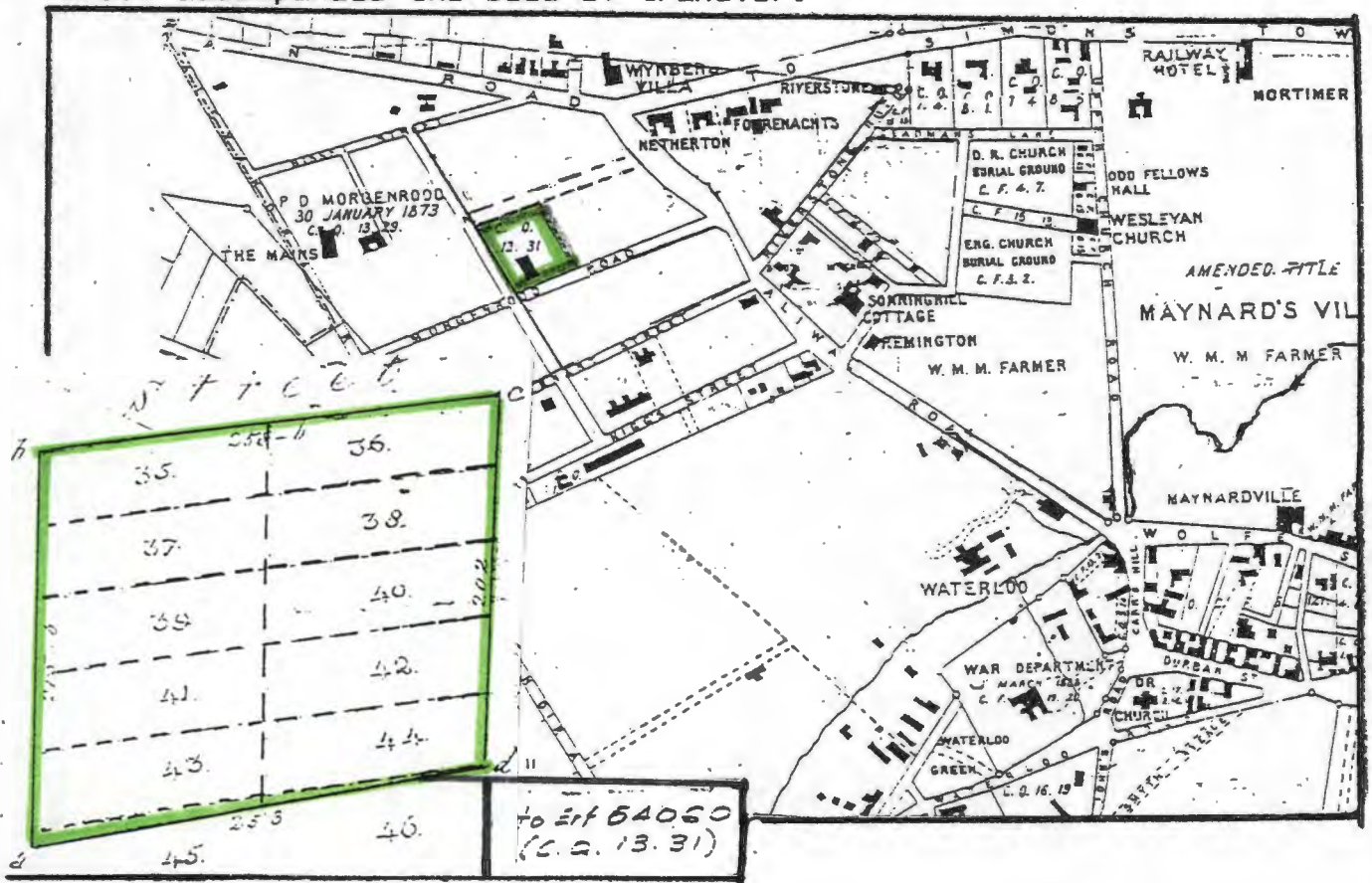
52. D.O., T 175, 19 January 1864. Estate J. Higgs and M.A. Higgs : R. Southey.

53. Dictionary of S.A. Biography (D.S.A.B.), (Cape Town, 1972), V 2, 695-698.

54. A.F. Hattersley, An Illustrated Social History of South Africa, 213-214.

55. D.O., T 365, 27 May 1865. Estate M.A. Higgs : J. Hutton. This property had been owned by the Cumberlege family since the 1830s and was one of the first properties built and sold by Higgs.

and brother to Frederick, respected as a journalist and a politician. The latter had also moved to Wynberg in the previous year and had acquired a substantial property from his friend, Morgenrood,<sup>56</sup> with whom he had shared a common commitment to the St Martini Church since its inception. This plot was situated towards the middle of the uneven stretch of ground which Morgenrood had bought from the widow Higgs in 1859. Prior to its acquisition by Watermeyer the ground had been sub-divided into numerous small erven, which can be seen clearly on the diagram which accompanies the deed of transfer.



56. D.O., T 308, 27 January 1864. P.D. Morgenrood : F.S. Watermeyer.

It would appear that Morgenrood had intended to market these plots in accordance with this sub-division, which was similar to the way in which Higgs had disposed of the nearby Sunninghill estate some twenty years before. He had also sold a stand to the well-known auctioneer, William Blore, in the previous year,<sup>57</sup> perhaps intending to collaborate with him. It is probable, however, that the bleak financial climate of the 1860s caused him to abandon the scheme, which would have provided small plots for less affluent people; when he did market the remainder of the land in the 1870s, it was in an altogether different manner.

A few months after Watermeyer and his family moved to this property, which they named Bleak House, Frederick died.<sup>58</sup> His father-in-law, John Fairbairn, took up residence with his daughter, but he died only two months after her husband.<sup>59</sup> The widowed Mrs Watermeyer and her daughters continued to live on the property, which was re-surveyed and transferred to her,<sup>60</sup> but the surrounding property remained undeveloped until the time was ripe for the exploitation of this land in the next decade.

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57. D.O., CO 13/30, 1 January, 1863. P.D. Morgenrood : William Luck Blore.

58. D.S.A.B., V II, 834.

59. D.S.A.B., V II, 227.

60. D.O., T 272, 27 December 1866. Estate F.S. Watermeyer : Jane Agnes Watermeyer (born Fairbairn).

The Wynberg Railway was also affected by the recession and, after the initial enthusiasm had subsided, the number of people travelling on the trains fluctuated. The C.T.R. & D.Co. soon found that the cost of maintaining the Wynberg line exceeded its profitability,<sup>61</sup> and the drop in revenue by 1867 to less than half the figure for 1865 was another indication of the depressed nature of the economy during this period. The Wynberg Company had the best of the bargain, in that they shared the profits but not the costs with the C.T.R. & D.Co., which bore expenses that escalated steadily over time. Consequently, the C.T.R. & D.Co. took a decision to reduce the rent paid to the Wynberg Railway Company in order to organise a more equitable division of the profits; this was reluctantly accepted by the Wynberg share-holders because, under this arrangement, they would receive a dividend of only 2% on their investment, and not 4% as previously.<sup>62</sup> Thus, the railway undoubtedly had its teething troubles and, although it had the advantage of novelty and speed, the early passenger coaches were not a great improvement in comfort for the travellers.

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61. C.A., A 2325, Wynberg Railway Co. meeting, 11 December 1868. A letter from the C.T.R. & D. Co. was tabled, showing that their profits had fallen from 865 in 1865 to 437 in 1866 and 400 in 1867.

62. Cape Argus, 15 February 1870. This information appeared in a report of the Annual General Meeting of the Wynberg Railway Co.

There were some commuters who still preferred the omnibuses, but they were too few in number to make operation of the service a profitable undertaking. Thomas Cutting, the leading omnibus operator, eventually went bankrupt,<sup>63</sup> as his father had done, but he did not abandon the transport business, because he went into partnership with Thomas Melville, whose daughter he married.<sup>64</sup> Melville's omnibus had formerly run between Cape Town and Kalk Bay, where he had an hotel, but he now collected passengers at the railway terminus at Wynberg and conveyed them to and from the False Bay resorts.<sup>65</sup> With the advent of the railway line, the wagon-trade between Cape Town and Wynberg had diminished and local carriers had to adapt to the changed circumstances. The survivors resigned themselves to co-operation with the railway and ran the feeder services to the station from Constantia and the surrounding areas; others set up a fleet of cabs, which conveyed people and goods to and from the railway station to Wynberg village and the Cape Flats. Members of the Ryklief, Zelman and Hendricks families were particularly active in this sphere and the open square in front of the station became a gathering point for cab-drivers.

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63. C.A., MOIB 2/1207, no 260 of 17 September 1868.

64. P. Coates, *Track and Trackless* (Cape Town, 1970), 35.

65. J. Burman, *Early railways of the Cape* (Cape Town, 1984), 39. The writer remarks that Melville was given a free ticket for life on the Wynberg railway for the additional business he brought it.

Lower Church road gave access to the Simonstown road near to the licensed Railway Hotel, which Maynard had established on his property, facing onto the Simonstown Road. A few hundred yards away stood Mortimer Hall, a private hotel also owned by Maynard, from which the horse-drawn coaches collected passengers daily for Kalk Bay.<sup>66</sup>

Another decade was to pass before the line was doubled and two-way rail traffic was possible or the extension of the line to False Bay was begun. Accordingly, Wynberg benefited from this delay in these years because people who wished to travel to Cape Town from the outlying areas of the south Peninsula first came to Wynberg station by cab and coach. The railway also made the villages of the southern Peninsula, and particularly Wynberg, more accessible to Cape Town dwellers; many people were now able to spend a day in the "country" and take a walk along its tree-lined avenues.

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<sup>66</sup>. P.Coates, Track and Trackless, 36.

Wynberg increased its popularity as a well-known beauty spot and in 1864 John Rose, a regular visitor to the village from his home in Cape Town, praised the convenience of the train service and the many opportunities for relaxation to be found in Wynberg.<sup>67</sup> He shared a mutual interest in music with his friends, the Goodban family, who had lived in the village since the 1840s<sup>68</sup> and frequently entertained their friends with formal concerts and less formal musical evenings. Rose describes a moonlight picnic spent with them "in a beautiful willow grove, part of which was carpeted and hung with lamps for the occasion". On the following morning he had "a plunge in the swimming-pool" at Maynardville and "returned to town on the 9.30 train".<sup>69</sup> He was an enthusiastic supporter of the line from its inception and also made frequent trips to watch cricket at Southey's field or to dine at Rathfelder's Inn.<sup>70</sup>

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67. L. Wolpowitz (ed.), *The diary of John Rose of Cape Town, 1848 - 1873* (Cape Town, 1990), Rose came from a working-class background and started his career as a junior clerk, but ended it as assistant to the Accountant-General. He cultivated a wide range of interests from music and literature to politics and current affairs, about which he makes perceptive comments in his diary.

68. *Cape Almanac* (1848), List of inhabitants of Wynberg. Goodban is listed as an architect; he was a professional man who commuted to Cape Town.

69. *ibid.*, 127.

70. *ibid.*, 139-140

He also mentioned a happy excursion to Hout Bay by bullock-wagon from which they returned at mid-night.<sup>71</sup> It is clear that such "country pleasures" were as favoured by young townspeople at the Cape, as they were by their British contemporaries.<sup>72</sup> People undoubtedly visited the other villages between Cape Town and Wynberg for recreation, but the latter was also the gateway to the Constantia Valley and the seaside resorts of False Bay and Hout Bay, and this gave it an advantage. It also emphasised its links with the southern Peninsula, rather than with Cape Town.

Sunday trains, intended to facilitate travel to the country, were introduced in 1865 in response to a petition signed by 728 people; <sup>73</sup>but the introduction of this service was countered immediately by a petition against it, signed by 187 people.<sup>74</sup> The C.T.R.& D.Co. compromised by stating that the times of the trains would be adjusted, "so that they did not interfere with Divine Service".<sup>75</sup>

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71. *ibid.*, 40; 98-99.

72. A. Offer, *Property and Politics* (Cambridge, 1981), 333-334. Offer presents evidence to suggest that morality and nature were considered synonymous and that life was affirmed by contact with nature.

73. C.A., A2324, C.T.R.& D.Co. meeting, 31 March 1865.

74. Cape Argus, 8 April 1865.

75. Cape Argus, 18 April 1865.

The few Sunday trains which ran were not allowed to disturb the Sabbath quiet by whistling - even at level-crossings. The leap into the mechanised world of the steam locomotive was not easily contemplated by many country residents, as the editor of the Cape Monthly Magazine had predicted in 1861,<sup>76</sup> and there were complaints about the disturbance of the quiet countryside by the noisy railway engines, which emitted clouds of smoke.<sup>77</sup> The well-to-do country residents prized their seclusion from the mainstream of the Cape Town metropolitan area, and were determined to protect their interests.

For some of those who had made their homes in this quiet backwater, the question arose as to how far progress was to be allowed to change the character of the area. While the peace and the quiet of the countryside were regarded as prime assets, there were also practical advantages to be gained from a rural life-style. These were revealed in a series of "letters" which were written by a "lady" and published in the Cape Monthly Magazine in the early 1870s.<sup>78</sup>

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76. Cape Monthly Magazine, May 1861, 294. The editor remarked whimsically that he hoped that a railway line would not disturb "the decorous tranquillity" of Wynberg.

77. Cape Argus, May 1865.

78. R.V. Turrell, "A Cape periodical: the Cape Monthly Magazine, 1870 - 1875", (Unpublished B.A. Hons. dissertation, U.C.T., 1974), 60.

The sections which relate to Wynberg<sup>79</sup> were intended to give a vivid description of the area during the previous decade, drawing attention to the problems and pleasures of the middle classes. The author of the letters and her husband had moved to Wynberg to escape the excessive heat and dust of Cape Town in summer and they took up residence in "a queer old tumble-down cottage of eight low rooms... hidden away in a fir plantation. Here we have long narrow avenues extending in every direction and I almost defy the sun to touch us with a freckle. Here we let the children race up and down all day".<sup>80</sup> The attraction of Wynberg for people with young families is obvious and the writer emphasised the advantages of country life enjoyed with a minimum of expense in an unspoiled environment. The gentle satire of the letters captured the ethos of the village, where a game of whist was a social occasion and a musical evening of Mozart and Beethoven was accompanied by the croaking of frogs and the congenial company of friends with similar interests and talents, rather like those of the Goodban family.<sup>81</sup>

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79. *ibid.*, 60. An investigation into the authorship of these letters was carried out by A.C.G. Lloyd, who presented his findings in "Some secrets of S.A. literature" in *S.A. Bookman*(4), December 1911, 239. Lloyd suggests that these were in fact written with hindsight by Mrs Ross, the wife of the co-editor of the Magazine.

80. Cape Monthly Magazine, January 1871, 63.

81. See above, 275.

The lady commented that "the only way to enjoy good music is to taste it over a good cup of tea - flavoured with village scandal- and to partake of it as we do with the windows open and our chairs ranged in the moonlight".<sup>82</sup> She went on to describe the amazement of city friends at the renovation of old cottages, which was being undertaken by the new occupants themselves, and explained that "the life is low, but so is the rent, and what on earth does it matter so long as it keeps us in health".<sup>83</sup> The writer also pointed out that the arrival of newcomers had revitalised the village and Wynberg was described as producing "fruit, flowers and babies in great variety", adding that, "with cheap fish and fruit, I could give you a capital family breakfast for as little as a shilling and there is always enough for one's friends besides".<sup>84</sup> Indeed, Wynberg became known as a place where one could live economically and bring up a family in a healthy environment and comparative security away from the over-crowded urban environment. The preservation of these attributes and opinions became the keystone for its future development and, to a large extent, determined the form of administration subsequently sought by the professional segment of the population.

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82. *ibid.*, 66-67.

83. *ibid.*, 63.

84. *ibid.*, 65.

The local tradespeople were essential to the smooth running of this small society, but their presence was taken for granted and the opinions expressed in the *Cape Monthly Magazine* coincide with the upper middle-class values in which they originated, taking little account of where the fish, fruit or vegetables were procured or how they arrived so cheaply at the table. This narrow view expressed in the *Magazine*, which encompassed only one section of the population of Wynberg, albeit a powerful one, reflected the blinkered approach of many colonial opinion-makers, which was also influential in shaping policy towards the colony as a whole.

Although the rhetoric of Cape liberalism was at its height during this period,<sup>85</sup> there were also powerful conservative forces at work in liberal circles, and in this, as in many other aspects of contemporary nineteenth century society, Wynberg may be seen as a microcosm of a wider world. In 1874 Professor Noble, the "liberal" editor of the *Cape Monthly Magazine*, made this explicit in an editorial which declared: "Statesmen must be warned that the educated and intelligent minority, which at present rules this country, is liable, under any social excitement, or even violent party agitation, to be swamped by the uneducated and semi-

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85. S. Trapido, "The Friends of the Natives" in S. Marks and A. Atmore (eds.), *Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial South Africa* (London, 1980), 251-253.

civilised masses."<sup>86</sup> This echoes the tone adopted nearly twenty years earlier by Fairbairn when he too warned against allowing "a flood of barbarism to swamp the civilising influence of the Europeans".<sup>87</sup> Meltzer has explored the contradictory and inconsistent stance so often apparent among Cape liberals, focussing on the "jarring, paternalistic mixture of racism and justice" in the sentiments of a man like Fairbairn.<sup>88</sup> Lewsen too has sharply criticised the patronising attitudes adopted by Cape liberals to the lower (and "coloured") classes, particularly in relation to the franchise issue. She observed that "the English liberals saw the vote as a responsibility not a right - and attaching to property".<sup>89</sup> In fact, in a poor or landless community the property-based franchise was a discriminatory one. The attachment of the franchise to landed property valued at £25 admitted some small land-owners to the voters' roll, but poverty excluded the majority of potential coloured voters.<sup>90</sup> Thus, the franchise qualification provided a convenient opportunity to co-opt only a relatively small percentage of "coloureds", while it

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86. Cape Monthly Magazine, February 1874, 96.

87. SACA, 14, April, 20 May, 23 June 1857.

88. J.L. Meltzer, "The Growth of Cape Town Commerce." (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1989), 145.

89. P.Lewsen, "Cape liberalism in its terminal phase" in D.Hindson (ed.), Working papers in Southern African Studies (3), 1983, 34.

90. S. Trapido, "The origins of the Cape franchise qualifications", Journal of African History, V 5 (1), 1964, 38.

did not represent a threat to the "white" voting population; nor did the property-based franchise ensure social acceptability for the owners of these erven because "the gap in status was too great for rights to be equal".<sup>91</sup> How such a gap was perceived in reality is apparent in Wynberg where there were land owners of all classes, many of whom measured their status in terms of the extent and value of their property, while others owned small erven of modest value or were landless. In this context, the ways in which "coloured" people had acquired property in Wynberg were significant. The Muslim enclave on Sheepshead Square had originated in the inheritance of Rachel van der Kaap, her subsequent marriage to Zelman, and the development of her property by her children. There were a few other erven owned or rented by "coloured" tenants scattered across the hill near Wynberg village, some of whom had been slaves. However, most of the ground owned by "coloured" people was situated in Plumstead or Diep River,<sup>92</sup> of which the most impressive was the Ryklief "farm" ("de ou plaas") on the Simonstown Road, the Hendricks property on Wetton Road and some small holdings at Diep River, such as that of Kamies (who retained his slave name) adjacent to Rathfelder's Inn. All these properties had been purchased in, or just prior to, the post-emancipation period. It was in these areas that the largest

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91. *ibid.*, 34.

92. See above, 178-179.

numbers of "coloured" people were to be found and it was there, perhaps, that a sense of "coloured identity" was generated.<sup>93</sup> This was buttressed both by the mission churches and their schools for "coloured" children<sup>94</sup> and by the presence of a "coloured" Muslim community with strong commercial interests in Wynberg.

Marks and Trapido have emphasised that, in the early days of the colony, it was control over property rather than ethnic and racial origins which determined who would or would not be deemed "white" Afrikaners. However, the generic term, "Afrikaner", which applied to all in the eighteenth century, was replaced by "white" or "Cape Coloured" in the mid/ later nineteenth century.<sup>95</sup> During this period official records of population figures and census returns were always expressed in racial terms, which suggests an acceptance of the designation, "coloured" by the officers responsible for their collection.

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93. I. Goldin, *Making race: the politics and economics of coloured identity in South Africa* (Cape Town, 1987), 3-27.

94. St. John's Parish Office, Wynberg, Parish records of Parkinson's Anglican School in Ottery Road and the Mission School at Glebe Cottage; Methodist Church, Wynberg, Parish records of the Wesleyan Chapel School on the Simonstown Road.

95. S. Marks and S. Trapido (eds.), *The politics of race, class and nationalism* (London, 1987), 26-29.

Not all "coloured" individuals accepted this identity,<sup>96</sup> while others attempted to mobilise political support against such discrimination. Still others successfully "passed for white",<sup>97</sup> thereby exchanging the social inferiority associated with "blackness" for the social acceptability which they desired; but racial prejudice at the Cape was embedded in class consciousness, and the paternalistic attitudes of the upper classes accentuated both race and class issues. Although Judges commented, in the context of the post-emancipation period in Cape Town, that "colour does not seem to have corresponded neatly with social position", citing the example of the "coloured" wife of the influential merchant, Hamilton Ross,<sup>98</sup> , it is very clear that there was little opportunity for advancement by "coloured" people without their acceptance by Europeans. In this context, miscegenation must not be confused with other forms of social intercourse. It was

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96. M. Adhikari, "The emergence of coloured political organisations and the question of coloured identity in Cape Town, 1875-1902" (Unpublished seminar paper, History Department, U.C.T., 1992), 4-5.

97. S. Patterson, "Some speculations on the status and role of the free people of colour in the Western Cape" in M. Fortes and S. Patterson (eds.), *Studies in African Social Anthropology*, (London, 1975), 123.

98. S. Judges, "Poverty, living conditions and social relations." (Unpublished M.A. thesis, U.C.T., 1977), 132-135.

unusual for the progeny of such unions, whether formal or informal, to be recognised socially, although provision was often made for their welfare. Although Marais argued that "white and coloured are, and have been from the beginning, inextricably mixed up",<sup>99</sup> the distinction between "Cape Coloured" and "European" was clearly defined by the 1870s.<sup>100</sup> The existence of predominantly "coloured" residential areas demonstrates the tendency in property-ownership towards segregation and the increasing social distance between people. In southern Africa colour consciousness has bedevilled class definitions, for the society was increasingly one where the upper class was predominantly of European origin, while the under-class was associated with "blackness". Yet there were notable exceptions to this norm. An example of a union between a man of upper class origin and a working class coloured woman, which is to be found at Wynberg in the marriage of Harry Grey and Martha Solomons,<sup>101</sup> exposes the problems of those who defied the conventional standards of behaviour. Grey was that manifestation of Victorian

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99. J.S. Marais, *The Cape Coloured people* (Johannesburg, 1957), 283.

100. V. Bickford-Smith, "A special tradition of multi-racialism?" in W.G. James and M. Simons (eds.), *The Angry Divide* (Cape Town, 1989), 47-62. The author discusses segregation in Cape Town in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and refers particularly to the "side-lining of the coloureds politically" (ibid., 48-49).

101. R.R. Langham-Carter, "Lord Stamford's Tangled Affairs", *Familia*, XI, 1974 (1), 9-16.

immorality - the remittance man. He was born in 1812, the great-nephew of the Earl of Stamford, and he became an Anglican clergyman like his father, the rector of Clifton. After a career at Oxford which was distinguished by his unseemly behaviour, he was ordained in 1837.<sup>102</sup> While he was curate at Tiverton, he increased his already heavy drinking, thereby destroying his brief first marriage. In 1854 his dissolute conduct resulted in his exile to the Cape, where his former brother-in-law, Canon Henry White, was headmaster of the Diocesan College. Harry Grey lived in Wynberg and became a familiar sight at the inns, working occasionally and once even going as far as the copper mines in Namaqualand,<sup>103</sup> but usually just drinking himself into insensibility when his allowance arrived from England. He became heir-presumptive to his great-uncle in 1872,<sup>104</sup> and this seems to have brought him some extra income and more stability. He bought a house and a piece of ground to the south-east of Constantia Road<sup>105</sup> and married Annie MacNamara.<sup>106</sup> She was in poor health,

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102. R.R. Langham-Carter, "Some more light on Lord Stamford", *Familia*, XIII, 1976 (1), 7-8.

103. R.R. Langham-Carter, "Stamford Africana", *African Notes and News*, September, 1974, 103.

104. R.R. Langham-Carter, "Lord Stamford's Tangled Affairs", *Familia*, XI, 1974 (1), 9.

105. *ibid.*, 10.

106. St. John's Church, Wynberg, Marriage Register, 19 December 1872. Henry Grey to Annie MacNamara. She was the daughter of a well-known Woodstock business man.

however, and could not provide him with an heir in their two years of marriage. She required careful nursing and Martha Solomons, a coloured woman, moved in with the couple to look after Mrs Grey.<sup>107</sup> There were several stories about how Grey met Martha. One suggests that he met her in Wellington, on his way back from Namaqualand, and, as he was destitute and ill at the time, she gave him shelter and looked after him. Another story shifts the scene of their meeting to the banks of the Spanschemat River at Constantia, where Martha was washing clothes, and she rescued Grey who had fallen down in a drunken stupor nearby.<sup>108</sup>

Whatever its origin, the relationship between the sixty-year old Grey and Martha flourished and, after the death of Mrs Grey in 1874, Martha remained at their house in Wynberg. In 1877 the couple had a son, who was baptised John, and three years later, Dr. Faure persuaded Grey to marry Martha in the Dutch Reformed Church parsonage in Wynberg.<sup>109</sup> In the following year their daughter, Mary, was born and later another daughter, Frances, who died of small-pox in 1883. In that year, at the age of seventy-one, Harry Grey succeeded to the title of the Earl of Stamford

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107. R.R. Langham-Carter, "Lord Stamford's Tangled Affairs", *Familia*, XI, 1974 (1), 11.

108. R.R. Langham-Carter, "Some more light on Lord Stamford", *Familia*, XIII, 1976 (1), 8.

109. R.R. Langham-Carter, "What happened to the Greys?" *Familia*, XI, 1974 (3), 78.

and the considerable fortune that went with it.<sup>110</sup> The Earl did not return to England to take up his seat in the House of Lords or to live on the family estate, but he did buy several properties at the Cape in Martha's name, one of these being Greylands in Ottery Road, where the couple lived for some years.<sup>111</sup> The Earl and Countess drove about Wynberg together in their landau, but she would not be called by her title and preferred to be known as "Ta Martha". She continued to wear a doek, never a hat, and the Earl was frequently to be seen cutting the hedge and working in his garden.

The eighth Earl of Stamford provided amply for his dependants,<sup>112</sup> but, unlike the wife of the economically powerful Hamilton Ross, the Countess did not automatically become part of the "white" community by virtue of rank. Grey had legally bridged the gap across the colour-line but, after their marriage, he and his wife moved to Greylands in a part of Plumstead where many of their

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110. R.R. Langham-Carter, "Lord Stamford's Tangled Affairs", *Familia*, XI, 1974 (1), 12-13.

111. *ibid.*, 13-15.

112. R.R. Langham-Carter, "Whatever happened to the Greys?" *Familia*, XI, 1974 (3), 79-80. His son, John, attended the Wynberg Public School for a while, but, after the Earl died, he and his sister, Mary, were sent to England, where they completed their education. John became a solicitor and lived in the Bahamas, but did not succeed to the title, which went to a cousin of Harry Grey. Mary married in England, but, apart from an occasional visit to her mother in Wynberg, she spent her life in Britain.

close neighbours were "coloured" people. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, when a social relationship between the Greys and their equals would have been difficult to sustain, this compromise on a place of residence was necessary. The winds of social change were blowing across Wynberg Hill, yet they were not strong enough to sweep away existing racial prejudices and other discriminatory practices. These bent to the wind only in some degree, but remained firmly rooted in place.

Religious observance reflected the changes and the continuities in social processes during this period, as it had in the early days of development in Wynberg, providing a common cultural element as well as defining differences.<sup>113</sup> The established churches embodied the social and moral values of the day and membership of one of the congregations was essential for social acceptance in the village. The size of these churches and their congregations mirrored the relative strength of the various denominations which they represented, but they also emphasised the divisions, ethnic, racial and class-based, which were gaining ground in Wynberg. The impressive Dutch Reformed and Anglican

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113. J.H.S. Kent, "Religion in the cultural structure of the later Victorian city" in R.J. Morris and R. Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City* (London, 1993), 322-342. The author analyses the relative rise and decline of Christian denominations in the context of nineteenth century social processes and suburbanism in Britain, identifying those aspects which weakened the influence of religion and provoked conflict between segments of society.

church buildings confirmed the strength of the white Afrikaner and British presence in the area, although the dignified new Wesleyan chapel, which had been built in close proximity to them in 1856, indicated the growing influence of the principles of Methodism. Its large congregation included many of the middle-class tradespeople who had established successful businesses in Wynberg. These three Protestant churches, their mission schools and smaller chapels had reached out into the surrounding countryside, attracting many "coloured" people to their congregations and wielding considerable influence in the area.<sup>114</sup>

In the years before and after emancipation the Islamic community had also gained many converts among the coloured people<sup>115</sup> and would prove to be a significant, though often stigmatised, social unit in the Wynberg area. As Adhikari has suggested "dominant class antipathy to Moslems in the latter half of the nineteenth century was heightened by the fact that the latter were part of an established, un-English... ethnic group."<sup>116</sup>

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114. See above, 80-83. By 1850 The Dutch Reformed Church had missions at Philippi on the Cape Flats and at Hout Bay.

115. R.J. Ross, "Structure and culture in pre-industrial Cape Town" in W. James and M. Simons (eds.), *The Angry Divide* (1989), 44.

116. M. Adhikari, "The emergence of coloured political organisations..." (1992), 4-5.

These religious groups were all firmly entrenched in Wynberg by the 1870s; but the foundation of a Roman Catholic congregation in the Protestant stronghold of Wynberg was unexpected. In 1871 Springfield, the extensive property owned by Daniel Cloete was auctioned in his insolvent estate.<sup>117</sup> It later emerged that the purchaser, Edward Clear, was acting on behalf of Mother Dympna Kinsella of the Dominican Order of the Roman Catholic Church, who wished to acquire a site for a convent and a school in a rural environment, in addition to their establishment in Cape Town.<sup>118</sup> According to the records of the Convent sisters, the property was knocked down to Clear by accident when the bidding reached nine hundred pounds. The Cloete family had wished to buy back the property and had arranged that, at that figure, the auctioneer would allow it to be sold to their bidder. His error in mistaking Clear for the Cloete representative gave Springfield to the nuns of St Mary's Convent and, although the Cloete family contested the sale, the offer held.<sup>119</sup> When the nuns arrived at Springfield, some additions were made to the old homestead which was preserved. The gardens, which had been laid out by the slaves of Major George Rogers, came into their own again as the sisters cultivated fruit

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117. D.O., T 148, 18 April 1871. Insolvent estate D.Cloete : Mother D. Kinsella.

118. U.C.T. Libraries, B 600, Wynberg Schools, M. Cairns, Manuscript for the brochure commemorating the centenary of the Springfield Convent School (1971), 5-6.

119. *ibid.*, 6.

and vegetables for sale on the local market as well as for their own use. In their care Springfield became a working farm once more.<sup>120</sup> The parlour at Springfield was used as an oratory by the sisters and as a public church for the few Catholic families who had no other place of worship in the neighbourhood.<sup>121</sup> A small day-school for Catholic pupils in the area was also conducted there and the sisters later opened a boarding-department for girls at the school.<sup>122</sup> Boner remarks that Mother Dympna and her associates were "women of their time", but they believed that "higher studies were not beyond the range of woman's intellect". They were to prove their point in the 1880s when the Convent school introduced higher education most successfully.

A re-evaluation of educational standards and goals took place at the Cape in the 1870s as the Higher Education Act of 1874 reorganised the system and regulated government grants for this purpose.<sup>123</sup> The Wynberg Public School benefited under the new dispensation and the Rev. Bullen Moore was appointed as the

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120. K. Boner, "The Irish Dominicans and Education in the Western Cape, 1863 - 1892" (Unpublished M.A thesis, University of South Africa, 1976), 195.

121. M. Cairns (ed.), *Silver leaves - Centenary issue - 1871 - 1971*, 18-23.

122. K. Boner, "The Irish Dominicans and Education in the Western Cape, 1863-1892", 202.

123. C.P.F., G 11 - 174. Act 26 of 1874.

principal.<sup>124</sup> The Board of Trustees was able to arrange the purchase of the school building from the Higgs family,<sup>125</sup> and it was once more recognised as a reputable public school, providing superior education of the standard required by the upper classes for their children. The changing values of the time also encouraged womens' education, which had hitherto received little attention. In addition to the Springfield Convent school, Miss Robinson of the All Saints Anglican School in Aliwal Road<sup>126</sup> offered tuition for girls of all ages and provided boarding facilities. In 1877 Ada Wolfe, the widow of Richard Wolfe, returned from Kimberley with her six children and opened a school for younger pupils<sup>127</sup> at her home "Forenaghts" on the Bay Road.<sup>128</sup> Another small school for girls was run by the Brink sisters in Mains Avenue,<sup>129</sup> while the Misses Watermeyer gave instruction to

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124. C.A., S.G.E. 5/23, 230. Rev. Bullen Moore also served as Assistant Colonial Chaplain to Wynberg and as curate to the Rev. Burton Phillipson at St John's Church from 1865-1877.

125. D.O., T 445, 24 October 1877. Estate M.A. Higgs : Public School trustees; Messrs. Hofmeyr, Morgenrood, de Kock and Broers.

126. K. Vos, *The Church on the Hill* (Cape Town, 1972), 139-140.

127. Information about the Wolfe family derived from a personal recorded interview with Norah Wolfe by C. Malherbe in 1987, and now in possession of H. Robinson.

128. D.O., T 307, 19 February 1877. Estate Joseph Maynard : H.M. Arderne. The latter, a well-known member of the Cape Town business community living at Claremont, was brother-in-law to Ada Wolfe and purchased the property for her use.

129. Wynberg Girls' School: Centenary Brochure (Cape Town, 1984).

older students at Bleak House. All these schools were well-placed to receive pupils from the residential area between Wynberg Hill and the railway line, indicating the fragmented nature of Wynberg's education facilities in the 1870s. However, these would be consolidated during the next ten years with the founding of the Wynberg Girls' Seminary, the extension of the Springfield Convent School and the re-organisation of the Wynberg Boys' School under F. Nixon.<sup>130</sup> These developments meant that Wynberg once more became an educational centre for the area. These improvements occurred in response to the needs of the the upwardly mobile families who controlled the business sector in Wynberg, as well as the professional people who were taking up residence in the area with their children of school-going age. This new wave of settlement would swell during the next twenty years and, together with leaders of the commercial sector, they became the driving force in a local administration which lifted Wynberg out of the doldrums of the 1860s.

The appointment of Charles Piers as Resident Magistrate of Wynberg<sup>131</sup> in 1873 was to set in motion a process of administrative re-

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130. D. H Thomson, *The Story of a School* (Wynberg, 1961), Chapter 4.

131. Cape of Good Hope Blue Book, 1873, A 108. Piers was appointed on 1 November 1873. He had previously occupied the positions of Superintendent of convicts from 1862 (GH 1/293, 176) and Post-master-General of the Cape from 1867 (GH 1/316, 113), which suggests that he had experience of administration of practical projects.

organisation that would bring about a more concerted approach to solving local problems. Piers soon made his mark in the village as he mobilised the convict labour force, to which he had access, for clearing-up operations after storms and for general road and drainage maintenance. He also instituted various improvements like tree-planting on a large scale and the levelling of land for recreational purposes, because there was no official local body to plan and carry out these tasks. The work of a Resident Magistrate at the Cape like Piers thus encompassed the solution of many administrative problems in the out-lying areas where the powers of field-cornets had been greatly reduced. Piers was not universally popular and his assumption of authority seems to have annoyed some residents.<sup>132</sup>

Nevertheless, he was undoubtedly a man of action and his official position gave him access to resources and man-power, which enabled him to implement his plans. His ideas received support from members of the influential elite, some of whom already occupied positions of power and authority. Like Piers, these men (as yet professional women were a rarity) were in a position to make informed recommendations and suggestions for improvements in

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132. Numerous memorials were submitted to the Governor complaining about his "high-handed attitude" in matters relating to his public duties as Magistrate e.g. ( CO 4161, C 12 (A), Crowley; CO 4162, G 13, G 17, Glynn; CO 4196, W 26 7 30, Willis; CO 4218, 59, C.J.S. Smith; CO 4165, s 125.

the village. Moreover, in the mid-1870s an economic recovery began, reflecting the general upturn in the finances of the country as a whole, following the discovery and development of the diamond fields of Griqualand West.<sup>133</sup> Its influence was felt in Wynberg and elsewhere as escalating property sales indicated that money was again available for investment. The rapid growth pattern in Wynberg during the final decades of the nineteenth century was determined by this demand for property, but was also shaped by the entrenched stratification along the lines of both race and class which was reflected in the social geography of the growth pattern in the area.

From the magnificent Maynard estate at its central core, the development extended outwards, but the erven surrounding Maynardville were small on average, consisting of the properties which made up the business areas of Wynberg and Plumstead, together with the homes of tradespeople and others whose incomes and requirements were modest. Most of the properties owned by "coloured" people were situated in these areas or to the east of the railway line, while the impressive houses and grounds of the more prosperous owners were on the outer edge of this development, surrounding and enclosing it to the north and the south-east.<sup>134</sup>

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133. V. Bickford-Smith, "Commerce, class and ethnicity", 444.

134. See below, 307: Map 6.

By 1875 all the larger properties which made up this outer ring belonged to well-to-do whites - indeed, the arrival of the Southeys and the Watermeyers a few years earlier could be seen as the vanguard of a fresh influx of white newcomers who sought substantial properties in Wynberg. These purchasers had focussed attention once more on the south-eastern end of Wynberg near the Diep River, and in 1874 Mr Justice Fitzpatrick<sup>135</sup> settled at Timour Hall<sup>136</sup> with his family. Two years later Admiral Etheredge, Commander at Simon's Bay, who had married a daughter of Hendrik Cloete,<sup>137</sup> then the owner of Groote Constantia, bought Indian Cottage,<sup>138</sup> situated between the Southey and Watermeyer properties. After the death of Cloete, his widow and her other daughters joined the Etheredges.

Among the prestigious newcomers who settled on the north-west fringes of Wynberg were Walter Searle<sup>139</sup> and John Henry de Villiers,<sup>140</sup> who bought adjoining properties on Wynberg Hill in

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135. Dictionary of S.A. Biography, V 1, 292.

136. D.O., T 44, 18 May 1874. W. Farmer : J. Fitzpatrick.

137. St. John's Church, Wynberg, Marriage Register, 15 August 1854: Thomas Etheredge to Anna Catherine Cloete.

138. D.O., T 317, 18 November 1876. W. Farmer : Thos. Etheredge.

139. Men of the Times (Johannesburg, 1905), 379; J. Lawrence, Coming Home to Roost (Cape Town, 1986), 1-3.

140. For biographical details see especially E.A. Walker, Lord de Villiers and his Times, South Africa, 1842-1912 (London, 1925).

the 1870s. After De Villiers was appointed Chief Justice of the Cape in 1873,<sup>141</sup> he purchased the historic Oude Wijnbergh estate,<sup>142</sup> which provided an ample stretch of ground where he could conduct the agricultural experiments which he enjoyed. His wife was a gracious hostess and soon their home became a gathering point for members of the government and the legal profession. Their neighbour, Walter Searle, had established a highly successful merchant shipping company in Cape Town, and became an important member of the Cape Town business community, heading the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce from 1882 to 1887.<sup>143</sup> In 1875 he moved into the magnificent home, Highlands, which he had built on the crest of Wynberg Hill on a twelve-acre site which he had purchased from Morgenrood.<sup>144</sup> These two large properties overlooked the smaller erf, owned by T.B. Bailey, whose colleague from the Overberg district, the Hon. Robert Graham, also bought a large property from Morgenrood in 1875.<sup>145</sup> William Blore had extended his property by purchasing another plot<sup>146</sup> and P.C. Broers, the son-in-law of Dr. Faure, bought two adjacent erven,

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141. *ibid.*, 39-40.

142. *ibid.*, 60-61. D.O., T 61, 3 October 1874. J.T. Eustace : J.H. de Villiers.

143. R.F.M. Immelman, *Men of Good Hope*, 319.

144. D.O., T361, 13 March 1875. P.D. Morgenrood : W. Searle.

145. D.O., T362, 13 March 1875. P.D. Morgenrood : R. Graham.

146. D.O., T 418, 27 February 1873. P.D. Morgenrood : W.L. Blore.

lying to the south-east of that owned by Mrs Watermeyer.<sup>147</sup> In 1875 two more erven were sold to Charles Jackson,<sup>148</sup> partner in the shipping firm of John Spence.<sup>149</sup> The disposal of this ground, which Morgenrood had bought from the widow Higgs in 1859, <sup>150</sup>assured the extension of the Sunninghill suburb as far as the Bay Road.

Morgenrood had built the handsome house known as Wijnbergh's Hoogte opposite to the older property which he and his family had occupied throughout the 1860s.<sup>151</sup> He was thus in a unique position to develop the remainder of the ground adjoining his own property. This large, well-situated stretch of undeveloped land was in a prime position for prominent people, such as Graham, Blore, Broers and Jackson, who commuted to town. By making these and subsequent sales, Morgenrood had established the first socially exclusive area of Wynberg. This was later extended as far as the railway line and became known as Kenilworth, attracting some of the most able men in government service and leaders of

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147. D.O., T 418, 27 February 1873. P.D. Morgenrood : W. Blore; T 35, 3 March 1873. P.D. Morgenrood : P.C. Broers.

148. D.O., T 154, 8 July 1875. P.D. Morgenrood : C. Jackson.

149. D.O., T 154, 8 July 1875. P.D. Morgenrood : J. Spence (for C. Jackson).

150. See above, 196-197.

151. P. Morgenrood, "Philip Dominicus Morgenrood" (Part 1), Q.B.S.A.L. 5 (4), 1983, 293-294.

commerce in Cape Town. In 1879 he sold a similar property to Sir David Tennant, Speaker of the House of Assembly, and James Bissett, the eminent engineer and surveyor.<sup>152</sup> Although Morgenrood had made most of his investments in the 1840s, he had been prepared to spend twenty years extending and consolidating the erven before deciding to exploit them.<sup>153</sup> The upper echelon of the social hierarchy in Wynberg was extended and strengthened by the incorporation of these new residents, but their presence and their influence also brought about some changes which had to be assimilated into the narrow perspective of village life.

The expansion of the private sector at Wynberg was accompanied by the need for control over the nature and pace of this development. Change was imminent and the new generation of well-to-do Wynberg residents stood by to assume the responsibilities of a transformed economy and to take up the challenges of a developing political structure. William Farmer, who returned to Wynberg in the 1870s after an absence of some years, was a key figure among those who made a notable contribution to change in Wynberg, as his uncle, James Maynard, had done in earlier decades.

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152. D.O., T 516, 31 January 1879. P.D. Morgenrood : Sir D. Tennant. D.O., T 407, 25 February 1879. P.D. Morgenrood : J. Bissett.

153. See above, 307. Map 6.

In 1865 Farmer had married Anna-Maria, the daughter of Major Wolfe, and at the same time had been made a partner in W. Anderson & Co.,<sup>154</sup> which acquired the agency for the Union Shipping Line.<sup>155</sup> Soon after this a branch of the firm was established in Port Elizabeth and Farmer became its manager. He built an independent career for himself in this firm, although he remained heir to Maynard's considerable fortune and was his uncle's close confidant. His mother continued to live close to her brother on the Maynardville estate. When Maynard's health began to fail in the 1870s, he spent time in Port Elizabeth with his nephew and family and gradually withdrew from public life.<sup>156</sup> He died in 1874 and within two years his brother, Joseph, and his sister, Mary-Anne, had followed him to their graves in the impressive family plot in St John's cemetery, which had been purchased before the Wesleyan cemetery was established.<sup>157</sup>

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154. U.C.T. Libraries, BC 114, Maynard papers, A (27); B (5). Copy of the newspaper announcement of Farmer's new partnership on the same day as the notice of his marriage to Anna-Maria Wolfe.

155. M.M. Murray, *Union Castle Chronicle* (Glasgow, 1953), 14, 37.

156. U.C.T. Libraries, BC 114, Maynard papers, B (7). Letter from the Rev. Hardey, relating to James Maynard.

157. *ibid.*, A (27). Biographical notes and family tree. Of the original Maynard family who arrived in 1820, only Leah survived into the 1880s as the wife of W. Anderson and mother of their four children.

Apart from generous bequests to his immediate family<sup>158</sup> and to the Methodist Church, which his family had endowed,<sup>159</sup> Maynard left the bulk of his estate to Farmer, who also inherited the estates of his mother and his uncle, Joseph.<sup>160</sup> Farmer, already a successful businessman in his own right, had thus become extremely wealthy and could take his place in the new generation of progressive men. His fortune had been firmly established by his uncle and he could use it to achieve the ambitious goals for which his education and experience had prepared him. He was a popular and versatile man, with a stable marriage and two attractive daughters, attributes which gave him the public credibility which his uncle had lacked. Like his uncle, he entered the political arena and he became a member of Parliament in 1879,<sup>161</sup> serving the Wynberg constituency until 1883. His election committee consisted of people from all sections of the Wynberg community, comprising not only his colleagues in the business world but also

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158. C.A., MOOC 7/1/338 of 1875. He also stipulated that his estranged wife would inherit only an allowance of one hundred pounds a year, on condition that "she stays away from the Cape Colony and does not make any attempt to annoy my remaining heirs".

