

"THE SEA IS IN OUR BLOOD" - COMMUNITY AND CRAFT IN KALK BAY,
c.1880-1939

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for my parents and the fisherfolk of Kalk Bay

"The sea is in our blood" is the expression most commonly used
by members of the fishing community when referring to their
right to continue living and fishing at Kalk Bay

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the historic right of the Kalk Bay fishermen to occupy the area and exploit the marine resources of False Bay. It attempts to provide the historical base absent from anthropological, and other, works which have focussed on the area. In recent years, the local handline fishing community has faced destruction by a complex web of political, social and economic forces. This work shows that these have simply been new challenges in a long line, albeit the most serious, faced by the fisherfolk of Kalk Bay.

The study begins with an examination of human settlement, and the origins of fishing, in Kalk Bay to the late nineteenth century. This is followed by an analysis of the organisation of the local fishing industry at the close of that century. These two chapters provide the backdrop for discussion of the commercialization of the local fishing effort, between 1890 and 1913. The fourth chapter deals with the establishment of the modern fishing industry in Kalk Bay, from 1913 to 1939. The thesis concludes with a brief examination of the community to the 1980s.

Major findings are that the local fishermen of today are the product of a cultural and economic tradition stretching back thousands of years. By the late nineteenth century, the rhythm of life in the area was being rapidly changed by its incorporation into the social and economic orbit of greater Cape Town. Over the main period covered by the thesis, the local fishermen, as a result of their race and class, occupied the weaker position in conflicts with local authorities, the state and capital.

However, they were able to fight dependence upon a single buyer and growing pressures for their proletarianisation and managed to maintain their independence as petty-commodity producers. The independence of the fisherfolk was nevertheless maintained at the expense of increasingly depressed local markets for their fish.

Since the Second World War, the escalating political, social and economic subordination of the fisherfolk has progressively threatened the existence of the handline fishing industry and the fishing community at Kalk Bay. However, should racial ideologies and commitment to monopoly capitalization of the industry be set aside by the state, the Kalk Bay fisherfolk could survive, albeit in altered and diminished circumstances.

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ABBREVIATIONS

C	Centigrade
Fr.	Father (Anglican or Roman Catholic minister)
ha	Hectare
km	Kilometres
lbs	pounds (mass)
Lt. Col.	Lieutenant Colonel
m	Metres
M.L.A.	Member of the Legislative Assembly
M.P.	Member of Parliament
S.P.C.K.	Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge

GLOSSARY

Baleen: The large plates which hang from the roof of certain species of whales' mouths, used to sieve sea organisms on which the mammal feeds.

Beach seine fishing (Trekkling): In this method of fishing, a lookout (generally positioned on a high point overlooking a bay) scanned the water until he spotted the movement of a shoal of fish. Once a shoal had been sighted, he would signal to the trek team on the beach what net to use, and when to launch the boats, by means of coloured handkerchiefs or shouting. A rope, attached to one end of the seine net, was held on the beach. The boat rowed around the school of fish in a large semi-circle, paying out the net (which could be as long as 100m) as it went. After it had landed further down the beach, two teams of men brought the ropes, attached to each end of the net, closer together and pulled the net (and its catch of fish) ashore. While increasing use has been made of winches, this method is still used in False Bay. For further details, see C. 2 - 1898, pp.8 (88), 13 (153-154) H.A. Auret and 51 (578) W. Runciman and Van Sittert "Gebrei in die aambag", pp.38-40.

Beam: The greatest width of a boat.

Boat share (At Kalk Bay): A form of rent for using the boat's facilities which covers maintenance and, since the introduction of motorised vessels, fuel costs. Determined by an unwritten agreement between owners and crews, the fee is subtracted in cash from each man's daily earnings by the

skipper. The skipper has usually been the owner, or a relative of the owner, of the boat.

Bokkom: A dried massbanker or harder.

Chart: A map to facilitate navigation at sea.

Demersal fish: Those species found near the sea-bottom. For example, soles and hake.

Flensing: The stripping of blubber from a whale.

Greaves: The sediment of animal fat.

Handline fishermen: Professional fishermen who use hand-held lines and hooks, as opposed to nets or other fishing methods.

Inshoremen: Fishermen who exploit marine resources close to the shore, as opposed to in the deep-sea. Inshoremen generally return home after each day's fishing. Deep-sea fishermen, on the other hand, generally undertake lengthy fishing trips, and may be away from port for weeks, or even months, at a time.

Jib: The foremost sail on a boat, set between the fore-masthead and bow.

Long line fishing: During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, long line fishing was carried out in Europe by putting down a

line, seven or eight miles in length (or even longer) upon which baited hooks had been placed at intervals. This line was released from the vessel as she sailed along, subsequently being hauled in and the fish taken. While not used in False Bay, this method of fishing (particularly for various species of tuna) forms a minor section of the modern South African fishing industry. For descriptions of long line fishing methods, and their use in South African and other waters, see R.P. 93 - 1980, pp.40 (244)-42 (247); R.P. 47 - 1972, pp.35 (295)-36(305); C. 2 - 1898, pp.57 (628-630) J.D.F. Gilchrist; Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", p.272; Lees Fishing for Fortunes, pp.234-236 and A.V. Brand Fish Catching Methods of the World, pp.37-38, 40-43 and 54-55.

Mootjies: Slices or fillets of fish. The term generally applied to small portions of dried snoek. For methods of preparation see MacLean "The Fishermen and fishing industry at the Cape", p.91.

Pelagic fish: Those species found in the main water-mass of the sea. In other words, surface-swimming, or shoaling, fish such as pilchards and anchovies.

Pulling: The nautical terms for rowing.

Purse seine netting: The method was used to catch pelagic fish. In its simplest form, the net was a seine net with rings attached to the bottom, through which a rope was passed. A vessel carrying a smack searched for a shoal of fish. After the shoal had been sighted, the smack was put overboard and remained stationary with one end of the net. The mother

ship sailed around the shoal, paying out the remainder of the net. After the shoal had been encircled, the rope through the bottom rings was pulled taut to close the net (pursing the seine) and prevent the fish from escaping. The net was then pulled closer to the vessel, raised slightly, and the fish transferred to the hold by means of a scoop net. The mechanics of the operation have changed little since the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There have nevertheless been dramatic change in technology. Included among these have been a move from rope to nylon nets, the use of hydraulic equipment and increasingly sophisticated electronic fish finders and the replacement of scoop nets by vacuum pumps. For comparative details and discussion of technological development, see Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", pp.278-279; Lees Fishing for Fortunes, pp.147-148, 187, 202-203 and 244-246; Brand Fish Catching Methods of the World, pp.140 and 142-144 and Von Bonde So Great Thy Sea, pp.64-65 and 168.

Seine net: Any long fish net with floats at the top edge and weights at the bottom used to encircle a shoal of fish. For further details, see Brand Fish Catching Methods of the World, pp.109-113.

Ski-boat fishermen: Amateur fishermen who fish from "speedboats", generally with rods and lines.

Smack: A small fishing boat.

Sprit: A small spar crossing diagonally from the mast to the peak of the sail.

Tack: A sailing ship's oblique course.

Thwart: A seat for crew members on board a rowing or sailing boat.

Transom: The uppermost horizontal beam across the sternpost of a boat. This strengthens the after-end and, in the case of decked vessels, supports the deck. As in this text, the term is also used to refer to the stern in general.

Trawling: The method used to catch demersal fish. In essence, the process involves dragging a large net (shaped in the form of an open-ended sack) across, or just above, the sea-bed at slow speed, usually for a few hours. For further technological details, see R.P. 47 - 1972, p.26 (213-214) and Brand Fish Catching Methods of the World, pp.118-126.

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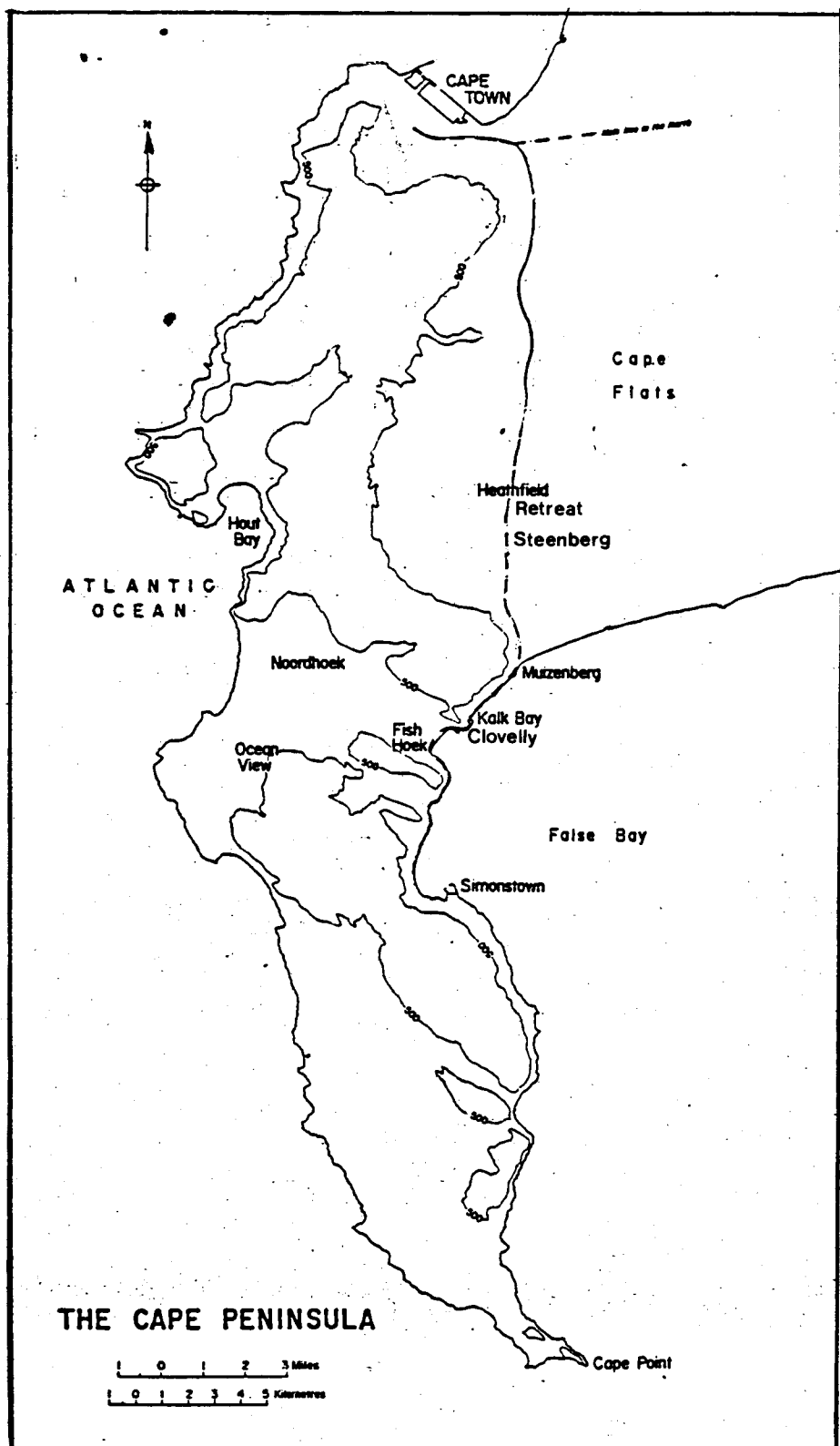
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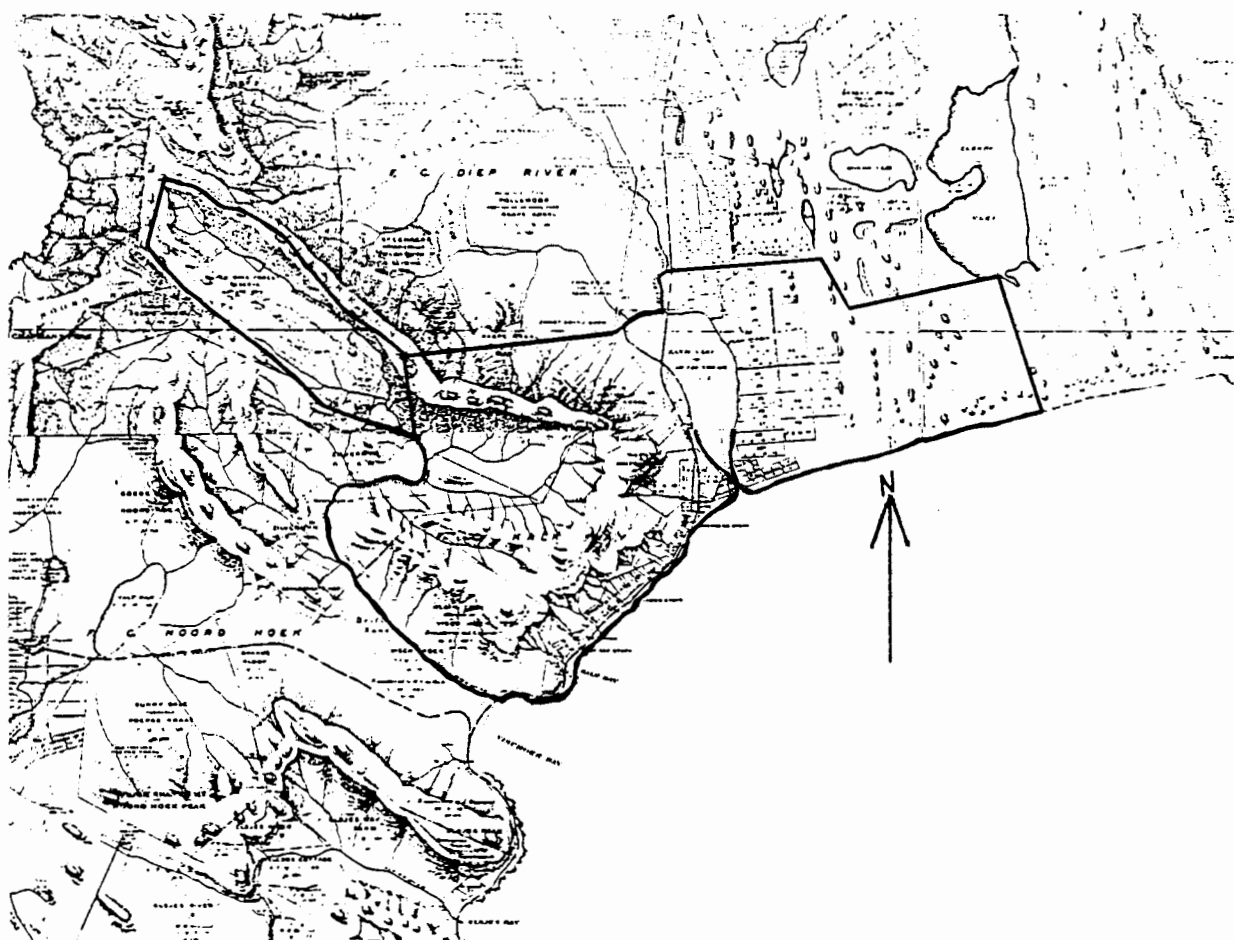
MAP 1
THE CAPE PENINSULA



Source : Whisson "The Fairest Cape?" n.p.

MAP 2

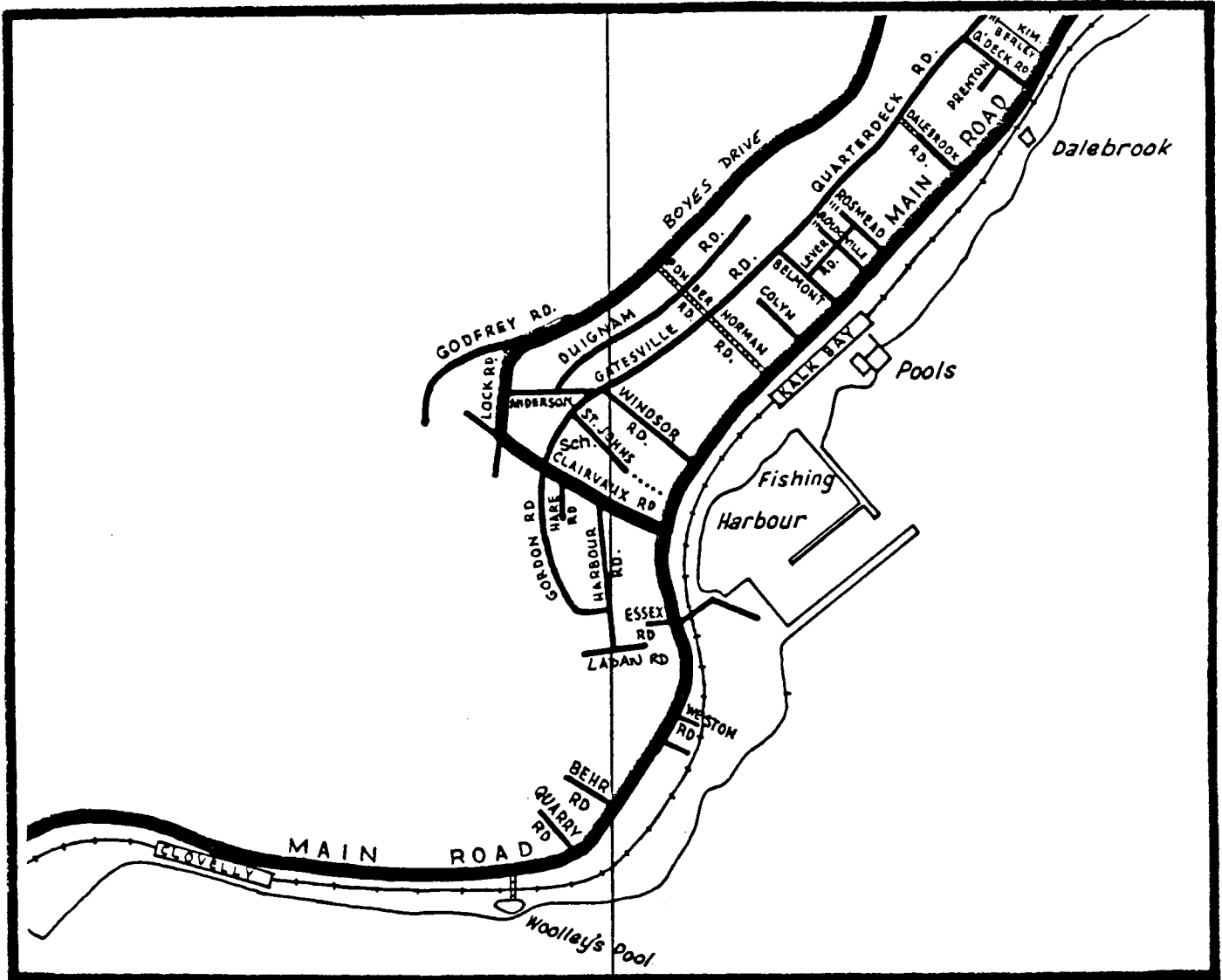
THE KALK MAY-MUIZENBERG MUNICIPALITY, 1890-1913



The boundaries of the municipality, as originally determined in 1895, did not include the Silvermine section. This was added, in March 1897, to enable the construction of a water reservoir.

Sources: Map of the Cape Division, Surveyor General's Office, 1901, Scale 1 : 30 000; The Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, No. 7707, 3 May 1895 (proclamation No. 186 of 1895) and No. 7905, 26 March 1897. p.601 (proclamation No. 79 of 1897).

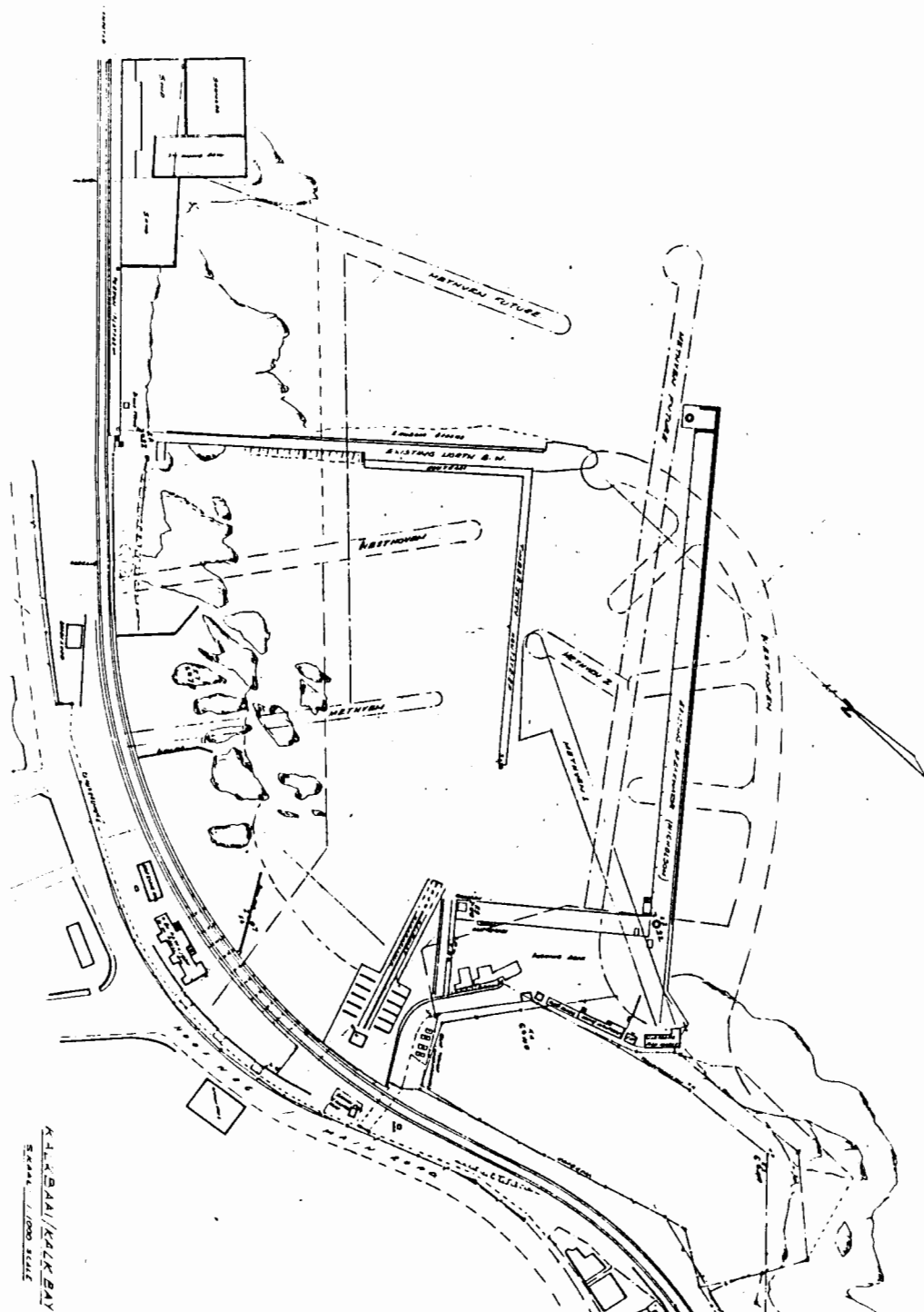
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Source: Cape Times Peninsula Directory with Street Maps, 1967-1968,
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MAP 4

KALK BAY HARBOUR - MAPS AND PLANS, 1902-1982 (M.J. Kearney)



INTRODUCTION

On 7 July 1967, Proclamation 150 under the Group Areas Act No 41 of 1950, as amended, declared Kalk Bay and adjoining areas between Clovelly and Lakeside "white".⁽¹⁾ [See Map 1] Those coloured families who owned or rented property within the area would have to leave for a coloured group area within a year of notice being served on them. Apparently as a result of the strength of grassroots public support, those who lived in the quadrangle of fishermen's flats, owned by the Cape Town City Council and lying between Clairvaux, Gordon, Harbour and Ladan Roads [See Map 3], were given a respite of fifteen years.⁽²⁾ A further initial concession, later removed, was that when the fishermen were forced to move out of Kalk Bay they could apply for residence in the flats if one later became vacant. Thus some of the fishermen were forced to move out of the village in 1968 and 1969, only to return to the flats later when there were vacancies. By 1979 this 'waiting list' had been abolished and coloured ex-resident fishermen of Kalk Bay could not return. When the flats became vacant they could only be passed on to those children of the inhabitants who became fishermen. Retired fishermen or their widows were, however, allowed to retain residence.

(1) Government Gazette vol.25, No. 17857, July 1967. pp.2-3.

(2) Argus 9 February 1982; T. Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay : An account of a marginal livelihood in a developing industrial environment", B.A. Hons. Dissertation, U.C.T., 1980. p.39; M.G. Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", in C. Kileff and W.C. Pendleton (eds.) Urban Man in Southern Africa, Gwelo, Mambo Press, 1975. p.54; M.G. Whisson and R.M. Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence : A study of Kalk Bay Fishermen, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1969. p.2.

As a result of the Proclamation, the coloured population of Kalk Bay declined from some 634 persons in 1967 to about 300 in 1980. Accommodating 54 families the flats permitted only about a third of the fishermen working there to reside in Kalk Bay. In 1980 there were only five coloured families remaining in houses situated in the area that had been proclaimed "white" only thirteen years before. Being the families of skippers it seems that they may have gained concessions through the need to be close to their boats.⁽³⁾ Most of those who were given notice or left before this, moved "up the line" to places such as Steenberg, Heathfield and Retreat, or to Ocean View. [See Map 1] These persons had to travel daily to Kalk Bay on the last available train from Cape Town at 01h00 and then wait down at the harbour until the locally resident fishermen arrived at 03h00 to 04h00. Sometimes upon arrival they found that the weather conditions did not permit the boats to leave the harbour, thus wasting train fare and losing sleep needlessly. Moreover, they were threatened by "skollies" when leaving for work late at night or in the early hours of the morning,⁽⁴⁾ particularly on week-ends.

Both the community and the local fishing industry would have been destroyed if the remaining fishermen had been removed. In the words of Mr Vincent Cloete, skipper, boat owner and one of the leading representatives of the Kalk Bay fishermen:

(it) would definitely destroy fishing in Kalk Bay. It has destroyed fishing in Simon's Town - there are no more handline fishermen at Simon's Town because they had to move to Ocean

(3) Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", pp.39-40; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, p.2.

(4) Sunday Times 14 February 1982; Argus 9 February 1982; Quinlan "Line fishing in Kalk Bay", pp.39,45 & 76; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, pp.25 & 43-44.

View. It has destroyed fishing at Somerset Strand where forty years ago, well, Kalk Bay fishermen are always claiming to be the best fishermen and the best organised fishing community and the next thing, but, I don't know, the Somerset people, they were fine people, good people, good fishermen, all that sort of thing, you know. It would have been a closely contested thing, but there is absolutely nothing there now.⁽⁵⁾

The final death-blow did not fall when expected. The period of grace for flat dwellers was due to expire in 1982, the first year of work on this project. On 8 February of that year the Minister of Community Development, Mr Pen Kotze, announced that there would be no more removals from Kalk Bay. The area near the harbour would be reproclaimed a "coloured" area, greater in extent than the present quadrangle of the flats. The proposed boundaries would be laid down by the Department of Community Development prior to advertisement for inquiry by the Group Areas Board. According to Mr Kotze the decision followed representations by Mr John Wiley, the M.P. for Simon's' Town. A personal visit to Kalk Bay assured him (Mr Kotze) that the area should be reinstated as a residential area for the "traditional fishing community of Kalk Bay", thus ensuring that the existence of this "settled community" would be "stabilised and ensured".⁽⁶⁾

The situation was, and remains, complicated by the problem of finding additional land to allow the resettlement of the families that had already moved out. Due to the confined space available for settlement between mountain and sea and the development of the area as a residential suburb there was little land left in the village. [See Map 1 and Illustrations] 1, 3, 5 and 8.

⁽⁵⁾ Interview with V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 6 December 1979.

⁽⁶⁾ Cape Times 10 February 1982; Argus 9 February 1982; J. Igggulden "Kalk Bay - a ray of light" in Odyssey April/May 1982, vol.6, No.2.

With the exception of the five cases already referred to, the houses previously occupied by coloureds had all been taken over by whites and it was unlikely that the fishermen could afford to re-buy the erven if the occupiers were given notice. There was room for only one more block of flats in the quadrangle. A number of previous residents had since bought homes elsewhere and this would complicate their return to the area.⁽⁷⁾ By November 1982 it was apparent that the solution would lie in the reproclamation of the area abutting the harbour as a "coloured" group area or its proclamation as a controlled area.⁽⁸⁾ [See Map 3] The government proposal that a 1.5 ha area of the fishing village be reproclaimed coloured was considered by a public investigation of the Group Areas Board on 30 November 1986. Witnesses were "virtually unanimous in their plea for the removal of statutory divisions in the communities." Given the framework of the law, they favoured Kalk Bay's proclamation as a controlled area with access for people of colour granted by permit.⁽⁹⁾ The final solution has not as yet been reached.

An overview of existing works on Kalk Bay

The Group Areas Proclamation prompted anthropological works by Whisson and Kaplinsky which provide an illuminating insight into the community at this time, designed to appeal to both the academic and more popular reader.⁽¹⁰⁾ These were followed by further anthropological work by Quinlan, providing a useful survey of the community and the effects of the Group Areas Act

(7) Sunday Times 14 February 1982.

(8) The Messenger November 1982

(9) Argus 1 December 1982.

(10) Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay"; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence.

thirteen years later.⁽¹¹⁾ From the magazine perspective, the 1974/75 fight against proposals for declaring Kalk Bay "white" was covered by Roberts and Ritchken. Iggulden provides an account of fishermen's reactions to the lifting of the Proclamation in 1982.⁽¹²⁾ All of the abovementioned works have sections dealing with the historical development of the fishing community. Understandably in the case of the magazine articles, but less so in the anthropological works, is the inaccuracy of these sections, resulting from uncritical use of secondary sources and the unquestioning acceptance of oral testimony as a true record of the past history of the community. Moreover, at the risk of over-simplification, the Proclamation is perceived as a sudden disruptive force in an otherwise gradual process of development. The anthropological works tend to portray the community's history as having been remarkably untroubled by division and disharmony between the fishermen, the wider community and the developing South African fishing industry.⁽¹³⁾

In this perception of the sluggish unfolding of historical development at Kalk Bay, these works reflect popular sources dealing with the area. Foremost amongst these is the work of the ex-village policemen and, later,

(11) Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay".

(12) M. Roberts "The Oldest Community of South Africans on the False Bay Coast", in The Black Sash, March/April 1965, vol.9, No. 1. pp.2-3; M. Ritchken "The Fisherfolk of Kalk Bay", in The Black Sash, March/April 1965, vol.9, No. 1. pp.4-7; J. Iggulden "Kalk Bay".

(13) These criticisms are not applicable to Whisson's work on the settlement and development of the Simontown district. See M.G. Whisson The Fairest Cape? An account of the coloured people in the district of Simontown, Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1972; "History and Myth in the analysis of small communities", unpub. paper, Conference of South African Anthropologies, Cape Town, 1973 and "Using the past : Myth and history in Simon's Town", unpub. paper, Rhodes University, n.d.

local official of the Coloured Affairs Department, Tommy Carse.⁽¹⁴⁾ While an outstanding man for his day and apparently highly thought of by the local fishermen, his work tends towards romanticism and paternalism. It is nevertheless based on a great deal of useful oral evidence and, equally importantly, focusses exclusively on the fishermen. He was also responsible for the only documentary film ever to be produced on the coloured fishermen of Kalk Bay, and perhaps the Cape.⁽¹⁵⁾ While extremely short (twelve minutes), superficial and again underlaid by paternalistic and romantic notions, this film nevertheless serves to at least partly illustrate the life of Kalk Bay fishermen in the early 1950's.

From an earlier period, the work of the local Anglican priest, O.J. Hogarth, is a compilation of historical notes, reminiscences, newspaper articles and details gleaned from church records.⁽¹⁶⁾ While useful for background information and white middle-class perceptions, this work also tends to be blatantly paternalistic and romantic. Contemporary magazine writers in the same ethos as Carse and Hogarth fall into three types. The first two present accounts which are either selectively factual⁽¹⁷⁾ or "flowery" and nostalgic.⁽¹⁸⁾ The third presents the Kalk Bay fishermen as slightly curious survivals from days gone by, wedded to a tough but psychologically, though not economically, rewarding occupation, eminently

(14) T. Carse "A Great Day", in South African Panorama, 10 January 1965, vol.1, No. 10. pp.14-17 and Die Bloudam is Hul Oesland, Cape Town, HAUM, 1959.

(15) South African Information Service Vissters van Kalkbaai, Afrikaans, 12 mins. 1955.

(16) O.J. Hogarth (ed.) Holy Trinity Church, Kalk Bay : An historical sketch, Kalk Bay, Privately Published by Holy Trinity Church, 1927.

(17) O. Coetzer "The Best Fishing in the Peninsula", in The Motorist, Fourth Quarter, 1985. pp.24-25.

(18) D. Mocke "Kalk Bay", in Flying Springbok, January 1981. pp.45-51.

worthy of a faint nostalgia and pity.⁽¹⁹⁾ It is significant to note that these articles, written during the 1980s, make no mention of the implementation or repeal of the Group Areas Proclamation at Kalk Bay. The two existing labour-centred histories of the South African fishing industry focus on Namibia and Hout Bay rather than Kalk Bay.⁽²⁰⁾

Righting the historical balance

This thesis attempts to provide the historical base absent from the works of Whisson and Kaplinsky and Quinlan. The work begins with an examination of human settlement and the origins of fishing in the area from prehistoric times to the late nineteenth century. This demonstrates a cultural and economic continuity based upon the exploitation of the area's natural resources and the incorporation into the community of varying groups of immigrants. By these means, the historic right of the fishing population, to occupy Kalk Bay and exploit False Bay's natural resources, is demonstrated. The roots of the area's subsequent popularity as a health and tourist resort and a place of seaside residence for non-fisherfolk are also revealed. So too is the beginning of the break-down of its early isolation and its incorporation into the orbit of greater Cape Town. Developing from 1806, and collapsing by 1913, whaling is shown to have been an important cause of human settlement. Over-exploitation,

(19) S. Moskowitz "Steering by the Star of the Sea", in Odyssey April/May 1982, vol.6, No. 2. pp.19-20.

(20) R. Moorson Exploiting the sea : Fishing, A Future for Namibia Series No.5, London, Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1984; L. van Sittert "Gebrei in die aambag : Farmers, fish and fishermen in the Hout Bay valley c.1880-1956", B.A. Hons. Dissertation, U.C.T., 1985.

however, resulted in the collapse of the local whaling effort. The fragile nature of the False Bay's marine resources is thus illustrated.

The major focus is on the period 1890 to 1939. This saw a move away from a subsistence-oriented economy to one embedded in the market. The fate of the Kalk Bay fishing community has close parallels with the history of similar communities in Newfoundland, New England and Sweden.⁽²¹⁾ Thompson's assertion, in the context of the British Isles, is equally applicable to Kalk Bay:

The survival of family boats and share ownership, of co-venturing and petty-enterprise, even in a technologically sophisticated, high-investment industry, looks at first sight like a 'survival in a rather obscure occupation which has somehow escaped the full rigours of capitalist rationalisation ... (In fact it is rather) ... part of a system which the inshore communities have had to recreate generation after generation in changing economic circumstances.'⁽²²⁾

- (21) P.R. Sinclair From Traps to Draggers : Domestic Commodity Production in Northwest Newfoundland, 1850-1902, Social and Economic Studies No. 31, Institute of Social and Economic Research, St. John's, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1985. p.43; C. Gersuny, J.J. Poggie and R.J. Marshall Some effects of Technological Change on New England fishermen, Marine Technical Report No. 42, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Kingston, University of Rhode Island, 1975. pp. 17-19; J.J. Poggie and C. Gersuny Fishermen of Galilee : The human ecology of a New England coastal community, Marine Bulletin Series No. 17, Sociology and Anthropology, Sea Grant, Kingston, University of Rhode Island, 1974. pp. 67-68; O. Lofgren "Resource Management and family firms : Swedish West Coast Fishermen", in R. Andersen and C. Wadel (eds.) North Atlantic Fishermen : Anthropological essays on modern fishing, Newfoundland Social and Economic Papers, No. 5, St. John's, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1972. pp.82-103. (See especially pp.91-95); T.F. Nemeo "I fish with my brother : The structure and function of agnatic-based fishing crews in a Newfoundland Irish Outport", in R. Andersen and C. Wadel (eds.). pp.9-34.
- (22) P. Thompson, R. Wailey and T. Lumnis Living the Fishing, History Workshop Series, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983. pp.149 and 151.

A discussion of the technological and organisational background to fishing at Kalk Bay at the turn of the nineteenth century is followed by an examination of the tensions and conflicts which challenged and changed the community. Difficulties of transporting catches prior to the arrival of the railway, and the fact that fishing was largely a subsistence activity ensured that Kalk Bay fishermen were not major suppliers to the Mauritian snoek market opened by the abolition of slavery in all British possessions in 1834. The arrival of the railway at Muizenberg in 1862 and Kalk Bay in the following year enabled the fishermen to meet increasing local demands for their product and exploit new markets opened by the mineral discoveries of the latter decades of that century. Within a decade the Kalk Bay line fishermen had become the major suppliers of table fish within the Colony. Breakdown of the last vestiges of the village's geographical isolation and new markets brought far-reaching changes. Growing popularity as a tourist resort and place of seaside residence brought increasing numbers of persons whose interests differed markedly from those of the fishermen. Fishing came to be perceived as a threat to the future development of the area. Structures of local government were created, and began to exert control to ensure that its future evolution would proceed along lines beneficial to the development of tourism and a residential suburb. The fishermen's interests would thus be subjugated to those of the new visitors and inhabitants.

Divisions developed amongst those exploiting the fish resources of the bay. Declining catches necessitated the acquisition of larger boats to exploit further fishing grounds while the extension of the railway line to Simon's Town removed the best portion of the beach, thus placing

considerable hardship upon the fishermen in their attempts to ensure the safety of their boats. Solutions to both problems were seen as lying in the construction of a harbour. Existing methods of fishing were unable to meet the rapidly-increasing demand. Following the lead of pioneers of alternative methods in Cape waters, a limited number of Kalk Bay fishermen attempted purse seine net fishing and trawling. As a result of the failure of these more capital-intensive methods of fishing, handlines continued to be used. Handline and net fishermen called for legislative restrictions on trawling in False Bay as they believed that it was leading to overfishing and destruction of marine resources and would result in the collapse of the local fishing industry. Nevertheless, the state placed the minimum restrictions possible on trawling as it wished to stimulate the development of the fishing industry as a means of providing a relatively cheap foodstuff. Between 1902 and the early 1920's, successive attempts were made at the capitalisation of the industry at Kalk Bay based upon the use of trawlers supplemented by monopolistic agreements to purchase the entire handline catch. These were to fail as a result of a combination of three major factors. Firstly, the men's negative experiences of contracts with a single buyer resulted in their rejection of these in favour of auctioning. Secondly, the future of inshore trawling would be outside False Bay, particularly on the Agulhas bank. Thirdly, the absence of harbour facilities at Kalk Bay prevented any significant expansion of the local industry.

While the earlier fight against trawling had united the fishermen, these attempts at monopoly served to introduce divisions into the community. Hendrik Andries Auret, one of the leading white fishermen of Kalk Bay and

Muizenberg, had been extensively involved. As a member of the local municipal council his interests differed markedly from those of both the majority of fishermen and remaining councillors, a position reflected among all other local councillors with ties to the fishing industry. The majority of fishermen thus faced minority representation on an exclusively white council by representatives whose interests differed markedly from their own and those of the remaining councillors. The exceptions were cases such as the necessity for harbour accommodation where both fishing and the development of the area as a tourist resort and residential suburb would be served equally. This question had, however, become linked to that of capitalization of the local industry. Fishermen were divided between those who welcomed the construction of the harbour as a means of alleviating problems occasioned by the positioning of the railway line and developing the industry, and those who argued that this would result in increasing numbers of trawlers destroying handline fishing at Kalk Bay. While some degree of unity was restored by attempts at the formation of a cooperative, the success of the latter was marred by the difficulties of organizing the fishing community.

The construction of the harbour between 1913 and 1919 allowed the fishermen to acquire motor boats and exploit new fishing grounds, while the failure of attempts at capital-intensive fishing resulted in the closing of False Bay to bottom trawlers in 1928. While handline fishermen had won the battle against trawling by this stage, their market was purely local as Irvin and Johnson had developed monopolistic control of inland markets. The harbour too had made little difference to their basic quality of life. Given the growing popularity of the area and the

restricted amount of land available for settlement, the space between the mountain and the sea was soon exhausted. An increase in property prices was a direct result. Farmers began to dispose of their land, while supplementary growing of produce and keeping of livestock by fishermen to supplement their incomes would have been curtailed. Fisherman had always lived close to their boats. Their area of residence was now increasingly confined to that abutting the fishery beach. Overcrowding and slum conditions were the logical results. The roots of residential zoning by race and class are thus to be found during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Moreover, unable to afford rising property prices, fishermen gradually began to move "down the line" and commute to work daily. Increasing settlement by non-fisherfolk commuting to areas of employment outside Kalk Bay thus almost paradoxically, forced locally-employed fishermen to move out of the area and commute to it daily. Far from being a sudden disruptive force in a slow and peaceful development, the application of Group Areas legislation was one more challenge in a long line, albeit the most serious, faced by the fisherfolk of Kalk Bay.

CHAPTER 1

HUMAN SETTLEMENT AND THE ORIGINS OF FISHING IN KALK BAY

Introduction

The main body of this chapter examines human settlement in Kalk Bay from prehistoric times to the late nineteenth century. Marine geographical conditions in False Bay, of which Kalk Bay forms a part [See Map 1], were ideal for the development of fishing. Warm waters, temperate climate and fertile shores subsequently encouraged the development of tourism and settlement by farmers and other non-fisherfolk. For much of the early period, it is impossible to separate events and trends at Kalk Bay from those occurring in the wider Simonstown district, of which the first mentioned area is a part. This has been done where possible. Clearly demonstrated is a cultural and economic continuity, based upon the exploitation of the area's natural resources and the incorporation of varying groups of immigrants, which pre-dated the Portuguese voyages of discovery by thousands of years. Exploitation of the marine environment began with the precolonial inhabitants of the district, including Kalk Bay. Muslim slaves were incorporated into the population of the district as farm labourers from the mid seventeenth hundreds. As slaves, and later as free men, they continued the tradition of fishing begun by the precolonial inhabitants. Their numbers were gradually increased by "Prize Negroes", seafarers from a wide variety of ethnic and national backgrounds and considerable numbers of Filipino deserters from ships' crews. These immigrants were incorporated into the developing community at Kalk Bay and

contributed to the development of the craft of fishing. The modern Kalk Bay fishermen are largely of Filipino and Muslim stock and have an historic right to occupy the area and exploit its marine resources.

Fishermen and farmers were nevertheless not the only persons to come into contact with, or settle at Kalk Bay. The development of land communication between Cape Town and Simon's Town resulted in the area becoming increasingly popular as a health and tourist resort and place of seaside residence from the 1840s. Religious and educational institutions developed to cater for the needs of local inhabitants. Implicit in these developments was the erosion of Kalk Bay's former geographical isolation and social and economic self-sufficiency. The origins of conflict between fishermen and non-fishermen relating to the future development of the area may be traced to the 1880s. As a result of their race and class, the former group were in a far weaker position in the influencing of future patterns of development. This situation leads naturally into the overview of Kalk Bay society in the 1880s which concludes this chapter. Developments thus far are summarized and linked to important themes running through the remainder of this thesis.

The geographical setting

Kalk Bay is a small fishing village and residential suburb on the False Bay coast, situated about 31 kilometres (19 miles) southwards of Table Bay harbour and eight kilometers northwards of the Simon's Town naval base. [See Map 1] The area had been named Kalkbaai by 1687.⁽¹⁾ The name is

(1) Cape Archives : VC 11, Simon van der Stel's Day Register/Dagregister Verbatim Copy (Dutch), 1687. P.481.

composed of two Dutch words meaning lime (kalk) and bay (baai) respectively. Large deposits of burned shells were found in the Holy Trinity church rectory grounds in the early 1920's. These provide archaeological evidence that prior to 1687 kilns were set up here to produce lime from sea shells that accumulated on an inshore reef on the lee side of the bay.⁽²⁾ False Bay, so-called for the difficulties it presented to navigation, was named before Kalk Bay and appears on charts as Golfo de Falso as early as 1507.⁽³⁾ Containing about 605 square kilometers of water, it lies between the parallel ranges of the Cape Peninsula chain, running down to Cape Point and the Hottentots Holland range, terminating at Cape Hangklip. Its entrance thus lies between these two striking promontories. Shunned by ships until the 1870's, False Bay nevertheless provides an excellent winter anchorage and is not as dangerous as it appears. The three harbours - Simon's Town, Kalk Bay and Gordon's Bay - are safe refuges.⁽⁴⁾

While Cape Agulhas is the southernmost tip of Africa, it is around Cape Point that its two great ocean currents meet. The Agulhas is a breakaway eddy of the warm Mozambique current which moves down the east coast of Africa from the equatorial region of the Indian Ocean. Travelling at a rate of between 90 and 230 km a day, its mean temperature off the Cape Peninsula is about 20 degrees Centigrade, although temperatures of between 21 and 28 degrees C have been recorded. It is generally at its warmest from November to April, the summer tourist season, with a mean temperature

(2) Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, p.5.

(3) J. Burman The False Bay Story, Cape Town, Human and Rosseau, 1977. p.8.

(4) Burman The False Bay Story, pp.7, 8 and 18; B. Franck and F. Robb Fishermen of the Cape, Cape Town, Longman Penguin Southern Africa, 1975. pp.41 and 43.

of about 22 degrees C. Moving northwards along Africa's west coast, the Benguela is a section of the cold South Atlantic drift current which has its origins in the Antarctic. With a speed of between 16 and 40 km a day, and a mean temperature of about 15 degrees C off the Peninsula, it is generally about 5 degrees C colder than the Agulhas. Temperatures as low as 9 degrees C have been recorded.⁽⁵⁾

The plankton-rich waters of the Benguela attract large shoals of fish and about 90 percent of South Africa's contemporary fish catch is taken on the west coast. In contrast, the Agulhas has less nutrients and does not normally support blooms of phyto-plankton with huge shoals of fish feeding, but the variety of tropical fish is tremendous.⁽⁶⁾ Cold-blooded, and hence very sensitive to temperature, fish species remain largely separated in their respective waters. About 400 of the 1500 species found in South African waters are endemic, or peculiar only to the region. Only about 30 species have commercial significance in the latter half of the twentieth century and 90 percent (by value) of the catch is made up of only six species: pilchard, anchovy, mackerel, snoek, hake

(5) Department of Industries Sea Fisheries Panorama : Information on South and South West African marine fisheries and their management, Cape Town, Sea Fisheries Branch, 1978. pp.3 and 4; Franck and Robb Fishermen of the Cape, p.43; C. Von Bonde So Great Thy Sea : A study of the oceans, Cape Town, A.A. Balkema, 1956. pp.67-70 and 74; W.W. Thompson The Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony : From Van Riebeeck's days to the eve of Union, Cape Town, T. Maskew Miller, 1913. p.64.

(6) M.D. Viljoen "A computer-based modelling tool to optimise demand fish catch utilisation", M.B.A. Technical Report, U.C.T., 1981. pp.8-9; A.E.F. Heydoorn and K.L. Tilney Estuaries of the Cape : Dynamics and Utilization, C.S.I.R. Research Report No.380, Stellenbosch, Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, National Research Institute for Oceanology, 1980. pp.65-66; P. Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation and its influence on the South African Fishing Industry", Ph.D. Thesis, U.C.T., 1977. pp.37-38; Von Bonde So Great Thy Sea, pp. 67, 70, 74.

and rock lobster. ⁽⁷⁾ Large swings in the concentration of plankton, leading to rapid changes in the sensitive ecological balance, means that the fishing industry has a narrow and unstable base. Further research into developing the industry on more conservationist lines is thus required. ⁽⁸⁾

In the vicinity of Cape Point the Agulhas stream is diverted or swallowed by its colder opponent. The forces are so evenly balanced that during periods of south-easterly winds, particularly in summer, the Agulhas is deflected into False Bay. When the north-wester takes over, particularly during winter, the warm blue waters are replaced by the greenish flow of the Benguela. The temperature drops by between 6,11 and 7,22 degrees C, a change that has been recorded as taking place within the short space of six hours. Species from each of the current systems are thus present in the bay at various times in numbers large enough for commercial fishing. This is a unique situation, on the east coast. ⁽⁹⁾ In addition to being rich and varied in its own right, the bay is situated close to a well-stocked fishing ground. From Danger Point to Cape St Francis, the Agulhas bank covers an area of about 96 000 square kilometers, with a depth of less than 100 fathoms at its widest near the Cape. ⁽¹⁰⁾ It will nevertheless be argued that both these resources, in common with the

(7) Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", p.38; P. Hjul The Fishing Industry of South and South West Africa, Johannesburg, Standard Bank of South Africa, 1964. p.4.

(8) Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", p.38.

(9) Department of Industries Sea Fisheries Panorama, p.4; Von Bonde So Great Thy Sea, p.51; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, pp.64-65.

(10) Von Bonde So Great Thy Sea, p.119; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.66.

remainder of South African and Namibian waters, had been seriously threatened by many years of over-exploitation.