159. U.C.T. Libraries, BC 114, Maynard Papers, B (7).

160. C.A., MOOC 7/1/426 of 1876; MOOC 7/1/228 of 1876.

161. U.C.T. Libraries, BC 114, B (3), 8. Cape Government Gazette, 25 May 1879. Election results.

white and "coloured" tradespeople and members of the Muslim community.<sup>162</sup> Two years before he entered Parliament, he decided to rebuild his uncle's house, which had been partially destroyed in a fire in 1866,<sup>163</sup> and a magnificent double-storied mansion replaced it on the same site. The house dominated the beautiful garden, created by Robert Bain, who was trained at Kew and had been brought out to Wynberg by Farmer. The already luxuriant growth on the estate was supplemented by exotic shrubs and trees, which lined the shady walkways beside the Krakeelwater.<sup>164</sup> It was a place designed for entertaining, and the Farmers made it a memorable venue as fashionable society flocked to the elaborate garden-parties held in this splendid setting.<sup>165</sup>

Attendance at these gatherings emphasised the existence of the powerful coterie of influential public figures, who were connected

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162. *ibid.*, B (3), 6. An original pamphlet exists which lists all members of his election committee.

163. L. Wolpowitz (ed.), *The Diary of John Rose of Cape Town*, 132; also *Cape Argus*, 4 and 5 January 1866. Rose records this fierce blaze which razed twelve other houses in the vicinity, including that of the Goodban family, who "escaped with just what they had on, everything upstairs being utterly destroyed. All the buildings were under thatch and very old."

164. U.C.T. Libraries, EC 114, A (27); D (8), Photograph collection. Gracious lawns were laid out; one was 110 feet long and was designed especially for the archery competitions, which were popular at the time.

165. M.M. Murray, *Union Castle Chronicle*, 127. Mailship officers and passengers were often included in the guest lists for these occasions, which were reported in the local press in some detail.

to the colonial government and to the highest business circles in Cape Town, but who resided at or frequented Wynberg. Their access to power would play a crucial role in the 1880s in promoting the establishment of local government and giving substance to the demands for improved amenities. Their expertise in matters technical and political enabled them to identify problem areas and advise on future development.

The three principal developers over the preceding fifty years, Higgs, Maynard and Morgenrood, were all self-made men who had shaped the physical appearance and the expansion of Wynberg very much as they had shaped their own careers. Maynard had belonged to the autocratic older generation of landed proprietors who had achieved their goals with little help except from their own ingenuity and business acumen. Like Maynard, Morgenrood had transcended his humble beginnings and, by means of astute speculation, he had achieved a notable reputation in his field. Characteristically, it was Higgs and Morgenrood who were responsible, to a large extent, for opening up the residential areas to the south-east and the north-west of Wynberg village, and it was Maynard's estate which gave stability to the centre and provided the hub for the surrounding development. They did not work in concert, however, and, in consequence, Wynberg had grown in response to individual interests and speculative goals. Houses and shops had been built in a haphazard way, as they were

required, and while this disorder may have added to the quaint charm of the villages, it created some very real problems. Disastrous house fires were a frequent occurrence, both in the urban and rural areas, where little provision was made to combat such events. Bush fires were also hazardous in the thickly-wooded country around Wynberg and residents were dependent on the army and the local volunteers to bring them under control. The importance of access to properties (as in the case of fire) and the need for some centralised local authority to co-ordinate matters relating to village management was increasingly apparent. Farmer, and others like him, would take up this challenge in the 1880s, reshaping Wynberg in a new image, but one which retained the old continuities in the power exerted by property-owners and the commercial sector. As the need for a locally-based, decision-making body, which would be representative, in some measure, of the population as a whole and would initiate action, became more pressing, Farmer was supported by the power bloc comprising newcomers to the area and members of the well-established local families, who formed the back-bone of this heterogeneous society. The encouragement which Farmer, gave to the establishment of good government and administration, both at national and local level, provided the necessary impetus for change as well as for consolidation, just as Maynard's promotion of the branch line of the railway to Wynberg had ensured continued growth in the economic sector.



(above) Members of the Wynberg Lawn Tennis Club.

(below) Employees at Wetton's Tannery and Leatherworks.



Sketch map 6. This indicates the position of the railway line and the new houses being constructed on Wynberg Hill.

Scale

1320' 2640' 1/2 mile



## CHAPTER 6.

### The Watershed Years

1882- 1890

By the 1880s Wynberg had reached a watershed in its development, the tide of events moving steadily towards a point when the factors which necessitated local action and local reform could no longer be ignored. The effects of its ambivalent relationship with Cape Town were felt as the rail link encouraged a growing number of people who worked in the city to settle at Wynberg, spurring rapid growth there with all the problems attendant on this process. The railway had advanced Wynberg's development to an over-grown village or embryonic small town, yet without establishing any mutuality with the city. Physically Cape Town was linked by road and rail to Wynberg, but these amenities were regarded as a convenience and not with any sense of obligation to the city. Wynberg had no political connection with Cape Town, having no direct representation on its municipality; nor did Wynberg aspire to being a suburb of the Mother City. Its local elite cherished their privacy in the "real country", as opposed to the suburban substitute.<sup>1</sup>

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1. H.J. Dyos, *Victorian Suburb* (Leicester, 1966), 25-26.

While they were confident that they were far enough from the city centre to avoid urban encroachment, this independence brought with it responsibilities and ever-increasing problems, as urgent and wide-ranging as those currently being experienced in Cape Town.<sup>2</sup> which were subject to critical scrutiny by the professional classes. As concern about the related issues of disorder and disease, policing, water supply and sanitation grew, there was an urgent need for some form of localised representative authority which was empowered to cope with these pressing problems. Particularly vocal in demanding better administration were a number of professional people who had settled in Wynberg during the previous decade, along with others who acquired property there during the 1880s. Some of these newcomers came from a wholly urban environment, bringing with them town values and requirements, while others aspired to an improved life style, but they all insisted on the need for security and measures to ensure the health and welfare of themselves and their dependants. Thus, the energies of Wynberg residents began to be directed towards the establishment of a local authority which, it was hoped, would enable them to come to grips with these problems in their own way without recourse to seeking help from Cape Town.

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2. V. Bickford-Smith, "Commerce, Class and Ethnicity" (PhD. thesis, Cambridge University, 1985), 112-139; E. van Heyningen, "Public Health and Society in Cape Town, 1880 - 1910" (PhD. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1989), 107-109.

However, the initial approach by the colonial parliament to the implementation of local government in the southern Peninsula, which is discussed in this chapter, did not meet the needs of all residents. The response of the politically-active section of the population indicated opposition to the establishment of a unified Liesbeek Municipality which was advocated by parliament; in the light of this, it was soon replaced by individual local authorities for each settlement. The strategies which were adopted in order to meet the residents' demands thus became the dominant feature of municipal development at Wynberg in this decade, reflecting similar trends in Britain during the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

British historians have examined the changing formation of municipal councils with which Britons were much preoccupied during this period, both in large cities and smaller towns, paying particular attention to the increasing involvement of the professional and commercial middle class in local government.<sup>4</sup> Waller asserted that "the modern town and its environs was a natural unit of local government, both compact and comprehensive",

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3. D. Fraser, *Power and Authority in the Victorian City* (Oxford, 1979), 19-21; E.F. Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons* (London, 1973), 319, 321

4. R.J Morris, "The Middle Class and British towns and cities of the Industrial Revolution, 1780-1870" in D. Fraser and A. Sutcliffe (eds.), *The Pursuit of Urban History* (London, 1983), 293-297.

and this perspective was shared by some of the larger villages of the southern Peninsula, which began to see themselves as independent units in the 1880s, entitled to identify and deal with their own problems and to administer local assets. A decade ago Bickford-Smith deplored the lack of research into local government at the Cape,<sup>6</sup> and, although this gap has since been filled partially by the Cape Town studies of Warren, Grant and van Heyningen, the peri-urban areas have been virtually ignored. The final chapters of this thesis attempt to put into perspective the development of independent local government outside the city limits of Cape Town, and to trace the relationship between Wynberg and other aspirant municipalities.

A competitive spirit had manifested itself among the various settlements along the Simonstown road and the railway line as communication between them improved and they became more aware of the disparities in their resources. With development, the distance between their boundaries had decreased - in some cases these disappeared or even over-lapped each other. Nevertheless, the villages vied with each other to retain their individuality and this was to prove a major problem when attempts were made to find

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5. P.J. Waller, *Town, City and nation* (Oxford, 1983), 251.

6. V. Bickford-Smith, "Keeping your own Council", C. Saunders, H. Phillips, E. van Heyningen (eds.), *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, V 5, 1984, 2-4.

an appropriate form of administration to embrace them all. In Cape Town the municipality had been based on the earlier form of local government,<sup>1</sup> and only later was it developed along British lines. In this model, local authorities were subject to control by parliament and special acts were required to implement municipal schemes for large-scale improvements. This was intended to lessen the dangers of nepotism and local "jobbery" while not limiting municipal initiative. As in Britain, "there was no freedom to tackle problems opportunistically".<sup>2</sup> These principles were entrenched in subsequent legislation enacted in the Cape parliament, which extended the powers and responsibilities of local government during the next twenty years.<sup>3</sup>

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7. D. Warren, "Merchants, commissioners and ward-masters: municipal politics in Cape Town, 1840-1854" (M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1986), Chapter 1. Warren explains the process by which power was transferred from the simple system of ward-masters to a municipality controlled largely by the local commercial bourgeoisie.

8. P.J. Waller, *Town, city and nation*, 242.

9. Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1879-1897, Act 45 of 1882, The Cape Town Municipal Acts Amendment Bill; Act 9 of 1885, Cape Town Municipality Act Amendment Bill; C.P.P., A 20 of 1892, Select Committee proceedings on Suburban Municipalities.

Bickford-Smith has delineated the process by which the Cape Town municipality evolved during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, locating the changes and the reforms demanded by the rate-payers within the framework of the social and economic transformation occasioned by the mineral revolution in southern Africa. He has emphasised the power struggles which occurred between factions within the city council,<sup>10</sup> reflecting the tensions gripping the country, ranging from ethnic or racial issues to the expectations of a better quality of life which was demanded by the dominant middle class.<sup>11</sup> These issues also characterised local politics in the peri-urban areas, where vested interests on the part of representatives influenced their priorities, and none more so than at Wynberg, as subsequent events will show. There is little doubt that behind these forms of local administration "lay the weight of property",<sup>12</sup> their members representing a wide spectrum of ownership and investment in both the city and the peri-urban areas.

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10. V. Bickford-Smith, "Keeping your own Council ", 189-207.

11. V. Bickford-Smith, "Dangerous Cape Town: middle class attitudes to poverty in Cape Town in the late nineteenth century" in *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, V 4, (1981), 30.

12. J. Walvin, *English Urban Life* (London, 1980), 68; A. Offer, *Property and Politics* (Cambridge, 1981), 162-164.

Their first step in this direction were made in 1882, when members of the influential elite who formed a power bloc at Wynberg, took the necessary steps to bring about the formation of a local authority. The means to achieve this had already been provided by the Villages Management Act<sup>13</sup> which was passed in 1881,<sup>14</sup> and thereafter several settlements in the southern Peninsula, acting independently of each other, were granted Management Boards. The smaller settlements, Rondebosch, Mowbray and Claremont, applied successfully in 1881,<sup>15</sup> but it was not until March 1882 that a petition which requested the establishment of a Wynberg Village Management Board had been prepared by the local M.L.A., W.M.M. Farmer,<sup>16</sup> and sent to the Governor for his consideration. The reason Wynberg lagged behind the other villages lay in the difficulties in determining its boundaries, which remained a contentious issue for some years.

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13. Cape of Good Hope Statutes, 1879-1883, 342. Act 29 of 1881 was promulgated on 25 June to provide for the management of villages and other communities, not being municipalities.

14. Cape of Good Hope. Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, 1881, 161, para 19.

15. Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, 1881, Proclamation 135, V 2, 289. Village Management Board for Mowbray proclaimed; Proclamation 182, V 2, 667. Village Management Board for Rondebosch proclaimed.

16. C.A., CO 4228, W 12, 25 March 1882. This memorial was addressed to the Attorney-General and the Prime Minister by Farmer and was signed by twenty residents.

On the other hand, Wynberg had already exhibited a marked self-sufficiency in looking after its own interests and by the 1880s had achieved a notable level of social and economic development. An important innovation, in keeping with this growth pattern, was the establishment in 1882 of a local newspaper, *The Weekly Times and Wynberg Advertiser*, which was the first of its kind in the southern Peninsula.<sup>17</sup> It appeared on 28 January 1882, with a first edition of 1200 copies, and for the next twenty-five years provided a vivid weekly commentary on both local events and those further afield. Its publication met the needs of the literate upper and middle-class residents of the area and beyond it. Although its name was changed in March 1882 to *The Wynberg Times and Advertiser (Wynberg Times)*, shifting its emphasis somewhat, advertising remained an important feature of the paper.<sup>18</sup> Its agricultural supplements were directed primarily towards the local farming community, but it also carried a wide range of commercial advertising, as well as notices of public meetings and social events in the southern Peninsula, implying a wider readership than Wynberg.

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17. *Wynberg Times*, 14 July 1883. The first proprietor was Chas. Durrant-Stewart, who inherited the title of Laird of Dalguise in Perthshire, Scotland, but remained a resident of Wynberg, visiting his estates in Scotland from time to time. He was a son of Jas. Stewart, whose family occupied Stewartfield, adjacent to Oude Wijnbergh.

18. *ibid.*, 25 March 1882.

Although there was a predictable bias towards the white section of the population, the newspaper concerned itself with broad social issues which affected all "Wynbergians", as they were dubbed by its columnist,<sup>19</sup> and provided an outlet for the expression of local opinion and complaints. It was particularly anxious about sanitary conditions, and its early editorials drew attention to "the filthy conditions opposite the station", recommending that a raised verandah be constructed outside the station building.<sup>20</sup> It noted the accumulation of rubbish in Dead Man's Lane, which was the name given to the old cross road adjacent to the cemeteries;<sup>21</sup> and it also criticised the "wretched condition of prisoners in the Wynberg Gaol", where thirty-eight prisoners were kept in cells which should have accommodated sixteen people.<sup>22</sup> The public airing of these matters in the *Wynberg Times* furthered the demands of those who pressed for a local authority and the paper reported extensively on the public meeting called to discuss the establishment of the Village Management Board.<sup>23</sup>

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19. This was F. von Schade, who took the nom de plume, the Owl, and later became editor of the paper. He and his wife also had a thriving drapery store in Greenmarket Square, Cape Town.

20. *Wynberg Times*, 13 May 1882.

21. *ibid.*, 20 May 1882.

22. *ibid.*, 23 June 1882.

23. *Wynberg Times*, 12 March 1882.

It also examined the problematic discovery that this could not be done until the boundaries of the village were clearly defined, and explained the enforced delay in the application.<sup>24</sup> The problems experienced with their demarcation were due to the piecemeal property development in Wynberg and its environs, particularly on its border with Claremont and on the Wynberg Flats. This had been complicated by the settlement, during 1881-1882 of German immigrants on the Claremont Flats, which fell within the magisterial division of Wynberg.<sup>25</sup> The establishment of the Village Management Board was further delayed by objections from some residents whose properties were affected by the boundary definition. However, at this point a smallpox outbreak occurred in Cape Town,<sup>26</sup> in circumstances which highlighted the deficiencies in the organisation and provision of medical services, both in the town and in its environs.<sup>27</sup>

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24. *ibid.*, 12 April, 1882.

25. Cape of Good Hope. Annexures to the Votes and proceedings of the House of Assembly, 1884, V 3, 6-7. Reports of the Immigration agents at London and Cape Town for 1883. A report from George Stevens states that 73 German families, consisting of 83 men, 75 women and 220 children, were settled on the Claremont Flats.

26. Wynberg Times, 1 July 1882.

27. E. B. van Heyningen, "Public Health and Society in Cape Town, 1880-1910", 134-137.

The possibility of the epidemic spreading to Wynberg was used as an excuse to expedite the establishment of a local authority by the interested parties. Although smallpox attacked the poorer sections of the population most severely, the threat was felt by everyone, and Wynberg residents immediately responded to the crisis by forming an action group at a well-attended meeting held on 4 July 1882 in St John's Church hall.<sup>28</sup> This group included Dr. John Wright, the District Surgeon, Magistrate Piers, Rudolph Myburgh, a well-known Cape Town businessman who had recently bought Pietersklip,<sup>29</sup> and William Farmer. At this point no cases of smallpox had yet occurred in Wynberg, but the need for concerted, preventative action was expressed. The meeting recommended that the definition of boundaries now be completed as a matter of urgency by the magistrate, in order to create a local authority to co-ordinate existing resources and undertake sanitary reforms. In its report of the meeting the Wynberg Times urged that, "in view of the wretched state of unpreparedness in Cape Town, Wynberg people should be up and doing."<sup>30</sup> This proved to be the case and, within a week of this decision, a plan of the boundaries had been presented and approved at another public meeting at which a date was also announced for the vaccination of

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28. Wynberg Times, 8 July 1882.

29. D.O., T 388, 13 October 1881. W. Furney and Jos. Swain : R. Myburgh.

30. Wynberg Times, 8 July 1882.

residents. As a result the Wynberg Village Management Board was proclaimed on 12 July 1882,<sup>31</sup> and in its report of these events, the paper declared that "they must be prepared to stamp out smallpox at its first appearance in the village."<sup>32</sup> Without further delay an election was held on 22 July for the members of the Board. William Farmer, Gabriel de Kock, and George Bainbridge, were the successful candidates. Von Schade of the Wynberg Times was also proposed, but he declined to stand. In the editorial which accompanied the announcement, the paper expressed its support for those chosen and commented: "The healthier Wynberg can be made, the more it will attract residents from the city and the more the value of the property will be enhanced."<sup>33</sup> A joint committee with Claremont was organised and the erection of an isolation hospital on the Cape Flats under the aegis of Magistrate Piers was approved; this was intended to serve both the Wynberg and Claremont areas. The Board at once appointed a Sanitary Inspector, J. McGee, who also served as its Secretary, and offices were established in Durban Road.<sup>34</sup>

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31. Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, 12 July 1882, Proclamation 103, V 2, 79; Claremont was proclaimed a month later (Proclamation 120, V 2, 241).

32. *ibid.*, 15 July 1882.

33. *ibid.*, 29 July 1882.

34. C.A., 3/WBG, 1, 7 August 1882. This information was included in the first report of the chairman, Gabriel de Kock.

With the announcement of a local rate of one penny in the pound on property value, the Board had a source of income and Wynberg had achieved the first stage of local government with commendable efficiency. The way in which Wynberg had met the challenges which accompanied the establishment of a local authority provided an indication of the determination with which they would resist all attempts to undermine their autonomy in the future.

Two weeks later the first smallpox case was reported near Kenilworth station.<sup>35</sup> More soon followed. At once it became apparent that the existing lazaretto, shared by Wynberg and Claremont, would be insufficient, and within a month several cottages on the Flats had been purchased to serve as additional accommodation for patients who could not be isolated at home. The editor of the Wynberg Times remarked that "Wynberg was coping better than Cape Town",<sup>36</sup> and throughout the next nine months the newspaper provided on-going reports about the smallpox epidemic in support of their contention. In December 1882 the paper stated that in Wynberg there had been 225 confirmed cases of the disease, of whom 41 had died,<sup>37</sup> while in Cape Town during the same six-

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35. Wynberg Times, 12 August 1882.

36. *ibid.*, 2 September 1882.

37. *ibid.*, 9 December 1882. These figures are not supported by official figures but they were confirmed by the monthly reports of the Sanitary Inspector.

month period from July-December there were 1072 reported cases of whom 322 died.<sup>38</sup> The reports of the Sanitary Inspector confirm that extensive cleansing of over-crowded properties was done in order to limit the spread of infection and that regular visits to affected houses took place. Nevertheless, in the early months of 1883 a further 50-60 people were infected at Wynberg and at least ten more people died. The reports also indicate that there were a number of cases of death from the disease before treatment could be obtained,<sup>39</sup> which suggests that figures for smallpox cases could have been higher than those officially released.

The coloured people throughout the colony were particularly vulnerable to the disease because the poor and overcrowded living conditions of many working-class people increased the risk of infection. The reports submitted to the Village Management Board indicated that many dilapidated cottages were let to coloured

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38. C.A., 3/CJ, 1/1/5/193-23. Returns for the Municipal Smallpox Hospital, July-December 1882. Perhaps due to the good offices of the Board, the Medical Officer, Dr John Wright, and McGee, the initial case mortality rate in Wynberg does not appear to have been as high as that in Cape Town.

<u>Area</u>	<u>Smallpox case mortality rate,</u> <u>July-December 1882.</u>
Cape Town.....	30%
Wynberg.....	18.2%

39. C.A., 3/WBG, 1. This volume includes the crucial period, 8 October 1882 - 20 March 1883 when most cases were reported in Wynberg. Van Heyningen comes to a similar conclusion regarding the official figures for Cape Town - see E. van Heyningen, "Public Health and Society..", 133-135.

tenants in Battswood and Sheepshead Square, where the number of occupants in each was very high; reports also revealed that most of the fatal cases of the disease were among the coloured people.<sup>40</sup> The anti-Malay sentiment expressed in Cape Town<sup>41</sup> was also shared by Wynberg residents, and there were numerous complaints in the paper about the insanitary conditions in the predominantly "Malay neighbourhoods",<sup>42</sup> where there was also considerable opposition to vaccination and treatment by doctors, ostensibly on cultural grounds.<sup>43</sup> Rather than bury their dead in the general cemetery for smallpox victims, the Muslims carried them to their own burial ground after dark; the Owl columnist commented that, "consequently they are shunned by all".<sup>44</sup>

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40. C.A., 3/WBG, Reports of Board members between October 1882 - March 1883.

41. E. van Heyningen, "Public Health and Society...", 151-158. The author refers to the outbreak as "a central focus of fear and hostility" and suggests that segregation and overcrowding increased anti-Malay sentiment.

42. Wynberg Times, 12 August & 2 September 1882.

43. A. Davids, "The Revolt of the Malays. A study in the reaction of Cape Muslims to the smallpox epidemics of the nineteenth century", in C. Saunders, H. Phillips, E. van Heyningen (eds.), *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, V 5, 1984, 47-50. Davids suggests that much of the opposition was against "authority" and the oppression of the the Muslim people by non-Muslims.

44. Wynberg Times, 14 October 1882.

Yet Village Management Board reports indicate that communication between the local imam and the Board members was amicable, Chairman de Kock attributing the many deaths among "Malays" to ignorance of the disease and difficulties in getting help from the overworked doctors, as well as to reluctance in having their family members removed from their homes.<sup>45</sup> The smallpox epidemic brought to prominence the inadequate services at Wynberg and made people more aware of the insanitary state of its houses and streets,<sup>46</sup> as it did elsewhere at the Cape.<sup>47</sup> The Wynberg Times also drew attention to the insanitary state of the slaughterhouses of some local butchers and the rubbish heaps where rats were present in large numbers.<sup>48</sup> Although these matters were noted and attended to by the Sanitary Inspector who reported to the Board,<sup>49</sup> the repeated complaints about filth and pollution in both the Board reports and in the Wynberg Times were a spur to more comprehensive reform.

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45. C.A., 3/WBG, 1, 4 December 1882.

46. C.A., 3/WBG, 1. Throughout the period covered by this volume (7 August 1882 - 26 July 1883) the inspections revealed the absence of water-closets in many homes, and the "nuisance" committed by people on the ground near their homes; the lack of adequate drainage and the consequent pollution of streams and wells from which household water supplies were drawn.

47. D. Grant, "The Politics of Water Affairs" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1991), 80-81.

48. Wynberg Times, 12 September 1882.

49. C.A., 3/WBG, 1, 25 September 1882.

However, the reports also revealed the difficulties experienced by the officials of the Board when attempting to deal with these problems on an inadequate budget. As Wynberg had grown, its amenities had not increased proportionately. While the need to apportion responsibility for the administration of the area to a Village Management Board had been generally acknowledged, the powers of such Boards to raise funds for public works were limited, frustrating plans for modernisation and further development.

Another factor spurring the establishment of a proper local authority was the inadequate provision made by the central government for the maintenance of law and order in the peri-urban areas. Wynberg was the seat of a magistracy but there had never been sufficient funds granted for its upkeep and its staffing was inadequate for the extensive area which it served. In September 1882, the Wynberg Times published an editorial which recommended that "the eight constables allocated to Wynberg should be increased to twelve, which would barely be enough to patrol the area."<sup>50</sup> The long-standing problems of petty theft, disorderly behaviour and drunkenness, which had plagued the area since the 1820s, continued to occupy the court. The editor of Wynberg Times noted the multiple duties of Magistrate Piers, highlighted

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50. Wynberg Times, 30 September 1882.

during the smallpox epidemic, and urged the appointment of an assistant magistrate.<sup>51</sup> After the smallpox crisis had passed, the poor sanitary conditions prevailing in the area and the need for better policing remained in sharp focus, as the newspaper encouraged improvement in these and other areas.

It was becoming increasingly evident that in future a more complex local authority, with enlarged financial powers, would be required to meet the needs of a more demanding population in the expanding village. Yet, despite its criticisms, the newspaper also promoted Wynberg enthusiastically, its editor remarking that "the advantages of Wynberg for suburban residence are too manifest and so universally recognised that it would be superfluous to refer to them".<sup>52</sup> Building went ahead briskly during this decade, swelling the local economy and the local authority's rates base. Many new houses were erected, both by private individuals and by local developers, the Wynberg Times reporting that Councillors Baker and Bissett were building "groups of semis on the ground between Tennant Road and the railway-line".<sup>53</sup> They had purchased this land from Morgenrood when he had opened up the area in the previous decade, acquiring more when William Farmer inherited the

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51. *ibid.*, 16 September 1882. The editor commented, "He (Piers) has more work than he can do".

52. Wynberg Times, 11 February 1882.

53. Wynberg Times, 12 August 1882.

Julia estate, situated between the Simonstown Road and the railway line, from his uncle, Joseph Maynard, and began to dispose of it in the 1880s.<sup>54</sup> This development was linked to the Bay Road by a new access road to Kenilworth station (formerly known as the Mortimer siding), which was opened on 15 December 1882 in response to the growing demand by commuters in the area.<sup>55</sup> During the planning of the new station the editor of the *Wynberg Times* had been critical of the apparent indifference shown towards the memory of the man who had been the driving force behind the Wynberg rail link. "We learn with regret," he wrote, "that the new station is to be called Kenilworth - feeling that it should be named Maynard after the man who did so much for it."<sup>56</sup> The station also served the race-course, which had been improved under the recent bill relating to facilities for horse-racing,<sup>57</sup> and which was re-opened on 21 September with the addition of new stands housing the Turf Club.<sup>58</sup> Plots adjacent to it were advertised as "a splendid investment for money, as the land must continue to rise year after year."<sup>59</sup>

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54. See below, 389. Map 7.

55. *Wynberg Times*, 9 December 1882.

56. *Wynberg Times*, 20 May 1882.

57. Act 20 of 1883. *Cape of Good Hope Statutes, 1879-1883*, 445.

58. *Wynberg Times*, 2 September 1882.

59. *ibid.*, 11 February 1882; also *Cape Times*, 9 February 1882 which included a map of the area with its report.

Modernisation and change were in the air, as some older properties were demolished or converted to other uses, and new houses in a more modern style were built, usually on the same site, by innovative property-owners. Morgenrood and Searle had started the trend in the 1870s with their stylish new homes, Sonnenstrahl and Highlands, but it was in the 1880s that even more individual styles began to emerge. In 1881 De Villiers decided to sub-divide Oude Wijnbergh, selling the upper portion of his estate to Captain J. Spence,<sup>60</sup> a partner in De Pass, Spence & Co., one of the largest operators of coastal shipping at the Cape. He decided to demolish most of the Oude Wijnbergh homestead, dating back to the mid-eighteenth century, and invested a large amount of money in a new house built in the "Renaissance" style by C. le Tier.<sup>61</sup> The property was re-named Hawthorndene, the Wynberg Times describing it as "a veritable mansion, and it demonstrates what Cape workmen are capable of."<sup>62</sup>

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60. D.O., T 472, 15 December 1881. J.H. de Villiers : J. Spence.

61. Wynberg Times, 12 August 1882. The elaborate decorations were carried out by the well-known interior decorator, J. Christ.

62. *ibid.*, 12 August 1882. The paper noted that it had "over thirty rooms, twelve of which were of impressive proportions, large and lofty, with every modern convenience."

De Villiers retained a section of Dude Wijnbergh above and below Alexandra Road for his own use, commissioning the local builder, W.H. Mannix, to construct a modern single-storied home in the English style currently fashionable, overlooking the little valley through which the Krakeelwater flowed. He surrounded his home with a magnificent garden, the Wynberg Times commenting on its completion that "it contrasted prettily with its more ambitious neighbours" (these were the mansions of Spence and Walter Searle, set in equally elaborate gardens).<sup>63</sup> A short distance away, two more elegant villas were built to accommodate his wife's sisters, the Misses Jourdaan, and a viticulture expert he had brought from Europe. His attempt to establish a vineyard on the hillside failed, however, and a few years later De Villiers sold all his land below Alexandra Road to Gert van Breda.<sup>64</sup> The entire length of Alexandra Road and Mains Avenue was now lined with gracious homes<sup>65</sup> up to and beyond the Bay Road. Between there and the railway line more grand houses began to appear in the mid-1880s, for in 1883 Farmer disposed of "80 valuable building lots near

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63. Wynberg Times, 12 August 1882.

64. D.O., T 459, 13 February 1885. H. de Villiers : G. van Breda. The latter now owned a substantial stretch of ground between Alexandra Road and Waterloo Green.

65. The junction of these two roads with Tennant Road was dominated by three magnificent houses; after Morgenrood had moved into Sonnestrahl, he had sold his former home to Henry le Sueur (D.O., T 350, 15 June 1881) and two adjacent plots to Sir David Tennant (D.O., T 119, 6 July 1881; T 382, 21 July 1884), who built the house, Buona Vista on this site.

Kenilworth station",<sup>66</sup> to influential professional men, extending this prestigious suburb of Wynberg up to and beyond the railway line.

Although this was the major area of new development in Wynberg, Rudolph Myburgh also offered forty lots on his recently acquired Alphen Hill property, Silverlea (formerly Pietersklip),<sup>67</sup> retaining the old manor-house for his own use. This effectively fragmented the only large stretch of undeveloped land near Wynberg village other than Maynardville. It also focussed attention on the adjacent ground between Wellington Avenue and the Bay Road, where an imposing hotel which fulfilled the requirements of a well-to-do clientele had been established by W.H. Coghill.<sup>68</sup> The inns of old Wynberg, the "Forester's Arms" and the "Prince Alfred", still drew a wide range of visitors and were popular with the enlisted men at the camp, but fashionable society chose the stylish "Coghill's Hotel" for functions and "country holidays", just as their predecessors had visited Rathfelder's Inn during the 1840s and the 1850s.

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66. Wynberg Times, 10 November 1883.

67. Wynberg Times, 26 August 1882.

68. D.O., T 90, 9 April, 1869. P.D. Morgenrood: W.H. Coghill.

Some years after Coghill bought this property, he sold a portion<sup>69</sup> to a group of local residents who had formed a company for the purpose of erecting a large hall, which would accommodate public meetings and provide a venue for social events. In February 1882 a prospectus was issued to advertise these "Assembly Rooms", which were described as "spacious...with every convenience and comfort, adapted for concerts, balls and other entertainments".<sup>70</sup>

The hall also provided an appropriate venue for the political meetings related to the establishment of municipal government, in which its directors were actively involved. By the end of 1882 it had been used by the people of both Claremont and Wynberg for large public meetings which had been addressed by leading residents who had submitted resolutions calling for a joint municipality stretching from Newlands to Diep River.<sup>71</sup>

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69. D.O., T 477, 22 October 1879. W.H. Coghill : The Wynberg Hall Co.

70. Wynberg Times, 25 February 1882. It was stated that the provisional directors were Hon. R. Southey, W. Farmer, Dr. C. Wright, R. Myburgh, W.S. Fleming, W.H. Coghill and J. Horne, who were all local residents. Capital of fifteen hundred pounds was required and would be raised by issuing five pound shares in the company.

71. C.A., CO 4228, W 58 of 22 November 1882. Farmer enclosed a copy of the advertisement in which the resolution had been published before the Wynberg meeting, as well as a report of the meeting itself.

Farmer had taken the chair at the Wynberg meeting, supported by Richard Southey and Magistrate Piers, and the memorial he submitted to the government after the meeting left no doubt as to their wishes in regard to the establishment of a municipality. Farmer stated that the meeting at Wynberg was attended by between 150 and 200 people and that there was no dissenting vote. Yet, from the *Wynberg Times*, which had followed the debate at all meetings throughout November, it becomes clear that there were factions which favoured different solutions within each of the villages. Even at the Wynberg meeting conflicting view-points were recorded. Some local tradespeople supported the belief expressed by Morum, a well-known bakery proprietor, that the Village Management Board was doing an efficient job and that "it was too soon for a Wynberg Municipality".<sup>72</sup> The Rev. Bullen Moore, principal of the Wynberg Public School, also agreed with Morum, pointing out that the local rate would have to be increased substantially to provide the funds necessary to run a municipality.<sup>73</sup> However, the case for the proposal was convincingly argued by James Bissett, whose professional reputation as a planner and an engineer added weight to his words, and those in favour of a joint municipality for the three villages carried the waverers with them.

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72. *Wynberg Times*, 25 November 1882.

73. *ibid.*, 25 November 1882.

At the Claremont meeting there were also a few dissenting voices of residents who insisted that the villages "have few interests in common and that there appeared to be little to be gained from the union",<sup>74</sup> but they, too, were over-ruled by the majority. It is very clear, however, from the wording of the memorials and the Wynberg Times' reports of the Wynberg and Claremont meetings that at no stage was it intended to include Rondebosch and Mowbray in the Wynberg and Claremont proposals. Indeed, during November similar meetings were also held at Rondebosch and Mowbray,<sup>75</sup> and these decided in favour of a separate local municipality, uniting Rondebosch and Mowbray.<sup>76</sup>

Although the type of local authority which should be implemented was discussed in great detail by many rate-payers in the villages, there is no evidence to suggest that any similar debate concerning the precise intentions of government in this matter took place in the colonial parliament. Nevertheless, it had recognised the need to organise and consolidate infrastructure and

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74. *ibid.*, 18 November 1882.

75. Notes on CO 4228, W 58 of November 1882 reveal that, in all 14 public meetings were held to discuss this matter: Mowbray (2); Rondebosch (2); Claremont (3); Wynberg (2) and 5 other joint meetings on a less formal level.

76. C.A., CO 4226, R 62 of November 1882. There were 44 signatures on this petition and a similar view-point to that of Morum at Wynberg was expressed - that the Village Management Boards were doing a good job.

services in this peri-urban area, and it had made plans to do so, one of its main objectives being to achieve greater efficiency at less cost to the state. Consequently, what the government had in mind was a single, all-embracing local authority, incorporating all the villages from Mowbray to Wynberg. This would be known as the Liesbeek Municipality; subsequent events suggest that government was not prepared even to consider the two separate municipalities favoured by the residents.<sup>77</sup>

The wishes of the colonial authorities in the matter were clarified when the proposal to establish the Liesbeek Municipality was advertised in the *Government Gazette*,<sup>78</sup> inviting comment from the public. Although it does not appear to have acted unilaterally, as seven members of parliament were asked to serve on a commission for the purpose of receiving these representations from residents of the affected areas,<sup>79</sup> no record of the proceedings of this commission is to be found in the Colonial Parliamentary Papers. Yet its findings in favour of one unified

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77. Votes and proceedings of the House of Assembly, 1883. The correspondence and the reports of the suburban meetings was tabled by the district M.L.A., M.J. Louw, on 20 & 30 January, 1, 2 & 3 February, but without success, perhaps because the Basutoland question was fully occupying the House.

78. Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, 6 February 1883, 233. Government notice 120, dated 1 February 1883.

79. C.A., CO 4221, F 38; F 39, 12 December 1882. Letters of acceptance exist from both Farmer and Fuller on behalf of the Wynberg district and Claremont respectively.

municipality were mentioned in a Wynberg Times report of a meeting held in Wynberg in February.<sup>80</sup> Nor was all opinion positive; a week before the meeting an editorial cautioned that "the area of the new municipality was too large and unmanageable". It was accompanied by a map of the whole area, the extent of which was just over 45 square miles.<sup>81</sup>

In its report of the meeting the Wynberg Times commented that "the proceedings were of a lively nature" and that an uproar ensued during which shouts of "We don't want any municipality" were heard.<sup>82</sup> In spite of its emotional response to the government action, the gathering produced a succinct and strongly worded statement, affirming the decisions which the people of Claremont and Wynberg had made in November 1882 and declaring that their wishes to have a joint municipality in the area, separate from the other villages, had been ignored. They further complained that their interests had not been adequately represented on the Commission because five of its seven members had already declared in favour of the complete amalgamation into one municipality of all the villages between Mowbray and Diep River, while of the other two, only Farmer was a Wynberg resident. This protest was

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80. Wynberg Times, 24 February 1883.

81. *ibid.*, 17 February 1883.

82. *ibid.*, 24 February 1883.

expressed in a memorial signed by 85 well-known Wynberg and Claremont residents.<sup>83</sup> The government held firm on its decision, however, and although the relevant reports and correspondence were tabled once again by Louw in the next parliamentary session,<sup>84</sup> they were withdrawn without discussion, for the government had already achieved its objective. The villages had been incorporated as the four wards of the Liesbeek Municipality in the previous month, in accordance with Proclamation 97 of 1883.<sup>85</sup> Yet, a year passed before the Village Management Board of Wynberg was officially disbanded on 7 February 1884, when its members became the Ward 1 committee of the Municipality.<sup>86</sup> Gabriel de Kock became the chairman of Ward 1 and W.H. Arderne of Claremont was elected the Mayor of the Liesbeek Municipality.

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83. C.A., CO 4231, C4 of 1883. Farmer had already left for England at the time of this meeting, which was chaired by Bissett.

84. Votes and proceedings of the House of Assembly, 1883, 2 July 1883.

85. Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, June 1883, 1001. Proclamation 97 of 1883, To establish the Liesbeek Municipality.

86. C.A., 3/WBG, 326, 7 February 1884. The final meeting of the Wynberg Village Management Board took place on this date and thereafter the records continue as the minutes of the Ward 1 committee of the Liesbeek Municipality, in accordance with Proclamation 97 of 1 June 1883.

In the light of the opposition expressed by Wynberg and Claremont residents, the outlook for the Liesbeek Municipality was gloomy and the unruly meeting at Wynberg set the tone for future interaction at municipal level. It was abundantly clear that the representatives of the inhabitants of the various villages were prepared to voice their opinions and their grievances, but it remained to be seen whether they would co-operate with one another in order to find solutions. It is unfortunate, perhaps, that no records of the early meetings of the Municipality have survived and only rough minutes exist for the period September 1885 to July 1886.<sup>87</sup> Nevertheless, the Wynberg Times provided comments on meetings and the regular reports of the Ward 1 committee are also available.<sup>88</sup>

The clamour over the municipality debate had not yet died down when another contentious issue arose. This was directly related to the degree of authority exercised by the Wynberg ward committee concerning the right of access by the inhabitants of the area to land adjacent to the military camp. Although the camp had been the raison d'être for the foundation of the village in the early days of British occupation, it had acquired a social and administrative rather than a defensive function during the sixty-

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87. C.A., 3/LBK; 1 and 4.

88. C.A., 3/WBG, 326, February 20 1884 - 20 July 1886.

year period since then. The Wynberg court-house and gaol were situated within the camp and the local residents were accustomed to having free access to the area, which tended to obscure the fact that most of the ground on the hillside above the village and above the Springfield estate, including all the commonage, belonged to the Crown. It was not until the camp once more became a centre for large-scale troop movements and the Imperial War Department applied for the alienation of most of the Crown land adjacent to the camp for their own use in 1883,<sup>89</sup> that Wynbergians became aware that their access to the Crown land was threatened.

The changed status of the camp after 1880 was due to events far removed from Wynberg - the First Anglo-Boer War of 1880-1 and the Basutoland Gun War in 1885. A new influx of troops into the Wynberg camp resulted from these fresh challenges to British dominance in southern Africa. From 1880 the British military presence was increased<sup>90</sup> and Wynberg once more served as a transit camp for troops on their way to these conflicts, as it had done in the time of the frontier wars in the eastern Cape.

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89. C.P.P., C 5 of 1883. Papers and correspondence relating to the proposed grants to the Imperial Military Authority of certain ground at Wynberg, required for a rifle range and for the purposes of a military reserve.

90. W. Smith (ed.), Commemorative Brochure, "A short history of the Wynberg Military Base (1795-1988)", 22 April, 1988, 3.

However, in the early years of this decade incoming infantry regiments had to be housed in tents because no permanent barracks had yet been erected at the camp - a contemporary water-colour by Rolando shows a tent-town extending from the parade-ground as far as the English church precincts and overlapping the area which had been regarded as commonage by the residents.<sup>91</sup> As in most camps, sentries were posted and challenged the right of non-military persons to enter the area, but they also impounded any cattle which they found there. This infringed on local custom, by which free access had been allowed to the commonage for grazing and other purposes; nor did the *Wynberg Times* hesitate to draw attention to what was taking place. The editor gave a full exposition of the circumstances from the standpoint of Wynbergians, by whom, he noted, the land had been regarded as public property "from time immemorial". He explained that once the land had been enclosed, "not only will the villagers lose their common grazing, but the valuable supply of gravel, timber and stone, and lastly the most necessary, water, will be cut off from our use." He urged that "all the inhabitants who care for the village" attend a meeting organised by the Board.<sup>92</sup>

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91. U.C.T. Libraries, BC 600, Photograph collection. The original is housed in the Officers' Mess, Wynberg Camp.

92. *Wynberg Times*, 21 June 1883.

The Wynberg public responded to the newspaper's call to action and 150 people packed the meeting at the Wynberg Hall to the doors. Opposition was vigorously expressed to "this bare-faced attempt at despoliation", and it was asserted that "no one can question our keeping a large open space at the centre of our village, seeing how rapidly houses are crowding us in every direction". The report also stressed the importance of the water sources on the hill and stated that "grants should be made which do not rob the poor man of his rights". It also made a comparison with "the way that common lands have been filched from people in England".<sup>93</sup>

The events which followed indicated the extent to which Wynberg residents were prepared to defend their established life style. Past experiences with their Wynberg constituents must have convinced their parliamentary representatives, Manuel and Louw, that they had a tiger by the tail and that they must take action promptly. The issues raised at the meeting were of crucial importance to the local residents of all classes and the nature of the complaints not only confirmed the rural character of the area and of the occupations of many people who lived there, but also emphasised the need for defining the source and supply of water for use in the village. Moreover, the timing of this debate was significant for future development as it pin-pointed some of the

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93. *ibid.*, 28 June 1983.

problems facing the inhabitants in their struggle for autonomy. The M.L.A.s presented their response to the government, and, within a month, a Select Committee was appointed to examine the issue.<sup>94</sup> The enquiry began almost immediately under the auspices of the Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works, C.J. Rhodes, who was a regular visitor to the Wynberg homes of the Farmer, De Villiers and Fitzpatrick families; the Chairman of the Select Committee was Manuel, who had a long-standing association with the area. Evidence was given by such influential Wynberg residents as J. Templer Horne, the Assistant Surveyor-General, Chas. Piers, Gabriel de Kock, Justus Meyer (a notary in the area for forty years and Field Cornet from 1851-1880) and J.D. Pieterse (a man who had been resident in Wynberg for more than seventy years). The long association between the camp and the village was stressed<sup>95</sup> and any suggestion that the military personnel were not wanted in Wynberg was denied.<sup>96</sup>

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94. Cape of Good Hope, Votes and proceedings of the House of Assembly, 1883, V 11, S.C. 17 of 1883, 19.

95. *ibid.*, 13-14.

96. *ibid.*, 3.

They declared that the point at issue was simply their free access to the disputed 180 acres of ground on the hill and their right to the use of that land.<sup>97</sup> Taking all the circumstances into account, it is hardly surprising that the Committee decided in favour of the villagers, declaring that it could not find that the disputed land was a military reserve and that it was not necessary to transfer the portion of the commonage to the Imperial War Department, as ample alternative land was available for a rifle range near Young's farm on the Flats.<sup>98</sup> The determination of Wynbergians to stand their ground against such a formidable opponent had been rewarded, and this incident helped to boost political confidence in Wynberg after its apparent defeat in the Liesbeek Municipality issue. It also increased their independent stance in relation to the control exerted by a central authority in Cape Town.

Furthermore, events in the early 1880s had encouraged the people of Wynberg to be alert to their best interests. In June 1883 an editorial in the Wynberg Times declared the Municipal Voters' Roll for the area to be incomplete and in September it published a list of almost 100 names of well-known residents at Wynberg and

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97. *ibid.*, 16. De Kock made a particular plea that this had always been considered "Government ground" rather than a military reserve.

98. *ibid.*, iv. Finding of the Committee signed by Manuel.

register at once. It pointed out that every male person ("woman's rights" in the colony were not yet in sight) rated for six months prior to the election on moveable property valued at £25 per annum, was entitled to be on the Municipal Voters' Roll.<sup>99</sup> Political consciousness in regard to localised interests was growing across a wide section of the population along the Bay Road, and during the following year a well-attended meeting was held in Wynberg under the chairmanship of the builder, C. le Tier.<sup>100</sup> Strong views were expressed against the voting laws and particularly against the property qualification designated in Cl. 118 of the Municipal Act of 1882.<sup>101</sup> Le Tier is reported by the Wynberg Times as saying: "It is unjust and disenfranchises a great majority of the industrial classes". He insisted that "the working men were shut out" by this provision, which excluded as many as 200 people in Wynberg alone.<sup>102</sup> A new spirit of resistance had been unleashed and made articulate by events in the area, and at a subsequent meeting a petition to the House of Assembly was approved.<sup>103</sup>

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99. Wynberg Times, 4 September 1883.

100. Wynberg Times, 10 May 1884.

101. Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1879-1883, 541. Act 45 of 1882. "To consolidate and amend the law relative to Municipalities."