Conditions at Kalk Bay, with its wide variety of fish and warm waters, were thus ideal for the development of a fishing village and a tourist industry. Moreover, the warmer water and faster movement of the Agulhas causes it to evaporate more easily than the Benguela, generating rain and a plentiful supply of drinking water. The resulting green and fertile conditions are both aesthetically pleasing and suited to mixed farming.⁽¹¹⁾ The False Bay coast was thus settled and provisioned by farmers until its development as a residential suburb forced provisioning from outside.⁽¹²⁾ As evidenced by the development of waterworks, at Silvermine in the Peninsula chain and Steenbras in the Hottentots Holland mountains, the mountains surrounding False Bay not only added to the beauty of the area and provided opportunity for recreation, but also provided a barrier to the escape of moisture laden air and a catchment area for rainfall. In addition, the Cape Peninsula chain had an important influence on settlement patterns. Running the entire length of the western side of Kalk Bay-Muizenberg, the chain closely hugs the coastline. The mean distance between Boyes Drive and Main Road, the main area of settlement, is about 0,30 km. Between Boyes Drive and the sea the

(11) V. Mayhew (ed.) Reader's Digest Illustrated Guide to Southern Africa, Cape Town, Reader's Digest Association in association with T.V. Bulpin, 1978. p.30; W. Schaffer "The Climate", in J.A. Mabbutt (ed.) The Cape Peninsula, Cape Town, Maskew Miller, 1952. pp.41-42. The suitability of the Kalk Bay area for "Agriculture and pasture" was noted by Governor Simon van der Stel as early as 1687. See, Cape Archives : VC 11, Dagregister, 1687. p.486.

(12) Cape Archives : J 151, Opgaafrollen, Simonstown District, c.1824. Wynberg Times 3 May 1902; M. Cobern (ed.) Story of the Fish Hoek Valley, Fish Hoek, Privately Published by the Author, 1984. pp.83-106; Whisson The Fairest Cape? pp.9-10.

distance is about 0,38 km.⁽¹³⁾ While these figures are only approximate, they demonstrate the narrow area available for settlement. [See Maps 1 and 3 and Illustrations 1, 3, 5, and 8] It will be argued that, while this helped to build a close-knit fishing community, it caused considerable overcrowding and problems related to general community health and sanitation.

KALK BAY TO THE 1880s

The precolonial inhabitants

Settlement of the region can be traced back for thousands of years. Yet all but the last 350 years or so are known in only the most speculative outline, and only about the last 180 years are fully incorporated into the history of the Cape.⁽¹⁴⁾ Thus, for the earlier periods, Kalk Bay cannot be divorced from the Simon's Town area as a whole. This may be defined as an area lying south of a line from Noordhoek on the west coast to Muizenberg on the east coast.⁽¹⁵⁾ [See Map 1] It is nevertheless apparent that, as the natural harbour in False Bay closest to Cape Town yet far enough away to have been isolated during the formative years of its modern settlement, Kalk Bay has a long history.⁽¹⁶⁾

(13) Calculations were performed on various scale maps of the area by Ms. Janet Gie of Technical Management Services, Cape Town City Council.

(14) Whisson The Fairest Cape p.v.

(15) This area was officially named the Simonstown district on 24 May 1814. [G. McCall Theal History of South Africa, 1691-1795, London, Swan Sonnenschein, 1891. p.219].

(16) Interview with V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; G.50 - 1902 Kalk Bay, Proposed Fishery Harbour, Reports, 1903. p.2.

Whisson has concluded that the Simon's Town district has been occupied for at least 60 000 years and possibly well over 150 000 years.⁽¹⁷⁾ Cobern, on the other hand, places the figure at between 25 000 and 30 000 years.⁽¹⁸⁾ Little can be said of the earliest traceable inhabitants other than that they occupied sections of the then shoreline and exploited its edible resources. There is no indication that these people are related to those of subsequent cultures who left their remains in the district, and this lengthy occupation may not have been continuous.⁽¹⁹⁾

In the more recent past, stone tools became finer and more specialised. They were joined by a range of bone and wood tools while the range of animal and vegetable remains increased, probably as a result of more efficient fishing and hunting techniques, as well as a greater knowledge of edible items. In spite of the greater evidence available, we are still unable to trace direct links between these people and their successors.⁽²⁰⁾

Prior to white settlement at the Cape, the early inhabitants were replaced by small transhumant bands of Khoisan peoples. Some apparently fitted into the rigid San/Khoi mould of hunter-gatherers/cattle keepers. Generally, however, there appears to have been a far more fluid economy based largely on hunting, gathering and fishing, interspersed with periods when

(17) Whisson The Fairest Cape? p.1; Whisson "Using the past", p.2.

(18) Cobern Story of the Fish Hoek Valley, pp.8-9.

(19) Whisson The Fairest Cape? pp.1-2; Whisson "Using the past", p.2; B. Peers "Ancient Fish Hoek Man and his home : Text of a slide lecture given in 1928 to the Natural History Club", in M. Cobern (ed.). pp.16-25.

(20) Ibid.

domesticated cattle were kept.⁽²¹⁾ After the permanent white settlement at the Cape, from 1652, a number of groups apparently chose to remain in the area, their number being supplemented from time to time by others attempting to escape the guns, disease and influence of their new neighbours.⁽²²⁾ While initial contact with white Colonists was violent, the Khoisan inhabitants of the district, including Kalk Bay, were gradually absorbed into the common community of free and indentured labour, losing both name and identity.

There is evidence of Khoisan people being at Kalk Bay or possibly Smitswinkel Bay in August 1659. As a punitive measure for frequent cattle raids, Van Riebeeck ordered the southern Peninsula cleared of any group of "Hottentots or Kaapmans" (sic).⁽²³⁾ A patrol of soldiers made contact with 18 able-bodied "Hottentot" men, allegedly all of whom had been involved in raids on the company cattle, and about the same number of women and children. Three men were killed, the remainder escaping unarmed and unclothed into the bush. The soldiers returned to the castle bearing

(21) S.J. Saitowitz "Excavation at De Posthuys", Additional project, Department of Archaeology, U.C.T., 1982. p.2; Whisson The Fairest Cape? pp.2-3; Whisson "Using the past", pp.2-3 and 6; H.D. Thom (ed.) Journal of Jan Van Riebeeck, Cape Town, A.A. Balkema for the Van Riebeeck Society, 1952, vol.1. p.80; For an examination of pastoralism and agriculture among the Khoihei at the cape prior to 1652 see R. Elphick "The Khoisan to c.1770", in R. Elphick and J. Giliomee (eds.) The Shaping of South African Society, Cape Town, Longman Penguin South Africa, 1979. pp.4-7; Fishing methods among the Khoisan inhabitants of the Cape included the collection of marine organisms and the use of various fish traps, bows and poisoned arrows, spears and sinew lines and bone hooks. After white settlement at the Cape, the so-called "Hottentots" began to use metal hooks. See Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", pp.48-49 and C.F.J. Muller "Die Geskiedenis van die vissereye aan die Kaap tot ann die middel van die Agtiende Eeu", M.A. Thesis, Stellenbosch, 1938. pp.1-6.

(22) Whisson The Fairest Cape? pp.2-3 and 13; Whisson "Using the past", pp.3-4.

(23) Thom Journal of Jan Van Riebeeck, vol. I. p.109.

the lips of two of the dead and an oath concerning the death of the third. For this they received a reward of 60 guilders.⁽²⁴⁾ As late as 1796, soldiers guarding the flagstaff near Simon's Town were often fired upon by parties of "Hottentots" armed with bows and arrows.⁽²⁵⁾ Several petitions for land grants in the district between 1800 and 1810 were made by persons described as "Hottentots" or "Bastard Hottentots".⁽²⁶⁾ Whisson traces the residence of one such family, petitioning in 1808, on a particular piece of land back to 1750. He suggests that, were further records available, their residence could be traced back even further.⁽²⁷⁾ As late as 1824, sixteen persons, comprising equal numbers of males and females and classified as "Hottentot", were listed as living on the five major farms in the Fish Hoek valley.⁽²⁸⁾ It would appear that, particularly during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the majority of Khoisan people were gradually absorbed into the growing coloured population.⁽²⁹⁾

Thus, while no genealogical or genetic links can be established between the prehistoric and later inhabitants of the Simon's Town district, which included Kalk Bay, there is a developing cultural and economic continuity which pre-dated the Portuguese voyages of discovery by thousands of years. Fishing continues to the present day. While regulations have begun to be more stringently enforced in recent years, the fishermen continue to collect shellfish and other marine organisms to supplement their diets,

(24) Ibid. pp.109-111.

(25) R. Warden "Extracts from the journal of Robert Warden, Seaman on board H.E.I.C.S. Lord Camden, 1796-7", in Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library, March-June 1953, vol.7, Nos. 3 & 4. p.73.

(26) Whisson The Fairest Cape? p.8; Whisson "Using the past", p.1.

(27) Whisson The Fairest Cape? pp.8-9; Whisson "Using the past", pp.4-6.

(28) Cape Archives : J 151 Opgaafrollen, Simonstown District, C.1824.

(29) Whisson The Fairest Cape? pp.4 & 9; Whisson "Using the past", p.6

especially in times of need.⁽³⁰⁾ With the Khoisan peoples we also find the first instance of Kalk Bay serving as a haven for refugees or social outcasts, a status which, it will be demonstrated, the area was to hold a number of times through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The roots of Kalk Bay's present are firmly rooted in its prehistoric and precolonial past. A considerable period was nevertheless to elapse before white settlement at the Cape resulted in any significant occupation of the Simon's Town district by the new settlers.

The beginnings of Colonial rule

The Dutch took very little interest in the False Bay area, particularly its Western shore, for some considerable time after the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck.⁽³¹⁾

In 1687, Simon van der Stel (Governor 1679-1699) journeyed to False Bay to sound and chart the area and discover a well-situated hoek where an abundant supply of cheap fish could be obtained to feed the inhabitants of the settlement and the company's slaves.⁽³²⁾ A base camp was established at Kalk Bay, the wild nature of which is evidenced by the fact that a lion carried off a sheep from the camp there and devoured it in the bush nearby.⁽³³⁾ Highly successful experiments with seine nets and handlines at various locations including Kalk Bay, revealed that the bay provided

(30) Interview with V. Cloete, 11 January 1979; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", 74-75; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, p.5.

(31) Saitowitz "Excavation at De Posthuys", p.2; Muller "Die Geskiedenis van die vissereye aan die Kaap", pp.31 & 37; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, pp. 5-6 & 13-14.

(32) Cape Archives : VC 11, Dagregister, 1687. pp.480-495.

(33) Ibid. p.493.

excellent opportunity for fishing. The shores were described as well-wooded, rich in game and water with veldt suitable for agriculture and pasture, but occupied in part by "tigers" (leopards) and other dangerous beasts of prey.⁽³⁴⁾ While no reference is made to any persons resident in the area, contact was made by van der Stel with three company servants and a "black boy" from the mines at Steenberg who were searching for fugitive slaves close to Kalk Bay.⁽³⁵⁾ Thus there is the possibility that escaped slaves found a haven in this vicinity.

Table Bay was dangerous to shipping during the winter months when the north west wind is prevalent. By the end of the seventeenth century, surveyors were searching False Bay. This bay was sheltered from north westerly gales and was thus suitable for a winter anchorage. But it was unsuitable as a summer anchorage due to the prevailing south easterly winds.⁽³⁶⁾ As a result of its seasonal advantages, its fairly large size and the availability of an adequate fresh water supply, Simon's Bay became the permanent winter anchorage of Dutch East India Company's vessels in 1742.⁽³⁷⁾ Muller interprets this as marking significant expansion of the fishing effort on the western shore of False Bay.⁽³⁸⁾ Other authors are more cautious. They argue that for reasons of security (the prevention of smuggling) and because they wished to develop a sound agricultural base for the colony, the Dutch administration restricted settlers from fishing

(34) Ibid. pp.480-481 & 484-488.

(35) Ibid. p.481.

(36) C. Le S. Furlong "Kalk Bay Harbour : History and construction of works", in The South African Railways and Harbours Magazine, November 1919. p.742.

(37) C.F.J. Muller 500 Years : A History of South Africa, 2nd ed. Cape Town, H & R Academica, 1975. p.104; G. McCall Theal History of South Africa, 1691-1795, London, Swan Sonnenschein, 1888. p.118.

(38) Muller "Die Geskiedenis van die vissereye aan die Kaap", p.38.

to any great extent. As a result, by 1795, there were perhaps only 200 fishermen at the Cape. Fishing was more or less confined to Table Bay and False Bay, the latter being principally a winter fishing ground.⁽³⁹⁾ It is nevertheless clear that False Bay, including Kalk Bay, was being exploited by increasing numbers of fishermen during the second half of the eighteenth century. Moreover, by this time, slaves within an 80 km radius of Cape Town were largely fed on fish, which was also used almost daily by white inhabitants.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Sometimes a trader would take into the interior a wagon loaded with dried or salted snoek.⁽⁴¹⁾ When the British flag was hoisted at the Cape in 1795, all restrictions on fishing and whaling were revoked by proclamation. This decree again came into force after the final transfer of the Cape by the Batavian administration in 1806.⁽⁴²⁾ A great deal of the impetus behind the establishment of fishing by non-indigenous peoples at Kalk Bay was provided by settlement of the Simon's Town district by farmers. With them they brought Muslim slaves, many of whom were expert fishermen. First as slaves, and later as free men, these persons continued the tradition of fishing established by the precolonial inhabitants.

(39) Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", .26; Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", p.49; Whisson The Fairest Cape? p.6; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.20; G. McCall Theal History and Ethnography of Africa South of the Zambesi : From the settlement of the Portuguese at Sofala in September 1505 to the conquest of the Cape Colony by the British in September 1795, London, Swan Sonnenschein, 1910. Vol. III, p.294.

(40) Theal History and Ethnography of Africa, p.295.

(41) Ibid. p.294.

(42) Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", p.49; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.21.

Farmers and slave-fishermen

Individual farmers had moved into the Simon's town district from the mid-seventeen hundreds, but it was only during the nineteenth century that farming, particularly at the areas subsequently named Noordhoek and Clovelly, achieved any real significance.⁽⁴³⁾ Livestock included oxen, breeding cattle, spanish sheep, goats, pigs and both riding and breeding horses. Crops included wheat, barley, oats and vines.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The Noordhoek valley had in it a salt pan of excellent quality, and its produce was dried both for seasoning and for salting fish caught in the area.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The farmers brought slaves and servants with them as farm labour and apparently to supplement their income by catching and salting fish for the Cape Town markets.⁽⁴⁶⁾

The first shipments of slaves to the Cape arrived from Angola and West Africa in 1658 and 1659. Thereafter a number of sources of supply were used.⁽⁴⁷⁾ From the 1670's to 1724 they were normally brought from areas in the east where the Company traded and established stations, particularly Ceylon, Bengal and Indonesia (Batavia).⁽⁴⁸⁾ The majority of

(43) Cape Archives : J 151, Opgaafrollen, Simonstown District, c.1824; Wynberg Times 3 May 1902; Cobern Story of the Fish Hoek Valley, pp.83-100; Whisson The Fairest Cape? pp.9-10.

(44) Cape Archives : J 151, Opgaafrollen, Simonstown District, c.1824.

(45) Statistical Register of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1900. p.265 and 1901. p.279; Whisson The Fairest Cape? pp.9-10.

(46) Cape Archives : J 151, Opgaafrollen, Simonstown District, c.1824; Whisson The Fairest Cape? pp.5-6; Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", p.47.

(47) T.R.H. Davenport South Africa : A modern history, 2nd. ed. Johannesburg, Macmillan South Africa, 1978. p.20.

(48) Whisson The Fairest Cape? p.5; Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", p.47; E.E. Cadby "The Malays : Part II - at the Cape", in Cape Illustrated Magazine, August 1895, vol. v, No. 12, pp.406-407.

those from Bengal and Batavia bonded to form the nucleus of a single self-conscious group, commonly known by whites as the "Cape Malay".⁽⁴⁹⁾ Since this term is misleading, and now considered unflattering, these persons will hereafter be referred to as Muslims. The commonly-held belief of the Kalk Bay fishermen that their Muslim ancestors were from Java⁽⁵⁰⁾ is thus an over-simplification. These persons were to play a major role in the history of Kalk Bay and its fishing industry.

The ancestors of these men had fished the inshore waters of the Malayan peninsula with seine nets for centuries and many were thus already expert fishermen. With their arrival at the Cape they continued this tradition, their diet being based largely on what they caught. As slaves they were allowed to fish for themselves on Sundays. While some, who won their freedom, chose to remain farm labourers or entered other professions, many set up as fishermen on their own account.⁽⁵¹⁾ Numbers were increased in part by the sexual exploits of their masters and the absorption of lighter-skinned Khoisan into the common community of free and indentured labour.⁽⁵²⁾ Converts were made, usually associated with a marriage between a Muslim and an "infidel", normally from among the coloured population.⁽⁵³⁾ Further impetus to conversion to Islam was provided by the

(49) Weekend Argus 29 September 1984; Whisson The Fairest Cape? p.5; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.38; Cadby "The Malays", p.407.

(50) Interview with V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", p.27; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.11.

(51) Interview with V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", p.47; J.G. D Jongh "Die Ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie, 1890-1910", B.A. Hons. Dissertation, U.C.T., 1974, p.36; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.38.

(52) Cape Archives : J 151 Opgaafrollen, Simonstown District, c.1824; Whisson The Fairest Cape? p.8.

(53) Whisson The Fairest Cape? p.7.

Kalk Bay, until the arrival of the Filipinos.⁽⁵⁹⁾ The existing mosque, in Quarterdeck Road, was constructed in 1846 to meet their needs.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Beach seine netting and handline fishing were the principal methods utilised by Cape fishermen at this time. Being relatively free of rocks, a number of beaches between Muizenberg and Cape Point were suitable for beach seine (trek) net fishing. This method was thus extensively used at Muizenberg, Fish Hoek, Elsies River, (Glencairn), Long Beach (near Simon's Town) and Buffel's Bay (towards Cape Point).⁽⁶¹⁾ While the Muizenberg fishermen may on occasion have operated from Kalk Bay or been assisted by persons from that area, the Kalk Bay men have apparently never utilised this method, always being almost exclusively handline fishermen.⁽⁶²⁾

Further additions to the emergent community at Kalk Bay - seafarers

Accompanying the establishment of a Muslim-dominated fishing community at Kalk Bay, deserters from ships docking at Cape Town and Simon's Town began to be absorbed into the population of the area. Until fairly late in the nineteenth century, ships' crews were often press-ganged into service. Given the poor shipboard conditions at the time, many of these

(59) Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", p.27; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", p.42; Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, p.10; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.39; L. MacLean "The Fishermen and the fishing industry at the Cape", in Agricultural Journal, 21 February 1985, vol. 111, No. 4. p.90.

(60) Personal Communication from A. Fortune, 13 December 1984.

(61) L.J.D. Gay "The Old World Village. Part 15 : The trek fishermen", in Simon's Town Historical Society Bulletin, January 1978, vol x, No. 1. pp.5 & 8; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", p.43; Whisson The Fairest Cape? p.6; Department of Mines and Industries Fishing Harbours Report, Cape Town, Fisheries Survey, part 1. pp. 7 & 8.

(62) Interview with V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; G. 37 - 1892 Report of the Fisheries Committee, 1892. pp.28(475), 29(512) C. Fish + 33(609-610) C. Kleinschmidt; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony p.152. (Appendix D).

fact that masters made considerable efforts to obtain freedom for their co-religionists and converts. "Free Blacks" were able to stand surety for slaves, to obtain their freedom, and those settled in the Simon's town district appear to have joined their fellows elsewhere in the Peninsula in assisting slaves in this manner. (54)

By the end of the seventeenth century, the tradition of a coloured fishing community at the Cape was thus already being established. (55) The early growth of the industry was hampered by the small market and the fact that fishing was originally a means of subsistence rather than commerce. The numbers of persons employed in fishing nevertheless grew steadily during the first half of the nineteenth century. (56) During this period all fishermen would become free men. In 1807 the slave trade was made illegal in the British Empire. A significant number of slaves freed from ships rounding the Cape to the Americas, so-called "Prize Negroes", were indentured in the Simon's town district. (57) Of these, numbers would presumably have chosen to settle there. Slavery itself was abolished in 1833, although emancipation only became effective after 1838. A significant number of freed slaves, again expert fishermen, settled at Kalk Bay and Simon's Town. (58) As at Table Bay, it was the Muslims who came to dominate fishing on the western shores of False Bay, including

(54) Ibid. p.8.

(55) Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", p.47.

(56) Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", pp.47-49; Whisson The Fairest Cape?, p.6.

(57) Cape Archives : J 151 Opgaafrollen, Simonstown District, c.1824; Whisson The Fairest Cape? p.12.

(58) Interview with V. Cloete, 11 January, 1979; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", p.29; Whisson The Fairest Cape? p.12.

draftees must have looked for the opportunity to desert. Originally of European origin, they were apparently later joined by persons of colour from the colonies of the seafaring nations.⁽⁶³⁾ During the nineteenth century, their numbers were increasingly supplemented by sailors of a variety of nationalities and races. These included "Krumen" (crewmen) from Sierra Leone, who legitimately took leave of their ships at Simon's Town and spread out through the district, being absorbed into its population.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Freed or escaped slaves, deserters and other arrivals found more than a plentiful supply of fish at Kalk Bay. A man reaching the village found a community ready to accept him for his skills as a sailor with no further questions asked. The bay was a hazardous environment for the small rowboats and sail-rigged fishing boats and any able-bodied man was a boon. Given the difficulties of communication with Kalk Bay it is unlikely that search parties would travel the distance in pursuit of a deserter when 'recruits' were freely available at Cape Town.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Included among these deserters were considerable numbers of

(63) Interview with V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", p.27. For settlement of the coastal regions of Newfoundland by deserters from English ships during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries see O. Brox Newfoundland Fishermen in the age of industry : A Sociology of economic dualism, Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies No. 9, St. John's, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1982, p.1.

(64) Whisson The Fairest Cape? p.11.

(65) Interview with V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", pp.27-29.

Filipinos. The Kalk Bay fishermen of today are largely of Filipino and Muslim stock. (66)

Filipinos - the last major wave of settlers

There is considerable disagreement about when the Filipinos first started to arrive. Both Carse and Green argue that the first Filipino to settle at Kalk Bay was Felix Florez, a deserter from the American privateer the "Alabama", who arrived during the 1860's and was subsequently joined by other deserters. (67) He appears to have been a remarkable character. Son of a Spanish father and a Filipino mother, he at first fished but in later life owned a fishing tackle shop at Kalk Bay. As the acknowledged head of the Filipino community there he strongly advocated use of the Spanish language and the maintenance of ties to the Phillipines. (68) As such, it is probably because of his charisma and the position he held that he was later thought of as the first settler. Similarly problematic, although revealing the great degree of assimilation into the local community by 1927, is the statement by "J.L.", a correspondent to the Natal Mercury quoted in Hogarth that:

(66) In 1959, Carse estimated that about 80 percent of Kalk Bay's coloured fishermen were the descendants of Filipinos. A significant proportion of the remainder were of "Javanese" ancestry. [Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, pp.11-12.] Twenty years later, skipper Vincent Cloete argued that the majority of fishermen were of Filipino or "Javanese" ancestry, stating that about 40 percent of the fishermen were of Filipino stock. (Interview with V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979). The mistaken attribution of the origin of all Muslim ancestors to Java has already been discussed.

(67) Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.11; L. Green Tavern of the seas, Cape Town, Howard Timmins, 1970. p.90.

(68) Green Tavern of the Seas, p.90.

Just how and when they got here is not easy to discover. They have always been there, some of them will tell you.⁽⁶⁹⁾

Arguing a similar gradual process of settlement, Thompson states that the first group deserted from a Spanish vessel at some time between 1843 and 1850, an assertion echoed by Quinlan.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Burman has argued for a slightly later date of first arrival, saying that a few Filipinos reached Kalk Bay in the 1950s after jumping ship at Simon's Town. Recognising the advantages of the area, they settled there and were gradually joined by increasing numbers of their fellow countrymen.⁽⁷¹⁾ The view that Filipinos were settled in Kalk Bay by the mid-nineteenth century receives strong support from the profusion of family names of Spanish origin appearing in Roman Catholic baptismal records from their commencement in 1874; Borez, Damaso, De La Cruz, Di Canvallio, Eustachio, Fernandez, Garcia, Gomez, Hilario and Pepino being but a few examples.⁽⁷²⁾

The popular imagination of the early twentieth century appears to have traced the arrival of Filipinos to the occurrence of shipwrecks along the Cape coast, an assumption which Green dismisses as legend.⁽⁷³⁾ While some possibly arrived in this way, it would appear from the foregoing evidence that the majority were deserters, a belief held by their descendants at

(69) Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, p.10.

(70) Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.41; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", p.25.

(71) Burman The False Bay Story, p.117.

(72) St. James Church : Baptismal Register, 30 July 1874 - 2 April 1933; St. James Church : Marriage Register, 22 September 1885 - 23 February 1923. The vast majority of Filipinos were Roman Catholics. Holy Trinity (Anglican) Church records are thus not used as supporting evidence when discussing the Filipino population alone.

(73) G. 10 - 1894 Minutes of evidence of the Leprosy Commission, 1894. vol.I. p.185 (3051) J. Baker; Green Tavern of the seas, p.90; Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, p.9.

Kalk Bay.⁽⁷⁴⁾ A powerful factor towards increased Filipino immigration came with heavy reprisals after the unsuccessful uprising of the Philippines against the Spanish in 1872. Conditions at home were extremely unpleasant and numbers of refugees sought sanctuary at Kalk Bay and in the Italian quarter of Cape Town.⁽⁷⁵⁾ While some Filipino women appear to have joined them, the majority of the men married local coloured females.⁽⁷⁶⁾ Marriage to local women and absorption into the local community did not imply an immediate or absolute loss of identity. As noted by "J.L." they remained:

proud of their descent those humble fisherfolk. They have taught their children and their children's children to reverence the land of their fathers ... and the names that they have given them are the soft Spanish names that they know best.⁽⁷⁷⁾

(74) Interview with V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979.

(75) Whisson The Fairest Cape? p.12; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.11; Green Tavern of the seas, p.90; Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, p.10. Note that Whisson incorrectly dates their first arrival at Kalk Bay to this period.

(76) Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.41; Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, p.9. This assertion is supported by the St. James baptismal and marriage records, both of which record the maiden name of females. Frequent occurrences of family names of Spanish, English and Dutch/Afrikaans origin suggest both settlement during the 1840s and 1850s and considerable choice of marriage partners from among the local population. While race is not recorded in marriage records until 17 November 1909, patterns exhibited thereafter would appear to suggest that the vast majority, if not all, of these brides were coloured persons. Race was first recorded in Holy Trinity marriage records on 27 September 1909. There were only 20 recorded cases of miscegenation of a total of 664 marriages at St. James and Holy Trinity Churches between the first recording of race and 31 December 1950. In only 17 cases was at least one partner resident in Kalk Bay. St. James Church : Baptismal Registers, 30 July 1874 - 16 January 1955. 2 vols; St. James Church : Marriage Registers, 3 June 1874 - 27 December 1955. 2 vols; Holy Trinity Church : Marriage Registers, 1 March 1863 - 27 December 1955. 3 vols.

(77) Quoted in Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, p.10.

Some degree of linguistic distinctiveness among those of Filipino origin remained. While at least some of the Kalk Bay fishermen of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries could speak English, the majority appear to have been Dutch-speaking.⁽⁷⁸⁾ Sheer necessity would have forced the Filipinos to learn one of these languages as soon as possible. From 1874 to the mid-1920s, a church service was nevertheless held in Spanish, at the St. James Roman Catholic Church, every week for the benefit of the Filipinos. However, by 1927 their absorption into the local community appears to have rendered this unnecessary.⁽⁷⁹⁾ It was recorded in that year that:

owing to a fairer, juster rule in this country, their numbers are decreasing, and there are not more than 30 or 40 pure-bred Phillipinos (sic) left at Kalk Bay, although their descendants must number some hundreds. (80)

Fishermen and farmers were nevertheless not the only persons to come into contact with, or settle at, Kalk Bay. Chronologically paralleling the growth of the local fishing community was the gradual development of communication between Cape Town and Simon's Town, with Kalk Bay as a major stopping-place en route. ^{The} growing popularity of Kalk Bay as a health and tourist resort, and place of seaside residence, saw the development of religious institutions geared to fulfilling the spiritual needs of the local inhabitants. Churches also played a major role in the establishment and continued existence of local educational institutions. Implicit in

(78) Cape Archives 3/KBY Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes 14 April 1910; Cape Times 20 March 1902 and 15 April 1910.

(79) Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, pp.1 and 10.

(80) Ibid. p.10.

these developments was the gradual erosion of Kalk Bay's former geographical isolation and economic and social self-sufficiency.

The breakdown of Kalk Bay's isolation

With the gradual development of Simon's Town after 1742, a similar process occurred at Kalk Bay. The land route between Cape Town and Simon's Town included a fairly easy, if trying, drive across reasonably flat country as far as Kalk Bay but, until the construction of a hard road in 1885, the section between here and the final destination was extremely hazardous. [See Illustration 1] Travellers faced a rough path that skirted the sea shore and crossed two sandy river mouths and two miles (3,20 km) of quicksands at Fish Hoek and Elsie's Bay (Glencairn). Moreover, if the seas were running high the road was often awash.⁽⁸¹⁾ The alternative route, crossing the mountains of the Peninsula chain beyond Tokai, was even more inconvenient, dangerous and time-consuming.⁽⁸²⁾ A public outspan thus developed at Kalk Bay. Here travellers either rested before tackling the second stretch or transferred from wagon to boat rather than risk possible damage to vehicles, injury or loss of life. If the weather was very bad, progress by land or sea could be considerably delayed and the financial possibilities inherent in providing boats, refreshments and

(81) Cobern Story of the Fish Hoek Valley, pp.117-118; Burman The False Bay Story, p.139; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", p.42; Whisson The Fairest Cape? p.5; Green Tavern of the seas, p.167; P.W. Laidler The Growth and Government of Cape Town, Cape Town, Unie Volkspers, 1939. p.411; Furlong "Kalk Bay Harbour", p.742.

(82) Cobern Story of the Fish Hoek Valley, pp.67-68; Whisson The Fairest Cape? pp.5-6; Furlong "Kalk Bay Harbour", p.742.

other services to these persons thus attracted some of the local residents and those who were to join them.⁽⁸³⁾

Periodic attempts at the establishment of a postal and passenger cart service between Cape Town and Simon's Town were made between 1801 and 1838.⁽⁸⁴⁾ Because Simon's Town was a seasonal harbour, when winter was over passenger transport and postal communication were at first unnecessary. Public transport to Simon's Town was resumed in 1842, marking the beginning of regular public passenger transport to the area running through Kalk Bay.⁽⁸⁵⁾

James Melville had secured the government mail contract for the Cape Town-Simon's Town route in 1847.⁽⁸⁶⁾ By the end of 1861 he was running a carriage between his hotel at Kalk Bay and Cape Town for passengers and parcels.⁽⁸⁷⁾ During the same year William Grant began running a daily service between Simon's town and Cape Town which was stepped up to twice daily in the same year.⁽⁸⁸⁾ It was reported in 1863 that the proprietor of the Kalk Bay Hotel ran an omnibus between Kalk Bay and Cape Town on Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays (market days) and also sold potatoes.⁽⁸⁹⁾

(83) Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay" p.42; Whisson The Fairest Cape? p.5; Laidler The Growth and Government of Cape Town, p.411; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, pp.20-21.

(84) P.R.Coates Track and Trackless : Omnibuses and trams in the Western Cape, (Annotated Edition, S.A. Library), Cape Town, C. Struik, 1976. pp.26-28.

(85) Weekend Argus 12 November 1977; Coates Track and Trackless, p.31

(86) Coates Track and Trackless, p.31

(87) Cape Argus 9 November 1861.

(88) Coates Track and Trackless, p.31.

(89) Cape Argus 12 November 1863.

Public transport services made Kalk Bay considerably more accessible to travellers and visitors. The final breakdown of the area's geographical isolation and social and economic self-sufficiency may, however, be traced to the establishment of rail contact with Cape Town. Through this link, Kalk Bay was placed in contact with the developing South African railway system. Opportunities were provided for the significant expansion of markets for fish and the tourist trade, while Kalk Bay was opened to settlement by persons employed in areas other than its immediate vicinity.

The first branch railway line to be built in South Africa was the Cape Town-Wynberg line, opened in 1864.⁽⁹⁰⁾ After this event Thomas Brady, who had begun a daily service between Simon's Town and Cape Town in October 1849, Melville and Grant limited their services to a run to Wynberg station.⁽⁹¹⁾ In the same year R. Hayes commenced running a passenger cart between Wynberg, Kalk Bay and Simon's Town.⁽⁹²⁾ The line to Wynberg proved a success from the start. It allowed people to move into the suburbs and commute to their places of work and encouraged the rapid growth of suburbs along the line, such as Salt River, Claremont and the terminus, Wynberg.⁽⁹³⁾ It will be seen that similar benefits were experienced by Kalk Bay when the line was extended there.

With the increasing settlement of the False Bay area, Wynberg was not the real end of the line. In October 1871, W.L. Blore proposed the establishment of a road steamer company to operate between Simon's Town, Kalk Bay and Wynberg station. Produce and merchandise available for

(90) Burman The False Bay Story, p.120; Coates Track and Trackless, p.31.

(91) Cape Argus 14 December 1864; Coates Track and Trackless, p.31.

(92) Coates Track and Trackless, p.31.

(93) Burman The False Bay Story, p.121.

transport on the Simon's Town route included an estimated 1 000 tons of Kalk Bay dried fish.⁽⁹⁴⁾ In spite of the obvious need for a service of this nature, nothing more was heard of this scheme.

In March 1878, proposals were underfoot for the construction of a private electric tramway between the railhead at Wynberg and Kalk Bay.⁽⁹⁵⁾ No sooner had the scheme been proposed than Cape railways officials made a survey in September 1878.⁽⁹⁶⁾ It would appear that the tramway project was abandoned as a result and the government now felt that it could safely drop its scheme too. The railway only reached Muizenberg in 1882 and Kalk Bay in the following year.⁽⁹⁷⁾ Discussion of far-reaching social and economic changes engendered by the arrival of the railway at Kalk Bay and its subsequent extension to Simon's Town is thus left until Chapter 3. As already noted, the establishment of public cart transport between Cape town and Simon's Town had made Kalk Bay considerably more accessible to travellers and visitors prior to the arrival of the railway. The origins of the area's development as a health and tourist resort may thus be traced to the 1840s.

The origins of Kalk Bay's popularity as a health and tourist resort

The first indications of Kalk Bay's future popularity as a health and tourist resort appear with the leasing of cottages and the sale of plots

(94) Cape Times 24 October 1871.

(95) Cape Argus 23 March 1878; Coates Track and Trackless, pp.45-46 and 121.

(96) Cape Argus 24 September 1878.

(97) De Zuid Afrikaan 11 January 1883; A. Lindsay "Kalk Bay Railways Centenary", in SASSAR [The South African Railways Magazine], May 1983. p.3.

suitable for the erection of holiday homes in 1840 and 1841.⁽⁹⁸⁾ Seven years later, in 1847, the Acting Resident Justice at Simon's Town, F.P. Pinney, reported that:

Kalk Bay, in extent about two miles - from Fishhoek Bay to Muizenberg Point - contains but a few houses, and the most of them are tenanted only during the summer months, it being a watering place and frequented as such. Separated from Simon's Town by an extensive line of beaches, and moreover, at an inconvenient distance from Cape Town, or even Wynberg, the resources of Kalk Bay are so prescribed as to afford no charm to vagrants and other disturbers of order. Hence the proverbial security which the place has hitherto enjoyed.⁽⁹⁹⁾

In April 1851, Kalk Bay qualified as a resort with the opening of Gilman's Hotel by William Gilman.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ This hotel grew at least some of its food requirements, including the first commercially grown strawberries in the Peninsula.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ A second hotel, the Kalk Bay Hotel, owned by James Melville, had been opened by 1861.⁽¹⁰²⁾ During the 1860s and 1870s the area's repute increased tremendously. It became a resort for the Cape parliamentary aristocracy and their social circle.⁽¹⁰³⁾

Describing Kalk Bay's popularity during the summer holidays in 1871 the Cape Argus noted that:

- (98) The South African Commercial Advertiser 24 June 1840; The Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, No.1830, 15 January 1841, n.p.; The Cape Town Mail and Mirror of the Court and Council 27 November 1841.
- (99) Cape Archives : CO 2836 Colonial Office : Letters Received : Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate, Cape Division : Wynberg, Simon's Town and Malmesbury, 1847. F.B. Pinney, Acting Resident Magistrate, Simon's Town, 23 August 1847.
- (100) Cape Argus 27 November 1969; R.R. Langham-Carter "The Early Church Community in Kalk Bay", in Simon's Town Historical Society Bulletin, July 1982, vol. xii, No. 2. p.71; Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, p.8.
- (101) The Standard and Mail 26 December 1872.
- (102) Cape Argus 9 November 1861.
- (103) Quinlan "Line fishing in Kalk Bay", p.30; Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, pp.7-9 and 12.

A stranger might think that the population was trekking to the diamond-fields, for besides the gay cavaliers on horseback and the colonial carts freighted with family parties, and fast young men driving tandems, all sorts of basket phaetons and four wheeled caravans are seen to be laden with bedding and a suitable selection of light literature.(104)

Accommodation at Kalk Bay consisted of "snug homes overlooking the bay". Families were well-to-do, taking housemaids, nursemaids and cooks on holiday with them. "Paterfamilias" would, however, have to return to town on business at various stages during the holiday, thus cutting his stay short.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Holiday activities included reading, swimming, fishing and mountain climbing.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Given this popularity, by 1876 land was becoming scarce in Kalk Bay by 1876. An advertisement for the sale of seven cottages in March of that year reported upon:

... the avidity with which the limited extent of ground now available at Kalk Bay is seized on as fast as offered for sale, owing to the great demand for house room which has existed there of late years and the knowledge that the approaching purchase by the government of the Wynberg railway foreshadows in the natural course of events, early extensions ... (107)

Religious institutions and church-sponsored education

Chronologically paralleling the breakdown of Kalk Bay's isolation and the development of tourism, was the establishment of churches and church-sponsored educational institutions designed to cater for fishermen and non-fishing residents and the further settlement of the region. The local

(104) Cape Argus 28 December 1871.

(105) Ibid.

(106) Ibid. A Lady (pseud.) Life at the Cape a hundred years ago, Cape Town, Struik, 1963. pp.75-78; Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, pp.8-9.

(107) Cape Times 24 October 1871.

Anglican and Roman Catholic churches were the only two to open mission schools for the education of the fishermen's children, exhibiting commitment to this goal from the start. Education opens the possibility of employment in occupations other than those traditionally adopted in communities whose economic and social structure rest upon family-based subsistence production. Significant expansion of employment opportunities for coloured persons only occurred in the post Second World War period. Since that time, decreasing returns from fishing and the greater financial returns from alternative employment have increasingly eroded commitment to the sea on the part of the fishermen's sons and to domestic service by their daughters, a process considered in the concluding chapter. Thus, while educational attainment on the part of the fisherfolk only had significant effects on community life after the close of the major period covered by this thesis, this section focuses on the early establishment of educational institutions. It is demonstrated that, while the community was committed to educating its children, lack of employment opportunities outside fishing and domestic service ensured that education would be limited to fairly basic levels (about Standard Two, possibly with some night schooling thereafter).

Given the modern Christian churches' commitment to relief work, mention is also made of early attempts in this regard by the Anglican church. It is demonstrated that at least some of the early white church community at Kalk Bay were committed to treating the sick and the performance of good works among the local fisherfolk. Sporadic references to relief work undertaken and assistance given to the fisherfolk by the local Anglican and Roman Catholic churches appear in the chapters which follow. It will

nevertheless become clear as this thesis progresses that assistance was given in a manner which clearly emphasized the social and economic superiority of the white givers over that of the coloured receivers. While all may have been equal in the sight of God, they were certainly not so in the eyes of that which represented itself as his church.

The first Anglican activity at Kalk Bay came from the Wynberg and Rondebosch Christian Instruction Society. On 29 December 1845, they obtained a free grant of 56 square roods of land to the north-east of the principal group of fishermen's huts on the seaward side of the Main Road.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Here they erected two small buildings. One served as a chapel for the fishermen on Sundays and as a school on weekdays. The other, separated from the first by a playground, was the home of the catechist whom the society employed to teach and hold services.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ The next step came on 8 August 1855 when Robert Gray, the first Anglican Bishop of Cape Town, bought a single storey residence on the site of the present Rectory of the Holy Trinity Church. Gray used this as a holiday cottage and conducted services at Kalk Bay when in residence. When none of the family were in occupation, he let or lent the cottage to others.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

At least some of the congregants of the chapel were concerned with treating the sick and the performance of good works among the local fisherfolk. The truth of the earlier assertion that assistance was given

(108) R.R. Langham-Carter "The Church Complex in Kalk Bay", in Simon's Town Historical Society Bulletin, vol. xi, No.3. p.114.

(109) Ibid. p.115; Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, pp.12 and 24.

(110) Langham-Carter "The Early Church Community in Kalk Bay", p.11; Langham-Carter "The Church Complex in Kalk Bay", pp.114-115; T. Gutsche The Bishop's Lady, Cape town, Howard Timmins, 1947. pp.122, 145, 151, 185 and 189.

and received in a manner which clearly emphasized the social and economic superiority of givers over receivers is perhaps best illustrated by the Kalk Bay fishermen's unsuccessful attempt, in 1886, to have the area re-named in honour of Lt. Col. Henry Aston. This event also represents the earliest example of united action by fishermen traced thus far. Aston had settled in Kalk Bay in 1854 after his retirement as a senior officer in the Bombay Native Infantry, stationed in India. A keen churchman, he became the Anglican chapel's first warden in that year, and also served as its treasurer.⁽¹¹¹⁾ Hearing of his intended departure from Kalk Bay in March 1866, Andries Auret and 80 other local fishermen petitioned the Governor of the Cape Colony as follows:

for a number of years, Col. Aston has, with little intermission, lived amongst us, as our friend and benefactor, sympathizing with us in our troubles, giving us and our families advice and medicine when we were sick.

That it is with the deepest regret that we hear of his departure from among us; and that, as we have him in our hearts, we beg your Excellency to permit us to have his name continually on our lips, by causing this our fishing-place to be named Aston Bay, so that our children in after generations may be familiar with the name of their fathers' benefactor.⁽¹¹²⁾

In 1868 Gray had established a religious sisterhood, the St. George's Sisters, in Cape Town. Among the original eight members arriving from England in 1868 were the Misses Alice Pocklington and Harriett Humphreys. Originally introduced to Kalk Bay as visitors to Bishop Gray's home, they took up residence in the area from 1870 to 1877, being joined in 1873 by

⁽¹¹¹⁾ Langham-Carter "The Early Church Community in Kalk Bay", p.71; Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, p.26.

⁽¹¹²⁾ Cape Argus 20 March 1866.

Harriet's sister Charlotte.⁽¹¹³⁾ In 1870 they rebuilt the school-chapel, taking over teaching duties until their departure.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ During the following year they began operating a cottage hospital to cater for the fishermen at Kalk Bay. While this apparently did not last the year, they continued to nurse and provide for the sick.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ In May 1873 Charlotte bought Bishops Cottage from the trustees of Bishop Gray's estate. This was to be the rectory for the church they were building. The church was consecrated in the name of Holy Trinity on 15 September 1874.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ By this time the day school had about 97 pupils, and Alice Pocklington was running a night school, apparently for coloured youths who had to work during the day.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ In their brief stay the ladies had done much for health care and education and provided the village with a new school, a church and a rectory, a truly remarkable achievement. Meanwhile, the foundation stone of a Dutch Reformed Church had been laid on 7 April 1875. The church, which apparently catered largely, if not exclusively, for the

(113) S.M. Koegelenberg Honderd Jaar van verpleging in die Somerset Hospitaal : 'n Historiese oorsig, Pretoria, Suid Afrikaanse Verpleegstersvereniging, 1981, p.20; Langham-Carter "The Church Complex in Kalk Bay", p.115; C. Lewis and G.E. Edwards Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa; with an introduction from the Archbishop of Cape Town, London, S.P.C.K., 1934. pp.106-107; Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, p.13.

(114) Langham-Carter "The Church Complex in Kalk Bay", p.115; Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, pp.12, 13 and 16. In 1883, the school moved to a new site opposite the church. This school continued to serve a segment of the coloured community until the early 1960s when it closed, apparently as a result of diminishing subsidies and the fact that the Roman Catholic school was large enough to serve the entire coloured community. Langham-Carter "The Church Complex in Kalk Bay", p.117; Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, pp.22 and 24.

(115) Cape Argus 18 February and 21 February 1871; Langham-Carter "The Church Complex in Kalk Bay", p.115; Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, pp.13 and 24.

(116) Langham-Carter The Church Complex in Kalk Bay, pp.115-116; Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, pp.13-17 and 22.

(117) Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, pp.17 and 22. The night school operated until 1927. [The Messenger March 1923 - January 1927 (Parochial Organizations)].

white population, operated from 1876 to 1951 when it was felt better to make Fish Hoek the centre of a large congregation as a result of its rapid growth. (118)

It was the Filipinos who were to provide St. James with its own identity, distinct from Kalk Bay. They were Roman Catholics and used to sail to Simon's Town on Sundays. (119) As a result of the considerable distance, and the fact that the weather was sometimes too bad for sailing, they required a church closer to Kalk Bay. On 5 October 1858 the foundation stone of the Church of St. James - named for the apostle, fisherman and patron saint of Spain - was laid at the site of the present railway station. A school for coloured children was also started at Kalk Bay. (120) Priests came through from Wynberg to celebrate mass until, on 11 April 1884 the first resident parish priest, Fr. John Duignam, was appointed, a position he was to hold until his departure from Kalk Bay in 1926. (121) With his arrival the school was transferred to a site behind the present church and re-named the St. James Mission School. Fr. Duignam and Francis Hilario ran the school for nearly 25 years, both church and school flourishing with their predominantly Filipino membership.

As a result of the construction of the station on the site occupied by St. James church in 1900, the church was moved to the opposite side of the

(118) Interview with A. Lindsay, Kalk Bay, 10 March 1982; Burman The False Bay Story, p.120.

(119) Burman The False Bay Story, p.134; Whisson The Fairest Cape? p.12.

(120) "Star of the Sea Convent, St. James, Cape. 1908-1983", School Magazine and historical overview, 1983, vol. xiv, p.1; Burman The False Bay Story, pp.134-135.

(121) The Messenger April 1926; A. 17 - 1902 Report of the Select Committee on Kalk Bay Harbour, 1902, p.5 (33 & 34) J. Duignam; "Star of the Sea", p.1.

Main Road to the site it occupies today.⁽¹²²⁾ The size of the classes at the Mission School had increased considerably and Fr. Duignam was under pressure from the increasing number of local white residents to take their children for schooling as well. He successfully approached the Dominican Sisters at Springfield convent with a request for them to open a private school and take over the Mission School. Building started in 1907 and the Star of the Sea Convent School opened in January 1908 with 10 pupils up to Standard 2, this number doubling by the end of term. In 1910 boarders were admitted and by June 1914 the school was catering for pupils up to matric and had 86 day pupils and 18 boarders.⁽¹²³⁾ From 1907 the Mission School was under the charge of a Sister but Fr. Duignam held night school for the children of fishermen who generally left school to work in Standard 2.⁽¹²⁴⁾

From their establishment at Kalk Bay, the local Anglican and Roman Catholic churches had thus demonstrated themselves to be as firmly committed to the secular as the religious education of the fishermen's children. Lack of employment opportunities outside fishing and domestic service, limited educational opportunities and current bias nevertheless ensured that a child would receive only elementary education before

(122) "Star of the sea", p.1; Burman The False Bay Story, p.137.

(123) In 1981, the senior school was closed as a result of rising costs and classes were limited to Sub A to Std. 5. [Ibid. p.3.] During the same year, the school became non-racial. Boys have always been admitted up to Sub B. They were admitted to all standards from 1986. [Personal Communication, L. Aylin, 10 August 1988].

(124) "Star of the Sea", p.2. The Mission School moved to new premises, constructed in conjunction with the fishermen's flats, in 1946. Corporation of the City of Cape Town Mayor's Minutes, 1946. p.14 and 1947. p.9.

joining the family labour force. The role of the church as dispensers of salvation and knowledge, buttressed by the good works of local white parishioners, would have served to further enhance the privileged status of white clergy and laity as bona fide members of the colonial bourgeoisie. Non-fishing inhabitants of Kalk Bay thus appear to have viewed the fisherfolk as persons worthy of sympathy and assistance, social inferiors rather than social equals. This theme will be further illuminated in following chapters.

KALK BAY IN THE 1880s

Exploitation of the marine environment and the incorporation of successive waves of immigrants had begun with the precolonial inhabitants of the Simon's Town district. In continuation of this tradition, the Kalk Bay fishing community of the 1880s represented an amalgam of various national origins. While most of the fisherfolk were of Filipino or Muslim stock, the original Khoisan inhabitants of the area, the emergent coloured population of the Peninsula, white settlers and seamen of a wide variety of backgrounds have all contributed their blood and skills to the community. In their unsuccessful attempt to have the bay re-named Aston Bay in 1866, the Kalk Bay fishermen had demonstrated their ability to unite for common goals. Also revealed was the existence of a stratified society in which the race and class of the majority of the fishermen ensured their continued social and economic subservience to white non-fishing inhabitants. Social stratification was further reflected in housing inhabited by the two groups. While non-fisherfolk generally occupied substantial homes, the fishermen were increasingly confined to

dirty, unventilated and overcrowded huts and cottages.⁽¹²⁵⁾ [See Illustrations 1 and 3] These themes will be further elucidated in the chapters which follow.