102. Wynberg Times 10 May 1884.

103. *ibid.*, 14 June 1884.

It proposed that property-owners rated at £10 per annum would be entitled to one vote, while a proportionately higher value would justify more than one vote. This would appear to be the first real evidence of practical intervention in local government by both white and coloured working-class people in Wynberg. Unfortunately Le Tier died insolvent six months later,<sup>104</sup> and this attempt to bring about changes in the voting structure appears to have been abandoned. Both Trapido<sup>105</sup> and Bickford-Smith<sup>106</sup> have drawn attention to the way in which coloured people generally were sidelined in regard to political participation in the nineteenth century, but in Wynberg their voices began to be heard, although they were unheeded. The time had not yet come for recognition of the upward mobility among a growing number of coloured tradespeople and retailers in Wynberg, as had been the case among their white counterparts earlier in the century.

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104. *ibid.*, 27 December 1884.

105. S. Trapido, "The Friends of the natives..." in S. Marks and A. Atmore (eds.), *Economy and Society in Pre-industrial South Africa* (London, 1980), 258.

106. V. Bickford-Smith, "A special tradition of multi-racialism.." in W. James and M. Simons (eds.), *The Angry Divide* (Cape Town, 1989), 48-49.

In 1883 the *Wynberg Times* turned its attention to another issue, which underlined the prominence given to an example of government neglect towards white inhabitants. Their problems was seen as deserving of sympathy, whereas the similar problems of coloured people were ignored by the newspaper. The paper emphasised the plight of the more than 600 German settlers who had been encouraged to emigrate to the Cape and had been given land on the Cape Flats which fell within the ambit of the Liesbeek Municipality.<sup>107</sup> They had all suffered considerable hardships while establishing their small farms with little help from the colonial authorities, and it was at their request that the Lutheran Church near the Wynberg camp had been brought into use once more, as their need for a place of support and spiritual comfort was great during this time of hardship.<sup>108</sup> The newspaper revealed that the German immigrants complained bitterly that no huts had been provided for them and that their wives and children were suffering from exposure. In May they had asked for some advance from the government, which would be repayable after twelve to eighteen months, "to purchase necessaries such as a cow, oxen, plough and spades...."

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107. *Wynberg Times*, 16 June 1883.

108. *ibid.*, 26 May 1883.

One month later the editor wrote again of their "pitiful plight" and appealed to readers to give the Germans employment as servants, gardeners or wood-cutters.<sup>109</sup> Five months later he wrote critically: "Most of the emigrants, brought out here under misrepresentations, stayed only a few days on their allotments, and, perceiving the trap they had fallen into, packed up their scanty chattels and came to Wynberg."<sup>110</sup> They appear to have been absorbed into the community and some sought accommodation in the onderdorp adjacent to the Ottery Road, worsening the already overcrowded housing conditions in that area, which fell under the jurisdiction of the Ward 1 committee. It was a marshy stretch of ground which did not drain easily, and the dense bush and clumps of trees gave rise to the name - Batt's Wood- or, more colloquially, De Bos. This lower income group included many coloured people, yet it is significant that their disadvantaged position had not occasioned editorials in the Wynberg Times, as did the plight of the German immigrants. White poverty was seen as "deserving", whereas coloured poverty was not viewed in the same light.<sup>111</sup>

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109. *ibid.*, 16 June 1883.

110. *ibid.*, 3 November 1883.

111. V. Bickford-Smith, "A special tradition of multi-racialism..." in W. Atmore and M. Simons (eds.), *The Angry Divide*, 52.

This discriminatory attitude towards the coloured poor probably had its roots in the idea that coloured people required less than whites,<sup>112</sup> resulting in the racially-influenced perception that only the whites would be disadvantaged by these difficult conditions. It is obvious that there was a grave discrepancy in the standard of living enjoyed by different sections of the Wynberg population and the amenities available to them. The wealthy residents of upper Wynberg were in a position to provide themselves and their dependants with the comforts which they required, while the poorer people, many of whom lived in lower Wynberg, were completely without support, except for that provided by philanthropic institutions and sympathetic individuals. In the final quarter of the nineteenth century, however, the attitude of the well-to-do hardened towards the deserving and the undeserving poor alike. An upwardly mobile middle class, measuring its status in terms of material welfare and social acceptance, increasingly shared in the benefits and perquisites of the wealthy land-owners in Wynberg, thus increasing the gap between themselves and the under-class.

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112. E. van Heyningen, "Public Health and Society in Cape Town" (1989), 415. The writer gives an exposition of the effects these ideas had in Cape Town with regard to the provision of housing and health services.

During the 1880s an increasing number of successful business and professional people bought into the Wynberg area where they lived "in splendid isolation".<sup>113</sup> They were more concerned with people of their own class and their attention was directed primarily towards improving their own quality of life and ensuring their health, safety and security. They had the necessary economic and political clout as well as the intellectual ability and experience, to secure the independence and self-sufficiency of Wynberg and to ensure their own interests. In this process the *Wynberg Times* played no small part in the presentation and, sometimes, the manipulation of information, which ultimately increased the status of "the village" in relation to other peri-urban areas. Its bias was clear when it stated categorically: "That Wynberg has grown into a village of considerably greater importance than any other in the colony is an indisputable fact."<sup>114</sup> Presumably it measured the importance of Wynberg not only in terms of its geographical and economic situation but also in the dynamic quality of its leadership and the power of its influential residents. These assertive attitudes began to dominate the relationship between Wynberg and the other villages on the Bay Road. This contentious spirit was encouraged by their unwilling

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113. V. Bickford-Smith, "A special tradition of multi-racialism", in W. James and M. Simons (eds.), *The Angry Divide*, 55.

114. *Wynberg Times*, 16 September, 1882. This partisan approach of the newspaper was, perhaps, a reflection of its owner's membership of an old Wynberg family with close ties in the district.

participation in the Liesbeek Municipality and was received with an equally intransigent attitude on the part of members of the other wards, even including their former allies and neighbours at Claremont.

At the first meeting of the joint Liesbeek Council Bissett renewed his call for a divided municipality, but this was dropped due to lack of support from the Rondebosch and Mowbray Councillors.<sup>115</sup> There was a transitional period during which the five villages making up the Liesbeek Municipality struggled towards a measure of unhappy co-operation and local interests were subjected to the common cause. Very soon, however, it became apparent that the Councillors owed allegiance to their own wards and that vested interests and long-standing rivalries and suspicion militated against increased social and economic co-operation. The constant bickering in the Council seemed to increase the desire for autonomy in Wynberg and Ward 1 residents began to look more and more to the south-east, where Constantia, Diep River and the Cape Flats had always offered opportunities for interaction, rather than towards their close neighbours at Claremont.

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115. C.A., 3/WB6, 326, 20 February 1884. Ward 1 minutes.

In 1884 serious arguments arose about access to and revenues from the supply of gravel and stone, which existed at Wynberg and which was reserved for use in Ward 1.<sup>116</sup> Bainbridge defended the Ward 1 stand and this offended the other Councillors who thought they should be given access to the assets of the other wards. Once again Bissett, who had recently purchased property in Wynberg and had moved there from Claremont, called for the division of the joint council into two.<sup>117</sup> Two months later, when the Scanlen ministry fell, the Wynberg Times announced: "The Liesbeek Municipality - an unhealthy and premature production of the late government - has succumbed to its inherent weakness!"<sup>118</sup> But the announcement, too, was premature and the combined municipality survived the change from the Scanlen government to that of Uppington, which continued the former policy towards the Municipality.

The colonial authorities were fully occupied with larger issues which, nonetheless, had a significant effect upon events at Wynberg. Following the reverses suffered by Imperial troops in the Transvaal Republic in 1880-1 and the rise to power of its

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116. C.A., 3/WBG, 326, 8 July 1884; 3/LBK, 248, no 18. It was reported that supplies had been depleted and were too low to allow indiscriminate use. They were supported in this by an editorial in the Wynberg Times (16 August 1884).

117. Wynberg Times, 16 August 1884.

118. Wynberg Times, 25 October 1884.

president, Paul Kruger, the British government reinforced its military personnel at the Cape in a show of strength. In December 1884 troops poured into Wynberg camp, thus establishing a strong power base in that part of the Colony regarded as particularly British in character,<sup>119</sup> and the newspapers reported that 1800 men and 300 horses were in temporary billets at Wynberg.<sup>120</sup> Horses had to be taken to Constantia Bridge for watering and "the ground from the English to the Lutheran Church is covered with tents, presenting a scene of bustling activity." The Alfred Hotel advertised forage and stabling for horses and pleasure parties and teas for their owners.<sup>121</sup>

An indication of the changed attitude of the War Department to the Wynberg local authority was contained in a letter which was received by the ward committee from Col. Montgomery of the 1st Royal Scottish Regiment, politely thanking the councillors for the use of the commonage.<sup>122</sup> As Wynberg once more assumed the character of an important garrison, the Wynberg Times reflected

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119. H. Wilson and L. Thompson (eds.), *The Oxford History of South Africa, 1870-1966* (Oxford, 1975), 290-291.

120. Wynberg Times, 13 December 1884; Cape Times, 15 December 1884. These figures included 500 officers and men of the 6th Dragoon Guards - the Inniskillings - and their three hundred horses. This regiment was to return to Wynberg on several occasions.

121. Wynberg Times, 6 December 1884.

122. C.A., 3/WBG, 248, 218. The Wynberg Times (13 December 1884) also recorded this new attitude on the part of the military.

this in its regular reports of the troop movements to and from the frontiers of the Colony, as well as news of the usual transit of regiments en route to India. Within the next five years barracks were constructed and support services were implemented in the area.<sup>123</sup> The elegant officers' mess was inaugurated in 1887 with a farewell dinner to the Commanding Officer of the Cape Colony District, Lieutenant-General Sir D'Oyley Torrens, given "by the officers of the Royal Scots Regiment on St. Andrew's Eve when forty sat down to dinner".<sup>124</sup> No other village could benefit so directly from the increased market for the farming and the commercial sector occasioned by the renewal of the military establishment, which not only added immeasurably to the economic strength but also to the status of Wynberg.

As the expanding village prospered, the jealousies and petty squabbles increased and conflicting loyalties surfaced repeatedly in the Council of the Liesbeek Municipality. From the beginning of 1885 the antagonism was overt, Scott of Rondebosch eventually declaring that he was "sick and tired of hearing Wynberg praised as the model ward".<sup>125</sup> An examination of the Ward 1 record books

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123. R.W. Brann, "Wynberg Military Base and the Army Officers' Club", *Militaria*, V 19 (1), 1989, 4-5. Brann refers to the construction of barracks, a guard room, an officers' mess, stores, a garrison class-room and other out-buildings.

124. *Wynberg Times*, 2 December 1887.

125. *Wynberg Times*, 21 January 1885.

for the period 1883 - 1886 indicates, however, that the committee members were conscientious in fulfilling their duties and that the chairman, De Kock, set a high standard for Wynberg, but not that it was unduly favoured. The reports were comprehensive and emphasised the need for safety measures other than those related to health and sanitation. There were only twelve policemen in the entire Wynberg magisterial area to patrol and maintain law and order over a district about 150 square miles in extent,<sup>126</sup> and the paper had already recommended a speedy augmentation of the police force with mounted patrols at night. "Penny-wise, pound-foolish", it cautioned the Liesbeek Council, as it reflected on the undesirable rowdyism in Ward 1.<sup>127</sup> This drew an immediate response from the other wards which felt they had even greater policing problems than Wynberg, where the magistracy was situated and more constables were consequently on duty. It was over the matter of water supplies, however, that deep disagreements arose between Wynberg and Claremont because their common boundary on Wynberg Hill particularly affected access to the streams which flowed through Claremont, across the large estate belonging to Arderne. He pointed out that, as Wynberg lay on higher ground than the Claremont water-courses, "she could not negotiate with the latter to tap off water from the Ward 2 streams." It was this kind

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126. *ibid.*, 30 May 1885; also the Cape of Good Hope Blue Book, 1886.

127. *Wynberg Times*, 18 April 1886.

of vested interest which exacerbated the problems and the Mayor was moved to remark: "The sooner we do in name what has already been done in fact, the better it will be, for the present regime is unworkable."<sup>128</sup> Arderne left the Council soon after this<sup>129</sup> and George Bainbridge, a successful engineer and member of the Ward 1 committee, was elected as Mayor.<sup>130</sup> Bainbridge presided over similar squabbles in the final turbulent year of the municipality, but the absence of a reliable water-supply was a matter of common concern to all the villages as their populations increased. Bainbridge managed to convince the councillors that such an important matter required them to present a united front.

The failure of the Table Mountain Water Company to implement a scheme to exploit the water rights which they held,<sup>131</sup> encouraged the Liesbeek Municipality to make a counter-claim for these rights in order to secure a much-needed supply of pure water. Under the circumstances it was a desperate scheme because the cost of supplying the large area of the Liesbeek Municipality was prohibitive. Nevertheless, the councillors decided to present a

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128. C.A., 3/LBK, 248, (Date illegible). Letter from Arderne to de Kock.

129. *ibid.*, 76, 4 April, 1885.

130. C.A., 3/LBK, 4, 17 April 1885.

131. Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1879-1883, 584. Act 47 of 1882; To incorporate the Table Mountain Water Supply Co. (Ltd.).

bill to parliament for this purpose,<sup>132</sup> and engaged experts to advise them.

When the Liesbeek Water Supply Bill was introduced,<sup>133</sup> a Select Committee was immediately appointed to investigate its viability.<sup>134</sup> The proceedings of the Select Committee are less significant than the debate which accompanied the final appearance of the Bill in the House of Assembly, when it was rejected by 34 votes to 14.<sup>135</sup> Several members of the House spoke against the Bill and, although the need for a pure water-supply was recognised, the implementation was deemed too expensive. Scanlen remarked that there had been little consultation with the rate-payers of this "dying Municipality",<sup>136</sup> and consequently no support from them had been forthcoming. Uppington also agreed that the scheme was impractical in view of the fact that the municipality would

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132. Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, 14 May 1886, 920-921.

133. Cape Hansard, House of Assembly, 1886-187. Liesbeek Water Supply Bill to empower the Liesbeek Municipality to acquire certain rights and the powers invested in the Table Mountain Water Supply Company to carry out a scheme for supplying the inhabitants of the Liesbeek Municipality with water.

134. Cape of Good Hope Votes and Proceedings of Parliament, 1886, Appendix II, A 10 of '86. Bissett and Bainbridge of Wynberg gave supportive evidence and Dr. C. Murray of Claremont and Dr. J.H. Meiring Beck of Rondebosch testified to the need for a pure water-supply.

135. Cape Hansard, House of Assembly, 1886, 376.

136. *ibid.*, 377.

shortly be sub-divided and cease to exist. This is the only public evidence that the government accepted the failure of the Liesbeek Municipality and would shortly proclaim its sub-division<sup>137</sup> after the rejection of the Water Bill. Although the time was ripe for its dissolution, more wrangling would follow before the Liesbeek Municipality was split into three units: Wynberg, Claremont and Rondebosch (the last two absorbing Newlands and Mowbray between them).<sup>138</sup> As the editor of the Wynberg Times had remarked, "the Liesbeek Municipality, like a bad smell, is difficult to get rid of."<sup>139</sup> Yet, as late as June 1886, a public meeting was called at Rondebosch at which Dr Beck, the local medical practitioner, delivered an address: "To divide or not to divide?"<sup>140</sup> This was now a rhetorical question for Wynberg residents, but out-spoken confrontations were to follow before the final undignified demise of the ill-fated Liesbeek Municipality took place; nor is it surprising that there was little co-operation between the three new municipalities for some years.

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137 Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, 16 July, 1886. Proclamation 115 of 1886 stated that the existing sub-divisions of the Liesbeek Municipality were abolished and three independent municipalities were designated; Rondebosch, having 9 councillors; and Claremont and Wynberg, each having 6 councillors.

138 C.A., CD 1355, 178, 31 October 1887. This report includes an official plan from the Public Works Department, showing the boundaries of the three new divisions.

139 Wynberg Times, 2 May 1885.

140 Wynberg Times, 12 June 1886.

after these events. A special meeting was called on 1 July 1886 to ascertain why the Mayor had omitted to call the Council together before replying to a letter from the government affecting the disposal of the liabilities of all the wards of the Liesbeek Municipality.<sup>141</sup> Subsequent discussion and voting at the meeting, which was open to the public, showed that his reply had been in accordance with the majority view of the Council and "it was scarcely worth pressing the point on the eve of its dissolution."<sup>142</sup> It was, however, the last straw as far as the councillors were concerned, and a melodramatic scene ensued as they took the opportunity to even long-standing scores. A member of the public had the last word on the whole matter in a letter to the press. "There was much ado about nothing at the special meeting and it seemed as if members, having so long devoted their energies to showing how childish some men can be, were determined to show with their dying (municipally speaking) breath, they were but boys of greater growth. Nearly all half-dozen were on the point of succumbing to apoplexy. The people who really enjoyed themselves were the reporters and had a few blows passed their happiness would have been complete."<sup>143</sup>

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141. C.A., 3/LBK, 4, 24 June 1886.

142. Wynberg Times, 3 July 1886.

143. *Ibid.*, 3 July 1886.

Before the dust of this encounter had settled, the Municipal Council of Wynberg was constituted after a somewhat hasty election, prior to which no public meetings had been held at which policy programmes could be advanced by the candidates. This lack of proper protocol was deplored by James Ferguson, the new owner of the Wynberg Times,<sup>144</sup> who proved to be more critical of local government procedures than his predecessor had been.<sup>145</sup> However hasty its inauguration, an independent council had been achieved, free from direct interference by its neighbours, and its members wasted no time in getting down to business. On 12 August the first meeting of the Wynberg Council took place. It consisted of seven councillors, six of whom were former Ward 1 committee members : G. Bainbridge and J. Bissett, (engineers), G. de Kock (wine-merchant), S. van Breda (farmer), Captain A. W. Brooke-Smith and S. Baker (general dealer); the only newcomer, R. Myburgh, was elected the first Mayor of Wynberg,<sup>146</sup> presumably in view of his experience as a Cape Town Councillor.<sup>147</sup> The Wynberg Times hastened to point out that the work of the Council was virtually cut out for it; this included an ample supply of pure water,

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144. When Steuart departed for Scotland to take up his estate there, he sold the paper to his former manager, Ferguson.

145. Wynberg Times, 27 July 1886.

146. C.A., 3/WBG, 2, 12 August 1886. Minutes of meeting.

147. Myburgh was a businessman of standing and partner in the Cape Town firm of H. Myburgh. He was also consul-general for the Netherlands and Denmark.

effective drainage, the maintenance of roads, the sweeping and watering of the as yet unmacadamised streets, the prevention of overcrowding, the provision of markets, the installation of lighting and the provision of better policing.<sup>148</sup>

Now the councillors faced the formidable task of providing these amenities and of distributing them equitably amongst all the people of the Wynberg area. It was to prove a complex and a challenging agenda, for the long-awaited autonomy brought with it the considerable responsibility of the powers invested in a municipality by the Municipal Act of 1882.<sup>149</sup> There was a clear definition of public property in that "all lands, streets, roads and buildings to which the inhabitants of any Municipality at any time have or acquire a common right, shall be vested in the Council of such Municipality for the time being."<sup>150</sup> At its first meeting the councillors confirmed the transfer of the commonage to the municipality and undertook the maintenance of all existing amenities and the provision of additional services.<sup>151</sup> The Council had the power to raise loans to finance the most urgent projects

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148. Wynberg Times, 16 August 1886.

149. Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1879-1883, 541-581. Act 45 of 1882: To consolidate and amend the law relating to Municipalities.

150. *ibid.*, Clause IX.

151. C.A., S/WBG, 2, 12 August 1886.

which it had to put in hand without delay. Nor did it lack the expertise needed to manage the money or the planning required in order to proceed. The councillors were successful professional men with the intellectual ability and experience to secure the independence and self-sufficiency of Wynberg, but the tensions of the past four years, which had encouraged friction and local rivalries, turned in upon themselves in the early years of the Wynberg Municipality.

The most pressing problem facing the Council was that of the water supply,<sup>152</sup> which had been thrown into sharp focus, not only during the passage of the Liesbeek Water Supply Bill through parliament, but also during the dispute with the military about access to the commonage. Although Wynberg possessed three public wells and about 500 more on private property, many people drew their water directly from the Krakeelwater which flowed from its source above the camp and joined the main stream of the Diep River or was directed into irrigation furrows which ran along the roadside and, in some cases, through private property. In February 1886 a letter from Walter Searle, a Wynberg resident and President of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, had appeared in the Wynberg Times, in which he stressed the need for a regular supply

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152. D. Grant, "The Politics of Water Supply" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1991). The writer presents a broad picture of the issues pertaining to water-supply in the central and peri-urban areas of Cape Town.

of pure water. "We know that the result will not only affect an improvement to the village," Searle wrote, "and while adding to its beauty and attractions, will at the same time increase the value of our properties."<sup>153</sup> The dangers of contaminated water affected the luxurious homes of the wealthy, where both families and staff were dependent on well-water, just as it did the households of their poorer neighbours. Some of the latter drew water from the unhygienic pools of standing water on the Flats or in lower Wynberg, and the cycle of typhoid infection was completed when they entered the wealthier homes as domestic workers. This was confirmed in the reports for the years 1885 and 1886 presented by Dr. H.C. Wright, the District Surgeon for the Cape District<sup>154</sup> in which he noted that "typhoid fever created considerable alarm, attacking the rich as well as the poor".<sup>155</sup> Poor drainage in the area had fouled the wells and water sources with sewage and other waste substances and this accounted for the high incidence of typhoid. It was imperative that a water reticulation scheme be installed as soon as possible, but the water-works project, which was considered by the Council at the

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153. Wynberg Times, 6 February 1886.

154. Annexures to the Votes and proceedings of the House of Assembly, 1886 and 1887, V 2. G3 of 1886 and G 19 of 1887. Reports of District Surgeons. Both his reports deplored the incidence of typhoid in these suburbs and he stated that in 1885 "typhoid fever has been much on the increase during the latter half of the year, in excess of any other period in my recollection".

155. *ibid.*, G 19 of 1887, 7.

end of 1886,<sup>156</sup> was not immediately implemented. This was due to bickering among the Councillors, some of whom appear to have had a vested interest in the way in which the project should be executed. When the Municipality called for tenders, only two sets of plans were laid before the Council.<sup>157</sup> The Wynberg Times reported that one set (that of Bissett and Bain) had been delayed, and that the other tender (by Garrard of Knysna) was supported by Capt. Brooke-Smith.<sup>158</sup> A few weeks later Bainbridge resigned from the Council in protest,<sup>159</sup> and it was suggested in an editorial by the electorate's unofficial ombudsman - the Wynberg Times - that some plans had been held back deliberately while Brooke-Smith had pushed through his own choice.<sup>160</sup>

A major dispute which threatened to reach the stage of litigation then developed between Councillors Bissett and Brooke-Smith. This was later settled out of court, the Wynberg Times pointing out that the Council had neither the time nor the money to spend on expensive court proceedings.<sup>161</sup> William Buissine, an attorney,

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156. C.A., 3/WBG, 2, 9 September 1886. It was recorded in the minutes that a special meeting about the water supply would be convened by Councillors Bainbridge and Brooke-Smith.

157. *ibid.*, 29 November 1886.

158. Wynberg Times, 4 December 1886.

159. C.A., 3/WBG, 2, 28 December 1886. Minutes of Meeting.

160. Wynberg Times, 1 January 1887.

161. *ibid.*, 12 February 1887.

replaced Bainbridge,<sup>162</sup> and the Council then decided to re-examine the project in the light of further consultations with him.<sup>163</sup> They were urged on by pressure from the military, because the increased numbers of personnel at the camp had placed additional demands on the limited water supply and, although the Royal Engineers had built a small reservoir at the source, water had to be pumped from it daily to meet their needs.<sup>164</sup> Clearly the decision on the part of the Imperial War Department to upgrade the Wynberg camp and build barracks had improved communication between the local staff officers and the Wynberg Council, as the survey for the new lay-out of the camp and its servicing was carried out.<sup>165</sup> Plans were drawn up by the Engineers for a full military base and the construction of the barracks began immediately; altogether thirty-five buildings of wood and iron were erected between 1886 and 1888.<sup>166</sup> In addition to the barracks and a new garrison Officers' Mess, there were stores, a garrison class-room and a guard-room. The sanitorium, which had been the subject of so much controversy in 1861, continued to serve as the garrison

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162. C.A., 3/WBG, 2, 7 February 1887.

163. *ibid.*, 4 March 1887.

164. *Wynberg Times*, 2 April 1887.

165. C.A., 3/WBG, 249. Numerous letters in regard to the matter were exchanged between the camp and the municipality between December, 1886 and May, 1887.

166. R.W. Brann, "Wynberg Military Base..." *Militaria*, V 5, 19 January 1989, 10.

hospital for the sick and wounded. The camp was becoming a small village in itself as it was re-organised and extended in response to its new role. The economic upswing, which had begun in Wynberg with the arrival of British troop reinforcements, was consolidated when the official attitude towards the upkeep of the camp changed from indifference to positive action. The reinstatement of the Wynberg camp as an important military base reinforced development in the municipal area, just as the camp had given impetus to the emergence of Wynberg as a growth point in the early nineteenth century.

The completion of plans for a cottage hospital on land which had been granted for this purpose near the camp on Alphen Hill was another indication of the initiative shown by the municipality in the provision of amenities for the area. The small-pox epidemic of 1882 had emphasised the need for more adequate medical care in the village and in 1883 a committee was formed by Searle to raise money for a hospital. Wynberg was fortunate in having the services of Dr H.C. (Claude) Wright, a highly respected medical practitioner who, like his father, Dr John Wright, served as District Surgeon for the Wynberg area. He was in an excellent position to give advice and support in the planning of the hospital and he took a personal interest in the implementation of the plans.

Most of the money for its construction was raised by local subscription,<sup>167</sup> but the hospital building fund was given a boost when the government decided to commemorate the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria's accession by giving grants-in-aid to public works projects.<sup>168</sup> Wynberg was able to take advantage of this source of finance to supplement the hospital fund and in 1888 the Victoria Cottage Hospital became a reality, the first of its kind in the colony. It was a modest single-storied building, with four wards which catered for fourteen patients with no restriction of admission on the grounds of race.<sup>169</sup> Thus, Wynberg was in the vanguard of improvements to the standard of medical care for its residents, at a time when medical care in Cape Town itself fell far short of the ideal.<sup>170</sup>

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167. Wynberg Times, 10 December 1887. The paper reported the laying of the foundation stone of the hospital and the interest shown by Dr Wright.

168. Wynberg Times, 13 July 1887.

169. *ibid.*, 30 June 1888. The Hospital was opened by Lady Robinson, the wife of the Governor and was completely free of debt when it was handed over to the first Honorary Superintendent, Dr Claude Wright.

170. E. van Heyningen, "Public health and society in Cape Town", 270-272.

In the 1880s the issue of sanitary reform became a political football rather than a matter for urgent action in Cape Town, and control of the Cape Town Council was the reward for successful players of the game. Bickford-Smith has outlined the battle which took place between the "Clean" and "Dirty" parties, recognising the provision of sanitary conditions as central to good local government and establishing the bona fides of its members.<sup>171</sup> This process in Wynberg was motivated by a similar but more parochial concern, the players proving to be as adept at gauging the political advantage of sanitary reform as their metropolitan counterparts. It is somewhat surprising to find that Farmer, who was one of those who participated actively in the events which led to a "Clean" victory in Cape Town, was not a central figure in sanitary reform in Wynberg where he lived. On the other hand, his business interests drew him more frequently to Britain after 1883, and he spent less and less time in the colony, eventually settling permanently in London in 1886.<sup>172</sup>

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171. V. Bickford-Smith, "Commerce, class and ethnicity...", 112-141. The writer provides a full analysis of the conflict and its significance.

172. U.C.T. Libraries, EC 600, Maynard Papers. Farmer and his wife took up residence in London soon after his daughter, Enid, married Captain Bernard and settled at Weybridge.

However, there were others ready and willing to take up this issue. In view of the urgent need to satisfy both the present and future requirements of the civilian and the military inhabitants, Councillor Brooke-Smith, the chairman of the Water Supply Committee of the Wynberg Municipality and formerly a captain in the Royal Engineers, decided to seek expert advice from a government official on a new water scheme. Through the good offices of a colleague, Colonel Clarke of the Royal Engineers, he contacted W.M. Grier, the Hydraulic Engineer for the Colony and the Chief Inspector of Public Works.<sup>173</sup> Cape Town too was seeking additional water sources to satisfy the increasing demand and it was suggested that Wynberg might share the water from the Disa Stream which flowed from Table Mountain. Grier prepared a proposal for this and the Wynberg Water Supply Committee approved it.<sup>174</sup> After an enthusiastic rate-payers' meeting which declared in favour of the scheme,<sup>175</sup> a bill was drawn up by Buissine for presentation to parliament.<sup>176</sup> These preparations were necessary in view of the earlier experience of the councillors during the ill-fated attempt to pass the Liesbeek Water Bill without sufficient support from their constituency. The appointment of

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173. CA, 3/WBG, 331. Water Supply Committee reports, March - September 1887.

174. C.A., 3/WBG, 321. May 1887.

175. Wynberg Times, 9 May 1887. The meeting was held on 7 May.

176. *ibid.*, 11 June 1887.

their own Municipal Engineer, Thomas Stewart,<sup>177</sup> also underlined their serious intention to assert their independence and to back this decision with expert advice. In addition, the former members of the Liesbeek Municipality were approached as to whether they too would like to participate in the scheme, but only M.R. Ross, the mayor of Rondebosch, expressed support.<sup>178</sup>

When the Wynberg Municipal Council Water Supply Bill was presented by Manuel on behalf of "R. Myburgh, Mayor, and three others",<sup>179</sup> objections were raised by the Table Mountain Water Co. and the Cape Town Municipality, for whom R.H. Arderne was presenting the Cape Town Water Supply Bill.<sup>180</sup> The latter suggested that Cape Town should have preference in the Disa Stream supply, whereupon a Select Committee was appointed to examine the matter.<sup>181</sup> It became clear that Wynberg had moved too far and too fast and had made some powerful enemies; but it is a measure of the confidence and determination of the Wynberg Municipality's councillors that

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177. CA, 3/WBG, 331, 10 September 1887. Wynberg Times, 15 September 1887.

178. CA, 3/WBG, 2. 2 March 1887.

179. Cape of Good Hope, Votes and proceedings of House of Assembly, 1887, 73. Manuel asked leave to advance a bill to repeal the Table Mountain Water Supply Act, 1882, and to confer on the Wynberg Municipal Council certain rights, powers and privileges to secure a water supply for the inhabitants of Wynberg.

180. *ibid.*, 74.

181. *ibid.*, 153; S.C. 9 of 1887.

they coped very efficiently with the pressure placed upon them. They had retained Advocate Schreiner to present their case and two weeks of intensive cross examination, particularly of Brooke-Smith and Myburgh, followed. The latter declared themselves wholeheartedly in favour of the scheme, although their evidence indicated they were aware that, in terms of the Wynberg Water Bill, Cape Town would receive less benefit from the use of the Disa Stream than Wynberg would.<sup>182</sup> An important point at issue concerned the amount of water available from the Disa Stream throughout the year and whether it would be sufficient for both Cape Town and Wynberg. Grier testified convincingly, and at length, on behalf of Wynberg that this was the best and least expensive scheme for them.<sup>183</sup> In reply to a question, Grier also stated that drinking fountains for the poor were included in his estimate and would alleviate the considerable problems experienced by people living on the Flats. In order to justify their need for the lion's share of this water, the rapid growth of the Wynberg area was stressed by all their witnesses. Brooke-Smith stated: "I have lived in Wynberg for nine years. I went there when it was a small village and now it is a large suburb. There used to

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182. C.P.P., S.C. 9 of 1887. The committee was in session from 11 - 26 July, 1887 under the chairmanship of Sauer; fifteen people gave evidence.

183. *ibid.*, 36-48. Grier provided a breakdown of how the water would be used : 18,000 gals.....Army.  
                   5,000 gals.....Railway.  
                   60,000 gals.....People of Wynberg.

be no houses on the Flats and now they are covered with buildings."<sup>184</sup> Myburgh also stressed the increased numbers, estimating that at least two hundred houses had been built in the area since his arrival six years previously.<sup>185</sup> As Mayor of Wynberg he emphasised that the bill provided for the inclusion of their neighbours at Rondebosch and Claremont if they so wished.

Colonel G. Phillips, Officer Commanding at Wynberg, affirmed the permanence, extended needs and increased importance of the camp and gave details of the building operations which were taking place, while Dr. C.F.K. Murray, a resident physician at Claremont, gave evidence that many of the local water sources at Wynberg were found to have been contaminated and the water unfit for consumption. Governor Sir Hercules Robinson had been taken ill during the period when he and his family had been in residence at Maynardville and used the private well-water on that property, and Murray testified that there had been several outbreaks of water-borne diseases in the area. In addition, many of the wells dried up during the summer and residents had to fetch water in large drums from the Alphen stream or from Lekkerwater at Claremont.

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184. *ibid.*, 7-8. He also mentioned the considerable growth taking place alongside the railway line.

185. *ibid.*, 8-9.

Murray concluded: "I think that at whatever cost we should have a good supply of water."<sup>186</sup> When Advocate Juta, the opposing counsel, suggested that the Liesbeek stream could be used by the suburbs, the long-standing riparian rights of certain suburbs in relation to this supply were stressed by Myburgh and Versveld of Klaassenbosch.<sup>187</sup> The exclusion of Wynberg from these rights was noted, by reason of its higher geographical situation in relation to the stream, as Arderne had pointed out a few years before. The possible anger of Rondebosch, Newlands and Claremont residents if the Liesbeek was tapped in its higher reaches was emphasised, although the mayor of Rondebosch re-affirmed his desire for co-operation with Wynberg.<sup>188</sup>

After much argument, the Select Committee found in favour of the inclusion of rights over the water for Wynberg, as expressed in its Water Supply Bill, but in an amended form which specified that neither party must "interfere with the other's supply". This appeased the annoyance of the Cape Town Water Bill sponsors at the presumption of the smaller municipality, while the amendments also ensured that the way would be open for further negotiations in the

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186. *ibid.*, 1-3.

187. *ibid.*, 32.

188. C.P.F., SC 9 of 1887, 49-52.

future should they prove necessary. Thereafter matters proceeded rapidly,<sup>189</sup> and the bill became law on 9 August 1887.<sup>190</sup> The Wynberg representatives were satisfied that they had taken on a more powerful opponent and had achieved their objective, and were prepared to concede the possibility of future changes in order to alleviate the present crisis. This pragmatic approach enabled the Wynberg Council to set about raising the loan they would require to implement the scheme.<sup>191</sup>

Work commenced almost immediately, some of the sub-contracts related to the water scheme being obtained by local firms; these included the recently established engineering works of G. Withinshaw on the Bay Road near the Wynberg station,<sup>192</sup> and the Wolfe Street branch of R. Allen and son, who had been involved in the bridge-work for the extension of the railway line and were

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189. Votes and proceedings of Legislative Council, 1887, 457.

190. Cape of Good Hope Statutes of the Seventh Parliament, 1884-1888, 430-437. Act 34 of 1887: To repeal the Table Mountain Water Supply Co. Act of 1882, and to invest and confer upon the Wynberg Municipal Council certain rights, powers and privileges for the purpose of securing a supply of water for the use of the inhabitants of Wynberg and certain other municipalities.

191. CA, 3/WBG, 331, 26 August 1887. Minutes of meeting at which revised estimates indicated an increased cost to £17,505.

192. CA, 3/WBG, 21, March 1885. Plans for this large establishment were passed by the Council and reported by the Wynberg Times as an achievement for Wynberg (18 April 1885); two years later the same newspaper reported "Withinshaws are doing well" (15 June 1887).

contractors to the municipality for a variety of services from maintenance of equipment and building to cartage.<sup>193</sup> The building trade in Wynberg prospered in this period as its members, whether in large firms or as small tradesmen, met the needs of an expanding commercial sector and the demand for new homes and public buildings. Other manufacturers associated with the building industry, such as Benjamin's Brickfield and Limekiln at the corner of Salisbury and Wetton Roads and Thiele's Cabinet Workshop in Ottery Road also provided tradesmen with employment. In this area there were a few other industries which provided employment: Wetton's Tannery employed at least forty people, with an additional twenty at their leather works, while the match factory, started by Louis Ludolph, a Dutch auctioneer, as an investment in 1884,<sup>194</sup> "employed 300 workers, men, women and children" by 1885;<sup>195</sup> but Wynberg remained essentially a service centre for the district, and retail, rather than manufacturing outlets, predominated.

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193. CA, 3/WBG, 2, August 1886 - June 1891; 3/WBG, 446. Licences and contracts.

194. Wynberg Times, 16 August 1884.

195. *ibid.*, 27 June 1885. In 1887 the firm was taken over by Sturk and Co., tobacconists of Cape Town.

In 1886 thirty-four people applied for retail business licences in Wynberg,<sup>196</sup> but, as in earlier years, there were undoubtedly small traders who operated informally without a licence. Throughout the decade of the 1880s the strength of the Wynberg economy underpinned the independent nature of the local municipality. The established business centre on the hill, where the Wynberg Council offices were situated, was revitalised when the population of the camp increased, enabling it to compete with the new commercial area near the station. Plumstead Road served as a bridge between the two commercial centres and both prospered because they shared the task of supplying local consumers with commodities.

However, this period saw a perceptible shift in economic focus towards the busy intersection of Plumstead Road (later known as Church Road), the Bay Road and the road from the Cape Flats, which also met the Bay Road near the station. Many new shops were established in this area, among them the modern chemist of R.G. Darroll, who bought a large corner site from Farmer,<sup>197</sup> the fancy goods shop of Mrs von Schade, adjacent to the offices and printing works of the Wynberg Times, Robertson's store where school children bought sweets and novelties, Kleinschmidt's General

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196. Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, 23 April 1886, 568.

197. D.O., T 32, 6 November, 1888. W.Farmer : R. G. Darroll.

Store, Morum's Bakery, E.K. Green's bottle-store, Benjamin's Forage Store and Welch's Drapery.<sup>198</sup> The other large drapery store, belonging to Duncan Taylor, was situated on the hill near the camp, but within a few years its owner would open a second shop on the Bay Road.<sup>199</sup> As in Britain, this was the heyday of the specialist retailer in small towns and villages where the general-dealer had predominated in the previous half-century.<sup>200</sup> Nor did they face the competition from standardised goods and more capital intensive methods of distribution which were emerging in the larger centres. The Wynberg shop-keepers could make a good living because their customers were well known to them and individual requirements were known. Crossick concludes that the way in which small shop-keepers operated in relation to their customers provided insights into their broader relationship with the community as a whole.<sup>201</sup> In Wynberg their activities were also excellent indicators of the level of business confidence in the area. At the end of 1889 the editor of the Wynberg Times reviewed the situation with some satisfaction: "It was pleasant to behold

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198. All these businesses advertised regularly in the Wynberg Times and it is possible to determine their location and the range of goods they offered.

199. D.O., T 88, 6 December, 1888. W.M.M. Farmer : D. Taylor.

200. G. Crossick, "The Petite Bourgeoisie in nineteenth century Britain" in P. Thane and A. Sutcliffe (eds.), *Essays in Social History*, V 2 (Oxford, 1986), 153.

201. *ibid.*, 178-179.

the well-stocked shelves and finely displayed windows of tradesmen all along the line", he declared, and he noted particularly "the go, the energy and the hopefulness" on the part of business people at Wynberg.<sup>202</sup> Although the other suburban settlements all had commercial sectors, it was Wynberg that had emerged as supplier to a wide range of consumers who lived in its environs, stretching from the large farming communities in the Constantia Valley and at Hout Bay to the False Bay coast and to Phillipi on the Cape Flats. Thus, in addition to increasing the self-sufficiency of the local community, its expanding economic role extended well beyond its newly defined municipal boundaries.

The Wynberg Times had reported that the doubling of the railway line in June 1882<sup>203</sup> and its extension to the False Bay coast in December of that year<sup>204</sup> had increased traffic through Wynberg station, providing regular work for the cabbies and the carriers, who waited at the ranks on either side of the line.<sup>205</sup> It had also promoted development in the station square where the Royal Hotel catered for younger Wynbergians and passing trade from the station

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202. Wynberg Times, 21 December 1889.

203. Wynberg Times, 17 June 1882.

204. *ibid.*, 1 December 1882.

205. C.A., CO 4258, W48 of 1882. This memorial related to the increased levy on cab prices which would prejudice those making shorter journeys and emphasised the importance of the cab service to those people living in the district.

in its spacious bar and lounge. Another important gathering point for men on the station square was the Bungalow Club, where officers of the camp regiments used to water their horses at the stream in earlier days. The Club had begun as a simple iron-roofed building where the men waited for their horses, but, by the 1880s, it occupied a comfortable thatched building, where billiards could be played or other recreations pursued in its card-room, smoking-room and private bar.<sup>206</sup> This type of establishment, which had its roots in the military fraternity of the early nineteenth century, appealed to members of the male-dominated society, whose properties now covered Wynberg Hill and the rising ground on Alphen Hill. The social and recreational demands of the local residents increased during this decade and several other clubs, catering for the recreational needs of the well-to-do of both sexes flourished in Wynberg. The Wynberg Tennis Club was started in the early 1880s,<sup>207</sup> when Percy Fitzpatrick and his two friends, Malcolm and Walter Searle, leased a site on the Maynard estate near Coghill's Hotel and laid out

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206. Records of the Wynberg Club, Wolfe Street. This club grew out of the Bungalow Club, which changed its name in 1921 but remained at the same address until 1989, when the original building was demolished and the club moved to Wolfe Street.

207. A.E. (Bill) Holmes, "A brief history of the Wynberg Lawn Tennis Club, 1882-1982": a commemorative brochure (Wynberg, 1982), 7. The first lawn tennis courts were laid out near Southfield by the Watermeyers at Forest Cottage and by the Fitzpatrick family at Timour Hall, although the Graham and the Searle families on Wynberg Hill were also keen tennis players.

tennis courts. They did all the work themselves, including the felling and removal of trees, and by 1882 the Club was functioning successfully. Cricket at the Southfield pitch drew interested crowds to watch matches between local and visiting teams.<sup>208</sup> Intellectual as well as sporting activities were favoured, and the Wynberg Debating Society met regularly in the Assembly Rooms.<sup>209</sup> Poetry readings and amateur theatrical performances, in addition to visits by touring companies and musical evenings, were also accommodated there. Not all the entertainment was at this grand level, however, and less formal activities were arranged by working-class people. Magic lantern shows were held at Parkinson's school in Ottery Road, while street parties, at which people danced in the roadways to the music of accordians and violins, were regular events. These were often the same musicians who would play more formally at wedding receptions and dances at the Assembly Rooms.<sup>210</sup> Outdoor excursions to Hout Bay and Constantia continued to be popular with all classes of people. Hildagonda Duckitt describes these pleasures in the preface to her *Diary of a*

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208. S.E.L. West (compiler), W.J. Luker (ed.), *Century at Newlands, 1864 - 1964; a history of the Western Province Cricket Club* (Wynberg, 1965), 2-6. The compiler records that the first match of this club was played at Southey's field on 11 October, 1864 and they continued to use this venue at a rental of fifty pounds a year until 1885 when the club moved to Newlands.

209. Wynberg Times, 16 September 1882.

210. Personal interviews: F. van der Ross, August 1987; W. Herbert, May 1989, whose parents and grandparents participated in these activities.

Cape Housekeeper, noting that, after the Cloetes left Groote Constantia in 1886, it was possible for the public to visit the historic house "by cart from Wynberg station", if a permit was obtained from the magistrate.<sup>211</sup> Writing in 1890, she remarked nostalgically that "life in the seventies was most enjoyable, but the rush of life now seems to have swept away much of the old-fashioned hospitality". Economic growth in the 1880s and a range of improved amenities had changed the leisurely tempo of life in Wynberg, bringing an improved standard of living to the upper classes, while further increasing the inequality between their life-style and that of the under-class. This disparity was most marked in the less affluent areas in lower Wynberg and the hill where the older cottages were rented to poor people by landlords who usually owned several of these properties and did not renovate them.<sup>212</sup>

Moreover, the poor were dependent on the public well-points which had been severely criticised in the Select Committee Report of 1887.<sup>213</sup> For these residents the need for access to pure water was acute, although even the most luxurious homes were marred by

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211. H. Duckitt, *Diary of a Cape Housekeeper* (Cape Town, 1890), 24.

212. C.A., 3/WBG, 1, 7 August 1882 - 26 July 1883. Reports by both Farmer and De Kock frequently mentioned the poor condition of rented cottages, most of which lacked water closets.

213. C.P.F., SC 9 of 187, 36-48.

unhygienic water-supplies and drainage problems. It was thus a matter of urgency that the new water scheme be implemented to safeguard the health of all residents. As Fraser observed in the context of the growth of local government in Britain, "Again and again municipal reform came to define its purpose in public health".<sup>214</sup> However, this intention did not necessarily permeate to all layers of the population or supply all needs, and in the Cape Colony it was subject to similar limitation.

In January 1888 the final phase of the water-works project commenced when the water-pipes ordered from Britain, arrived,<sup>215</sup> and after a complete survey of the village had been completed, the pipes were laid and the hydrants installed. Unfortunately the disputes in the Council which had accompanied the earlier stages of the scheme continued, and accusations were made concerning the "convenient installation of pipes, as a priority, along roads where councillors lived, before other more central areas were served."<sup>216</sup> These innuendoes were directed particularly towards the housing development at Silverlea, the mayor's property on Alphen Hill, where new houses were being erected. It was suggested that the mayor was more concerned about his own speculative

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214. D. Fraser, *Power and Authority in the Victorian City* (Oxford, 1979), 167.

215. C.A., 3/WBG, 2, May 1888; Wynberg Times, 23 June 1888.

216. Wynberg Times, 14 September 1888.

ventures than matters of public interest. Fears were expressed that the Disa Stream would not be able to supply sufficient water to satisfy the rapidly-growing needs of the area and there was some debate as to whether additional land at Orange Kloof should be leased from the government to provide a reservoir; but, in view of the existing costs of the scheme, this idea was shelved.<sup>217</sup> Controversy increased as the expenses for the water-works mounted, exceeding the budgeted amount.<sup>218</sup> In February 1889 Councillor Brooke-Smith (chairman of the water-works committee) resigned,<sup>219</sup> but the remaining councillors, W. Morum, a bakery proprietor, G.H. Moller, a Cape Town auctioneer, G. Young, a butcher, S. van Breda, a farmer, and C.H. Elliott, an engineer, appear to have supported the Mayor. However, former Councillor Bainbridge added his voice to the debate which criticised the adequacy of the water scheme and its cost.<sup>220</sup> A Ratepayers' Association was formed under the chairmanship of Councillor Moller to look after their interests <sup>221</sup>as tension mounted and the opening of the water-works

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217. C.A., 3/WBG, 2, 3 September 1888.

218. C.A., 3/WBG, 2, 7 December 1888. The water-works account had now reached 17,505, while the council overdraft stood at £1200.

219. C.A., 3/WBG, 2, 6 February 1889.

220. Wynberg Times, 9 March 1889. Bainbridge wrote a letter to the paper in which he questioned the tardiness of the municipal workers in placing hydrants in the main thoroughfare where they were urgently needed.

221. Wynberg Times, 25 March 1889.

approached. At a council meeting in July the Mayor angrily refuted a charge made by the Wynberg Times that he had received £600 when the council acquired Orange Kloof farm, saying "it was as false as it was foul".<sup>222</sup> These events formed the background to the impending council election and there was considerable doubt as to which members would stand for re-election. In fact all six councillors were returned to office, but Morum replaced Myburgh as Mayor. At a ratepayers' meeting in September, attended by more than 150 people, questions were asked about the absence of councillors from the official inspection of the water-works and it was suggested that they were neglecting their civic duties;<sup>223</sup> and at the council meeting a few days later Morum himself reproved fellow councillors for their absence.<sup>224</sup> In November more trouble erupted at a ratepayers' meeting when a petition, signed by 41 residents, was presented to the council by Dr. Claude Wright. This protested against the re-building of the match factory which had burned down some months earlier, on the grounds that it polluted the surrounding area with "noxious fumes". The petition was rejected by the council by a vote of 4 to 1, only Morum supporting it.<sup>225</sup> A Wynberg Times editorial openly

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222. D.A., 3/WBG, 2, 8 July, 1889. Council minutes.

223. Wynberg Times, 25 September 1889.

224. D.A., 3/WBG, 2, 30 September 1889. Council minutes.

225. *ibid.*, 11 November 1889. Council Minutes.

criticised the competence of the council and once again expressed doubt as to the adequacy of the water-scheme and Myburgh's part in it.<sup>226</sup> Councillor Myburgh attended only one more council meeting on 9 December<sup>227</sup> and thereafter his name does not appear again. No mention is made of his resignation, but he was declared insolvent within two months of leaving the council.<sup>228</sup> Two former members of the Liesbeek Municipality, now resident in Wynberg, J. Bissett and J. Brodie, were elected to the council early in the new year, replacing Myburgh and Elliott.<sup>229</sup>

In January 1890 the new water supply came into general use. In terms of the Water Supply Act of 1887<sup>230</sup> the expenses were defrayed by charging those residents who were supplied with water according to the value of their properties, while at the larger establishments water meters were installed. In return for the income derived in this way, the municipality had to ensure an ample supply of water for all users, but it appeared that they had not been entirely successful in achieving this objective. Soon after the opening of the water scheme, the Wynberg Times reported

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226. Wynberg Times, 7 December 1889.

227. C.A., 3/WBG, 2, 9 December 1889. Council Minutes.

228. C.A., MDIB 2/2141, no 142 of 1890; 2/2143, no 168 of 1891.

229. C.A., 3/WBG, 2, 20 February 1890.

230. Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1884- 1888, 430-437. Act 34 of 1887.

that "it was distinctly understood that one of the objectives of the measure was to provide the poor with a plentiful supply of pure water." The report then pointed out that the low pressure of water in the stand-pipes opposite the station could not satisfy the needs of lower Wynberg, because most of the supply was drawn off by the demands of the well-to-do homes on the higher ground. The report concluded on a well-intentioned, if patronising, note: "In every civilised community, where there is an established water-supply, provision is made for cattle and people. But in Wynberg - rich, enlightened Wynberg - see the dribble opposite the rail-station and weep!"<sup>231</sup>

It is doubtful whether the Wynberg Councillors wept, and the existing council was re-elected en bloc in August.<sup>232</sup> However, Bissett replaced Morum as Mayor and a *Wynberg Times* editorial supported his election because Bissett had the necessary expertise to "sort out the waterworks."<sup>233</sup> Although his own designs had been rejected three years earlier, Bissett took the matter in hand amid cries of inefficiency and nepotism directed against the previous members of the administration and the revelation of an increased municipal debt. Another loan would be

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231. *Wynberg Times*, 22 February 1890.

232. C.A., 3/ WRB, 2, 19 August 1890. Council minutes.

233. *Wynberg Times*, 6 September 1890.

needed to finance the next phase of the water-works, which included the storage reservoir, but this was unanimously accepted by the council, signalling a renewed level of confidence in the council and the future development of Wynberg.<sup>234</sup>

Yet the first five years of suburban local government in the Peninsula had not proved to be an unqualified success. The improvements had been slow in coming and flawed in execution; and despite the best intentions, vested interests on the part of councillors had undermined the credibility of the Liesbeek Municipality and the fledgling Wynberg Council at each phase of development. On balance, however, there had been notable achievements; in the Wynberg Water Supply scheme the council had undertaken and put into operation a major public works project and they had also taken steps to address other problem areas. Lamps had been installed at key points in the village and roads were provided and serviced more regularly than before, while the successful outcome of the negotiations with the War Department had secured the commonage. The Cottage Hospital on Alphen Hill and the Municipal offices in Durban Road were also tangible examples of progress. A Ratepayers' Association had been established and public meetings had provided opportunities for the expression of opinion by the residents, most of whom were middle-class

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234. *ibid.*, 13 December 1890; C.A., 3/WBG, 2, 15 October, 21 November 1890.

professionals or well-to-do tradespeople whose interests the council largely represented. The reform measures of the 1880s in Britain, where the emphasis was placed on making local government accessible to all sections of the population<sup>235</sup> were never achieved in the Cape Colony during this or later periods; nor was the county borough system, so consonant with the development of English local government, characteristic of the Cape. What was common to the development of all local authorities was the deposition of power and resources between different urban areas, and between these areas and country districts. As was the case in Wynberg and in Cape Town itself, water supply was a major source of controversy in British councils,<sup>236</sup> and stand-pipes remained a regular feature in important British towns until the 1890s.<sup>237</sup> Sanitation issues remained a central concern of all urbanising areas and of the officials responsible for their welfare. Nevertheless, there was sufficient evidence of prosperity and of the "clean" and ordered society considered desirable by the establishment of the time, for this to be regarded by the rate-payers as proof of progress in the Wynberg Municipality, outweighing its deficiencies. The Liesbeek Municipality had failed

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235. J. Kellett, "Municipal socialism, enterprise and trading in the Victorian city", *Urban History Yearbook* (1978), 36-45.

236. D. Fraser, *Urban politics in Victorian England* (Leicester, 1976), Chapter 7.

237. P. J. Waller, *Town, City and Nation* (1983), 301-302.

to unite the diverse interests of the villages in the southern Peninsula, thus opening the way for the Wynberg councillors to pursue their own ambitious agenda. In its own smaller way, the new municipality of Wynberg shared with great cities like Birmingham, Leeds and Manchester "a new vision of the function and nature of the corporation",<sup>238</sup> which provided the impetus for innovation and improvement. Despite municipal wrangling, this vision would motivate and sustain the independent-minded actions of the Wynberg Council during the next thirty years, while reinforcing their policy of municipal autonomy outside the city limits of Cape Town.

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238. E.P. Hennock, *Fit and proper persons* (1973), 173.

"MEN OF PROPERTY"



James Mortimer Maynard  
(in later life, circa 1860)

Copies of original family photographs in Immelman collection  
(U.C.T. Libraries, BC 600).



William Farmer.

At Maynardville, circa 1880



"Maynardville" in 1884.

After re-building by William Farmer.

Map 7: Wynberg circa 1892, showing the position of the extended railway line and the increasing housing density in the area.

Scale

1320'

1/2 mile

1/4 mile



PLAN No 190690

WYNBERG MUNICIPALITY  
19 FEBRUARY 1933

ERIC STRAHL OF 214 JONAS FISSHEL & CO MACLEAR  
CALLER WYNBERG STALE

## CHAPTER 7.

### Striving for Status.

1890 - 1902

Notwithstanding the pervasive effect of the South African War and its prelude which over-shadowed the final years of the nineteenth century, the 1890s brought an upswing in the economy of the Cape, promoting development in the public and private sectors throughout the Colony. In the light of these optimistic trends, the immediate future of the Wynberg Municipality seemed secure, and the business boom, which had delighted the editor of the *Wynberg Times* in the 1890 Xmas season,<sup>2</sup> was extended throughout this decade. Even during the War commercial enterprises at Wynberg benefited, as service-men and refugees over-flowed the military enclave, emphasising its importance as a supply-centre for the military camp and the district. This chapter explores the processes which encouraged the Wynberg council to pursue a wide-ranging programme of public works, designed to increase its capital assets and to consolidate its status as the Peninsula's most progressive peri-urban municipality.

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1. V. Bickford-Smith, "Commerce, class and ethnicity" (Unpublished PhD. thesis, Cambridge University, 1989), 25.

2. See above, 375.

For instance, it not only completed the second phase of the ambitious water-supply scheme, to be augmented by the addition of storage-dams, in order to provide sufficient water to implement an extensive sewerage plan for the area, but it also obtained possession of a large piece of government land to establish a magnificent public park with a bandstand, where the regimental bands of the Wynberg garrison could perform regularly for the local residents.<sup>3</sup> In 1893 the council leased premises for a Public Library and improved facilities at the cab-stands on the station square.<sup>4</sup> Finally, in 1902 the simple public buildings which had served as municipal offices were replaced by an impressive Town Hall, more elaborate than that of any other local authority in the south Peninsula. It is clear that these dignified new buildings symbolised the increased status and prosperity of Wynberg, as similar public works signified civic achievement in Britain during the late nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

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3. C.A., 3/WBG, 3, 20 February 1893. Councillor Morum was actively involved in this acquisition, together with another local resident, J.T. Horne, who became Secretary of the Divisional Council of the Cape.

4. *ibid.*, 19 October 1893.

5. D. Fraser, *Power and Authority in the Victorian City* (Oxford, 1979), 67. The author emphasises that an imposing Town Hall was the most important symbol of "the enlarged horizons of municipalities".

It was a remarkable programme for a relatively small municipality with limited financial resources, but the Wynberg Council demonstrated an extraordinary sense of purpose in carrying out its plans. In keeping with this progressive ethos, Wynberg also regained its reputation for educational excellence when ds. Strasheim (the successor to Dr. Faure) made application for a new building to replace the cramped quarters which the Public School had occupied for more than fifty years. With the aid of a generous patron, the local school board was able to erect an impressive building, set in spacious grounds, to house the school. In his address at the opening ceremony of the school,<sup>7</sup> Mayor Bissett repeatedly stressed the "progress made by the council", which was to become an increasingly important theme in its policy of modernising Wynberg and providing for the diverse needs of its population.<sup>8</sup> In the light of the growth which was taking place in the area, however, it is hardly surprising that the Wynberg Municipality was confident in its ability to be self-sustaining and progressive.

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6. CA, SGE 4/1/319, 2468, 13 September 1892. J.H. de Villiers not only made available a large piece of ground for the new school, but he also advanced a bond of two thousand five hundred pounds for its design and construction, over and above the one thousand pounds provided by the Education Department of the Cape.

7. D.H. Thomson, *The Story of a School* (Wynberg, 1961), 122-124. The main building was designed by Herbert Baker and the construction was carried out by the local firm, G.Thiele and sons.

8. Wynberg Times, 5 August 1893.

Of the other peri-urban municipalities, only Woodstock recorded a larger population increase than Wynberg during this decade, as indicated in the following table.<sup>9</sup>

TABLE SHOWING POPULATION INCREASE FOR EACH SUBURBAN MUNICIPALITY AND THE PERCENTAGE INCREASE BETWEEN 1891 AND 1902

MUNICIPALITY	POPULATION 1891	POPULATION 1902	% INCREASE
CAPE TOWN	47,955	64,171	33%
WOODSTOCK	5,815	25,032	330%
SEA POINT	2,296	7,567	230%
MOWBRAY	3,098	8,237	165%
RONDEBOSCH	3,378	5,791	71%
CLAREMONT	6,252	13,166	110%
WYNBERG	4,952	13,697	176%

The extraordinary growth of Woodstock was due in part to its industrial development, which encouraged working-class settlement in the area, whereas Wynberg and the other small municipalities retained their residential and commercial character. Claremont most resembled Wynberg in population size, but Wynberg showed a greater percentage growth than its neighbour.<sup>10</sup> The increased

9. C.P.P., G 21 of 1902, Report of a Commission appointed to report on certain matters affecting Cape Peninsula Municipalities and the Cape Divisional Council, V.1, 5.

10. *ibid.*, 6.

activity in the military camp during this period undoubtedly contributed to this accelerated growth. In its overall appearance Wynberg began to resemble a small town in the 1890s rather than a peri-urban village, and a map of the municipality, published in 1892,<sup>11</sup> indicates a broad residential sector made up of substantial properties and smaller sub-divided units, which extended to the Wynberg boundary and completely surrounded the central commercial area where the administrative buildings and other amenities were situated. The re-shaping process, which had begun twenty years earlier, had proceeded steadily and by 1892 a thriving commercial area could be identified in the vicinity of the Bay Road and the railway station. The map shows a network of roads, both old and new, providing the infrastructure for future development. Church Road (formerly Plumstead Road) had become the main artery leading from the old village and the military camp to the station and the Bay Road, while the latter ran parallel to the railway line, linking Wynberg to Cape Town and the other peri-urban towns and villages to the north and south of it. On a larger map of the Peninsula, the central situation of Wynberg is notable in relation to both the western sea-board and Hout Bay, as well as the Cape Flats, which stretched eastwards to the coast-line of False Bay.<sup>12</sup>

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11. CA, M 4/ 3430. See above, 389, Map 7.

12. See above, 388: Villages of the southern Peninsula.

A hard road provided a means of conveyance for farming produce from the Flats to Wynberg station and thence to the Cape Town market. Although there had been casual trading with retail shopkeepers at Wynberg, there was no formal wholesale outlet for produce until 1891, when Ludolph (the auctioneer and former proprietor of the Wynberg Match Works) successfully made application to open a market at Wynberg. This was enthusiastically welcomed by the editor of the *Wynberg Times* as "long overdue".<sup>13</sup> Had the railway design envisaged by James Maynard in the 1850s become a reality and had a direct line been established across the Flats between the farming districts of the Boland and Cape Town via Wynberg, it is probable that the latter would already have been a substantial market town.<sup>14</sup> Instead, the popular appeal of Wynberg as an residential area for commuters to Cape Town became paramount. The resultant property development in the area ensured its continuing growth and justified the policy decisions of its council on its public works programme.

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13. *Wynberg Times*, 7 March 1891.

14. See above, 180. The Mortimer Market, established in 1847, was closed between 1855 and 1860 after it became clear that the railway line from Wellington to Cape Town would not pass through Wynberg (C.A., 1/WBG, 17/7).

The Wynberg Municipality also maintained a firm stance on its relationship with the other local authorities. The failure of the Liesbeek Municipality had convinced Wynberg councillors that the unification of the smaller units of local government was not a viable option; nor did they favour amalgamation with the powerful Cape Town Municipality because they were determined to resist any attempts to influence or to control their decisions on matters which affected their own area. Grant<sup>15</sup> suggests that the confrontation in the 1880s between the municipalities of Cape Town and Wynberg regarding water rights on Table Mountain determined the relationship between the city and the suburbs for the next quarter of a century; and he affirms that control over the distribution of most of the mountain water by Cape Town increased its bargaining power in relation to the peri-urban areas. At the same time, the Select Committee decision in 1887 to award a proportion of the water to the Wynberg municipality had given Wynbergians access to their own water supply. In so doing, it also freed their council from involvement in the debate about water shortages and water supply, which plagued the other peri-urban municipalities.<sup>16</sup>

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15. D. Grant, "The politics of water supply" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1991), 89.

16. *ibid.*, 90.

The fact that the Wynberg councillors had found their own solutions to problems relating to the supply and demand for water in their area without recourse to Cape Town reinforced their independent attitude with regard to other responsibilities. There is little doubt that, irrespective of the parallel growth and development manifested by other peri-urban local authorities, the Wynberg Council intended to retain its individuality and to resist any moves towards amalgamation with other municipalities. Neither the colonial government nor the Cape Town Municipality approached the smaller municipalities directly in regard to incorporation in this period, but, in 1892, the opportunity arose for members of the Wynberg Council to clarify their position in relation to its future plans.

Shortly after the Cape Town Municipal Amendment Bill was submitted to the House, Rose Innes, the Attorney-General, moved that a Select Committee be appointed to examine the feasibility of a single Board to administer all the public works hitherto undertaken by the Divisional Council of the Cape and the municipalities.<sup>17</sup> Nor was it a coincidence that at this time the government was considering a comprehensive drainage plan for Cape Town and the southern suburbs, which had been drawn up by the well-known hydraulic engineer, Clement Dunscombe, and which

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17. Cape of Good Hope Votes and Proceedings of the House of Assembly, 1892, 278-280.

required a co-ordinated approach by all those concerned.<sup>18</sup> The dissatisfaction of the government with the current system of management by local authorities was revealed in the brief given to the Select Committee on Suburban Municipalities, which was to consider "the best means of effectually and economically ensuring the sanitation of the said municipalities and of improving, if possible, the local government of the suburbs of Cape Town."<sup>19</sup> In addition, the Committee was to consider the desirability of investing the local municipalities with the powers and duties in regard to roads, which were then vested in the Divisional Council. All these were provocative issues as far as the Wynberg Municipality was concerned. The evidence presented to the Committee indicated that the representatives of the parties concerned were aware that "the feeling in Wynberg is to be independent."<sup>20</sup> This sentiment was expressed by H. Beard, the mayor of Claremont, and echoed by the mayor of Wynberg, J. Bissett, and others. Bissett pointed out that Wynberg would be disadvantaged by amalgamation because "it has vested rights and privileges which are not possessed by any of the other municipalities".<sup>21</sup> These included water rights, facilities for

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18. C.P.P., G 2 - 1892. Report on Sewerage for the Cape Town suburbs.

19. C.P.P., A 20 - 1892, On Suburban Municipalities,

20. *ibid.*, 7.

21. *ibid.*, 35.

a drainage scheme and valuable sources of stone and gravel for road-making. Bissett also observed that "Wynberg was soon likely to be the head-quarters depot for all the troops in the Peninsula"<sup>22</sup> and that "there was the possibility of extension on all sides", whereas the other municipalities were not as likely to grow. Thus Wynberg Councillors thought it was advisable to remain independent of others.

Although Beard had acknowledged that "there were some circumstances in the case of Wynberg which distinguished it from the others", he reiterated that, "for the good of the whole, it should be one Municipality". He added pointedly, however, that "the other (municipalities) are more closely connected with one another than Wynberg is with any".<sup>23</sup> Bissett emphasised this self-sufficiency on the part of Wynberg when he argued that its Municipality was equipped to take over road maintenance in its area from the Divisional Council and that it had "material at hand for economic and efficient repair". Moreover, this was justified because its financial contribution to the Council exceeded the amount that was used on Wynberg roads.<sup>24</sup>

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22. *ibid.*, 36.

23. *ibid.*, 6.

24. *ibid.*, 35.

It was also prepared to undertake and finance its section of the drainage scheme for the southern suburbs, designed by Dunscombe, who had also recommended that Wynberg should operate independently within the overall plan, in view of its "particular facilities for carrying out the work".<sup>25</sup> The Wynberg Council tested this proposal at a public meeting of rate-payers,<sup>26</sup> who accepted that their Municipality should proceed independently of the proposed Drainage Board for joint control of the Dunscombe scheme. The names of the voting majority at the meeting (62 for the motion and 2 against it) indicated that they were representative of the well-to-do professional and commercial sector and that the less privileged rate-payers did not, or could not, avail themselves of this opportunity to express their opinion on the matter. A few months later the *Wynberg Times* reported confidently that "Wynberg would have its own drainage scheme", and it recorded, with some satisfaction that Wynberg was "on the move".<sup>27</sup>

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25. *ibid.*, 36. These facilities included plans for an adequate water supply and an appropriate route for the outfall of the system.

26. C.A., 3/WBG, 3, 9 June 1892. Minutes of the meeting held at the Wynberg Hall.

27. *Wynberg Times*, 31 October 1892.

An adequate water supply had to be secured before the Council could contemplate the introduction of a water-borne sewerage scheme, but it was now well on the way to achieving this goal. While the other local authorities were struggling to achieve unity on this question,<sup>28</sup> Wynberg had proceeded with the construction of its own enlarged water scheme and a storage reservoir, designed by a local engineer, John Delbridge,<sup>29</sup> which came into use in 1894. By the following year, however, it was apparent that more water reserves were needed and the long debated question of acquiring the Orange Kloof farm was raised once more. After considerable negotiation the municipality took possession of this valuable site with its several springs for the sum of three thousand pounds,<sup>30</sup> thereafter proceeding with the construction of another storage dam to compensate for the demands made on the Disa Stream by the Cape Town Municipality.<sup>31</sup>

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28. D. Grant, "The politics of Water Supply", 90-91.

29. C.A., 3/WBG, 3. Minutes of a meeting on 18 January 1892. The tender by Delbridge of £6137 was accepted by the council and authorisation to apply for a loan of £7000 was approved.

30. C.A., 3/WBG, 4. The Mayor's Minute, included in the minutes of meeting on 19 August 1894, reported this fact with some satisfaction.

31. *ibid.*, 20 December 1895. A tender for an additional storage dam was accepted from J. Irish. This was the lowest tender but it proved to be false economy because the work was not completed to the satisfaction of the Council Engineer.

Since the Wynberg Municipality had assumed responsibility for the management of its services and was in the process of providing the same structures which occasioned so much discussion in the Cape Town municipal area,<sup>32</sup> it also experienced many of the financial problems that were a feature of this level of development. Yet the main concern of the local council during the final decade of the nineteenth century seems to have been to move as fast as limited finances and municipal ambition would allow. In this, too, they were emulating the Cape Town model, where the full effects of the policy of modernisation and innovation promoted by the revitalised "Clean Party" were being felt.<sup>33</sup> Because Wynberg, like Cape Town, had incurred large loans to finance its water scheme and to secure future supplies by the construction of storage reservoirs, it had reached its limit of public liability under the terms of the Municipal Act. Nor did the Wynberg Council feel justified, at this time, in increasing the annual rate to supplement its income. The interest on these loans weighed heavily on the Wynberg municipal budget, although it in no way equalled the indebtedness of the Cape Town Municipality where a crisis point had been reached by the mid-1890s. The Cape Town rate-payers were alarmed by the knowledge that further loans would have

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32. V. Bickford-Smith, "Cape Town's dominant class and the search for order" (Western Cape Roots and Realities Conference, U.C.T., 1986), 9-10.

33. J.V. Bickford-Smith, "Commerce, Class and Ethnicity", 140-146.

to be sanctioned to complete existing water and drainage schemes, and opposition to increased financial commitments was mobilised by those opposed to reform.<sup>34</sup> This resulted in acrimonious exchanges in the press and the rejection of the additional loans at the poll by Cape Town rate-payers, who refused to accept a municipal agenda which forced substantial increases in service charges and rates.<sup>35</sup>

With this example before it, the Wynberg Council proceeded cautiously and did not pursue the Dunscombe drainage plan; instead it concentrated on stabilising existing projects, such as the water and road works, which would consolidate its economic base in the district and satisfy the commercial sector. It also gave attention to improving recreational facilities and, in 1895, a large section of the government ground adjacent to the camp was obtained by Councillor Morom and another local resident, J.H. Horne, for this purpose.<sup>36</sup> Most of the houses in the vicinity were themselves set in park-like grounds but this did not deter the Council from adding another asset to this prestigious neighbourhood, rather than up-grading less favoured areas.

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34. *ibid.*, 285-286.

35. D. Grant, "The Politics of Water Supply", 95-97.

36. C.A., 3/WBG, 3. 14 May 1895.

Balancing the municipal budget was not confined to finance only and the question of the balance of benefits between rate-payers who contributed large sums to the municipal coffers and those who were able to contribute far less, was often decided by an unequal distribution of the amenities. The wealthy rate-payers received the lion's share of municipal expenditure on roads, parks and water supplies, which were delivered more slowly to the poor. While Wynberg retained the image of a country village, these discrepancies could be glossed over as part of the under-development of the rural areas; but the water-works scheme in particular was part of its transformation into an independent municipality which was charged with the responsibility for ensuring the health and welfare of all inhabitants.

The minutes of the Select Committee which reported on suburban municipalities in 1892 had revealed that only 283 of the 770 houses in Wynberg were actually connected to the water supply,<sup>37</sup> suggesting that many residents were still dependent on the inefficient stand-pipes near the station, or that they continued to draw water from contaminated wells and pools. As a prime residential area, Wynberg was concerned with attaining and preserving a "clean" image, but it was obvious that further expenditure would be necessary to attend to the needs of the poor

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37. C.P.F., A 20 - 1892, 31-32. Proceedings of a Select Committee on Suburban Municipalities.

in order to ensure a uniform level of development. A spur to action in this regard was the renewed fear of infection from water-borne diseases,<sup>38</sup> which encouraged the well-to-do rate-payers to support extensions to the water scheme that would increase the water supply to the residents of the less affluent areas. The tone of reports by members of the Wynberg Village Management Board in the 1880s and of subsequent reports by the Sanitary Inspector of the council indicated that councillors were aware of the dangers inherent in the over-crowded and insanitary conditions which existed in the area.<sup>39</sup> Subsequent investigations had revealed significant evidence of ongoing problems,<sup>40</sup> and the reports of the District Surgeon in the 1890s reinforced these conclusions.<sup>41</sup>

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38. Cape of Good Hope Annexures to the Votes and Proceedings of the House of Assembly, 1897. Reports on Public health for the year 1896, 158-160 (G 42 of 1897). The District Surgeon of Wynberg, Dr Wright, presented a strongly-worded report on the insanitary state of the poorer areas of the municipality, where 25 cases of typhoid had been received by the Cottage Hospital and numerous other diseases had been treated.

39. C.A., 3/WBG, 1 ; 3/WBG, 326. These reports contain repeated warnings about the dangers of over-crowded slum conditions, untended refuse dumps, over-flow of sewage into streams and pools used for washing and as a source of household water supplies. The keeping of pigs in open spaces was also criticised.

40. C.P.P., A 13 - 1888, A 9 -1888. Select Committee reports on Sanitation and Water Supply for the Peninsula.

41. C.P.P., G 42 of 1897, 158-160.

Yet, in spite of many protestations in favour of the upliftment of the poor and much critical journalism, which was often politically motivated, sanitary improvement was slow in coming, and little reform was effected in Cape Town, or in its environs, before 1890.<sup>42</sup> Those who were euphemistically referred to as "people of colour" were relegated to an inferior role within the social structure and large numbers of them lived in squalor, both in the urban and the peri-urban areas.<sup>43</sup> Ironically, this information was publicised to further the ends of political candidates who occupied the "clean" platform, as opposed to the members of the "dirty" party, which, it was alleged, exploited these conditions as rentiers and landlords.<sup>44</sup> The references to the squalor of "unexplored Cape Town" in the Cape Times reports quoted by Bickford-Smith<sup>45</sup> could be extended to "unexplored Wynberg", where long-standing slum conditions existed too, in contrast to the life-style of the residents on Wynberg Hill. In local parlance "the hill" had come to be associated over time with the more affluent residents, and Plumstead, situated on the lower ground, with the poorer working-class and tradespeople.

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42. E. van Heyningen, "Public Health and Society in Cape Town" (Unpublished PhD. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1989), 234.

43. *ibid.*, 415.

44. J.V. Bickford-Smith, "Commerce, class and ethnicity", 230-232.

45. *ibid.*, 291.

Thus, the suburban development on the higher ground, in which the professional class, the military and wealthy merchants predominated, was perceived as being of higher status; and it is for this reason, perhaps, that the idea of a bo-dorp (upper village) and an onder-dorp (lower village) came into general use in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.<sup>46</sup> This usage of the terms "upper" and "lower" occurred in many places in the Cape,<sup>47</sup> and in Europe too it had acquired connotations which extended beyond spatial arrangement to ideas of society and class.

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The entrenched stratification of Wynberg society and the social distance which had increased between white and coloured people by the end of the nineteenth century,<sup>48</sup> were also contributory factors in determining the divide between the onder-dorp and the bo-dorp. The "legacy of slavery", with its exploitation of a politically powerless labour force, had also contributed to the

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46. Interviews with elderly residents of Wynberg, such as W. Herbert, I. Edros (formerly Ryklief), S. Peterson and G. Kay, confirm this usage among their parents and grand-parents.

47. J. Western, *Outcast Cape Town* (Cape Town, 1981), 161. It is the cottages in upper Wynberg which have been protected and preserved, while those in lower Wynberg have been overtaken by commercial development.

48. D. Cannadine, *Lords and Landlords: 1774-1967* (Leicester, 1980), 407. Cannadine refers to this as "topographic determinism".

49. J.V. Bickford-Smith, "Commerce, class and ethnicity..", 259-262.

creation of a considerable under-class.<sup>50</sup> Its members were marginalised by their low wages and their poverty and, although a small proportion of them had contrived to enter the commercial sector at its interstices, the majority were unable to achieve upward mobility.

Property-ownership often marked the boundary between the structural poverty in which most coloured people lived and that comparative security and status which the possession of landed property established. This was particularly evident in the onderdorp at Plumstead and, to a lesser extent, at Sheephead Square in the old Wynberg village, where coloured owner/occupiers as well as tenants lived since the early years of the century. Within these areas there was no clearly-defined and consistent division of the races because there was a long-standing history of property ownership and occupation by coloured tenants.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, in the context of forced removals under the 1950 Group Areas Act, Western refers to "pockets of coloureds", which were well-entrenched in various residential areas of the Peninsula by the twentieth century.<sup>52</sup>

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50. N. Worden, "Adjusting to Emancipation..." W.G. James & M. Simons (eds.) in *The Angry Divide* (Cape Town, 1989), 31-39.

51. See above, 48, 138-140.

52. J. Western, *Outcast Cape Town* (Cape Town, 1981), 40 ; also G. Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall* (Cape Town, 1987).

In the nineteenth century this juxtaposition of ethnic groups in Wynberg created an appearance of racial, if not social, integration. By the end of the century, however, a stable, coloured middle class, who sought security and education for their children, had begun to emerge from the heterogeneous population of lower Wynberg. The question arises as to whether the emergence of this small, coloured petit bourgeoisie was related to the acquisition of commercial and residential property, which seems to have promoted upward mobility among all working-class residents, white and coloured alike.<sup>53</sup> Economic success undoubtedly played a role in this process but unlike their white counterparts, many coloured artisans and shop-keepers maintained a low profile. They played an essential role in the commercial life of Wynberg for they were important purveyors of firewood, fruit, vegetables and fish; yet, as in earlier days, few of their names were listed in the commercial directories of the period.<sup>54</sup>

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53. See above, 59-65, 163-164.

54. The Argus Annual (1892 and 1894) and Donaldson and Hill's Western Province Directory (1902) give lists of Wynberg residents with occupation and street addresses.

Yet building plans approved by the council<sup>55</sup> indicate that numerous shops and cottages were erected in the onder-dorp by a cadre of successful coloured tradespeople like Falal and Samaai, greengrocers,<sup>56</sup> who became substantial rentiers in the onder-dorp. Some of the buildings erected were for their own use, while others were hired to tradespeople with less capital. Those too poor to afford premises of their own hawked their goods from door to door in horse-drawn carts or on foot, offering services of all kinds to the public. Many coloured people were cobblers and shoe-makers, tailors and dress-makers, chimney-sweeps, wood-cutters, carpenters and blacksmiths. Like Falal and Samaai, the Van der Schyff family, who operated the forge at Sheephead Square on Alphen Hill and also ran a cab service to and from the station, were listed in the directory, but other Muslim artisans who conducted businesses in this part of Wynberg village, were not. Among these were confectioners and bakers who specialised in the Cape delicacies much favoured by local residents and visitors, while in Young Lane, the Hoosain brothers made and bottled ginger-beer in the characteristic glass bottles with glass ball stoppers, before the more sophisticated mineral water factories, such as McCrindle and May, were established.<sup>57</sup>

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55. Minutes of council meetings throughout this decade (3/WBG, 4).

56. The Argus Annual (1892), 726; (1894), 665.

57. Interview with Mr. Abbas Cloete, 2 December 1989.

The sons of Philip Ryklief, Daniel and Yussuf, were unlisted in the directories, but they operated a general store and a fish-market on their plot in the Bay Road, which was supplied from their property at Kalk Bay, where they took part in the fishing trade.<sup>58</sup> Fresh fish brought back from the False Bay coast were regularly on sale in Wynberg,<sup>59</sup> although smoking and salting were important aspects of the local trade until refrigeration was introduced in Wynberg by De Beers Cold Storage at the end of the decade.<sup>60</sup> In this way the Ryklief family prospered and were able to invest in more land on the Cape Flats, where they kept cattle. Fresh milk was available at de ou plaas and an informal produce market was held on this piece of open ground where men and women traded goods.

Coloured women played an active role in the Wynberg economy, and were much in demand as laundresses. They carried their loads of washing to the nearby streams, where they dealt with the masses

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58. Interview with I. Ryklief of Elsie's River, 3 March 1989. This descendant of the Wynberg family moved from the "ou plaas", as the property was known, when the estate was sold in 1929 in the liquidation and distribution of assets to the family by the Colonial Orphan Chamber on the death of Gamiet Ryklief.

59. H. Duckitt, *The Diary of a Cape House-keeper*, (1904), 52. The well-known compiler of Cape cookery books remarks that "there are a few fish-shops at Wynberg that have been enterprising enough to retail tempting-looking fish. The best fish used all to be bought up by a company as soon as it was caught and sent to Johannesburg in a cool chamber by train."

60. Donaldson and Hill's *Western Province Directory* (1902), 979.

of starched clothing and napery that were required by households during this period. Then they took the clean linen to their homes where they pleated and goffered the intricate folds of under-wear, shirts, blouses and pinafores with flat-irons heated on fires. Bed-linen and napery were sent to Wynberg from hotels and private homes as far afield as Kalk Bay and Muizenberg. Thus, laundering continued to be as valuable a source of income for working-class women as it had been for generations.<sup>61</sup>

These hard-working Wynberg tradespeople negate the unflattering stereotype of coloured and "Malay" persons, who were stigmatised by the popular press and by European public opinion as the dirty "Abdol" or the worthless, drunken coloured lay-about.<sup>62</sup> Whereas in the pre- and the post-emancipation period, Islam was regarded as a refuge by former slaves and gave them a sense of identity within a community, which was accepted by those who were not Muslim,<sup>63</sup> by the 1890s religious affiliation to the Christian faith was regarded by whites and coloureds as an indication of

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61. Interview with Mrs G. Cloete of Parkwood, formerly of Wynberg, on 3 December, 1989. At the time of the meeting she was aged 86 but had clear personal recall of events just after the turn of the century; information about earlier times she provided was from tales told to her by her mother.

62. D. Grant, "The politics of water supply", 71. The writer quotes several letters to the *Cape Times* during the 1890s in which these stereotypes are particularly marked; also in Van Heyningen, "Public Health and Society", 151-160.

63. V. Bickford-Smith, "Commerce, class and ethnicity", 200-202.

higher social status and dependability. Christian denominations were active in the onder-dorp, where they provided mission schools which also served as venues for social activities. The small Anglican mission, known as Parkinson's school after its well-respected principal,<sup>64</sup> and the Methodist school attached to the chapel on the Bay Road, were attended mainly by coloured pupils, although there were also a few of European origin.<sup>65</sup>

An additional school was founded by the Dutch Reformed Mission Church in 1891<sup>66</sup> on ground donated by Martha, the widowed Countess of Stamford. She had married an elder of the Mission Church, Piet Pieterse, after the Earl's death in 1890,<sup>67</sup> and they continued to live at Graylands after their marriage, contributing generously to church charities.<sup>68</sup> She arranged for a large school-room, known as Martha's Saal, to be built to accommodate the local children who attended the Mission Church. It was later

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64. K. Vos, *The Church on the Hill*, (Cape Town, 1972), 134-135.

65. W. Gordon Mears, *Methodism in the Cape. An outline* (Wynberg, undated), The Ottery Road Mission Church was established about 1890, but special school rooms were not added to it until 1910. It replaced the Chapel on the Bay Road which was used by the Coloured members of the congregation after the new Methodist Chapel was established in Church Road in 1851.

66. A. Dreyer, *Gedenkboek van die N.G. Sendingsgemeente van Wynberg, 1881-1931* (Cape Town, 1931), 74.

67. *Wynberg Times*, 19 June 1890.

68. R. Langham-Carter, "Lord Stamford's Tangled Affairs", *Familia*, 11, 1976 (1), 15-16.

enlarged to cope with an increasing number of pupils,<sup>69</sup> eventually being transformed into the Battswood School on the site donated by Martha Pieterse.

Although there were several Christian congregations in the onder-dorp, there was also a considerable Islamic community in the area. They too had been given a focal point for their devotions and the education of their children with the establishment in 1886 of the Yusafaya mosque on land which belonged to the Ryklief family adjacent to the station.<sup>70</sup> There was a madressa (school) close to it, which served the entire Muslim population of Wynberg, some of whom still lived in the old village on the hill. No formal place of worship or education existed there, and so the langer(prayer-room) in Pear Tree Lane continued to be used by local residents. Whereas the Moslems came down to the mosque at the onder-dorp to worship, the members of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church went up to the bo-dorp to the new "daughter" church, constructed in 1881 within sight of the "mother" church, which had served the entire congregation for the preceding fifty years.

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69. Commemorative brochure, 75th Anniversary, 1891-1966, Battswood School.; see also E. L. Maurice, "The development of policy in regard to the education of Coloured pupils at the Cape, 1880-1940" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1966), Chapter 2, for a comprehensive discussion of mission school policy in the late nineteenth century.

70. Interview with I. Ryklief, Elsie's River, 3 March 1989.

The presence and purpose of these two church buildings, situated so close to one another, provides a striking example of the social distance which existed between white and coloured Christians in the 1890s,<sup>71</sup> in spite of their interaction at the economic level.

Another example of this type of social discrimination existed in regard to the numerous Jewish traders ("smouse") who travelled through the district. They too were not regarded as socially acceptable and their actions were criticised in the columns of the local newspapers.<sup>72</sup> They were also stigmatised in the reports of the District Surgeon, Dr Claude Wright, who spoke unfavourably of "their dirty habits" and their insanitary living conditions in Wynberg.<sup>73</sup> Many of the refugees who found their way to Wynberg, mainly from Eastern Europe, had few resources and anti-Semitic feelings exacerbated their plight.<sup>74</sup> From these humble

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71. A. Dreyer; Gedenkboek van die N.G. Sendingsgemeente van Wynberg, 19. This division along racial lines followed decisions which had been made at the 1857 Synod of the church.

72. M. Kaplan, Jewish Roots in the South African Economy Cape Town, 1986), 27; also M. Shain, Jewry and Cape Society (Cape Town, 1983), 5-6.

73. C.F.P., G 42 - 1897. Public Health Report for 1897, 159; G 66 - 1902. Public Health Report for 1901, 139-140. See Also M. Shain, "Anti-Semitic feelings in South Africa" (Unpublished PhD. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1990) for an exposition of the antipathy expressed towards the Jewish people at this time.

74. B.Feldman, "Social life of Cape Town Jewry" (B.A. Hons. dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1984), 9-12.

beginnings, however, businesses were established in Wynberg by some of the Jewish traders who had entered the Colony. For instance, the Rifkin (Rifkill) brothers arrived from Lithuania in the 1890s and, after several years of itinerant trade, they set up shop in the Bay Road.<sup>75</sup> By the end of the decade they had a second shop in Wynberg village, and the Matz, Rosenberg, Oshry, Cohen and Mendelssohn families followed their example.<sup>76</sup> Wynberg soon had one of the largest Jewish communities in the southern Peninsula, numbering 743 by the 1890s.<sup>77</sup> By 1897 the number of Jewish residents had grown to an extent that justified the construction of a synagogue, which was consecrated by Rabbi Bender of Cape Town.<sup>78</sup> It is not surprising that Jewish traders gravitated towards Wynberg, because in this period, more than ever before, it provided an opportunity for the small trader to break into an expanding market and to have easy access into the surrounding countryside.

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75. Interview with Mrs. Webner, a great-grand-daughter of the Rifkin brothers, on 8 March 1992. She owns the family home, Avoca, the last remaining house of the Edwardian period on Main Road, Wynberg.

76. Donaldson and Hills, *Western Province Directory* (1902), 978-979.

77. M. Shain, *Jewry and Cape Society*, 74. Outside Cape Town, only Woodstock could claim a larger community with 797 members.

78. *Wynberg Times*, 18 June 1897; G. Saron and L. Hotz (eds.), *The Jews in South Africa* (Oxford University Press, 1955), 40.

According to the commercial directories of the period,<sup>77</sup> the number of shops in Wynberg quadrupled in the 1890s, as the following table indicates.

	1888	1894	1902
Shopkeepers	26	94	114
Tradespeople.	33	63	86
Total	59	157	200

Number of businesses listed in Wynberg between 1888 and 1902

Yet, since many of the Jewish traders and most of the coloured shop-owners were omitted from these lists, the number in 1902 should probably be increased by a further 25% - 30%.

These stores catered for all tastes, from the most basic requirements to luxury items, but it is clear that the well-to-do local merchants were proud of the standards they maintained and did not hesitate to advertise their high quality. Bennett<sup>80</sup> and Baker were "superior grocers", Elliot's butchery provided "choice

79. Argus Annual (Cape Town, 1888 and 1894); Donaldson and Hills, Western Province Directory (Cape Town, 1902).

80. Argus Annual (1894), 664. J.T. Bennett is also listed as the proprietor of the Wynberg Baking Co. and the manager of Coghill's Hotel.

cuts", while E.K. Green and G. de Kock advertised "the finest wines". The Morom brothers were renowned for high-class tailoring and S. Ponder as a feather merchant "of highest quality", while Duncan Taylor and McDonald's drapery stores catered for "discerning customers". In 1874 the new glass-fronted show-room of Withinshaw's was opened and displayed "all that was required for the modern home".<sup>81</sup> In 1874 two astute businessmen, Alexander Calder and Henry Daniel, took advantage of this trend towards excellence and entered into partnership with T.E. Askew, a Claremont forage merchant, who also had two large ware-houses in Wynberg, the larger at the intersection of Lower Church Street and the Bay Road. They became not only the prime retailers of feed and forage for the large numbers of cart, carriage and riding-horses in the district, but also the chief suppliers of wood, oil and coal to the well-to-do households of Wynberg. Although small retailers continued to operate in the village, Calder and Daniel were the first entrepreneurs to co-ordinate the supply of these essential commodities. Their business, known as Calderco, ensured that both of them could build comfortable villas on Wynberg hill alongside their customers.

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81. Wynberg Times, 15 December 1874. The Wynberg Times carried regular advertisements by all these shops throughout the decade and, in December 1874, the paper commented on the excellent pre-Xmas sales.

Calder also took a keen interest in local politics and within a few years he was elected to the Wynberg Municipal Council,<sup>82</sup> where many of his contemporaries in the Wynberg business sphere also made their mark. An important feature of the 1890s was the rise of this pro-active group of middle-class business people who wished to participate in municipal affairs in order to influence the course of economic development at Wynberg. Their vested interests in the local commercial sector encouraged its advancement, and their successful businesses demonstrated that they were all men of substance in their chosen fields. They appreciated the need to have a tightly-controlled financial policy, while not underestimating the importance of raising loans for the purpose of implementing the public works programme, thus increasing capital assets.

These men filled the vacancies on the council when veteran councillors like Buissine, Bissett and De Kock retired or died. They included Councillors Vollmer and Voskule (merchants), Calder, Duncan Taylor, McDonald, Withinshaw, Ponder, Elliott, Morom, Dunn and Allen (all of whom were shop-keepers), MacBeth, (the new owner of Coghills Hotel) and Milward (the manager of Sturk's Match Factory). They represented their own interests and those of their clients and customers who had voted them into office, but they

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82. C.A., 3/WBG, 4. Minutes of meeting, 19 September 1898.

also coped efficiently with the considerable responsibility of managing the municipality. Waller has commented that amateurism was a shortcoming of the British municipal regime<sup>83</sup> on which the colonial municipalities were modelled, but the strength of the Wynberg Council lay in its ability to muster competent business men with the financial expertise to carry out its ambitious schemes.

The appointment of Barry Munnik<sup>84</sup> as the Town Clerk of Wynberg in 1894 added to this competence.<sup>85</sup> He succeeded H. Bower, the former secretary to the municipality, when he retired. The changed title for the office indicated the direction of development and Munnik proved more than equal to the new designation and its responsibilities. He had been resident in Wynberg for some years and, as the Wynberg Times pointed out, "was thoroughly acquainted with its requirements". He was the official auditor to the council during Bower's tenure and thus had "a complete knowledge of the system of book-keeping in the council".<sup>86</sup> He held office for the next thirty years, his presence giving continuity to its fiscal policy and adding to the credibility of the council. He guided the

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83. P.J. Waller, *Town, City and Nation* (Oxford, 1983), 289-299.