Turning from unity to possible divisions, lack of documentary sources prevents an analysis of the contribution of Muslims to the denominational structure of the community. Strong evidence nevertheless exists that the majority of Christian fishermen resident in Kalk Bay were Roman Catholic, a situation arising from the major contribution of Filipinos to the heritage of the community. Nineteen Kalk Bay-resident grooms married through each of the local churches between 1876 and 1890. All of those appearing in the St. James [Roman Catholic] church records were fishermen. Among those marrying at Holy Trinity [Anglican] Church, eight were fishermen, seven were blue collar workers and two were employed in government service. The remaining two were a white collar worker and a professional person. Of a total of 168 Kalk Bay-resident grooms marrying at St. James Church between 1876 and 1950, 124 (73,81 percent) were fishermen. Corresponding figures for Holy Trinity Church were 66 (39,76 percent) of a total of 166 cases.⁽¹²⁶⁾ The predominance of Roman Catholics among fishermen is thus clearly illustrated. So too is increasing settlement by non-fisherfolk. It will be argued in Chapter 2 that, despite denominational and other differences, the Kalk Bay fishing community of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was remarkably egalitarian and cohesive. This situation is sourced to poor

(125) The Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, No. 1830, 15 January 1841, n.p. and No. 2091, 16 January 1846, n.p.; Cape Argus 21 February 1871; A Lady Life at the Cape, p.75.

(126) Holy Trinity Church : Marriage Registers, 1 March 1863 - 21 December 1955. 3 vols.; St. James Church : Marriage Registers, 3 June 1874 - 27 December 1955. 2 vols.

and fluctuating incomes, shared dependence upon the sea and the common categorization of the majority of fishermen as coloured. Increasing conflict between fishermen and white non-fishermen receives attention in Chapter 3.

By the 1880s, Kalk Bay had developed as a health and tourist resort and an important stopping-point on the route between Cape Town and Simon's Town. Opportunities to provide services to tourists and travellers had begun to attract settlement by persons other than fishermen. The climate had encouraged others to retire there. The arrival of the railway at Muizenberg in 1882 and at Kalk Bay in the following year placed the latter area in contact with the entire developing South African railway system.

Opportunities were provided for the significant expansion of markets for fish and the tourist trade, while Kalk Bay was opened to settlement by persons employed in areas other than its immediate vicinity. These themes are considered in Chapter 3, it being argued that, in their efforts to supply new markets, fishermen were increasingly forced to move away from subsistence production towards the petty-capitalist mode prevalent today. Increasing settlement by non-fisherfolk and the development of tourism reduced available land and raised property prices. The area inhabited by fishermen was thus increasingly confined to that abutting the harbour. Overcrowding and slum conditions were the result. Farmers alienated land while the keeping of livestock and home-growing of produce by fishermen to supplement incomes suffered considerable limitation. Both Kalk Bay and its fishermen's former self-sufficiency in the production of food supply were thus considerably eroded. Contact between white non-fishermen and

the fisherfolk emphasized the superior social and economic position of the former group. A conflict of interests developed between the fishermen and those who wished to develop the area as a tourist resort and place of seaside residence. Racial and class factors ensured that the fishermen would hold the weaker position in the conflict. The origins of these major themes in the history of Kalk Bay may be traced to the 1880s. Their further elucidation is preceded by an examination of the growth and decline of whaling and the nature of the craft of fishing and the fishing community which had developed at Kalk Bay by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

CHAPTER 2THE FISHING INDUSTRY IN KALK BAY IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURYIntroduction

This chapter examines the structure of the fishing industry, and the fishing community, at Kalk Bay in the late nineteenth century. It forms the background against which changes in the local industry will be discussed in the chapters which follow. Commercial whaling in False Bay began at Kalk Bay in 1806. The existence of the industry was an important factor promoting human settlement of the area. But by 1871, overexploitation of the resource had resulted in whaling becoming a subsidiary economic activity practiced by the local fishermen. By 1913, the local whale fishery had entirely collapsed. The dangers of overexploitation of the fragile marine resources of False Bay are thus illustrated. So too is the necessity for the continuance of small-scale handline fishing, rather than exploitation of the bay by large-scale capitalist concerns.

With the exception of the boat, the equipment required by the would-be line fishermen was both comparatively little and inexpensive. Much of his tackle was home-made. The purchase and maintenance of boats, recruitment of crews and survival at sea necessitated considerable organization and team-work. While fishing was men's work, in order for handline fishing to be viable, it had to include women and children in its organizational structure. The fishing community which had developed at Kalk Bay by the

late nineteenth century was remarkably egalitarian - a situation resulting from poor and fluctuating incomes, shared dependence upon the sea and shared experiences of discrimination arising from the common categorization of the majority of its members as coloured. In the face of domination of the local fish market by langgannas, and poor and fluctuating incomes from fishing, families could only survive by living off the men's catches and by relying heavily on supplementary means of income. Without the employment of female and child labour within the family, and women outside the home in domestic service, the fisherman's family could not survive. The existence of fisherfolk as a separate group, and self-sufficiency in the provision of essential items, was further reflected in their housing. However, by the closing years of the nineteenth century, local and national factors were threatening both the nature of the existing craft and the structure and existence of the handline fishing community. These tensions and conflicts, and the fishermen's successful fight against them, form the basis of the following chapter.

Whaling - an important cause of human settlement and a lesson in the dangers of overexploitation

Commercial whaling began at Kalk Bay in the early nineteenth century. As a result of the existence of this industry, Muslims and other fishermen of Dutch, British and Mediterranean origin were incorporated into the population of the area. Whaling at Kalk Bay initially employed a combination of slave and wage labour. The resources of False Bay were not sufficient to withstand exploitation by numbers of competing whaling

companies. By 1871, operations had thus come under the control of the local fishermen. Whaling then became a subsidiary economic activity to normal fishing efforts and every member of the crew shared in the financial rewards. Reduction of activity had nevertheless occurred too late and by 1913 the whaling industry had disappeared. It will be seen in Chapter 3 that, since the late 1890s, the Kalk Bay fishermen have frequently complained of overexploitation of False Bay's resources by commercial interests, utilizing alternative technologies - particularly trawling and purse seine netting. The growth and collapse of whaling provides an eloquent example of the future fate of False Bay's fish resources if the men's complaints are not heeded.

The Kalk Bay handline fishermen have always preferred the freedom of individual rewards for catches to the dependence of wage labourers, a fact demonstrated at a number of points in the remainder of this thesis. The lesson of whaling suggests that the fragile fish resources of False Bay necessitate continued exploitation by small-scale handline fishermen, working each for himself, rather than large-scale capitalist concerns. The handline fishermen's commitment is to the continuation of his craft while capitalist concerns are dedicated to maximising profits. In the context of False Bay, the two are incompatible.

Prior to 1800, whaling in False Bay had on occasion been performed from ships. The first commercial whaling station in False Bay was established by Pieter Lourens Cloete, a Cape Town merchant, Jan Frederick Reitz, a former Dutch naval officer, and William Andersen, a merchant, at Kalk Bay

in 1806.⁽¹⁾ Operations were originally carried out ashore, but, as a result of the offensive smell, from November of that year boiling of blubber was carried out on the prize-ship "Truth" anchored in Table Bay. This arrangement was unsatisfactory as the vessel was frequently placed in danger as a result of the exposed nature of the bay, particularly during south easterly winds. During 1807 boiling operations were again continued on the beach.⁽²⁾ Cloete and his partners were also granted sealing rights on Malagassen (Seal) Island.⁽³⁾ A traveller's account, in 1810, noted the strong stench occasioned by the operations and stated that:

Considerable numbers of whales, from twenty to thirty feet in length, resort here between the months of May and October, and are taken by the fishermen, principally of the Malay race, in indifferent boats. The present is considered a very successful season, sixteen having already been cut up, and the oil extracted.⁽⁴⁾

In January 1811 the whale fishery, including the ground and "buildings, boats and equipment" was put up for sale.⁽⁵⁾ The purchaser, Stephen Twycross, advertised in April 1812 for a further eight work slaves to be employed for the season. Fourteen rix-dollars per month would be paid, exclusive of victuals and drink. Masters were assured that none of the slaves would be employed in the boats.⁽⁶⁾ In 1816 Twycross advertised his

(1) F.P. Chapman "Some Notes on early whaling in False Bay", in Simon's Town Historical Society Bulletin, July 1977, vol. ix, No. 4. p.132; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony. pp.103 and 107-108.

(2) Chapman "Some Notes on early whaling in False Bay", pp.134-135.

(3) The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser No. 90, 17 October 1807, n.p. and No. 137, 20 August 1808, n.p.

(4) J. Prior Narrative of a voyage in the Indian Seas in the NISUS Frigate : To the Cape of Good Hope; Isles of Bourbon, France and Seychelles; to Madras and the Isles of Java, St. Paul and Amsterdam during the years 1810 and 1811, London, Richard Phillips, 1820. p.6.

(5) The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, No. 261, 12 January 1811, n.p.

(6) Ibid. No. 328, 25 April 1812, n.p.

whaling fishery for sale. There was apparently no satisfactory offer and he carried on operating. (7)

A description of whaling at the Cape in 1822 was provided in an overview of the Colony by William Wilberforce Bird, Controller of Customs. In point of interest, whale fisheries ranked next to agriculture and vineyards. There were seven fisheries at the Cape: one at St. Helena Bay, two in Table Bay, three in False Bay and one in Algoa Bay. Some years previously the fisheries, being only three in number, had been profitable to their owners. At the time the price of oil was high in England. Whales were so abundant that the Kalk Bay fishery alone melted down nearly as many as the 37 taken in 1821 by all seven parties. Oil was then (1827) at a low price in England and the mammals were scarce in the bays. The whale fishery was described as "a lottery in which there are now too many tickets for the number of prizes." When a whale was sighted in Table or False Bay the chase between competing fisheries began. The rivalry of the contending parties to strike the mammal first, which granted ownership, was so great that they were often hunted out of the bay before they could be harpooned. This resulted in declining catches and a reduction of exports. (8)

(7) Ibid. No. 571, 21 December 1816, n.p.; Chapman "Some notes on early whaling in False Bay", pp. 138-139.

(8) W.W. Bird State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822 (by a civil servant of the Colony), Ed. by H.T. Colebrooke (1823), Facsimile Reprint, Cape town, Struik, 1966. pp.116-117 (quotation p.116). In addition to operations from Kalk Bay, whaling stations were established at Gordon's Bay in 1814, Fish Hoek in 1817 and South East (Miller's) Point in 1832. A floating whale fishery commenced operating in Simon's Town in the 1830s. The histories of these stations to c.1855 are covered by Chapman "Some Notes on early whaling in False Bay", pp.141-147 and 151-153. Nineteenth century fishing and whaling at Fish Hoek are further examined by Cobern "The Story of the Fish Hoek Valley", pp.90-96 and Burman "The False Bay Story", p.40.

The success of a fishery, when whales were plentiful, depended upon the skill and courage of the harpooners first and the boat crew second. Rewards were high. Harpooners received 100 rix-dollars for a kill and the oarsmen in proportion, which made "the whole party share-holders to a degree." Dangers were nevertheless great too. If the whale was approached too closely at the moment of its fury the boat could easily be upset by a stroke of its tail. Unless the second boat of their own party, for they hunted in pairs, came to the rescue, the crew would be doomed. As a result of the high financial rewards and the excitement of the chase it was nevertheless "better not to depend on such help."⁽⁹⁾ The overview concluded by observing that:

The catching and selling of smaller fish, which are abundant, is almost wholly neglected; and where there is such a harvest, indolence will not stretch out her hand to gather it ... in this region of ease and idleness, unless fish come into the bay offering themselves to the harpoon, a Cape fisherman will not go out to sea to take them. Fish for food and Cape brandy are acquired with so little expense and labour, that necessity, the parent of industry, provokes into action a very small portion of the inhabitants of the colony.⁽¹⁰⁾

In discussing whaling at the three False Bay stations shortly after the publication of Bird's overview, Captain Owen of the Royal Navy noted that the destruction of cows was "extremely destructive to the species." On the first establishment of the Kalk Bay fishery upwards of forty could be killed in a season. While three good whales would generally pay all expenses, by 1832 they did not always succeed in killing even that number

⁽⁹⁾ Bird State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822, p.117.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Ibid. pp.117-118.

in a season.⁽¹¹⁾ Apparently as a result of declining catches, at the time of his death, on 16 September, 1828, Twycross was insolvent. Unable to find a purchaser, as an interim measure, the trustee of the estate offered the "Kalk Bay Fishery", together with the boats and equipment, for hire for twelve months from 1 April 1831.⁽¹²⁾ As a result of the poor returns from whaling, the fishery changed hands a number of times after this date. Owners generally leased out the boats and equipment to others. A number of ventures ended in bankruptcy.⁽¹³⁾ By the 1840s whaling and handline fishing had begun to attract fishermen of Dutch, British and, to a lesser degree, Mediterranean origin to the area.⁽¹⁴⁾

A second whale fishery operated at Kalk Bay between 1847 and 1855 in competition to that already in existence. This was that of the Cape of Good Hope Fishing, Salting, Whaling and Sealing Company which had been founded in 1843 and had originally operated from Table Bay.⁽¹⁵⁾ In the same year that the second fishery was started, F.P. Pinney, the Acting Resident Justice at Simon's Town, reported that Kalk Bay's geographical

(11) W.F.W. Owen Narrative of voyages to explore the shores of Africa, Arabia and Madagascar performed in H.M. Ships Leven and Barracouta under the directorship of Captain W.F.W. Owen, R.N. by command of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, London, Richard Bentley, 1833. 2 vols. pp.57-58 (quotation p.58).

(12) The Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, No. 1312, 4 March 1831, n.p.

(13) The Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, No. 1331, 8 July 1831 and No. 1474, 28 March 1834; Cobern Story of the Fish Hoek Valley, pp.95-96; Chapman "Some notes on early whaling in False Bay", pp.140 and 144-145.

(14) Interview with V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", p.26; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", p.42; Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, p.10; Bird State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822, p.116.

(15) The Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, No.2164, 20 May 1847, n.p.; Chapman "Some notes on early whaling in False Bay", pp. 140-141 and 153-154.

isolation had formerly ensured that it would "afford no charm to vagrants and other disturbers of order."

The extensive fisheries recently established at Kalk Bay, however, and which are attaining such a magnitude as to cause in influx of population, in number far exceeding that previously located there, have materially changed the tone of the place, and form good grounds of alarm on the part of the Government that the peace now be in danger of being thereby disturbed.

There are at present, so far as I can learn, about 5 distinct fishing establishments, and of these, two are more especially Whale Fisheries - and between 100 and 200 persons are employed in them.⁽¹⁶⁾

Ample evidence has been provided that the resource could not support exploitation on this scale. Sixteen years after the failure of the Cape of Good Hope Fishing Company's enterprise at Kalk Bay, the first-established whale fishery was finally disbanded. On 24 November 1871, as part of the estate of the late Mr D.W. Lesar, the Whale Fishery, together with the buildings etc., was sold for £1050.⁽¹⁷⁾ Thereafter, if not from the mid 1860s, whaling from Kalk Bay came to be a subsidiary economic activity practiced by the local fishermen. Loose control over operations was exercised by Abraham Auret and later, his two sons, Hendrik Andries and William Frederick (Frikkie). The Aurets, who had become established in the area from the early nineteenth century, were one of the principal fishing families of Kalk Bay and Muizenberg during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Operating both from Kalk Bay and Muizenberg, Hendrik Andries and William Frederick had by 1898 acquired full control of

(16) Cape Archives : CO 2836 Colonial Office : Letters Received, Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate, Cape Division : Wynberg, Simon's Town and Malmesbury, 1847. F.B. Pinney, Acting Resident Magistrate, Simon's Town, 23 August 1847.

(17) Cape Argus 25 November 1871.

their father's whaling and fishing operations.⁽¹⁸⁾ Whaling being a seasonal, and subsidiary activity, their major income was derived from beach seine netting at Muizenberg.⁽¹⁹⁾ Since whaling was now practiced by the community, rather than ^{by} companies, all involved shared in the rewards of a kill.

Whales were sighted by a spotter in the mountains who, in the event of a capture, reportedly received £10 for his efforts during the late nineteenth century.⁽²⁰⁾ With his cry of "daar's 'n whale", frantic activity would be unleashed in the village below. The boats still hunted in pairs and only the first ten oarsmen who presented themselves would secure a place, a boat's crew consisting of five oarsmen, a skipper and a harpooner. A successful capture reportedly resulted in up to £90 a head for the oarsmen. With the exception of the harpooner and the skipper none of the men were permanent crew members.⁽²¹⁾ While the crew were mainly coloured, the Auret brothers who owned and skippered the whale boats, were white.⁽²²⁾

(18) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 16 June 1898, 18 September 1900, 1 October 1901 and 27 November 1906; C.2 - 1898 Report of the Select Committee on the Fishing Industry, 1898, p.1 (1-4) H.A. Auret; A.17 - 1902 Report of the Select Committee on Kalk Bay Harbour, 1902, p.37 (294-296) and 42 (351-355) H.A. Auret; Cape Times 17 June 1898, 19 September 1900, 2 October 1901, 28 September 1906; Wynberg Times 24 June 1882; Green Tavern of the seas, pp.169-170; Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, p.5.

(19) C.2 - 1898, pp.5 (51), 8 (88) and 11 (120) H.A. Auret; Green Tavern of the seas, pp.169-170.

(20) Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, pp.96 and 100.

(21) Ibid. p.97. This was apparently the norm at most Cape inshore whaling stations by the late nineteenth century. See Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.112.

(22) Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.101.

The harpooner stood in the bow with his harpoon, attached to a 100 fathom line, ready for throwing. Adults and calves alike were killed. Once struck, the adults, in their struggles, towed the boat all over the bay. Occasionally they charged the boat, a situation which called for quick and accurate harpooning. Sometimes a whale surfaced beneath the boat, capsizing it. In such cases the second boat would provide assistance.⁽²³⁾ On a least one occasion a whale destroyed a boat with its tail, killing all seven crew members.⁽²⁴⁾ When the whale began to tire both boats moved in for the kill, each of the fourteen men being armed with a sharp lance. The coup de grace was occasionally administered by the harpooner jumping onto the mammal's back and stabbing it repeatedly in the blow-hole with a long knife. The dead whale would then be towed to the surf-line by the boats or a steamer chartered from Simon's Town, being washed ashore by the breakers.⁽²⁵⁾ Meanwhile, the fires had been lit under the iron blubber boiling pots and local men armed with long knives would begin the flensing. [See Illustrations 1 and 15] When one side was completed, a large block and tackle was used to turn the carcass over so that the flensers could complete their work. In the late 1880s, the owner of this equipment, a Mr Stephens, reportedly received £40 for its use.⁽²⁶⁾ Boiling operations took place on Kalk Bay and Muizenberg beaches, sometimes taking as long as two weeks.⁽²⁷⁾

(23) Ibid. pp.97-98 and 100-103.

(24) Ibid. p.99.

(25) Ibid. pp.98-99; A.17 - 1902, p.42 (3523) H.A. Auret.

(26) Cape Times Week-end Magazine 20 October 1956; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.99.

(27) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 16 June 1898; Cape Times 17 June 1898.

The whole beach was alive with excitement when a whale was landed as Right whales generally fetched between £500 and £800 and reportedly sometimes as much as £1000 to £1500 in the early 1890s.⁽²⁸⁾ While the earlier demand for whale oil for lighting and heating purposes was rapidly declining, as a result of kerosene and electricity, there was still a great commercial demand for the product during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Whale oil was used as a lubricant and a raw material for the manufacture of soap, cosmetics and explosives, while the baleen was also sold commercially, largely for use in the clothing industry.⁽²⁹⁾ There existed a ready local demand for the greaves of the boiling process while the meat was avidly bought, particularly by the Muslim population of the Peninsula. The lips, reportedly the tastiest part, were shared amongst the crew.⁽³⁰⁾

As a result of declining catches, and problems facing the Aurets, even these part-time operations were showing signs of collapse by the turn of the century. The Fisheries Committee of 1892 found that the numbers of Right whales in Cape waters decreased dramatically, a situation which they ascribed largely to the activities of American whalers. Thus, while the financial rewards were sufficient inducement for boats from Table Bay and False Bay to attempt to capture them, their efforts were generally unsuccessful.⁽³¹⁾ The committee reported that the numbers of whales appeared to be decreasing world-wide. While their protection in the territorial waters of the Colony would prevent the local fishermen in

(28) G.37 - 1892, p.x; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.103.

(29) Consolidated Encyclopaedia, Johannesburg, Consolidated World Research Society, n.d. vol.10 n.p. (Whales); Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, pp.100 and 103.

(30) Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, pp.99, 100 and 103.

(31) G. 37 - 1892, p.x.

their small boats from capturing any stray ones they may see, it would not hinder foreign whalers from taking them outside the three mile limit. They thus recommended against any such protection.⁽³²⁾ During the 1882 season a few Right whales had been seen in False Bay but the fishermen had made only half-hearted efforts at hunting them, and none had been caught.⁽³³⁾ Moreover, the Aurets were facing further problems occasioned by the growth of the municipality as a tourist resort and residential suburb. The pungent odour of boiling blubber allegedly induced vomiting in those unused to the smell.⁽³⁴⁾ By the turn of the century it had become extremely difficult for the Auret brothers to process their catch. As a result of complaints from residents and visitors,^{the Town} Council forced them to perform flensing and boiling operations as far away from Kalk Bay and Muizenberg as possible in the direction of Strandfontein. The oil then had to be transported back to Muizenberg and Kalk Bay for storage prior to being sold.⁽³⁵⁾

In evidence before the Select Committee on Kalk Bay Harbour, of 1902, Hendrik Andries Auret stated that whaling was "a very small industry at present". The chief difficulties experienced were in processing the whales caught and that the steamers chartered for towing the boats and carcasses were berthed at Simon's Town, both factors resulting in a great deal of inconvenience. Were a harbour to be built whales could be brought inside for processing and steamers berthed there would be able to

(32) Ibid. pp.x-xi.

(33) Ibid. p.35 (658-661)C. Kleinschmidt.

(34) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 16 June 1898; Cape Times 17 June 1898.

(35) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 16 June 1898, 18 September 1900 and 1 October 1901; Cape Times 17 June 1898, 19 September 1900 and 2 October 1901.

go in search of whales and tow the boats out to them. Dreams of the development of whaling by the construction of a harbour were nevertheless not to be realised.⁽³⁶⁾ Reduction of whaling effort from company to community effort had come too late to save the whale population of the bay from the effects of serious overexploitation. Cows and calves had been killed from the start, limiting reproduction of the species. It was only a matter of time before the whale population declined. By the time that construction of the harbour breakwater began in 1913, whaling in False Bay had ceased completely.⁽³⁷⁾ The situation was reflected in other bays along the coast and the future of the South African whaling industry would lie in deep-sea whaling by highly capitalised companies.⁽³⁸⁾

The collapse of the local whaling effort clearly demonstrates the effects of overexploitation of the fragile marine resources of False Bay, particularly by capitalist concerns. Evidence is provided that the future of the bay should lie in the hands of small-scale handline fishermen, rather than capitalist companies. The beginnings of the local fishermen's fight against capitalization and monopolistic companies is covered in the following chapter. This is prefaced by an examination of the craft of

(36) A.17 - 1902, p.42 (351-355) H.A. Auret (quotation (351)).

(37) Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", p.26; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, pp.17 and 40; Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, p.5; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, pp.111-112.

(38) Department of Industries Sea Fisheries Panorama, pp.22-23; R.P.47 - 1972 Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Fishing Industry : The Utilisation of the fish and other living marine resources of South Africa and South West Africa, pp.37 (306)-38 (321); P. Storrar Portrait of Plettenberg Bay, Cape Town, Purnell, 1978, pp.75-89; Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", p.40; De Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie", pp.70-71; J.H. Wellington Southern Africa : A Geographical Study, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1955. vol.1. pp.196-197; Muller "Die geskiedenis van die visserye aan die Kaap", pp.88-89.

handline fishing and the fishing community as it existed in Kalk Bay in the late nineteenth century.

THE TECHNOLOGICAL BACKGROUND TO HANDLINE FISHING

In the earliest days of Dutch settlement at the Cape, ordinary ships' boats appear to have been used for fishing. These were followed by boats brought out from Holland by the Dutch East India Company in pieces to be assembled locally.⁽³⁹⁾ While these open, general-purpose work boats, usually propelled by oars and sometimes by sail or a combination of sail and oar, were seaworthy they were not designed or built for fishing. Just as the Cape Cart was to be developed to suit local conditions, so a distinctive "Cape" design of fishing boat was to emerge from these "kit" vessels.⁽⁴⁰⁾ By the latter half of the nineteenth century a range of "typical" Cape boats, influenced by designs acquired from the famous yacht builders, Whytes of Cowes, emerged.⁽⁴¹⁾

While boats varied in style depending upon individual builders, it is possible to isolate an "ideal type" used at Kalk bay by the 1880s. Local conditions required a good pulling and safe sailing boat of a size and weight not too great for carrying up the beach each day. Weight could not be sacrificed too much, however. While protected from the winter gales

(39) Franck and Robb Fishermen of the Cape, p.7; Muller "Die geskiedenis van die visserye ann die Kaap", p.44; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.42.

(40) Franck and Robb Fishermen of the Cape, pp.7-8; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.43.

(41) Frank and Robb Fishermen of the Cape, p.8; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.43; MacLean The Fishermen and fishing industry at the Cape, p.90.

from the north, False Bay is open to the south-easter, the prevailing wind in summer. This creates sea conditions at best uncomfortable and often extremely dangerous for small boats. In addition, as a result of the exposed beach at Kalk Bay, boats could not be anchored there and landing and launching could be extremely dangerous. Boats thus had to be heavy and seaworthy enough to cope with these conditions.⁽⁴²⁾

Although some vessels powered by oar or sail alone were in use at Kalk Bay, the most common were propelled by a combination of the two. In general these were stoutly-built open craft with a large spritsail and jib, pulling four or five oars and carrying a crew of five to six. Boats varied from 16 to 25 feet in length, with a 5.5 to 7.5 foot beam and weighed about 2 000 lbs. Heavy oars from 15 to 21 feet in length were used. Masts were about 21.5 feet long with a 16.5 foot mainsail. Craft were short-ended, that is with little or no overhang to bow and stern, for negotiating sea and surf. An apple-cheek bow and broad transom gave lift and buoyancy, while the broad beam gave stability under sail, work space and the potential for load-carrying.⁽⁴³⁾ [See Figure 1 and Illustrations 1, 2, 11 and 12] Table Bay boats were generally smaller than those at Kalk Bay but carried the same number of crew, this reflecting more severe

(42) C.2 - 1898, pp.3 (31-33,37), 4 (36) H.A. Auret, 15 (179) R. Orgill, 20 (237) N. Menigo and 70 (747) J.D.F. Gilchrist; G.37 - 1892, p.27 (459) C. Fish and 37 (687-688) C. Kleinschmidt; Furlong Kalk Bay Harbour, p.749.

(43) Cape Archives : PAN 78, file K 8912 Resident Magistrate, Simon's Town, registration of fishing boats, 1912-1913; G.50 - 1902, p.3; A.17 - 1902, p.3 (14) J.F. Fenoulhet, C.2 - 1898, pp.4 (42) and 6 (58) H.A. Auret; G.37 - 1892, pp.xiii, 29 (510) C. Fish and 30 (538, 541) R. Orgill; The Lantern, 2 October 1886; Franck and Robb Fishermen of the Cape, pp.7-8; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, pp.43-44.

weather conditions at the latter place.⁽⁴⁴⁾ At Hout Bay the medium length was 22 foot with a 7 foot beam.⁽⁴⁵⁾

Steering was by means of a rudder for off-shore work, but the trek boats operated from the beach through the surf and the helmsman usually used a long steering oar or "sweep".⁽⁴⁶⁾ Handline fishermen used sail whenever conditions permitted.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Sand was carried in 200 lb bags as ballast, being jettisoned during the course of a trip in accordance with the weight of fish caught.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Large stones, weighing about forty pounds each, were used as anchors. These were locally known as Bubangbatu, an Indonesian term which reflects the great influence of Muslims on the community.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Inside the boats partitions separated the thwarts forming wells called laaitjies. These enabled the catches to be kept separate from each other for each fisherman was, and still is, paid according to what he himself had caught.⁽⁵⁰⁾

The larger boats at Kalk Bay appear to have reached the limit of size and weight for carrying purposes. While carried by eight men, to haul the boats on sloping ground from sixteen to twenty were required. This placed great strains on the men particularly when, on rough or sloping ground,

(44) G.37 - 1892, p.xiii; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.44.

(45) Van Sittert "Gebrei in die aambag", p.34.

(46) Franck and Robb Fishermen of the Cape, p.8.

(47) The Lantern 2 October 1886; Franck and Robb Fishermen of the Cape, p.8.

(48) G.37 - 1892, p.27 (460) C. Fish; The Lantern 2 October 1886; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.15.

(49) Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.18.

(50) Interviews with R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979 and V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", p.47; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", pp.49-50; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, pp.28 and 31; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.49.

the strain was not spread out evenly among the bearers.⁽⁵¹⁾ Considering that boats were often launched in the early hours of the morning before dawn and that launching required varying degrees of immersion in the sea, a sense of the hardship of a fisherman's life may be obtained.⁽⁵²⁾

Few navigational aids were used. At first none, and later only a few, of the boats were equipped with compasses. A dried blaasop suspended from a thread from a rafter indicated the direction of the following day's wind with its snout. The "feel" of a piece of seaweed nailed up nearby enabled an assessment of the probability of rain, fine weather or fog. Movements of sea birds were also used to predict the following day's wind and weather conditions.⁽⁵³⁾ The men had their favourite banks to which they navigated by watching known landmarks.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Prior to departure, skippers and a few experienced oarsmen would go up the mountain side to determine conditions before deciding which banks to fish.⁽⁵⁵⁾

Traditional methods of weather forecasting and fish location should not be dismissed. Stiles has noted that the fishermen of Island Harbour, Newfoundland, spend a lot of time simply 'looking' - staring intently at the world external to the boat. This practise he attributes to the lack

(51) A.17 - 1902, pp.2 (8), 3 (15-16) J.P. Fenoulhet, 7 (43) J. Duignam and 16 (13) N. Menigo; C.2 - 1898, p.3 (33) H.A. Auret, 15 (179) R. Orgill and 70 (747) J.D.F. Gilchrist; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.44.

(52) C.2 - 1898, p.4 (36) H.A. Auret; The Lantern 2 October 1886; Van Sittert "Gebrei in die Aambag", p.34 draws attention to similar conditions at Hout Bay.

(53) Franck and Robb Fishermen of the Cape, p.53; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, pp.16 and 70.

(54) Cape Times 26 July 1946; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.16.

(55) C.2 - 1898, p.32 (401) F.H.S. Hugo.

of any permanent barriers to vision at sea.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Most individuals thus form a personal lexicon of visual clues including the variety of landmarks at sea which enable them to predict the best area for fishing and possible weather changes. Included in these are the surface condition of the water, the composition or colour of the sky and the activities of birds, seals, bait-fish and other boats.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Personal observation has confirmed similar activities among contemporary Kalk Bay fishermen. It is thus likely that the act of concentration upon the fish or seaweed, perhaps as a symbol, would have served to focus memories and knowledge, enabling accurate predictions to be made.

The crew of a boat out line fishing were required to supply all their own equipment from line, hooks and sinkers to bait and oilskins. Lines were of varying thicknesses, according to the type of fish sought. Made of hemp, they were blooded for extra durability, saving repair and maintenance costs. [See Illustration 20] Besides waterproofing the line, this ensured that they ran freely and were less liable to kinking, enabling the fish to be easily felt when they took the bait.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Sometimes as long as 40 fathoms (73,16m), they were wound around wooden spools.⁽⁵⁹⁾ An experienced handline fisherman is able to use three or four lines simultaneously.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Some men wore finger gloves to protect their hands from the lines. Consisting of a strip of material, leather

(56) R.G. Stiles "Fishermen, wives and radios : Aspects of communication in a Newfoundland Fishing Community", in R. Andersen and C. Wadel (eds.) North Atlantic Fishermen, p.46.

(57) Ibid.

(58) Interview with P. Wormser, Hout Bay, 19 April 1985; Van Sittert "Gebrei in die aambag", p.34; Carse (Die Bloudam is hul oesland", p.122; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.45.

(59) C.2 - 1898, pp.17 (197-198) R. Orgill.

(60) Interview with V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979.

or, later, rubber inner tube with two or more holes for the finger and thumb, they are still used by some men.⁽⁶¹⁾

To blood the lines, sheep or bullocks blood from the men's own stock, or purchased from the butcher or abattoir, was collected and allowed to stand for a few days. The line was stretched between uprights in the open air. Having been strained, the blood was thoroughly rubbed into this with the hand or a rag. The number of coats varied but sometimes up to fifteen were applied, giving the line a blackish-red colour. The line was then sun-dried prior to being steamed. For this process, water was placed in the bottom of a container below a grid of sticks or wire. Over this the blooded line was coiled, care being taken to ensure that it did not touch the water. The water was then heated and the line slowly steamed until the blood hardened completely. Fishermen learned this art from childhood and the coating was renewed every few months as required. If lines were not in continual use the bleeding lasted an indefinite time.⁽⁶²⁾

Stout metal hooks about 1/2 to 3/4 inches in the bend, and snooded with about a foot of closely-twisted twine were generally employed for catching the smaller varieties of fish. For geelbek, kabeljou and other larger fish the hooks had a width of from one to two inches, the snood, or trace, being of twisted brass or copper wire.⁽⁶³⁾ Wire traces were necessary as these fish could snap through the lines with their powerful jaws. Seven

(61) Interview with P. Wormser, Hout Bay, 19 April 1985; Cape Times 23 February 1982; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, p.26.

(62) Interview with P. Wormser, Hout Bay, 19 April 1985; Van Sittert "Gebrei in die aambag", p.34; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, pp.122-123; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.45.

(63) Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.46.

or eight strands of wire were attached to a heavy weight, hung from a door jamb and twisted. The wire was then heated to make it more supple.⁽⁶⁴⁾

Lead sinkers, generally of four to eight ounces, were used for all fish with the exception of snoek. These were generally shaped like a double-ended cone, the sides being slightly concaved. A strong double-looped cord or wire was fixed through the centre.⁽⁶⁵⁾ These and, to a lesser extent, hooks were hand cast by the fishermen themselves using moulds shaped in wet sand.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Oilskin trousers and sou'westers were also home-made by repeatedly soaking unbleached calico or old pyjamas in linseed oil to waterproof them. [See Illustration 19] This task was usually undertaken by the women.⁽⁶⁷⁾

Larger fish were caught with fish-bait, panga and mackerel being the favourites. For the remainder, red-bait, squid and octopus were used. Generally referred to as "sea cat", the latter two were also used to catch larger species. Also used were snoek, albacore, white mussels, steentjies and sardines. The fishermen had no difficulty in obtaining bait as they cut up fish they had caught. Bait was also collected by them and their

(64) Interview with P. Wormser, Hout Bay, 19 April 1985.

(65) Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, pp.45-46.

(66) Interview with P. Wormser, Hout Bay, 19 April 1985; Van Sittert "Gebrei in die aambag", p.34.

(67) Interview with J. Trautman, Hout Bay, 8 January 1979; Van Sittert "Gebrei in die aambag" p.34; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.49.

families.⁽⁶⁸⁾ At a later date squid were caught by the trawlers operating in the bay and sold to the men at a handsome price.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Fishermen at Hout Bay began purchasing bait at a much earlier date, which indicates an earlier and greater capitalist penetration.⁽⁷⁰⁾

For snoek fishing, tackle was more specialised. In addition to natural baits, of which sardines, maasbanker and mackerel were the most popular, a simple but exceedingly effective lure, called a "dolly" was used.⁽⁷¹⁾ Made of a fringe of slit shark skin or some similar material, sometimes with a strand or two of very narrow braid attached, this was whipped to the shank of a stout, barbless hook from 1,5 to 2 inches wide at the bend. To the hook was attached a four to six foot long supple wire trace. This was weighted by a tapering cylindrical lead weighing from eight to twelve ounces and pierced longitudinally to allow its playing freely up and down the line. In the early twentieth century fishermen began to have these sinkers coated with brass or copper.⁽⁷²⁾ [See Illustration 20]

(68) C.2 - 1898, p.22 (290-291) T.Muller and 39 (476-477) F.H.S. Hugo; G.37 - 1892, p.29 (313-314) C. Fish; Cape Times 26 July 1946; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", p.75; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.48. Cape fishermen use the term 'sardine' to refer to small fish. In its specific sense, it refers to juvenile pilchards. See R. Lees Fishing for fortunes, Cape Town, Purnell, 1969, p.118 (footnote) and J.L.B. Smith The Sea Fishes of Southern Africa, 3rd. ed. Cape Town, Published for the Trustees of the Sea Fishes of Southern Africa Book Fund by Central News Agency, South Africa, 1965, p.95 (115).

(69) C.2 1898, pp.11 (121-122) H.A. Auret and 51 (580-581) W. Runciman.

(70) Van Sittert "Gebrei in die aambag", pp.34-35.

(71) G.37 - 1892, p.29 (529) C. Fish; Cape Times 26 July 1946; C.L. Bidden Sea Angling Fishes of the Cape : A natural history of some of the principal fishes caught by sea anglers and professional fishermen in Cape Waters, 3rd ed. Cape Town, Juta, 1954. p.136; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.48.

(72) Interview with P. Wormser, Hout Bay, 19 April 1985; Bidden Sea Angling Fishes of the Cape, p.136; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, pp.48-49; MacLean "The Fishermen and fishing industry at the Cape", p.90.

At times the fish would take nothing but natural baits. In the early part of the season, and when the snoek were not biting freely, the hook was barbed with both natural and artificial baits. The necessity for dispensing with the barb was at once apparent when a school of feeding snoek was struck. At such times moments were precious and the fisherman hauled in his catch as quickly as possible, swinging the fish under his left arm and pressing it to his side as it was firmly gripped under the jaw with the left hand. The hook was detached and thrown back into the water with a rapid motion of the right hand and the fish, after having its neck broken or receiving a deft tap on the head with a short club, or kerrie was dropped into the laaitjie.⁽⁷³⁾

Fishing, with the exception of the boat, was thus a particularly inexpensive and 'democratic' means of earning a livelihood. However, there were any number of on-going expenses, including the replacement of damaged line, lost hooks and sinkers and, later, bait. In addition, by its very nature, a handline fisherman's equipment limited the size of a catch to far below that which could be made by net fishermen. It is nevertheless important to note the degree of skill exhibited by crew and skipper in handling the boats, finding and catching the fish and returning safely to port. The dangers of facing the sea in small open boats with limited navigational and safety equipment should also be noted. The purchase and maintenance of boats, recruitment of crews and survival at sea obviously necessitated considerable organization and team-work. It will be argued that, while fishing was men's work, in order for the

(73) Cape Times 26 July 1946; Bidden Sea Angling Fishes of the Cape, pp.136-139; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.49; MacLean "The Fishermen and fishing industry at the Cape", pp.90-91. This method is still followed today. See Cape Times 23 February 1982.

fishery to be viable it had to include women and children in its organizational structure .

ORGANIZATION OF THE HANDLINE FISHERY

The traditional pattern at Kalk Bay has apparently been that of family boat ownership with a large degree of recruitment to crew through kinship and affinity. Non-familial ties, however, such as friendship of fathers or the ability of a good fisherman to find employment with any skipper, always appear to have played an equally important role.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Skippers, both white and coloured, have traditionally fallen into two categories: owner-skippers, men who either personally owned or had a family share in the boat, and hired men.⁽⁷⁵⁾ During the twentieth century at least, but presumably before, crewmen have generally preferred to sail with an owner-skipper as a result of his greater commitment to the success of the venture.⁽⁷⁶⁾

(74) Interviews with R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979 and V. Cloete, Kalk Bay 11 January 1979; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", pp.27-29 and 67-68; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", pp.49 and 60; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, p.24.

(75) Interviews with R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979 and V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; C.2 - 1898, p.3 (34) H.A. Auret; G.37 - 1892, pp.27 (452-453) C. Fish; 30 (537) R. Orgill and 32 (577-578) C. Kleinschmidt; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", pp.66-67 and 84; Whisson "The fishermen of Kalk Bay", p.49; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, p.24; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.30; MacLean "The Fishermen and fishing industry at the Cape", p.90.

(76) Interviews with R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979 and V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979.

Crews were mixed, coloureds, "Malays, Manillas, Afrikanders and all nationalities (sic)" forming component parts of each crew.⁽⁷⁷⁾ The Fisheries Committee of 1892 found that, as at other places distant from the major towns, the Kalk Bay men generally adopted their calling when young and followed it all of their lives. This was in marked contrast to conditions at Cape Town where many of the men were "half carpenters, masons or dock coolies" who only fished when they could not find other work. Even when fishing paid best, they frequently remained ashore "lest they should be unable to obtain employment when the fish are scarce". It was thus not always possible to obtain crews at Cape Town. This was a difficulty never experienced at Kalk Bay, boats only being laid up when a few of the hands were sick or absent.⁽⁷⁸⁾

Crews have always been exclusively male.⁽⁷⁹⁾ In addition to their domestic duties women nevertheless played a crucial role in preparing for the fishing and assisting with the disposal of the catch afterwards by preservation or, possibly, sale.⁽⁸⁰⁾ In this they reflected conditions

(77) The Lantern 2 October 1886. Supportive evidence is provided by Interview with V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Cape Times 20 March 1902; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, pp.6-7; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, pp.11, 14, 18-19; Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, pp.9-10.

(78) G.37 - 1892, pp.xi (quotations), 29 (515-517) C. Fish and 30 (539-540) R. Orgill. See also A.17 - 1902, pp.14 (98-99) N. Menigo and 37 (294-296) H.A. Auret; C.2 - 1898, pp.1 (1-4) H.A. Auret, 14 (162-165) R. Orgill and 19 (226-229) N. Menigo; MacLean "The Fishermen and fishing industry at the Cape", p.90.

(79) Interviews with R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979 and V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; G.37 - 1892, pp.xv, 29 (515) C. Fish and 30 (540) R. Orgill; Cape Times 20 March 1902; The Lantern 2 October 1886; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", p.49; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.48.

(80) Interview with R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", pp.74-75; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", p.59; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, pp.6 and 31; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, pp.48-49 and 93-94.

prevalent in most "traditional" fishing societies world-wide.⁽⁸¹⁾ This division of labour at least partly developed because women, as a result of their responsibility for children, could not work too far from the home. This nevertheless applied far more to mothers than young, unmarried women and, in any case, the principle has rarely been explicit. There are some fishing communities in which women fish quite openly from the boats, examples being Southern Brittany, north-west Spain or the sheltered inner fiords of nineteenth century Norway. Perhaps the most remarkable example, stretching from the middle ages to the nineteenth century, is to be found in the Baltic coastal communities of Sweden.⁽⁸²⁾ The role of women in the Kalk Bay handline fishery will receive further attention in the discussion of means of supplementing incomes which follows.

Besides being called upon to row, every man in the boat had his specific task. Working from the first pulling position in the bow, the "bossman" assured that the ballast bags were filled and the anchor-stone properly attached to its rope. The masdorf (mast-hand) opened or closed the sails on the boat. Number three was the middelriem (middle-oar). He sat in the middle thwart and looked after the keg of fresh water, having filled it before leaving the shore. Number four was the oosgat, the term apparently being derived from a Malayan word referring to the deepest part of a boat. He bailed water out of the boat. The agterriem (back-oar) tied the skipper's fish into bundles and took the place of the men who

(81) Thompson et al. Living The Fishing, pp.167-168 and 175; O. Lofgren Marine Ecotypes in Preindustrial Sweden : A comparative discussion of Swedish Peasant Fishermen, in R. Andersen (ed.) North Atlantic Maritime Cultures : Anthropological essays in changing adaptations, The Hague, Mouton, 1979, p.100.

(82) Thompson et al. Living The Fishing, pp.173-175.

were sick or otherwise absent.⁽⁸³⁾ The last man was the skipper, who steered the boat and occupied what has apparently traditionally been regarded as the best fishing position in the stern.⁽⁸⁴⁾

The skipper's decision on matters affecting the boat and fishing was final. It was he who called the men in the morning, made coffee and poured it when the crew arrived. After this he inspected the boat to ensure that everything was in order. He has apparently always had the final say in choosing the crew and was responsible for maintaining the boat and organizing the men for this task. The skipper has always, albeit after discussion with his crew, decided where and for how long to fish and when to drop and raise the anchor, change fishing grounds and return to harbour.⁽⁸⁵⁾ His important role in selling the catch and the distribution of earnings will be discussed later.⁽⁸⁶⁾ Skippers have apparently traditionally been expected to be generous to their regular crew and their families in times of trouble.⁽⁸⁷⁾ Boats occasionally carried an apprentice who sat at the head of the vessel and fell under his control. He would learn his craft by observation and by asking questions when the men were not busy, for they have apparently always been relatively silent while

(83) Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, pp.15-16.

(84) Interviews with R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979 and V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Weekend Argus 9 April 1988; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", pp.66-67; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, p.25; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.16.

(85) Interviews with R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979 and V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", pp.46-47; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.16.

(86) See the discussion of marketing and middlemen which follows this section.

(87) Interviews with R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979 and V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Board of Trade and Industries Report No. 180 of 1935 The Fishing Industry, p.27; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", p.51; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, p.14.

actually fishing.⁽⁸⁸⁾ Recruitment as an apprentice into a fishing crew appears to have been a sign of acceptance of manhood.⁽⁸⁹⁾

After inspection of the boats they put out to sea. Besides his fishing gear, each man usually took bread, butter, cooked fish and coffee with him. As a general rule the boats left at between 03h00 and 05h00. If there was the prospect of good fishing they would, however, sometimes leave between 23h00 and 01h00.⁽⁹⁰⁾ It should nevertheless be emphasized that there were sometimes days or weeks when weather conditions prevented the boats from going out or the men did not wish to risk the danger of doing so.⁽⁹¹⁾ The boats utilised the whole of the bay. Occasionally fishing within a mile of the shore, they often went as far as Cape Hangklip or four or five miles beyond Cape Point. The mean was from five to ten miles from the shore.⁽⁹²⁾ Line fishing was usually carried out at

(88) Interviews with R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979 and V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; A.17 - 1902 p.21 (179) A.W. Francis; Weekend Argus 9 April 1988; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", p.47; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", p.60; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, pp.26-27; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.15.

(89) Interview with V. Cloete, 11 January 1979; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", p.1.

(90) C.2 - 1898, p.4 (36) H.A. Auret; The Lantern 2 October 1886; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.15; MacLean "The Fishermen and fishing industry at the Cape", p.90.

(91) The Lantern 2 October 1886.

(92) C.2 - 1898, pp.3 (24-25), 4 (36) H.A.Auret; 15 (175-176), 16 (193)-17 (197) R. Orgill and 30 (385)-31 (386) F.H.S. Hugo; G.37 - 1892, pp.27 (458), 28 (492-493), 29 (511) C. Fish and 33 (602) C. Kleinschmidt.

between 30 and 40 fathoms.⁽⁹³⁾ While the men did not fish the Agulhas Bank or at St Sebastian's Bay, there were some who had previously fished there and later moved to Kalk Bay.⁽⁹⁴⁾ Depending on the state of the weather and the catch, the boats generally returned between 11h00 and 13h00. After hauling up the boats, selling the fish and completing any cleaning and maintenance tasks the men returned home. The Lantern, representative of Cape white bourgeois opinion, cynically observed that thereafter the men had "nothing to do till the following day. His wife does the hard work."⁽⁹⁵⁾

On occasions when fishing was particularly good off Cape Point the men slept at sea and continued fishing the following day. This was exceedingly dangerous given the open boats and often treacherous seas.⁽⁹⁶⁾ Head winds, bad weather and rough seas often prevented the boats from returning when fishing in this area. In such cases they rowed to Buffels Bay or Dias Beach and waited there for the weather to change, this being referred to as 'picnicking'. They often spent up to three days there and infrequently as long as fourteen. Food was obtained from Smith's Farm or the lighthouse, by picking berries and sour figs and by searching for

(93) C.2 - 1898, pp.9 (93) H.A. Auret, 15 (175) and 17 (197-198) R. Orgill. The shortest distance by sea between Kalk Bay and Cape Hangklip is approximately 45,50 km, while that between the firstmentioned area and Cape Point is approximately 26,25 km. Sailing boats would have to tack to both of these areas, thus increasing actual distance covered considerably. Most of False Bay, with the exception of its entrance and centre, is shallower than 40 fathoms. [See Chart SAN 1016. Valsbaai, scale 1 : 50 000. S.A. Navy, Hydrography Division, 1978] Facing the hardships and dangers of travelling such large distances, and utilizing such a wide fishing area, must have required considerable fortitude on the part of the men.

(94) G.37 - 1892, p.34 (638-639) C. Kleinschmidt.

(95) The Lantern 2 October 1886.

(96) C.2 - 1898, p.4 (36) H.A. Auret.

perlemoen and other seafoods.⁽⁹⁷⁾ Presumably they also ate part of their catch or fished from the rocks. Some of the men walked home and arrangements were made for the carts to come to the area to purchase the catch.⁽⁹⁸⁾ On at least one occasion, but presumably more frequently, a group of Kalk Bay fishermen lived at Cape Point for six months in a season, living almost exclusively on and selling their catches.⁽⁹⁹⁾

The Kalk Bay fishing community of the late nineteenth century thus appears to have been remarkably egalitarian. The men were not wage labourers but independent petty-commodity producers who combined together in order to man a boat and survive in a treacherous sea. Patterns of boat ownership and recruitment of crews ensured that rewards from fishing remained, as far as possible, within the family. Yet, just as the individual could not survive at sea alone, the family could not exist in isolation. Non-familial ties and structures thus appear to have played an equally important role to those arising from the family in ensuring the success of the fishing effort and safety of its participants. While the skipper's position as owner, or legitimate representative of the owners, of the boat gave him authority beyond that of the ordinary crew-members, even this authority was exercised by consensus rather than command. Arguments presented in the following chapter will demonstrate that cohesiveness was

(97) The Lantern 2 October 1886; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, pp.16-17. From about 1816, to the proclamation of the area as a reserve by the Cape Divisional Council in 1939, the Cape Point area was farmed. The boundaries of these farms are marked on the map 3148 AB and AD. Cape Peninsula, Scale 1 : 50 000, Fifth ed. Chief Director of Surveys and Mapping, Mowbray, Cape Town, 1983. The first lighthouse at Cape Point came into operation on 1 May 1960. The Hangklip light, at the other side of the bay, was erected in 1960. See Mathew Reader's Digest Illustrated Guide to Southern Africa, pp.28-29 and Burman The False Bay Story, pp.169-170 and 172-173.

(98) The Lantern 2 October 1866; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.17.

(99) G.37 - 1892, p.30 (532) C. Fish.

further strengthened by shared experiences of discrimination, arising from the common categorization of the majority of fisherfolk as 'coloured'. The erosion of Kalk Bay's geographical isolation was, however, paralleled by the breakdown of its economic isolation. Fish were increasingly disposed of not within the family and the community but to outsiders. Equality did not exist in the market and middlemen used their superior position to keep prices, paid to the fishermen for their catch, as low as possible.

Marketing and middlemen

Skippers either sold their boats' catch by auction to the highest bidder from the fish carts assembled on the beach or made a contract with a middleman to sell to him at a fixed price.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ The market was small and easily over-subscribed with accompanying sharp fluctuations in prices paid for fish and an inability to withstand any growth in the local industry. It was also prone to disruption by large hauls by the beach seine fishermen of Muizenberg or large catches of snoek at Cape Town reducing demand for Kalk Bay fish.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ As a result, while auctioning could bring in better prices when fish were scarce, those with contracts generally scored when catches were good.⁽¹⁰²⁾ Thus, while the situation fluctuated, at times contracts predominated.⁽¹⁰³⁾ After the arrival of the railway,

(100) C.2 - 1898, pp.6 (60-61) H.A. Auret, 47 (531-532) W. Runciman and 60 (650) J.D.F. Gilchrist; Cape Times 20 March 1902; The Lantern 2 October 1886; MacLean "The Fishermen and fishing industry at the Cape", p.90.

(101) A.17 - 1902, pp.43 (367)-44 (368) J.M.Black; G.37 - 1892, pp.28 (481-483), 494-495), 29 (502-507) C. Fish, 31 (555, 558-559) R. Orgill and 34 (622) C. Kleinschmidt.

(102) The Lantern 2 October 1886.

(103) C.2 - 1898, p.6 (62) H.A. Auret.

during periods when contracts with the large middlemen and companies predominated, a great deal of fish was transported by train.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Both their activities and details of transportation will be discussed later in the context of the early growth and development of the industry.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ The present discussion will focus on fish sold by auction to cart drivers and fish hawkers, referred to as Langgannas in local dialect.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

Upon landing the fish were thrown in heaps on the beach, large fish such as cape salmon and stompneus being packed singly and in separate piles, the small silver fish or gurnard strung on reeds in dozens in other piles.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Snoek were often sold for as little as eight shillings a hundred or a penny each.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Silver fish were the easiest to catch all year round. They were, however, only readily saleable when there were no other fish available. Red steenbras were also plentiful but did not sell well, sometimes fetching only threepence for a fish weighing a hundred pounds. They were sold for as little as 2d. and 1½d. Geelbek were not caught as frequently. Usually they realised 8d. each but if catches were good for three or four days running, the carts wouldn't give sixpence for them. If catches of snoek at Cape Town were good the price could fall as low as 4d. As Kalk Bay was always exposed to a heavy sea, skippers would not risk more than 500 geelbek in their boats. Red stumponse were not always plentiful and sold well, but if the men caught twenty or thirty for a few days running they couldn't get more than a

(104) G.37 - 1892, p.xvi; Cape Times 20 March 1902.

(105) See Chapter 3.

(106) That this term has long been used at Kalk Bay is demonstrated by Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.19.

(107) Cape Times 20 March 1902.

(108) Interview with V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, p.5; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.21.

penny-a-piece for them.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Each of the crew fished for himself and after the catch had been sold the skipper divided the money according to what each man had caught. In addition to what he earned from his catch, the skipper deducted from 1/6 to 1/4 of the men's wages as a "boat share".⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Boat share is a form of rent for using the boat's facilities and covers maintenance and, since the introduction of motorised vessels, fuel costs.

As late as 1913 the Langgannas transferred the fish to Cape Town in open horse-drawn carts, selling to hawkers and householders on the way. The trip was not without hazard and the cart drivers stocked up with stones in case they were attacked. Conditions were far from hygienic. Besides the constant handling, carts were often dirty and the fish exposed to the sun, wind and dust.⁽¹¹¹⁾ Until approximately the 1860s the Muslim hawker carrying his wares in two low circular baskets slung at each end of a bamboo yoke was a common sight in Cape Town. After the demise of this method of sale, fish was sold from barrows, fishmongers' shops or at the market.⁽¹¹²⁾ In 1885 there was an apparently unsuccessful attempt by "some gentleman, having large interests in the Kalk Bay and Hout Bay

(109) G.37 - 1892, pp.28 (494-495), 29 (503-507) C. Fish and 31 (555-559) R. Orgill.

(110) The Lantern 3 November 1888; MacLean "The Fishermen and the fishing industry at the Cape", p.90; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, pp.109-110.

(111) A.17 0 1902, pp.33 (264) P.G. Wege, 39 (322) H.A. Auret and 44 (368) J.M.Black; C.2 - 1898, p.6 (61) H.A.Auret, 47 (531) and 48 (543) W. Runciman; G.37 - 1892, p.31 (555) R. Orgill; Coates Track and Trackless, p.53; A Lady Life at the Cape a hundred years ago, p.77; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.82.

(112) Cape Times 20 March 1902; Irvin and Johnson South African Fish and Fishing : How fish are found and caught in waters around Southern Africa; How fish are preserved, transported and processed; How the fishing industry is organized, Cape Town, Irvin and Johnson, 1963. p.39; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.81.

fisheries" to "open a fishmonger's shop in European style" in central Cape Town.⁽¹¹³⁾ At Kalk Bay itself, fish was also sold to tourists and residents but apparently, as today, only by the langgannas.⁽¹¹⁴⁾

For example, the Cape Times of 20 March 1902 drew attention to conditions at Kalk Bay two days previously. Catches had been exceptionally good and a number of visiting Somerset Strand fishermen had participated. The bulk of the haul had consisted of cape salmon, weighing from 14 to 20 lbs. each. Purchased from the fishermen at from 2s.6d. a piece, they retailed in Cape Town at 8d. a lb., with some reduction in charge for a purchaser taking a whole fish. Smaller species had been bought at between 7d. and 8½d. per dozen in abundant quantities. These were sold from the fish carts at two or three for 1s. The largest stompneus earned the fishermen 1s.8d., being subsequently retailed at 3s. or 3s.6d. In most cases before reaching the consumer the article had "passed through at least three hands, including two middlemen, one of whom is certainly an unnecessary factor." It was argued that the establishment of a fisherman's cooperative would squeeze out the "unnecessary beach middlemen" and "benefit the deserving classes - the fisher and the householder."⁽¹¹⁵⁾

In addition, it would appear that Langgannas have always combined among themselves to keep the purchase price of fish as low as possible without actually putting the fishermen out of business. Given their inability to withhold a perishable commodity from the market (due to the absence of

(113) Cape Times 13 May 1885.

(114) Argus 12 May 1988; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", p.49; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, pp.29-30; A Lady Life at the Cape a hundred years ago, p.77.

(115) Cape Times 20 March 1902.

cold storage facilities) fishermen had no option but to sell at prices dictated by the hawkers. If a sale was not made, an entire crew would lose their day's income and the boat owner would have no chance of recouping his boat's running costs. Langannas would simply lose the chance to purchase a single boat's fish.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ The hawker being a capitalist in a small way, the fishermen also soon got into his debt for advances and were unable to stand out for better terms.⁽¹¹⁷⁾

At first small-scale middlemen were apparently usually poor upwardly mobile whites, often from Woodstock and District Six. They gradually began to be replaced by Muslims and other 'Coloured' persons who appear to have been in the majority by 1913.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ At the beginning of the century a number of Jewish immigrants were included among their ranks. It was argued in evidence before the Select Committee of 1902 that Jewish middlemen paid better prices than their gentile counterparts.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ The Cape Times of 20 March 1902 continued a vicious outburst against the Yiddish-speaking East European fish merchants of Kalk Bay.

the keen-witted specimen of the lower species of the immigrant Hebrew race in ungarnished guise and unreserved demeanour. ... the rapacious foreign Hebrew who never risks his own life or safety, at least not in the fisherman's hazardous occupation ... a disreputable-looking coterie of the parasites of the social fabric, standing a little apart, conversing in gibberish of mid-Europe, bare-legged, frouzy-headed, shifty-eyed, and nervously sharp, ready to pounce upon the rough-handed sons of the sea as they come to land.

(116) Interviews with R. Bross, Cape Town, 16 July 1982 and V. Walpole, Heathfield, 10 March 11892; Cape Times 20 March 1902; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", pp.51-52; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.81.

(117) Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.81.

(118) Interview with R. Bross, Cape Town, 16 July 1982; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.82.

(119) A.17 - 1902, p.21 (172) N.Menigo.

It is a standing lament at Kalk Bay: The Jews buy all the fish. And this is a rough sketch of the process in which the fishermen is filched. ... The Jews hunt ostensibly in couples or trebles, but as a matter of fact they form a ring of their own, a fact which any strange wholesale buyer daring enough to intrude into this particular domain would soon find out. Two or three men approach the skipper and ask him how much he wants for his catch..., and offer him an absurdly low price "to take the lot". Mr Skipper shakes his head and looks knowingly. The prospective purchasers decry the wares they covet, one ... indignantly, asks in pig-English "Call that a fish? Vy, I vill haf to give it away", or words to that effect in the worst of colloquial Dutch. ... The trio next simulate jealousy and bitter rivalry, and bid against each other - in 1/2d. bids. ... At the most three bids are recorded, and then the fisherman sees he must sell at a price of 100 or 200 per cent less than he would be able to realise at a respectable fishmongers in town, or lose an opportunity of selling on the spot, which seems, unfortunately, to be his greatest concern. ... The transaction being concluded, the fish are dipped in the water to cleanse them of sand and dirt, then stored into sacks, carried to the station a few hundred yards away, and whisked off to the city by fast train. The 'Peruvian' soon pockets his profit, and so he profits from day to day.(120)

These middlemen would either have lived at Kalk Bay or come in daily to bid for the catches. At this time numbers of Jews, particularly immigrants from Lithuania and Central Europe, began to settle in the district. Within a few years there were 45 families settled in Simon's Town and environs. Main areas of settlement were Seaforth, Simon's Town, Glencairn and Muizenberg where a shul was established in 1924.(121) A number of Jewish families settled in Kalk Bay itself, a Kosher butchery being opened there to serve their needs.(122) J.B. Harris, originally

(120) Cape Times 20 March 1902.

(121) Interview with B.D. Harris, Newlands, 2 February 1988; L.J.D. Gay "The Old World Village : Part 4", in Simon's Town Historical Society Bulletin, July 1974, vol. viii, No.2. pp.50-51. For the background to Jewish settlement at the Cape see M. Shain Jewry and Cape Society. The Origins and activities of the Jewish Board of Deputies for the Cape Colony, Cape Town, Historical Publication Society, 1983. pp.1-8.

(122) The South Africa Jewish Chronicle 7 February 1902.

operated as a general dealer and soft goods merchant in Simon's Town but later moved to Kalk Bay. Here he built a row of houses facing the harbour in a road subsequently named after him (Harris Road - off Clairvaux Road, Kalk Bay). There were other Jewish landlords.⁽¹²³⁾ Domination of the market by the langgannas, poor prices paid for fish and the existence of landlords, Jewish and Gentile, raise questions concerning fishermen's incomes and methods of extending incomes.

Incomes and supplementing incomes

The price of fish being low, the fishermen were poor. In addition, incomes fluctuated by season and even by daily catch. In 1886 the Lantern estimated that on days when the large fish were absent from the bay or not biting, the men could earn as little as 6d. for about fourteen hours' work. Even in good seasons they averaged only 20s. to 25s. a week.⁽¹²⁴⁾ The Fisheries Committee of 1892 found that, considering the position over a full year, the earnings of the Kalk Bay fishermen were low, averaging "only three or four shillings a day". This they attempted to mollify by arguing that "on the other hand his expenses are small".⁽¹²⁵⁾ In 1908 the secretary of the Kalk Bay Fishermen's Union estimated the men's earnings at under 5s. a day.⁽¹²⁶⁾ Some idea of the economic hardship faced by the

(123) Interview with B.D. Harris, Newlands, 2 February 1988; Corporation of the City of Cape Town Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health, 1934. p.88; Gay "The Old World Village : Part 4", p.50.

(124) The Lantern 2 October 1886.

(125) G.37 - 1892, pp.xv (quotation) and 28 (474) R. Orgill.

(126) Cape Archives : T4311 Kalk Bay Fishermen's Union, representations re; unseaworthy state of the steam-boat "Gnu", 1908. P.E. Faure Broers. (Secretary) Kalk Bay Fishermen's Union to A.H. Wilshere, Controller of Customs, 16 December 1908.

community may be gained by an examination of daily wages and prices of staple commodities.

In July 1892, building labourers in Cape Town earned an average of 3s. to 4s. per day, the same as the fishermen. Artisans in the same trade earned from 7s. to 12s. 6d. without food in the Cape area in 1908. Artisans in the building trade earned from 7s. 6d. to 14s. Average market prices per lb. of staple commodities at Cape Town in November 1892 were as follows: fresh butter, 2s.; salt butter, 1s. 9 1/2d.; cheese, 1s. 4d.; raw coffee, 1s.; candles, 10d.; beef, 6 3/4d.; mutton, 5 1/2d.; sugar, 3d.; bread, 2 1/2d. and rice, 2 1/4d. Lamp oil averaged 2s. a gallon, condensed milk, 7d. per tin and fresh milk, 3 1/4d. per bottle. Retail dealers' prices of staple commodities in the Cape Town area during 1908 varied as follows: fresh butter, £1 6s. to £1 9s., cheese, 11s. to £1 4s., beef, 4s. to £1, raw coffee, 6s. to 9s.; mutton, 5s. to 6s. and candles, 7d. to 8d. Sugar, rice and bread all varied between 2 1/2d. and 3d. Lamp oil sold at between £1 1/2d. and £2 while condensed milk retailed at from 6d. to 7d. per tin. (127)

Noting that a fisherman's skills were closer to that of an artisan than a labourer and the price of staple commodities, it is clear that they were extremely poorly remunerated. Moreover, while their annual earnings remained basically static, the cost of living was rising considerably. Perhaps most importantly, catch and income were subject to daily and seasonal variations. Prior to the extension of fishing territory with the acquisition of motor boats occasioned by the construction of the harbour,

(127) Statistical Registers of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1892. pp.221 and 230 and 1908. pp.184 and 187.

poverty resulted in frequent appeals for assistance from the local churches.⁽¹²⁸⁾ Fishermen thus relied to a considerable degree on methods of supplementing their incomes. These included the collection of shellfish and other seafoods, processing of fish, keeping of livestock and growing their own vegetables. The fisherfolk lived as much as possible off the sea and employed female and child labour wherever possible. The employment of women outside the home in domestic service also played a crucial role in ensuring the economic viability of the family.

Kalk Bay fishermen picked berries and searched for perlemoen and other seafoods while detained at Cape Point due to bad weather. Even today Kalk Bay fishermen and their families have a considerable knowledge of available sea organisms. Informants mentioned that even in the worst of times they would "never starve", for food was always available from the rocks. It would thus appear that, particularly in the winter months when rough seas and winds frequently made fishing impossible, family members have always gathered food, such as crab, pérlemoen and other forms of marine life, from the rocks.⁽¹²⁹⁾ There is some evidence that by the 1890s overexploitation had decimated the oyster beds at Simon's Town.⁽¹³⁰⁾ By implication, stocks of other marine organisms may have suffered a similar decline along the False Bay coast.

Produced both for home consumption and for sale, processed snoek provided a food resource for lean months and a source of income. The fish were

(128) The Messenger April 1926.

(129) Interviews with R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979 and V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 1979. See also Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", pp.74-75.

(130) G.37 - 1892, pp.31 (561-564) R. Orgill and 35 (656) C. Kleinschmidt.

either dried on racks terraced along the mountain side and in the vicinity of the railway station or converted into salted mootjies in vats and tins on the beach and at the fishermens' homes. Provided enough salt was used they lasted indefinitely.⁽¹³¹⁾ While geelbek were also preserved in this manner, their greater size necessitated much larger quantities of salt, making the process uneconomical. There was also a large sale of bokkoms of maasbankers and harders for use as farm rations. At some time prior to 1892 smoke drying of fish had been carried out. However, by this date the man who had undertaken the work had moved to Wynberg.⁽¹³²⁾ Although catching was men's work, women played an extremely important role in assisting with the filleting, salting and drying of the fish. The fishermens' wives also pickled fish, but only for home consumption or as gifts to friends.⁽¹³³⁾ In spite of the importance of dried fish to the local economy, the Kalk Bay fishermen could not hope to compete with Hout Bay and St. Helena Bay for marketing in this regard.⁽¹³⁴⁾ Dried fish were originally transferred to Cape Town in ox-wagons.⁽¹³⁵⁾ By 1892 dried Kalk Bay snoek was being sent to inland markets by rail.⁽¹³⁶⁾ While fishermen reminiscing to Carse in the nineteen fifties may have finally remembered the "fantastic smell of dried snoek wherever you went"⁽¹³⁷⁾

(131) G.37 - 1892, pp.29 (518-521) C. Fish; Cape Times Week-end Magazine 20 October 1956; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", p.30; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, pp.5 and 31; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, pp.93-94; Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, p.8.

(132) G.37 - 1892, pp.29 (519-522) C. Fish and 36 (671) C. Kleinschmidt.

(133) Interview with R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay" p.59; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, pp.6 and 31; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, pp.49 and 93-94.

(134) G.37 - 1892, p.36 (673) C. Kleinschmidt.

(135) Cape Times Week-end Magazine 20 October 1956; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.21.

(136) G.37 - 1892, pp.xvi and 32 (587) C. Kleinschmidt.

(137) Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.94. (Translated from the Afrikaans).

visitors and non-fishing residents were less impressed. "A lady", visiting Kalk Bay in 1862 commented on its "most ancient and fish-like smell", highly significant of rough ways and means of cure."⁽¹³⁸⁾ In the face of complaints by tourists and residents to Council it had become virtually impossible for fishermen to cure fish within the boundaries of the municipality by the early twentieth century.⁽¹³⁹⁾ It would appear that thereafter, as today, they relied on cash collected from sales rather than processed fish as an emergency supply.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾

Snoek and other migratory fish, such as the kabeljou, albacore and elf only appear seasonally in False Bay with varying regularity. They do not keep to the banks but follow the schools of sardine, their movement being controlled by changes in temperature and current. They thus visit False Bay for one or two months in the year and then leave again. Scarce or failing to arrive at all, sometimes for a few seasons, they then come in plentifully for seven or eight years in succession. To add to their temperamental nature, they may be in the bay and biting eagerly or refusing to bite at all. They may take fresh bait or lures only. Not even the most experienced fishermen can forecast what this infinitely erratic fish will do next.⁽¹⁴¹⁾

(138) A Lady Life at the Cape a hundred years ago, p.77.

(139) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 2 December 1897, 23 December 1897, 13 May 1909, 8 January 1913 and 12 March 1913; Cape Times 3 December 1897, 24 December 1897, 14 May 1909, 9 January 1913 and 13 March 1913.

(140) Interview with R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", p.56; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, p.31.

(141) Interview with V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Cape Times 26 July 1946; A.17 - 1902, p.43 (356-358) H.A. Auret; C.2 - 1898, pp.2 (13,15), 7 (69-75), 8 (81-87) H.A.Auret, 23 (280-283) A. Slammie, 27 (338-343) M. Trouwbridge and 32 (401) F.H.S. Hugo; G.37 - 1892, pp.vi-vii, 27 (454-457, 470), 30 (533-535) C. Fish; 30 (552) R. Orgill and 32 (579) C. Kleinschmidt.

The snoek season lasts from November to, at the latest, June, but usually January off the Namibian coast, particularly Walvis Bay. The fish then move down the West Coast from December to July, generally being at their best in May. During the Cape season the Agulhas current is deflected in its south-westerly progress by a north-easterly tendency of the South Atlantic drift current and the fish migrate with the cold Benguela current round Cape Point, reaching such localities as Hermanus and Mossel Bay. While they rarely reach as far as Port Elizabeth, great numbers are sometimes caught in False Bay. In good seasons the snoek will appear in False Bay twice, between December/January and June/July, or August/September. The "snoek seasons" have traditionally been high points in the fishermen's calendar year, for by working hard the men could earn extremely well or build up large stocks for drying or salting. Moreover, the December/January period ties in well with the Christmas period and the general depletion of capital resources traditional at this time of year. The June/July or August/September season is important as it falls during the winter months when poor weather makes fishing difficult, at times impossible, and many species move out of the bay to warmer waters. The winter is thus known as the "small season" and is made even "smaller" as incomes from fishing, apart from snoek, are at their lowest ebb. Only the run of the snoek at this time has provided the fishermen with enough fish or money to tide them over to spring. (142)

(142) Interview with R. Poggenpoel, 12 January 1979; R.P. 47 - 1927, p.28 (229); G.37 - 1892, pp.vii, 27 (461-463), 29 (525) C. Fish and 32 (580-581) C. Kleinschmidt; Cape Times 21 July 1893; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", p.56; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, p.31; Bidden Sea Angling Fishes of the Cape, pp.128 and 130-131.

Within these general "seasons", the period when the fish put into False Bay was crucial. These later arrivals were popularly known as "poor" or pap snoek on account of their lean condition. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it was commonly believed that this had its origin in spawning.⁽¹⁴³⁾ Many species of fish, notably the galjoen and white stumpnose, suffer considerably while spawning but the snoeks' decline cannot be ascribed to that cause since a large proportion of "poor snoek" carry ripe roe. The source of the decline was later traced by the Government Marine Biologist, Dr. Gilchrist, to a protozoal parasite Chloromyxum thyrsites. This attacks the muscle fibre to such an extent that the flesh becomes soft and, in some cases, even assumes a liquid form.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ During the nineteenth century it was commonly believed that "poor snoek" was totally unfit for human consumption, dangerous to health and likely to produce "sores on the face, and all sorts of complaints and a low fever". The Report of the Select Committee on the Fishing Industry of 1892 stated that this allegation was untrue. While the snoek became poor it was not "unwholesome as food", the fishermen ate "it all the year round, and in many cases subsist on little else", an assertion that was supported by Kalk Bay fishermen giving evidence. As a rule the Kalk Bay fishermen were "a very healthy lot of men". The poor snoek were, however, of no mercantile value and could not be dried. The only possible use that could be made of them was to sell them to "the poorer classes".⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ At a later date "poor snoek" was often curried to give it

(143) C.2 - 1898, p.10 (112-113) H.A. Auret; G.37 - 1892, pp.vii and 30 (544) R. Orgill; Argus 5 August 1988; Cape Times 26 July 1946; Bidden Sea Angling Fishes of the Cape, p.133.

(144) Argus 5 August 1988; Bidden Sea Angling Fishes of the Cape, pp.133-134.

(145) G.37 - 1892, pp.vii, 27 (467), 30 (531-532) C. Fish, 30 (547) R. Orgill, 32 (584-585), 33 (607) and 35 (644) C. Kleinschmidt (quotations pp.vii, 32 (585) and 35 (644)).

some taste.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ From at least the 1930s to the 1950s thousands of poor snoek were caught by the Kalk Bay fishermen each season and sold at a lower price than the more nutritious wholesome ones.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾

During the nineteenth century and indeed until at least the nineteen thirties, the most valuable Cape fish was undoubtedly the snoek. The reason for this was twofold. Firstly, it was the only fish exported from the Cape with advantage during this period. Secondly, and more importantly, the fish was a staple article of food for the fishermen, the poor of Cape Town and other areas and "a large proportion of the population of Cape Town and other areas near the coast without which they could not exist".⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ During the late nineteenth century the Cape Town fishermen depended entirely on snoek for a livelihood for three months of the year. Even at Kalk Bay where other species could be caught all year round snoek, whether salted, dried or converted into cash, played and continues to play a crucial role in the ability of fishermen to survive the lean winter months.⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ On at least one occasion a group of Kalk Bay fishermen had lived at Kalk Bay for six months eating almost nothing but snoek.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ As late as 1929 the Cape Argus noted that for the "moderately well to do" snoek was only "an occasional change of diet in a boarding house or flat". For a large proportion of the coloured population, however, it was "practically essential" and a "staple food".

(146) Cape Times 26 July 1946.

(147) Bidden Sea Angling Fishes of the Cape, p.136.

(148) G.37 - 1892, pp.vii (quotation), xiii and 27 (468) C. Fish; MacLean "The Fishermen and the fishing industry at the Cape", p.90.

(149) Interview with R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979; G.37 - 1892, pp.30 (547,548) R. Orgill and 33 (603) C. Kleinschmidt; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", p.56; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, p.31.

(150) G.37 - 1892, p.30 (532) C. Fish.

Salted, smoked or pickled snoek was "a stand-by to the Cape" comparable to "biltong in the veld, or pemmican in the Antarctic regions."⁽¹⁵¹⁾

The collection of marine organisms, processing of fish and the crucial role played by snoek in the the diet of both fishermen and the Cape's poor have received attention. So too has the role of family labour in the first two activities and preparation for the fishing. Inseparably linked to these methods of supplementing income was the adaptation of diet to consist as far as possible of staples produced within the family. Prior to departure on the boats in the mornings the men generally received a cup of coffee, this being supplemented by bread, butter, cooked fish and more coffee once at sea. While the coffee would have been bought, bread was usually home-baked.⁽¹⁵²⁾ Upon his return from the sea each man was allowed to take home a share of the fish he had caught, the so-called "frys", for his family's consumption. Fish thus formed a staple part of their diet.⁽¹⁵³⁾ Fishermen's wives were well-known for their tasty seafood dishes such as fish soup, fish curry, fish cakes, porpoise steaks, whale steaks, stewed octopus, alikruikel soup, stewed mussels, pickled snoek, mussel soup, albatross curry, stewed sea birds and sea-grass or seaweed jelly.⁽¹⁵⁴⁾

(151) Cape Argus 11 May 1929.

(152) The Lantern 2 October 1886; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", p.59; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, pp.16 and 49.

(153) Interviews with R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979 and V. Cloete, Kalk Bay 11 January 1979; G.10 - 1894, p.463 (8344, 8345) H. Clarke; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", p.41; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, pp.5 and 27; MacLean "The Fishermen and fishing industry at the Cape", p.90.

(154) Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.49.

Besides fish, the families were fairly well-off for other types of food.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ Diet was varied and supplemented by livestock, including cattle, fowls and pigs. These were both bought or traded from local farmers and kept by the fishermen and tended by their wives and children, a practice which continued into the early twentieth century at least.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾

Dried fruit, pumpkins, sweet-potatoes and onions were also swapped for snoek with the farmers.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ The family food store was apparently further buttressed by the home-growing and processing foodstuffs. References to the latter activities are hard to find. The first commercial growing of strawberries in the Peninsula at Gilman's Hotel, Kalk Bay in the late 1850s received attention in the press.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ Home growing and processing by the fishermen was nevertheless not newsworthy and did not

(155) The Lantern 2 October 1886; G.10 - 1894, p.463 (8346) H.Clarke.

(156) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 17 June 1895, 30 December 1895, 29 January 1896, 26 May 1898, 19 February 1901, 6 August 1901, 15 April 1902, 17 February 1905; G.61 - 1901 Report and Proceedings, with annexures, of the Cape Peninsula Plague Advisory Board, 1901, pp.63, 77 and 178 (Annexure D); Cape Times 20 February 1901, 7 August 1901, 16 April 1902, 18 February 1905; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, p.6. With the exception of Whisson and Kaplinsky, sources do not specifically refer to livestock kept by fisherfolk. While some of the cattle, fowls and pigs referred to may have belonged to farmers, it is clear that many belonged to the fisherfolk. Farming activities undertaken by the Kalk Bay fisherfolk were apparently of limited scale, acting solely as a means of maximizing family-based production and limiting capital expenditure on staple commodities. The local fisherfolk were thus not fisherman-farmers in the same sense as their nineteenth century counterparts in Hout Bay or the early European fisherman-farmers, where these activities were undertaken on a much larger scale. In the European cases, fishing activities were in fact often of secondary importance to farming. See Van Sittert "Gebrei in dié aambag", pp.2-4, 7-12, 25-26 and 31-32; Thompson et al. Living the Fishing, pp.13-15; R. Andersen "Introduction : North Atlantic Maritime Peoples in Transition", in R. Andersen (ed.), pp.10-14; O. Lofgren "Marine Ecotypes in Preindustrial Sweden : A comparative discussion of Swedish Peasant Fishermen", in R. Andersen (ed.), pp.93-100 and H.D. Smith "The Development of Shetland Fisheries and fishing communities" in P.H. Fricke (ed.) Seafarer and Community : Towards a social understanding of seafaring, London, Croon Helm, 1973, pp.9 and 11.

(157) Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, pp.93-94.

(158) The Standard and Mail 26 December 1872.

cause problems, requiring the attention of ^{the Town} Council, like livestock. The establishment of Holy Trinity Church's newsletter The Messenger in 1923 nevertheless provides evidence of these activities. It may thus be deduced that home-growing and processing was carried out during the period under review.

Items requested and offered for sale at periodic church-sponsored bazaars and fetes, shows and exhibitions and annual produce sales between 1925 and 1935 included vegetables, preserves, cakes, jams, pickles, chutney, dried fruits, potatoes, cabbages, eggs and poultry, meat, butter, sweets, breads, puddings, savouries and ice-creams.⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ Fishermen were also asked to contribute fish or crayfish.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾ All segments of the local Anglican population, including the coloured fishermen were apparently involved in these events.⁽¹⁶¹⁾ As early as 1903 it had been noted that the Kalk Bay school had been kept going by the guarantors, bazaars and concerts.⁽¹⁶²⁾ As their children were directly involved the fishermen would presumably have played a major contributory role here. Thus, while some of the produce sold at these events may have been purchased, it would appear that even as late as the 1930s considerable home-growing and processing of foodstuffs occurred at Kalk Bay. Presumably this would have been carried out on a larger scale in the nineteenth century.

(159) The Messenger January 1925, April-September 1925, November-December 1925, January-February 1926, September-November 1926, May-September 1927, January 1928, July-August 1928, March 1929, July-August 1929, April 1930, July 1930, September 1930, July 1931, October 1931, February-March 1932, August-September 1932, June 1933, August 1933, October-November 1933, July 1934, October 1934 and February-March 1935.

(160) The Messenger June 1927 and August 1928.

(161) The Messenger September 1925, November 1925-January 1926 and September 1929.

(162) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 1 October 1903; Cape Times 2 October 1903.

Women and children thus played an extremely important role both in preparing for the fishing expeditions and supplementing family incomes by processing fish and tending livestock and gardens. The unsung heroes of the Kalk Bay fishing community have always been the fishermen's wives, a situation reflected in many other communities of a similar nature.⁽¹⁶³⁾

Women had few options open to them. The usual pattern was for a girl to become a domestic servant for a few years, after which she would be expected to devote herself almost wholly to her domestic duties.⁽¹⁶⁴⁾

These, it has been seen, included filleting, salting, pickling and drying of fish, baking and cooking, making clothes for her family and oilskin trousers and sou'westers for her menfolk and tending the livestock and garden. While these activities left little time for other employment, she might also do some additional domestic work for white families, especially during the holiday season when visitors filled the hotels, boarding houses

(163) See Thompson et al. Living the Fishing, pp.5 and 175-179 and Stiles "Fishermen, wives and radios, pp.52-53.

(164) Interview with M. Race, Kalk Bay, 26 April 1983; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", pp.45 and 59; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, p.6. This is reflected in the occupations of females recorded in local marriage records. Of the 417 Kalk Bay resident brides marrying at Holy Trinity and St. James Churches between 1 January 1876 and 31 December 1950, occupation was not recorded in 219 (52,52%) cases. Some of these persons would presumably not have been employed outside the home. The occupation of 123 brides (29,50%) was listed as domestic service. Among the remaining females there were 47 (11,27%) white collar workers, 23 (5,52%) blue collar workers and three (0,72%) persons employed in government service. One (0,24%) person was professionally employed while another was listed as a fish cleaner. Noting that all brides were represented in this sample, and that there were no domestic servants who were listed as being white, the importance of domestic service as an employer of the fishermen's daughters is illustrated. The first record of race in Anglican (Holy Trinity) records was 27 September 1909 while that for Roman Catholic (St. James) records was 17 November of the same year. See Holy Trinity Church : Marriage Registers, 1 March 1863-27 December 1955. 3 vols. and St. James Church Marriage Registers, 3 June 1874-27 December 1955. 2 vols.

and rented cottages.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ Numbers of women also appear to have performed laundry services for visiting families.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ It will be seen that domestic service was the major employer of women outside the home until the post Second World War period, when they began to take advantage of increasing educational and employment opportunities, particularly in factories.⁽¹⁶⁷⁾

When the boats could not go out because of bad weather or when catches were poor, it was the women who had to support the family. While at sea the men were totally isolated from the land and "normal" family and community life. The routine imposed by their occupation thus posed great difficulties for the handling of personal and family business. As a result, those who managed the family budget were the fishermen's wives, to whom working family members gave all that they earned.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ Lastly, they carried the responsibility of bearing and rearing the children, a task made doubly difficult by the nature of the routine imposed by their husbands' occupation. A fishermen's wife was "both mother and father" to her children. As noted in comparative perspective by Thompson et al.,

(165) Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", pp.45 and 59; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, p.6. Only Anglican church records listed the occupations of children baptised. Of the 1123 mothers of Kalk Bay resident children baptised at Holy Trinity Church between 31 December 1854 and 31 December 1950, the occupation of 1094 was not recorded. Twenty eight mothers were listed as being domestic servants while only one blue collar worker appeared. Raced was not recorded. While these totals are of no use as an indicator of the degree to which mothers found employment as domestic servants, they demonstrate that this occurred. See Holy Trinity church : Baptismal Registers, 31 December 1854-16 July 1978. 3 vols.

(166) Interviews with M. Race, Kalk Bay, 26 April 1983 and A. Lindsay, Kalk Bay, 10 March 1982.

(167) See Chapter 5.

(168) Interviews with Richard Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979 and Vincent Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January, 1979; The Lantern 2 October 1886; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", p.47; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.48.

childbearing and childrearing is a special task for women in fishing communities principally because of the extreme degree to which they lack men's support in it.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾

It is thus clear that, while incomes were low and fluctuated from season to season and even day to day, a network of methods of coping with poverty by supplementing income from fishing had been developed. These focussed on limiting expenditure by producing as many articles as possible within the family, using the labour of family members and trading with nearby farmers. Income derived from fishing was further supplemented by the employment of women outside the home in domestic service. For the boat owner a further option lay in taking parties of tourists fishing. This was nevertheless no more than an unsatisfactory stop-gap for a few, utilised once or twice a month in the summer.⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ The closing decades of the nineteenth century, however, saw increasing demand on the colonial market for fish which not only demanded expansion of fishing effort but also posed significant challenges to the continued existence of "traditional" fishing methods at Kalk Bay and other Cape inshore fishing stations. When coupled with the growing popularity of Kalk Bay-Muizenberg as a tourist resort and residential suburb this raised serious doubts about whether the fishermen should be allowed to remain at Kalk Bay at all.

(169) Interviews with R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979, V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979 and J.H. Swart, Hout Bay, 9 January 1979 (quotation - translated from Afrikaans); Thompson et al. Living the Fishing, pp.180-181.

(170) G.37 - 1892, p.36 (680-683) C. Kleinschmidt.

These themes are central to the following chapter. The fisherfolk existed as a separate group, differentiated from the remainder of the local community residentially, racially and by their occupation. Home production of fishing tackle was paralleled by a self-sufficiency in the provision of materials utilised in housing construction. In the early twentieth century, divisions between fisherfolk and non-fisherfolk widened. Home production and self-sufficiency gave way to dependence upon capital goods. In spite of their weaker position in conflicts with non-fishing local residents and capital, the Kalk Bay fishermen were to successfully withstand growing pressure for their transformation from independent small-scale producers to dependent wage labourers.

Fishermen's housing

Central to an understanding of fishermen's housing is the perception that de facto residential zoning by race and class existed, and was increasingly developed from, the 1860s.⁽¹⁷¹⁾ Kalk Bay fishermen needed to live close to their boats, a fact which is highlighted at various points in the remainder of this thesis. In the following chapter, it is argued that increasing settlement by non-fisherfolk after the arrival of the railway resulted in a reduction of the area available for settlement. Faced with rising property prices and high rates resulting from the development of Kalk Bay and surrounds, the fisherman were increasingly unable to expand

(171) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 16 June 1898, 7 August 1900, 17 February 1905, 2 August 1906; Department of Mines and Industries Fishing Harbours Report, Part 1, 1926. p.11; G.61 - 1901, pp.63 and 67; Cape Times 17 June 1898, 8 August 1900, 18 February 1905 and 4 August 1906; De Zuid Afrikaan 11 January 1883; Cape Argus 18 February 1871 and 21 February 1871; Langham-Carter "The Church Complex in Kalk Bay", p.114; Burman The False Bay Story, p.116; A Lady Life at the Cape a hundred years ago, pp.75 and 77.

their area of residence from that abutting the beach where their original settlement occurred. The inescapable result was overcrowding and slum conditions. By the 1880s the area inhabited by fishermen centred on the beach where the boats were pulled up, opposite the site of the present harbour, in the vicinity of Clairvaux, Harbour, Gordon, Hare and Andersen Roads. On the Cape Town side of this, extending along Quarterdeck Road in the vicinity of the Mosque, was an area of mixed settlement which included the core of the Muslim community and apparently numbers of white fishermen. To a lesser extent, the upper parts of Belmont and Rouxville Roads appear to have provided housing for a few of the small coloured elite, particularly skippers. According to Whisson and Kaplinsky's informants, Quarterdeck Road was "the most multi-racial street in South Africa" prior to the application of the Group Areas Act.⁽¹⁷²⁾ [See Map 3 and Illustrations 1, 2 and 4-8]

Paralleling home production of fishing tackle, fishermen were largely self-sufficient in materials utilised in housing construction during the nineteenth century. The original fishermen's huts were constructed of wattle and daub. With the growth of whaling the bones of these mammals began to be utilised in construction. Fields and gardens were fenced with rib, vertebrae were utilised in the construction of walls, steps and stairs were created from the shoulderbones, while the large jaw bones were used as entrances to huts.⁽¹⁷³⁾ From these early beginnings developed

(172) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 16 June 1898; Corporation of the city of Cape Town Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health, 1937. p.88; Department of Mines and Industries Fishing Harbours Report, Part 1, 1926. p.11; The Messenger October 1939; Cape Times 17 June 1898 and 25 July 1946; De Zuid Afrikaan 11 January 1883; Langham-Carter "The Church Complex in Kalk Bay", p.114; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, p.39 (quotation).

(173) Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, p.12.

homes of wood and iron, stone and brick. [See Illustrations 1, 2, 4, 5 and 9] A plentiful supply of mountain stone is evidenced by the development of quarries in the area and council levying a fee for the removal of stone from the mountain.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ Besides the possibility of producing sun-baked mud or clay bricks locally, kilns were operating in the area in 1901 and 1903 at least.⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ Many houses built of a combination of local mountain stone and brick still remain at Kalk Bay.

Writing of her visit to Kalk Bay in February 1862, "a lady" noted that the small fishing hamlet comprised "a few old-fashioned Dutch houses, and a dozen or so fishermen's huts straggling for a mile between the rocky beach and the precipitous mountains that rise up almost immediately behind it."⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ [See Illustration 1] Mentioning the spatial segregation of the fishery, she noted that this was permeated by "a 'most ancient and fish-like smell', highly significant of rough ways and means of cure."⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ Thus, while she over-estimated the area between mountains and sea, the effect of the terrain on settlement patterns, discussed earlier, is demonstrated. So, too, is the vast discrepancy between houses occupied by the fishermen and other inhabitants and the beginnings of residential zoning by race and class. In the late nineteenth century the fishermen's huts were reportedly dirty, unventilated, tremendously overcrowded and producers of an intolerable stench, even to passers-by driving through the area. Refuse was not properly removed and there were decaying fish heads

(174) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 23 September 1897, 16 October 1900 and 19 February 1901; G.61 - 1901, p.63; Cape Times 24 September 1897, 17 October 1900 and 20 February 1901.

(175) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes 15 October 1901 and 26 November 1903; Cape Times 16 October 1901 and 27 November 1903.

(176) A Lady Life at the Cape a hundred years ago, p.75

(177) Ibid. p.177.

and entrails lying about. Inhabitants ate and drank out of the same vessels and shared the same beds.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ The Cape Argus of 21 February 1871 drew attention to the incongruity of the existence of such conditions at a place "where, curiously enough, there are scores of visitors who frequent it solely in pursuit of health."⁽¹⁷⁹⁾

It will be argued in the following chapter that, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Kalk Bay fishermen expanded markets for their fish. Their efforts in this regard were hampered both by their position within the local society and by the emergent South African fishing industry. Locally, fishing was seen as a threat to Kalk Bay's continued development as a health and tourist resort and place of seaside residence. Non-fishing inhabitants saw the solution to the problem as lying in capitalization of the local industry and the development of facilities, such as a harbour, designed to benefit both the fishing and tourist industries. Nationally, from the early years of the twentieth century, capital-intensive trawling companies built up distribution and marketing systems for fish which largely excluded those caught by small-scale independent producers. The Kalk Bay handline fishermen's negative experiences of early attempts at capitalization of the local fishing industry taught them to fight their incorporation as wage labour. Unwanted both by the local non-fisherfolk and the developing South African fishing industry, the Kalk Bay fishermen nevertheless managed to survive as small-scale independent producers. While hidden,

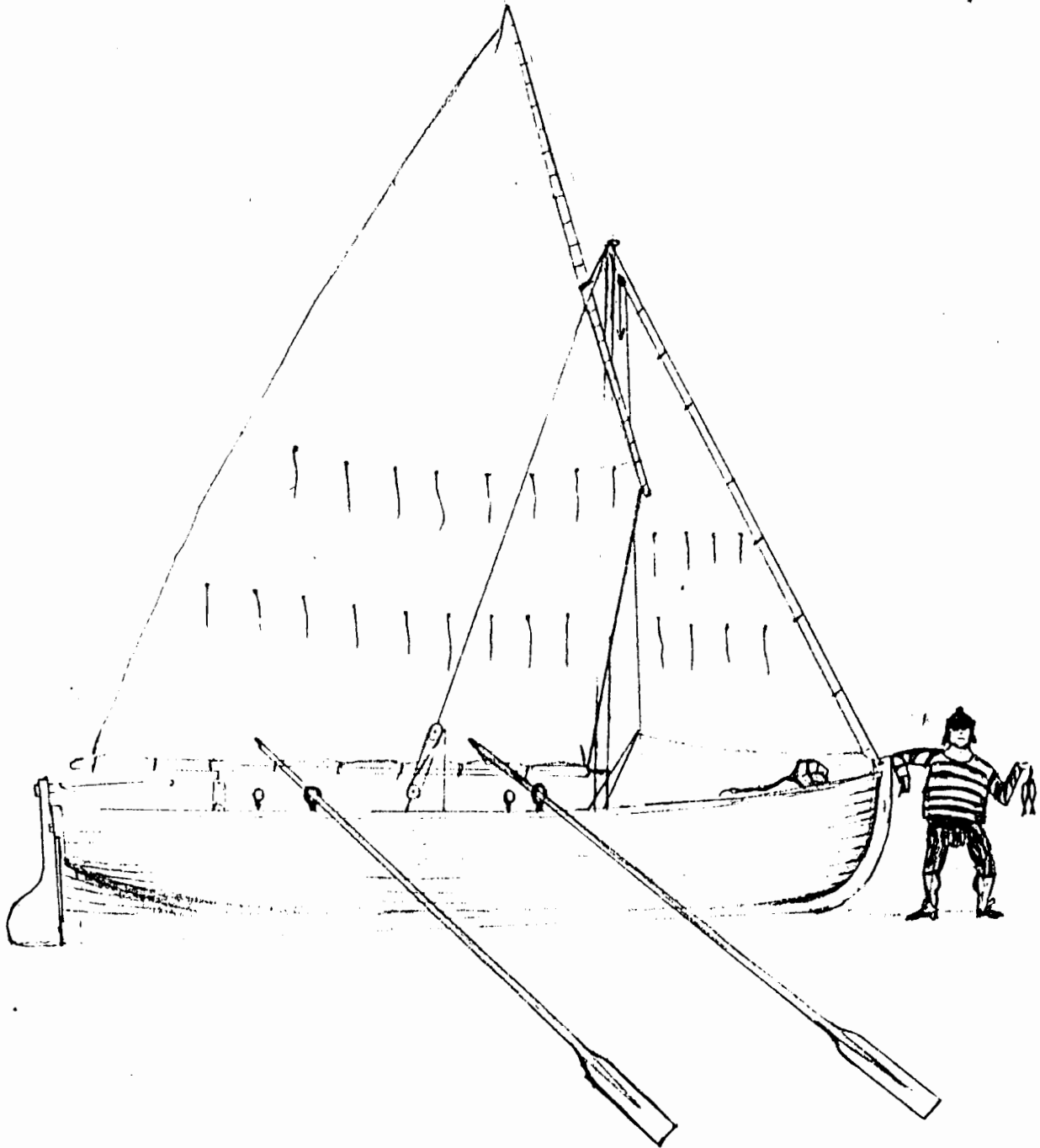
(178) G.10 - 1894, pp.179 (2968)-180 (2979), 185 (3051) J. Baker and 463 (8343-8346) H. Clarke; Cape Argus 18 February 1871 and 21 February 1871.

(179) Cape Argus 21 February 1871.

these tensions and conflicts were already present in embryonic form in the late nineteenth century.

FIGURE 1

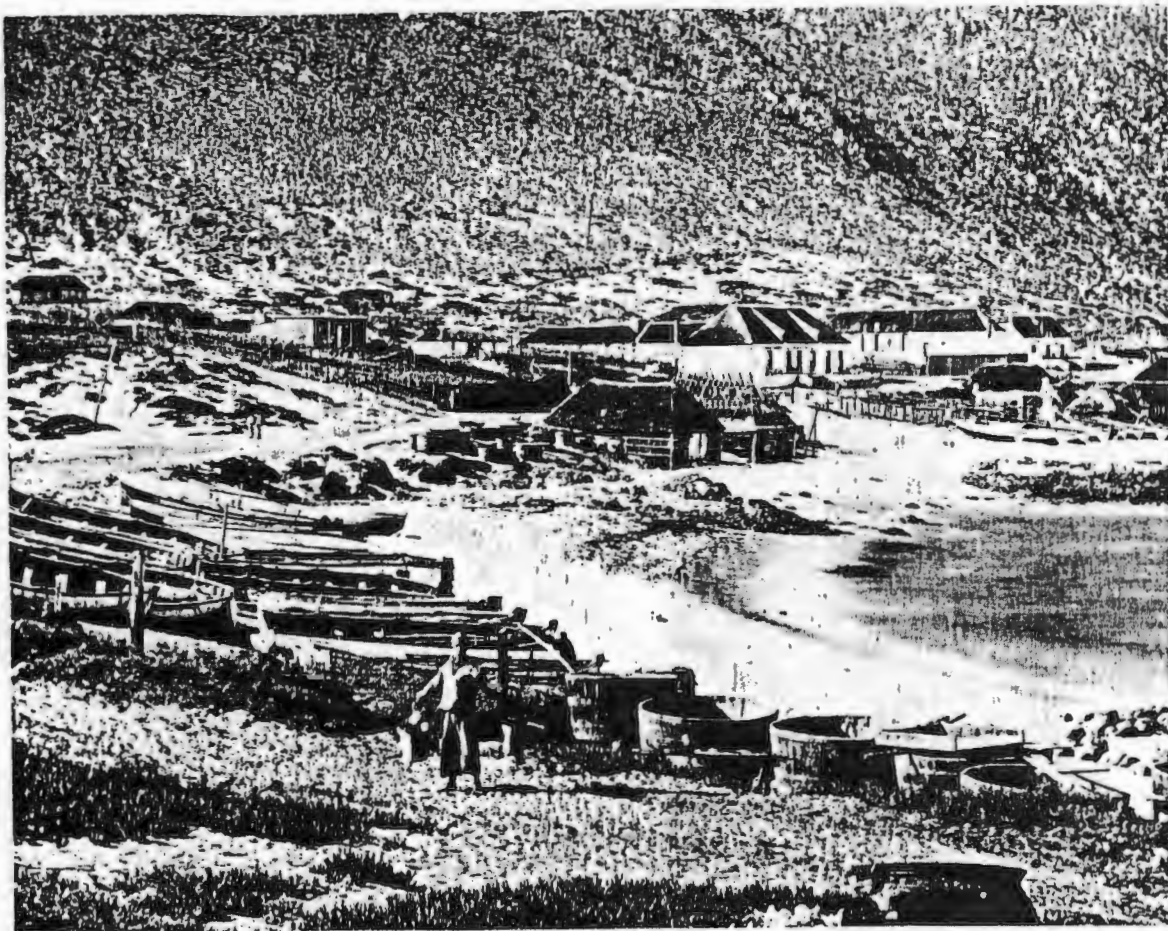
A KALK BAY FISHING BOAT, c.1880 (J. Goncalves)



Some vessels powered by oar or sail alone were in use in the area. The most common were nevertheless powered by a combination of the two. In general, they were stoutly-built open craft with a large spritsail and jib, pulling four or five oars, and carrying a crew of five to six men. Boats varied from 16 to 25 foot in length and weighed about 2 000 lbs. Fishermen used sail whenever possible. When weather conditions did not permit sailing, heavy oars, from 15 to 21 feet in length, were used. Masts were about 21.5 feet long, with a 16.5 foot mainsail.