84. *Men of the Times* (Cape Town, 1906), 293-294.

85. C.A., 3/WBB, 4. 20 December 1893.

86. Wynberg Times, 10 March 1894.

municipality through the complex financial commitments which were needed to fund the ambitious programme of public works undertaken in this period. Nor did the Councillors hesitate to call upon engineers of the calibre of Thomas Stewart when they needed expert advice on these projects, or to employ the talents of other gifted residents.

Most of the municipal contracts and tenders went to local firms, thus generating employment opportunities for artisans in the area. <sup>87</sup>Prominent among these local firms were R. Allen and Son, iron-mongers and carriers, which had a long-standing transport contract with the municipality, while the storage reservoir construction contracts usually were placed with another resident, J. Delbridge, who also handled kerbing and guttering contracts. The sewage disposal tender had been obtained by G. Thiele, a local joiner and owner of a farm on the Ottery Road where that waste was buried. Contracts for forage were given to Calder or other Wynberg suppliers, and there were increasing opportunities for sales by local suppliers of building materials, such as Withinshaw Engineering and Benjamin's Brickfield.

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87. C.A., 3/WEG, 4. An examination of the council balance sheets and receipt books indicates that these local firms received the lion's share of the council's business.

The thriving business sector at Wynberg extended its influence across the southern Peninsula, reaching out in many and varied ways into the surrounding countryside to draw potential customers into its ambit. However, this rapid development process was not without logistical problems. As more and more prospective customers entered Wynberg, traffic congestion became an on-going problem as the busy corner of Church and Bay Roads became the hub of commercial activity and shops spread further along the Bay Road towards Diep River. Thus, a major controversy arose when the Cape Town Tramway Company decided to submit a bill to parliament during 1895 by which they sought to establish an electric tram service along the centre of the main highway from Cape Town to Wynberg.<sup>88</sup> There were mixed feelings about its introduction in view of the increasing traffic on the Bay Road, whereupon extended negotiations commenced. The government appointed a Select Committee to examine the advisability of constructing the tram-line from Cape Town to a point near the bottom of Constantia Road, Wynberg,<sup>89</sup> and the lengthy evidence placed before it revealed that wide-ranging viewpoints on the scheme and its projected route existed both in Wynberg and elsewhere. Although the Wynberg Council had initially opposed the tramway, Mayor de Kock

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88. Votes and Proceedings of the House of Assembly, 1895, 178. The Bill was presented on behalf of H. Butters et al by T. Fuller, the one of the members for the Cape district.

89. C.P.P., A 8 - 1895. Proceedings of a Select Committee on the Cape Town and Suburbs Tramway Bill.

stated in his evidence to the Select Committee that the Councillors had approved the bill when they had had the opportunity to study its provisions.<sup>90</sup> These included responsibility by the Tramway Company for the levelling and preparation of the road surface for the tram line and the maintenance of the centre section of it, thereby reducing the cost incurred by the municipality for the road.<sup>91</sup> There were strong objections to the tramway, however, from two sectors of the Wynberg population. The carriage-owning upper classes protested that the rural atmosphere of Wynberg would be disturbed by the presence and noise of the trams.<sup>92</sup>

However, the most cogent objection came from Bay Road businessmen and others, including some Constantia farmers who used the road to transport goods in heavily - laden wagons. They feared that the loss of the central section of the road for general traffic use would increase the congestion already experienced on each side of the road and interfere with access to their business premises as well as creating a safety hazard.<sup>93</sup> An assessment of the average

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90. *ibid.*, 74 - 75.

91. *ibid.*, 90.

92. *ibid.*, 250. The evidence given by Wynberg resident, Charles Tennant Jones, M.L.A., and several other gentlemen of standing made this point.

93. *ibid.*, 187- 191.

traffic flow along the Bay Road each day had been calculated for each suburb,<sup>94</sup> which underlined the importance of Wynberg as a junction point for road traffic from the southern Peninsula and the Cape Flats; its figures were exceeded only by those for Mowbray with its input from the Klipfontein Road. The tramway engineers responded by suggesting that better traffic control over wagons and other vehicles would overcome this problem and cited examples of British and European cities where this was the case when tramways were introduced.<sup>95</sup> Indeed, the laissez faire approach to reckless riding and driving by the limited police force had been a cause for concern for some time and more up-to-date ideas for traffic supervision were now advocated, with the implication that this might benefit everyone in the long term. More than seventy witnesses were called from all sections of the route to present their opinions and technical expertise to the Committee. The varying width of the road came under particular discussion, as this lack of uniformity was marked at the entrance to Wynberg where, the engineers pointed out, it was somewhat less than the approved width of thirty feet. This, understandably, contributed to the congestion experienced at the Church Street and

94. *ibid.*, 51. The survey of traffic indicated that the number of vehicles counted per day, passing a particular point at various suburbs, were :

1411 .....	Mowbray	996.....	Rondebosch
1328.....	Wynberg (Piers Rd.)	968.....	Kenilworth
1126.....	Claremont	838.....	Rosebank

95. *ibid.*, 4-6.

Station Road intersections with the Bay Road, where the stream of traffic was increased by the regular in-flow of produce-wagons from the Cape Flats. The sponsors of the Tramways Bill brought witnesses from the farming sectors at Koeberg and the Boland,<sup>96</sup> who supported the viability of the scheme, and denied that their wagons posed any danger to the public. Nevertheless, many Wynberg business people were eloquent in their opposition to the tramway. Withinshaw, whose new shop was situated near the Church Street intersection, complained that the road was already too narrow for the quantity of wagons and carts collecting loads of timber and other unwieldy goods from his store.<sup>97</sup> He was supported by Allen, who, as a contractor, claimed that he had 145 vehicles on the road for his own use and for hire.<sup>98</sup> On the other hand, when Askew expressed the same views about the problems experienced at his Claremont store, it emerged that his Wynberg partner, Calder, had sided with the municipality in favour of the project, although the wagons belonging to the customers of his forage store were responsible for increasing congestion at the Church Street intersection. This may well have been a pragmatic alignment on the part of Calder, because he was soon to become a member of the Council.

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96. *ibid.*, 65-72.

97. *ibid.*, 187-197.

98. *ibid.*, 213 - 215.

The tramway issue divided opinion sharply throughout the southern suburbs and the controversy emphasised the gap between the interests of business people, who commuted by rail to work in Cape Town, and the requirements of other inhabitants, who needed to travel only short distances along the Bay Road and for whom the trams would provide cheaper and more convenient transportation. Many coloured people who worked in the area would have made up a considerable proportion of these short-distance travellers. A tramways engineer had suggested earlier that "tramways are the carriages for 90% of the population",<sup>99</sup> and Vollmer stated bluntly that "those who have carriages should not stand in the way of those who don't".<sup>100</sup>

The tramway supporters also stressed its convenience for local travel between the suburbs for school-children and for ladies who wished to shop in neighbouring suburbs. Vollmer (who was elected as Mayor in 1895) and De Kock (a councillor of long standing and a former Mayor), argued in favour of the line because it would be an added amenity for many local people. The evidence given by the General-Manager of Railways (C.B. Elliott, also a Wynberg resident) confirmed that the tramway did not represent a threat to the rail service to and from Cape Town, but rather would take up

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99. *ibid.*, 8.

100. *ibid.*, 134.

short distance passengers for whom the railway did not cater specifically.<sup>101</sup> After three weeks of evaluation, the Committee decided in favour of the Bill, with a few amendments which did not materially change it, but due to the lengthy proceedings, it was not promulgated until the following year.<sup>102</sup> After construction of the tramway commenced and the demand for commercial sites on the strip of land between the railway line and the Bay Road increased, shop-fronts edged nearer to the road and a bottle-neck was created. Traffic congestion did worsen as had been predicted, and by 1898 it had become clear to all that Lower Church Street should be widened. The editor of the Wynberg Times pointed out that "there were sometimes as many as twelve waggons waiting at the corner, while they loaded at Calderco".<sup>103</sup> This meant that both the Bay Road and the main access road to the station, were effectively blocked.

The square in front of the station had also shrunk in size as the land surrounding it was sub-divided and sold. Both the Royal Hotel and the Wynberg Club occupied large sites facing the square,<sup>104</sup>

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101. *ibid.*, 274.

102. Acts of Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope, 1896, 3619-3634. Act 29 - 1896. To incorporate the Southern Suburbs of Cape Town Tramway Co. Ltd.

103. Wynberg Times, 22 October 1898.

104. See above, 375-376.

while the public library was also housed in a building adjacent to the station.<sup>105</sup> On the north side of the square was the projected site for the new Town Hall, for which planning had begun in 1891, when the piece of ground opposite the station was acquired from Farmer for £500. It was intended to centralise all the services on this site and to erect a building which would symbolise the achievements of the municipality and reflect its status. The old buildings in Wolfe Street were sold to fund the purchase of the new site and temporary offices were found at Glassborough House in Church Road.<sup>106</sup>

The project suffered a major setback, however, when the government delayed its decision to incorporate the new Magistrate's Court into the Town Hall complex, and eventually decided on another site for the court further up the road.<sup>107</sup> No real progress was made until 1897 when Mayor Vollmer was elected. He pursued the matter vigorously, suggesting that permission be obtained from the Wynberg rate-payers to raise a loan of £11,000 for its design and construction, but his motion was defeated.<sup>108</sup> With so many demands on the municipal budget, the Council was wary of committing itself

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105. Wynberg Times, 25 November 1893.

106. C.A., 3/WBG, 4, 31 July 1893, Mayor's Minute.

107. *ibid.*, 12 August 1895.

108. *ibid.*, 6 September 1897. The vote was 5 - 1 against the motion.

to another major expense. Vollmer did not let the matter rest there, however, and he obtained estimates from a well-known architect, J. Stonier, and a builder, C. Rutherford, to support his contention, which he expressed in the Mayor's Minute at the end of his term, that "a large hall would generally increase the prestige of Wynberg".<sup>109</sup> When Vollmer was elected in August 1898 for another term as Mayor, the new council approved plans for the Town Hall, which would be constructed on the site opposite the station and would also accommodate the popular Public Library.<sup>110</sup>

Seven years after it had been first mooted, construction finally began. In that year Councillor Ponder designed a coat of arms for the Wynberg Municipality and had this inscribed on an impressive wooden shield, which was placed above the doorway to the municipal office;<sup>111</sup> in due course this was moved to the new Town Hall. These symbols of authority set the seal, so to speak, on the councillor's plans to ensure the pre-eminence of Wynberg among the other local authorities.

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109. *ibid.*, 30 June 1898. The Mayor's Minute.

110. *ibid.*, 15 August 1898. Minutes of meeting.

111. *Wynberg Times*, 29 June 1895.

A few months later, by Act of Parliament,<sup>112</sup> Wynberg was delimited as a separate electoral division, entitled to its own parliamentary representative, thus further increasing its status and influence in the Western Cape. Calder proposed H. Cloete of the Alphen estate,<sup>113</sup> and he was returned unopposed to the next parliamentary session where, it was assumed, he would be in a position to further the interests of the district and the major projects which the councillors were undertaking. The recognition of Wynberg as municipality, magistracy and separate electoral division increased the independent outlook of its council, as the former village assumed the appearance and the status of a small town. The building boom was sustained throughout this decade and an examination of the minute books of the Wynberg Council meetings during the period 1894 - 1900 indicates that the Public Works committee passed plans for houses, cottages, stables and business premises at the rate, on average, of twelve per month. This suggests that there were at least two hundred structures of all kinds being erected per year in Wynberg by 1900, which is borne out by the escalating figures given in successive Mayoral Minutes.<sup>114</sup>

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112. Acts of Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope, 1898, Act 19 - 1898. An Act to provide for the better representation of people in parliament was promulgated on 20 December 1898.

113. C.A., 3/WBG, 4. 6 January 1899. Minutes of a public meeting held at Wynberg.

114. C.A., 3/WBG, 4. Mayoral Minutes presented from 1895 to 1899.

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PLANS PASSED PER YEAR  
BY THE WYNBERG MUNICIPALITY

12 August 1895.....	56 structures
30 June 1896.....	103 "
30 June 1897.....	180 "
30 June 1898.....	260 "
30 June 1899.....	212 "

As a result, among the municipalities of the Peninsula, between 1897 and 1902 Wynberg had the highest rateable value of property after Cape Town and Woodstock.

RATEABLE VALUES IN CAPE TOWN, WOODSTOCK AND WYNBERG<sup>115</sup>

	Cape Town	Woodstock	Wynberg
1897	£ 5,066,120	£973,800	£ 592,107
1900	£8,613,690	£ 1,232,120	£ 1,023,816
1901	£9,475,260	£1,613,405	£ 1,124,206
1902	£12,272,190	£2,071,900	£2,025,692
% increase	142%	112%	242%

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115. C.P.P., G 21 - 1902, V 1, 8. The significance of this Commission for Wynberg will be analysed in Chapter 8.

As this table shows, Wynberg enjoyed the highest percentage increase over the whole period and its valuation level, relative to industrially-developed Woodstock, is remarkable. The doubling of the rateable value between 1901 and 1902 was due, in part, to a re-valuation of properties in the area,<sup>116</sup> but the leap between 1897 (just under £600,000) and 1900 (over £1,000,000) reflected the effect of the building boom in this period. The increase in the rate from 1.75d to 2d in the pound in 1901<sup>117</sup> occasioned numerous objections by rate-payers and the Valuation Courts were kept busy;<sup>118</sup> but, on average, the property-owners accepted the higher rate, which was still less than that of Rondebosch or Mowbray.<sup>119</sup>

An overview of the property market between 1892 and 1902 indicates that the demand for erven by well-to-do buyers was maintained, as the few remaining properties with substantial open land attached were sub-divided. For instance, after Alexander van Breda (son of Gert van Breda) died suddenly in 1893,<sup>120</sup> his widow advertised the sale of their fruit farm, Waterloo Green, thus

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116. C.A., 3/WBG, 5, 3 June 1902. Minutes of meeting.

117. *ibid.*, 26 August 1901. Mayor's Minute.

118. *ibid.*, 22 May - 16 June 1902. The Valuation Court dealt with 135 objections during this period, which were contested by a wide cross-section of ratepayers.

119. C.F.P., B 21 of 1902.

120. Wynberg Times, 28 March 1893.

opening up this property for development. Calder and his partner, Daniel, were the first to take advantage of this opportunity to secure prime land adjacent to the De Villiers estate.<sup>121</sup> The rest of this farm was subsequently sold and elegant villas replaced the orchards alongside the Krakeelwater.

Following the sale of Waterloo House and its grounds, in which the Wynberg Girls' Seminary was situated,<sup>122</sup> all the farm land between Aliwal Road and Alexander Road was given over to school use or to residential development. The Steuartfield estate was also sub-divided when Charles Durrant Steuart died suddenly in 1891;<sup>123</sup> it was bought by the mining magnate, J.B. Robinson, after he acquired Hawthorndene from F.E Phillipson Stow.<sup>124</sup>

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121. D.O., T 112, 30 October 1893. A. van Breda (widow): H.H. Daniel and A. Calder.

122. A.Dreyer, Kerk-souvenir van Wynberg, 1829-1929 (Cape Town, 1929), 24; Wynberg Times, 2 April 1892.

123. Wynberg Times, 21 January 1891. The newspaper was sold to The Western Province Publishing Co. (owner Jas. Ferguson) shortly after this.

124. D.O., T 1124, 26 March, 1891. F.E.P. Stow : J.B. Robinson.

Robinson did not keep Steuartfield, however, and later sold most of it to Carl Jeppe,<sup>125</sup> for whom Herbert Baker designed and built a magnificent house named Trovato.<sup>126</sup> Shortly before this the Hon. Robert Graham had died and within the next three years, his property, The Mains estate situated between Tennant Road and the Bay Road, was broken up into plots by his heirs.<sup>127</sup> The neighbouring estate, Sonnestraal (formerly named Wijnbergh's Hoogte, the home of Philip Morgenrood), had already been sold by his second wife to her neighbour Captain Jackson,<sup>128</sup> who sold it a few years later to his neighbour, the Hon. Thomas Graham (the son of Robert Graham).<sup>129</sup> Sir Henry Juta and his wife moved into the house, which her father, Murdock Tait, had built some years before,<sup>130</sup> while Louis Phillips, a mining magnate, occupied the adjacent property.<sup>131</sup>

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125. D.O., T 44, 9 March 1897. J.E. Robinson : Carl Jeppe.

126. M. Keach, Herbert Baker: architecture and idealism. 1892-1913. (Cape Town, 1993), 51. Baker also built Karatara for Sir James Rose. Innes near Kenilworth station and St Cyrus for Sir Charles Abercrombie Smith in Tennant Road.

127. Wynberg Times, 9 May, 1895. In an editorial the newspaper lamented the passing of Graham and "the last of the old estates".

128. D.O., T 4892, 22 September 1892. Estate P.D. Morgenrood : T. Jackson.

129. D.O., T 812, 3 July, 1894. C. Jackson : T.L. Graham.

130. D.O., T 201, 11 July 1884. P.D. Morgenrood : M.M. Tait.

131. D.O., T 725, 8 August, 1895. Phillips moved to the Cape after making a fortune in Kimberley.

Thus, the huge estate that Philip Morgenrood had assembled between 1840 and 1860 was no more. All these desirable properties, which were within easy walking distance of the Bay Road and Kenilworth Station, were snapped up by these well-to-do buyers. Like the area between the Bay Road and the railway line (formerly owned by the Maynard family), it had become a high-class residential suburb with narrow roads, flanked by well-built houses set in large gardens, which testified to the wealth and social standing of their owners.<sup>132</sup> Sir Gordon Sprigg<sup>133</sup> settled at Vredenberg, next door to Fairfield School,<sup>134</sup> while just opposite to him, Alfred Wright built four investment properties in Cornwall Place.<sup>135</sup> All these professional men, some of them titled, exercised considerable political and economic power, but only one of them, the Hon. Thomas Graham, served briefly on the Wynberg Council in the 1890s. The others supported the school committees, presented the prizes at the annual sports days, opened church bazaars, made large donations to worthy local causes and used their influence with government, when it was necessary; but, in the main, it was middle class businessmen who formed the backbone of the council.

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132. See above, 389. Map 7.

133. *Men of the Times* (1906), 3. Sprigg was a well-known member of the Cape parliament and had recently become Premier of the Colony for the third time.

134. *Donaldson and Hills, Western Province Directory* (1902), 991.

135. *ibid.*, 975. These backed onto Burlington House, the home of his brother, Dr Claude Wright.

These property owners represented a very wide range of interests, but comprised a comparatively small segment of the total population. Most local inhabitants rented property and, with a few exceptions representing outside investment by speculators living elsewhere, the rentiers and landlords who were exploiting the need for accommodation by landless people were Wynbergians. This situation was highlighted when an informal local census was conducted in 1898/99 by the Sanitary Officer.<sup>136</sup> This was intended to assist the administrative staff of the Council in determining the amount and the distribution of services required for local residents. It is not possible to assess whether all residents were enumerated, but the census figures do give some idea of the size of the total population at this time.<sup>137</sup> It also provided a profile of ownership and of occupation because it enumerated the number and gender of the adults and children occupying each dwelling as owners or tenants. The census revealed the comparatively small number of owner/occupiers in Wynberg's total population of approximately ten thousand people. Of the

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 136. C.A., 3/WBG, 449. Wynberg Census (1899).

137. The final report included in 3/WBG, 449 breaks down the total into several categories.

	Adult males	Adult females	Males under 14	Females under 14	Total
European	1451	1700	989	1033	5173
Coloured	1189	1499	1034	1059	4781
Total	2640	3199	2023	2092	9954

1769 dwellings and shops which were identified in the census, only 429 were occupied by owners, the implication being that at least three-quarters of the accommodation available in Wynberg was rented by the local population. The census also provided the names of landlords in the case of rented property; thus, it is possible to single out a number of residents who were also landlords, together owning at least three hundred cottages and shacks which were occupied by a large number of tenants. Half of these cottages and shacks were owned by just 7 landlords, as the following table reveals.

TABLE OF WYNBERG LANDLORDS OWNING 10 OR MORE COTTAGES

Ryklief (shop-keepers).....	15 cottages
Falal (green-grocer).....	15
May (mineral-water manufacturer).....	37
Wetton (tanner).....	10
Misses Cloete.....	36
Miss Hildagonda Duckitt.....	12
Miss Buyskes (boarding-house keeper).....	23

These landlords were all Wynberg residents who supplemented their income in this way, and it is notable, perhaps, that four of them were women. There were also a few rentiers (not listed above) who did not live in Wynberg, but owned up to 10 properties there.

This census listed properties according to street address, indicating graphically that rented dwellings and shops extended from the upper hill area to the densely populated sector of lower Wynberg, and that rented property was occupied by a wide cross-section of Wynberg residents. Most of the rented properties in the poorer areas were concentrated in blocks, accommodating semi-detached and detached cottages of a very simple type, with few amenities such as an independent water-supply. These properties presented the municipality with major problems regarding water-supply, sanitation and refuse removal, particularly in the low-lying areas of Castletown Road and Batts' Wood, where access was difficult and the roads were in a dilapidated condition. Thus, increasing pressure was placed upon the existing infrastructure, which served the areas where construction was taking place, and the council minutes include several requests by councillors that rentiers and residents in the developing areas should provide a contribution towards the cost of kerbing and guttering the new roads.<sup>138</sup> The municipality was responsible for maintaining all the established thoroughfares which linked the various sections of Wynberg with one another, and this represented a substantial slice of the municipal budget.

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138: C.A., 3/WBG, 4. Minutes of various meetings during 1897-98.

The management of the budget was competently handled during this period and, although the council did have recourse to an overdraft to complete its work each year, it was able to stabilise its financial position in the following year. The council used loans to finance large public works and the ability to remain within the limitations of its borrowing power determined its capacity to provide and service amenities.

In this period the most important of these was, without doubt, the hygienic disposal of waste through the implementation of a new drainage plan which would uphold Wynberg's reputation as a premier residential area. The Municipality had assumed responsibility for the existing method of disposal by the regular collection of stercus buckets by carts and their removal to a designated waste deposit ground on the Flats at Ottery. This method was neither hygienic nor effective, in that there were spillages, endangering health and the sanitary condition of the streets, while many people were casual in their disposal of waste, and fouled irrigation channels and streams with effluent.<sup>139</sup> Several of these water-courses flowed through the village and, during the heavy rains of winter, flooding frequently occurred, damaging road

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139. C.A., 3/WBG, 4, 6 August 1897. The reports of the Sanitary Inspector and the District Surgeon confirmed that serious pollution of streams and pools was taking place. They also criticised the condition of slaughter-houses and butchers' shops in the village.

surfaces and guttering.<sup>140</sup> Although the vleis through which the Krakeelwater flowed collected most of the run-off and the lei-water channels carried away the excess, there had always been a natural seepage pattern from the higher ground towards the lower ground near the station, where the water drained into standing pools.

As the built-up areas there increased in size and population density, the need for effective storm-water control was crucial. In the interests of better sanitation, no more cess-pools were permitted in the Municipality after 1887<sup>141</sup> but existing cess-pools continued to pollute the water-logged ground below the Bay Road. Immediate action was required to address the mounting problems presented by the insanitary condition of the municipality. Attention was drawn to this problem in an irate letter to the Wynberg Times in 1898 from a Wynberg vegetable farmer, who complained that "some inhuman government official has given permission for the slops of Wynberg to be conveyed to and emptied on one spot in the Government Plantation Ground, through which Ottery Road runs, not ten yards from the noses of those who have occasion to pass up and down." He continued: "Now we come to

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140. Wynberg Times, 12 November, 1898. The reports of extremely heavy rains emphasised the damage caused. The Owl columnist commented, "Never remember so heavy a quantity", and urged action on a proper drainage system.

141. C.A., 3/WBG, 3, 4 February 1888.

the hub of operations and that is the receptacle of all the stercus tubs of Wynberg and its surroundings, the germ generator of the whole district; and here, in the most thickly inhabited part of the Flats is dumped down this vile corruption, under our very noses, and spread broadcast on the ground to allow the excessive heat of the summer sun to cause the disease-laden, suffocating odour to emanate from." He concluded with this disturbing thought: "If you want wholesome produce, make sure it comes from a wholesome quarter."<sup>142</sup> It was obvious that some action had to be taken by the municipality and an interdict was granted ordering that "all waste be thoroughly covered over."<sup>143</sup> It was clear, too, that this could be only a temporary solution to the problem and that a comprehensive plan for sewers and drainage had to be implemented as soon as possible. The idea of a drainage scheme for the southern suburbs had been received enthusiastically by the Wynberg Council in 1892,<sup>144</sup> but there had been an extended period of delay and uncertainty regarding the implementation of any plans. In the light of the current public outcry about insanitary conditions, however, the council decided that it was now time to seek the support of residents for the necessary expenditure on improvements.

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142. Wynberg Times, 5 March 1898.

143. C.A., 3/WBG, 4. Minutes of meeting on 10 April 1898.

144. See above, 400.

On 28 March 1898 the Council called a rate-payers' meeting which was attended by ninety-five people, who unanimously accepted a proposal for the submission of a bill to parliament authorising the municipality "to borrow a sum not exceeding £60,000 for drainage purposes".<sup>145</sup> This vote was accompanied by cheers, and the chairman, Vollmer, commented that "Wynberg residents had waited long enough".

Comparative figures for sewage removal presented by the Town Clerk indicated that in 1894 sanitary costs were £855, but by 1897 they had risen to £1569. It was estimated that by 1900 the cost would be £3000.<sup>146</sup> The meeting also heard an emotional speech made by Rev. A. Hofmeyr, who summed up the need for urgent action expressed by the residents: "There's no place like Wynberg but if it once lost its name as the premier suburb through a fever epidemic, occasioned by the lack of proper drainage, it would never again regain its reputation". In conclusion, he added they should "let people see that there was one constituency thoroughly progressive on the subject".<sup>147</sup>

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145. C.A., 3/WBG, 4. Minutes of meeting on 30 March 1898.

146. Wynberg Times, 2 April 1898.

147. *ibid.*, 30 March 1898.

The high status attained by Wynberg was perceived to be at risk, and with it the considerable investment in real estate and commerce by its inhabitants. The Wynberg Drainage Bill was therefore approved by the council and submitted to parliament immediately.<sup>148</sup> A Select Committee was appointed in October to examine the provisions of the bill<sup>149</sup> and Vollmer, the Mayor of Wynberg, was among those who gave evidence to the committee.

He put the problem succinctly: "The Municipality of Wynberg is in a unique position. We have an excellent water scheme which has used up the bulk of our money".<sup>150</sup> He also presented evidence to show that between 1891 and 1897 the number of houses requiring both water and drainage had grown from 731 to 1600. He explained that they had before the council a tender for a new scheme by their well-known hydraulic engineer, Thomas Stewart, for £52,176, which they felt justified in accepting in view of the rising costs of sewage removal by carts and tanks. This scheme included the latest form of biological treatment for effluent at a sewage farm on the Fläts, where ample provision could be made for the rapid growth of Wynberg.<sup>151</sup> Stewart commented in his evidence to the

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148. C.A., 3/WBG, 4. Minutes of Meeting on 18 April 1898.

149. C.P.P., A 17 - 1898. To authorise the Municipality of Wynberg to borrow an amount not exceeding £60,000 for drainage.

150. *ibid.*, 2.

151. *ibid.*, 4-5. The site selected for this was not that chosen by Dunscombe (which was near the Kenilworth race-course), but was

Committee that "the way in which drainage is carried on now in Wynberg, is disgraceful for a town of that importance". He also remarked on "the horrible stench in several streets" and recommended that "the splendid supply of water" at Wynberg should be put to further use in removing these "obnoxious smells".<sup>152</sup> Town Clerk Munnik confirmed the view that "people in Wynberg were crying out for the scheme", presenting population figures which indicated the dramatic rise in the numbers of people who would benefit from it.<sup>153</sup> The bill was passed and promulgated early in 1899,<sup>154</sup> and the councillors at once put in hand the preparatory arrangements which would be necessary before construction could commence. First, they negotiated the purchase of several properties near Zeekoevlei and Princessvlei, where the sewage farm would be established and, after some opposition from local land-owners, they successfully accomplished this.<sup>155</sup>

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 situated to the south-east of Wynberg, between Diep River and Zeekoevlei.

152. *ibid.*, 8-9.

153. *ibid.*, 10-11.

	Civilians	Military.
1875	2500	-
1891	4947	1100
1898	9000	1500 (estimated)

154. Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1898 -1899, 3955. Act 27 - 1898.

155. C.A., 3/WBG, 4. Minutes of meeting on 14 June 1899.

When Withinshaw succeeded Vollmer as the Mayor of Wynberg for the 1899/1900 term, he was able to state that the council had the loan and the properties and was ready to proceed with the scheme.<sup>156</sup> Once again the councillors had demonstrated their determination to stand alone in all matters under municipal control, while bringing about the necessary reforms and accumulating excellent capital assets. This bold move indicated clearly that the council was willing and able to respond to the needs of its ratepayers; and that it could command the political influence and the material resources to satisfy the requirements of an expanding population. However, the carefully calculated plan of the council was not to be implemented fully for some years because the South African War, which broke out in 1899, had a profound impact upon the priorities of the Wynberg Municipality and its progress towards self-sufficiency. As a result of the war the importance of Wynberg as a garrison town once more came sharply into focus and the more demanding effects of a war-time relationship put pressure on the limited resources of the municipality. Not only did this necessitate a re-evaluation of the cost of the drainage scheme, but it also heightened the social and economic tensions already present in the process of development.

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156. *ibid.*, Minutes of meeting on 7 August 1899.

In November 1899, barely six weeks after the onset of the war, the camp was declared a military hospital to receive the sick and wounded from the front.<sup>157</sup> The existing facilities at the camp could not accommodate the large number of British army personnel, who poured into the area. Numerous wood and iron huts had to be constructed in addition to the barracks, and a tent-town sprang up on the land surrounding the camp, extending onto the upper playing field of the Springfield Convent School.<sup>158</sup> As the war progressed, the camp over-flowed with the sick and wounded, whereupon many Wynbergians rallied to provide assistance with nursing. Some offered their homes to house the convalescent service-men, and Maynardville was made available for this purpose by the daughters of William Farmer, who had returned to the colony with their husbands and their widowed mother after their father had died in 1896.<sup>159</sup> Lady Sprigg and Lady Juta joined with them in organising garden parties and concerts for the entertainment of the troops and the military bands played once more on the lawns at Maynardville.<sup>160</sup>

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157 Wynberg Times, 29 November 1899.

158 M. Cairns, *Silver leaves*, a brochure commemorating the Centenary of the Springfield School (1984),

159 U.C.T. Libraries, MSS & Archives Division, BC 600, Maynard papers. William Farmer died in 1896 at his London home, while serving as managing-director of the Union Castle Company.

160 *ibid.*, Photograph collection.

In keeping with the British heritage of many of its members, the Wynberg Council sent several loyal addresses to the Governor and to the British military commanders on the occasion of victories or setbacks which they suffered.<sup>161</sup> Although the local families of Afrikaner origin kept a low profile during the conflict, there must have been considerable tension between sections of the population as the war dragged on. Their intermingled heritage of the previous hundred years was thrown into sharp relief during this period of crisis, although council support was directed predominantly towards the British cause.

In this period there were opportunities aplenty for business people to benefit from the increased demand for services and accommodation. Wynberg received an influx of civilian refugees from areas directly affected by the conflict, and these sought accommodation locally, temporary employment and schooling for their children. The newly established boarding-department of the Wynberg Boys School was completely occupied and the girls' schools also had a full complement of day and resident pupils.<sup>162</sup> At the beginning of the war Wynberg was already well-supplied with six licensed hotels which were all doing good business. The

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161. C.A., 3/WBG, 4, 5 March 1900. The council sent a message of congratulations on the relief of Ladysmith and of loyal support to Sir Alfred Milner on his policy (2 April 1900).

162. D.H. Thomson, *The Story of a School*, 134.

exclusive Coghill's Hotel, taken over by Robert MacBeth in 1898, was described in the Wynberg Times as "a veritable gold-mine", where hundreds of visitors stayed each year,<sup>163</sup> while the Royal Hotel near the station became very popular with younger people, particularly servicemen and sporting enthusiasts.<sup>164</sup>

Rented accommodation and boarding houses, such as Mortimer Hall, were fully occupied, while the smaller hotels near the camp in Wynberg were filled to capacity with army personnel and their families. Thus, water supplies were under great pressure and the inadequate sanitary arrangements continued to pollute the neighbourhood. Deaths from typhoid fever were added to the casualty lists published by the newspapers. The local cemeteries received a number of the wounded who died at the Wynberg camp, and the graves of both Boers and Britons are an indication of the divided loyalties of the people of Wynberg.<sup>165</sup>

These stresses were heightened by the alarming epidemic of bubonic plague which affected the Cape Peninsula as a whole in 1901.<sup>166</sup>

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163. Wynberg Times 8 January, 1898.

164. *ibid.*, 5 March 1898. In that year Julius Jeppe purchased the hotel for £42,000 and made improvements to it.

165. The Dutch Reformed Church cemetery has a memorial to the dead Boers and at the St John's cemetery a huge stone commemorates the British dead.

166. E. van Heyningen, "Public health and Society..", 286. See Chapter 6 for a comprehensive discussion on the plague epidemic.

Wynberg immediately became involved in the Peninsula-wide precautionary measures to control the spread of the disease because the movement of people in and out of the town made it particularly vulnerable to infection.<sup>167</sup> The out-dated and often insanitary method of drainage and waste disposal encouraged the presence of rats, while the over-crowded state of the camp, where large numbers of troops were in temporary and make-shift quarters, increased the dangers. The government appointed a Plague Advisory Board<sup>168</sup> to deal with this crisis and Mayor Withinshaw attended all meetings on behalf of the Wynberg Council. Yet, apart from the mention of participation in the Advisory Board and carrying out its recommendations to clean up the area, not a word about the number of plague cases or the effects of the disease on Wynberg appears in the minutes of the Wynberg Council meetings. This omission is hardly surprising in the absence of any official report on plague figures.<sup>169</sup> However, cases at Wynberg are covered by the reports of the Town Clerk to the Advisory Board: there appear to have been eight cases of the disease following 20

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167. C.A., 3/WBG 4, 4 March 1901. A Sanitary Committee was appointed by the council with powers to clean up the environs of the village, appoint rat-catchers and extra inspectors.

168. C.P.P., G 61 of 1901. Report and Procedures of the Cape Peninsula Plague Advisory Board.

169. E. van Heyningen, "Cape Town and the Plague of 1901" in C. Saunders, H. Phillips and E. van Heyningen (eds.), *Studies in the History of Cape Town* (Cape Town, 1981), V.4, 77. The author states that "exact figures are scattered and difficult to obtain".

April 1901, when the first case was discovered at the Wynberg Cottage Hospital, necessitating its fumigation.<sup>170</sup> while the final fatal case occurred in Sussex Street on 3 July 1901.<sup>171</sup> Five of the affected people were "kaffirs", of whom one died.<sup>172</sup> There are no reports of cases at the camp because these were dealt with by the military authorities.<sup>173</sup> Van Heyningen refers to the submission by Dr Gregory, the M.O.H. of the Colony, that there had been 50% more cases among the military than among the civilian population,<sup>174</sup> but the military authorities were as secretive about plague figures at the Wynberg camp as the municipality had been about the civilian toll. However, Dr. Wright, who compiled the reports, was as outspoken in his comments about the insanitary condition of the Wynberg area as the other officials were shy of comment, and he indicated that large quantities of rubbish and filth had to be removed from streets and waste ground.<sup>175</sup>

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170. C.P.P., G 21 of 1902, 155. Report of Town Clerk, dated 29 April, 1902.

171. *ibid.*, 235.

172. *ibid.*, 198. The report states that the people lived at Plumstead and that all contacts were evacuated to the isolation camp at Uitylugt.

173. E. van Heyningen, "Cape Town and the Plague of 1901", *Studies*, V.4, 84-85.

174. C.P.P., G 61 of 1901, 98.

175. *ibid.*, 61, 117, 155.

This was beneficial to the population in general and there is little doubt that the cleansing process provided the spur to action in the implementation of the drainage scheme. Although the primitive system of waste disposal had been stretched beyond its limits, the war years had not been the time for the council to undertake extensive public works within the confines of the municipality, because this would have disrupted the existing infrastructure in the area. Nevertheless, Stewart had continued to implement the new scheme on the site of the purification plant at Princessvlei with the funds available, so that slow but steady progress was maintained; and on 15 April 1901 an agreement was reached with the military authorities to bear part of the cost of the scheme, for which the council had voted £10,000 per year.<sup>176</sup>

A major administrative change in the Public Works Department occurred when the council took a decision in 1900 to appoint a Town Engineer. A.J. Edwards was selected from amongst twenty-three applicants for this post,<sup>177</sup> and he took over responsibility for the waterworks, which required extensive renovation and enlargement because of the demands of the war years. Stewart concentrated on the completion of the sewage works, commencing the first stage in the construction of the outfall

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176. C.A., 3/WBG, 5. 4 February 1901.

177. C.A., 3/WBG, 4. Minutes of meeting on 17 September 1900.

pipes from their outlet on the sewage farm towards the town in 1901; at the same time the construction of an additional reservoir was proceeding steadily, in order to expedite a supply of water for the implementation of the drainage scheme.

The quiet determination with which the Wynberg Council pursued its objectives in the face of difficulties, characterised its optimistic and self-assured policy during this crucial period of change. Despite a shortage of revenue and the problems associated with the South African War, the Wynberg Council had accomplished a major part of its projected public works programme by 1901. In addition to its water supply and drainage plans, it had pressed ahead with the impressive Town Hall complex, which had been almost ten years in the planning stage and was completed in June of that year.<sup>178</sup> The clearing and replanting of the land granted for the public park was also nearing completion, but would not be opened until the following year. The new Magistrates' Court in Church Street had been completed in the early days of the war, and the old building in the camp was given over to military use.

The main stream of public life and commercial activity was rapidly shifting towards the Bay Road, which became known as the Main Road in the directories published after 1900. The whole area near the station had benefited from the development of the Town

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178. C.A., 3/WBG, 51. Letter from Stonier to Munnik, dated 29 June 1901, confirming completion according to contract.

Hall site and the upgrading of the Royal Hotel by Julius Jeppe, which encouraged the growth of large and small business enterprises between the Main Road and the railway line. The increased use of the railway during the war had necessitated the widening of Lower Church Street, and the surfacing of Station Road had improved access to the station. The addition of cab-stands in 1900 had eased the congestion, organised the traffic flow and relieved the "filthy conditions" of the 1880s.<sup>179</sup>

During this decade the little town had been shaken out of its rural seclusion and the even tenor of its life had been disturbed in many ways. In assuming responsibility for its own development, Wynberg had faced many problems which taxed the ingenuity of its councillors and placed a heavy burden on its resources. The war had fuelled the overall population increase, which was evident in the population figures published in 1902 as part of an official report on Suburban Municipalities undertaken by a Parliamentary Commission.<sup>180</sup> The following table includes figures derived from this source and from census figures.<sup>181</sup>

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179. C.A., 3/WBG, 5, 8 January 1900. Minutes of meeting in which J. Delbridge was awarded this contract.

180. C.P.P., 6 21 of 1902, V 1, 5.

181. 3/WBG, 449. Wynberg census.

POPULATION FIGURES FOR WYNBERG (1891-1904)

	European	Coloured	Total
1891	2486	2106	4592
1899	5173	4781	9954
1902	6280	7417	13,697

An examination of this table indicates that the population almost doubled during the eight years between 1891 and 1899, and increased appreciably thereafter. "Coloured persons" made up more than half the total population by 1902. While the council ensured that the requirements of its well-to-do rate-payers were met, its attempts to satisfy the basic needs of the poor were less successful, as evidenced by the squalid conditions in which many lower-income inhabitants lived. Yet, hardening attitudes towards coloured people who lived in poverty<sup>182</sup> encouraged the council to turn a blind eye to slum areas where they had been unable to effect improvements due to financial constraints. In this respect the Wynberg Municipality resembled the other local authorities of the south Peninsula, particularly those where there were large, working-class populations such as Claremont, Maitland and Woodstock.

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<sup>182</sup> V. Bickford-Smith, "Dangerous Cape Town: middle class attitudes to poverty in Cape Town in the late nineteenth century" in C. Saunders, H. Phillips and E. van Heyningen (eds.), *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, V 4, 2.

Nevertheless, at the turn of the century the councillors were confident that, in the future, they could meet the needs of their constituency and satisfy the requirements of the many visitors to the area. The Wynberg Council entered the twentieth century with high hopes of further progress and fewer setbacks. Instead, it had to come to grips with the severe financial depression which followed the South African War; that it met this challenge was a measure of the determination of its councillors to overcome all obstacles in the way of its independent existence. The same spirit which had initiated the ambitious programme outlined in this chapter, shaped their intentions in the post-war years. The Wynberg Municipality was controlled by a comparatively small group of ambitious and competent men,<sup>183</sup> who had created a circle of power and influence which was firmly based and carefully shaped to suit their own social and economic needs. Their future aim was to resist any interference from a central authority which might limit their aspirations or threaten the self-sufficiency supporting their own independent attitude.

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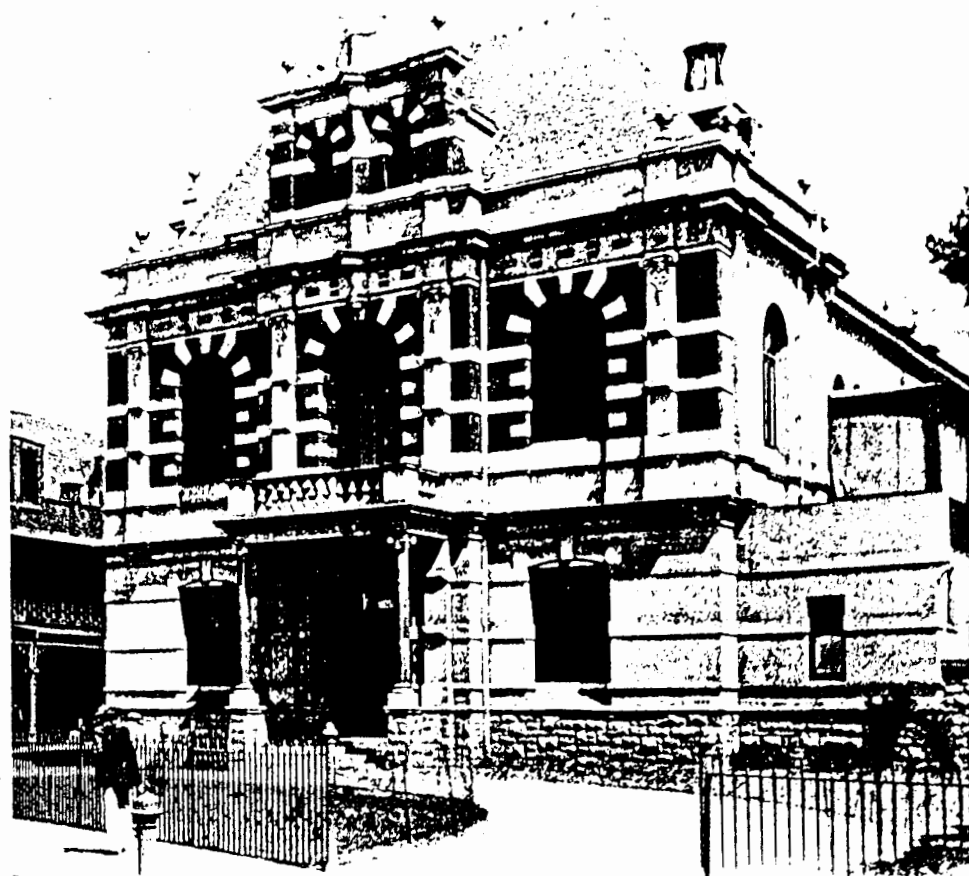
183. C.A., 3/WBG, 4, 15 August 1898. The Council consisted of only six members until 1898, when it was enlarged to ten members.



"Hawthorndene" (built on the site of Oude Wijnbergh in 1884)



"Silverhurst" (designed by Herbert Baker in the 1880s)



The Town Hall, Wynberg, circa 1904

(below) Wynberg councillors and other dignitaries.



Map 8: a section of the "new area" between the original Wynberg  
municipal boundary and Diep River station,  
showing the new housing estates.



## CHAPTER 8

### "The Pinnacle of Perfection."

(1902-1913)

As the people of Wynberg moved forward into the twentieth century after the South African War, their municipal council was determined to maintain an efficient administration and to encourage such local development as would ensure continuing commercial growth and prosperity. Within a period of fifteen years at the end of the nineteenth century Wynberg had acquired all the trappings of a thriving independent municipality, and its next task was to prove that it could sustain its progress over time. The future success of the municipality would rest on its ability to deal with the new demands generated by its expanding community, while at the same time meeting its existing and new financial obligations. On the whole, the Town Clerk and Treasurer, his staff and the small group of councillors<sup>1</sup> who controlled policy-making, were able to meet these demands most efficiently, ensuring that the Wynberg Council remained self-sufficient and independent of outside interference in these years.

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1. See Appendix 3 for a full list of mayors who held office in the Wynberg Municipality for the years 1886 - 1927.

This chapter traces the short-term success of this close-knit, commercially-based interest group, who steered a remarkably accomplished course through some turbulent times, until their decisions were fundamentally challenged in the 1920s. The emphasis in the period 1901 - 1913 will be upon the factors which enabled it to maintain administrative control over its considerable assets, rather than upon the build-up to its loss of autonomy in the 1920s, which will be examined in the final chapter. Even so, the very factors which secured its position in the first decade of the century, also carried within them the seeds of its eventual dissolution.