ILLUSTRATION 1

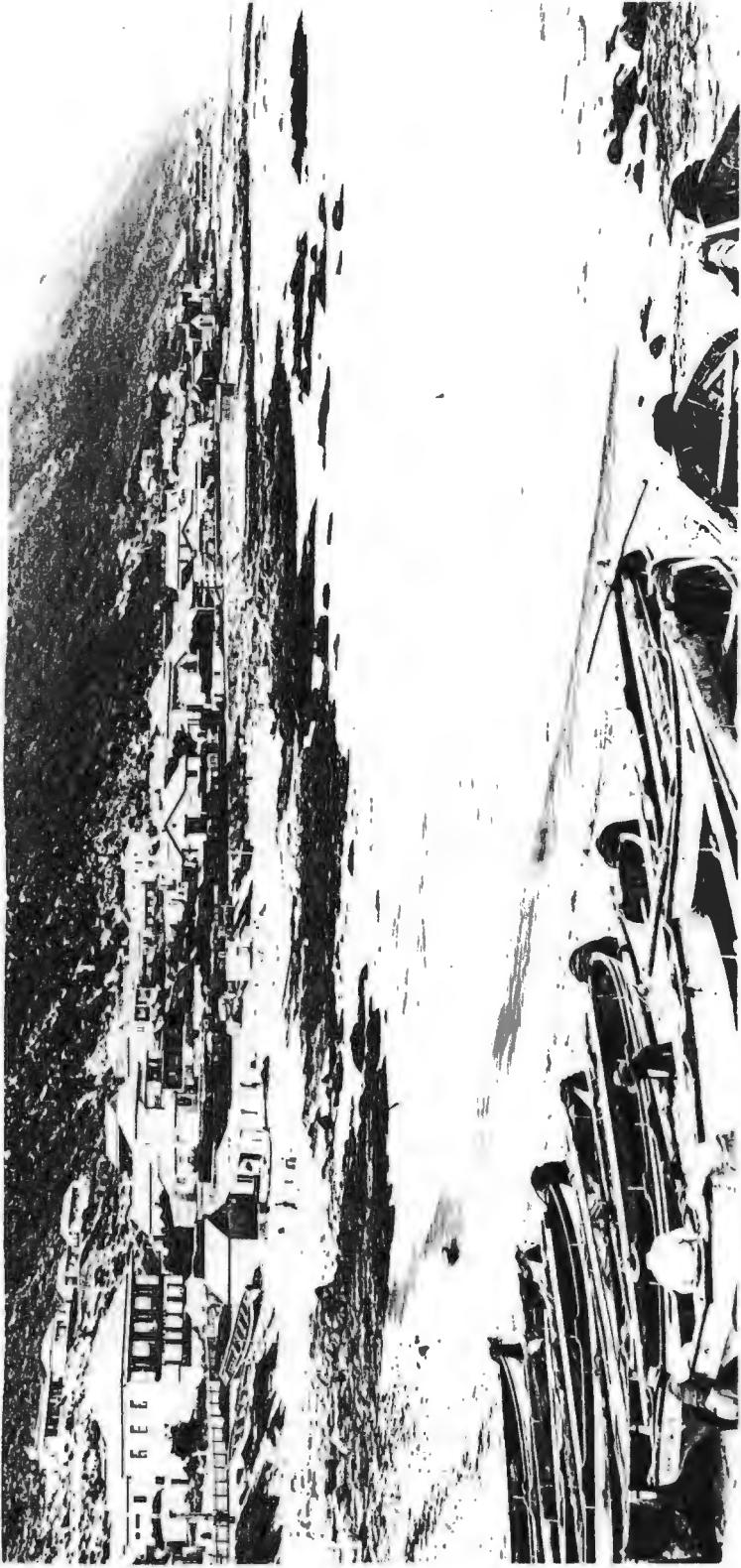
KALK BAY FROM THE CLOVELLY SIDE, c.1875 (Cape Archives M 672)



The iron pot in the foreground was used for boiling whale blubber. Whale oil, the product of the boiling process, was then transferred to the wooden vats behind this for storage. Behind these lie the rowing boats, utilised for whaling and handline fishing, and the oar-and-sail powered handline vessels. Masts of sailing craft were taken down prior to hauling the boats up the beach. The second craft in the foreground appears to have its sails stowed on board, lying coiled around the sprit. The outspan lay on the mountain side of the dirt track which, at that time, served as the Main Road. The wattle and daub sheds on the beach were used for storing boats and equipment and, occasionally, for sleeping accommodation. Lying to the right of these are the racks used for drying fish. The stone, and wood and iron, dwellings would have been occupied by fisherfolk. In the background lies the "King's Hotel and General Store", illustrating the dual development of the area as a fishing village and resort. Clearly revealed by this photograph, and those which follow, is the narrow area between mountain and sea available for settlement.

ILLUSTRATION 3

KALK BAY LOOKING TOWARDS ST. JAMES, c.1900 (Cape Archives, J 9336a)



The arrival of the railway resulted in burgeoning popularity of the area as a tourist resort and enabled its settlement by non-fisherman commuters. Space available for settlement was rapidly reduced. Unable to afford rising property prices and rates, and the rents demanded for these more impressive homes, the fisherfolk were powerless to expand their area of residence from that abutting the fishery beach.

ILLUSTRATION 5

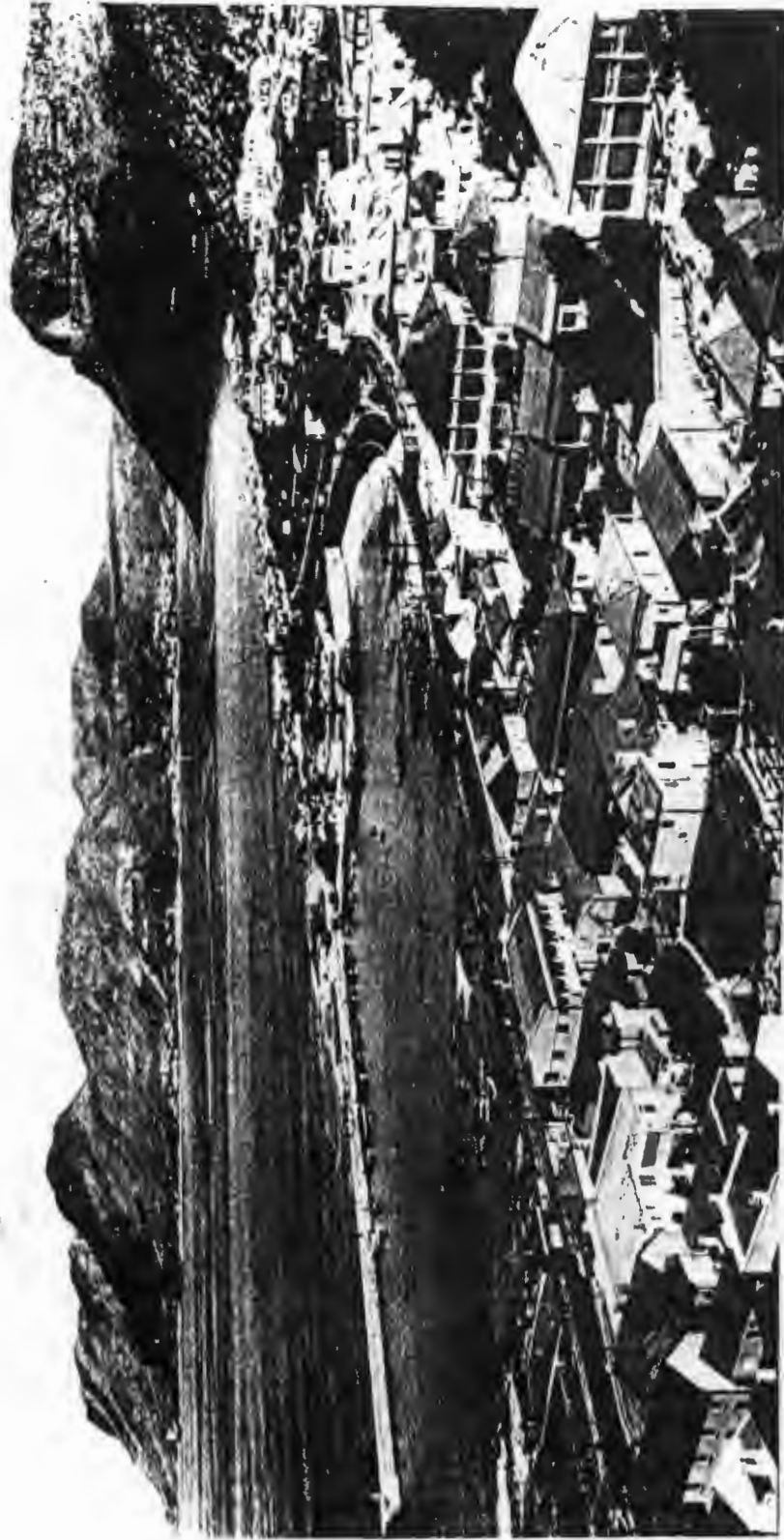
THE DISTRICT INHABITED BY THE KALK BAY FISHERFOLK, c.1904 (Cape Archives J 3567)



Overcrowding and slum conditions in this area were a direct result of growing de facto residential zoning by race and class. The False Bay Fishing and Cold Storage Company's buildings are visible in the vicinity of the fishery beach. Floated during May 1902, this company attempted to secure monopolistic control over the local fishermen's catches. It went into liquidation in 1904. Reasons for the Company's failure included the lack of harbour facilities, dissatisfaction on the part of the fishermen and the loss one of its two trawlers, the "Rex". The wreck of this vessel is visible in the bay.

ILLUSTRATION 6

KALK BAY FROM BOYES DRIVE, c.1930 (Cape Archives J 3778)



The extensive settlement of the area, and the vast discrepancy between housing occupied by white non-fisherfolk (in the foreground) and the coloured fisherfolk (in the background), are clearly depicted. Work on the doubling and electrification of the railway line, begun in 1923, had been completed by 1927. The harbour breakwater and fish landing quay were constructed between 1913 and 1918. These works enabled the fishermen to acquire larger, motorised vessels and exploit more distant fishing grounds. By the mid 1920s, the development of the area as a resort and residential suburb nevertheless prevented any significant expansion of the harbour or the local fishing industry. Boyes Drive was constructed in various stages between 1923 and 1928.

ILLUSTRATION 7

KALK BAY HARBOUR, c.1959 (Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, facing p. 12)



Additional safe mooring space was provided by the dredging of the harbour and the construction of the northern breakwater and timber jetty in 1938. The harbour thus achieved its existing state. (See also Map 4). Visible in the harbour are boats from the local fleet and a number of yachts. The increasing popularity of recreational craft foreshadowed serious disruption of the local fish market by growing numbers of ski-boats, particularly since the 1960s. The open space behind the fish landing quay, officially known as Point Township, is the area utilised as a camping ground by coloured residents of the Peninsula over the Christmas and New Year period. Growing popularity of Kalk Bay as a "coloured" resort contributed towards the development of an unflattering stereotype of the character of persons from "down the line" (held by both coloured and white residents) throwing into question the continuance of this practice by the 1960s. The fishermen's flats, visible in the background on the right hand side of the photograph, are discussed in the context of Illustrations 9 and 10.

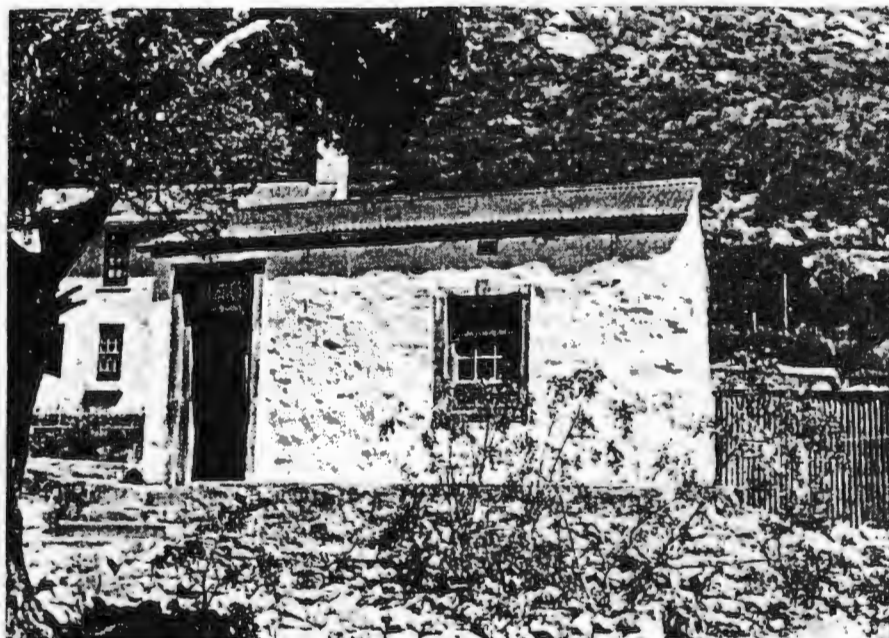
ILLUSTRATION 8

AERIAL VIEW OF KALK BAY (Argus 22 December 1987, courtesy of J. McLagan)



ILLUSTRATIONS 9 and 10

FISHERMAN'S COTTAGE AND THE FISHERMEN'S FLATS AT KALK BAY, c.1959)
(Carse, Die Bloudam is hul oesland, facing p.72)



By the late 1930s, slum conditions among the local fisherfolk had reached such an extent that Council were faced with the alternative of evicting large numbers of fishermen, or rehousing them at Kalk Bay. The former course of action would have forced them to move to the Retreat and Heathfield area, thus occasioning the collapse of the local fishing industry. The solution to the problem was provided by the construction of 55 council-owned flats between 1940 and 1945. A vast improvement on previous slum conditions, these flats nevertheless further extended the principle of residential zoning by race and class.

ILLUSTRATION 11

BOATS COMING ASHORE AT KALK BAY, c. 1900 (Cape Archives, J 4878)



ILLUSTRATION 12

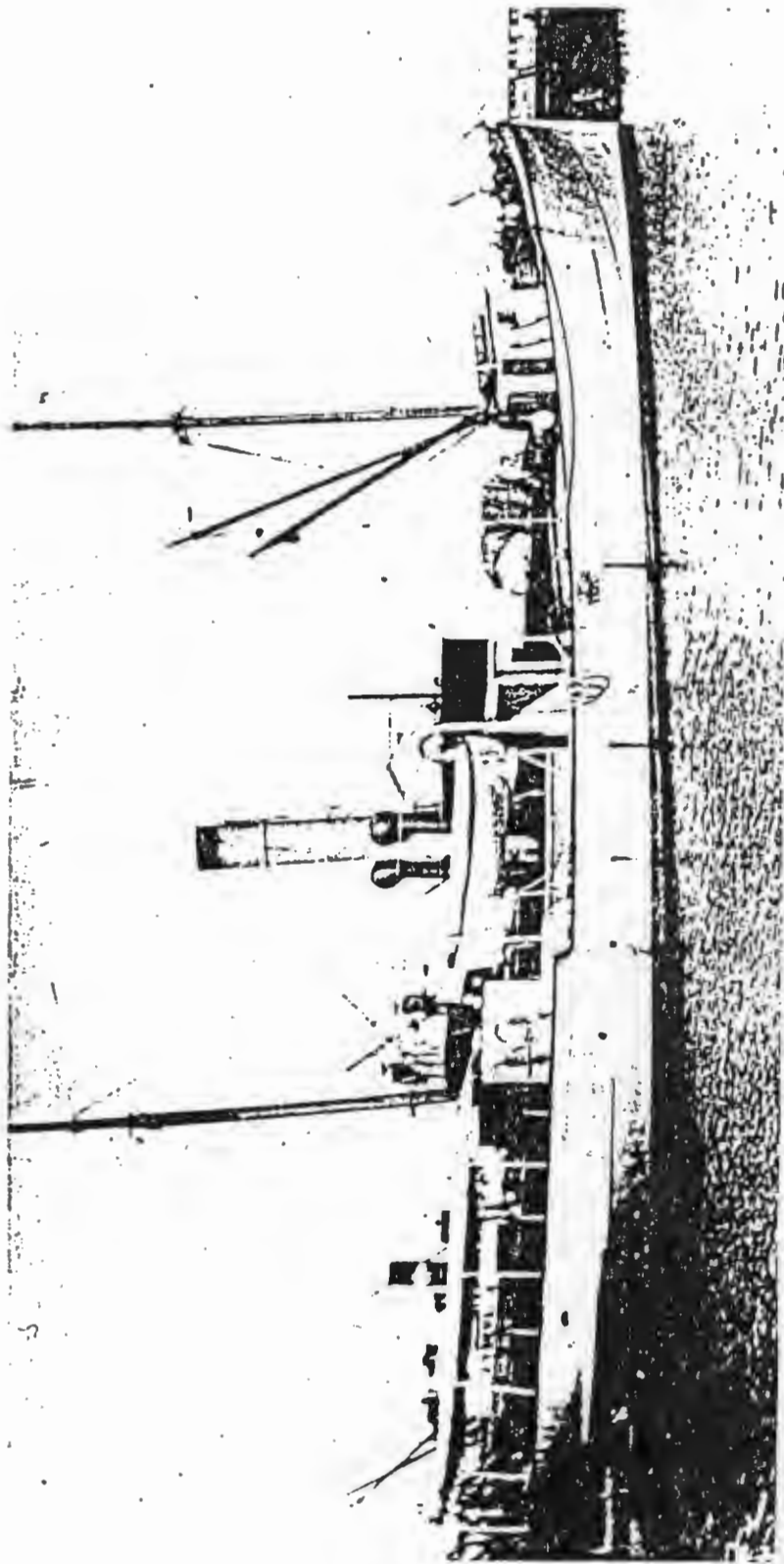
BOATS AT THE FISH LANDING QUAY, KALK BAY HARBOUR, c.1919 (South African Library, Inconographic collection)



The transition from sails and oars to petrol and diesel was slow. The Kalk Bay men nevertheless appear to have acquired motors for their vessels as soon as finances permitted. Depicted above are sailing vessels, a rowing boat and sailing vessels which have been fitted with motors, enabling either source of propulsion to be used. Engines may be identified by their covering. For example, the vessel in the right hand corner was powered by both sails and an engine. While extending fishing limits, engines further eroded the former self-sufficiency of the fisherfolk. The view of the fish market on the left may be compared with that in illustrations 13 and 18.

ILLUSTRATION 14

THE S.S. "PIETER FAURE", c. 1900 (De Jongh
"Die Ontwikkeling van die Seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie, n.p.



The Cape Government's first research vessel was equipped for line fishing, net fishing and trawling. Operating between 1894 and 1906, she pioneered the South African trawling industry.

ILLUSTRATION 15

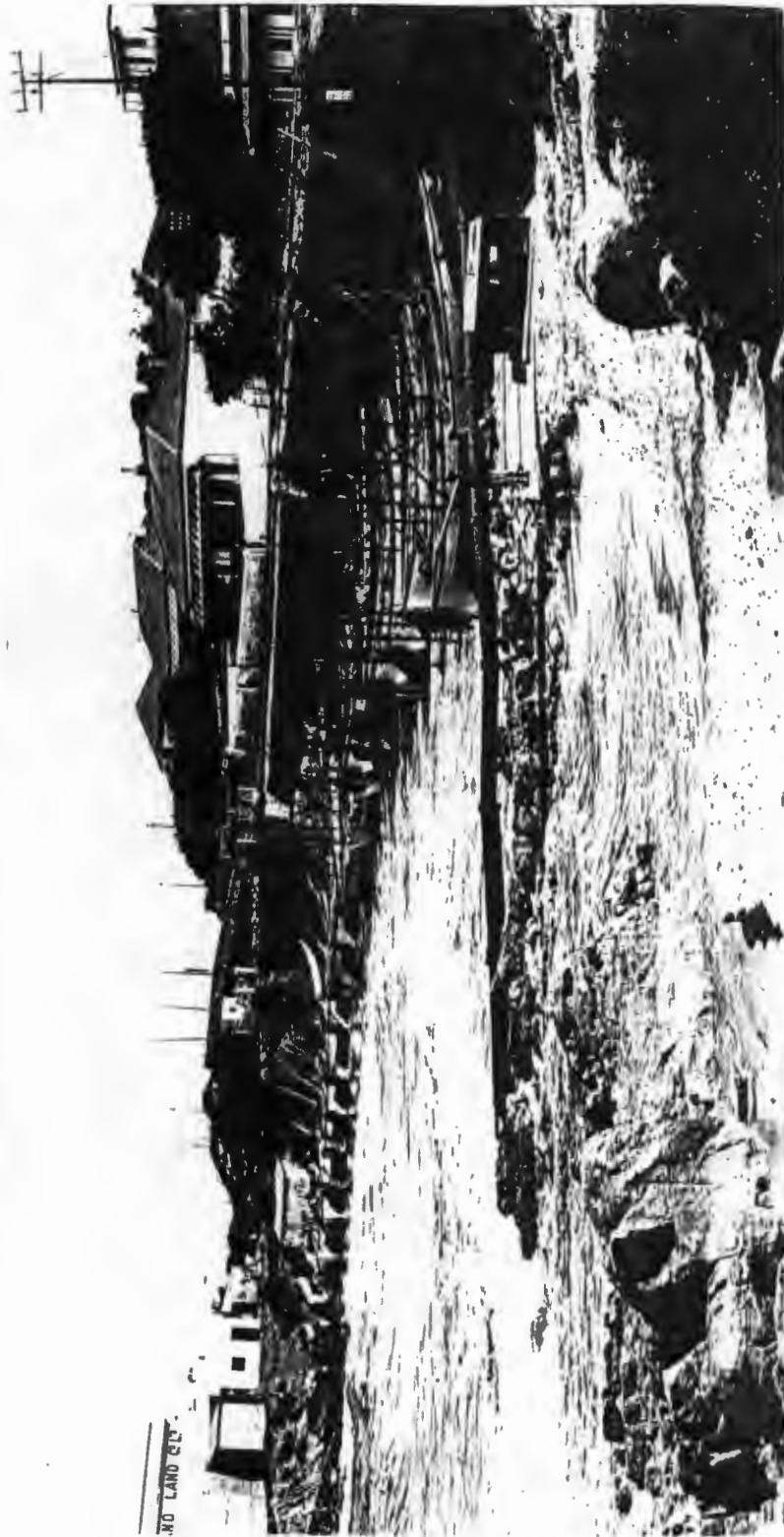
FLENSING A WHALE AT KALK BAY DURING THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY. (Cape Archives, J 10301)



By the turn of the nineteenth century, it had become extremely difficult for the Auret brothers to process their catch. As a result of complaints from residents and visitors, Council forced them to perform flensing and boiling operations as far away from Kalk Bay and Muizenberg as possible, in the direction of Strandfontein. The local whaling industry, begun in 1806, had collapsed by 1913 as a result of overexploitation of the resource.

ILLUSTRATION 16

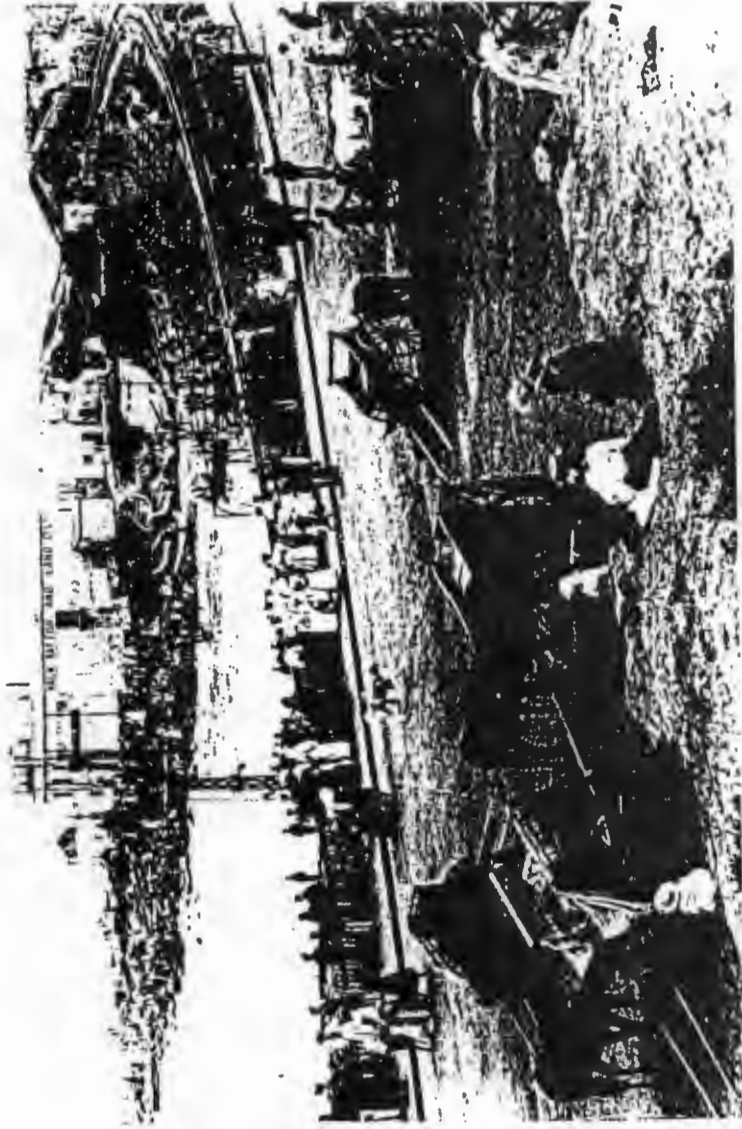
THE GANTRIES AT KALK BAY, c.1905 (Cape Archives, E 7866)



Plans for the construction of a harbour were delayed by the post-South African War depression. As a temporary measure, the Cape Government Railways and the Kalk Bay-Muizenberg Municipality, erected a set of gantries against the toe of the railway viaduct in 1905. These provided accommodation for 20 boats, two to a compartment. Fishermen would later complain that provision should have been made for all the local boats. By lifting the craft above the waves which washed over the beach, these structures were of great use to the fishermen in securing their boats in heavy weather. However, by 1910, their concrete foundations had been undermined, rendering them unusable. Telephone lines are visible in the photograph. Telephones had been installed at the station, and in a limited number of private homes, by 1902. Calls were expensive (1s. for three minutes). (See Cape Times 5 March 1902 and 19 March 1902.) Fishermen have only begun to acquire these instruments since the Second World War.

ILLUSTRATION 17

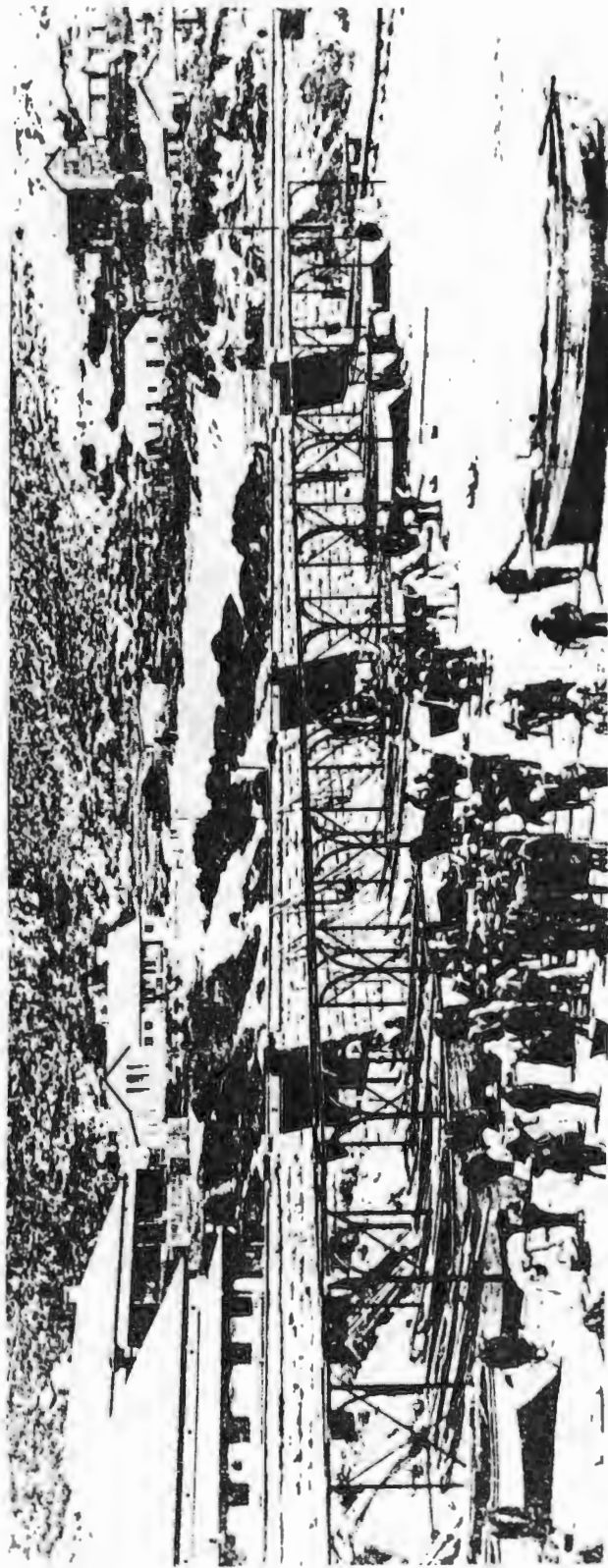
SPECTATORS AT A REGATTA AT KALK BAY, c.1905 (Cape Archives, E.3182)



Clearly illustrated is the popularity of the area as a resort and the extensive use of horse drawn carts as a means of transport. The Kalk Bay Fish and Land Company, which succeeded the False Bay Fishing and Cold Storage Company, similarly went into voluntary liquidation in 1907. Lack of support from the local fishermen had apparently again played a major role in this failure.

ILLUSTRATION 18

THE KALK BAY FISH MARKET, c.1905 (Cape Archives, J 8560)



Auctioning has remained the most popular means of sale of fish at Kalk Bay. Given their continued inability to withhold a perishable commodity from the market, fishermen have remained at the mercy of Langgannas. They have nevertheless long fought against dependence upon a single buyer and growing pressures for proletarianization of their labour. Commitment to independent small-scale production arose from the men's experience of contracts with middlemen and their exploitation by early fishing companies at Kalk Bay.

ILLUSTRATION 19

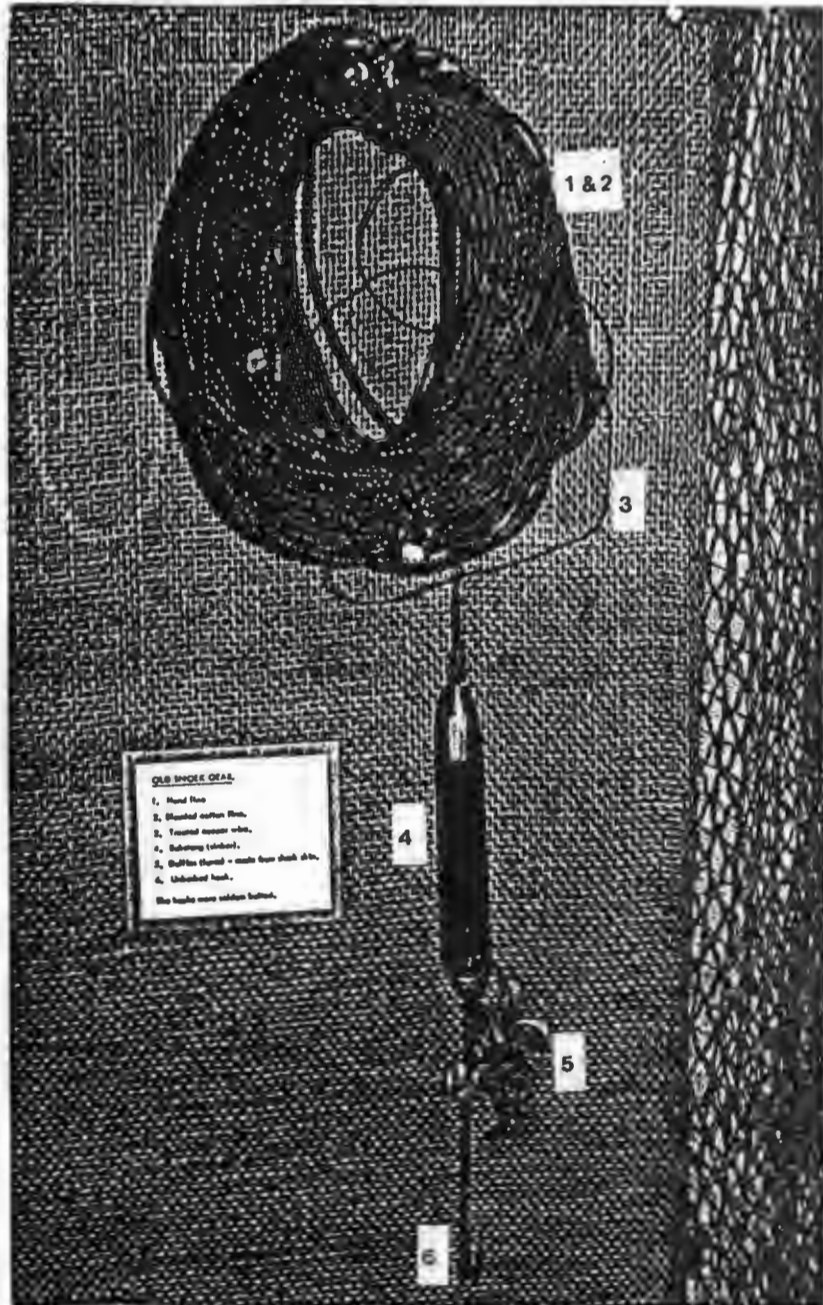
HOME-MADE SOU'WESTER (The Author, courtesy of the Hout Bay Museum)



Oilskin trousers and sou'westers were made by repeatedly soaking unbleached calico or old pyjamas in linseed oil to waterproof them. This task was usually undertaken by the women.

ILLUSTRATION 20

LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY SNOEK FISHING GEAR (The Author,
Courtesy of the Hout Bay Museum



1 and 2) Fishing lines were made of hemp and blooded for extra durability. Sometimes as long as 40 fathoms, they were wound around wooden spools (not illustrated).

3) The twisted copper wire trace prevented the fish from snapping through the lines with their powerful jaws.

4) Sinkers were made from lead, weighed from eight to twelve ounces, and were pierced longitudinally to allow them to play freely up and down the line.

5 and 6) In addition to natural baits, a lure (called a "dolly") was used. Made of a fringe of slit shark skin, this was attached to the shank of a stout, barbless hook.

CHAPTER 3

THE COMMERCIALIZATION OF FISHING IN KALK BAY, 1890-1913

Introduction

The importation of Indian indentured labour into Mauritius, after the abolition of slavery in all British possessions in 1834, created the Cape Colony's first export market for fish. Kalk Bay's production of dried fish was not sufficient to challenge the dominant position of Cape Town, St. Helena Bay and Hout Bay as suppliers to this market. In spite of the absence of rail links to Kalk Bay, by the 1870s this area was nevertheless supplying fish to the Mauritian market. The arrival of the railway in 1883 enabled the fishermen to take full advantage of new markets in the interior of South Africa, opened by the mineral discoveries of the late nineteenth century. By 1892, Kalk Bay fishermen were the major suppliers of table fish consumed in the colony. This chapter examines the local fishermen's struggle to expand the scale of their fishing effort and gain access to new markets. Their greatest success lay in maintaining their position as independent petty-commodity producers in the face of local authorities' attempts to develop the area as a health and tourist resort, and place of seaside residence, at the expense of fishermen and the emergent fishing industry and growing local and national pressures for proletarianization of their labour. Increasingly unable to compete against large-scale trawling concerns and monopolistic control over inland markets by Irvin and Johnson, they were, however, to become suppliers of a shrinking local market.

The growth of markets for fish

The major impetus to commercial fishing in the nineteenth century predated the diamond and gold discoveries of the latter decades of that century by more than thirty years. It came not from within the colony but from the British Indian Ocean island of Mauritius. The abolition of slavery in all British possessions, in 1834, forced the Mauritian sugar plantation owners to import indentured labour from India as an alternative source of cheap labour. Conditions for the new labourers were nearly identical to those of their slave predecessors.⁽¹⁾ The oil-rich Cape snoek provided a welcome ingredient in their diet of rice and fish.⁽²⁾ In 1842 a single Cape firm shipped £4 000 worth of salted fish to Mauritius. Twelve years previously the Colony's total exports of salted fish to the island had not exceeded £428 in value. In 1845, 1 809 527 lbs. of salted and cured fish, valued at £8 094, were exported from the Colony, principally to Mauritius. The trade increased steadily in both quantity and value to the mid 1880s, peaks being 5 115 671 lbs., valued at £24 523, and 3 826 994 lbs., valued at £25 511, shipped to Mauritius alone in 1870 and 1880 respectively.⁽³⁾

Major centres for the supply of Mauritian snoek trade were Cape Town, St. Helena Bay and Hout Bay.⁽⁴⁾ Kalk Bay's production of dried fish was not

(1) Van Sittert "Gebrei in die aambag", pp.13-14; P. Curtin, S. Feierman, L. Thompson and J. Vansina African History, London, Longman, 1978. p.393.

(2) R.P.47 - 1972, p.5 (33); De Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie", p.16.

(3) Van Sittert "Gebrei in die aambag", pp.14-15; De Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie", p.17; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.23.

(4) Van Sittert "Gebrei in die aambag", pp.15-16; De Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie", p.17.

sufficient to challenge their dominance of the market. By at least the 1870s dried snoek, and later dried geelbek, from this area was nevertheless being shipped to Mauritius.⁽⁵⁾ The absence of a harbour and rail communication with Cape Town meant that boats were sent round from the latter area, sometimes twice a month, or Simon's Town to load fish for Mauritius. These vessels were anchored beyond the breakers and the fish ferried out by the local boats.⁽⁶⁾ Kalk Bay merchants nevertheless found both the snoek resource and the market to be extremely uncertain and by 1892 only exported fish when they had a surplus.⁽⁷⁾ By 1898 False Bay snoek were no longer exported to Mauritius, reportedly as the fishermen could not catch enough for home consumption.⁽⁸⁾ The trade in general declined dramatically from about 1885, but particularly during the final decade of the century. Dependent solely on its sugar crop, the Mauritian economy had begun to encounter competition from the European sugar beet industry, falling world sugar prices and diminishing yields at home. Planters thus economised by resorting to local, though inferior, fish supplies as rations for their labour. In addition to this internal reason, it appears that the Cape snoek resource had, by 1890, been overfished.⁽⁹⁾ Dislocation caused by the South African war had ended the trade completely by 1902. Thereafter it would be snoek caught in the Namibian fishing grounds which would supply the Mauritian market.⁽¹⁰⁾ When the Mauritian market declined, significant new inland markets had

(5) G.37 - 1892, pp.30 (533) C. Fish and 36 (668,673) C. Kleinschmidt; Cape Argus 2 June 1871.

(6) G. 37 - 1892, p. 30 (533) C. Fish; Cape Argus 2 June 1871.

(7) G. 37 - 1892, p.36 (666, 667) C. Kleinschmidt.

(8) C. 2 - 1898, p.7 (35) H.A. Auret.

(9) Van Sittert "Gebrei in die aambag", pp.22-24 and 29; Die Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie", p.34; Thompson (Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony , p.84.

(10) Van Sittert "Gebrei in die aambag", pp.29-30.

been opened within South Africa due to the mineral discoveries of the late nineteenth century. However, supplying these markets was fraught with transportation problems. The arrival of the railway at Kalk Bay in 1883 enabled the fishermen to take full advantage of these new opportunities for the sale of their fish.

The diamond and gold discoveries made sudden demands upon the natural food resources of South Africa. Fish could theoretically provide a high-protein, relatively inexpensive solution to the problem. The arrival of the railway enabled the Kalk Bay fishermen to join their colleagues at the other Cape inshore fishing stations in attempting to supply this demand. Yet, at this crucial time, the embryonic Cape fishing industry was quite unprepared to meet the demands, railway facilities were inadequate and the supplies of fish appeared to be falling off.⁽¹¹⁾ The Fisheries Committee of 1892 found that, in addition to supplying local markets, Kalk Bay fishermen were sending about 36 tons of fresh fish per month to Bloemfontein and Kimberley. In addition to small quantities of fresh fish, six to twelve tons of salted fish were railed from Cape Town daily, mostly to Paarl, Worcester, Kimberley and Bloemfontein.⁽¹²⁾ Port Elizabeth sent about 6 tons of fresh fish a month to Kimberley, Beaconsfield and Bloemfontein. Mauritius was the only port to which cured fish was shipped, mainly snoek but to a lesser extent geelbek.⁽¹³⁾ A hundred boats were in use at Cape Town, from 50 to 60 at St. Helena Bay and only 17 at Kalk Bay, the remaining fishing stations being of lesser

(11) G. 37 - 1892, pp.vi-viii and vi-xvii; Von Bonde So Great Thy Sea, p.195.

(12) G. 37 - 1892, p.xvi.

(13) Ibid. p.xvii.

importance.⁽¹⁴⁾ Kalk Bay fishermen concentrated on local rather than export markets and supplied the greater part of the table fish consumed in the colony.⁽¹⁵⁾

Reasons for the small interior trade included "the want of a market".⁽¹⁶⁾ At Kalk Bay the small and easily over-subscribed market, fluctuating fish prices and disruption of the market by large catches at other fishing stations interacted to hinder any growth in the local industry. If larger boats, equipped with ice wells and able to remain on the grounds for several days, were to be introduced, the market would not be able to handle the increased volume of fish. In addition, the only safe anchorage for such vessels in False Bay was Simon's Bay.⁽¹⁷⁾ A more important limiting factor was the lack of proper railway facilities and excessive carriage rates. Kalk Bay snoek were only sent inland after being dried. All other species were packed in ice, placed in boxes and consigned in ordinary cattle trucks. They took 47 hours to travel from Cape Town to Kimberley and 56 hours to reach Bloemfontein. The charge for a full truckload of fish from Kalk Bay to Kimberley was £4 0s. 10 1/2d. a ton, or £16 3s. 6d. a four ton truckload. A full cattle truck with horses, mules or vehicles cost only £7 8s. 3d. For livestock or meat the comparable charge was only £6 13s. 5d. As a result of the Railway Department policy of transporting fish to any station on the Cape Town side of Worcester by goods train alone, even greater problems were

(14) Ibid. pp.xiii-xiv and Appendix F.

(15) Ibid. pp.xxii and 36 (666, 672) C. Kleinschmidt.

(16) Ibid. p.xvi.

(17) Ibid. pp.28 (481-484, 494-498, 500), 29 (502-507) C. Fish, 31 (555, 558-559) and 34 (622) C. Kleinschmidt.

experienced by the Kalk Bay men in supplying these markets. It could take as long as thirteen hours to carry fish 22 miles.⁽¹⁸⁾

Distributors also had to wait for available trucks. Given the absence of cold storage facilities at this time, this made any planned marketing impossible. There was a steady demand for Kalk Bay fish in Kimberley, a growing demand in Bloemfontein and potential markets would soon be considerably expanded by the extension of the line to Johannesburg. Despatchers of fish from Kalk Bay and Cape Town were nevertheless agreed that development of the industry could only take place by reduction of rail tariffs and the provision of proper facilities for the transporting of fish, particularly insulated trucks.⁽¹⁹⁾

In consequence of representations by the Committee, the fish rate per truck was almost immediately lowered to the meat rate. The Railway Department also made enquiries concerning refrigerated trucks in use in Europe, Canada and the United States, and gave an assurance that similar trucks would be purchased for the transport of all perishable products.⁽²⁰⁾ In November 1892 the first train from Cape Town arrived in Johannesburg, including a Cape salmon in its cargo. Within two years fish had "become a regular article of diet in Pretoria", being sold for as little as 8d. per lb.⁽²¹⁾ It will nevertheless be seen that it was only

(18) Ibid. pp.xvii, 32 (587-588, 590-591, 593) and 34 (624-626) C. Kleinschmidt.

(19) Ibid. pp.xvii, 28 (484) C. Fish, 32 (586, 592, 594-595), 34 (623-624, 627-629, 631-635) and 36 (662-666) C. Kleinschmidt.

(20) Ibid. p.xvii.

(21) Cape Times 26 April 1894 (quotation); Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.87; Maclean "The Fishermen and fishing industry at the Cape", p.90.

in 1906 that insulated fish trucks began to be used on the Cape Town-Johannesburg line.⁽²²⁾

The exploitation of new markets nevertheless required more than solutions to transportation difficulties. Further problems faced by the fishermen, and the emergent fishing industry. In Kalk Bay during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries may be divided into three general and interrelated themes. Firstly, conflict of interests emerged between the fishermen and the increasing numbers of non-fishing inhabitants at Kalk Bay. Secondly, early experiments at alternative fishing methods, the development of trawling and monopoly control over inland markets by large-scale fishing concerns, as well as early attempts at capitalization at Kalk Bay, all threatened the continuation of "traditional" fishing methods, socio-economic relationships and markets in the area. Lastly, the extension of the railway to Simon's Town and the lack of harbour facilities at Kalk Bay, caused considerable hardship, both physical and financial, for the fishermen. Attempts at finding solutions to these problems would result in conflict among fishermen and between fisherfolk and non-fisherfolk. These themes will be investigated in the remainder of this chapter and, indeed, in much of the remainder of this work.

1. Conflict between fishermen and non-fisherfolk

From the mid-1880s, Kalk Bay was developed as a tourist centre. This increasingly resulted in the settlement of the area by non-fishing

(22) See the discussion of the growth of trawling and achievement of monopolistic control over inland markets by Irvin and Johnson later in this chapter.

families. The race and class of the fisherfolk placed them in a weaker position than that of the new immigrants. As this chapter progresses, it will nevertheless become clear that the local fishermen were not prepared to accept an inferior position, either locally or in the face of the development of the South African fishing industry. On a number of occasions, they demonstrated their ability to unite for the achievement of common goals, with a considerable degree of success. Central to the development of these conflicts was the arrival of the railway and its subsequent extension to Simon's Town.

The roots of conflict - the establishment of rail communication with Cape Town and Simon's Town and increasing dominance of non-fisherfolk within Kalk Bay society

With the extension of the line from Muizenberg to Kalk Bay, the latter area became the terminus, a position it was to hold for eight years. From the station at Kalk Bay, passengers and goods were transported to Simon's Town by cart or boat. [See Illustrations 2 and 17] The difficulties of land communication between Kalk Bay and Simon's Town were alleviated by the construction of a hard road between the two areas in 1885. However, freight and passenger rates were high - 10s. a head for passengers - and the beach road was still poor and threatened by sand flats at Fishhoek and Glencairn. Boats were thus the more popular method of transport until the extension of the railway line to Simon's Town.⁽²³⁾ Work on the extension began in November 1889 and the line was opened on 1 December 1890.⁽²⁴⁾

(23) Cape Times 24 September 1924; R.R. Langham-Carter "Holy Trinity Church, Kalk Bay - The last 100 years", in Simon's Town Historical Society Bulletin, January 1984, vol. xiii, No.1. p.23; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", Whisson The Fairest Cape?, p.5; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, p.5; Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, p.5.

(24) Lindsay "Kalk Bay Railways Centenary" p.3; Coates Track and Trackless, p.121; Furlong "Kalk Bay Harbour", p.743.

Table 1 below demonstrates increasing settlement by non-fisherfolk after the arrival of the railway. It is clear that, while fishermen continued to form a major segment of the population, the contribution of non-fisherfolk to the occupational structure of the community rose from the mid-1880s. Newspaper reports of developments at Kalk Bay and meetings of the Kalk Bay-Muizenberg Council, coupled with council minutes, clearly reveal that escalating popularity of the municipality as a health and tourist resort, and place of seaside residence, was directly attributable to the establishment of rail contact with Cape Town, and later, Simon's Town. From as early as 1898, the local council was involved in periodic discussions with the railway department concerning time-table adjustments, excursion fares, season tickets and other reductions and concessions, designed to facilitate both tourism and settlement of the region.⁽²⁵⁾ During the first decade of the twentieth century, successes in this regard resulted in increasing settlement by commuters employed outside Kalk Bay. In addition to growing numbers of "day trippers", visitors often spent up to six months at the seaside, breadwinners commuting to work daily.⁽²⁶⁾

(25) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 20 October 1898, 3 November 1898, 22 December 1904, 26 September 1907, 21 November 1907, 28 April 1910, 7 July 1910, 2 February 1911, 7 December 1911, 9 May 1912, 4 July 1912, 15 August 1912 and 29 August 1912; Cape Times 21 October 1898, 4 November 1898, 23 December 1904, 27 September 1907, 22 November 1907, 29 April 1910, 8 July 1910, 4 February 1911, 8 December 1911, 10 May 1912, 5 July 1912, 16 August 1912, 30 August 1912 and 10 June 1913.

(26) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 28 April 1910, 7 July 1910 and 15 August 1912; Cape Times 29 April 1910, 8 July 1910 and 16 August 1912.

Kalk Bay was thus becoming a "dormitory suburb" for an increasing number of people.

Table 1 : Occupations of Kalk Bay resident bridegrooms marrying at Holy Trinity and St. James churches, 1876-1950⁽²⁷⁾

Occupation	Fishing		Blue Collar		Government		White Collar		Professional		All
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
PERIOD	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
1876-1880	9	81,82	2	18,18	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
1881-1885	5	83,33	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	16,67	6
1886-1890	13	61,90	5	23,81	2	9,52	1	4,76	-	-	21
1891-1895	9	69,23	3	23,08	1	7,69	-	-	-	-	13
1896-1900	13	61,90	7	33,33	1	4,76	-	-	-	-	21
1901-1905	20	71,43	5	17,86	2	7,14	-	-	1	3,57	28
1906-1910	12	60,00	3	15,00	1	5,00	3	15,00	1	5,00	20
1911-1915	20	66,67	5	16,67	3	10,00	-	-	2	6,67	30
1916-1920	16	69,57	5	21,74	-	-	1	4,35	1	4,35	23
1921-1925	15	62,50	7	29,17	1	4,17	-	-	1	4,17	24
1926-1930	17	54,84	8	25,80	1	3,23	3	9,68	2	6,45	31
1931-1935	8	27,59	11	37,93	3	10,34	7	24,14	-	-	29
1936-1940	10	37,04	10	37,03	3	11,11	4	14,81	-	-	27
1941-1945	8	38,10	4	19,05	4	19,05	4	19,05	1	4,76	21
1946-1950	15	51,72	7	24,14	1	3,45	3	10,34	3	10,34	29
1876-1950	190	56,89	82	24,55	23	6,89	26	7,78	13	3,89	334

(27) Holy Trinity Church : Marriage Registers, 1 March 1863-27 December 1955. 3 vols.; St. James Church : Marriage Registers, 3 June 1874-27 December 1955. 2 vols.

The increasing settlement of Kalk Bay by "immigrants" affected the lives of the fisherfolk in two major ways. Firstly, structures of local government developed to cater for the needs of the growing number of residents. Because the local authorities were primarily representative of the interests of non-fisherfolk, or fishermen whose interests lay in the capitalization of the local industry, they stressed the development of Kalk Bay as a tourist resort and residential suburb. Fishermen and their occupation increasingly came to be seen as a threat to these goals. Thus, while the Kalk Bay-Muizenberg Council and, later, the Cape Town City Council would do all in their power to develop tourism and settlement, this would be done at the expense of the fishermen. Both the men and their occupation would suffer increasing restriction and control so as to prevent interference with tourism and settlement. Secondly, faced with decreasing area available for settlement, rising property prices and high rates, resulting from the development of Kalk Bay and surrounds, the fishermen were increasingly unable to expand their area of residence away from that abutting the fishery beach. The inescapable result was overcrowding and slum conditions. Residential zoning by race and class were merely a reflection of de facto social segregation. Lack of representation of the majority of fishermen's interests by local authorities thus reflected the former group's inferior social and economic position.

Local authorities and increasing restrictions on fishermen and their occupation

As an indirect result of increasing settlement, Kalk Bay took the first step towards local government in March 1891 with the formation of a

village management board.⁽²⁸⁾ Among the three members elected on 13 April of that year was Abraham Auret (Sr.), previously referred to in connection with whaling at Kalk Bay.⁽²⁹⁾ Local fishermen were thus at least partly represented on this body. The area achieved full municipal status in May 1895 with the formation of the Kalk Bay-Muizenberg Municipality, covering an area from the Visch Hoek River at Klein Tuin (modern Clovelly), in the south, to a point between Muizenberg and Strandfontein, below Zeekoe Vlei, in the south east. The northern boundary lay to the north of Zandvlei.⁽³⁰⁾ [See Map 2] The first meeting of council was held on 5 June 1895.⁽³¹⁾ At a meeting of ratepayers on 16 March 1905, the Kalk Bay Ratepayers' Association was formed, its membership apparently being drawn from amongst non-fishing inhabitants of the area.⁽³²⁾ The question of municipal unification with Cape Town was first considered by the Kalk Bay-Muizenberg Council on 28 October 1909.⁽³³⁾ On 6 December 1912, a meeting of ratepayers confirmed council's motion, of 26 November, agreeing to the principle of unification with Cape Town.⁽³⁴⁾ While the possibilities for the development of tourism inherent in an action of this nature had played a major role in this decision, no significance was attached by council or

(28) The Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette No.7279, 27 March 1891, p.562. (Proclamation No.97).

(29) The Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette No.7285, 17 April 1891, p.710. See Chapter 2.

(30) The Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette No.7707, 3 May 1895, p.832. (Proclamation No.186).

(31) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 5 June 1895.

(32) Cape times 18 March 1905.

(33) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 28 October 1909; Cape Times 29 October 1909.

(34) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 26 November 1912; Cape Times 28 November 1912 and 7 December 1912.

non-fishing ratepayers to the fishermen's needs.⁽³⁵⁾ The final meeting of the Kalk Bay-Muizenberg Council was held on 29 August 1913.⁽³⁶⁾ On 8 September 1913, the boundaries of the Municipality of Cape Town were extended by the incorporation of the hitherto separate municipalities of Kalk Bay and Muizenberg, Green Point and Sea Point, Woodstock, Maitland, Mowbray, Rondebosch and Claremont. In 1927 they would be joined by Wynberg.⁽³⁷⁾ As this chapter progresses, it will become apparent that, both as an independent municipality and as a ward of Cape Town, local authorities at Kalk Bay-Muizenberg were primarily concerned with developing the attractions of the area as a tourist resort and place of seaside residence. That this would be the case was clear from the start in the local council's interpretation of the Kalk Bay Municipal Improvement Act of 1897.

The Kalk Bay Municipal Improvement Act, No.27 of 1897, granted the Kalk Bay-Muizenberg Council the ability to frame regulations and bye-laws, undertake works and enter into agreements for the development of the area as a tourist resort and residential suburb. Powers were also granted for the control and development of fishing and the fishing industry.⁽³⁸⁾ An analysis of the methods whereby the local council utilised this legislation as a charter for the development of the tourist and residential potential of the municipality lies beyond the scope of this

(35) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 6 January 1910-26 November 1912; Cape Times 7 January 1910-7 December 1912. See especially Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 3 February 1910 and 6 November 1912 and Cape Times 21 January 1910, 11 February 1910, 28 November 1912 and 7 December 1912.

(36) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 29 August 1913; Cape Times 1 September 1913.

(37) Corporation of the City of Cape Town Mayor's Minute, 1925. pp.23 and 27; Cape Times 8 September 1913 and 9 September 1913.

(38) Act No.26 of 1897 The Kalk Bay Municipal Improvement Act, 1897.

thesis. Council minutes, Cape Times reports of council meetings and developments at Kalk Bay-Muizenberg, and the two local newspapers which operated between 1902 and 1903, nevertheless reveal the extensive degree to which council utilized powers granted by the Act to achieve this goal. From its inception, but particularly after the passage of the Municipal Improvement act, until its unification with Cape Town, the Kalk Bay-Muizenberg Council was continuously involved in the promotion of its own schemes, and negotiations with private syndicates, for the development of the tourist and residential potential of the municipality. While many of these schemes did not reach fruition, the efforts of this body, and its support of privately-funded initiatives, ensured that, during the period between the ending of the South African War and the achievement of municipal unification, Muizenberg would rise to prominence as the premier middle and upper class resort of the Peninsula. Over the same period, lower budget schemes ensured that Kalk Bay, which had lost its popularity among the rich after the arrival of the railway line enabled access by all with the price of the train fare, would be developed as the most popular resort of the Peninsula working class. Paralleling these developments was the creation of a network of roads and a comprehensive system of municipal services equal, if not superior, to those at any other municipalities in the Peninsula.⁽³⁹⁾ In order to give some idea of the development of tourist facilities and provision of the most crucial municipal services, a short summary of some of the works undertaken at Kalk Bay and the provision of water, electricity and drainage schemes is provided below.

(39) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 5 June 1895-29 August 1913; Cape Times 14 January 1897-1 September 1913; The Peninsula Herald and Simon's Town Gazette 12 April 1902-5 December 1903; The Seaside News 29 November 1902-24 October 1903. See also Burman The False Bay Story, pp.121 and 130-132 and Coates Track and Trackless, pp.121-123.

The earliest works undertaken by council to improve the attraction of the bathing place at Kalk Bay was the removal of loose stones from the beaches in 1895 and 1897.⁽⁴⁰⁾ In 1898 a notice board was placed on the beach below the station, warning bathers of the treacherous nature of the current. A coffee stall was opened on the beach in January 1901.⁽⁴¹⁾ By March of the following year, a wood and canvas structure, near the shooting gallery at Kalk Bay, provided dancing facilities for increasing numbers of working class visitors.⁽⁴²⁾ As early as 1893, it had been noted that a problem was arising at Kalk Bay due to indiscriminate camping on the beach. The problem had reached sufficient scale by August 1902 to force council to take action. Municipal ground was set aside for camping and sanitation and water were provided. Campsites at Muizenberg, St. James and Kalk Bay were well utilized by 1905.⁽⁴³⁾ The popularity of this form of holiday housing apparently lay to a significant degree in increasing numbers of lower middle class and working class visitors being unable to afford the extremely high rents for established holiday accommodation.⁽⁴⁴⁾ New Year still sees large numbers of coloured residents of the Peninsula camping at Kalk Bay.

In October 1898, council had petitioned the railway department to erect a second platform at Kalk Bay railway station. With the increasing

(40) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 28 August 1895, 4 November 1897 and 2 December 1897; Cape Times 5 November 1897 and 3 December 1897.

(41) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 27 January 1898 and 22 January 1901; Cape Times 28 January 1898 and 22 January 1901.

(42) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 4 March 1902; Cape Times 5 March 1902.

(43) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 19 August 1902; Cape Times 20 August 1902 and 13 January 1905; Laidler The Growth and Government of Cape Town, pp.409-410.

(44) Cape Times 3 February 1904 and 13 January 1905.

popularity of the area, much inconvenience was being caused by one train having to wait until another moved out before passengers could alight. Work on the project only began late in 1904, a second platform and esplanade being completed by January 1905.⁽⁴⁵⁾ In order to cater for the needs of growing numbers of visitors, council erected a timber and weather boarding ladies bathing house on Kalk Bay beach in November 1906.⁽⁴⁶⁾ A wire rope with wooden floats was strung across a rocky reef there in April of the following year. Any person in danger of being swept out by the current could grab hold of this.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The most significant developmental works at Kalk Bay were undertaken during the latter half of 1911 and the first few months of 1912. During this period, a footpath was constructed across the rocks at the beach and improvements were made to the outspan. Three tidal pools - the St. James, Bishop's (Kalk Bay) and Wooley's - were constructed, the Kalk Bay pool being floodlit to enable night-time bathing.⁽⁴⁸⁾ A bathing pavilion, containing 174 cubicles and a tearoom, had been opened at Muizenberg in October 1910.⁽⁴⁹⁾ During the latter half of 1911, this was extended to cater for 3 000 bathers daily. At the same time, a smaller pavilion, catering for 700 persons, was constructed on the beach near Kalk Bay station.⁽⁵⁰⁾ The pavilion schemes clearly demonstrate the preferential treatment given to Muizenberg. Council's favouring of

(45) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 6 October 1898; Cape Times 7 October 1898 and 13 January 1905.

(46) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 8 November 1906; Cape Times 9 November 1906.

(47) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 11 April 1907; Cape Times 12 April 1907.

(48) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 2 February 1911, 14 September 1911 and 15 August 1912; Cape Times 4 February 1911, 15 September 1911 and 16 August 1912.

(49) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 27 October 1910 and 2 February 1911; Cape Times 28 October 1910 and 4 February 1911; Burman The False Bay Story, pp.130-131.

(50) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 14 September 1911 and 15 August 1912; Cape Times 15 September 1911 and 16 August 1912.

Muizenberg is explicable in terms of the changing class basis of Kalk Bay's clientele.

In September 1911, the town clerk reported that "The Prime Minister and other members of the South African Ministry and their wives used the (Muizenberg) pavilion very extensively during the last season."⁽⁵¹⁾ Given the small and easily-overcrowded beaches, and the presence of increasing numbers of working class visitors, it is extremely unlikely that persons of this stature would have made use of a structure at Kalk Bay. Development of local attractions for visitors and residents was nevertheless not limited to the construction of recreational facilities. The most important municipal services inaugurated by the Kalk Bay-Muizenberg Council were those of water, electricity and drainage. The Municipalities' fine storage dam on the Silvermine River, the Hansen Reservoir, was inaugurated on 17 April 1903. Work on the reservoir itself had been completed, and a limited number of houses and institutions were supplied with piped water, in April 1900.⁽⁵²⁾ As early as 1895, the first year of its existence, council had declared the provision of an adequate fresh water supply for the municipality to be an urgent necessity.⁽⁵³⁾ Prior to the construction of the reservoir, water was drawn from streams and springs in the area, particularly those at Die Trappies (modern

(51) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 14 September 1911; Cape Times 15 September 1911.

(52) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 1 April 1903; Seaside News 4 April 1903 and 19 April 1903; Cape Times 2 April 1903.

(53) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 14 August 1895, 11 September 1895 and 25 September 1895.

Clovelly Corner) and in the vicinity of the modern fishermen's flats.⁽⁵⁴⁾

A number of residents also had wells. In 1901 and 1902, it was revealed that water from a number of these wells was polluted and had resulted in several cases of enteric fever.⁽⁵⁵⁾

On 3 August 1907, the combined municipal electricity and drainage works were officially opened. The sewage and electricity plants were sufficient to cater for the needs of 50 000 people. Engines and plant were constructed in duplicate to prevent any inconvenience in the event of a breakdown.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The municipality had previously been lit by oil lamps.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Frequent complaints from residents regarding the poor service offered by the local sanitary contractor, employed since the days of the village management board, had resulted in council inaugurating a departmental system of night soil removal in November of 1895.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Piped water and water-borne sewage were nevertheless apparently intended largely for white inhabitants of the area. The majority of fishermen would only have running water and water closets in their homes from the mid-1940s.⁽⁵⁹⁾

(54) Interview with M. Cobern, Fish Hoek, 3 December 1894; Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 23 September 1897 and 19 April 1900; Cape Times 27 November 1969; Cape Times Week-end Magazine 20 October 1956; Cape Times 24 September 1897 and 20 April 1900; Cobern Story of the Fish Hoek Valley, pp.213-214.

(55) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 6 August 1901 and 18 February 1902; Cape Times 7 August 1901 and 19 February 1902.

(56) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes 20 June 1907; Cape Times 21 June 1907 and 5 August 1907.

(57) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 4 November 1897 and 16 June 1898; Cape Times 5 November 1897, 17 June 1898 and 26 June 1903.

(58) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 3 July 1895, 14 August 1895, 28 August 1895, 11 September 1895, 25 September 1895, 30 September 1895, 24 October 1895, 6 November 1895, 9 November 1895, 13 November 1895, 20 November 1895 and 6 December 1895.

(59) Corporation of the City of Cape Town Mayor's Minute, 1945. p.69. (Report of the Medical Officer of Health, 1940-1944.); Cape Times 25 July 1946; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, p.15.

The development of tourism and settlement was undertaken for the benefit of non-fisherfolk, at the expense of fishermen and the fishing industry. Both the men and their occupation suffered increasing restriction and control, so as to prevent interference with tourism and settlement. The interests of Councillors with ties to the fishing industry lay in capitalization and the creation of a centralized and monopolistic industry. As such, even their interests differed radically from those of the fishermen. Among the six Councillors holding office from the first meeting on 5 June 1895 to 14 August of that year were two with direct interests in the fishing industry, Carl Kleinschmidt and Hendrik Andries Auret.⁽⁶⁰⁾

Carl Kleinschmidt was one of the principal fish merchants at Kalk Bay during the late nineteenth century. Having become established at Kalk Bay in about 1880, he at first operated boats of his own but by 1892 served only as a middleman. At some time between 1889 and 1891 he had headed pioneering attempts at trawling for soles at Kalk Bay.⁽⁶¹⁾ He was a member of the Kalk Bay-Muizenberg Council from its establishment to August 1899.⁽⁶²⁾ While his burial is not recorded in the local church records, he died at some time between 1899 and 1901. By 1902 John Maule Black had taken over his business at Kalk Bay.⁽⁶³⁾

(60) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 5 June 1895-14 August 1895.

(61) C. 2 - 1898, p.6 (61) H.A. Auret; G. 37 - 1892, pp.x, 30 (536, 551), 32 (557, 597), 35 (648-653). C. Kleinschmidt.

(62) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 5 June 1895 and 12 August 1896.

(63) Holy Trinity Church : Burial Register, 5 August 1875-14 July 1932; St. James Church : Liber Defunctorum, 21 May 1896-31 December 1970; Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 19 February 1901; A. 17 - 1902, p.43 (361-363) J.M. Black; Cape Times 20 February 1901.

The early history of the Auret family and their role in the local whale fishery has been covered in Chapter 2. Born in about 1846, Hendrik Andries Auret began fishing in about 1858. Operating both from Kalk Bay and Muizenberg, he and his brother Frikkie had by 1898 acquired full control of their father's whaling and fishing operations. Whaling being a seasonal and subsidiary activity, his major income, and that of his brother, was derived from beach seine net fishing at Muizenberg. He also had some experience of handline fishing. In 1902, Hendrik Auret became a director of the False Bay Fishing and Cold Storage Company, which was liquidated in 1904. Thereafter he returned to whaling and presumably fishing.⁽⁶⁴⁾ He was a Kalk Bay-Muizenberg Councillor from 1 June to 14 August 1895 and from 1906 to 1908.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Frederick William Auret was elected for two years from 14 August 1895, being re-elected for three years from 29 July 1897. In March 1898, however, he resigned.⁽⁶⁶⁾

On 25 April 1907 Peter Gerhard Wege, formerly Chairman of Directors of the False Bay Fishing and Cold Storage Company, began a two year period of office as Councillor. Elected Mayor on 15 August 1907, he retired in July 1909. Again elected, for a period of three years, from 15 August 1912 his period of office was cut short by municipal unification with Cape

(64) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 16 June 1898, 18 September 1900, 1 October 1901, 27 September 1906; A. 17 - 1902, pp.37 (294), 40 (323-324, 328) and 42 (351-355) H.A. Auret; C. 2 - 1898, pp. 1 (1), 5 (51), 8 (88) and 11 (120,124) H.A. Auret; Cape Times 17 June 1898, 19 September 1900, 2 October 1901, 27 July 1903, 3 September 1904 and 28 September 1906; Green Tavern of the seas, pp.169-170; Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, p.5.

(65) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 5 June 1895-31 July 1895 and 2 August 1906.

(66) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 14 August 1895, 29 July 1897 and 24 March 1898.

Town.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Lastly, at an election on 8 July 1909, Algernon Strachey Marshall-Hall was elected as a Councillor for three years, taking his seat on 22 July 1909.⁽⁶⁸⁾ The Honorary Secretary and Treasurer of the Kalk Bay Fishermen's Union in 1908, he was owner of a number of houses leased to tourists and permanent residents within the Municipality.⁽⁶⁹⁾

Thus, with the exception of the period September 1899 to March 1906, persons with strong interests in the fishing industry served as Councillors from the inception of the Kalk Bay-Muizenberg Council to unification with Cape Town. It is nevertheless clear that, with the possible exception of A.S. Marshall-Hall, their interests would best be served by the development of a highly capitalised monopolistic industry. As such, these interests differed markedly from those of the ordinary fishermen and skippers, independent petty-commodity producers, each man working for himself rather than as a wage labourer. While allied more closely to those of remaining Councillors and non-fishing residents, their interests in the industry nevertheless contrasted strongly with development of the area as a tourist resort and residential suburb. The Kalk Bay fishermen were thus faced with increasing settlement of the municipality by non-fishing families, the development of tourism and minority representation on Council by representatives whose interests differed from their own and those of other Councillors and residents. As

(67) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 25 April 1907, 15 August 1907, 8 July 1909 (insert); 22 July 1909 and 15 August 1912; A. 17 - 1902, p.32 (255) P.G. Wege; Cape Times 23 July 1903.

(68) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 8 July 1909 and 22 July 1909.

(69) Cape Archives : T 4311 Kalk Bay Fishermen's Union, Representations re. unseaworthy state of the steam-boat "Gnu", 1908. A.S. Marshall Hall, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, Kalk Bay Fishermen's Union to Registrar of Shipping, Cape Town, 29 September 1908; Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 28 April 1910; Cape Times 29 September 1908 and 29 April 1910.

such, the men stood little chance of aid from their representatives, Council or ratepayers in finding solutions to their problems. It will be seen that the only exceptions were cases where these problems were of such magnitude as to threaten the collapse of the industry, with the attendant threat of a serious unemployment problem, or solutions were perceived as being beneficial to tourism and settlement. The protests of fishermen against trawling in the bay, it will be argued, were perceived in the former light. Pleas for the construction of a harbour, it will be seen, were interpreted as heralding capitalization of the industry and the development of tourism and settlement through the stimulation of recreational fishing and boating. For the rest, the fishermen's needs would be subjugated to those of tourism and settlement. This assertion is perhaps best illustrated by the crucial role of tourism and the insignificant role of fishing in discussions leading towards municipal unification.

Thus, while utilised by Council as the charter for successful development of tourism and settlement, the Kalk Bay Municipal Improvement Act was applied in an essentially restrictive manner against the fishing industry. The need for fisheries regulations had been drawn to Council's attention as early as 28 August 1895.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Power to control fishing and the industry having been granted by the Act⁽⁷¹⁾, fishermen were forbidden to take sand from the beach as ballast for their boats. Certain sand dunes were reserved for these purposes and action was taken by Council

(70) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 28 August 1895.

(71) Act No.26 of 1897, Section 10(1).

against fishermen who removed sand from elsewhere.⁽⁷²⁾ Similarly, due to the pungent odour created by the boiling of whale blubber, it had at the turn of the century become extremely difficult for the Auret Brothers to process their catch. Boiling took place as far away from Kalk Bay and Muizenberg as possible, in the direction of Strandfontein, and the oil had to be transported back to Muizenberg and Kalk Bay for storage prior to being sold.⁽⁷³⁾

As already noted, due to the perceived detrimental effects to the tourist trade and in the face of complaints by residents, it had become virtually impossible for fishermen to cure fish within municipal boundaries by the turn of the century.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Similar complaints were received from residents and visitors about the cleaning and flecking of fish on the beach and the use of the beach for trade purposes.⁽⁷⁵⁾ In January 1898 Messrs Geddes and Frost, appearing on behalf of a Mr Majid, sought permission from Council to construct a jetty on the Kalk Bay foreshore opposite Kleinschmidt's fish store. This would serve the dual purpose of providing a venue for the letting of pleasure boats and developing the fishing industry by providing facilities for the landing of fish from the boats, presumably at a fee. Specifications were not supplied and councillors felt that they should retain in their hands the building of

(72) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 16 June 1898, 11 August 1898, 27 July 1899 and 10 October 1907; Cape Times 17 June 1898, 12 August 1898, 28 July 1899 and 11 October 1907.

(73) See Chapter 2.

(74) Ibid.

(75) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 10 October 1907 and 7 February 1908; Cape Times 11 October 1907 and 8 February 1908.

any pier or jetty. In any case "the proximity of fish would probably keep the public away". Negotiations thus came to a standstill.⁽⁷⁶⁾

In August 1898 it was reported that, as a result of dirty water and fish scales issuing from it, Kleinschmidt's fish store [See Illustration 4] constituted a nuisance and a danger to the public health. No channel being provided to carry refuse into the sea, the latter fell among the rocks, causing an unpleasant odour. Having found it to be dilapidated and a danger to the public health, the structure was demolished and removed by Council on 16 January 1904.⁽⁷⁷⁾ On a number of occasions prior to 1913 complaints that tourism was suffering as a result of the presence of the fishing industry were accompanied by calls for its removal.⁽⁷⁸⁾ More determined efforts to have the fishermen removed from Kalk Bay in the post 1913 period will receive attention in subsequent chapters. It is nevertheless clear that the period 1897 to 1913 saw the ending of the days when fishermen could ply their trade freely. Over the same period, increasing settlement by non-fisherfolk, and the growth in popularity of Kalk Bay-Muizenberg as a health and tourist resort, decreased area available for settlement and raised property prices and rates. The area inhabited by fishermen was increasingly confined to that abutting the fishery beach, a situation resulting in overcrowding and slum conditions. Residential zoning by race and class merely reflected de facto social

(76) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes 13 January 1898, 27 January 1898, 10 February 1898; Cape Times 14 January 1898, 28 January 1898 (quotation) and 11 February 1898.

(77) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 25 August 1898 and 21 January 1904; Cape Times 26 August 1898 and 22 January 1904.

(78) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 18 July 1907 and 28 April 1910; Cape Times 19 July 1907, 29 April 1910, 18 February 1911 and 19 March 1912.

segregation. Lack of representation of fishermen's interests by local authorities emphasized the former group's weaker position.

The existence of residential zoning by race and class, the boundaries of the area inhabited by fishermen and slum conditions at Kalk Bay as early as the 1860s have been discussed in Chapter 2. The occupation of fishing contributed in part to *dirty* living conditions. However, uncleanliness was merely a symptom of overcrowding, occasioned by increasing settlement of the area by non-fishermen reducing space available for settlement. This raised property prices, rates and rents. Due to shortage of available land, farmers were being approached by council to alienate land for the development of municipal services by the mid-1890s.⁽⁷⁹⁾ In July 1897, councillors argued that increasing competition among buyers had made a mockery of existing property valuations within the municipality. While the "smaller class of homes" were generally "pretty fully valued", there were many instances of "considerable under-valuation" on larger properties. A property valued at £300 had recently been sold for £2000. Many other cases of a similar nature could be quoted, demonstrating that the poor were "paying for the rich".⁽⁸⁰⁾ By the following year, shortage of accommodation was forcing fishermen to live in the boat sheds at Muizenberg.⁽⁸¹⁾ In 1900 schemes were underfoot to promote the construction of large dwelling houses, apparently in the St. James area and the section of Muizenberg abutting

(79) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 26 June 1895, 31 July 1895, 25 September 1895, 9 November 1895 and 4 December 1895,

(80) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 14 July 1897; Cape Times 15 July 1897.

(81) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 26 May 1898 and 20 October 1898; Cape Times 27 May 1898 and 21 October 1898.

this.⁽⁸²⁾ That this policy was extremely successful in promoting growth and that this, in turn, resulted in increasing shortage of accommodation for fishermen is illustrated by a variety of sources. By October 1901, the number of large buildings had necessitated the provision of fire-extinguishing appliances.⁽⁸³⁾ In parliamentary debate on the report of the select committee on the proposed fishing harbour at Kalk Bay in 1902, the M.L.A. for Grahamstown, Arthur Douglass, noted that "with the high price of ground (at Kalk Bay) there was no use in having such a harbour unless they could have some place where the fishermen could live."⁽⁸⁴⁾ In evidence before the select committee on the proposed electric lighting and drainage scheme for Kalk Bay-Muizenberg in 1904, Mr George Powell, municipal councillor and former chairperson of the village management board, confirmed that "the whole municipality ... has increased very rapidly in recent years" and, he predicted, would continue to do so. In addition, land had become "very expensive and difficult to get".⁽⁸⁵⁾ Table 2 below details value of assessed property and rates in the £ levied at Kalk Bay-Muizenberg from 1895 to 1905. Over the period, the assessed value of rateable property rose by 558,84 percent. Rates in the £ rose from nil in 1895 to 3d. in 1905. Municipal valuations and rates could not have risen by this degree were the market values of properties not correspondingly rising. Moreover, not only was accommodation for permanent residents becoming more expensive but rents during the tourist

(82) Kalk Bay -Muizenberg Council Minutes, 30 October 1900 and 27 November 1900; Cape Times 31 October 1900 and 28 November 1900.

(83) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 15 October 1901; Cape Times 16 October 1901.

(84) Cape Hansard 5 November 1902. p.630 (quotation); Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List, 1902. p.362.

(85) A. 13 - 1904 Report of the Select Committee on the Kalk Bay Electric Lighting Bill, 1904, p.20 (248-249, 251, 256-261) G. Powell. (Quotations p.20 (256, 258, 261.))

season were extremely high.⁽⁸⁶⁾ Landlords would thus possibly have been more inclined to let to tourists for a short season than to permanent residents at a reduced rental for the entire year.

TABLE 2 : Value of assessed property and rates in the £ levied at Kalk Bay-Muizenberg, 1895-1905.⁽⁸⁷⁾

Year	Assessed rateable value of fixed property in the £	Date of last valuation	Rates levied in the £
1895	135 592	1895	nil
1896	-	1896	-
1897	165 333	1896	1 3/4
1898	235 139	1898	1 1/2
1899	261 716	1898	2
1900	361 021	1900	2
1901	400 555	1901	2
1902	642 950	1902	2
1903	725 147	1902	2 1/2
1904	736 386	1902	2 1/2
1905	757 746	1902	3

(86) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 20 October 1898; Cape Times 21 October 1898, 3 February 1904 and 13 January 1905.

(87) Statistical Register of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1895-1904. (Value of Assessed Property : Municipal Purposes.)

Paralleling the gradual move away from subsistence to petty-capitalist fishing, while numbers of fishermen continued to live in huts and wood and iron structures to the 1940s⁽⁸⁸⁾, by the turn of the nineteenth century rented cottages were a popular alternative. Conditions here were not much better. As a result of the outbreak of Bubonic plague in the Peninsula in 1901, great activity was unleashed in the Kalk Bay-Muizenberg Municipality between February and October of that year.⁽⁸⁹⁾ That council and local residents' efforts were successful is demonstrated by the fact that no cases of the disease were reported within municipal boundaries during that year. Considerable evidence of the appalling state of houses occupied by coloured families was nevertheless brought to light. Several of the "pondoks" were a nuisance, infested with rats and a danger to public health. Among the worst cases in rental accommodation at Kalk Bay, two cottages (Hofmeyer's Cottages) of one room each had two separate families living in each. Two of Joubert's cottages had the kitchen sub-let to other tenants.⁽⁹⁰⁾ Of the five rooms in Kimberley Cottage, "only two were comfortable, the other three being infested with rats, the floors and skirting rotten, and the walls very dilapidated."⁽⁹¹⁾ One of Kleinschmidt's Cottages, inhabited by four families "was unfit for human habitation."⁽⁹²⁾ Another, of two rooms, was inhabited by three families. Six children and

(88) Cape Times 25 July 1946.

(89) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 22 January 1901-8 January 1902 (see especially 19 February 1901-1 October 1901); G. 61 - 1901. pp.2, 63, 77-78, 95, 105, 118, 128, 156, 186, 204, 228, 232 and 239; Cape Times 23 January 1901-8 January 1902 (see especially 20 February 1901-2 October 1901).

(90) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 5 March 1901; Cape Times 6 March 1901.

(91) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 1 October 1901; Cape Times 2 October 1901. Unless otherwise stated, when council minutes and newspaper reports of council meetings are cited together, quotations are from the latter source.

(92) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 19 February 1901; Cape Times 20 February 1901.

two women lived in one room, a man and a women in a small room and two men in the loft, the only ventilation being the trap door. An open shed adjoining the same house showed signs of habitation by a number of people. "The whole of the building was in a dilapidated condition in spite of the owner being repeatedly called upon to put the premises into repair."⁽⁹³⁾

Conditions among the fishermen were nevertheless soon allowed to worsen again after the scare was over. In 1902, it was reported by the municipal sanitary inspector that three of Hofmeyer's cottages were "entirely without light or ventilation, with the exception of the door, and on the whole entirely unfit for human habitation."⁽⁹⁴⁾ Later in the year, a surprise inspection revealed "nine people in one room, twelve feet by three feet, and six people in another small room which was also used for sleeping purposes" at another cottage in Kalk Bay.⁽⁹⁵⁾ At council meetings on 16 and 17 February 1905, a letter from Dr Benjamin, a G.P. practising in the area, was discussed. Arising from his observations made in an attempt to trace the source of a case of enteric fever at Kalk Bay, this noted that:

As the population includes a large proportion of fishermen, and their families, and other poor people, it is of the utmost importance to see that the sanitary conditions under which these people live are such as would not be likely to breed disease. As a matter of fact, in far too many cases the back premises and the ground surrounding these people's dwellings are generally in a state of indescribable filth. One sees almost every day putrefying fish, decaying vegetable matter, and refuse of every

(93) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 1 October 1901; Cape Times 2 October 1901.

(94) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 27 May 1902; Cape Times 28 May 1902.

(95) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 10 December 1902; Cape Times 11 December 1902.

description scattered all over the place, not to mention paper, bottles, etc.⁽⁹⁶⁾

Inhabitants stated that they were not provided with receptacles for refuse, which was also not removed frequently enough. Night soil was allowed to spill from the sanitary carts "creating a stench in the road." Councillors reacted extremely defensively to these allegations. Municipal inspectors argued that refuse was removed from private homes three times a week. The refuse tank at the public wash house was a "continual nuisance". Householders deposited refuse outside the tank and this was then scattered by dogs, fowls and the wind. While there were more coloured persons at Kalk Bay, conditions there were "not to any extent worse than at Muizenberg." Countering these assertions, Dr Benjamin stated that his communication referred not to the municipality as a whole but to wood and iron buildings occupied by fishermen "in a particular quarter." These persons deposited old fish heads and bones in their paraffin tins and a number of householders also used these for washing purposes. While refuse may have been removed from the remainder of the municipality three times a week, fishermen sometimes complained of non-removal for up to a week.⁽⁹⁷⁾ Discussion of problems nevertheless did not result in any long-term solutions and interest in fishermen's housing continued to be limited to the prevention of possible outbreaks of disease. In 1906 the Medical Officer of Health reported that, as a precaution against smallpox, a house-to-house inspection was necessary "especially in these portions where the coloured population reside and where there was a danger of over-

(96) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 16 February 1905; Cape Times 17 February 1905.

(97) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 16 February 1905 and 17 February 1905; Cape Times 17 February 1905 and 18 February 1905.

crowding."⁽⁹⁸⁾ Given the lack of alternative accommodation occupiers were nevertheless faced with little alternative but to pay heavy rents demanded by the majority of landlords.⁽⁹⁹⁾ By the 1860s, but increasingly from the late nineteenth century, settlement in the area abutting the fishery beach and the existence of slum conditions in this area, had thus separated fisherfolk from the other inhabitants of Kalk Bay. The existence of fisherfolk as a separate group, discriminated against by non-fisherfolk, was further reflected in their social segregation from the remainder of the local population, even in church life.

While the Roman Catholic Church, with its large proportion of Filipino congregants, appears to have been more integrated, children's services at Holy Trinity Church were segregated from about 1900.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ During the period covered by The Messenger, from March 1923 to July 1934, a service was held at 10h00 for white children and 15h00 for coloured children.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ It was only in August 1934 that a single children's service, at 09h45, was introduced or restored.⁽¹⁰²⁾ Until recent years coloured children were nevertheless apparently expected not to draw too much attention to themselves at these services.⁽¹⁰³⁾ During the nineteenth century the Holy Trinity church choir was composed chiefly, if not entirely, of the coloured fisher-families and their children. They did not appear at the Sunday matins service, apparently attended mainly by white parishioners

(98) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 2 August 1906; Cape Times 4 August 1906.

(99) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 1 October 1901; The Messenger October 1931; Cape Times 2 October 1901.

(100) Interviews with M.A. Tredgold, Kenilworth, 19 January 1983 and M. Race, Kalk Bay, 2 August 1982.

(101) The Messenger March 1923 - July 1934. (Service Times). See especially January 1924, February 1932 and December 1933.

(102) The Messenger August 1934 and September 1934.

(103) Interview with M. Race, Kalk Bay, 2 August 1982.

and merely intoned. It was only at evensong, traditionally the 'coloured's' service, that they came into their own.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Judging by the lists of choir members which appeared on the parochial organisation's page of each issue of The Messenger, by 1923, and in fact presumably from the turn of the century, the choir had become the preserve of the white members of the congregation. It was only during the late 1960s and early 1970s that the choir became fully integrated.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Many of the events accompanying the church's Jubilee Festival in 1924 were racially segregated.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Until the mid-1960s coloured were expected to sit at the back of the church. The story is often told of how, during the Rectorship of Vernon de Smidt, a coloured gentleman coming into the church found the back was full. The only seat available being in the front row, he sat there. The priest himself came down from the altar and told him to go to the back. Similarly, the first coloured members of the church council were only appointed in the 1970s.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

In conclusion, coloured fishermen's housing during nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is revealed to be dilapidated, unsanitary, hopelessly overcrowded and, in some cases, infested with rats. Slum conditions are sourced in part to the nature of the fishermen's occupation. The major causative factor, however, is seen as lying in development of the area as a tourist resort and residential suburb. Resulting in a scarcity of available land and rising property prices, rates and rents, their presence

(104) Langham-Carter "Holy Trinity Church", p.23.

(105) Interview with M. Race, Kalk Bay, 2 August 1982; The Messenger March 1923-December 1947. (Parochial Organizations.)

(106) The Messenger September 1924 and November 1924; Cape Times 22 September 1924 and 24 September 1924; Hogarth Holy Trinity Church, p.21.

(107) Interview with M. Race, Kalk Bay, 2 August 1982.

increasingly limited the area available for occupation by fishermen to that in the vicinity of the fishing beach where their original settlement had taken place. Residential zoning by race and class and slum conditions, which had existed by the 1860s, were increasingly developed from the late nineteenth century. Accompanying these trends, and the move away from subsistence production to petty-capitalist fishing, was a move away from early self-sufficiency in housing construction and increasing dependence on rented accommodation. Fishermen were thus unable to effectively counter the gradual worsening of slum conditions. Residential zoning by race and class was reflected in de facto social segregation of fisherfolk from the remainder of the local population. The spatial and social segregation of fisherfolk from non-fisherfolk enabled local authorities to limit attention to fishermen's houses to periodic action against the worst offenders, designed to prevent the possible outbreak of infectious disease. In subsequent chapters it is demonstrated that by the mid-1920s, overcrowding had reached such an extent that increasing numbers of fishermen were being forced to move "down the line" to areas such as Retreat and Heathfield and commute to Kalk Bay daily. It was only during the 1940s, when overcrowding and slum conditions had reached such an extent that Council were forced to evict or re-house the majority of fishing families, that remedial action was taken, the latter alternative being adopted.

The Kalk Bay fishermen's access to new markets opened by the mineral revolution was thus seriously limited by their position in local society. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was an intensification of conflict between the interests of fisherfolk and non-fisherfolk at Kalk

Bay. Residential zoning by race and class, and de facto social segregation of fishermen from the remainder of the local population, both united the fisherfolk and ensured that their needs could easily be discounted by the local council. It will be seen that the only exceptions were the cases where problems were of such magnitude as to threaten the collapse of the local industry, with the attendant threat of a serious unemployment problem, or where solutions were perceived as being beneficial to tourism and settlement. Access to new inland markets was, however, limited by more than the fishermen's weaker position in local conflicts concerning the future development of Kalk Bay.

2. Threats to fish stocks in False Bay, the local community and its markets

Early experiments at alternative fishing methods, the development of trawling and monopoly control over inland markets by large-scale fishing companies, as well as attempts at capitalization at Kalk bay, all threatened fish stocks in False Bay and the continuation of "traditional" fishing methods, socio-economic relationships and markets. However, the local fishermen were not merely passive objects in this struggle. In spite of pressures promoting their transformation into dependent wage labourers, they managed to maintain their position as independent petty-commodity producers. As a result of the predicted collapse of the local fishing effort, fishermen managed to secure the limited support of council in their attempts to close the bay to trawlers. Anxious to develop a relatively inexpensive and protein-rich food supply for the colony, the state nevertheless placed the minimum restrictions possible on trawling. A three mile limit was brought into force for False Bay and Algoa Bay in

1899. It was only in 1928, when the bay was no longer utilised as a commercial trawling ground to any significant extent, that False Bay was closed to bottom trawling. By this time, the large-scale trawling companies had secured monopolistic control over inland markets. Kalk Bay fishermen, who had previously been the primary suppliers of table fish consumed in the colony, had become suppliers of a shrinking local market.

Early attempts at new fishing methods and the pioneering of trawling

Steam trawling had been pioneered in British waters during the 1870s.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ The first recorded attempt at trawling in South African seas was that made by a small tug, the "Albert", off Port Elizabeth in 1878. Influenced by the moderate success of these operations, similar experiments on a more modest scale were made at Hout, Table and Mossel Bays and off East London during the 1880s and early 1890s. Both sail and steam powered vessels were used. Results, however, were not successful enough to warrant the continuation of the work.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ In later years trawling, and particularly the alleged destruction of spawn and immature fish by this method, would become a major source of complaint among handline and net fishermen.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ It was nevertheless the activities of a foreign vessel, utilising a different method, purse-seine net fishing, which was to provoke the first

(108) R.P. 47 - 1972, p.6 (40); Thompson et al. Living The Fishing, pp.16-23.

(109) R.P. 47 - 1972, p.6 (40-41); G. 37 - 1892, p.x; Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", p.52; E. Rosenthal "The Irvin and Johnson Story", unpub. manuscript held by Irvin and Johnson, 1965. pp.1-4. De Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie", p.27; Von Bonde So Great Thy Sea, p.195; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.195.

(110) Von Bonde So Great Thy Sea, p.195. Kalk Bay fishermen's complaints in this regard form one of the major themes of the remainder of this thesis.

widespread and effective complaints and action by Cape fishermen in 1889-1890.

The "Alice", an American schooner under the command of Captain Josiah Chase, began work off the Peninsula, particularly in Table and False Bays, in 1899. Using a purse-seine net in South African waters for the first time, she caught extremely large quantities of mackerel, maasbankers and harders, the first-mentioned forming the bulk of the hauls. Within the first year of the vessel's operation the Peninsula fishermen had managed to prevent her catches from being sold locally. Thereafter, catches were salted and barrelled for export to America and were thus not a threat to local markets. Peninsula fishermen nevertheless contended that such operations would denude the bays of fish. Large numbers of immature fish were alleged to be destroyed by the process. It was further argued that the capture of shoals of smaller fish would drive away the predators, such as snoek and geelbek, which fed upon them. A petition by the Cape fishermen, calling for the removal of the "Alice", was laid before the Cape Parliament in 1890. The Fish Protection Act, No. 29 of 1890, prohibited the use of the purse-seine net in the territorial waters of the Colony and the Alice was recalled by her owners.⁽¹¹¹⁾ As a result of a misinterpretation of this clause, Carl Kleinschmidt abandoned his attempts at trawling for soles from Kalk Bay.⁽¹¹²⁾ While not appearing in the beach seine nets at Muizenberg, they nevertheless continued to be caught

(111) C. 2 - 1898, p.28 (367-372) M. Prins; Act No.29 of 1890 Fish Protection Act, 1890, Section 1; Cape Hansard 14 August 1890. p.298; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", p.31; Rosenthal "The Irvin and Johnson Story", pp.4-5; De Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie" p.28; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony", pp.25-26; Maclean "The Fishermen and fishing industry at the Cape", p.90.

(112) G. 37 - 1892, pp.x and 35 (648-653) C. Kleinschmidt.

there by treading and spearing.⁽¹¹³⁾ A further clause in the Act extended to all streams and territorial waters of the Colony the prohibition on the use of dynamite contained in the Swartklip River Fish Protection Act, No. 7 of 1883.⁽¹¹⁴⁾

An immediate result of the report of the Fisheries Committee of 1892 was the passage of the Fish Protection Act, No. 15 of 1893. This legislation, which remained in force in the Cape until 1911, set the pattern for the future development of the Cape fishing industry.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ Having as its goal the protection and improvement of the Colony's fisheries, provision was made for the proclamation of closed seasons and other restrictions when considered necessary; the protection of sea birds, seals and the guano islands, and the registration of boats and nets. Penalties for the contravention of any of these provisions were provided. In addition, the clause in Act No. 29 of 1890 which prevented the use of the purse seine was repealed.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ This had been regarded by some as preventing the opening up of a potentially large and important industry.⁽¹¹⁷⁾

(113) Ibid. p.28 (496-498) C. Fish.

(114) Act No.28 of 1890, Section 2; Act No.7 of 1883 Zwartkops River Fish Protection Act, 1883, Section II.

(115) Act No.15 of 1893 The Fish Protection Act, 1893; G. 37 - 1892, pp.v-xxiii (see especially pp.xxii-xxiii). Section 85(x) of the South African Act reserved the presentation of fish and game to the control of the various provinces. [See G.W. Eybers (ed.) Select Constitutional Documents illustrating South African History, New York, Negro Universities Press, 1969. p.540] In the Cape, Ordinance No.12 of 1911 repealed most of the existing fisheries legislation and provided for the licencing of craft and gear, prohibited pollution and the use of explosives and empowered the administration to prescribe fishing seasons and methods of fishing for various species. [See P.C. Ord.11 - 1911 Ordinance to Consolidate and Amend the Fisheries Laws.]

(116) Act No.15 of 1893.

(117) G. 37 - 1892, pp.x, xi-xii and xxiii(11); Lees Fishing for fortunes, pp.28-29; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.28; Maclean "The Fishermen and fishing industry at the Cape", p.90.

For False Bay, perhaps the most important immediate result of the Fish Protection Act was that the purse-seine nets were tried by boats operating from Kalk Bay. Apparently as a result of a lack of experience among those involved and the wrong boats being used, these attempts were nevertheless unsuccessful and were soon discontinued.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ Purse seine nets were also tried in other areas, attempts at Saldanha Bay being the most successful.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ It was nevertheless only in the years following World War II that shoal fishing (purse seining) experienced tremendous growth and came to dominate the inshore fishing industry.⁽¹²⁰⁾

A further attempt to explore new grounds and technologies at this time was made by a Cape Town company in bringing out a Norwegian sailing fishing vessel of 120 tons (imperial), the "Harry Mundahl". Trawling experiments were made in Table Bay and False Bay, all with little financial success. In addition, long-line fishing was unsuccessfully attempted in Simon's Bay.⁽¹²¹⁾ The failure of this experiment demonstrated that, on account of weather conditions prevalent on our coasts and the perishable nature of the cargo, sail-power alone was not sufficient for these methods of fishing.⁽¹²²⁾ These early experiments were nevertheless a sign of changes to come, the Kalk Bay fishermen, and their counterparts in other inshore fishing communities, being increasingly unable to compete with the

(118) C. 2 - 1898, pp.29 (372) M. Prins and 58 (631) J.D.F. Gilchrist.

(119) C. 2 0 1898, p.58 (631) J.D.F. Gilchrist; De Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie", p.36; Lees Fishing for fortunes, p.29; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.47.

(120) See Chapter 5.

(121) C. 2 - 1898, pp.41 (487, 488) F.H.S. Hugo and 47 (537) W.Runciman; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.28.

(122) C. 2 - 1898, pp.47 (536-540) W. Runciman; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, pp.28-29.

superior technology and greater financial resources of their highly-capitalised competitors.

Of great significance for the future development of the fishing industry was the appointment of Dr. J.D.F. Gilchrist as Government Marine Biologist from 7 December 1895, a post he was to hold until its abolition, for financial reasons, in 1907. As head or member of the various early government fisheries research bodies and advisory boards and Professor of Zoology at the South African College from 1906 to his death in 1926, his work, more than that of any other, laid the basis for the South African fishing and crayfishing industries, particularly trawling.⁽¹²³⁾ In mid 1897 the Government's first research vessel, the "Pieter Faure" arrived at the Cape. [See Illustration 14] Equipped for long-line fishing, net fishing and trawling, under Gilchrist's direction she was to pioneer the South African trawling industry. Perhaps her most important contribution was the survey of the Agulhas bank, lasting on and off for some seven years, in which over 1 000 square miles were examined and charted.⁽¹²⁴⁾ Her work having been interfered with by the South African war and the depression following it, she was finally decommissioned as a research vessel in 1906 as a result of a lack of funds for running expenses.⁽¹²⁵⁾

(123) Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List, 1897, p.116, 1907, p.156 and 1910, pp.187-188; C. 2 - 1898, pp.52 (589)-53 (593), 55 (612) and 67 (610) J.D.F. Gilchrist; De Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie", pp.44-45 and 65-67; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, pp.29-30.