The events which led towards this turning point in the history of Wynberg were part of the broad debate about political and administrative unification, which was conducted in the colony after the South African War and which dominated political thinking at that time.<sup>2</sup> As the effect of the mineral revolution of the late nineteenth century made itself felt in southern Africa, a wider world view was imperative in the light of the increasing economic involvement of the colony in world markets, which accompanied the growing economic power of the Transvaal, prompting the colonial parliament to re-evaluate its internal

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2. L. Thompson, *The Unification of South Africa, 1902-1910* (Oxford, 1960), 95-109. In Chapter 3 Thompson gives a broad view of the urban/federation debate which preceded the convention and the move towards holism rather than fragmentation.

relationships as well as those beyond its borders. The end of the long Victorian age in 1901 and the Treaty of Vereeniging in 1902 coincided with a time of transition in colonial policy at the Cape. British imperialism had been re-established - or so it seemed; yet the next twenty years saw the rise of Afrikaner nationalism, the genesis of the labour movement in southern Africa and the emergence of resistance among African and coloured people to domination by colonial power.<sup>3</sup> These were the factors which would shape white political consciousness in the western Cape, against a background of accelerating industrialisation and urbanisation on the Witwatersrand. Deep discontinuities accompanied the shift at national level from a predominantly agricultural base to an economy in which the giant mining interests and the associated urban growth of the Witwatersrand over-shadowed all else. The mainly agricultural Western Cape, together with Cape Town, the administrative and commercial centre of the colony, ran the risk of being marginalised by this shift in focus to the young and vigorous economic centres in the north.

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3. L. Kuper in M. Wilson and L. Thompson (eds.), *The Oxford History of South Africa, 1870-1906*, V.2, 426-436.

The consolidation of economic and political strength in Cape Town thus became an important issue, which once again raised the question of the unification of the smaller municipalities of the southern Peninsula with the metropolitan area. For its part, Wynberg maintained its separatist stance throughout this debate, resisting all attempts to bring about its amalgamation with the other Peninsula municipalities. In coming to grips with the challenges to its authority, the Wynberg Council relied on the firm foundation laid by its commercial elite to secure their interests, and the sturdy, some would say stubborn, independence of its councillors. Their imposing new Town Hall symbolised the stability and permanence of all that had been accomplished by the municipality in a comparatively short time, and quickly became the site for what Offer has called "the rituals of mayoralty".<sup>4</sup> Waller, too, observes that the independent standing of a town of this type in Britain was demonstrated by the pomp and circumstance of local government;<sup>5</sup> more than anything else, the Wynberg Town Hall, embodied a justifiable pride in such civic achievement.

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4. A. Offer, *Property and Politics, 1870-1914* (Cambridge, 1981), 221.

5. P.J. Waller, *Town, City and nation* (Oxford, 1983), 218.

In August 1902, the mood of the Council was one of optimism and resolution, as a select group of influential Wynberg residents assembled on the upper slopes of Wynberg Hill to inaugurate another status symbol - the impressive park, conceived by former Councillor Morum and J.H. Horne (head of the Divisional Council of the Cape) and named in honour of the new king. Also present were representatives of the League of Loyal Women who took part in a tree-planting ceremony which followed the opening speeches. The Wynberg Times report commented upon the superb floral displays in the Park and the splendid decorations which marked the occasion, mentioning in particular the debt of gratitude owed to Messrs Morum and Horne for carrying through this project. Standing beside the handsome marble fountain at the entrance to the King Edward Park, Thomas Graham, the Attorney-General of the Cape and formerly a member of the Wynberg Council, spoke at length on its achievements and his hopes for the future of the area under its control. He was careful to emphasise the potential for development, but he also warned that, "in the years to come, with the enormous expansion that was before them, their open spaces would be more valued than they were at present". He praised their foresight in providing parkland for future generations and, on looking out across the Cape Flats below them, he foresaw its potential for housing " a vast, prosperous and, he hoped, a contented and happy people".<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>. Wynberg Times, 16 August 1902.

This Utopian view reflected the complacency with which the upper classes at the Cape anticipated growth and prosperity in the new century, but it gave no inkling of the financial depression which followed the South African War, bringing hardship to many people and inhibiting development rather than encouraging it. The War in itself had not disadvantaged Wynberg financially, but it had delayed the implementation of the public works programme planned by the Council to improve health and sanitation standards in the area. Moreover, the threat presented by the over-crowded slum conditions in which many people lived, had been highlighted during the plague outbreak of 1901, and the on-going danger to the health of the population necessitated careful monitoring by the Town Engineer, together with the Sanitary Inspector and his staff. Further epidemics of disease would jeopardise the reputation of Wynberg as a healthy, secure place of residence and retirement for well-to-do professional people upon whom the Council depended for a large proportion of its revenue from rates.<sup>7</sup>

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7. Contemporary journals provide a commentary on this perspective. In 1907 *The Cape* ran a series of articles on the local municipalities in which their aspirations are satirised gently; Wynberg village is depicted as "an old book, fragrant with age" in contrast to modern Wynberg, which is likened to "a library of brand new gilded volumes" (*The Cape*, 13 December 1907, 14). It mentions that, on a Saturday, Wynberg Park is deserted while the well-to-do survey their own "unmortgaged lawns".

If they were discouraged from settling in the area, or decided to move to one of the neighbouring municipalities, the Wynberg Council would face serious problems in meeting its considerable financial obligations. Thus, the immediate completion of the drainage scheme and the construction of another storage reservoir to ensure an adequate water supply became the short-term goals of the Council in the early part of the twentieth century, bearing out Fraser's contention that, "Again and again municipal reform came to define its purpose in public health".<sup>9</sup> Consequently, the Wynberg Municipality pursued its independent approach to the provision of amenities with renewed vigour, despite the post-war recession which increased the Council's need to project accurate and soundly-based assessments of the cost of these improvements.

Concurrently with the drive by the Wynberg Municipality to press forward with their own drainage and water supply schemes, the colonial government now renewed its efforts to address the perceived need for greater administrative efficiency in the south Peninsula by uniting all its separate municipalities into one giant local authority. It had already explored the possibility of forming a joint board to undertake public works in the area, but this had been received with little enthusiasm by the autonomous municipal councils in the 1890s.

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8. D. Fraser, *Power and Authority in the Victorian city* (Oxford, 1979), 167.

As a result of this lack of unanimity, the Dunscombe drainage plan for the southern suburbs had never been implemented, only Wynberg pursuing its own independent course of action. In 1902, however, the colonial government appointed a commission of enquiry to examine the adequacy of water supply, drainage, sewage and lighting systems in the suburbs and to determine whether they should be left to act independently or to amalgamate their resources.<sup>9</sup> Water supplies had long been a matter of contention<sup>10</sup> and a more comprehensive policy on the control of infectious diseases in an expanding population was regarded as a critical issue by the colonial medical authorities. Moreover, rail and tramway systems now linked the formerly scattered settlements from Sea Point to Simonstown, and ribbon development along these routes had blurred the boundaries between them. It seemed sensible to the government that interests which already overlapped should be consolidated within a greater Cape Town. The advantages of unification therefore appeared self-evident to the government, as the centralisation of authority would ensure a more adequate, efficient and economic provision of services to the public at large than currently available.

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9. C.P.P., G 21 - 1902, V I and II. Report of a Commission appointed to report on certain matters affecting the Cape Peninsula Municipalities and the Cape Divisional Council.

10. D. Grant, "The Politics of water supply" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, U.C.T., 1990), 161, 176-177.

The Commission deliberated for almost a year, holding 98 meetings and interviewing 65 witnesses, whose evidence filled the two large volumes of a comprehensive report.<sup>11</sup> This wealth of detailed information was examined and evaluated, but the members of the Commission could not reach a unanimous decision. Dr. Gregory, the M.C.H. for the Colony, disagreed with the recommendation that all the smaller municipalities except Kalk Bay and Simonstown should be incorporated into a greater Cape Town, which he deemed impractical. He presented a minority report in which he recommended that Wynberg, Claremont, Rondebosch and Mowbray be united, as they had been in the ill-fated Liesbeek Municipality, but with the addition of Woodstock on this occasion. He also suggested that Cape Town incorporate Green and Sea Point, leaving Maitland, Kalk Bay and Simonstown as independent.<sup>12</sup> Divided opinions were not confined to members of the commission and it was clear that the various local councils also held widely differing views on the question of unification. The evidence given to the Commission indicated that few of the municipalities were in favour of amalgamation and that for many of them it was a threatening prospect.

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11. C.P.P., 6 21 - 1902, V I, 2. The members of the Commission were :Hon. Sir W. Bissett Berry, A.J. Gregory, J. Lawrence, T.Dyer, A.J. Anderson, T Stewart, W.E. Gurney, J.E. de Villiers (the last three named being Wynberg residents).

12. *ibid.*, V III, 720. Minority report of Dr. Gregory.

Moreover, from the outset the members of the Commission seem to have accepted the special status of Wynberg, although they deplored its intransigence in the matter of municipal unity.<sup>13</sup> They launched a sharp attack on the viability of the Wynberg drainage scheme in an attempt to pressurise the municipality into a more co-operative attitude,<sup>14</sup> but their arguments were rebutted by Councillor Vollmer,<sup>15</sup> who defended the Wynberg stance at length.<sup>16</sup> The Commission suggested that there had been adverse reports on the project and criticism of it by local residents in the vicinity of Princess Vlei, but Vollmer sharply countered these allegations,<sup>17</sup> stressing the urgency of the project and the delays already experienced since the idea of a drainage plan had first been mooted in 1892.<sup>18</sup> It was admitted by the Commission that no other local authority had proceeded with the plan and "only Wynberg had taken the first steps".

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13. *ibid.*, V 1, 24- 34.

14. *ibid.*, V 2, 45-59. During this assessment of the scheme it was submitted that the Municipal Inspector from Cape Town had given it only "qualified approval" and yet the council had proceeded with construction.

15. C.A., 3/WBG,4. Minutes of meeting on 5 May 1902, at which Councillor Vollmer was empowered to represent the Wynberg Council on the Peninsula Commission. He gave evidence before the Commission for three days.

16. G 21 of 1902, V 2, 270-304.

17. *ibid.*, 347-349.

18. See above, 397-398.

During the discussion, Vollmer confirmed that the municipality had purchased property on the Flats and had already commenced construction of the sewage outfall pipes, while the Council's engineering consultant, Thomas Stewart, assured the Commission that he had thoroughly researched the project overseas before he had designed it. Vollmer then repudiated any suggestion that the Wynberg drainage scheme should remain in abeyance, and declared the intention of the Council to complete the work with the loan which had been approved by parliament some years earlier.<sup>17</sup>

Further evidence presented to the Commission revealed a determination on the part of Wynberg "not to be tacked on " to those who did share common interests.<sup>20</sup> In a more conciliatory tone, Councillor Vollmer went on to clarify the particular situation of Wynberg, emphasising that there was "no feeling of enmity against the other municipalities", but that there were natural causes why Wynberg could not join with them. He then explained: "We cannot have a drainage scheme with them because our town dips the other way.....our water supply is different...." He added: "They could not help us....Why should we give the fruits of our labours away?"<sup>21</sup>

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19. *ibid.*, V 2, 350.

20. *ibid.*, V 2, 351.

21. *ibid.*, V 2, 352.

This revealing statement indicated that opposition to amalgamation was as firmly established at Wynberg as it had been in the days of the Liesbeek Municipality. Although numerous well-informed people gave evidence on the many material advantages to be derived from the central management of assets, Vollmer asserted that Cape Town could not be expected to look after the interests of Wynberg residents and that their council believed that there were many problems "which are better dealt with by smaller bodies with a personal interest in the matter".<sup>22</sup> He also rejected any idea that there was "jobbery" in these councils, because "in small councils everyone knows everybody else's doings and each one is keen to see that his public representative act fairly and honourably". He intimated that "jobbery" was more likely to occur in larger municipalities, such as the one projected, where so many competing interests were involved.<sup>23</sup>

Although Wynberg was one of the most vocal and persuasive in its opposition to unification, Woodstock was also determined to protect its own interests. It was, perhaps, most vulnerable to incorporation by its more powerful neighbour and, as one of the most rapidly-developing municipalities in the colony, its council was not eager to give up control over its assets, even for the

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22. *ibid.*, V 2,

23. *ibid.*, V 2, 350-351.

general good.<sup>24</sup> The other local authorities situated between Woodstock and Wynberg were less vehement in their opposition to the project, but they too were not yet ready to give up their autonomy. Wynberg had expressed the fears of all when Vollmer stated that their individual interests would be out-voted and over-whelmed by larger issues which concerned the whole body. At that stage only Cape Town seemed to be wholly in favour of unification and there was little hope of agreement. The government tactfully allowed the matter to drop,<sup>25</sup> and thereafter the Cape Town Council also abandoned plans for an inter-municipal conference at which it had been intended to pursue the matter.

In the final analysis, the 1902 Commission did not so much lay out the terms of amalgamation as it enabled the subordinate municipalities to express their views and expose their prejudices, which were not confined to unification with Cape Town. Van Heyningen draws attention to the remarks of Henry Beard, M.L.A. and a former mayor of Claremont, when he compared the state of alienation existing between Claremont and Rondebosch to that of "two small Greek cities" of earlier times. "As soon as one proposed a thing," he explained, "the others were against it".<sup>26</sup>

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24. *ibid.*, V2, 259.

25. Cape of Good Hope, House of Assembly. Debates, 1903, 989-990.

26. Quoted in E. van Heyningen, "The "small Greek cities" of the Cape Peninsula", *Contree*, No. 10, July 1981, 5-8.

It was clear that the uneasy ghost of the Liesbeek Municipality had not yet been laid to rest. The new councils had grown in size, but the prevailing perspective of their councillors remained parochial. This was undoubtedly true of the Wynberg councillors who served the interests of local businessmen like themselves, or the civil servants and professional men, who preferred to leave the city at night for a semi-rural environment. Certainly the views and the votes of such men continued to carry a disproportionate weight with the Wynberg Councillors throughout this decade.

The opinions of the working-class coloured majority were never sought. William Hay<sup>27</sup> expressed current thinking when he informed the Commission in his evidence that "it was only the wealthy and the middle classes that governed the Cape Peninsula".<sup>28</sup> He believed that the coloured working man would never be inclined to take an interest in municipal matters after a long day's work and that "these matters were better left to those with the time for it."<sup>29</sup>

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27. Dictionary of South African Biography (Durban, 1981) V 4, 222. Hay, formerly a newspaper-editor in Kingwilliamstown and member of Parliament, became a well-known insurance company manager in Cape Town. He lived at Sea Point, where he was elected to the local council.

28. C.P.P., G 21 Of 1902, V2, 469.

29. *ibid.*, 469-470.

This opinion reflected the increasing division of colonial society along racial lines and a determination on the part of the dominant classes to safeguard their interests. This was no longer a hidden agenda but an overt response, perhaps, to the threat presented by an emerging political consciousness among a section of the coloured population.<sup>30</sup> In view of this limited outlook which shaped many of the decisions made by municipal councillors, it is hardly surprising that they favoured the interests of their well-to-do white electorate.

Even before the report of the Commission was published, the Wynberg Council had pressed ahead with its drainage and sewage disposal scheme. Ignoring suggestions submitted to the Commission that the plan should be held in abeyance until some decision on amalgamation was reached, the Council called for tenders for the next stage of the scheme. By March 1903 it had accepted that of Brandon & Kirby for £25,506, on the advice of their consultant engineer, Thomas Stewart.<sup>31</sup>

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30. G.Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall* (Cape Town, 1987), Chapter 1.

31. C.A., 3/WBG, 5, 26 January 1903.

The newly-appointed Municipal Engineer, H.M. Ladell, took over the supervision of the two reservoirs at Orange Kloof, now named the Victoria and the Alexandra,<sup>32</sup> while Stewart implemented the next stage of the drainage scheme. Although the Council had incurred large loans to fund these improvements, it was justly proud that it could still maintain an owners' rate of 2d in the pound,<sup>33</sup> which was an added attraction for potential investors in local properties and had ensured a continued demand for real estate at Wynberg.

As housing mushroomed in all directions, adding density to the existing residential areas as well as on the fringes of the municipality, the pattern of development in the vicinity began to change significantly, outstripping the measured pace of the nineteenth century when each individual sale of property made its own contribution to growth. In the first decade of the twentieth century the marketing of property assumed a different dimension as numerous erven were sold at one time to individual buyers, and developers built blocks of cottages for sale or for hire to the people seeking accommodation in the area. Many of the old estates had already been broken up by developers, but further sub-division into smaller erven occurred, particularly at the south-eastern

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32. *ibid.*, 10 September 1903.

33. *ibid.*, 11 January 1904.

end of Wynberg where development was brisk along Wellington Avenue and Constantia Road. Substantial villas and semi-detached cottages were erected in these tree-lined streets which were connected to the Main Road by a network of smaller roads.<sup>34</sup> Few large stands were still available, and when one was put up for sale near Coghill's Hotel, the Wynberg Times commented that "the extreme difficulty of acquiring land on the main road should bring together a goodly crowd of speculators".<sup>35</sup>

Wynberg acquired a range of suburbs in this period as several developers marketed the available land, and more would follow their example during the next twenty years when land on the fringes of the Wynberg Municipality was opened up. The Silverlea estate, developed by Rudolph Myburgh some years before and sold by him to E. Thomas, the General Manager of the Standard Bank in Cape Town,<sup>36</sup> was further sub-divided.<sup>37</sup> These plots, which formed a township on the side of Alphen Hill, facing False Bay and the Constantiaberg, were quickly sold to small investors.

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34. See above, 458. Map 8.

35. Wynberg Times, 4 October 1904.

36. D.O., T 1088, 18 October 1898. R. Myburgh : E. Thomas.

37. D.O., T 740 - 806, 3 October - 30 November, 1902. Silverlea Investments : various purchasers. 66 stands were sold to more than 40 people; see also Wynberg Times, 4 October 1902.

The land to the south-east of Constantia Road, belonging to J.P. Denys, was developed by its owner, who built a row of semi-detached cottages (Timour Villas) adjacent to the Main Road;<sup>38</sup> he also sub-divided his other erven, most of which appear to have been small-holdings, for sale or for hire to tenants. Sub-division also occurred on the opposite side of the Main Road on the Hills Estate, formerly the property of the Rathfelder family,<sup>39</sup> and now ripe for development.

On the farm Meyerhof (formerly known as Waterloo), numerous small erven were marketed by the owner, who, like Hirsch, had held his property for twenty years.<sup>40</sup> In addition, part of the extensive estate belonging to the Southey family was sold in lots of varying size along Southfield road. Within the next three years the Cape Flats Railway line was laid, intersecting the eastern border of the Southey estate and opening up this part of the Wynberg Downs to the east of Diep River.<sup>41</sup>

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38. See above, 458. Map 8 ; D.O., T 915-924, 8 - 25 September 1904. J.P. Denys: ten purchasers.

39. D.O., T 114, 5 April 1879. J.G. Rathfelder: I.Hirsch. The latter was a partner of J. Rathfelder in Farmer Peck's Inn at Muizenberg.

40. See above, 458. Map 8. The owner, Dr Meyer, marketed the first of this extensive development in 1901. Hirsch followed suit in 1903 ( T 1018-1034, 3 July- 20 November, 1903. I. Hirsch : various purchasers).

41. Wynberg Times, 8 October 1904. The paper reported that land was being sold along the route of the line, which was indicated on a map of the area.

At the northern end of Wynberg the area near Kenilworth station had developed steadily since it had been opened up in the 1890s, spreading from the elegant houses near the Main Road, owned by such well-known figures as J.W. Jagger, F.D. Cartwright, Duncan Baxter, as far as the Race Course. Many distinguished people lived in Kenilworth which had attained suburban status in relation to Wynberg.<sup>43</sup> The area was to a large extent self-sufficient, served by its own small shops, its station and two new churches which were established for Presbyterian and Anglican worshippers. The latter were under the guidance of Rev. Coldstream Sampson, who had been a popular rector of St John's Church in Wynberg, but officiated at Christ Church, Kenilworth, from 1907-1915.<sup>44</sup>

As was the case in Wynberg, a large coloured population lived in the network of streets below the railway line at Kenilworth, adjacent to Rosmead Avenue and Wetton Road. It was along these wide, dusty highways, linking lower Kenilworth and lower Wynberg, that the "Cabman's Derby" was held in December, when gaily decorated cabs raced in a wide circle as far as Young's Field. This was one of the events which generated a sense of community

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42. See above, 434-436.

43. Donaldson and Hille, *Western Province, Cape* (Cape Town, 1902/3).

44. K. Vos, *The Church on the Hill* (Cape Town, 1972), . St John's Parish Office, Wynberg, Church Council Minutes, 1907).

among the Christian and Muslim families who lived in this area beyond the railway line and were, to some extent, divided by their differing religious beliefs.<sup>45</sup> This open ground also served as a sports-field for the area and regular fixtures were held there. The first football club (Cape District Football Association) was formed in 1903 and matches were also played on the ground behind Coghill's Hotel.<sup>46</sup>

Lower Wynberg was thus essentially the melting-pot where a sense of "coloured identity" was created by the establishment of schools, sports clubs and places of worship in which coloured people predominated.<sup>47</sup> It was in this network of narrow streets in the under-dorpe of Wynberg and Kenilworth that slum areas were found, in contrast to the "suburbanity" of the hill.<sup>48</sup> Dyos paid particular attention to analysing the way "in which slums helped to underpin Victorian prosperity" in Britain;<sup>49</sup> as there, in

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45. Personal interview with William Herbert, Wynberg, 15 June 1991.

46. *ibid.*, 18 June 1991. Herbert was a leading organiser of sports groups in Wynberg and was honoured by the community when the sports-ground in lower Wynberg was named after him in 1963.

47. Personal interviews at Wynberg between June and December, 1992 with Abbas Cloete, a well-known member of the Wynberg Islamic community. He is also a keen sportsman, associated with the Muslim schools.

48. H. J. Dyos, "Urbanity and suburbanity" in D. Cannadine and D. Reeder (eds.), *Exploring the Urban Past* (Cambridge, 1982), 19-36.

49. *ibid.*, *The slums of Victorian London* 142.

Wynberg and the rest of the Peninsula capital which might have wrought a change in slumlife was instead ploughed back into the commercial machine.

Yet, as the sub-division and marketing of property continued throughout the municipality, Wynberg's vigorous growth emphasised the need for a re-appraisal of the condition and adequacy of the infrastructure in these and other areas. The existing roads were carrying more traffic while the extensive new housing developments necessitated additional roadworks and maintenance, stretching the resources of the municipality to the limit. Additional revenue would have to be raised to increase the budget of the Public Works Department and the tasks which faced the councillors in the new century would make enormous demands on their business expertise and their financial connections. In the dynamic local businessman Alexander Calder, elected Mayor of Wynberg in August 1903,<sup>50</sup> the council found a leader who possessed the drive needed to meet these challenges. The council minutes indicate that he set about improving the infrastructure so enthusiastically that he occasioned criticism from fellow councillors who feared that, in re-surfacing all the roads, he would run the council into debt.<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, Calder authorised the completion of the work on

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50. *ibid.*, 10 September 1903.

51. C.A., 3/WBG, 5, 8 November 1904. Councillors Calder and Milward argued about this matter and Calder later apologised for his statements.

an increased vote, and persuaded some of the developers to assist with the cost of kerbing and guttering.<sup>52</sup>

Not all the residents were convinced that such rapid development was in their best interests, however, and one month later a ratepayers' meeting was held in the Town Hall.<sup>53</sup> Two eminent local men, attorney W.T. Buissine and Walter Gurney, the Auditor-General for the Colony and a member of the Peninsula Commission of 1902, submitted a motion in favour of its recommendations that amalgamation should take place.<sup>54</sup> They emphasised that such a step would allow Wynberg to increase in size but not outgrow its strength. Although it was "the most beautiful part of the Peninsula" and had many other advantages, they argued, it did not have a sufficient water supply to provide for the continued growth of its population. They met with vehement and organised opposition led by Councillors Vollmer and Ponder, who made emotional appeals to the audience "not to allow what had been built up so carefully to be swept away". The Wynberg Times reported that this was greeted with cries of "No! No!" from the ratepayers. Vollmer declared that they would fight coercion, Ponder then stating that "they had turned the corner and were on the upgrade".

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52. *ibid.*, 12 December 1904.

53. C.A., 3/WBG, 5, 21 December 1904.

54. Wynberg Times, 24 December 1904.

Councillor Duncan Taylor, seconded by Ponder, moved that "the meeting strongly protest against Wynberg being included in any unification scheme".<sup>55</sup> This motion was carried by 350 - 2 (the latter votes being those of Buissine and Gurney).<sup>56</sup> The Councillors were satisfied that they had a mandate to proceed, and that their preference for autonomy was upheld by at least some of their electorate. The landslide vote suggests that the proposers of the original motion in favour of unification had not canvassed support for it, as their opponents had done against it. As far as the Council was concerned, any possibility of unification was now out of the question for Wynberg. A remark made by Vollmer shortly before the ratepayers' meeting ended is significant. He pointed out that if Wynberg needed municipal support, it would rather look towards Simonstown than to Cape Town for alliance.<sup>57</sup> He stressed that this would be a relationship of equals, based on longstanding common interests, rather than one of subservience to more powerful role-players, such as the Cape Town Municipality.

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55. Wynberg Times, 24 December 1904.

56. C.A., 3/WBG, 5, 21 December 1904.

57. Wynberg Times, 24 December 1904.

From the early days of settlement, the two stations, one military and the other naval, had shared the task of upholding imperial command in the southern Peninsula.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, the railway link to the False Bay coast had extended this contact, enabling Wynberg residents to strengthen social and economic ties with their neighbours down the line. Some Wynbergians had bought plots of ground along the False Bay coastline, particularly at Kalk Bay, as the popularity of the summer resort increased. Others had developed business contacts with the two busy harbours, while the trawling beach at Fish Hoek provided ample opportunities for Wynberg fish traders to obtain fresh supplies.<sup>59</sup> No fishmongers are listed in the Wynberg directory, indicating, perhaps, that this continued to be one of the trades associated with coloured people, who sold their wares at roadside stalls, or informally from carts.<sup>60</sup>

With the establishment in 1904 of a branch of De Beer's Cold Storage in the Main Road,<sup>61</sup> quantities of sea-food could be stored in Wynberg and then transported to other areas. Indeed,

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58. See above, Chapters 1 and 2.

59. See above, 411.

60. Interview with I. Ryklief, Elsiesriver, 8 January 1989. The Ryklief family owned several boats which operated from Kalk Bay; the catch was sold at a small market on their Main Road property.

61. Donaldson and Hills' Western Cape Directory, 1902/3 (Cape Town), 979.

Hildagonda Duckitt, well-known for her books on housewifery, remarked regretfully that much of the best fish brought to Wynberg was sent to other areas in cold-trucks.<sup>62</sup> Meat wholesalers also capitalised on this facility and farmers in the surrounding areas sent livestock to the Wynberg slaughter-houses, owned by the Young family and Elliott's butchery.<sup>63</sup> An increasing number of agriculturalists, both at Diep River and on the Flats near Philippi, brought vegetables and dairy produce to Wynberg, all these peripheral communities regarding Wynberg as their service, supply and despatch centre - a conduit for goods to and from Cape Town and Simonstown, rather a market-town per se. Although the dependence of others upon it strengthened its autonomous position, it is ironic that, while Wynberg resisted incorporation into greater Cape Town, by the beginning of the twentieth century it was finding itself increasingly responsible for the commercial interests and the welfare of a growing number of people living outside its own municipal boundaries.

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62. Hildagonda Duckitt, *Diary of a Cape House-keeper* (Cape Town, 1904), 52.

63. C.A., 3/WBG, 6, January, 1905- December, 1905. The overcrowded conditions of these slaughter-houses frequently occasioned comment from the Sanitary Inspectors at Wynberg.

Only the ability to budget shrewdly and its borrowing capacity enabled the council to retain fiscal credibility. Having gained the support of his fellow-councillors, Calder was re-elected Mayor in 1905 and in November he led a party of local dignitaries up to the reservoirs on foot to inspect the improvements made to the water-works. The Wynberg Times carried a photograph depicting the gentlemen "enjoying a glass of wine al fresco" and complimenting the council on its achievements.<sup>64</sup> Undaunted by the financial gymnastics involved in maintaining this delicate balance, in 1905 the Wynberg Municipality proudly announced the completion of its Sewage Disposal Works.<sup>65</sup> Two years later it undertook the construction of a third storage reservoir,<sup>66</sup> for which a substantial loan of £93,000 was negotiated by the Council and passed by compliant ratepayers at a public meeting later that year.<sup>67</sup> No one questioned the huge sums which were required for such public works projects or the interest on these loans in the annual budget.

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64. Wynberg Times, 5 November 1905.

65. C.A., 3/WBG, 5, 30 October 1905. The works were opened on 14 November.

66. *ibid.*, 7 January 1907. Local resident, John Delbridge secured this contract with a tender of £42,000 against nine competitors. It was completed in 1909 and named De Villiers after one of its distinguished residents.

67. *ibid.*, 7 July 1907.

In a population of just over 14,000, there were only 1848 registered municipal voters in 1907,<sup>68</sup> of whom fewer than five hundred attended civic gatherings. This apathy ensured that there was little organised opposition to the councillors' plans or opinions, as most active ratepayers appeared to be their supporters. Little local criticism of Council decisions was recorded and the sudden demise of the *Wynberg Times* in 1908 ended its valuable commentary on local municipal affairs.

Its disappearance also emphasised the dominant influence of the large city newspapers, such as the *Cape Times* and the *Cape Argus*, in shaping public opinion. Their focus on broader issues which concerned the metropolitan area and the Peninsula as a whole became the frame within which the separatism which characterised Wynberg was viewed and criticised. The city press reflected the views of central government and the Cape Town Municipality in their quest for unity, and the maverick attitude of Wynberg was out of step with this movement. The colonial government was pre-occupied with its plans for unification on a national scale, boldly bringing together the disparate regions of southern Africa around the negotiating table.

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68. *ibid.*, 21 July 1907. This was a drop from 2001 voters in 1906.

As the representatives of the Cape, Natal and the erstwhile Boer Republics met in a National Convention from 1908,<sup>69</sup> their diverse demands were not easily satisfied, but it was hoped that within union the competing claims of all would be served, thus safeguarding economic stability. Simultaneously, the debate was resumed on the amalgamation of the smaller local authorities of the southern Peninsula with the more powerful Cape Town Municipality, although this process was to prove almost as lengthy and difficult as formulating the South Africa Act. As the Commission of 1902 had pointed out, there would be undoubted benefits in such a union for all parties, provided it could be achieved amicably and sustained over time. There were important implications for the Mother City in the accumulation of power and the additional resources which it would acquire by the incorporation of the nine municipalities into itself, while the smaller bodies would benefit from the improved amenities and financial advantages which shared resources would provide.

The question of whether or not they should unify was initiated on this occasion by an editorial in the *Cape Times*,<sup>70</sup> and it was picked up eagerly by the tiny Mowbray municipality, which had been

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69. L. Thompson, *The Unification of South Africa*, Chapter 5, especially pp. 172-180 for an exposition of the problems associated with their representation.

70. *Cape Times* 24 March 1908.

separated from Rondebosch a few years after the Liesbeek fiasco,<sup>71</sup> and had been struggling to maintain itself on its limited revenue from rates ever since then. In 1902 it had been forced to raise its owners' rate to 4d in the pound, among the highest in the Peninsula. Mowbray had benefited initially from the shared water scheme with its neighbours, but, as the suburban populations had grown, its water sources were strained to the limit. Only Wynberg, which had shrewdly invested in a water scheme of its own, had a sufficient supply, making it independent of any other. The Mowbray councillors decided to circularise all the other municipalities in the south Peninsula, inviting them to send delegates to a conference at which the advantages of unification would be discussed. This suggestion was rejected by the Wynberg councillors, who explained politely that they had both a water and a drainage scheme of their own.<sup>72</sup> In an editorial the Cape Times commented on the favourable response of Woodstock, Rondebosch and Claremont to the proposal, suggesting that the door should be left open for Wynberg to come in on some future occasion.<sup>73</sup>

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71. See above, 355. Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, 8 September 1890, Proclamation 228.

72. C.A., 3/WBB, 5, 6 May 1908. Minutes of meeting.

73. Cape Times, 13 May 1908. In the same issue, Mowbray councillor Kiddie commented, "Wynberg has always been a stand-offish sort of place. They will think as we do later" (Mowbray Matters).

The paper also drew attention to "the tendency towards combination in the United Kingdom", where five large Midland boroughs had recently followed this course; and urged the councillors to promote the Municipal Combination Bill, which already had the support of Prime Minister Merriman. Yet none of the municipalities seemed willing to take the matter further at this stage, or even to express an opinion on doing so. It was not until the following year that the **Cape Times** decided to set the ball in motion once more by running a series of articles on the advantages of municipal unification, which, it claimed, would make Cape Town more worthy as the future legislative capital of the country. It stressed that, "if union is strength, municipal separation is loss and stagnation in the Peninsula. Let us unite without delay".<sup>74</sup> It pointed out that the economic weakness of the Cape in relation to the mineral-rich Transvaal was already apparent and a consolidated metropolitan centre was essential to encourage future investment in the Cape Town area. It is understandable that this time the Cape Town Municipality picked up the ball and ran with it. In November 1909 the mayor of Cape Town, F.W. Smith, called a meeting of the representatives of Peninsula municipalities at the City Hall.<sup>75</sup>

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74. **Cape Times**, 19 October 1909.

75. C.A., 3/WBG, 5, 11 October 1909. The minutes of the meeting suggest that it was only after some deliberation that the Wynberg Municipality decided to send two delegates.

Once all were assembled, the newspaper reports recorded an initial uneasy silence, in which no one seemed confident enough to proceed. Eventually, Councillor H. Sawkins of Rondebosch offered a resolution to test support for unification.<sup>76</sup> Thereupon, a lively discussion followed, during which it became clear that Rondebosch, Mowbray, Woodstock and Claremont were prepared to stand with Cape Town in favour of union, while Wynberg, predictably, opposed the motion, and was supported by Sea Point. A long and sometimes barbed exchange took place as councillors tried to score points in support of their respective views. Vollmer and Duncan Taylor of Wynberg denied that they were only concerned about losing their considerable municipal assets. "It is not a question of money", Vollmer declared, "we have always stood alone". Taylor contended that their views reflected the wishes of their satisfied ratepayers, provoking their Mowbray colleague, L. Russell, to a sarcastic rejoinder that it was well-known that "Wynberg was the pinnacle of perfection - the summit of municipal life ", but they should join the union to "share all their knowledge and expertise with others".

At this point Mayor Smith intervened, making a serious plea for co-operation and reminding the meeting that "a good deal of water has flowed under the bridge since the question of unification was

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76.. Cape Argus, 11 November 1909.

first mooted. Most municipalities stood aloof at the outset; now, with the exception of two, they are all in favour of the principle".<sup>77</sup> He then thanked Rondebosch for being in the forefront of a move which would allow Cape Town to take its place as a major metropolitan centre. "Don't let us wait till everything has gone North", he warned.<sup>78</sup> A month later Cape Town was shocked by a major scandal in municipal affairs related to the purchase of land at Wemmer's Hoek, undertaken by the Woodstock Council. Its Town Clerk, E.S. Francis, was charged with defrauding the municipality of a considerable sum of money. The lengthy Supreme Court trial involved many well-known people, the Mayor of Woodstock resigned and the credibility of the smaller local authorities was jeopardised.<sup>79</sup>

Discussion about unification continued to dominate the Cape Town newspaper columns before and after the South Africa Act was promulgated and even Wemmer's Hoek could not displace the significance of the changes which were taking place at national level. One of the immediate effects of Union was the establishment of four Provincial Councils and the allocation of considerable local powers to these authorities. Accordingly, the new Cape

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77. Cape Argus, 11 November 1909.

78. *ibid.*, 11 November 1909.

79. Cape Times, 2 January 1910 onwards; also D. Grant, "The Politics of Water Supply", 159-160.

Provincial Council quickly set to work, passing legislation which included the Electric Power Ordinance that was intended to bring all power supplies under the control of the Administrator rather than local authorities.<sup>80</sup> This drew a sharp and immediate response from the press and the public. The question was asked as to why electricity had been singled out rather than any of the other problem areas like sanitation or transport. The *Cape Times* attacked the autocratic approach of the Ordinance when it was first introduced into the Council,<sup>81</sup> and was not mollified by a statement made by the Province that its intention was to safeguard the public at large by the use of only the best methods of distribution.<sup>82</sup>

Electric power in the Cape Town area was delivered by several producers; the Cape Town power station served its immediate environs, whereas the Cape Peninsula Lighting Company (C.P.L. Co.) supplied the area between Mowbray and Wynberg, while Kalk Bay had its own installation, serving the False Bay coast. The twenty-year contract which the C.P.L. Co. had with its customers was due to expire on 31 December 1912, and the Cape Town Municipality had intended to make an offer for all their assets then, thereby

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80. Ordinance No 6 of 1911, To regulate the supply of electricity for public purposes. Promulgated 9 June 1911.

81. *ibid.*, 24 March, 1911.

82: *ibid.*, 11 April 1911. Report of Provincial Council Meeting.

facilitating the supply of electricity from the Cape Town Power Station to all the suburbs of the South Peninsula which would be incorporated into greater Cape Town in the projected unification process.<sup>83</sup> During 1910-11 the Wynberg Municipality quietly made preparations to deal with this new threat to its autonomy and, indirectly, its source of reasonably-priced electricity. The Council was in a good position to negotiate with its embattled supplier, because the Mayor, Duncan Taylor, was a substantial share-holder in the C.P.L. Co.<sup>84</sup> Under the new Electric Power Ordinance, safety checks were carried out, and throughout 1910 there were ongoing communications between the Province and the various parties to the contract. It later emerged that the Wynberg Council had arranged to take over the local sub-station in Electric Road from the C.P.L. Co. and to purchase all electrical installations within its municipal boundaries. This would mean that the Council could control the distribution of power within Wynberg, irrespective of its source, provided that they fulfilled the requirements of the Provincial Electrical Engineer; nor would the Cape Town Municipality be able to exert any special leverage over their supply.<sup>85</sup>

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83. C.A., 3/WBG, 474 - Electricity contracts.

84. C.A., 3/WBG, 6, 8 October 1911. Taylor recused himself from the council meeting when the matter was discussed.

85. *ibid.*, 3, 14 and 28 February 1912.

Meanwhile, the pro-unification faction in the Peninsula was already making plans for the next step towards amalgamation. This was the Municipal Union Conference planned for March 1912, when all the relevant information concerning the area would be assembled and examined before a bill requesting the unification of the municipalities was presented to the government. In the Cape Town Mayor's Minute of 1911, Smith announced that the representatives at the Mayoral Congress in 1910 had agreed to support the Draft Municipal Amendment Bill, which would adjust previous Municipal Acts, thus paving the way for the unification of the Peninsula municipalities.<sup>86</sup> The Mowbray and Claremont Councils had declared in favour of amalgamation,<sup>87</sup> and Rondebosch had voted by the narrow majority of one in favour of participation in the Conference.<sup>88</sup> The Wynberg Council had placed the decision for future negotiations about participation in the hands of their mayor,<sup>89</sup> who expressed its wishes when he did not vote in favour of unification.

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86. C.T. Mayoral Minute, 1910, 34. The representatives of Claremont, Rondebosch, Mowbray and Woodstock voted in favour of unification.

87. S.A. Review, 9 June 1911. The journal carried a scathing attack on this collaboration between Parker (Mowbray) and Baxter (Cape Town), suggesting that they were framing a Peninsula unification to suit themselves.

88. Cape Times, 3 June 1911; Cape Argus, 5 June 1911. In this case both the Mayor, J. Herold and his Deputy, H. Sawkins, opposed unification.

89. C.A., 3/WBG, 6, 8 March 1911. Minutes of meeting.

There was no further discussion of the matter at Wynberg until June 1911, when a petition was received from twenty local ratepayers, requesting a public meeting to discuss unification and to vote on the possibility of sending delegates to the Conference.<sup>90</sup> The response of the Wynberg Council was to advertise a public meeting for 19 June, which could test whether Vollmer's assertion, made in 1909, that "the ratepayers of Wynberg would not join any scheme of unification at present" was still valid. Vollmer took the chair at this "well-attended meeting", described as "packed out" in the Cape Argus.<sup>91</sup> This meeting was addressed, as in 1904, by W.T. Buissine, who once more supported unification, as well as participation in the Conference. He urged that "combined action carried weight" and he drew attention to the many administrative and financial advantages he perceived in amalgamation, mentioning that there were eight Municipal Engineers employed within a distance of twelve miles, and numerous other duplications.<sup>92</sup>

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90. *ibid.*, 12 June 1911.

91. Cape Argus 20 June 1911. The Town Hall accommodated about 400 people, yet only 200 votes were recorded, possibly because many of the audience may have been interested parties but did not qualify for a vote.

92. *ibid.*, 20 June 1911.

His colleague, W.P. Buchanan, K.C., concurred with him, particularly in the matter of rates, which were no longer cheaper than those in Cape Town, as had been the case in 1904; and suggested there would be better health care and cheaper electricity in a unified municipality. He identified the crux of the objections to "an aversion to carrying out a water scheme from Woodstock to Claremont", forcing their participation in the financing of services which Wynberg already possessed.<sup>73</sup> However, he also argued that, as "the premier suburb", they should not stand with their hands in their pockets while important decisions were made which could affect all of them. He urged attendance at the Conference, noting that, of all the municipalities, only Wynberg had declined to furnish information to the Conference organisers. Former Councillor S.N. Ponder replied by attacking the proposal, seeing no benefit in it for Wynberg, and no new arguments presented to add to what they had heard before and had rejected. "If there were benefits in union", he suggested, "they would lie in the direction of Kalk Bay, whose sympathies were akin to Wynberg". Buchanan declared he was surprised by this statement, remarking that it "had let the cat out of the bag" with regard to the Council's intentions.<sup>74</sup>

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93. Cape Times, 20 June 1911.

94. *ibid.*, 20 June 1911.

Isidore Hanau immediately supported Ponder, describing himself as "a rat, who had jumped ship since 1902" when he had given evidence in favour of amalgamation to the Commission. The many improvements made by the Wynberg Council since that time had convinced him that there was no need for a change in the administration, which had made Wynberg the envy of other municipalities. His humourous and reasoned approach brought frequent applause, as he suggested that, "having borne the heat of the day, they were not prepared to take in partners at this stage. We don't want any Wemmers Hoeks", he added. After the prolonged laughter which followed this, he warned that their delegates would be out-numbered at the Conference and out-voted.

Construction Engineer John Delbridge agreed that "their birth-right would be voted away" if they participated in the Conference, and their investment of £200,000 in a water and drainage scheme (in which he had been closely involved) would be lost to them.<sup>75</sup> This drew an angry response from B.K. Long, M.L.A. and a representative of the Conference organisers, who recommended that altruism rather than self-interest should be the order of the day, adding "there was something higher than water and more savoury than drains". Somewhat provocatively he suggested that "the failure to provide information could be spelt out as F.U.N.K".

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95. Cape Argus, 20 June 1911.

Loud laughter followed this, and Long pointed out that "they could not draw a ring-fence round Wynberg", following this with the scarcely-veiled threat that all could be compelled to co-operate by Provincial Ordinance under the new dispensation. Predictably Ponder responded angrily that "they had put their hands in their pockets when others had not"; a counter-resolution to the original Buissine/Buchanan proposal was put forward by S. Cowper. Amid noisy interjections Cowper proposed they should vote to remain separate and to stay out of the Conference and any expenses connected with it.<sup>96</sup> Arthur Ridout, the newly-elected Provincial Councillor for the South Peninsula, seeing the matter slipping out of hand, joined Long in warning of the dangers of non-participation, provoking a heated exchange between himself and Delbridge. After Ridout remarked suggestively that, "being a young bird, he had not yet tumbled to the arrangement come to by Wynberg and Kalk Bay", the meeting was called to order by Vollmer, who stated that "these were stories to frighten children, and there could be no question of anyone forcing a big body like Wynberg in". Nevertheless, the Mayor concluded, "if we put our feet inside the Conference, we shall be out-voted immediately".<sup>97</sup>

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96. Cape Times, 20 June 1911.

97. Cape Argus, 20 June 1911.

The amended resolution was then put forward, but was greeted with such confusion that no vote could be counted. Whereupon the Mayor put the original resolution, relating only to participation in the Conference and not to separatism, to the meeting. This was carried by 102 - 86 votes; Councillor Steward immediately called for a poll by ballot to decide the matter;<sup>98</sup> and on this unsatisfactory note for the Council the meeting ended. This confrontation was its first public set-back in twenty-five years of "benevolent" dictatorship, and the councillors wasted no time in attempting to reverse the decision. The poll was advertised for three weeks later, and was accompanied by injunctions from the press that Wynberg ratepayers "be reasonable".<sup>99</sup> On the day after the Wynberg meeting, the Cape Times also published an historical review of the successful unification of three British cities, pointing out that Wynberg's fears of a greater Cape Town were unjustified. It quoted facts and figures to show that with a population of 900,000 in an area of 43,537 sq.miles, Birmingham, for example, far exceeded the 150,000 people who would occupy 21,726 sq.miles in the projected Cape Town municipality.<sup>100</sup>

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98. Cape Argus, 20 June 1911; also C.A., 3/WBG, 6, 19 June 1911. Minutes of public meeting held at the Town Hall.

99. Cape Times 21 and 30 June 1911.

100. *ibid.*, 20 June 1911.

When the result of the poll was announced, it was shown that, by a margin of 54 votes, the ratepayers declared against union and that they would not be represented at the Municipal Union Conference. The press expressed great disappointment and blamed the apathy of voters for the decision.<sup>101</sup> Only one-third of the enrolled voters had participated in the poll, the final figures being 365 for participation - 419 against. A Cape Times editorial condemned the decision of "a small majority of voters", but acknowledged that the conference would proceed without the Wynberg delegates.<sup>102</sup> No mention was made in the Council minutes of the poll and its result, or of the press response. However, the pro-unificationists, smarting from their defeat at the poll, were not prepared to leave the field. Provincial Councillor Ridout, a Wynberg resident who ran a printing and publishing business there, stood for the Municipal Council in August 1911 with the avowed intention of trying to change it from within. He was well aware of the difficulties of breaking into the exclusive group because he had made two previous attempts to do so in 1909 and 1910, but had been unsuccessful.