(124) Department of Industries Sea Fisheries Panorama, pp.1-2; Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List, 1900-1910 (Sea Fisheries); Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", pp.52-53; De Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie", pp.50-57; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, pp.66-72 and 75-76.

(125) Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List, 1910. p.187; De Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie", pp.57 and 62; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, pp.61, 71 and 79.

As Gilchrist had concluded that False Bay was the most promising place for trawling near Cape Town, the "Pieter Faure" had begun her work there.⁽¹²⁶⁾

Describing her first official research on 31 August 1897, the Cape Times noted that the total catch after five hours of operations was between five and six thousand fish. While silver fish, stockfish, stumpnose and sole predominated, gurnard and kabeljou were also well represented in catches. As the average daily catch of the Kalk Bay fishermen during that month was about five thousand, the superiority of trawling was clearly demonstrated.⁽¹²⁷⁾ After being thoroughly investigated in 1897, False Bay

was revealed to be an excellent trawling ground. In addition, a rocky bank was found off Cape Point that gave most gratifying results to handline fishing.⁽¹²⁸⁾ Inspired by this success a steam trawler, the "Mary", was sent out from Scotland by a Glasgow syndicate and began work in the bay early in 1898. The local manager was Mr William Runciman.⁽¹²⁹⁾

In other areas, tugs and other small steam vessels were converted into trawlers. As might be expected, when the boats were not designed for this work and the men were without trawling experience, the results were not financially encouraging.⁽¹³⁰⁾ It was not long before the operations of the "Pieter Faure" and the "Mary" were to result in complaints of dramatically

(126) C. 2 - 1898, p.53 (597) J.D.F. Gilchrist.

(127) Cape Times 2 September 1897.

(128) De Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie", p.55; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.69.

(129) C. 2 - 1898, pp.42 (496-499, 503), 44 (523, 525), 45 (526) and 49(561-562) W. Runciman. With the creation of the Electoral Division of Simon's Town, by Proclamation No.134 of 1899, Runciman became its first Member of the Legislative Assembly in 1900. [See Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List, 1900. pp.25-26.] He chaired the Select Committee on Kalk Bay Harbour in 1902. [See A. 17 - 1902, pp.ii and v.] Runciman continued to champion the cause of harbour construction at Kalk Bay. [See Cape Hansard 5 November 1902. pp.628-629 and 18 June 1903. p.91; Cape Times 5 July 1912, 18 February 1911 and 10 June 1913 and Furlong "Kalk Bay Harbour", p.743.

(130) Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.73.

declining catches and predictions of the collapse of the local fishing effort by the Kalk Bay fishermen and their colleagues from other areas in False Bay. As a result of the greater catching potential of trawlers, the state tended to favour the trawlermen over the handline and beach seine fishermen.

Declining catches in False Bay

Kalk Bay fishermen had argued in evidence before the Fisheries Committee of 1892 that thirty or forty years previously, all species of fish had been more abundant nearer the shore. Particularly affected, however, were the migratory fish such as snoek and geelbek, which would return in the future, a purely natural phenomenon. Other fish such as hottentot, red roman and red stumpnose shared only seasonal variations and the normal decline resulting from catching.⁽¹³¹⁾ The testing of explosives by the Navy had also killed considerable numbers of fish.⁽¹³²⁾ They nevertheless depended on snoek and geelbek to a far lesser extent than their counterparts at Hout Bay and Table Bay. As such, they had not been badly affected by the decreases and would suffer no inconvenience by the introduction of a closed season for snoek. An action of this nature would, however, result in starvation of the fishermen at the other two places.⁽¹³³⁾ In marked contrast, the trawling experiments outlined above

(131) G. 37 - 1892, pp.vi-vii, 27 (454-457), 28 (472-473, 487-494), 29 (505), 30 (533-535) C. Fish, 30 (551-553), 31 (558-561-564) R. Orgill, 32 (596, 598) and 35 (640) C. Kleinschmidt.

(132) Ibid. p.33 (599, 601) C. Kleinschmidt.

(133) Ibid. pp.27 (461)-28 (471), 29 (527) C. Fish, 32 (543-548) R. Orgill and 33 (603-604) C. Kleinschmidt. The committee was obsessed with the imposition of a closed season for snoek as a means of protecting the export trade with Mauritius. See G. 37 - 1892, p.xiii and Van Sittert "Gebrei in die aambag", p.24.

would result in strong complaints of overfishing, destruction of natural resources and threats to the very existence of line fishing which, it will be demonstrated have persisted well into the 1980s. It will similarly be shown that the False Bay fishermen took a conservationist line from the start. In so doing they both echoed and quoted early complaints of prevention of renewal of fish stock and destruction of spawn, fry and young fish made before the British Royal Commissions of 1863 and 1878.⁽¹³⁴⁾ In the British Isles, these had resulted in the imposition of a three mile trawling limit in 1889 and the closing of some of the larger indentations, such as the Moray Firth, to home, though not foreign, trawlers in 1892.⁽¹³⁵⁾ Under pressure from the local fishermen, a three mile limit was brought into force for False Bay and Algoa Bay in 1899.⁽¹³⁶⁾ The former area would, however, only be closed to bottom trawling in 1928. Purse seine fishing would only be banned in False Bay from 1 January 1983.⁽¹³⁷⁾

A deputation of False Bay fishermen waited upon the Secretary for Agriculture, the Hon. P.H. Faure, on 27 September 1897. In his absence they were received by the Under Secretary, Charles Currey. The deputation argued that the former abundance of fish in False Bay had given way to scarcity. This they attributed to the reverbations of the train to Simon's Town, naval gunfire and the operations of the "Pieter Faure". The government vessel was scaring the fish while spawning on the banks and destroying the spawn. Fears were also expressed that her work would lead

(134) Thompson et al. Living the Fishing, pp.23-24.

(135) Ibid. p.24.

(136) Cape Hansard 30 August 1899. pp.364-365; De Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie", p.69; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.73.

(137) See Chapters 4 and 5.

to increasing exploitation of the bay by private trawlers. As a result of the advent of rinderpest and the resultant expanded market for fish, and death of their livestock, they themselves had need of all the fish they caught.⁽¹³⁸⁾ The deputation was followed by debate in the correspondence columns of the Cape Times and further expressions of grievances by the fishermen, resulting in the appointment of a Select Committee to enquire into the matter by Order of the Legislative Council of 8 November 1898.⁽¹³⁹⁾ Of significance during the aforementioned press debate were the comments of its originator, Mr Luscombe Searelle, a visitor to Simon's Town. Arguing that laziness, inefficiency and drunkenness, rather than the trawler, were the cause of declining catches, he stated that:

The fisherman here is a lazy animal. He goes out with his primitive lines and hooks, which, after seeing his modus operandi, I can really believe he brought from Noah's Ark. ... If he makes one decent catch he is set up for the week and will not work any more for that week ... Too lazy to create an industry for themselves, they resent any efforts made, either by Government or private enterprise, to foster and improve an industry.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾

That these were generally-held stereotypes is demonstrated by fishermen's attempts to counter them and comments made on their conservatism and unwillingness to adopt new methods, or longer working hours, made by the representatives of trawling to the Select Committee.⁽¹⁴¹⁾

(138) C. 2 - 1898, pp.18 (211, 213) R. Orgill, 31 (397)-32 (399) and 34 (417-418) F.H.S. Hugo; Cape Times 23 September 1897.

(139) C. 2 - 1898, p.111; Cape Times 27 September 1897, 1 October 1897 and 5 October 1897; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, pp.72-73.

(140) Cape Times 27 September 1897.

(141) C. 2 - 1898, pp.3 (35), 4 (36,41), 6 (59) H.A. Auret, 15 (173-174) R. Orgill, 50 (565-567, 569) W. Runciman and 55-56 (618) J.D.F. Gilchrist; Cape Times 5 October 1897. See also MacLean "The Fishermen and fishing industry at the Cape", p.90.

In the interval between the appointment of the Committee and its taking evidence, the fishermen managed to gain the support of the Kalk Bay-Muizenberg Council in safeguarding their interests by petitioning government to prevent trawlers from working the bay. Received by Council on 17 November 1898 was a deputation of fishermen bearing a petition signed by their colleagues in the locality, including Hendrik Andries Auret, who had not yet started trawling on his own account. The deputation argued that the three mile limit for trawling under consideration by the state was insufficient. Disturbance of the breeding and fishing beds and the catching of immature fish by the trawlers had threatened the resources of the bay and undermined line fishing. Profits had fallen drastically; one experienced fisherman stated that during the previous week he had earned only 6s. 3d.⁽¹⁴²⁾ Faced with the possibility of collapse of the local industry and consequent unemployment, Council were forced to act. The petition, and their own appeal for protection of the handline fishermen, were thus forwarded to the Colonial Secretary. The attempt was nevertheless unsuccessful, the Under Colonial Secretary's reply merely confirming the state's commitment to a three mile limit on trawling.⁽¹⁴³⁾ Council took no further action.

The Committee took evidence from 12 to 15 December, reporting on 20 December 1898. Represented were the line fishermen of Kalk Bay, Simon's Bay and Somerset West Strand and the beach seine fishermen of Muizenberg and Cape Town. With one exception, Mr. F.H.S. Hugo of Simon's Town, all had apparently been fishermen for their entire lives. Trawling was

(142) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 17 November 1898; C. 2 - 1898, p.xi; Cape Times 18 November 1898.

(143) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 1 December 1898 and 15 December 1898; Cape Times 2 December 1898 and 16 December 1898.

represented by the Government Marine Biologist, Dr. J.D.F. Gilchrist, who also acted as assessor, and Mr. William Runciman, the manager of the "Mary".⁽¹⁴⁴⁾

In evidence, it emerged that both the "Pieter Faure" and the "Mary" were objected to by the fishermen. Rather than remaining in the bay and merely confirming the existence of grounds already well known the Pieter Faure should have investigated the area outside the bay and discovered new grounds.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ The "Mary", as a private enterprise, was over-exploiting the bay. Since the commencement of trawling the fish supply had decreased dramatically. The previous year had been the worst in memory and the industry was facing ruin.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ Declining catches had previously occasioned complaint. These, however, referred to large migratory fish such as geelbek, snoek albacore and elf which only appeared seasonally with varying frequency. It was the severe fall in the supply of fish which lived and spawned in the bay and formed the bulk of their catches, caused by the operation of the trawler, that was now causing grave concern. Catches of panga, silver-fish, five-finger and gurnard had declined

(144) C. 2 - 1898, pp.iii, xi, 1 (1-4), 5 (51), 8 (88), 11 (120 and 124) H.A. Auret (Muizenberg), 14 (162-165) R. Orgill (Kalk Bay), 19 (226-229) N. Menigo (Kalk Bay), 22 (263-266) A. Slammie (Simon's Bay), 23 (284-285) T. Muller (Somerset Strand), 24 (296-299) M. Trowbridge (Somerset Strand), 28 (353-356), 29 (361-366) M. Prins (Cape Town), 30 (380-384) F.H.S. Hugo (Simon's Bay), 42 (496-497, 499), 45 (526) W. Runciman and 52 (589)-53 (593) J.D.F. Gilchrist.

(145) Ibid. pp.18 (212) R. Orgill, 21 (259) N.Menigo, 31 (394-395), 38 (462) and 41 (685-686) F.H.S. Hugo.

(146) Ibid. pp.2 (11-12, 14), 6 (68), 9 (103), 10 (117), 13 (151) H.A. Auret, 14 (166), 15 (169), 18 (207-208) R. Orgill, 19 (230-232), 20 (240), 21 (258) N. Menigo, 22 (267, 269-270) A. Slammie, 23 (286) T. Muller, 24 (301-303) M. Trowbridge, 29 (372 and 374) M. Prins and 36 (461) F.H.S. Hugo.

drastically.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ Fishermen had depended to varying degrees on these species for their winter supply. Chief among the vast quantities of fish caught by the trawler was the panga. While they had previously formed the chief winter stand-by and were particularly highly prized as bait, they were no longer caught by the fishermen of False Bay, Hoetjies Bay and Hermanuspietersfontein (Hermanus). Even traditional methods had decreased the supply; with trawling it would be "utterly exterminated".⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ "It is merely robbing Peter to pay Paul; if the trawler brings in fish the boats do not," stated Hendrik Andries Auret before the commission.⁽¹⁴⁹⁾

Handline fishermen depended upon three types of bank upon which the fish spawned, bred and fed: rocky or stony banks, sandy banks and decomposed banks. All three were destroyed by trawling. Once a bank was broken up, the fish would not return. The trawl disturbed the bottom on sandy and decomposed banks. Red bait, worms and insects upon which the non-migratory fish fed were thus disturbed and dispersed by the current. More seriously, trawling destroyed the spawn of fish and the seaweed, which provided shelter for the fish and contained red bait and spawn. Vast numbers of immature fish were also killed in the process. If trawling did not destroy young fish and spawn, the diminution in supply would not have

(147) Ibid. pp.2 (13,15), 7 (69-70, 74-75), 8 (81-87) H.A. Auret, 23 (280-283) A. Slammie, 27 (338-343) M. Trowbridge, 28 (360)-29 (361) M. Prins, 32 (401)-33 (404), 35 (426), 38 (459-460) and 38-39 (467) F.H.S. Hugo.

(148) Ibid. pp.14 (167) and 15 (170) (quotation) R. Orgill.

(149) Ibid. p.9 (97) H.A. Auret.

been nearly as great.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ From a quarter to a half of the fish caught by False Bay men were captured by means of beach seine nets. Both handline and net fishermen nevertheless argued that this method was not nearly as harmful to immature fish and spawn as trawling.⁽¹⁵¹⁾ Line fishermen did not catch immature fish. As a result of trawling they were, however, being forced to use small hooks and catch smaller fish, there being no large fish left.⁽¹⁵²⁾ Problems were compounded by the "Mary" "mixing up" with the fishing boats and hampering their operations.⁽¹⁵³⁾ The fishermen were well aware that the country was not well supplied with fish and trawling could play an important role in developing and maintaining the food supply. While trawlers could fish outside the bay, they could not. Thus while not advocating their total removal, they wished them removed beyond the limit, where they fished. Their only objection to trawling was that it interfered with their means of livelihood.⁽¹⁵⁴⁾

The fishermen used the entire bay to Cape Hangklip and a point about 4 miles beyond Cape Point. The three mile limit proposed by the government

(150) Ibid. pp.4 (38-40), 7 (69), 7 (79)-8 (80), 8 (83-84, 91), 10 (109-110, 114-116), 10 (118)-11 (120), 12 (130-133), 13 (144-147), 14 (160-161) H.A. Auret, 18 (216), 19 (223) R. Orgill, 19 (233), 20 (243)-21 (245), 21 (249) N. Menigo, 22 (275) A. Slammie, 24 (294) T. Muller, 24 (303-304), 25 (315)-26 (320), 26 (332) M. Trowbridge, 30 (378) M. Prins, 31 (395-396), 32 (400-401), 34 (420-421), 35 (423-427), 36 (430, 434-437, 442), 37 (444, 450-451), 38 (464-465) and 39 (474-477) F.H.S. Hugo.

(151) Ibid. pp.9 (92), 11 (127,129), 12 (134-139), 13 (152, 155) H.A. Auret, 19 (224-225) R. Orgill, 21 (256-257) N. Menigo, 37 (445, 448) and 42 (595) F.H.S. Hugo.

(152) Ibid. p.37 (446-448) F.H.S. Hugo.

(153) Ibid. pp.22 (273) A. Slammie, 23 (289) T. Muller, 24 (304) M. Trowbridge, 29 (361) M. Prins, 31 (390) and 38 (466) F.H.S. Hugo.

(154) Ibid. pp.4 (41), 9 (98-99) H.A. Auret, 15 (171) R. Orgill, 20 (234-235) N. Menigo, 22 (273), 23 (279) A. Slammie, 23 (292) T. Muller, 25 (309-310) and 27 (344-345) M. Trowbridge.

was thus not sufficient. Neither were five or ten mile limits.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ Complaints by English, Canadian and American fishermen had demonstrated that trawlers were destroying the fish there and that, from time to time, it was necessary for trawlers to go further and further away. The three mile limit in Britain had proved unsatisfactory. Moreover, there were no coastguards in Cape waters to enforce the limit as in England.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ Trawlers should be excluded from False Bay altogether, preferably with the imposition of a three mile limit outside the bay from Cape Point to Cape Hangklip. This would force the trawlers to discover new fishing grounds and alleviate the hardships faced by the local line and beach seine fishermen. There was a plentiful supply of fish and a bottom suitable for trawling outside the bay.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾

It had been suggested that, in view of the scarcity in food supply, the greatest good for the greatest number ought to be legislated for. One should, however, not kill one industry to save another. The local fishermen had been fishing for years past and did not see why their livelihood should be taken away. The Kalk Bay men were steady, hard working, sober and law-abiding people pursuing a dangerous occupation. As such they deserved some consideration.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ Admittedly the boats could sometimes not go out for three or four days at a time because of bad

(155) Ibid. pp.2 (20), 3 (24,25), 4 (36), 5 (49-50, 52-53) H.A. Auret, 15 (175-176), 16 (193)-17 (197) R. Orgill, 25 (314) M. Trowbridge and 30 (385)-31 (386) F.H.S. Hugo.

(156) Ibid. pp.5 (54), 11 (125-126) H.A. Auret, 15 (172) and 16-17 (193) R. Orgill.

(157) Ibid. pp.9 (99-101) H.A. Auret, 15 (172), 17 (205) R. Orgill, 20 (236) N. Menigo, 24 (293) T. Muller, 25 (311-313), 26 (334)-27 (337) M. Trowbridge, 29 (364) M. Prins, 33 (405-407), 34 (414) and 40 (482-483) F.H.S. Hugo.

(158) Ibid. pp.3 (35), 4 (36,41) H.A. Auret, 28 (348) M. Trowbridge and 30 (408-411) F.H.S. Hugo.

weather. They were nevertheless very seldom idle unless there was a strong south-east or westerly gale. In any case, the trawler could not go out on these days either. There had been occasions when the men had gone out in a strong wind and the trawler had not. They had then returned with large quantities of fish.⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ Lastly, fish caught by a handline was of far superior quality to those caught by the trawler. In a trawl net, fish were constantly knocked about and bruised, becoming soft and spoiled. Numbers were also damaged by bursting of their swim bladders as the net was lifted. One could always use line fish but those caught by the trawler were sometimes useless. In consequence, they were generally sent inland where the population knew little about fish. The fact that most trawled fish were sent to Johannesburg had in turn increased the price to the consumer.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾

Evidence led by the representatives of trawling, designed to counter the fishermen's claims of declining fish stocks in the bay, did little beyond demonstrate the unstable nature of the resource and the fact that it required protection.⁽¹⁶¹⁾ Emphasis was laid on the fact that the same disputes had occurred with the introduction of trawlers in Europe. There it had been found that trawling had no greater effect on the destruction of immature fish or spawn than many other methods. Scottish evidence had in fact suggested that beach seine fishing was equally, if not more,

(159) Ibid. pp.5 (55), 6 (57), 9 (96), 13 (156)-14 (158) H.A. Auret and 15 (177) R. Orgill.

(160) Ibid. pp.20 (240-242) N. Menigo, 28 (349-350), 32 (400) and 33 (412) F.H.S. Hugo.

(161) Ibid. pp.43 (513,514), 44 (521-527) W. Runciman, 46 (528) J.D.F. Gilchrist, 48 (552)-49 (559), 51 (573-574, 579-581) W. Runciman, 55 (613-617), 63 (667-669), 63-64 (671) and 67 (710) J.D.F. Gilchrist.

destructive to the environment and the supply.⁽¹⁶²⁾ In South Africa, conditions were vastly different. While it was obvious that new methods should be attempted, there was a total paucity of scientific knowledge on the resource. In addition to the success already achieved by the "Pieter Faure", an ambitious programme of research was planned for the future. A marine biological station was to be built at St. James. Planning for the future development of the fishing industry would have to await data from these sources. It could nevertheless be stated that there was little or no chance of meeting demand for fish if fishing continued to be carried out by traditional methods. Trawling was the best method of ensuring a regular supply of cheap fish to the consumer.⁽¹⁶³⁾

Contrary to statements made by the line and net fishermen, there was no difference in the quality of line and trawled fish. In addition, all fish caught by the "Mary" was sold to the fish carts at Kalk Bay for consumption locally.⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ The majority of handline fishermen made a contract with a middleman and were forced to sell their fish at a fixed price. The "Mary" sold to the highest bidder on the spot, thus increasing the price of fish in the market. While they often received thirteen shillings per hundred fish, the fishermen were only getting eight or nine shillings. The contract system also increased the price paid by the consumer. Fishermen sold to the middlemen who, in turn, sold to the carts supplying the public, the latter two persons making handsome profits. The trawler sold directly to the carts. Thus, while trawling had done no harm to the

(162) Ibid. pp.51 (578) W. Runciman, 60 (657)-61 (658) and 68 (622,623) J.D.F. Gilchrist.

(163) Ibid. pp.47 (536-540), 48 (544-547), 49 (563)-50 (567), 52 (588) W. Runciman, 53 (593), 65 (684), 67 (707-712, 715-717), 68 (724)-69 (729), 69 (731-737) and 72 (762-764, 767, 771) J.D.F. Gilchrist.

(164) Ibid. pp.43 (508, 510-511) and 47 (531) W. Runciman.

fishermen, it had to some extent harmed the middlemen as the absence of contracts meant that they had to pay better prices for fish. It was not known to what extent they were behind the present complaints.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾ Lastly, they argued that the trawler could not operate outside the limits proposed by the fishermen. A three mile limit was required.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ The "Pieter Faure" had already indicated the vast wealth of the Agulhas bank and several other fishing grounds had also been discovered on the west coast.⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ Noting these factors and the subsequent exploitation of the Agulhas bank by trawlers, it is clear that the argument that the trawler could not operate outside False Bay was purely fallacious.

Strongly in favour of trawling, the Committee's report was divided into five sections. Firstly, it was argued that the contradictory nature of evidence submitted, and the absence of reliable statistics, made it impossible to conclude that there had "been any serious diminution in the quantity of fish in False Bay since the advent of the Steam Trawlers". Secondly, the rise in demand for fish, brought about by population increase and improved transport facilities, could not "be met by the primitive methods of fishing formerly in vogue among the fishermen in False Bay". Thirdly, the acquisition of the "Pieter Faure" had led to the collection of information of great value and its work should be continued. In similar vein, the proposed marine biological station should be constructed "as soon as possible". By these means, important knowledge of

(165) Ibid. pp.54 (512), 47 (532), 47 (541)-48 (543), 48 (549), 52 (583-587) W. Runciman, 56 (618-619) and 60 (650-652) J.D.F.Gilchrist.

(166) Ibid. pp.43 (515)-44 (519), 46 (528-530), 47 (536) W. Runciman, 55 (611), 56 (623), 57 (626), 58 (637), 58-59 (639) 60 (653-656), 62 (661-665) and 70 (748-750) J.D.F. Gilchrist.

(167) Ibid. pp.67 (713)-68 (717) J.D.F. Gilchrist.

the spawn, habits, food supply and life histories of local fish could be acquired, thus laying the basis for the necessary fishing regulations. Fourthly, in response to the numerous complaints by line fishermen, legislation should be introduced to enable the proclamation of a three mile trawling limit from the coast in the territorial waters of the Colony. The last section dealt with grievances arising from the extension of the railway to Simon's Town. (168)

Regulations covering the three mile limit were brought into force for False Bay and Algoa Bay during 1899. Thus, while some degree of protection was offered to the fishermen, the minimum constraints possible were placed upon the new industry. A sum having been set aside for preliminary work in 1898, the St. James Marine Biological Station was in working order by the beginning of 1902. Surviving the post South African war cutbacks by being handed over to the temporary control of the South African Museum, this institution served as a scientific and educational medium, as well as a source of attraction to summer visitors, until the early 1940's, when it was replaced by the Sea Point Aquarium. (169) Its work was nevertheless apparently of a purely scientific or taxonomic nature, or of benefit to the trawling industry, and brought little or no benefit to handline fishermen. (170) It is thus evident that, by the turn of the nineteenth century, the state saw the future of the fishing industry

(168) Ibid. pp.v-vi.

(169) Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List, 1900-1902 and 1910 (Sea Fisheries); c. 2 - 1898, p.61 (538) J.D.F. Gilchrist; Burman The False Bay Story, 138; De Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie", p.62; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, pp.76 and 79.

(170) Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List, 1903-1910 (Sea Fisheries); De Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie", p.66; Laidler The Growth and Government of Cape Town, p.411; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, pp.77-79.

as lying with the trawlermen rather than the handline and beach seine fishermen. The latter group were never to regain the position they had lost. Experiencing rapid growth in the years following the South African War, trawling dominated the developing South African fishing industry from about 1910 until the Second World War. By 1930, Irvin and Johnson held monopolistic control over inland markets. The Kalk Bay fishermen were increasingly forced to fulfil a role as suppliers of a shrinking local market.

The growth of trawling and the achievement of monopolistic control over inland markets by Irvin and Johnson

The success of the "Pieter Faure" had prompted three trawlers, two imported and one from Natal, to commence work outside False Bay, particularly on the Agulhas Bank, in 1899. One of these, the "Undine", was manned by a crew of experienced North Sea fishermen. During this year the first locally-constructed steam trawler was also in the process of being built. While it appeared that trawling was poised for significant development, the outbreak of the South African War halted these operations.⁽¹⁷¹⁾ In spite of conditions of overall depression, the ending of the South African War ushered in a period of tremendous growth for trawling which would see it dominate the fishing industry until the Second World War.⁽¹⁷²⁾ The infant Cape canning and processing industry

(171) Cape Hansard 30 August 1899. p.365; De Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie", p.58; Lees Fishing for fortunes, p.33; Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.74.

(172) De Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie", pp.58-60; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, pp.74-75.

began a similar, though less spectacular, process of expansion.⁽¹⁷³⁾ With the cessation of hostilities, approximately six trawlers began operating in Cape waters.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ Encouraged by reports of the "Pieter Faure's" work, Richard Irvin, a pioneer of the British steam trawling industry, sent his son George Driver Irvin to the Cape to see if the industry held any potential. The result was the formation of the Cape Town based African Trading and Fishing Company, under George's management, in 1902.⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ During the following year, four new trawlers began operations in Cape waters. Two were brought out by Irvin to operate in Table Bay.⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ A third, the "Rex", was owned by a Kalk Bay firm and will be discussed shortly. Charles Ocean Johnson, a Swede with various business interests, including a riksha fleet in Durban, was responsible for the importation of the fourth, the "Berea". Unable to compete with Irvin, he moved the vessel from Cape Town to Durban towards the end of the year but retained two sailing line-fishing vessels at Rogge Bay.⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ Several Natal trawlers also began to exploit Cape waters at this time.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾

(173) For the development of the Cape and, later, South African fish, crawfish and food canning and processing industry from C.1795-1945 see S.C. Townell "The Crawfish industry of the Cape West Coast, 1847-1947", B.A. Hons. Dissertation, U.C.T., 1977. pp.11-27, 31-32, 55-56, 87, 90-92, 100-102, 106-109 and 120-121; De Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie", 20 and 60; Lees Fishing for fortunes, 17-18 and Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, pp.83, 85-87 and 150 (Appendix A).

(174) Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.74.

(175) R.P. 47 - 1972, p.6 (46); Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", p.53; Rosenthal "The Irvin and Johnson Story", pp.31-34; Irvin and Johnson South African Fish and Fishing, pp.39-41.

(176) Rosenthal "The Irvin and Johnson Story", pp.34-36; De Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie", p.59; Irvin and Johnson South African Fish and Fishing, p.41; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.74.

(177) R.P. 47 - 1972, p.6 (46); Rosenthal "The Irvin and Johnson Story", pp.25-28; De Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie", p.59; Irvin and Johnson South African Fish and Fishing, pp.41-42.

(178) De Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie" p.59; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.59.

While the quantity of fish landed was dramatically increased by these new vessels, selling the catch was another matter. The local market remained small and easily glutted and distribution continued to be performed by horse-drawn carts or barrows pulled by hawkers in the sun, wind, rain and dust. In spite of the increasing volume of fish transported by rail, transit charges were high and refrigerated fish trucks unknown.⁽¹⁷⁹⁾

Seventy refrigerating cars had been purchased by the Railway Department in 1903.⁽¹⁸⁰⁾

It is nevertheless clear from parliamentary debates on cold storage that these were intended for the transport of meat, dairy products and fruit.⁽¹⁸¹⁾ Catches from the Cape and Natal coasts still moved inland dried, salted or packed in ice which soon melted. The journey to Johannesburg took a week or more and fish arrived in poor condition and covered in flies. There was no order or control over distribution. When the weather was good along the coast, all ports railed their surplus catches to Johannesburg and other inland areas, causing periodic gluts with corresponding financial losses.⁽¹⁸²⁾ It was only with the greatly increased demand, occasioned by the employment of Chinese labour on the

(179) Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", p.53; Rosenthal "The Irvin and Johnson Story", pp.41-42; Irvin and Johnson South African Fish and Fishing, pp.39, 41 and 43; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.88.

(180) Cape Hansard, 2 July 1903. p.205.

(181) Cape Hansard, 4 September 1900. pp.345-346, 12 September 1900. pp.394-396, 2 June 1903. p.166, 2 July 1903. p.205, 9 July 1903. p.265-274 and 29 July 1903. pp.428-436.

(182) Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", pp.53-54; Rosenthal "The Irvin and Johnson Story", pp.49-50; De Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie", p.67; Lees Fishing for fortunes, pp.36-37; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, pp.87-88.

gold mines,⁽¹⁸³⁾ that insulated fish trucks began to be used on the Cape Town-Johannesburg line from 1906. Attached to the express post train instead of an ordinary goods train, these covered the distance in 36 hours and arrived regularly every Thursday afternoon.⁽¹⁸⁴⁾

Both Irvin and Johnson took full advantage of the trade and entered into agreements with a Johannesburg wholesale firm, Central Fisheries, which had contracts worth £12 00 a month. Irvin in particular utilised improved transport facilities to build an effective marketing organisation.⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ In 1907, countrywide storms, gales and heavy rains resulted in the disruption of the fish supply to the Rand, the collapse of Central Fisheries headquarters and the liquidation of the company. Irvin lost three of his five trawlers in storms. Johnson, however, had begun to operate a second vessel, the "Bluff", from East London in that year. The men formed a working partnership, Irvin concentrating on marketing and Johnson on fishing. In 1910 they amalgamated. They then had four trawlers, together with a cooling shed and a smokery at Cape Town.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ During the following years they steadily built up their business and

(183) L. Callinicos Gold and Workers, A People's History of South Africa Vol.1, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1980. pp.63-70; S.E. Katzenellenbogen "Reconstruction in the Transvaal", in P. Warwick (ed.) The South African War : The Anglo Boer War, 1899-1902, London, Trevor Copplestone Books, 1980. pp.356-358; Davenport South Africa, pp.356-358.

(184) Rosenthal "The Irvin and Johnson Story", pp.50-51; De Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye ann die Kaapkolonie", p.67; Lees Fishing for fortunes, p.37; Irvin and Johnson South African Fish and Fishing, p.44.

(185) Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", p.53; Rosenthal "The Irvin and Johnson Story", p.49; De Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie", p.67; Lees Fishing for fortunes, pp.36-37.

(186) Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", p.54; Rosenthal "The Irvin and Johnson Story", pp.53-54, 57-60, 64-65 and 80-81; De Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie", pp.60 and 67; Irvin and Johnson South African Fish and Fishing, pp.44-45.

eliminated or bought competitors.⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ By the early 1930's, their control over ocean trawling was virtually complete. In coastal trawling there were still independent trawlers but their catches, almost without exception, were sold through Irvin and Johnson.⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ In addition, they held monopolistic control over inland markets.⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ The Kalk Bay line fishermen, like their counterparts elsewhere, simply could not compete with the quantities of fish caught by the trawlers or the marketing systems controlled by Irvin and Johnson. They could nevertheless fight capitalisation of the local industry. The Kalk Bay fishermen's negative experiences of contracts with middlemen during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and with the promoters of schemes for the capitalization of the local industry in the years following the South African War, have led them to continually reject dependence upon a single buyer or their transformation into wage labourers. Successive attempts at capitalization of the Kalk Bay fishing industry have failed as a result of opposition from the local fishermen. The men have managed to retain their independence as small-scale petty commodity producers, each man working for himself rather than a company.

(187) S.C. 4 - 1944 - Report of the Select Committee on the Fishing Industry Development Bill, 1944, Appendix B. Memorandum by Mr. G.D. Irvin, Germiston, on the Fishing Industry Development Bill, pp.iii-xiii; Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", pp.54-56; De Jongh "Die ontwikkeling van die seevisserye aan die Kaapkolonie", p.60; Irvin and Johnson South African Fish and Fishing, pp.45-46.

(188) Board of Trade and Industries Report No.180 of 1935, pp.24-26 and 43-44; Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", p.56.

(189) Board of Trade and Industries Report No.54 of 1926 On Meat, Fish and other Foodstuffs : An enquiry into trade combinations, supplies, distribution and prices with a minority report by Professor H.E.S. Freemantle. pp.19-21 and Report No.73 of 1926 Business Practices and Public Regulations : An inquiry into unfair competition, restraint of trade and combination and monopolistic practices. pp.25-27; Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", p.56.

Failed attempts at capitalization of fishing in Kalk Bay

The False Bay Fishing and Cold Storage Company had been floated during May 1902, its intention being to supply "the local market with fish, and especially the interior". By October 1902, a large section of ground abutting the foreshore at Kalk Bay had been purchased and extensive planning and preliminary work undertaken. Contracts had been made with a number of Kalk Bay fishermen to purchase their entire catch. Negotiations were in progress with fishermen from other areas, including Hermanus.⁽¹⁹⁰⁾ The company had its formal opening on Saturday, 25 July 1903. Facilities were impressive. From the time that the fish were enmeshed in the nets of the company's trawlers, the "Mary" and the "Rex", they did not come into contact with the ground. Upon landing, fish passed through a cleansing chamber. Thereafter, they entered cutting rooms for gutting or transformation into fish biltong and hard freezers or cool rooms for freezing and storage prior to distribution. Smoking ovens could handle up to ten thousand fish a day. Operations were not confined to Kalk Bay and fish were supplied from Muizenberg, Hermanus, Gaansbaai, Hawton, Stanford and Stilbaai.⁽¹⁹¹⁾

Allegations soon followed, in the correspondence columns of the Cape Times, that the price of fish to the consumer had been increased as a result of the bulk of the company's catches being sent up country rather than to local markets. The local fishermen too, it was stated, had

(190) A. 17 - 1902, pp.32 (257-260), 33 (266) and 34 (276) P.G. Wege [Quotation p.32 (257).] The company's land is clearly delimited on W. Westhofen's map appended to G. 63 - 1903 Kalk Bay, Proposed Fishery Harbour Reports, 1903.

(191) Cape Times 27 July 1903.

gained nothing by the exercise and were beginning to regret having granted the company monopolistic power over their catch.⁽¹⁹²⁾ To these charges the Managing Director, Mr B. van der Karst, replied that local consumers had first option on catches before they were sent up-country. The fish price had risen due to "supply being scarcer than in former years". While "a few malcontents" were complaining about the agreement entered into, the majority appreciated "being able to sell whatever is caught".⁽¹⁹³⁾

Early high hopes for the company did not materialise. Successful operation on this scale depended to a large extent on the construction of a harbour at Kalk Bay for both mooring and off-loading of fish.⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ As a direct result of the absence of such facilities, the "Rex" was wrecked shortly after her arrival at Kalk Bay.⁽¹⁹⁵⁾ [See Illustration 5] At some time during the late 1890's, Hendrik Andries Auret had begun operating a large schooner in False Bay. The venture had failed as a result of a combination of lack of support from the local fishermen and the fact that they had to go round to Simon's Bay to anchor.⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ During June 1904, catches of line fish at Kalk Bay were so poor that several fishermen had made preparations to temporarily remove to Woodstock beach.⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ Apparently as a result of the loss of the "Rex", the delay of implementation of the harbour scheme, dissatisfaction on the part of the fishermen, fluctuating catches and the post South African War depression, the Kalk Bay Fishing and Cold Storage Company suffered a similar fate to

(192) Cape Times 30 July 1903 and 3 August 1903.

(193) Cape Times 31 July 1903.

(194) A. 17 - 1902, pp.29 (228-234) J.D.F. Gilchrist, 32 (260), 33 (262, 267) P.G. Wege, 39 (314-317), 40 (324) and 43 (359) H.A. Auret; Cape Times 27 July 1903.

(195) Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, pp.74-75.

(196) A. 17 - 1902, p.38 (303-308) H.A. Auret.

(197) Cape Times 10 June 1904.

Auret's earlier scheme. Having gone into liquidation, its equipment and the complete shop fittings of its late depot at Rondebosch were put up for public auction on 3 September 1904. Included among equipment to be sold from the Kalk Bay operation was the fully-equipped steam trawler "Mary", as she lay at her moorings in Simon's Bay; a fishing boat, the "Mayflower"; a flat bottomed punt which had been used in ferrying of fish to the shore and two whale boats, together with a large number of whaling instruments. (198)

In a survey of 24 Cape Colonial inshore fishing stations from Lambert's Bay, on the west coast, to East London, on the east coast, in 1906, it was revealed that there were 15 trawlers and 427 boats in use with a total value of £89 823. Kalk Bay, with 48 boats and no trawlers, was ranked third. At Table Bay there were 2 trawlers and 111 boats, valued at £21 860, while Algoa Bay had 4 trawlers (steam launches) and 49 boats, valued at £27 610. At the other end of the scale, there were only 2 boats each at Port Beaufort and Port Alfred, valued at £60 and £100 respectively. Sixty five white and 234 coloured fishermen were employed at Kalk Bay. The 27 trawlermen at Table Bay and 25 at Algoa Bay were all white. On the 9 trawlers at East London, 116 whites and 48 coloureds were employed. An additional 105 white and 380 coloured fishermen were to be found at Table Bay, while at Algoa Bay there were 441 coloured fishermen. Kalk Bay was the line fishing capital. Of the 2841 lines in use at the 23 stations where this method was practised, 883 (31,266%) were handled by Kalk Bay men. The next highest figures were 441 at Algoa Bay, 249 at Hermanus and 186 at Hoetjies and North Bays in the Malmesbury District. At Table Bay

(198) Cape Times 3 September 1904.

152 lines were used. Since no nets were in use at Kalk Bay and the total number of fishermen was 229, there was an average of 2.99 lines per person. (199)

The False Bay Fishing and Cold Storage Company was succeeded by the Kalk Bay Fish and Land Company, which similarly went into voluntary liquidation in 1907. (200) The Kalk Bay Fisheries Limited, which leased the premises and attempted to succeed to the business of the last mentioned firm, was gradually taken over by Irvin and Johnson between 1912 and 1914. Apparently by 1918, but definitely prior to 1923, all connections with Kalk Bay had been severed and it had become a distributing company for fish and produce on the Rand re-named the Kalk Bay Fisheries (Cape) Limited. (201) It would appear that a major reason for the failure of these schemes lay in the fact that the fishermen's experiences of contracts with the middlemen, and the False Bay Fishing and Cold Storage Company, had instilled in the men a fear of dependence upon a single capitalist buyer or transformation into dependent wage labourers. (202)

This attitude would also appear to be a natural extension of the system of individual rewards for catches referred to earlier. (203) Apparently for

(199) Thompson Sea Fishing of the Cape Colony, p.152 Appendix D. An experienced handline fisherman is able to use three or four lines simultaneously.

(200) Personal Communications from S.M. Heydenrych, 6 February 1984 and B. Conradie, 28 June 1983.

(201) Irvin and Johnson Limited : Agreement between Messrs. Irvin and Johnson and the Imperial Cold Storage and Supply company Limited RE Irvin and Johnson Limited, pp.3 (1.d), 6 (9), 7-8 (10), Schedule D and Schedule G; Personal Communications from S.M. Heydenrych, 6 February 1984 and B. Conradie, 28 June 1983; Department of Mines and Industries Fishing Harbours Report, Part I, 1926. p.9; Rosenthal "The Irvin and Johnson Story", pp.82-90; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.82.

(202) Interview with V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", p.52.

(203) See Chapter 2.

similar reasons subsequent offers to purchase the entire catch, on what seemed to be generous terms were rejected by the fishermen.⁽²⁰⁴⁾ It was only in about 1985 that a number of Kalk Bay skippers began, on occasion, to sell their entire crews' catches to Irvin and Johnson agents, a situation which requires investigation in future work.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Kalk Bay fishermen managed to maintain their position as independent petty commodity producers, in spite of considerable local and national pressures. They could nevertheless not withstand the threat posed to their markets by the development of large-scale trawling concerns and the monopolistic marketing strategies of Irvin and Johnson. The continued viability of the local fishing effort was further threatened by problems faced by the fishermen as a result of the extension of the railway line to Simon's Town and the lack of harbour facilities at Kalk Bay.

3. Grievances and conflicts arising from the extension of the railway to Simon's Town and the lack of harbour facilities

Fishermen had suffered considerably, both physically and financially, as a result of the extension of the railway from Kalk Bay to Simon's Town in 1889 and 1890 as the line, carried by a viaduct, occupied the best portion of the beach from which they launched their boats. Due to the perceived beneficial effects of a harbour for the capitalization of the local industry, they managed to obtain considerable local and state support for the construction of a harbour. Implementation of the scheme was delayed

(204) Interview with V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", p.52.

by uncertainty as to the nature of works required and the post South African War depression of 1904. Fishermen's problems having been alleviated by the construction of a set of gantries in 1905, divisions emerged within the fishing community, and between fisherfolk and non-fisherfolk, over the advisability of continuing with plans for the construction of the harbour. By 1910, the temporary respite granted by the construction of the gantries had ended. Deterioration of the structures necessitated some form of agreement between fishermen and council over the provision of harbour facilities at Kalk Bay. While fishermen would remain divided on the issue, it would appear that, by this time, the majority had come to realise that the only lasting solution to their problems lay in the construction of a harbour. Both the Kalk Bay-Muizenberg Council and its successor, the Cape Town City Council, were to support the scheme as a result of its perceived beneficial effect on the development of the area as a health and tourist resort and place of seaside residence. Colonial finances having improved, construction of the harbour went ahead.

Grievances of the False Bay fishermen, resulting from the extension of the railway to Simon's Town, were raised in evidence before the Fisheries Committees of 1892 and 1898.⁽²⁰⁵⁾ These were followed by further representations from the fishermen and an informal visit and fact finding meeting at Kalk Bay chaired by officials of the Public Works Department. As a result, suggestions for the development of a harbour at Kalk Bay had

(205) C. 2 - 1898 pp.vi (5), 3 (28-33), 4 (137), 6 (63-66) H.A. Auret, 15 (178-180) R. Orgill, 20 (237-238) N. Menigo and 69 (738)-70 (747) J.D.F. Gilchrist; G. 37 - 1892 pp.xxi-xxii, 27 (459-460) C. Fish, 31 (567-570) R. Orgill, 33 (616)-34 (621) and 37 (687-688) C. Kleinschmidt.

been submitted by Mr Joseph Newey, Chief Inspector of Public Works, and Wilhelm Westhofen, an engineer in the same department, in March 1902.⁽²⁰⁶⁾ A survey and detailed plan, prepared by Mr Cathcart W. Methven, a private engineer commissioned by the Department, followed.⁽²⁰⁷⁾ [See Map 4] This report was tabled in the House of Assembly on 27 August. By Order of the House dated 18 September 1902, it was referred to a Select Committee under the chairpersonship of Mr. William Runciman, M.L.A. for Simon's's Town for enquiry and report.⁽²⁰⁸⁾

The fishermen considered themselves to have been much better off before the extension of the railway alongside the Main Road to carry the line. This occupied the best portion of the beach where the fishermen had from time immemorial landed and stored their boats. [See Illustration 4] Thus, while they had no written rights to occupy the land, their "almost prescriptive rights" for the purpose of beaching their boats and carrying on the industry, had been seriously encroached upon.⁽²⁰⁹⁾

The curtailment of space resulted in overcrowding which, combined with local weather conditions and the exposed nature of the beach, made landing and launching difficult and unsafe. There was no anchorage at Kalk Bay and the size of the boats was limited by the fact that they had to be carried up the beach. Prior to the extension of the line there had been

(206) A. 17 - 1902, Appendix pp.ii-iv (J. Newey) and v-vii (W. Westhofen); Furlong "Kalk Bay Harbour", p.743.

(207) G. 50 - 1902.

(208) Cape Hansard 18 September 1902. p.248; Votes and Proceedings of the House of Assembly 27 August 1902, p.41 and 18 September 1902, p.248; A. 17 - 1902, p.11.

(209) A. 17 - 1902, pp.111 (quotation) and 22 (181)-23 (193) C.H.L. Jurisch; C. 2 - 1898, pp.15 (180) R. Orgill and 69 (739) J.D.F. Gilchrist; G. 37 - 1892, p.xxi.

little problem as the beach sloped down at an easy angle from the Main Road. At high spring tides, or when storms were expected, the boats were drawn up close to the road or carried across to the outspan on the other side. [See Illustrations 1 and 2] In bad weather the boats could now only be saved by carrying them through the subways which provided access from the Main Road to the beach. Only twelve feet wide, with steep gradients and paved with cement, these had not been designed for this purpose and only two of the three could be used.⁽²¹⁰⁾ [See Illustrations 4 and 18]

As predicted in evidence before the Fisheries Committee of 1892, during storms and easterly gales, the men suffered considerably through damage to, or total loss of, their boats. Perhaps the most dramatic example was provided early in 1898, when heavy seas damaged or destroyed between 17 and 19 boats lying on the beach overnight. Some cost between £20 and £25 for patching, others were more seriously damaged and three were totally wrecked. Estimates of damage to boats alone varied between £250 and £500, without the indirect pecuniary losses to the fishermen. These were considerable since a large proportion of the men was unemployed while the boats were being repaired, a factor made worse by the fact that the larger boats generally suffered the worst damage.⁽²¹¹⁾ Repairs took considerable time as difficulty was always experienced in obtaining the services of a carpenter.⁽²¹²⁾ This would not have happened earlier as the boats would

(210) A. 17 - 1902, pp.iii, 2 (9)-3 (11), 3 (13), 4 (18-24) J.P. Fenoulhet, 6 (39), 7 (43), 8-9 (52), 9 (59) J.Duignam, 14 (102), 15 (105), 15 (112)-16 (121), 17 (132)-18 (134), 18 (138-142) N. Menigo and Appendix p.iv-v (W. Westhofen); C. 2 - 1898, pp.3 (31-32, 37) H.A. Auret, 15 (179) R. Orgill, 69 (738)-70 (740) and 70 (744) J.D.F. Gilchrist; G. 37 - 1892, pp.xi, 27 (459-460) C. Fish, 31 (567) R. Orgill and 37 (687-688) C. Kleinschmidt.

(211) A. 17 - 1902, pp.iv, 8 (46)-9 (55) J. Duignam, 15 (106-111), 17 (128-131) N. Menigo and 46 (389-390) J.M. Black; C. 2 - 1898, pp. 3 (27,33) 6 (65, 66) H.A. Auret and 15 (180) R. Orgill; G. 37 (1892), pp.xxi, 31 (569) R. Orgill and 33 (616-617, 620-621) C. Kleinschmidt.

(212) A. 17 - 1902, p.17 (128) N. Menigo.

have been pulled further up the beach.⁽²¹³⁾ The severity of the situation is clarified by fluctuating numbers of boats in use at Kalk Bay over the five years period 1897-1901, there being 36 (1897), 25 (1898), 30 (1899), 28 (1900) and 38 (1901), a mean of 31.40.⁽²¹⁴⁾

Carrying boats averaging about 2000 lb (909,09 kg) in weight, and struggling through culverts and up steep gradients after a hard day at sea, resulted in a great deal of strain for the men. Many suffered permanent injury, shortening of working life or, sometimes, even death. Ailments included general debility and degeneration, even in young men; back strain and rickbacks; rupture and strangulation of the guts; heart trouble, especially dilation of the heart; assorted injuries sustained while carrying the boats and the side-effects of being wet for long periods, especially before the rising of the sun.⁽²¹⁵⁾ In the opinion of a local Medical Practitioner, Dr. James Peter Fenoulhet, of the two hundred members of Kalk Bay Fishermen's Society, not even ten per cent were free from these maladies.⁽²¹⁶⁾

The 200 lb ballast bags also had to be carried through the viaducts. The beach end of the concrete path was considerably eroded and there were places where a man with a bag on his back could easily break his leg, especially in the pre-dawn darkness.⁽²¹⁷⁾ Sleep deprivation and uncertainty after a hard day's fishing also took their toll on the men. The boat owners were constantly "on the watch" at night in case the weather changed. If it did the crew were called out and had to carry the boats out of harm's way, thus losing

(213) C. 2 - 1898, pp.6 (66) H.A. Auret and 69 (739) J.D.F. Gilchrist.

(214) See Table 3 later in this chapter.

(215) A. 17 - 1902, pp.iv, 1 (7)-3 (14), 3-4 (17) J.P. Fenoulhet, 6 (36), 7-8 (46), 11 (75)-12 (77) J. Duignam and 46 (388) J.M. Black.

(216) Ibid. p.2 (8) J.P. Fenoulhet.