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101. Cape Argus, 7 July 1911.

102. Cape Times, 7 and 9 July 1911.

On this occasion he found it was impossible to hire the Wynberg Town Hall for a meeting and so he issued pamphlets making that clear and stating that, as "the People's candidate, he was prepared to operate for the benefit of all - and not for cliques".<sup>103</sup> Once again he lost to the establishment members, Milward, Vollmer and Cowper.<sup>104</sup> In its report of local elections, the South African News declared that unification would have been advanced by returning Ridout and that Wynberg had therefore chosen the wrong candidates.<sup>105</sup> Meanwhile, the Wynberg Council, unchanged except for its new member, Sydney Cowper,<sup>106</sup> continued to ignore unification and proceeded with its plans for collaboration with Kalk Bay. It called for tenders for a supply of electricity to Wynberg from January 1913,<sup>107</sup> and, on receiving two replies from the Cape Town Municipality and the Kalk Bay Municipality, it accepted the latter.<sup>108</sup>

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103. C.A., 3/WBG, 426.

104. Cape Times, 22 August 1911.

105. S.A. News, 3 September 1911.

106. Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List, 1904, 337. His long service record shows that Cowper was secretary to both Prime Ministers Sprigg and Upiington between 1880-1904 and that he served with distinction until his retirement in 1904. He then opened an art gallery, which reflected one of his areas of interest.

107. C.A., 3/WBG, 6, 13 November 1911.

108. C.A., 3/WBG, 6, 27 December 1911.

The "cat" referred to at the ratepayers' meeting in June was now fully "out of the bag". The Cape Times acknowledged this in a tart editorial in which the Wynberg and Kalk Bay Councils were severely criticised for their determined undermining of the unification process.<sup>107</sup> Battle lines were now drawn. The first shots were fired by the Cape Argus in an editorial which condemned the Wynberg councillors for not providing adequate information for the public about their scheme. It suggested they were less anxious to enlighten their ratepayers than to commit them through their consent to a loan of £4,700 to cover the cost of the line to the Kalk Bay Power Station. It also implied that the Kalk Bay Council was using Wynberg to make repairs to their own line and that users should hesitate before making this "leap in the dark", because costs would escalate. It concluded by exposing the hidden agenda of the Wynberg Council; "the alternate to the Kalk Bay scheme is the acceptance of the offer made by the Cape Town City Council, and the anti-unificationists fear that this would strengthen the hands of the advocates of unification".<sup>110</sup>

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109. Cape Times, 14 December 1911.

110. Cape Argus, 1 February 1912.

This occurred shortly before the Municipal Union Conference was due to take place, making it very clear that only Wynberg were "the spoilers", because both Sea Point and Kalk Bay were sending delegates. The report of the Conference recorded co-operation from all the other municipalities, but reproached Wynberg which "sent no delegates and furnished no information";<sup>111</sup> yet it did not condemn this lack of response. In fact, at a later stage in the proceedings, the chairman recommended that "Wynberg be induced to come in by every possible means".<sup>112</sup> It is clear that Wynberg had achieved a status and a level of independent action which defied coercion; and it was recognised that Wynberg must enter the union willingly, or not at all. By the end of the conference it was clear that all those attending had been persuaded that amalgamation was the best course to follow. It was decided to submit a bill to parliament in order to facilitate the unification of the municipalities.<sup>113</sup> On 26 September Ordinance No 10 of 1912 was promulgated to consolidate and amend the law relating to municipalities.

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111. Report of the Municipal Union Conference, March 1912, V 1, 2.

112. *ibid.*, 55.

113. *ibid.*, 94. Kalk Bay did in fact agree to incorporation.

The Wynberg Council noted this event and expressed its approval of its provisions, while in no way abandoning its stance on the issue of incorporation.<sup>114</sup> It had been pointed out at the Municipal Union Conference that Wynberg had the largest loan account after Cape Town itself,<sup>115</sup> and the management of this mounting debt was an ongoing problem. Yet, despite its increasing administrative responsibilities, the Wynberg Council steadfastly maintained its course of independent action on matters relating to Wynberg. As the Cape Times had grudgingly acknowledged some years before, "Wynberg jogs along very pleasantly from year to year; they don't shout, but they seem to get through the work."<sup>116</sup>

In Wynberg preparations continued for the implementation of the electrical contract with Kalk Bay, in readiness for the take-over on 31 December 1912. Once again Ridout stood as a candidate in the council election, and once again he was defeated. Subsequently he stood against the established councillors on nine occasions in his attempt to break the stranglehold which he believed this small group of men had on local government at Wynberg. He never achieved

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114. C.A., 3/WBG, 6, September 1912. In accordance with its provisions they appointed Munnik Town Treasurer, in addition to his post as Town Clerk.

115. Report of the Municipal Union Conference, 1912, V 1, 72. The figure cited was £356,200, while only Woodstock compared with this at £333,000.

116. Cape Times, 5 July 1911.

his objective in this way, but, as M.P.C. for the South Peninsula throughout this period, he could make his presence felt in other ways.

All the smaller municipalities, except Wynberg, had arranged ratepayers' meetings on 9 December 1912 in order to ratify the decisions made at the Municipal Conference and, unexpectedly, Wynberg agreed to do so too. This was decided at a special meeting of the Wynberg Council at which the councillors unanimously rejected unification, but declared that "the ratepayers should decide as in all the other municipalities".<sup>117</sup> Their sudden decision to make this democratic gesture may have been due to the criticism expressed by Ridout's followers. This meeting was not as well attended as the previous meetings had been, but was marked by a high level of debate. J.W. Jagger, M.L.A. for Cape Town but a Wynberg resident, opened the argument in favour of unification, adopting a less aggressive attitude than his predecessors. The issues he raised were familiar; he suggested there was an identity of interest from Sea Point to Wynberg, which would work for the individual areas rather than against them. He denied that Wynberg would lose the benefits of its own considerable assets, or be asked to pay for other projects which it did not need; and finally, he stated that "by voting for unification they would be

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117. 3/WBG, 6, 3 December 1912; Cape Argus, 4 December 1912.

voting in the best interests of Wynberg". He was seconded by another reputable Wynberg resident, R.R. Brydone,<sup>116</sup> who emphasised the credit due to the Mayor and councillors over the years, but urged them to take "the broad view" for the sake of the whole community.<sup>117</sup> Mayor Cowper then introduced a new argument in the old opposition theme, examining with hindsight the effects of national union. He contended, "they had seen the cost of Union in the very big pension list and increased salaries....The Wynberg ratepayers would be in exactly the same position as the Cape was in regard to Union, when everything had to be referred to Pretoria". He made the point that there were nine Wynberg councillors genuinely and honestly looking after the town's interests, and in the new dispensation this number would be cut down to four - or three and a half. In the laughter which followed he suggested that the council had done the best it could for Wynberg, attaining high standards for a low rate, and "when other suburbs had attained the same standards, they would be prepared to consider the matter".

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118. Men of the Times (Cape Town, 1906), 29, refers to Brydone as "a premier insurance manager", founder of the Federated Insurance Co. He started the S.A. Political Association.

119. Cape Times, 10 December 1912. The paper carried a full review of the proceedings of all the meetings which took place at this time and a summary of the results.

This was greeted with cheers; Vollmer supported it, adding his concern that they should be asked to contribute their water-works, worth more than £300,000 to a general pool. Withinshaw wound up the discussion by denying they would get better service, or "a better class of councillor" by unification. He asserted that he was sure, as a councillor of 17 years' standing, that "Wynberg was quite satisfied with the present state of affairs". He did not see any reason why the others should not go ahead without them. He briefly reviewed the history of the water-works and the advantages of their rating system, concluding, "In the absence of any evidence that Wynberg is going to get any better government than in the past, I ask why should you unify?"<sup>120</sup>

Jagger attempted to refute these arguments in his summing-up, indicating that he was well aware of local grievances when he suggested that, if the sacrifice of Wynberg's interest was a point at issue, then "it might just as well be said that under present circumstances, Plumstead's interests might be sacrificed to those of Wynberg". He spoke eloquently on the value of the altruistic approach, implying that "the opposition proceeded from the local standpoint and looked solely at the interests of Wynberg".<sup>121</sup>

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120. *ibid.*, 10 December 1912.

121. *ibid.*, 10 December 1912.

This assumption was confirmed by the vote taken at the meeting, which was 132 - 31 against unification with the other municipalities. Jagger called for a poll but there is no record of this in council minutes or in press reports. It must be accepted that, on this occasion, the council chose not to pursue the matter and that the pro-unificationists did not contest its decision. This had been predetermined a week earlier at the December council meeting at which Cowper had expressed the view of the council: "The time has not yet arrived when Wynberg should be included".<sup>122</sup> That this view had been ratified by a very small proportion of the 2259 enrolled voters was clear on publication of the roll in 1913.<sup>123</sup>

Analysis of Wynberg voters' Roll for 1912/13.

Total number owners/tenants	Value of property	Number of votes	Total number of votes
455	At least £500.	One	455
475	Between £500 and £2000	Two	950
213	In excess of £2000	Three	639
1116	Occupiers (tenants)	One	1116
2259			3160

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122. C.A., 3/WBG, 6, 3 December 1912.

123. C.A., 3/WBG, 6, 14 July 1913. The minutes of this meeting indicated that votes were allocated according to the valuation of property owned or rented by the voter.

This showed that the 163 votes cast constituted but 5.2% of the full total of 3160 possible votes. Thus, the owners of valuable properties could have exerted a disproportionate influence in such a low poll by exercising their right to vote, although there is no record of how many holders of multiple votes cast their votes in this poll. This result must have infuriated Ridout and his supporters, but indicated clearly that voters had to be made aware of their responsibilities if a more accurate reflection of public opinion was to be obtained in subsequent polls.

The publication of Ordinance 19, unifying the municipalities which had voted in favour of amalgamation with Cape Town,<sup>124</sup> was acknowledged graciously by the Wynberg Council and a message of congratulations was sent to Cape Town, indicating a desire on the part of Wynberg "to work harmoniously with the City Council on all matters to effect better municipal government in the Peninsula".<sup>125</sup> After the successful incorporation of the seven smaller local authorities into one powerful body, it appeared that Wynberg had achieved its ambition to stand alone outside the city limits. It had met all the challenges to its autonomy and had earned the small town status to which it aspired.

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124. Province of the Cape of Good Hope, Ordinances, 1913, 68-87. No 19, To unify the Cape Town Municipality. Those involved were Sea Point, Cape Town, Woodstock, Mowbray, Rondebosch and Claremont. Kalk Bay had been incorporated separately.

125. C.A., 3/WBG, 6, 8 September 1913.

However, there were significant consequences for the Wynberg Municipality (referred to as "the other principal municipality in the Cape Peninsula") contained in the Ordinance,<sup>126</sup> which allocated additional land to Wynberg, stretching from the existing municipal boundaries, south-east to Princess Vlei and including all the land up to the Constantiaberg.<sup>127</sup> This was an "embarrassment of riches" to the Wynberg Council, which already had its hands full; and these peripheral settlements, referred to as the "new area", were subsequently to prove the deciding factor in determining the fate of the Wynberg Municipality. Although its struggle to preserve its independence was capped with success in 1913, in the wake of this triumph it became vulnerable to demands from these satellite areas. New weight had to be given to the warnings about an insufficient water supply for future development given by Buissine and Gurney in 1904,<sup>128</sup> repeated and emphasised by Buissine and Buchanan in 1911,<sup>129</sup> and reaffirmed by Jagger in 1912, when he cautioned: "If the Municipality was developed as it deserved to be, it must be developed as a whole.... In the long run it would be to the interests of Wynberg to have proper drainage and water schemes right through the Peninsula. Let

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126. Province of the Cape of Good Hope. Ordinances, 1913, 68.

127. *ibid.*, 86-87.

128. See above, 480.

129. See above, 494-495.

Wynberg take a broad view of the question".<sup>130</sup> This appeal had fallen on deaf ears in 1912, for the policy of the Wynberg Council was rooted in the belief that its councillors were best fitted to determine the requirements of their ratepayers and other constituents.<sup>131</sup>

Throughout the decade after the South African War the councillors had been pre-occupied with the task of maintaining the autonomy of the municipal area and its financial integrity, while providing for the needs of its inhabitants. They had not foreseen the enormous population increase which had taken place since the turn of the century; nor had they appreciated the pace of the change which they had initiated when they had committed the council to sanitary reform. Moreover, the provision of an adequate water-supply and effective sanitation, together with the routine maintenance of these services and the expanding infrastructure of the area, had put heavy pressure on the resources of the municipality. Its loan account had escalated in ten years from a figure of £116,700 in 1902, which had drawn considerable comment at that time,<sup>132</sup> to a figure of £356,200 in 1911.<sup>133</sup>

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130. Cape Times, 10 December 1912.

131. See above, 505-506.

132. C.P.P., G 21 of 1902, V 1, 40.

133. Report of the Municipal Union Conference, 1912, V 1, 72.

Yet, the greatly increased expenditure was concomitant with the huge demographic surge which had taken place since the final decade of the previous century,<sup>134</sup> when the forward planning for municipal services had been done. Consequently, these facilities were having to be constantly upgraded and extended in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The electricity contract with Kalk Bay was a case in point and became the focus for a major controversy, relating to its supply and the demand in the "new areas", where the residents wanted the same amenities which were available in the old municipal area. Indeed, the ability to meet these and other needs in the future was decisive for Wynberg's survival as an autonomous local authority. The Council found itself more and more having to defend its decisions and refute charges of nepotism. In his customary trenchant style, Ridout addressed these issues in an election pamphlet, "printed, published and paid for by A. Ridout" in 1912. "Now is the time to form a ratepayers' association", he urged. "No more axes to grind, no contracts with other councils, or any brothers, sisters or other relatives on the look-out for soft jobs".<sup>135</sup>

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 134 Report of the Municipal Union Conference, 1912, V 1, 72.

135 Cape Times, 7 December 1911. Comparative table of census returns.

	1891	1904	1911
<u>All races</u> Wynberg	4,952	18,477	16,017
<u>Whites</u> Wynberg	2,846	9,335	7,385
<u>Coloureds</u> Wynberg	2,216	9,142	9,031

The drop of almost two thousand in 1911 was confined to the "whites" and may have been due to the dispersal of the war-time population.

The family ties and the business and professional network, which had encouraged development in the area for almost a century, had survived the initial challenges of modernisation, but they were coming under growing pressure to relinquish their economic and political dominance. The closed communities - the "small Greek cities" to which Beard had referred in 1904 - had been infiltrated by many newcomers, and fresh voices had made themselves heard in the unification debate. The voice of "the People" had manifested itself in the person of Ridout and his supporters who refused to be silenced by repeated failure at the polls. Wynberg was no exception to the rising groundswell of public opinion which challenged the old, accepted order in southern Africa during the next ten years.

When Thomas Graham, from his vantage point high on Wynberg Hill, had envisaged the vast expansion of people across the Cape Flats during the century, he had not foreseen a diminished role for the Wynberg Municipality, but rather one of increased responsibility. The next ten years would determine whether the powerful group of councillors, who had shaped and controlled the municipal process at Wynberg, could meet the challenge presented by the growing number of people dependent on it. Had the municipality out-grown its strength or would it be able to stand alone ?



Public Transport at Wynberg circa 1910: cabs outside the station  
and the tramway on the Main Road.





Public Transport at Wynberg circa 1910: cabs outside the station  
and the tramway on the Main Road.



## CHAPTER 9

### Decline and Fall - an Epilogue

1914 - 1927

The Wynberg municipality was almost continuously under siege after 1913, placing constant pressure on its beleaguered council and its administrative staff. Paradoxically, the Ordinance which had apparently entrenched its independence<sup>1</sup> had also undermined its ability to function efficiently, and the extension of its authority beyond its original boundaries, incorporating a large area formerly controlled by the Cape Divisional Council, had increased the demands on its already strained financial resources. This chapter focuses specifically on the events which undermined the strength and autonomy of the council, finally bringing about its demise in 1927. It emphasises the demands of the "new area" residents and the significance of their mobilisation into a rate-payers' association, the Southern Civic Association (S.C.A.), which spear-headed the final assault on the independence of the municipality. This chapter does not explore in depth the acquisition of property but rather the over-whelming effect of the new area's needs when coupled with existing demands on the municipal budget.

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1. Province of the Cape of Good Hope, Ordinances, 1913, No 19, 68-87.

The Wynberg council had not anticipated this additional responsibility, nor was it equipped to cope with the burgeoning settlements in the largely undeveloped countryside. Yet it had to come to grips with this problem, which weighed heavily on the ageing band of councillors, some of whom had held office since the 1890s. New blood was needed, as Ridout had pointed out, but the Wynberg Council resisted innovation. Parochial interests and an isolationist attitude had been the corner-stone of its municipal policy for almost thirty years; and, although Vollmer had foreseen in 1902 that, "in the course of time " Wynberg might need to change its perspective,<sup>2</sup> the time for such action had not yet been acknowledged. Moreover, their conservatism was out of step with this time of transition in the post-Union period in South Africa, when modernisation and ideological changes were the order of the day as people and political parties re-aligned themselves in changing social and economic circumstances. The impact of events of world-wide significance, as well as others of purely local concern, which are outlined in this chapter, served to highlight the dilemma faced by the council in maintaining its independence. The councillors appeared unwilling to recognise their new responsibilities and the need for a more innovative approach to financial planning.

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2. C.P.P., G 21 of 1902, V 2, 349. Report of a Commission appointed to report on certain matters affecting the Cape Peninsula Municipalities and the Cape Divisional Council.

Although the municipality provided such support and amenities to its ratepayers as its over-extended budget allowed, in the main it attempted to ignore demands from beyond its original limits. However, the new generation of insistent and articulate peri-urban residents refused to be by-passed and were prepared to resist such tactics. Almost immediately after the uproar which accompanied the unification of the other municipalities had died down, a controversial purchase of land by the Wynberg Council triggered a storm of protest from new area residents. Since June 1913, when the Provincial Secretary advised the Municipality that the cemeteries in Wetton Road had been declared insanitary and that burials there should cease,<sup>3</sup> the Wynberg municipality had sought an alternative site. Eventually the Councillors decided to purchase a stretch of ground to the east of Southey's estate at Plumstead, taking transfer of it in June 1914.<sup>4</sup> This immediately provoked what the Cape Times referred to as "the cemetery furore",<sup>5</sup> when it reported on the public meeting called for by residents of the area to discuss the matter.<sup>6</sup> It was chaired by Cowper and

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3. C.A., 3/WBG, 451, Rough minutes and correspondence, 8 June - 14 December 1913. Their initial communication was followed by several more letters extending the time of closure until January 1914 when burials there ended.

4. C.A., 3/WBG, 119, Cemetery papers: correspondence and transfer documents.

5. Cape Times, 16 July 1914.

6. C.A., 3/WBG, 6, 14 July 1914.

was attended by 112 people, including the ministers from all the local churches, several of whom had written letters complaining about the state of the burial ground.<sup>7</sup> Representatives of two organisations, acting on behalf of the ratepayers, were also present at the meeting. John Carver of the Diep River Vigilante Association and Victor Dormer of the Plumstead Civic Association spoke for the residents who owned property in the Meyerhof township, adjacent to the proposed cemetery.<sup>8</sup>

They expressed themselves vigorously, complaining that "the Wynberg Council had never done anything for Plumstead unless they had been forced". Carver declared that "Diep River had been one of the most beautiful areas and was now a disgrace", while Dormer stated that "Meyerhof was a prime neighbourhood", which would be ruined by its proximity to the cemetery.<sup>9</sup> In that context he pointed out that the area had a very high water-table and the water-logged ground was as unsuitable for a cemetery as the Wetton Road site had been. A heated correspondence followed the public meeting,<sup>10</sup> but the complainants did not achieve their objective

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7. C.A., 3/WBG, 451, July, 1913. Father Reilly, in particular, wrote several letters on behalf of the congregation of the Roman Catholic Church.

8. See above, 513. Map 8.

9. Cape Times, 16 July 1914.

10. C.A., 3/WBG, 148, Letters of objection to the project.

because the Council stood by its intention to establish the Plumstead Cemetery.<sup>11</sup> This arbitrary decision contributed to the mounting anger and frustration expressed by the "new area" residents, but the controversy was forgotten in the following month when World War 1 broke out, affecting households throughout southern Africa and beyond. In one sense this catastrophe contributed to the continued existence of the Wynberg Municipality, because it diverted attention from the local grievances which were threatening it.

In view of its long-standing association with the military establishment, the Wynberg Council immediately assured the government of its loyalty<sup>12</sup> and of its readiness to assist in this emergency. Since the inception of the village in the early nineteenth century, the British garrison stationed at the camp had become an accepted part of the British heritage at Wynberg - a symbol of Empire, providing military parades on public holidays and, latterly, band concerts in King Edward Park at weekends. Yet, now, upon the outbreak of war, the Union Government assumed responsibility for the defence of the country, allowing the British garrisons in South Africa to leave for the battlefield in Europe and elsewhere. They never returned.

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11. C.A., 3/WBG, 119, Cemetery papers and costs.

12. C.A., 3/WBG, 6, 10 August 1914.

By the end of 1914 only two detachments of British troops remained at the camp and Wynberg became a recruitment and training centre for South African volunteers.<sup>13</sup> The former British camp assumed a new character, as South African troops mustered for service on the parade ground. During 1915 the 1st, 2nd and 3rd South African Mounted Rifles were billeted at the camp, moving in and out of town as they trained on the open ground at Pollsmoor and Tokai.<sup>14</sup> They ordered fodder and other supplies from local merchants who benefited by the increased demand. War had never been bad for business in Wynberg and this war proved no different. Not all tradespeople were as busy as Perrow's blacksmith at the foot of Carr Hill, where 200 water-carts were constructed for use by the troops in South West Africa,<sup>15</sup> but all the local shops and inns were well patronised by the military, although liquor sales were restricted by order of the Council<sup>16</sup> because fewer police were available for general duties.

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13. R.W. Brann, "Wynberg Military Base and the Army Officer's Club", *Militaria* V 19 (1), 1989, 9.

14. *ibid.*, 9.

15. Interview on 16 January 1991 with F. Perrow of Plumstead and son of the original owner of Perrow's blacksmith.

16: C.A., 3/WBG, 6, 9 November 1914.

For more than a year the troops moved in and out of Wynberg camp, but after the four battalions left on active service in 1915, hospital carts once more predominated. Wynberg was acknowledged as one of the best hospital stations and was handed over to the S.A. Medical Corps, which enlarged its capacity to 1040 beds.<sup>17</sup> All casualties from the German South West campaign were brought to the camp from the outset, making Wynberg the base expeditionary force hospital for the S.A. Medical Corps. Not all the wounded and convalescent servicemen from the battlefronts in Africa were accommodated at the camp and many recuperated in private homes in the town. Trovato and Maynardville were entirely given over to this purpose, but many smaller homes were also used. The Council offered an incentive by waiving water charges and rates while the houses were in use for military purposes.<sup>18</sup> Part of the Town Hall became a canteen for servicemen as its strategic position opposite the station made it an excellent reception-point for troops.<sup>19</sup> Local women offered their services as volunteer nurses and aides, drawing the people together once more.

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17. R.W. Brann, "A short history of the Wynberg military base", Brochure for Wynberg Military Base Neighbour Day, April 1988, 15.

18. C.A., 3/WBG, 6, 17 September 1914.

19. C.A., 3/WBG, 6, 12 February 1917.

The commercial prosperity which accompanied all this activity and the communal spirit which was generated, did much to ensure the stability of the little town. The divisive elements had not disappeared, but they assumed a lesser importance in the face of the greater crisis. The successful response of the Council and the residents vindicated the claims of the anti-unificationists, indicating that the town was able to operate independently and to prosper, a feature emphasised with the onset of the Spanish 'flu epidemic which attacked the Cape Peninsula in October 1918.<sup>20</sup> Emergency committees were immediately established in Wynberg and the council also ordered the closure of the two bioscopes and all canteens for coloureds.<sup>21</sup> With their usual efficiency the councillors established watch committees in all areas of Wynberg and opened soup-kitchens for the relief of local residents. They arranged for the numbering of all houses in lower Wynberg for the immediate identification of sufferers, marking with chalk all houses where people were seriously affected, and organising a team of "visitors" to take comforts to those stricken,<sup>22</sup>

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20. For a comprehensive account of this disaster see H. Phillips, "Black October. The impact of the Spanish Influenza epidemic of 1918 on South Africa", (PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 1984).

21. C.A., 3/WBG, 6, 8 October 1918.

22. 3/WBG, 6, 22 October 1918. A pamphlet was issued with instructions to visitors for appropriate precautions.

Shrewdly they placed the onus for disinfecting houses where infection had occurred on the rentiers and owners of these houses,<sup>23</sup> and ordered the disinfection of cabs at the busy stands near the station at the expense of the cab-owners.<sup>24</sup> Although no exact figures exist for the number of cases of Spanish 'flu in Wynberg, the outbreak appears to have been as severe as in the rest of the Peninsula. In the Wynberg Magisterial district, 1878 deaths were recorded,<sup>25</sup> but there is no indication how many of these deaths occurred in the Wynberg Municipality. The Council minutes do not record these details, mentioning only that by February 1919, "the 'Flu was over".<sup>26</sup> The epidemic undoubtedly increased awareness of public health in Wynberg, as it did elsewhere in the Peninsula, and brought people of all classes together in a common cause to fight the disease.<sup>27</sup> As this period of crisis ended, however, cracks began to appear in the veneer of war-time solidarity.

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23. H. Phillips, "Black October" (1984), 68.

24. C.A., 3/WBG, 6, 10 December 1918.

25. U.G. 50 - '19, 6. Census of European or White Races of South Africa, 1918.

26. C.A., 3/WBG, 6, 10 February 1919.

27. H. Phillips, "Black October", 44-45.

When the Armistice brought about the cessation of hostilities, it was greeted with loyal celebrations in Wynberg;<sup>26</sup> but this gathering, at which only a tiny contingent of British troops was present, marked the end of an era of colonial possession at the camp,<sup>27</sup> and a period of change and reconstruction followed. After the war a rapidly-modernising world confronted the councillors who were faced not only with the long-standing issues of water-supply and an obsolete drainage system, but also with ever-increasing requests for electrical installations and improved infrastructure to accommodate the needs of motorised traffic. Many of these requests came from the "new area", where the Meyerhof, Southey and Hills estates had been extended, and from the developing area above and below the railway line at Kenilworth. The letter files in the municipal records testify to the vehemence of their demands for improved amenities.<sup>30</sup>

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28. Interview with K. Vos, conducted by V.C. Malherbe at Wynberg, 1987. This resident recalled that Sir Frederick de Waal, the Administrator of the Cape, visited Wynberg on that day, and assembled troops, the councillors, residents and school-children on Waterloo Green for a Thanksgiving Service.

29. Major W.B. Smith (ed.), "A short history of the Wynberg military base", Brochure for Wynberg military base neighbour day, April 1988, 6. The writer confirms that all British troops had left the base and that all buildings and land had been handed over by the Imperial War Department to the South African government by 1 December 1921.

30. C.A., 3 WBG, 473-474.

The Wynberg council had shown that it could cope with individual emergencies, but the cumulative pressures which had built up during the war years had diminished its resources and over-extended its limited staff. The 'flu epidemic had drawn attention to the over-crowded (and usually unregarded) slum conditions in the onder-dorp, but the councillors were unable to ignore the ground-swell of complaints emanating from the "new area". Some upwardly mobile coloured families began to purchase properties in the developing areas at the south-eastern end of Wynberg and interviews conducted with aged coloured residents<sup>31</sup> indicate that a considerable proportion of the inhabitants of the new area were coloured.<sup>32</sup> It is impossible, however, to ascertain whether any of them were part of the compliant group of ratepayers who supported the council whose commercial interests gave employment to many people; or whether their sympathies lay with the "rebels" in the new area. They do not appear to have been involved in the new area's demands, but they were undoubtedly interested parties to the disputes.

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31. Interviews conducted between June 1985 and June 1988 with W. Herbert, G. Cloete, G. Kay, D. van der Ross, S. Peterson, all of Wynberg.

32. Interview with D. van der Ross, Silverlea Road, Wynberg, 15 June 1985. He was principal of the Teachers' Training School at Battswood from 1926-1954. He was born in Violet Lane, adjacent to Hauptville on Constantia Road, and had lived in Wynberg all his life.

These ongoing problems outlived the older generation of Wynberg councillors, most of whom had served for very long periods, particularly Thomas Milward, who held office for 28 years (1898-1927), Theodore Vollmer (1893-1917) and George Withinshaw (1895-1919), who served 24 years, and Duncan Taylor (1898-1921) and James McDonald (1904-1927) who served 23 years. Others of long-standing were W. Dunn (1903-1921) and C.S. Ferguson (1906-1921), C.J. Steward (1908-1919), A. Calder (1898-1907) and S. Cowper (1911-1921). All but Ferguson and Steward had served as mayor, sometimes for several terms.

All of them had considerable businesses which they had established in Wynberg during the 1890s, but few of them belonged to the old core families which had initiated development there. Although late-comers to the Wynberg commercial sphere, they had all made their mark. They appear to have been drawn from a comparatively small pool of candidates, all of whom were men, with the exception of one woman, Mrs C.C. Wood, who was elected to the council in 1923. No coloured person ever served on the council, although coloureds formed a not inconsiderable part of the electorate. Newcomers had joined the Council from time to time, but they usually withdrew after their two year term, and very few became part of its central core which consisted of Milward, Vollmer, Withinshaw, Duncan Taylor, McDonald, Dunn, Ferguson and latterly, Cowper.

The first sign of weakening in the controlling body within the council had come in 1917 with the resignation of Vollmer, the "father" of many of the major public works undertaken by the council. His successor, Advocate W.P. Buchanan,<sup>33</sup> had supported unification at the ratepayers' meeting in 1911. In 1919 George Withinshaw died and C.J. Steward left the Council. They were replaced by A.G. Simpson and H.Hervey, both professional men with city rather than local business connections.<sup>34</sup>

In both these elections Ridout stood against them without success, remarking in 1917 that he would try again after the war, " when things would be different" ;<sup>35</sup> but in 1919 he failed once more to get the necessary votes. He did not enter the field again until 1922, although in the interim there were major changes in the council. In 1921 Duncan Taylor resigned and his place was taken by Mrs C.C. Woods, who was the first resident from "the new area" to enter the arena.<sup>36</sup>

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33. Dictionary of S.A. Biography, V 5 , 28.

34. Juta's Cape Town and Simonstown Directory (1917 and 1919).

35. Cape Times 7 September 1917.

36. C.A., 3 WBG, 6, 12 September 1921.

During this year, too, C.S. Ferguson resigned and was replaced in a bye-election by Michiel Vos, the well-known surveyor.<sup>37</sup> This was, perhaps, the most significant change, because Vos openly favoured the incorporation of Wynberg into Cape Town.<sup>38</sup> Shortly before the 1922 election Sidney Cowper was granted sick leave, and his sudden death soon after this, followed by the resignation of Dunn,<sup>39</sup> precipitated the entry of others with outside interests into the Council. Ridout contested the election unsuccessfully for the last time in 1922, losing to A. Friedlander, a Cape Town attorney, and L. Mansergh, the Provincial Secretary.<sup>40</sup> Only Milward and McDonald now remained of the original controlling group and new influences predominated in the council, shifting the balance of power from local business-men to others with strong connections outside Wynberg, who began to see the budget deficit as part of the larger picture of development in the whole southern Peninsula, rather than as a localised problem.

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37. Interview with Kathleen Vos (daughter of Michiel) by V.C. Malherbe in 1977. Vos had purchased a house in Alexander Road from J.H. de Villiers in 1919 (D.O., T 812, 4 April 1919. J.H. de Villiers : M.Vos) and had settled there with his wife and family, taking an active interest in the Victoria Hospital and the Wynberg schools.

38. *ibid.*, Ms. Vos made particular mention of her father's belief, saying that "he felt they hadn't the money to carry on as a separate place."

39. C.A., 3 WBG, 6, 12 October, 1922.

40. *Men of the Times* (1906), 310.

Concurrently with the changes taking place in the Wynberg Council, the post-war period of social and economic challenges revolutionised the outlook of the less affluent section of the population. As Ridout had predicted, the expectations of people had changed after the war and ratepayers demanded an equal share of the municipal cake, whatever their contribution. This was particularly evident in the resentment shown by residents of the "new areas" towards the inability of the Council to provide amenities in their area, equal to those in the "old area". However, a disproportionately large contribution made to the working capital of the municipality was made by the small group of residents in the upper income bracket in the "old area" was a source of resentment for them.

In the 1919/1920 financial year the owners' rate for the "old area" stood at 4d, and that of the "new area" at 2d in the pound,<sup>41</sup> but the total income generated was woefully inadequate to meet the needs of the whole area, and a loan of £46,000 for public works projects had to be raised and approved by a ratepayers' meeting.<sup>42</sup> In both the areas the water charges were increased by 10% in 1920,<sup>43</sup> but this coincided with a severe drought which

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41. *ibid.*, 13 January 1920.

42. *ibid.*, 22 March 1920.

43. *ibid.*, 30 December 1919

affected the Orange Kloof water source, resulting in the introduction of water restrictions to all areas.<sup>44</sup> This was the last straw for all local residents, and in May a stormy public meeting led by W.T. Buissine pressed for the augmentation of the water supply.<sup>45</sup> Colonel Wright complained that, if the camp had had a full complement, the town would be dry, while Buisinne remarked that "rain had saved the day". Mayor Cowper countered that the labour problems occasioned by the 'flu epidemic had delayed improvements to the Orange Kloof water-works, but Buissine stated firmly that two more storage reservoirs were needed to serve the whole municipality. As he was in a position to point out, these delays and stop-gap measures had been going on since 1903 and there were still problems in 1920. The Mayor promised action on the water supply, but insisted that priority had to be given to a new sewage disposal works to replace the inadequate installation. At a ratepayers' meeting in September, permission was given for the embattled Council to raise a further loan of £50,000 to implement plans for the modern sewage disposal works immediately.<sup>46</sup>

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44. Cape Times, 20 April 1920. In this report a plea was made by Mayor Cowper for residents of Wynberg "to use water sparingly".

45. C.A., 3/WBG, 6, 17 May 1920.

46. *ibid.*, 20 September 1920.

Another controversial issue, related to the adequacy of the water-supply, had been hotly debated at the meeting in May. This was a move by the council towards establishing factory sites in the new area.<sup>47</sup> An application for a wool-washery at Diep River had been received by the council in January of that year,<sup>48</sup> but this was not favoured by residents in the area. Duncan Taylor defended the sites on the basis that "factories provided work opportunities for the coloured class", pointing out that Withinshaw's saw-mills were a great asset to the town and that selective industrial development was desirable, providing additional revenue as well as employment for the expanding population. This was not well received by the meeting, which emphasised the ratepayers' intention that Wynberg should remain primarily a residential area. This opened the divide between them and the older councillors still further, because it relegated Wynberg to a dormitory suburb of Cape Town, weakening its claim to being a self-sufficient small town.

The councillors, being well aware of their responsibilities, made an effort to meet the ratepayers' needs. Early in 1922 a substantial budget vote of £88,000 was requested and passed at an open meeting,<sup>49</sup> and a few months later the new sewage disposal

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47. *ibid.*, 17 May 1920.

48. *ibid.*, 13 January 1920

49. C.A., 3/WBG, 6, 31 January 1922.

works were opened.<sup>50</sup> By the end of the year a tender was accepted for a new storage reservoir,<sup>51</sup> which would alleviate future water shortages and satisfy complaints on that score. The Council decided not to raise property and water rates and the 1921 level was maintained. It appeared that the ratepayers' rebellion had been contained by the actions of the Council, but it soon became clear this was merely a lull before a further storm.

The newly-formed Southern Civic Association (S.C.A.), which was intended to give an effective voice to the "new area" ratepayers and other residents in order to protect their interests,<sup>52</sup> began to operate in 1923/24. It represented a considerable area, which included Plumstead, Diep River, Retreat, Heathfield, Tokai, Constantia, Princess Vlei, Grassy Park and Southfield, and it appears to have met on a regular basis in order to formulate its demands, but has left no accessible records. Its letterhead<sup>53</sup> indicates that its chairman was Dr. W.H. Rail of Diep River, while active members were secretary Carl Rayner and W.J. Laite of Southfield Road. The latter was the former secretary of the Johannesburg Federated Chamber of Commerce and had recently moved

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50. *ibid.*, 10 July 1922.

51. *ibid.*, 14 November 1922.

52. C.A., 3/WBG, 471, 12. Correspondence relating to rates dispute.

53. *ibid.*, 12. Copy of letter-head, dated 1921 and giving details of areas involved and names of office-bearers.

to the Cape where he had been appointed the secretary of the Cape Chamber of Industries.<sup>54</sup> The President of the S.C.A. was the well-known attorney, Murray Bissett,<sup>55</sup> whose trenchant approach to problems was similar to that of his father, James Bissett, a former Mayor of Wynberg. Thus, a strong executive characterised the S.C.A. whose interests spanned a wide cross-section of public opinion in their multivariate constituency, ranging from urban commuters and tradespeople to the farming community of Constantia and Tokai. It was a body which could not lightly be dismissed.

There was increasing support among these new area residents for the incorporation of the Wynberg Municipality into Greater Cape Town, where they hoped that their interests would be better served. When Vos became mayor in 1923, he could rely upon their support to bring Wynberg towards an agreement with Cape Town within a year or two. However, this was not achieved quietly and unobtrusively by behind-the-scenes negotiation, as was the custom in earlier days.

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54. Dictionary of S.A. Biography, V 5, 299-300. Laite held this position together with the editorship of *Industry and Trade* for sixteen years. He was a life vice-president of the S.A. Federated Chamber of Industries (1922-1942), vice-president of the W.P. Agricultural Society and a governing director of S.A. Publishers Ltd., which took over the *S.A. Review*, a magazine that became the official organ of the S.A. Labour Party in 1934.

55. *Men of the Times* (Cape Town, 1906), 25. He was also resident in Southfield Road and captained the Western Province Cricket team.

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## WYNBERG MUNICIPAL LOAN

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# What it means to the Ratepayers!!!

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The Council will on June 20th, at a meeting to be held in the Town Hall at 8 o'clock, ask the Ratepayers to sanction the raising of a loan of £72,500 for the following purposes:—

New Roads	...	...	£22,100
Road Construction	...	...	10,525
Herschel Walk	...	...	1,425
Drainage	...	...	25,800
Meters (Water)	...	...	5,000
Fire Brigade	...	...	5,000
Electric Light	...	...	2,000
Floatation	...	...	600

Plans and specifications for these works may be inspected at the Municipal offices.

### Do you realise that these proposals mean—

1. No new roads in the outside area.
2. Reconstruction of a motor road, ignoring urgently necessary roads, leaving populous districts such as Newtown, Constantia, untouched.
3. Extended Sanitary and Water arrangements unprovided for.
4. The new Loan will touch the high water mark of the borrowing powers of the present valuation.
5. Rates are bound to increase, thereby raising rents without appreciable benefit to the general body of ratepayers.

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*As an Association which has for some years endeavoured to safeguard the interests of ratepayers, we would impress upon you the need for careful consideration, the many important aspects of the proposed expenditure and the importance of attending the meeting to be held*  
*in the*

**Town Hall on June 20th, at 8 p.m. sharp**

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***Southern Civic Association***

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The final years of the Wynberg Municipality were accompanied by loud expressions of public feeling, organised under the aegis of the S.C.A., together with the remnants of the pro-unification forum, still led by Ridout. By this stage in its decline the municipality had committed itself to an enormous burden of debt, running at some £300,000 and to an annual budget of at least £70,000. A confrontation with the S.C.A. about this issue was inevitable. At the usual ratepayers meeting, intended to discuss and pass the municipal budget vote of £72,500 for 1923/24 financial year,<sup>56</sup> Ridout led an unexpected and savage attack on the proposal. He was supported by a number of "new area" residents and the vote was rejected by 48-25. Consequently, the councillors found themselves in a very awkward position just before the annual municipal election. After Vos had taken office as Mayor in September 1923,<sup>57</sup> he adopted a completely different approach. There were no immediate changes until February 1924, when a much reduced sum of £23,815 was requested in the budget vote for that year.<sup>58</sup> This silenced complaints, but there were repercussions because no significant improvements were projected in the 1923/24 term of the council. Yet the owners' rate of 4d in the pound in the "old area" was supplemented by a "health rate" of

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56. C.A., 3/WBG, 6, 20 June 1923.

57. C.A., 3/WBG, 7, 10 September 1923.

58. *ibid.*, 25 February 1924.

2d in the pound, while the owners' rate in the "new area" was raised from 2d to 3d in the pound, although they were not subject to the health rate.<sup>59</sup> There was an immediate outcry from the S. C. A., followed by letters of protest to the council at regular intervals throughout 1924.<sup>60</sup> The cash-strapped Wynberg Council were unable to pay much attention to these complaints, but it noted that many whites were competing with coloured people for cheaper houses, particularly in the new area and lower Wynberg, resulting in an acute shortage of housing for the expanding coloured population.<sup>61</sup> The councillors stressed the dangers of over-crowding in these areas where there were fewer amenities and where water-borne diseases had always been a problem. This may have influenced the decision of the Council to raise a loan of £150,000 to fund essential public works projects.<sup>62</sup> At a public meeting a few months later, Mayor Vos explained that this was the minimum amount required if the needs of all Wynbergians were to be met. Roadworks, sewage and drainage pipes and electricity connections were needed and demanded in all areas from Wynberg Hill to Kenilworth station and from Plumstead to the outlying

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59. *ibid.*, 20 March 1924.

60. C.A., 3/WBG, 195 - 196. August 1924- December 1925. Complaints range from reports of flooding in low-lying areas and evidence of outbreaks of enteric fever to a lack of electrical installations.

61. C.A., 3/WBG, 6, 8 September 1924.

62. *ibid.*, 8 December 1924.

settlements at Retreat.<sup>63</sup> Ironically, this huge loan does not seem to have met with any opposition from the general public or the S.C.A. Yet, when Vos revealed that in 1925 the rate in the "new area" would have to be raised to 4d in the pound, thus introducing an undifferentiated system of rating in the entire area under the jurisdiction of the municipality, great dissatisfaction was expressed.<sup>64</sup> Three "new area" residents, J. Chisholm, P.J. Malherbe and E.R. Ford,<sup>65</sup> contested the vacant seats on the Council and were elected.<sup>66</sup> Ten days later the Council received a deputation from the S.C.A., consisting of its entire executive committee of 17 people, who requested differential rating or equal and uniform services. They complained that they had waited years for attention to their grievances, and were not satisfied when Deputy-Mayor McDonald said that "those areas were forced on us".<sup>67</sup>

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63. C.A., 3/WBG, 7, 16 February 1925. Minutes of meeting in Wynberg Town Hall.

64. *ibid.*, 16 February 1925.

65. All these were middle-income ratepayers living in Plumstead and Diep River; Ford and his brother were butchers with two shops, one in Wynberg and one in Rondebosch, while Malherbe was an estate agent and Chisholm, an engineer (Juta's Cape Town and Simonstown Directory (1919)).

66. C.A., 3/WBG, 7, 14 September 1925. Council members were: M.Vos (Mayor), J. McDonald (Deputy-Mayor), T. Milward, R. Buchanan, L. Mansergh, A. Friedlander, J. Chisholm, P.J. Malherbe, and E.R. Ford.

67. C.A., 3/WBG, 471, 12, 25 September, 1925.

It was clear that the tension had reached an unacceptable level and drastic measures were needed if it was to be relieved. A solution to the problem lay in the controversial question of incorporation into greater Cape Town, and during the next six months Vos gently steered his Council towards this path. This was facilitated early in 1926 by a petition from Canon Orford, a prominent Diep River resident, and Murray Bissett, together with 14 members of the S.C.A., requesting a public meeting to discuss amalgamation with Cape Town.<sup>68</sup> This meeting took place on 3 May 1926 in the Wynberg Town Hall, in the presence of 350 - 400 people, with Mayor Vos in the chair and Sir Frederick de Waal, the Administrator of the Cape, on the platform with Dr. Rail.<sup>69</sup>

The motion was presented by W.J. Laite who argued persuasively that "no reasonable individual could object to the resolution, because conditions had changed since the old property owners and ratepayers of Wynberg had decided to remain outside the scheme of unification",<sup>70</sup> Indeed, he pointed out that more than a thousand newcomers had built in the new area since 1913. He observed shrewdly that "Wynberg was on a level basis with Cape Town at present, so it was a favourable time to negotiate". He believed

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68. C.A., 3/WBG, 7, 12 April 1926.

69. *ibid.*, 3 May 1926. Minutes of public meeting.

70.. Cape Times, 4 May 1926.

that "it was the day of big organisations" and their interests would be better served in one large controlling body. Dr Rail supported him in this by listing the financial and administrative advantages which would be available to them after incorporation.

The Administrator adopted a conciliatory approach in his address, perhaps recalling the previous occasion in 1913 when Hanau had spoken,<sup>71</sup> as he declared that Wynberg would be a junior partner in the alliance but it was a very rich junior partner. He, too, stressed the changed circumstances, noting that "the Wynberg rate was 2d in 1913 and Cape Town was higher; and that Wynberg had a magnificent water supply while Cape Town had less." The position was now reversed and he urged, "Now was the psychological moment to go in on equal terms". He concluded by quoting Shakespeare: "There is a tide in the affairs of men which taken at the flood leads on to victory", suggesting that they should all work together in the new era ahead. There was loud applause and apparently few objections, because only eight votes were registered against the motion. In fact, no new arguments had been presented since 1913, but the circumstances in which they were offered had changed dramatically.

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71. See above, 496.

Thereafter, matters proceeded rapidly and in the 1926 municipal election W.J. Laite was elected to the Wynberg Council. As a skilled negotiator, he was able to expedite an agreement with the Cape Town Municipality, which was sympathetic to the cause of "the rich junior partner", although this decision was vigorously debated by a special committee of the City Council.<sup>72</sup> Eventually the terms of the agreement were finalised, balance sheets scrutinised and pension agreements drawn up.<sup>73</sup> The amount of the loan account at that time exceeded £650,000, although the current account had a comparatively small overdraft of £8276. Thus, it could be said that the Wynberg Municipality was in a good position to negotiate and that it would benefit financially by incorporation. The terms of amalgamation were presented to the ratepayers at a public meeting on 7 February 1927 by W.J. Laite and Dr. Rail. They took the precaution of sending a circular letter to all members of the S.C.A., urging each to attend "with at least one friend" to ensure success, because "there will probably be organised opposition to the scheme".<sup>74</sup>

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72. 3/CT, 4/1/5/311, C1481/5. Cape Town councillors on the committee were the Mayor, E.J. Hartley, Dr. A. Abdurahman, W. Jones, R.J. Verster.

73. C.A., 3/WBG, 472, 23. A complete file exists containing the details of all agreements and relevant correspondence between Cape Town and Wynberg.

74. C.A., 3/WBG, 472, 23.

There was a good response to their request and the motion was carried by a show of hands with a large majority. A poll by ballot was held two days later (in terms of Section 38 of Ordinance 19 of 1913) and a majority of 406 was registered. The results were 774-368, but once again this represented a very small proportion of the 4250 enrolled voters of Wynberg.<sup>75</sup> On 11 June 1927 the terms of agreement were accepted by the Cape Town Council<sup>76</sup> and this was ratified by the Province.<sup>77</sup> Forty years of independent local government at Wynberg had ended.

The rapidity of its demise indicated a radical shift in its power base during the preceding two years. Yet numerous questions remain unanswered. If the vote for incorporation was a popular decision, why did less than a third of the 4250 registered voters of Wynberg exercise their rights in this important poll? Were the non-voters indifferent to the issue or did their silence signify assent? It suggests that the voice of this silent majority of more than three thousand people was never heard in Wynberg, unless Ridout had indeed spoken for its members. Why then did they not

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75. C.A., 3/WBG, 453A. This list represents the owners and occupiers in the municipality, drawn up for presentation to the Cape Town Council.

76. C.A., 3/WBG, 472, 46. Minute of His Worship the Mayor for the Mayoral Year ending 5 September 1927 (Cape Town, 1929), 20-28.

77. Government Gazette, 12 August 1927. Ordinance no 14 of 1927, The Cape Town and Wynberg Unification Ordinance.

give him their votes? Was their lack of response conditioned by the impotence of the electorate in the face of the control exerted by a small group of councillors and their supporters for more than twenty years? Apathy also prevailed in the choice of candidates when Wynberg became a ward of the Cape Town Municipality. Yet Wynberg had the largest number of registered voters of any ward in the Cape Town Municipality, only Claremont (3226) and Sea Point (3601) approaching it.<sup>78</sup> The councillors returned on its behalf were R. Buchanan, A.J. Malherbe and A. Withinshaw, all comparatively new members of the former Wynberg Council and active supporters of its incorporation into Cape Town. <sup>79</sup>It was business as usual in Wynberg as power passed to another branch of the commercial and professional elite who had controlled the area throughout the nineteenth century. Within a year or two only one Wynberg resident, A. Withinshaw remained on the council and he was returned unopposed in 1929. The prophecy that Wynberg, as a ward of the Cape Town Municipality would have very little say in its own affairs, seems to have been justified.<sup>80</sup>

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78. The Minute of His Worship the Mayor for the Mayoral Year ending 5 September 1928 (Cape Town, 1929), 41.

79. *ibid.*, 1, 5.

80. See above, 495-496.

The eventual descent of the Wynberg Municipality from its "pinnacle of perfection" to the political lower ground of the new area was undoubtedly associated with the loss of its elderly core members - the old guard who had defended the walls of their "small Greek citadel". But there were other factors which had accelerated the transfer of power to the central authority. With the co-operation of mayor Vos, the executive of the S.C.A. had spearheaded the new initiatives and, in the light of the financial crisis which Wynberg faced in providing for the needs of its exploding population, the rationale of the unification debate was convincing. If there was a victor in this power-play between the metropole and the peri-urban areas, it would appear to be the rising tide of urbanisation which triumphed as the Wynberg walls came tumbling down. Yet, as the wave of incorporation flowed smoothly across its boundaries, Wynberg remained in a sense an island in the sea of Greater Cape Town. Despite its urban connections, the self-sufficiency which sustained Wynberg when it lay beyond the city limits continues to exist in the minds of "Wynbergians". Neither urbanity nor suburbanity have fully claimed it,<sup>81</sup> and that "deep-seated ambivalence towards the city", which Dyos detected among those who set the norms in English society,<sup>82</sup> has long remained a part of peri-urban life in Wynberg.

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81. D. Cannadine and D. Reeder (eds.), *Exploring the Urban Past* (Oxford, 1984), 19-36.

82. *ibid.*, 28.

## CONCLUSION

"Here it rests, preserved in its own juice -  
a Sense of Property".

John Galsworthy: Preface  
to A Man of Property.

All things considered, the emergence of Wynberg as an important growth point in the southern Peninsula was not in itself remarkable when the factors relating to its strategic position as a service centre, first to the British military camp, and later to a much wider constituency, are evaluated. Nor was the presence locally of strong social ties and family networks surprising in view of the early isolation of this small village community in a comparatively undeveloped part of the southern Peninsula. Its subsequent expansion after 1860, following the establishment of a strong commercial sector and the vigorous marketing of property at Wynberg to a range of business and professional people, was also predictable. However, after its transformation into a popular residential area with a direct rail-link to Cape Town, a contradiction was apparent between its geographically - suburban situation and its determination to declare itself a separate municipality.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See above, Chapters 4 and 5.

For more than a century Wynberg maintained its position on the fringe of the metropole, accepting its city connections, but asserting its independence. The collapse of the Liesbeek Municipality, intended to unify the peri-urban local authorities, encouraged Wynberg to retain its autonomy and permitted the adoption of a bold plan for its development, including an ambitious programme of public works and the provision of amenities which ensured its self-sufficiency. Its progress was accomplished without the assistance of its neighbours and encouraged its council to challenge the extension of metropolitan control. Whereas all the other local authorities had been incorporated into Greater Cape Town by 1913, Wynberg remained a separate entity outside the city limits until 1927.<sup>2</sup>

Although events after 1913 indicated that there was a significant group of dissenters who favoured amalgamation with Cape Town, the anti-incorporation bloc was able to retain its control over local government for more than forty years.<sup>3</sup> Their antipathy towards a relationship with the metropolitan centre had its roots in their desire to protect local interests and their substantial assets from interference by a more powerful authority. Even late-comers to the Wynberg commercial sector after 1890 were imbued with this

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2. See above, Chapter 9.

3. See above, Chapters 7 - 9.

need to be as self-contained as "the small Greek cities", to which Beard had alluded in his evidence to the commission examining the state of local municipalities in 1902. This thesis contends that property-ownership made a substantial contribution to the independent stance by Wynberg which had evolved during its consolidation period of some fifty years between 1830 and 1880, even before local government was instituted.

What this history of Wynberg between 1795 and 1927 shows is that the economic and political power and the social status associated with property-ownership in the nineteenth century enabled large and smaller proprietors to shape early development in the area and later to take the lead in local government. The possession of property opened the door of opportunity for many people, while their activities and the satisfaction of their ambitions also had some spin-off for the landless under-class, who lacked the power to influence development directly but whose presence and needs determined its limitations. For some, property was the key to the advancement of their interests and visible evidence of their success; for others it provided subsistence and the satisfaction of their needs. For all, whether indigene or incomer, the possession of land was perceived as giving access to a variety of benefits and security - hence the sub-title of this thesis.

In the nineteenth century Wynberg represented the epitome of colonial opportunity - a frontier zone where people might attain social and economic success while gratifying their aspirations to property-ownership. A self-sufficient outlook was established in the early days of the village by an upwardly-mobile group of shopkeepers and tradespeople, whose acquisition of modest properties played a significant role in their advancement.<sup>4</sup> They shaped development in the areas where they invested, creating enclaves at particular points, or individual outlets in less developed sectors. The foundations of Wynberg village were laid on this basis, as small businesses were set up near the military camp where there was most demand for their services.<sup>5</sup> Moore, Cooper, Usher, Zasman, Van Dyk, Zeeman and Diederick were among those who exploited these opportunities in this way during the early days of the village. They developed a successful commercial relationship with the military personnel and with the well-to-do land-owners, who had taken up residence in the area.

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4. G. Crossick, "The Petite Bourgeoisie in Nineteenth Century Britain" in P. Thane and A. Sutcliffe (eds.), *Essays in Social History* (Oxford, 1986), V 2. Crossick's analysis of a similar process in British towns during the nineteenth century suggests that commercial success enabled the petite bourgeoisie to improve their status and take an active part in local government.

5. See above, Chapter 2.

In addition to quite substantial profits from their commercial ventures, the tradespeople also acquired a certain social status as property owners, which would otherwise have been beyond their reach. Once in place, this self-confident independence became the driving force among the economically-active section of the Wynberg population. Their success can be measured by the increasing number of people who followed their example and extended the small business sector, particularly after the new road to Simonstown was completed and another settlement was established in the vicinity of Plumstead. This activity was reinforced by the arrival of larger investors, some of whom settled at Wynberg, increasing the local money supply and adding financial muscle to the transient influence of the many "Indian visitors" who frequented the area.<sup>6</sup> These newcomers were intent on consolidating their social position by acquiring large properties as a capital investment with an eye to present benefits and future profits, building on and consolidating the earlier investments of their military predecessors - Proctor, Craufurd, Glaeser, Hare and Rogers. Because land was readily available at Wynberg, it became one of the most marketed commodities in the area during the nineteenth century. Thus, the possession of property, whether large or small, ensured its owners a stake in the future of the village economy.

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6. See above, Chapter 3.

This was recognised by three shrewd speculators, Higgs, Maynard and Morgenrood, who between them had appropriated at least half of the best-situated property at Wynberg by 1845. The extensive investment in landed property by Maynard<sup>7</sup> and Morgenrood<sup>8</sup> reflected current trends in the colony where the large scale appropriation of land was an essential aspect of empire-building. John Higgs attained a more modest success with his investments at Wynberg, but, by the very nature of his operation, initiated much of the rapid development in the area as he purchased and marketed property in the short term.<sup>10</sup> Morgenrood crowned his achievements by opening the way for an exclusive residential area between Wynberg Hill and Kenilworth station, where some of the most influential members of the Cape Town professional and business sectors built impressive homes.<sup>11</sup> All these men, and others like them, encouraged the progression of Wynberg towards its small-town status - that "pinnacle of perfection" - from which these large and small property-owners could survey the growing number of landless people, less powerful than themselves.

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7. See above, 111-119.

8. See above, 130-134.

9. C. Crais, *The Making of the colonial order: white supremacy and black resistance in the Eastern Cape, 1790-1865* (Cambridge, 1992); R. Elphick and H. Giliomee (eds.), *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652 - 1840* (Cape Town, 1989).

10. See above, 115-123.

11. See above, Chapters 6 and 7.

The emphasis in this thesis upon the acquisition and sale of property at Wynberg and the particular focus on the activities of the "men of property" is intended to throw light on the ways in which they maintained control over land-usage in the area. The profile of escalating property-sales in the nineteenth century also emphasises the importance of private enterprise and speculative activity at Wynberg. This may well have been a feature of settlements in other peri-urban areas of the Cape, but little research exists as yet to substantiate that claim.<sup>12</sup> It has been demonstrated, however, that a wealth of information about the villages of the south Peninsula and the people who settled there exists in Deeds Office records, particularly for the first half of the nineteenth century. The erf-registers indicate broad trends in the long and short term, as well as individual preferences. The property transfers reveal the activities of private bankers and money-lenders by the nature and number of bonds offered to purchasers by private individuals. They also indicate the strategies employed by large property owners in their systematic acquisition of land, laying bare the gross inequalities which under-pinned the social order.

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12. J. Young, "Observatory: town in the suburbs" (B.A. Hons. dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1994). Young has used noting sheets and ground-plans for Observatory to trace development there, although more specific records of individual properties in the area have not been examined.

However, not until the final decades of the nineteenth century, when detailed population figures became available, could a realistic comparison be made between the number of rate-payers, who were owners and/or occupiers of property, and the total population of an area.<sup>13</sup> Such a survey at Wynberg revealed that the majority of residents were dependent on rented accommodation, or may even have occupied informal shacks on the larger properties. Although the peri-urban poor swelled the expanding population in the less advantaged areas of Wynberg, landless people had little hope of influencing the course of local government unless their presence was perceived as having a negative effect on orderly, healthy development, which necessitated some remedial action being taken by the authorities for the common good.<sup>14</sup> The smallpox epidemics, the incidence of typhoid and the plague outbreak at the turn of the century, together with the "Spanish 'flu" of 1918, brought these slum areas to prominence, further emphasising the inequalities in the distribution of resources between the classes but forcing the authorities to make improvements in the sanitation services.

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13. See Chapter 8, 436-438, 454.

14..See above, Chapter 7, 448-451; also Chapter 9, 522-523.

In the colonial African context, the conflict of interest groups was made more complex by the over-lapping boundaries of race and class,<sup>15</sup> which were defined in different terms of superiority and inferiority. On the one hand, similar attitudes towards racial issues united disparate groups of people socially and economically, while on the other, they created boundaries between them, irrespective of their ownership of property or other aspirations. In its early days Wynberg was a residentially integrated settlement, particularly on Klein Oude and at Plumstead, in which contact across the colour line was commonplace, although not always acceptable;<sup>16</sup> It would be naive to suggest that colour was not an important factor in the perceptions of local people, determining their place in the social and political structure. Consequently, as the large and predominantly coloured under-class in the Wynberg area increased in number during the nineteenth century, the differentiated residential and development patterns of the bo-dorp and the onder-dorp became more marked. Because communities (a term suspect in itself) are homes for different kinds of people, diversity and not homogeneity may characterise them.<sup>17</sup>

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15. G.M. Fredrickson, *White Supremacy. A Comparative Study in American and South African History* (New York, 1981), 131-133; also L. Thompson, *A History of South Africa* (Yale University, 1990), 36-40.

16. See above, 48; 86.

17. R.E. Pahl (ed.), "The rural continuum" in *Readings from Urban Sociology* (London, 1968), 293.

Although these differences may be incorporated superficially into a common identity, such as "Wynbergians",<sup>18</sup> this term did not represent all residents, but had relevance only for the limited readership of the Wynberg Times. The term, "Cape coloured", generally in use by the end of the century, had far greater influence by emphasising racial distinctiveness rather than shared values.<sup>19</sup> The emergence in the twentieth century of a significant coloured middle class with its own social network and kinship ties challenged these racial barriers but never over-rode them.<sup>20</sup>

The implications of racial discrimination have permeated recent research, particularly that related to the emergence of political consciousness, and have contributed to the debate about the franchise in South Africa, in which the mobilisation of a "coloured" vote and an "African" vote threatened white domination.

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18. See above, 316. Wynberg Times, The Owl Column.

19. S. Patterson, "Some speculations on the status and role of the free people of colour in the Western Cape" in *Studies in African Social Anthropology*, M. Fortes and S. Patterson (eds.), (London, 1975), 159, 201.

20. J. Western, *Outcast Cape Town* (Cape Town, 1981); G. Lewis, *Between the Wire and the Wall* (Cape Town, 1987), Chapter 1.

21. V. Rickford-Smith, "Commerce, class and ethnicity" (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1989), 15. He argued that "a white ethnic qualification was necessary for dominant class status at the Cape".

In the western Cape during the nineteenth century property and politics were closely related in a property-based franchise,<sup>22</sup> particularly at local government level, ensuring that the power and influence exerted by the large property-owners shaped development in the colony. In this regard Wynberg represented a microcosmic view of the larger reality of colonial southern Africa where minority rule was an accepted principle.

Although the Wynberg municipal council did not stand alone as a bastion of "white" elitism, its prolonged separatism emphasised the power which an influential, propertied, "white" minority could exercise over the total population of an area. Thus, the legacy of a slave-owning landed gentry of the eighteenth century was passed on to a commercial middle class and an elite professional group who took control of local government at Wynberg, weighing the balance of power in their favour and skewing the distribution of resources towards themselves. During the latter half of the nineteenth century it followed that members of these families took the lead in improving the transport facilities<sup>23</sup> and instituting a local authority<sup>24</sup> which encouraged the provision of better health

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22. S. Trapido, "The Origins of the Cape Franchise Qualifications of 1853", *Journal of African History*, 5 (1), 1964.

23. See above, Chapter 4. Maynard was a central figure in negotiating the railroad, as the Moore and Cutting families had been in the omnibus service.

24. See above, Chapter 6. Farmer and De Kock took the lead in this.

and sanitation services,<sup>25</sup> water and electrical supplies.<sup>26</sup> All this was accomplished without appreciably destroying the rural charm and privacy of the residential areas where they lived, which had attracted them to settle in Wynberg.

In this they resembled their monied British counterparts who sought similar country residences outside the urban environment where their business and professional interests were situated.<sup>27</sup> In his concise, comparative analysis of the growth of British and American cities in the nineteenth century, Cannadine draws attention to the way in which populations were re-distributed and a transposition of the previously-accepted residential zones of the rich and the poor took place.<sup>28</sup> The well-to-do moved to the fringe areas, formerly assigned to the less affluent, who, in turn, had moved to the city centre to be near their places of employment. While this inter-change was due in large measure to the "flight from the city", it was also influenced, as research in Britain has shown, by country residents moving to the fringe of

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25. See above, Chapter 7. Searle and Dr Wright pursued these goals vigorously.

26. See above, Chapter 7 and 8. Bissett, Bainbridge, Stewart and Delbridge lent their expertise to introducing these amenities.

27. A. Offer, *Property and Politics, 1870 - 1914* (Cambridge, 1981), 175.

28. D. Cannadine, "Victorian cities - how different?" in R.J. Morris and R. Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City* (London, 1993), 114-115.

the city.<sup>29</sup> The idea that "moving to town did not necessarily mean accepting a fully-urbanised way of life" appealed to both town- and country-born purchasers.<sup>30</sup> These perceptions created another contradiction between the urge to modernise the facilities at Wynberg - and, at the same time, to capture "old Wynberg" like a fly in amber. This contrast between progress on the one hand and preservation on the other, was graphically evoked by a popular local magazine, *The Cape*, which in 1907 highlighted the differences between the "old village green; with its sloping carpet of grass, its shady oaks, its cottages with their latticed windows and black thatch, kept inviolate against the expeditions of the town speculator" and "modern Wynberg, with its mid-night trains, its intersecting streets and its noisy shopping".<sup>31</sup>

Although the central thrust of this thesis concerns these localised issues which determined the process of transformation of Wynberg from rural village to sprawling magistracy and finally to an autonomous, small-town municipality, it cannot be viewed in isolation from the urbanisation process which was taking place in the environs of the principal city of the western Cape.

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29. F.M.L. Thompson, "The Rise of Suburbia" in R.J. Morris and R. Rodger (eds.), *The Victorian City* (London, 1993), 170.

30. *ibid.*, 170. See above, Chapter 3, 193-194; Chapter 5 298.

31. *The Cape*, 17 December 1907, 14-15.

The spatial constraints of Cape Town's city centre were also a major factor in forcing outward expansion as its substantial population overflowed the confines of the city bowl in every direction. In fact, after most of the small municipalities of the south Peninsula were incorporated into greater Cape Town in 1913, suburban development increased steadily. In the southern Peninsula, Wynberg provided a particularly attractive alternative to life in the city centre, and its developers took full advantage of the opportunities it presented for marketing substantial properties in beautiful surroundings within easy reach of the city. It was this increasing demand for smaller properties by middle-class commuters which precipitated the crisis in the provision of amenities at Wynberg in the 1920s, when its local authority could no longer cope with the pressure placed on its existing facilities, bringing about its ultimate decline and fall as an independent municipality.

It is no easy task to isolate the dominant forces in the constantly changing circumstances attendant on urban development; nor is it possible to delineate exactly the ways in which the actions of individuals have shaped a settlement such as Wynberg, or whether, paradoxically, it was urban growth itself that shaped their actions. Ultimately, however, it was financial considerations rather than geographical situation which determined the municipal fate of Wynberg, overwhelming its resistance to

incorporation by Cape Town. By the 1920s it was apparent that Wynberg lacked a sufficient source of municipal revenue to support its independent existence. The dominant residential character of the area, with some important commercial enterprises, precluded the industrial development which might have provided additional income for the municipality and ensured local employment for its expanding population. By 1927 it had the largest number of registered voters in comparison with the other 14 wards of the Cape Town Municipality,<sup>32</sup> but these Wynberg ratepayers represented only a fifth of its total population of 25,140 people,<sup>33</sup> who all had to be supplied with services.

The municipality was no longer a viable business, as its council eventually recognised. Lacking the hard core of stubborn individuals who had made up the anti-incorporation bloc at Wynberg, the other local municipalities had seen the material advantages to be gained by becoming part of Greater Cape Town in 1913. Claremont, Rondebosch, Mowbray, Sea Point and even Kalk Bay had a similar residential character to Wynberg, while industrialised Woodstock was already physically part of the city.

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32. Minute of His Worship the Mayor for the Mayoral year ending 5 September 1928, (Cape Town, 1929), Appendix B, 41. The following are the closest figures to Wynberg:

Wynberg	4250
Sea Point	3401
Claremont	3226

33. *ibid.*, 13. Only Claremont, with a population of 23,652, ranked close to Wynberg.

Only Gardens and Tamboers Kloof lay within the city bowl and were truly city suburbs. All the others were caught in the wave of urban sprawl which pushed the city to new limits.

Although Simonstown, situated at the other end of the Peninsula, was geographically remote from the city, well beyond its limits, its continued self-sufficiency owed much to considerable "political" backing too from its connections with the British naval establishment there, together with the Dockyard; thus it could afford to remain independent, whereas Wynberg officially lost its input from the British War Department in the 1920s.<sup>34</sup> It remained a South African military base but, in peace-time, its operations were scaled down. The balance between Wynberg's assets and liabilities had been disturbed in more ways than this and, as usual, the councillors made a pragmatic business decision, and finally agreed to throw in their lot with Cape Town.

While local economic factors invariably determine development trends, they must be contextualised within the broader pattern of national events for their full significance to be realised.<sup>35</sup> By

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34. W.B. Smith (compiler), "A Short History of the Wynberg Military Base", Commemorative Brochure (Wynberg, 1988), 6. The author states: "On 1 December, 1921, all Imperial land, buildings and cantonments other than those required for naval purposes, were handed over by the British Government to the Union of South Africa" (Military Information Bureau, Pretoria).

35. C. Saunders, Writing history. South Africa's urban past, and other essays (H.S.R.C., Pretoria, 1992), 20-25.

the end of the nineteenth century the mineral wealth of the Reef and its attendant industrial development had eclipsed the more modest agricultural exports of the Cape, relegating Cape Town to the status of "mother city" to the more famous and potentially-productive Witwatersrand.<sup>36</sup> However, Cape Town harbour remained the principal entry point and trading outlet, while its longstanding political significance as parliamentary centre was jealously guarded. Thus, the power struggle between the Cape Town Municipality and the peri-urban municipalities of the southern Peninsula was directed towards the consolidation of the valuable but limited land-mass of the southern Peninsula under one central authority. The intransigence of the Wynberg municipality was an embarrassment to the Cape Town city fathers who needed to show a united front to the country at a time when the national government itself proclaimed proudly that "Unity is strength". It is not surprising that they pursued the matter with determination, incorporating all the independent municipalities short of Wynberg as a first step in 1913, and then persisting until Wynberg was finally assimilated fourteen years later.

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36. V. Bickford-Smith, "Commerce, class and ethnicity" .

The outcome of this power struggle was contingent on the ability of the smaller authorities to provide adequately for their expanding populations. Historians have demonstrated that the sanitation crisis and the question of an adequate water-supply dominated municipal policy in both the city and the peri-urban areas, giving common direction to their development patterns.<sup>37</sup> Sooner or later it was inevitable that these two parallel processes would confront each other as the municipal boundaries of Cape Town and Wynberg approached each other and finally conjoined in 1913.

The resistance shown by Wynberg to incorporation was a measure of its strength in the areas of public and private enterprise - its financial resources and the political lobby to which it had access, together with its capital investment in impressive public works projects.<sup>38</sup> Its independence reflected the business acumen and the human resources available to their councillors, backed by a determination to protect their own interests which they saw as synonymous with those of Wynberg itself. There was room for only a few people to stand on the "pinnacle of perfection" created by the municipality and it was almost impossible for aspirant newcomers

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37. D. Grant, "The Politics of Water-supply" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1990); E.B. van Heyningen, "Public Health and Society in Cape Town, 1880-1910" (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 1989).

38. See above, Chapter 6.

to scale its slippery sides, as Ridout and his supporters discovered over a period of thirteen years. Only death or retirement due to ill health loosened the grip of a few individuals and their interests on the council, allowing changes to be implemented.

Thus, the role of residents, both of those entitled to vote who exercised this option, and fellow-travellers who did not, was crucial. The intervention or non-intervention by the public in the process of local government was, of course, contingent upon the franchise qualifications required to vote, but was also influenced by the degree to which the power base of the local council was entrenched. It has been shown that a substantial proportion of voters never declared their preference for or against amalgamation with Cape Town, thus allowing a comparatively small group of voters to control the final decision to amalgamate in 1927, just as another small group had determined the right to remain outside the city limits in 1913.<sup>39</sup> It would appear that in either event the vast majority of residents felt they were powerless to influence the course of municipal events at Wynberg.

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39. See above, Chapter 8,

Yet, this apathy in regard to local government did not truly reflect the vitality and richness of its multi-cultural heritage, which sustained its growth and contributed to its individuality. The people of Wynberg provided the cement for the firm foundations upon which the local government structure was built, and they have outlasted its collapse. To the present day the Wynberg population presents a wide range of people of diverse ethnic origins, from indigenous people to European and Asian incomers, a broad cross-section of religious affiliations and a flexible economic base which includes a vigorous informal sector. Cohen, following Barth, has suggested that it is at its boundaries that ethnicity becomes most meaningful and that people are most aware of their culture.<sup>40</sup> Thus, Wynberg's position on the fringe of the city contributed not only to its rural/urban ethos but also to its individual character. Both these factors defy precise definition.

Urbanisation in the twentieth century has stirred up conflict and confrontations in the demarcation process for local authorities and their concomittant responsibilities. Territorial boundaries, which determine ownership, bring with them obligations as well as assets. The incorporation of Wynberg in 1927 presented no less a problem than that of Khayelitsha in 1995, but for very different reasons. In 1927 Cape Town wanted to incorporate Wynberg - its

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40. A.P. Cohen, *Belonging - identity and social organisation in British rural culture* (Manchester University Press, 1982), 3.

rich "junior partner"; in 1995 it cannot feel the same enthusiasm for a vast, undeveloped township on the Cape Flats. Yet, both open a familiar debate - who is responsible for administering areas adjacent to a metropolitan area and who decides this ? In the final analysis, the seminal question in the history of southern Africa remains - who owns the land which is being delimited and how do the owners utilise the power which comes from this fact ?

Wynberg provides a window to examine particular aspects of this ongoing debate, allowing historians to explore the property transfers which shaped a community and to consider the significance of land in a changing situation. Property transactions uncover a pattern of social relationships in the way in which it is passed from one person or group of people to another and establishes their existence, not only within the current economic framework but also in relation to the changing circumstances of life itself. Property transactions bind together past, present and future events, providing an element of continuity in the fluctuating process of growth and development.

APPENDIX A.....Lists of Wynberg inhabitants

APPENDIX B.....Railway petitions

APPENDIX C.....List of the Mayors of Wynberg  
1887 - 1927

Extract from the Cape Almanac (1830), listing  
the inhabitants of Wynberg.

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INHABITANTS OF THE VILLAGE OF WYNBERG.

A Ianson, A. Thatcher  
 Alexander, Captain, Royal Engineers  
 Abdol of the Cape, tsherman  
 Abdol of Batavia, mason  
 Bird, W. Comptroller of Customs  
 Betser, Michael  
 Bleton, Isaac, Church Clerk and Postmaster  
 Beigh, S. retail shop  
 Bees, F. painter  
 Barchveld, Widow  
 Barber, W. shoemaker  
 Church, J. schoolmaster  
 Coleman, J. carpenter  
 Cooper, R. retail shop  
 Catalina, laundress  
 Davids, D. wagoner  
 Dyk, P. van, retail shop  
 Dyk, Jacobus van, limeburner  
 Diederich, H. shoemaker  
 Estelle of Bengal, retail shop  
 Dinabello of Madagascar, laborer  
 Eggar, E. Pound-master  
 Elliot, ~~Widow~~  
 Fullard, J. shoemaker  
 Friend, William, shoemaker  
 Fox, Jan, tailor  
 Friday of Madagascar, laborer  
 Gind, H. surgeon  
 Hendrikson, Hanna, retail shop  
 Hare, Joseph, Customs-house storekeeper  
 Harrison, G. dealer in wines, &c.  
 Harbottle, R. painter  
 Ingram, S. shoemaker  
 Joseph, laborer  
 Jan, ditto  
 Kemp, Lieutenant-Colonel  
 Keller, Widow F. seamstress  
 Lott, Anna, W.  
 Luyseveld, W. farmer  
 McClay, M. Civil Commissioner of Cape District  
 McVane, J. dealer in wines, &c.  
 Matthews, J. thatcher  
 Matys, Jan  
 Matys, F. blacksmith  
 Hoog W. dealer in retail shop  
 Mosley, Simon, butcher  
 Maynier, Monna ats  
 Macmurek, Widow, mungler  
 Griesmeyer, Johanna, knitter  
 Panson, Widow, ditto  
 Pieterse, C. shoemaker  
 Pieterse, P. dealer in wines, &c.  
 Quinn, John, Police-officer  
 Rogers, G. Registrar of Slaves and Deeds  
 Rykklief, P. wagner  
 Rorich, Jan  
 Reenen, van, F. butcher's shop  
 Remman, laborer  
 Taylor, R. Mason  
 Thomassin, Sanna, midwife  
 Usher, R. farmer  
 Wael, Adriaan de, Ds. retail shop  
 Williams, F. laundress  
 Westerbeek, G. mason  
 Woul, Jamer, baker  
 Warring, W.  
 Zaanman, C. wagoner  
 Zaanman, C. H. ditto  
 Zaanman, C. As. ditto

# INHABITANTS OF WYNBERG, &c.

WYNBERG AND ENVIRONS.

## CAPE

## ALMANAC

(1849)

### Inhabitants of Wynberg and Plumstead.

#### *Plumstead.*

Aldred, W. shopkeeper  
 Boyce, B. shopkeeper  
 Bowren, blacksmith  
 Buisinne, W. attorney, claremont  
 Buisinne, C. attorney  
 Borchers, P. B. civil commissioner  
 Cruywagen,  
 Castray, widow  
 Castray, Luke, commissariat dept.  
 Dreyer, J. advocate  
 Farmer, Mrs. William  
 Fisher, J. H. Inakr. george's hotel  
 Fielding, Francis, pound master  
 Fison, J. carpenter.  
 Godman, Rev. Mr.  
 Higgs, widow John  
 Hutchinson, attorney  
 Jones, R. C. schoolmaster, recovery  
 cottage  
 Kroneberg, shopkeeper.

Keet, A. E. van Wyk, missionary  
 Langley, J. canteenkeeper  
 Langley, widow Benjamin  
 McFarlane, John, baker  
 Maynard, Joseph  
 Obermeyer, Johanna, canteenkeeper  
 Pruiser, W.  
 Parsons, Chas. wheelwright  
 Reyklief, F. carrier  
 Sedgley, W. hotelkeeper  
 Sabina, canteenkeeper  
 Truter, Jan A. Os. attorney  
 Wolfe, R. resident magistrate  
 Wolmarans, A. tinsmith

#### *Wellington Road.*

Frere, George, U. B. Majesty's  
 commissioner  
 Merritt, Dr.

Belle-vue,—P. B. Borchers.  
 La Petite Plaisance,—W. S. Buis-  
 sinne.  
 Recovery Cottage,—R. C. Jones.  
 George Hotel,—J. H. Fisher.  
 Sunning Hill,—Mrs. Higgs.  
 Waterloo,—Rev. P. E. Faure.  
 Wellington House,—W. Usher.  
 Maynard Ville,—J. M. Maynard.  
 Springfield,—Mr. Cherry.  
 Little Springfield,—Col. Rogers.  
 Cottage on the Green,—Mr. Rowan.  
 Old Wynberg,—J. Stewart.  
 Oude Wynberg,—Capt. Hare.  
 Alphen,—H. O. Dreyer.  
 Bronnars-vley,—H. Vowe.  
 Witteboomien,—Jacob Brunt.

#### *D'Urban-street.*

Cutting, T. omnibus proprietor  
 Carey, J. registrar of deeds  
 Cooper, widow Marg. shopkeeper  
 Drossel, D.  
 English, Alex. accountant  
 Findon, Wm. butcher  
 Field, shoemaker,  
 Free School, Dutch reformed church  
 Holland, J. saddler  
 Haybittle, R. carrier  
 Hickman, W. butcher  
 Lee, W. mason  
 Leither, C. A. shopkeeper  
 Morris, W. shopkeeper  
 Moore, W. shopkeeper and baker  
 Meyer, Just. W. collector of accts.  
 Meyburg, A. P. shopkeeper  
 Omnibus Company  
 Resident Magistrate's Office  
 Smyth, H. deputy postmaster  
 Turpin, Miss, shopkeeper  
 Taylor, Mrs. T. shopkeeper  
 Usher, W. boarding house  
 West, John, shoemaker

#### *Victoria-street*

Ahrens, Dr. T. H.  
 Blake, widow John  
 Drew, Henry, surgeon  
 Goodbau, architect

#### *Alphen Hill.*

Brink, And. shopkeeper  
 Baderdien, carriers  
 Byrne, A. mast. of the infant school  
 Dreyer, widow Johannes  
 De Kock, Corn. clerk of the Dutch  
 reformed church  
 De Kock, Jr. shopkeeper  
 Herrer, J. C. butcher  
 Turnbull, Geo. saddler  
 Oudtshoorn, Widow Jacobus van

#### *Church-street.*

Brading & Butler, shopkeepers  
 Cooper, John, shopkeeper,  
 Charles, coachman  
 Carr, widow John, shopkeeper  
 Carr, George, carpenter  
 Eksteen, Herm. Arnoldus, butcher  
 Musgrave, Mr. Justice  
 Norton, Thos. groom  
 Smyth, colonel  
 Usher, R. shopkeeper  
 Volg, John, shoemaker

Belle Ombre,—J. F. Dreyer.  
 New-Constantia,—C. Blanckenberg.  
 Sebastiaans Hoog-Constantia,—S.  
 V. van Renen.  
 Glen Alpine,—S. V. van Renen, sr.  
 Groot-Constantia,—J. P. Cloote.  
 Klein-Constantia,—J. N. Colyn.  
 Nova-Constantia,—L. J. Colyn.  
 Little-Constantia,—Abra. Brunt.  
 Bergvliet,—J. P. Eksteen.  
 Toekay,—P. M. Eksteen.  
 Dreyersdal,—J. A. Munnik.  
 Rapenkraal, H. A. van der Poll.  
 G. v. R. van Oudtshoorn.  
 Merckel's Halfway-house,—Geo.  
 Rathfelder.  
 Zwaanswyk,—J. A. Louw.

#### *Wolfe-street.*

Armstrong, widow, shopkeeper  
 Andrews, J. S. carpenter  
 Cutting, W. omnibus proprietor  
 Engels, F. apothecary  
 Farrell, John, canteenkeeper  
 Godier, widow  
 Grace, William, shoemaker  
 Hertzog, widow C.  
 Maynard, J. Mortimer  
 Pieterse, J. D. canteenkeeper  
 Ross, blacksmith  
 Smith, Marth. canteen keeper  
 Sifit, Miss, teacher of music  
 Willemburg, W. blacksmith

#### *Waterloo Green.*

Blair, Rev. Thomas  
 Herbert, John, carpenter  
 Higgins, James, mason  
 King, widow, laundress  
 Manix, W. shoemaker  
 Rowan, George, landing surveyor  
 Rosa, Pierre, mason  
 Tubb, Abiam,  
 Watson, Thos. confectioner  
 Watson, W. shoemaker

#### *Herschell Walk*

Boswell, Rev. Mr.  
 Hare, Joseph,  
 Hope, Major,  
 Horne, Harry,  
 Lang, Bengal civil service  
 Rogers, collector

#### *Elibank Road.*

Stewart, J. mast. of the supr. court

#### *Church Terrace.*

Goldsmid, Bengal civil service

#### *Alival Road.*

Faure, Rev. P. E.  
 Government Free School  
 Neahls, Miss, boarding school  
 Neahls, G. Mackrill, surgeon  
 School of Industry  
 Wigget, Samuel, shopkeeper

#### *Higgs-street.*

Blake, Colonel  
 McNaughton, J. teach. govt school

#### *Prospect Road.*

Blackburn, merchant  
 Pasley, carpenter

TO THE HONORABLE THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF  
THE HONORABLE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, IN PARLIA-  
MENT ASSEMBLED.

The Petition of James Mortimer Maynard, a Landowner and Resident in  
Wynberg, in the Cape Division,

HUMBLY SHOWETH,—

That a petition was presented to your honorable House in the month of March last, from the inhabitants of Wynberg and Simon's Town, praying, for the reasons there stated, that the Cape Town and Wellington Railway might be brought *viâ* Wynberg, or that they might be exempted from the sub-guarantee.

At the time when this petition was presented, the petitioners were under the idea that the railway would be carried out, as marked on the plan, from Fort Knokke direct to the twenty-first milestone, and saw that, by a detour of three miles, the large traffic on the Wynberg road could be brought upon the trunk line, and not only benefit petitioners, but the revenue thus obtained would considerably reduce the deficiency upon the other part of the line, and the detour could be made under the contract, without altering the act of Parliament.

But had the line of railway being laid down by the hard road by the twelfth milestone, as now recommended by the select committee, petitioners would, in that case, have prayed to be connected with the trunk line by a branch at about two or three miles from Cape Town. Petitioner, as a landowner, who will have to pay considerably for sub-guarantee if the railway does not pay, most humbly submits to your honorable House that, as you now have the means to correct the mistake made in taking a contract for such a circuitous route, that you will recommend the railway to be taken by the hard road *viâ* the twelfth milestone, past Muller's Vlei to Wellington, with a branch from about Muller's Vlei to Stellenbosch, and the addition of a branch from about two or three miles from Cape Town to Wynberg.

Wynberg and Simon's Town petitioners willingly give up the trunk line for the branch, under these circumstances, seeing that this route would lie more for the general good, and it is the shortest and best, and the one most likely to pay, by saving the detour through Stellenbosch: the Paarl and Wellington inhabitants, and those beyond, would be more likely to use the railway when they have only to pay for forty-three miles of carriage to Cape Town, than they would if they had to pay for fifty-five miles. As Wynberg and Simon's Town residents are willing to relinquish the trunk line for a branch, because they see it is for the public good, why should not those of Stellenbosch do the same?

Petitioner believes, from the evidence taken by the select committee, that it will not only be troublesome and expensive to lay down the railway through the drifting sands, but be a constant expense keeping it clear, which expenses will be avoided by adopting the line *viâ* the twelfth milestone and Muller's Vlei, there being no drifting sands on that route, and a large additional traffic from Wynberg and Koeberg will be obtained.

As by this alteration the line will not be lengthened, probably the cost of construction will not be materially increased. From Cape Town to Wellington, *viâ* twelfth milestone and Muller's Vlei, is forty-three miles, a branch to Stellenbosch from near Muller's Vlei, seven miles, a branch to Wynberg, from the second or third milestone five miles, together, fifty-five miles. The contract line is, from Wellington to Fort Knokke, fifty-four and a quarter miles, from Fort Knokke to Cape Town, one and a half mile, together, fifty-five and three-quarter miles; under these circumstances, the route by the twelfth milestone and Muller's Vlei, with branches to Stellenbosch and Wynberg, should be adopted. (See a letter on this subject in *S. A. Commercial Advertiser*, of 28th ultimo.)

[C. 18—'59.]

It is stated that the inhabitants of Stellenbosch insist on having the railway carried through the village, as provided in the contract, or to be relieved from the sub-guarantee.

The sub-guarantee will not be required if the railway pays. The only prospect of its paying is to avoid the detour through Stellenbosch, and place a station at the eleventh or twelfth milestone, to accommodate the farmers there, and a branch to Wynberg to obtain that traffic; petitioner thinks it better to adopt this route, and relieve Stellenbosch from the sub-guarantee, and leave them without a railway, if they prefer that to having a branch from Muller's Vlei.

Finally, petitioner prays that your honorable House will be pleased to accommodate Wynberg with a railway, it having an equal right thereto as Stellenbosch, or to be relieved from the sub-guarantee.

And petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

J. M. MAYNARD.

Wynberg, 31st May, 1859.

TO HIS HONOUR THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE  
HONOURABLE THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

The Petition of the undersigned, Inhabitants of Rondebosch, Wynberg, and  
Neighbourhood, in the Cape Division,

HUMBLY SHOWETH:

That your petitioners have observed that a bill has been introduced by his Excellency the Governor, and which will also shortly appear before your Honourable House, to extend the railway from Wellington to Worcester.

That your petitioners are aware that the inhabitants of Worcester and Tulbagh have agreed to become liable for the sub-guarantee, but that they never expected or desired that the residents in other districts should also become liable for the same.

That it would press with peculiar hardship upon the inhabitants of Rondebosch and Wynberg, inasmuch as a Government guarantee for the Wynberg railway has been refused, and the inhabitants will already have to pay for the Wellington railway, from which they will derive comparatively little advantage, and that they have, in addition, to pay road rates to the divisional council.

That your petitioners are afraid that hasty legislation in a matter of such importance would hereafter be very much regretted, before reliable data of the ultimate success of such a railway in a pecuniary view could be obtained.

Should your Honourable House, however, consider it expedient to pass such a measure this session, your petitioners respectfully pray your Honourable House will not allow any clause to remain in such bill by which the inhabitants of other districts than Worcester and Tulbagh should be made liable for the sub-guarantee, and more particularly that the inhabitants of Rondebosch and Wynberg may be exonerated therefrom.

That your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

R C Logie, Claremont  
P D Morgenrood  
H C Dreyer, jun  
J Maynard  
J McNaughton  
M A Wolfe  
P Lourie  
John Cooper  
M J Smuts  
C W Hullman  
E H Castray  
J F Ricketts  
G Higgs  
J G Cruywagen  
E Field  
James Cousin  
L A Kemp  
J D Pieterse  
W van Oudtshoorn  
T Verhaag  
T M Hauet  
J de Kock  
M van Helsdingen  
Thomas Dreyer  
H O Dreyer  
Henry Drew  
A Meyburgh  
F Lugies  
B A Leithar  
Johannes Rathfelder  
W Fysh  
Justus W Meyer  
Wm Brading  
J H Brading  
John Farrel  
Jacob Meyer

George Carr  
S Mannix  
P Dreyer  
T P Eksteen  
T A Dreyer  
W S L  
J A Locke  
Charles Oliver  
John Olive  
F H Hannefey  
W Cutting, sen.  
W Cutting, jun.  
H Haybittel  
H Cloete, Ws  
J C Herrer  
J P Herrer  
T Dreyer  
J A Stegmann  
C B Dreyer  
H C Dreyer, sen  
W J Anderson  
qq J M Maynard  
W Mortimer Farmer, qq  
W Fitzpatrick  
S V van Reenen, sen  
Henry Willis  
Wm Syme  
John Camp  
J G Rathfelder  
T W Eksteen  
John de Wet  
P J Truter  
W M Farmer  
Thomas J Dickson  
P Ryklief

The Mayors of Wynberg (1886 - 1927)

R. Myburgh	August 1886	--	August 1887
R. Myburgh	August 1887	--	August 1888
R. Myburgh	August 1888	--	August 1889
R. Myburgh	August 1889	--	December 1889
S. van Breda (Acting)	January 1889	--	August 1890
J. Bissett	August 1890	--	August 1891
J. Bissett	August 1891	--	August 1892
J. Bissett	August 1892	--	August 1893
G. de Kock	August 1893	--	August 1894
G. de Kock	August 1894	--	August 1895
T. Vollmer	August 1895	--	August 1896
T. Vollmer	August 1896	--	August 1897
T. Vollmer	August 1897	--	August 1898
T. Vollmer	August 1898	--	August 1899
G. Withinshaw	August 1899	--	August 1900
G. Withinshaw	August 1900	--	August 1901
J. Voskule	August 1901	--	August 1902
J. Voskule	August 1902	--	August 1903
A. Calder	August 1903	--	August 1904
A. Calder	August 1904	--	August 1905
T. Milward	August 1905	--	August 1906

T. Milward	August 1906	-	August 1907
D. Taylor	August 1907	-	August 1908
D. Taylor	August 1908	-	August 1909
T. Vollmer	August 1909	-	August 1910
T. Vollmer	August 1910	-	August 1911
T. Vollmer	August 1911	-	August 1912
S. Cowper	August 1912	-	August 1913
S. Cowper	September 1913	-	September 1914
S. Cowper	September 1914	-	September 1915
J. McDonald	September 1915	-	September 1916
J. McDonald	September 1916	-	September 1917
J. McDonald	September 1917	-	September 1918
S. Cowper	September 1918	-	September 1919
S. Cowper	September 1919	-	September 1920
S. Cowper	September 1920	-	September 1921
S. Cowper	September 1921	-	March 1921
J. McDonald (Acting)	March 1921	-	September 1922
J. McDonald	September 1922	-	September 1923
M. Vos	September 1923	-	September 1924
M. Vos	September 1924	-	September 1925
M. Vos	September 1925	-	September 1926
M. Vos	September 1926	-	8 August 1927

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2. UNOFFICIAL

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1. Books
2. Journal articles and other papers
3. Unpublished theses

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MOIB, MOIC,          Insolvent estates.

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