(217) G. 37 - 1892, p.27 (460) C. Fish.

much-needed sleep. Physical and pecuniary losses thus interacted and "two or three" men were "always ashore with sore backs or pains in consequence of having to remove the boats".⁽²¹⁸⁾ In serious cases, the men were permanently or semi-permanently rendered "unfit to earn their livelihood or support their families".⁽²¹⁹⁾

In spite of protests by the fishermen, no compensation or equivalent had been paid or given to the men. Winches promised as early as 1892 had not been provided. An elevated platform for boat storage had been suggested but nothing had been done. Proposals to remove a number of rocks and thus increase the storage area had been ignored. Even the ridiculously low sum of £50 offered by the railways administration as compensation for the wrecking of the boats in 1898 had not been paid. All that had been done were superficial repairs to the beach continuations of the paths through the subways, and the provision of several rollers, in 1892. These factors, combined with the high-handed "almost barbarous" treatment of the fishermen by the railway authorities, had soured the relationship between the two parties.⁽²²⁰⁾ By the turn of the century, the combined might of the abovementioned factors had resulted in the curtailment of the future development of the False Bay fishing industry and prevented the acquisition of larger decked boats. This was occurring at a time when,

(218) A. 17 - 1902, p.15 (111) N. Menigo and 46 (388) J.M.Black.

(219) Ibid. pp.iv (quotation), 4 (25) J.P. Fenoulhet and 7-8 (46) J. Duignam.

(220) A. 17 - 1902, pp.iv, 10-11 (69) J. Duignam (quotation), 43 (361) and 46 (391-392) J.M. Black; C. 2 - 1898, p.15 (180) R. Orgill; G. 37 - 1892, pp.xxi and 31 (567, 569) R. Orgill.

due to depletion of fish stock in the bay, the men needed to go to further fishing grounds and thus required larger boats. (221)

Evidence of seriously declining fish stocks in the bay was presented. Nicholas Menigo, a Kalk Bay line fisherman who had fished there for all his working life, argued that this was the result of trawling operations over the previous five years. The line fishermen of the entire bay nevertheless had no objection to trawlers as long as they were kept outside Whittle Rock or a fifteen mile (24 km) limit was imposed. The trawlers would find ample fish outside this limit. (222) Hendrik Andries Auret had considerably revised his opinions since 1898. He argued that migratory fish such as the snoek had been extremely scarce in the bay for the last thirty years. It was nevertheless likely that they would return in substantial numbers in the future. In his opinion, the decrease in stocks of all other species over the preceding five years was not the result of trawling. It should be attributed to the fact that the fishermen fished in the same places day after day. The solution thus lay in the acquisition of larger boats to enable exploitation of more distant fishing grounds. This could be achieved by construction of a harbour. It had taken almost sixty years to diminish the supply in the inshore beds, and even these were not yet exhausted. Larger vessels fishing

(221) A. 17 - 1902, pp.iii, 11 (70,73), 12 (78-82) J. Duignam, 15 (103-105), 20 (159-163), 21 (173-176) N. Menigo, 23-24 (196), 27 (216)-28 (221) J.D.F. Gilchrist and 37 (298-302) H.A. Auret; C. 2 - 1898, pp.3 (27, 32) H.A. Auret, 20 (237) N. Menigo and 50 (569) W. Runciman.

(222) A. 17 - 1902, pp.18 (143)-19 (147) and 19 (149)-20 (157) N. Menigo. Whittle Rock lies on the Cape Point side of False Bay, approximately eight kilometres off-shore between Miller's Point and Partridge Point, at a distance of about 17 km from Kalk Bay. See chart SAN 1016. Valsbaai.

further afield would thus not denude the bay of its resources.⁽²²³⁾ Support for these arguments was provided by Mr John Maule Black, who had recently succeeded to the business of Messrs. Kleinschmidt and Company, and Dr. Gilchrist.⁽²²⁴⁾ The Government Marine Biologist argued further than the imposition of a fifteen mile limit was unnecessary as the Agulhas Bank, rather than Table Bay, was the area most extensively used by trawlers.⁽²²⁵⁾ He also presented dramatic evidence of declining catches by the local fishermen, particularly those of Kalk Bay. These had resulted in significant decreases in the numbers of boats in use at Simon's Bay and Muizenberg.

TABLE 3 : Number of boats in use and fish landed at various False Bay fishing stations, 1897-1901⁽²²⁶⁾

	KALK BAY		SIMON'S BAY		MUIZENBERG		FISH HOEK	
	BOATS IN USE	FISH LANDED	BOATS IN USE	FISH LANDED	BOATS IN USE	FISH LANDED	BOATS IN USE	FISH LANDED
1897	36	1 240 833	27	833 256	6	?	3	?
1898	25	1 326 320	26	823 153	3	462 125	2	221 670
1899	30	1 316 680	24	771 155	6	211 753	4	167 097
1900	28	1 076 242	20	516 222	6	353 233	4	315 981
1901	38	766 141	20	465 414	4	370 415	3	174 400

(223) A. 17 - 1902, pp.37 (297, 300-301), 41 (334-335, 337, 342) and 43 (356-358) H.A. Auret.

(224) Ibid. pp.43 (361-362), 45 (381)-46 (385) J.M.Black, 25 (197)-26 (206), 27 (217), 29 (325) and 31 (246-249) J.D.F. Gilchrist.

(225) Ibid. pp.26 (207-208) J.D.F. Gilchrist.

(226) Ibid. p.25 (196) J.D.F. Gilchrist.

The fish distributors had additional problems. While there was still a great demand for fish up country by 1902, as had previously been the case, local demands were supplied first. Due to increasing demand and decreasing supply, even these could often not be met. In addition, poor railway service continued to hamper the up-country trade. Trial shipments of fish sent to Touw's River had taken two days to reach their destination. Improved railway facilities in themselves would not be sufficient to meet the up-country demands, however. To do this profitably, some sort of regularity would have to be observed. One had to be able, day after day, to supply the quantities of fish requested by customers. With existing facilities at Kalk Bay, it was quite impossible to do this. (227)

By 1902, witnesses were agreed that the solutions to both the fishermen's grievances and the abovementioned problems lay in the provision of a harbour at Kalk Bay. This would allow the acquisition of large vessels, including steam trawlers, and would both considerably increase and cheapen a source of local food supply. More men would be employed in the fishing industry, including whaling, and trade and industry bettered. Moreover, railway earnings would be enlarged by export to the country districts, the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal. The Report of the Committee fully endorsed these arguments. (228) In response to Methven's scheme, which he considered inadequate, Westhofen had formulated a plan of his own. This

(227) Ibid. pp.39 (319-320, 322), 42 (349-350) H.A. Auret, 43 (363-365) and 44 (369-371) J.M. Black.

(228) Ibid. pp.iv, pp.9 (63)-10 (65), 11 (71, 73-74), 12 (83)-14 (96) J. Duignam, 16 (123), 16-17 (124), 18 (135-136, 141), 20 (158-159, 164-165) N. Menigo, 26 (208), 27 (213, 218), 28 (221-224) J.D.F. Gilchrist, 33 (262-263, 265-268) P.G. Wege, 34-35 (279), 36 (287-288) J.G. Steytler, 39 (312-315, 317-321), 42 (354-355), 43 (359-360) H.A. Auret, 44 (369-371), 45 (375-377, 380) J.M. Black Appendix pp.iii-iv (J. Newey) and v-vii (W. Westhofen).

provided for a larger harbour than envisaged by Methven. Due to this factor his evidence and plan were recommended in preference to the Methven scheme.⁽²²⁹⁾ [See Map 4] Attention was also drawn to the fact that in other parts of the world, the fishing industry had only been developed by the construction of harbours such as that now proposed. The absence of such facilities in the Colony as a whole was probably a strong reason why the industry had been so retarded.⁽²³⁰⁾

The Report was enthusiastically received in the House of Assembly. Hopes having been expressed that the scheme would be the forerunner of similar works at other fishing stations, and spur improvements in railway facilities, it was referred to the government for consideration.⁽²³¹⁾ Arguing that Westhofen's scheme was unsuited to local conditions and prohibitively expensive, Methven submitted plans for a second, extended, scheme in December 1902. [See Map 4] These were followed by detailed tracings and an estimate from Westhofen in April of the following year.⁽²³²⁾ Having been delayed by uncertainty as to which scheme to adopt, the project was shelved as a result of the 1904 depression.⁽²³³⁾ Fishermen again having complained to Council,⁽²³⁴⁾ a set of gantries was erected against the toe of the railway viaduct in 1905. [See Illustrations 16 and 18] Constructed of old railway 46 1/4 lb section rails, they

(229) Ibid. pp.v and 47 (400)-55 (526) W. Westhofen.

(230) Ibid. pp.iv, 27 and 28 (227) J.D.F.Gilchrist and 50 (408) W. Westhofen.

(231) Cape Hansard 5 November 1902. pp.628-630; Votes and Proceedings of the House of Assembly 5 November 1902. p.460.

(232) G. 63 - 1903, pp.1-8 (C.W. Methven) and 9-10 (W. Westhofen)

(233) G. 63 - 1903, pp.11-14 (A.C. Hurtzig); Cape Hansard 18 June 1903. p.91; Furlong "Kalk Bay Harbour", p.743.

(234) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 4 August 1904; Cape Times 5 August 1904.

provided accommodation for 20 open boats.⁽²³⁵⁾ Fishermen would later complain that provision should have been made for all the boats at Kalk Bay.⁽²³⁶⁾ Due to the depression, however, the state was not prepared to undertake even these limited works unassisted and the cost was borne equally by the Kalk Bay-Muizenberg Municipality and the Cape Government Railways.⁽²³⁷⁾ March of the same year had seen the construction of a public fish cleaning slab at Kalk Bay.⁽²³⁸⁾ Use of this slab for trade purposes was subsequently prohibited by Council, a condition which also applied to its replacement, constructed in 1909.⁽²³⁹⁾ During the latter year, further control was extended over marketing by the imposition and enforcement of a licence system for fish cart owners and drivers.⁽²⁴⁰⁾ Alleviation of the fishermen's problems was, however, to result in divisions within the fishing community, and between fisherfolk and non-fisherfolk, over the advisability of continuing with plans for the construction of the harbour. Divided on this issue by 1907, fishermen were nevertheless united in their desire for the formation of a cooperative and a union.

(235) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 17 August 1905; Cape Times 21 August 1905.

(236) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 14 April 1910; Cape Times 15 April 1910.

(237) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 27 October 1904, 10 November 1904 and 24 November 1904; Cape Times 28 October 1904, 11 November 1904 and 25 November 1904; Lindsay "Kalk Bay Railways Centenary", p.423; Furlong "Kalk Bay Harbour" p.743.

(238) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 30 March 1905; Cape Times 31 March 1905.

(239) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 4 January 1907 and 24 June 1909; Cape Times 5 January 1907 and 25 June 1909.

(240) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 13 May 1909 and 11 November 1909; Cape Times 14 May 1909 and 12 November 1909.

Harbour and fishermen's cooperative/union - competing forces of division and unity at Kalk Bay

An application by Kalk Bay fishermen for the construction of a boat slip, in 1906, was refused by Council due to there being insufficient funds for this purpose.⁽²⁴¹⁾ In December of the same year Council resolved to again raise the question of the provision of a harbour with the state.⁽²⁴²⁾ A deputation sent to the Prime Minister and the Secretary for Agriculture, Arthur J. Fuller, reported in March 1907 that they had Dr. L.S. Jameson's assurance that the scheme would be implemented as soon as colonial finances permitted. Kalk Bay would receive the first attention and have its harbour before any other area.⁽²⁴³⁾ Fishermen, however, were divided on the issue. One group, supported by Councillor, H.A. Auret and apparently by the majority of non-fishermen ratepayers, advocated that the scheme should go ahead. Others argued that if the shelter was provided, they would be unable to compete with the decked sailing boats and trawlers which would inevitably be attracted and would thus lose their independence.⁽²⁴⁴⁾ Both groups petitioned the state, the latter refusing to help at least one man to haul his boat up the beach unless he signed the petition. The almost hysterical condemnation of those who opposed the scheme elicited, by a deputation of ratepayers to Council in 1907, clearly illustrates the attitudes of the state, non-fishing residents and visitors

(241) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 29 March 1906; Cape Times 30 March 1906.

(242) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 20 December 1906, Cape Times 21 December 1906.

(243) Cape Times 16 March 1907.

(244) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 18 July 1907; Cape Times 19 July 1907; Furlong "Kalk Bay Harbour", p.743; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.54.

and Council to the fishermen. These were best summarised by the Mayor, William Dickson Gourlay, who argued that:

it seemed impossible to hear of such a thing being done. They had done all they could for the poor fishermen. ... In an interview with Mr Fuller, he was told that the fishermen were simply impossible and that it was not worth doing anything for them. They were a discontented GRUMBLING RACE OF MEN from beginning to end. When they could not get anyone to quarrel with them they quarrelled amongst themselves. It was the duty of the inhabitants of the place to take up the matter and see that they made the place fit to live in, and that the industry was carried on in such a way that it would be beneficial to the resort and to the public. ... His opinion was that the fishermen were not capable of looking after their own interests. They must improve the position of the fishermen in spite of themselves. ... (As leader of the deputation referred to earlier) he put it to the Premier that they should like to have a harbour or remove the industry altogether. Visitors had a great objection to the fishing operations, and if the fishermen persisted in the position they had taken up, it would be better to remove the industry, as it was becoming a nuisance. The beach at the spot was in a filthy condition.⁽²⁴⁵⁾

While the question of harbour construction divided fishermen by 1907, there were forces acting to promote unity among them. The last week of December 1907 saw representations of the fishermen from Simon's Town to Muizenberg united on the issue of a cooperative. At a meeting called by Mr. C.J. Boyes, Resident Magistrate of Simon's Town, a committee was elected to consider proposals. Chief among these were improved transportation facilities, the provision of cold storage facilities and the use of tugs to reach the more distant fishing grounds. Facilities for the immediate transference of fish to suburban stations were virtually

(245) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 18 July 1907; Cape Times 19 July 1907. Gourlay, a merchant residing at Muizenberg, was one of the three councillors elected to serve Kalk Bay - Muizenberg on the unified Cape Town City Council in 1913. [See Corporation of the City of Cape Town Mayor's Minute 1914. pp.5-6.] In this year, the subjugation of the fishing industry to tourism would again be illustrated, a situation which is examined later in this chapter.

non-existent. While consignments were sometimes carried in the guard's van, this was impossible if reasonably large catches had been made. Representations to the authorities, asking that a truck be affixed to the end of passenger trains, had been met with refusal. In consequence, the fish had to remain on the beach awaiting the arrival of a goods train. By the time it reached suburban stations, much of its freshness had thus been lost. When large catches were made, considerable numbers of fish rotted while awaiting transport. At such times fishermen were forced to sell at "heart-breaking" prices. Snoek, for example, had recently been sold for a penny a-piece as there was no transport available. The solution lay in the provision of cold storage facilities at suburban stations. As an interim measure, however, the Committee were considering a proposal by the Kalk Bay Fish and Land Company that their premises be taken over by whatever association was formed. ⁽²⁴⁶⁾

The Committee was also considering the question of a tug. As a result of declining catches, by 1913 the Kalk Bay boats often went out 15 or 20 miles (24 or 32 km), sometimes over 40 miles (60 km) from port, the open boats then in use not being suitable for the heavy seas, so often met with at that distance from the harbour. The use of larger and partly-decked boats was by this time becoming imperative, owing to the increasing distance from land at which fishing was being carried out. ⁽²⁴⁷⁾ By this stage, tugs were being sent round from Cape Town to tow the boats out beyond Cape Point and to other distant fishing grounds where the fish were more plentiful than in the bay. Not only was the distance too great for them to sail home unassisted but there was also the possibility of a storm

⁽²⁴⁶⁾ Cape Times 4 January 1907.

⁽²⁴⁷⁾ Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.44.

arising and preventing their return. For every sovereign worth of fish caught, the men paid the owners of the tug 6s., thirty per cent.⁽²⁴⁸⁾ It was hoped that the establishment of a cooperative would enable the fishermen to purchase their own tug, each boat's fee going towards paying off the interest, upkeep and purchase price. Once repayments had been completed, sufficient would only need be subscribed to meet working expenses.⁽²⁴⁹⁾

Arising from this Committee, the Kalk bay Fishermen's Union had been established by 28 September 1908. A General Meeting of this body on that date was attended by approximately 200 Kalk Bay fishermen with from ten to twenty years experience each. They resolved that the steam-tug "Gnu", then employed in fishing and towing boats to and from the grounds in False Bay, was "totally unfit for her work". Over forty years old and out of date, her hull and machinery were alleged to be dilapidated. Possessing insufficient power to tow boats against a strong wind and sea, she was frequently forced to cut boats adrift under bad weather conditions. Lastly, she possessed only one, unqualified engine room hand. Continuance of her employment was "eventually bound to end in disaster both to those on board and the boats taken in tow". The government were thus "urged to take such immediate steps as they shall consider necessary to avert such possible disaster to the Gnu".⁽²⁵⁰⁾

⁽²⁴⁸⁾ Cape Times January 1907; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.45.

⁽²⁴⁹⁾ Cape Times 4 January 1907.

⁽²⁵⁰⁾ Cape Archives : T 4311 Kalk Bay Fishermen's Union, representations Re: unseaworthy state of the steam-boat "Gnu", 1908. A.S. Marshall-Hall, Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, Kalk Bay Fishermen's Union to Registrar of Shipping, Cape Town, 29 September 1908. (Resolution passed at a General Meeting of the Kalk Bay Fishermen's Union held on Monday, 28 September, 1908 at 7.30 p.m. appended).

After lengthy correspondence between the Controller of Customs, as Registrar of Shipping, the Assistant Treasurer and the Government Law Department, it was concluded that the Governor was empowered to demand a survey. Were the hull and machinery proved to be in an unseaworthy state, the owners could be compelled to right faults before the vessel put to sea again.⁽²⁵¹⁾ The Controller of Customs nevertheless argued that, while the allegations "may be true and the representation bona fide in the public interest", there was the possibility that the "Gnu" was "interfering with what the Fishermen's Union consider their vested interests".⁽²⁵²⁾ It was thus decided to call upon them to provide sufficient security to cover the survey costs and compensation, should the vessel prove to be in good order.⁽²⁵³⁾ This the Union could not do, as its membership consisted entirely of fishermen whose individual earnings averaged under 5s. a day. The only funds of which the Union was possessed were the weekly subscriptions of its members, 6d. per head.⁽²⁵⁴⁾ As a result of the inability to supply sufficient security, no further action

(251) T 4311 Office of the Controller of Customs to the Assistant Treasurer, Cape Town, 12 October 1908; Assistant Treasurer to Controller of Customs, 16 October 1908; Controller of Customs to Assistant Treasurer, 21 October 1908; Assistant Treasurer to Secretary of the Law Department, 26 October 1908; Assistant Law Adviser to Assistant Treasurer, 24 November 1908; Assistant Treasurer to Controller of Customs, 28 November 1908; Controller of Customs to Assistant Treasurer, 2 December 1908; Assistant Treasurer to Controller of Customs, 8 December 1908 and Controller of Customs to Assistant Treasurer, 10 December 1908. This correspondence reveals that this was the first time that an action of this nature had been contemplated at the Cape. Annual inspections of fishing craft by state marine surveyors are now standard practice, and the source of frequent complaint by the Kalk Bay fishermen.

(252) T 4311 Office of the Controller of Customs to the Assistant Treasurer, Cape Town, 12 October 1908.

(253) T 4311 Controller of Customs to Assistant Treasurer, 10 December 1908 and Assistant Treasurer to Controller of Customs, 14 December 1908.

(254) P.E. Faure Broers. (Secretary) Kalk Bay Fishermen's Union to A.H. Wilshere, Controller of Customs, 16 December 1908.

was taken by the state.⁽²⁵⁵⁾ Tugs were apparently used until the construction of the harbour, and gradual acquisition of motorised vessels, rendered them unnecessary.⁽²⁵⁶⁾

In December 1908, it was reported that all but six of the more than forty boats at Kalk Bay had joined the Union. A marketing scheme had been developed to combat the "ring formed by the middlemen" who, it was alleged, were forcing the price paid by the consumer to unreasonable limits. Under this system fish, packed in special crates, would be despatched daily (weather permitting) on the COD system from Kalk Bay to any railway station as far as Wellington. Fishermen, dealers and consumers would all benefit from this removal of the middleman. The arrangement would, however, only come into operation if sufficient inducement were forthcoming.⁽²⁵⁷⁾ As with other Cape inshoremen's attempts at the formation of cooperatives at this time, the Union's scheme was abortive.⁽²⁵⁸⁾

The same year, 1908, had seen complaints from the Acting Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church, the Rev. D.S. Botha, to the Colonial Secretary regarding alleged desecration of the Sabbath by Kalk Bay fishermen and cart drivers.⁽²⁵⁹⁾ Upon investigation, it was found that the men did not fish on the Sabbath, except occasionally when shoals of fish were known to be in the bay. In such cases, sales only took place as permitted, namely

⁽²⁵⁵⁾ Controller of Customs to Assistant Treasurer, 18 December 1908.

⁽²⁵⁶⁾ Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.32.

⁽²⁵⁷⁾ Cape Times 2 December 1908.

⁽²⁵⁸⁾ Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.81.

⁽²⁵⁹⁾ A G 17319 Fishermen, Alleged Desecration of Sabbath by, Kalk Bay, 1908. Rev. D.S. Botha, Acting Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church to the Colonial Secretary, 25 August 1908.

before 09h00 and after 16h00. There was no law to prevent persons from catching fish on Sundays.⁽²⁶⁰⁾ It is unlikely that such a complaint would have been made, except from the pulpit, in the early days of the community's history. Two years after this dispute with the church, the fishermen were again engaged in conflict with the Kalk Bay-Muizenberg Council. Deterioration of the gantries was both the root cause of conflict and the factor forcing some form of agreement between fishermen and council over the provision of harbour facilities at Kalk Bay.

Fishermen, council and the harbour

In 1910, conflict again erupted between the fishermen and council over the provision of harbour facilities at Kalk Bay. By this time the gantries had become unsafe as a result of undermining of their concrete foundations by the sea.⁽²⁶¹⁾ While previously responsible for the maintenance of this structure, Council repudiated liability in March, a decision they reaffirmed in the following month.⁽²⁶²⁾ As a result, relations between this body and the fishermen once more became marked by overt hostility. A deputation of fishermen threatened to withhold licence fees and call upon

(260) A G 17319 Provincial Secretary, Colonial Office to Private Secretary, Attorney General, 26 August 1908; Attorney General's Office, Cape Town to Commissioner, Urban Police, District Cape Town, 31 August 1908; Captain Crawford, Commissioner, Urban Police to Secretary of the Law Department, Cape Town, 11 September 1908; Secretary of the Law Department to the Rev. D.S. Botha, Stellenbosch, 17 September 1908.

(261) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 3 March 1910; South African Railways Magazine, July 1913, p.3; Cape Times 4 March 1910; Lindsay "Kalk Bay Railways Centenary", p. 734; Furlong "Kalk Bay Harbour", p.743.

(262) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 3 March 1910 and 14 April 1910; Cape Times 4 March 1910 and 15 April 1910.

the state to force Council to put the gantry into repair.⁽²⁶³⁾ Council replied with mocking insult and discussion of proposals for the removal of the industry.⁽²⁶⁴⁾ While divided among themselves, it was nevertheless realised by the latter body that previous consent to keep the gantry in repair would force them to come to some agreement with the state about its future. Justifying their decision in terms of their duty to the fishermen as ratepayers, overtures were made by Council to be represented on any deputation to the government to discuss the question.⁽²⁶⁵⁾ A great deal of heat was removed from the issue when Council undertook temporary repairs to the gantry in May.⁽²⁶⁶⁾

A deputation, composed of various municipal officials, councillors and persons with interests in the fishing industry, met Mr J.W. Sauer, Minister of Railways and Harbours, on 17 February 1911. Here it was argued that the gantry had not provided lasting relief to the fishermen. The only solution lay in the construction of a harbour. Most visitors bathed at Muizenberg and St. James and the scheme, if properly carried

(263) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 14 April 1910; Cape Times 15 April 1910. Section 10.1 of the Kalk Bay Municipal Improvement Act has specifically granted council the right to prescribe "fees to be paid in connection with the licencing of stands for fishing and other boats and vessels." [See Act No.26 of 1897.] These fees had previously been the source of complaint. In evidence before the Select Committee on Kalk Bay Harbour, it was argued that the fishermen were paying council an annual fee of ten shillings for security for their boats. However, there was no security and they obtained no return for their money. They would not mind paying double the amount if they knew for certain that they would have security for their boats. [See A. 17 - 1902, pp.17 (125-127) N. Menigo, 31 (253) J.D.F. Gilchrist and 47 (397) J.M. Black.]

(264) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 14 April 1910 and 28 April 1910; Cape Times 15 April 1910 and 29 April 1910.

(265) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 28 April 1910; Cape Times 29 April 1910.

(266) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 26 May 1910; Cape Times 27 May 1910.

out, would not detrimentally affect tourism. Recreational craft would be introduced, thus boosting the tourist industry.⁽²⁶⁷⁾ While the fishermen would remain divided on the issue, it would appear that, by this time, the majority had come to support this view.⁽²⁶⁸⁾ In May 1912, Mr G.T. Nicholson, Harbour Advisory Engineer to the Union Government and Resident Engineer at Table Bay Harbour, was called upon to submit a further plan. [See Map 4] July 1912 saw the survey of the area and a decision by Council that, in view of the imminence of the commencement of construction, the question of the gantry would not be pursued.⁽²⁶⁹⁾ Council were clearly considering the possibilities for the development of tourism through the harbour. In his annual review, presented to Council in August, the Mayor, John Delbridge, expressed the hope that the newly-sanctioned scheme would result in arrangements for taking visitors out deep-sea fishing and encourage landlords to hire out boats with their properties.⁽²⁷⁰⁾ The following year saw municipal unification with Cape Town. The development of tourism and settlement, rather than fishing, would remain the primary concern of the new council. The harbour thus continued to be seen primarily in the light of its possible benefits for the tourist trade.

Municipal unification with Cape Town resulted in a series of developmental works designed to boost tourism. By June 1914 an additional bathing pavilion had been erected on Kalk Bay beach, bringing the total bathing

(267) Cape Times 18 February 1911.

(268) Cape Times 19 March 1912; Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.54.

(269) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 4 July 1912; Cape Times 5 July 1912; Furlong "Kalk Bay Harbour", pp.743-744.

(270) Kalk Bay - Muizenberg Council Minutes, 15 August 1912; Cape Times 16 August 1912.

accommodation there to 68 cubicles. Sanitary conveniences and a brush-up room for females had been provided, while private bathing boxes and the old Municipal bathing shelter had been removed to give more room. Two hundred feet of sea wall had been constructed to conserve the sand, this proving "a great improvement and advantage to the many visitors who frequent the beach in the season". Improvements had also been made to the pools and a regular maintenance system introduced. Council had secured the old Military Camping Ground, situated off Main Road, Muizenberg, and laid it out for public recreation.⁽²⁷¹⁾ From 1916, this area was leased to the Muizenberg-Kalk Bay Sports Club, a bowling green, croquet lawn, tennis courts and club house having been constructed.⁽²⁷²⁾

It will become apparent that, while greatly developing the tourist potential of the area, Municipal unification did little to benefit the fishermen until the 1940's. The attitude of the new Council to the harbour was clearly revealed in correspondence with the Railway Department between October and December 1913, over proposals for the landing and shipping of general cargo. The Improvements and Parks Committee stated that "the Kalk Bay and St. James area was one which should particularly be regarded as a health resort". As long as the development of harbour traffic was conducted on such lines that the district would not be prejudiced as a pleasure resort for visitors, restrictions should not be placed upon its development. Upon completion the harbour "would supply additional facilities for yachting in False Bay", hopefully leading "to the development of yachting as a sport in Cape waters". Thus, while

(271) Corporation of the City of Cape Town Mayor's Minute, 1914. Appendix 2, Annual Report of the City Engineer and Surveyor. p.iv (quotation) and vi.

(272) Corporation of the City of Cape Town Mayor's Minute, 1921, p.47.

Council argued that the harbour "should be regarded purely as a fishing and pleasure harbour and not available for traffic in general cargo", it is clear that tourism, rather than fishing, was uppermost in their view on the matter. (273)

Work on the harbour had begun on 6 March 1913, the first portion of the square work of the breakwater being set on 28 May. (274) At this time there were 47 boats in operation at Kalk Bay, manned by 206 coloured and 30 white fishermen. The annual catch was valued at between £40 000 and £60 000. Approximately 75 per cent of this was disposed of in the Peninsula, the balance being sent throughout South Africa. (275) While the Kalk Bay Fisheries Limited purchased a large proportion of the catch and were responsible for the supply of inland markets, they thus by no means possessed a monopoly. A considerable percentage was still sold to Muslim and other middlemen who continued to forward it by open cart to Cape Town, selling to householders and hawkers en route. (276)

It had been intended to complete the harbour within two years. Work was nevertheless delayed by the exposure of the area to south-east winds from October to March, the heavy rolling swells which set in during the winter months and the First World War. (277) While declared a minor port of the Union, and placed under the control of the Railway and Harbour administration in June 1917, it was not until 1919 that work was

(273) Corporation of the City of Cape Town Mayor's Minute, 1914, pp.56-57.

(274) Furlong "Kalk Bay Harbour", pp.745 and 741.

(275) The South African Railways Magazine, July 1913. p.735; Cape Times 10 June 1913.

(276) Thompson Sea Fisheries of the Cape Colony, p.52.

(277) Furlong "Kalk Bay Harbour", pp.743, 747 and 749.

completed.⁽²⁷⁸⁾ This was the first harbour constructed specifically for fishing boats on the South African coast.⁽²⁷⁹⁾ Included in its facilities were a slipway, fish landing quay, a boat house with tanks for pickling fish, cubicles for the storage of boat gear, petrol etc. and a fish cleaning slab and bath.⁽²⁸⁰⁾ As predicted, the harbour would prove a popular haven for yachts. Even while under construction, the breakwater became increasingly popular each season as a fishing resort.⁽²⁸¹⁾ An "up to date and highly artistically finished cafe and club room for the European (sic) angling community" had also been provided. Toilet facilities were also racially segregated.⁽²⁸²⁾ The construction of the harbour was to have a strong effect on the daily lives of the fisherfolk of Kalk Bay.

(278) Ibid. pp.751-752.

(279) Fisheries Development Corporation of South Africa "Cape Peninsula Fishing Harbours", unpub. pamphlet, 18th International Conference on Coastal Engineering, Cape Town, November 1982. p.4.

(280) Furlong "Kalk Bay Harbour", pp.750-751.

(281) Cape Times 26 July 1946; The Messenger June 1940; Furlong "Kalk Bay Harbour", p.750.

(282) Furlong "Kalk Bay Harbour", p.750.

CHAPTER 4THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MODERN FISHING INDUSTRY IN KALK BAY, 1913-1939Introduction

This chapter examines the effects of the construction of the harbour, and the development of Kalk Bay and surrounds as a tourist resort and residential suburb, on the fishing industry and the fishing community in Kalk Bay from the commencement of harbour construction to the late 1930s. In continuance of trends discussed in previous chapters, during the period 1913 to 1930, the basis of the modern handline fishing industry at Kalk Bay was laid, while problems which have continued to plague the men were thrown into sharp relief. The construction of the harbour enabled the fishermen to acquire motorised vessels. While engines further eroded the former self-sufficiency of the fisherfolk, they freed the men from the exhausting tasks of rowing or sailing the boat. Their greater power enabled the exploitation of more distant fishing grounds by increased numbers of fishermen. During the snoek season, boats could leave harbour for up to a month and fish on the west coast, rather than waiting for the fish to appear in False Bay. Incomes from fishing were thus raised considerably. Growth of the industry of Kalk Bay was nevertheless less spectacular than had been anticipated at the time of construction of the harbour. By the mid 1920s, it had become clear that the future of the port would continue to lie in the hands of the petty-capitalist handline fishermen rather than with highly capitalised concerns. Fishermen were facing problems occasioned by inadequate harbour facilities, over-

exploitation of the bay by externally-based trawlers and systems of marketing. Increasing development of the area had resulted in greater overcrowding and more rigid residential zoning by race and class, with growing numbers of fishermen being forced to move out of Kalk Bay and commute there daily to work. Tourist facilities, too, had begun to be increasingly segregated. The application of the Group Areas and Separate Amenities Acts, in 1967, would merely further develop and enshrine existing social patterns.

Fishermen and the fishing industry

By 1913, the use of longer and partly-decked boats had become imperative as a result of the increasing distance from the shore at which fishing was carried out. As work on the harbour progressed, and more shelter was afforded to the older fishing craft, many were redesigned and fitted with motors. New mechanically driven boats were built and launched on the shores of Table Bay, and based at Kalk Bay.⁽¹⁾ [See Illustrations 12 and 13] By 1919, sixteen motor fishing vessels were engaged in fishing at Kalk Bay, as against none before the harbour was built. Six other open fishing craft were being converted into motor vessels now that the war was over and engines obtainable. [See Illustration 12] Small coasters, not previously seen in False Bay, began to arrive and trade in fish and other staple commodities opened up with bays in the vicinity.⁽²⁾ While they would later be inherited from fathers, these new boats were expensive and had to be paid for by land-earned savings from the sale of fish, pooling

(1) Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", p.43; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, p.6; Furlong "Kalk Bay Harbour", p.750.

(2) Furlong "Kalk Bay Harbour", p.750.

of capital by families and extended families, and loans at three per cent from white businessmen with shipping and philanthropic interests.⁽³⁾ As noted by Sinclair in the context of Newfoundland fishermen, motors had to be purchased from manufacturers or agents and fuel subsequently had to be bought, which made them very expensive. Manufactured goods all had to be serviced by outside agencies whenever the user was unable to cope with the technology himself. Fishermen had no control over prices in any of these spheres.⁽⁴⁾ The acquisition of motorised vessels would thus have further broken down the earlier self-sufficiency of the Kalk Bay fishermen associated with subsistence production. Capital expenditure by owners would have risen considerably, forcing increases in boat-share.⁽⁵⁾

Apparently as a result of the difficulties of acquiring and maintaining motorised vessels, the transition from sail and oar to petrol and diesel was slow. Less than ten percent of handline boats in Cape waters were equipped with motors in the 1930s.⁽⁶⁾ The Kalk Bay men nevertheless

(3) Interviews with R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979 and V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", p.67; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", p.43; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, p.6; Furlong "Kalk Bay Harbour", p.750.

(4) Interviews with R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979 and V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Sinclair From Traps to Draggers, pp.119-120.

(5) By the mid 1930s, boat share had risen from the 17-25 percent of the nineteenth century to 30 percent, a figure which remained constant to at least the late 1950s. [See Chapter 2; Board of Trade and Industries Report No. 180 of 1935, p.27 and Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.92.] From the late 1960s, it has varied at between 30 and 45 percent of the men's daily earnings, depending upon individual boat owners. [See Interviews with R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979 and V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", pp.32 and 52, Whisson Suspended Sentence, p.28.] For the existence of a one in five boat share, based upon a legal contract and hierarchical organization of labour in the much more highly capitalized Hout Bay fishing industry (c. 1900-1920) see Van Sittert "Gebrei in die aambag" pp.35-37.

(6) Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", p.52.

appear to have acquired these as soon as finances permitted. By 1926 there were 23 motor boats and 14 open boats actively engaged in fishing there.⁽⁷⁾ Engine power increased the safety and mobility of boats, and enabled them to accommodate a larger crew. A man could now occupy one of three possible positions: skipper, helmsman/"driver" or ordinary crewman. The helmsman occasionally took over steering from the skipper but then, as now, he was usually involved with ensuring that the engine was running smoothly. Moreover, the helmsman usually fished with the skipper in the stern, traditionally regarded as the best fishing part of the boat. Boat owners and crewmen began to profit from increasing catches as they searched out new fishing grounds and remained there longer, still returning in time to catch the market.⁽⁸⁾ By 1926, appeals for financial assistance to the local churches had decreased considerably.⁽⁹⁾ As boats grew in size and engine power, the roots of the routine of the modern snoek season were laid. During periods when snoek were in great abundance in Table Bay and Hout Bay, particularly in March and April, increasing numbers of boats began to leave the harbour for about a month and operate from these ports, the local market moving with them. Gradually increasing numbers of boats began to move as far up the coast as Saldhana Bay and Vioolsbaai, near Veldrift and Vredenburg, to take in the beginning of a run, as they still do, particularly when fishing has been poor. Boats

(7) Department of Mines and Industries Fishing Harbours Report, Part 1, 1926. p.9.

(8) Interview with V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", pp.30 and 66-67; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, pp.6 and 25-26.

(9) The Messenger, April 1926.

thus began to go out and pursue the snoek, rather than waiting for them to appear in the bay. ⁽¹⁰⁾

In spite of this evidence of growth, development of the industry at Kalk Bay was less spectacular than that which had been anticipated. At the time of its construction, it was envisaged that the harbour would lead to the development of a large-scale industry. This view was based upon the opinion that trawlers would use it as a home port for nightly trips to the Agulhas bank. An efficient rail distribution network could also be developed. ⁽¹¹⁾ The Fishing Harbours Committee Report of 1926 noted that "conditions of some difficulty" presented themselves at Kalk Bay. The area had developed from a simple fishing village, "established at a very early period in the development of the Peninsula", to "a seaside town of many attractions". Largely due to financial considerations, the harbour, as completed, was not big enough to provide for development on the scale originally anticipated. Thus, while facilities for handling the catch had improved considerably, and boats were better protected than before, representations had been made from time to time concerning the need for effectively protected moorings. In bad weather the harbour provided insufficient mooring area. Smaller craft moored between the heavier boats, frequently suffered damage. ⁽¹²⁾

(10) Interviews with R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979 and V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk bay", pp.56 and 72-73; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", p.53; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, pp.30-31; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, pp.83-95; Bidden Sea Angling Fishes of the Cape, pp.135-136.

(11) Department of Mines and Industries Fishing Harbours Report, Part 1, 1926. p.9; Furlong "Kalk Bay Harbour", p.9.

(12) Department of Mines and Industries Fishing Harbours Report, Part 1, 1926. p.9.

The supply of fish in False Bay was decreasing, or fluctuating, to such an extent as to involve hardship to the local fishermen and the industry. While the Committee argued that causes were "obscure", the vast majority of fishermen ascribed this to overfishing and the destruction of immature fish and fishing banks by trawlers. In addition, the Kalk Bay fisherfolk, in particular, were suffering considerably through being debarred from preparing their catch for sale by the quayside. While they had previously utilised cold storage facilities belonging to the Kalk Bay Fisheries Limited, these had fallen away. Having no means of storing the catch for later sale or curing it, they were compelled to dispose of it as it lay on the quay at such prices as they could obtain from the dealers. The latter group were thus "in a strong position in fixing prices", the fishermen receiving "scant recompense for their labour". The fishermen strongly emphasized the importance "of having available means of protection against practically forced sales" and "for drying and salting a portion of their catch".⁽¹³⁾ Aware of the possible difficulties arising from wind-drying or smoking of fish, as a result of the development of the village, they were willing to be limited to salting and "means for storing surplus fish for sale according to circumstances." Disposal of waste products, to seaward of the breakwater, would attract fish to the benefit of visiting anglers frequenting the quay.⁽¹⁴⁾

While catches had diminished from those of previous years, Kalk Bay fishermen dominated handline fishing in False Bay and were an important supplier of fish to Peninsula markets. Approximately 3 539 780 lbs of fish valued at £21 301 and 3 302 949 lbs valued at £20 806, had been landed by

(13) Ibid. pp.9 and 11. [Quotations p.9.]

(14) Ibid. pp.9-10.

all boats in the Simonstown area during 1924 and 1925 respectively. For practical purposes these results represented operations at Kalk Bay harbour.

Apart from Simon's Bay, Kalk Bay was the only harbour in False Bay to which fishing boats and small craft could run for shelter in bad weather. Thus, while development of its surrounds meant that no large operation, as originally anticipated, could take place, the harbour was not at an end of its usefulness.⁽¹⁵⁾ Concerned with ensuring the continuance of the Kalk Bay fishermen's existence as important suppliers of the local market, the committee recommended that additional mooring, shelter and quay accommodation be provided for the boats. Steps should be taken for the removal of silt which had accumulated in the harbour. Additional facilities should be provided for cleaning, salting and packaging the catch brought in by local boats, and the provision of cold storage facilities should be considered. Noting that False Bay was "not regarded as of any particular importance" as a trawling ground, the Committee further recommended that trawling be prohibited within the confines of the bay "for the time being." Effects should be monitored in order to test the value of the fishermen's firm belief that this method had resulted in deterioration of the inshore fishing grounds.⁽¹⁶⁾

The acquisition of motorised vessels had thus made the development of the modern handline fishing industry at Kalk Bay possible. Engines further reduced the self-sufficiency of the local fisherfolk and tied them firmly to a cash economy where they had no control over prices. They

(15) Ibid. p.10.

(16) Ibid. pp.10-12. [Quotations p.11.]

nevertheless extended fishing limits, improved incomes and created additional employment opportunities. False Bay has been closed to bottom trawling since 1928.⁽¹⁷⁾ In 1938, additional safe mooring space was provided by the dredging of the harbour and the construction of the northern breakwater and timber jetty at right angles to this, the harbour thus achieving its existing state.⁽¹⁸⁾ [See Map 4 and Illustrations 7 and 8] In the short, term the men had thus won their battle against exploitation of the bay by external commercial interests and secured sufficient berthing accommodation to ensure the survival of modern handline fishing at Kalk Bay. Development of the area as a tourist resort and residential suburb had nevertheless ensured that future development of the industry would be limited to handline fishing on approximately the same level as that achieved by 1926. The contribution of the Kalk Bay men would thus become an increasingly minor component of the South African fishing effort. It will, in the concluding chapter, be seen that problems associated with marketing continue to the present day.

The growth of tourism and settlement at Kalk Bay had nevertheless caused far more damage to the community than prevention of significant expansion of its fishing industry. The development of racially segregated tourist facilities, and further entrenchment of residential zoning by race and class, resulted in increasing social segregation within the community. Owing to the acute shortage of accommodation in the area abutting the harbour and the old fishery beach, growing numbers of fishermen were

(17) An. 546 - 1966 Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Fishing between Cape Point and Danger Point, 1966. pp.1 (i) and 4.

(18) The Messenger July 1938; Fisheries Development Corporation of South Africa "Cape Peninsula Fishing Harbours", p.4.

forced to move out of Kalk Bay and commute to work daily. The future of both fishing and the fishing community was threatened.

The community - tourism, settlement and fishermen's housing

Previous chapters have demonstrated that the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw increasing conflict between the interests of fisherfolk and non-fisherfolk at Kalk Bay and growing social segregation of the two groups. Informal segregation would presumably have operated on racial and class grounds on the beaches and in tourist facilities from the beginning of Kalk Bay-Muizenberg's popularity. As early as 1903, the promoters of an extensive scheme for the development of the Muizenberg foreshore had assured the public that "provision will be made for the pleasure of the coloured as well as white visitors without any danger of unpleasant mixing."⁽¹⁹⁾ While no similar pronouncements in connection with proposed schemes at Kalk Bay have, as yet, been traced, it may be assumed that a similar ethos would have prevailed here too.

The existence of racially segregated facilities at Kalk Bay harbour, in 1918, have received attention in Chapter 2. Due to the "ever increasing popularity" of the area as a seaside resort, the railway platform was extended and widened in 1923.⁽²⁰⁾ That visitors included substantial numbers of coloured persons, and that council was forced to develop separate amenities to cater for them - presumably from a fear of alienating the "white" tourist trade - is demonstrated by the construction

(19) The Seaside News 25 April 1903.

(20) The South African Railways and Harbours Magazine September 1923. p.903.

of a pavilion and tea room for the use of "Non-Europeans [sic]" at Kalk Bay in 1937. A similar structure, catering for 'Europeans [sic]' was opened in December 1939.⁽²¹⁾ It will be argued in the concluding chapter that these developments foreshadowed the growing popularity of Kalk Bay as a "coloured" resort in the post Second World War period. In common with visitors, fishermen thus faced increasingly rigid segregation of tourist facilities. Moreover, growing popularity of the area as a tourist resort and residential suburb had, by the mid 1920s, resulted in the further overcrowding of the section occupied by fishermen to such an extent that increasing numbers were forced to move out of Kalk Bay.

Table 4 below clearly illustrates overcrowding in houses occupied by coloured persons within the Kalk Bay Ward and the remainder of the Cape Town Municipality in 1921. Of the fourteen wards, housing at Kalk Bay was the most overcrowded. The severity of this situation becomes apparent upon noting the Medical Officer of Health's contention that conditions within the municipality were "more serious than in any other town in the Union, and have no parallel in any of the overcrowded cities of England and Scotland." The coloured population of Kalk Bay was thus more overcrowded than those in the remainder of the most overcrowded municipality in the Union, Cape Town. The only possible solution lay in "the erection of houses for the labouring classes in considerable numbers."⁽²²⁾

(21) Corporation of the City of Cape Town Mayor's Minute, 1936. p.11, 1937. p.21, 1938. p.45, 1939. p.7 and 1940. p.6; The Messenger January 1940.

(22) Corporation of the City of Cape Town Mayor's Minute, 1924. Appendix 9, Report of the Medical Officer of Health, 1924. pp.1-11. [Quotations p.11.]

TABLE 4: Number and percent of houses occupied by coloured persons living under various conditions of room accommodation within the Cape Town Municipality, 1921⁽²³⁾

Persons per room	0-2		2-2½		2½-3		3-4		4 & over		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	5	
Kalk Bay Ward	105	22,06	88	18,49	49	10,29	109	22,90	125	26,26	476
Remainder of C.T. Municipality	2159	25,47	1682	19,84	1007	11,87	1965	23,18	1664	19,63	8477

The Fishing Harbours Committee of 1926 reported that:

owing to acute shortage of accommodation, many fishermen in the Kalk Bay-Muizenberg area have been forced, in recent years, to migrate far afield from the scene of their work, and, in these circumstances, pursue their calling under difficult conditions. It was stated that some live up the line, even as far as Wynberg.⁽²⁴⁾

This situation was sourced to rapid development of the area as a tourist resort and residential suburb. The presence of a considerable number of commuters amongst boat's crews was economically inefficient as the men could not be assembled at short notice. Trek net fishing at Muizenberg and handline fishing at Kalk Bay required the men to be available when wind and weather were favourable and they could not work to a "fixed schedule of starting time". They needed to be on hand to secure the safety of their boats in bad weather. Facilities were needed for changing into working clothes and "from wet clothes to dry - a matter of importance to persons with limited wardrobes." Those compelled to live at a distance were faced with the choice of walking long distances or "filling (as best

⁽²³⁾ Ibid. pp. li-liv.

⁽²⁴⁾ Department of Mines and Industries Fishing Harbours Report, Part 1, 1926. p.8.

they may in such shelter as they may find available) the period between the last available train and the start of work." (25)

Some persons had resorted to staying on the boats in order to avoid having to move, but this had been prohibited by 1926. Those who had their own properties were better off, but even they had problems. As a result of the necessity for the crew to live close to their boats, the "more conveniently placed" families came to the assistance of their fellows and shared housing accommodation "which originally was on none too liberal a scale". The nett result was that:

The locally resident section of the fishermen has thus finally become concentrated practically in one particular area under housing conditions which are not desirable. (26)

Negotiations had taken place between the fishermen and the City Council to attempt to adjust the matter, but a solution had not as yet been reached. (27) Of equal significance were the Committee's findings regarding the fishermen themselves:

It should be stated that while these representations were urged with ability and force, the statements were characterised by restraint and a respect for constitutional authority which carried its own appeal. (28)

In spite of their weaker position in conflicts with local authorities and the state concerning the future development of the area, the fishermen had

(25) Ibid. pp.8 and 11.

(26) Ibid. p.11.

(27) Ibid. p.12.

(28) Ibid. p.11.

thus not lost faith in their ability to influence events by the simple reasonableness of their demands. The report continued by stating that, in the light of the importance of Kalk Bay as a centre of supply for local markets:

Before leaving this matter the Committee would invite attention to the desirability of attracting, as far as possible, adherence of the Kalk Bay fishermen as a class, especially the youths and younger men, to the calling which is to them hereditary and for which they are well suited. This appears to the Committee to be a point of decided importance in avoiding risk of creating unemployment.

It would be a matter for regret if by any means they - or a number of them - drifted into the ranks of the unemployed, and added complications to an already difficult problem.⁽²⁹⁾

The development of the area as a tourist resort and residential suburb had thus reached its most extreme conclusion in perpetuating social segregation and residential zoning by race and class, forcing coloured fishermen to move out of Kalk Bay and threatening the continuance of fishing and the fishing community. Increasing settlement by non-fishermen commuters employed outside Kalk Bay was thus, almost paradoxically, forcing locally-employed fishermen to move out of the area and commute to it daily. Moreover, the situation was rapidly deteriorating. In 1935, the Board of Trade and Industries reported that:

There were 400 fishermen working from Kalk Bay, of whom 90 per cent lived at a considerable distance from the harbour. Only 14 or 15 Europeans were regularly engaged in the industry, but a number of unemployed joined in from time to time. The residents did not want fishermen to live in Kalk Bay, and the men were put to expense they could ill meet in train fares to and from Simonstown, Parow and elsewhere.⁽³⁰⁾

(29) Ibid. p.12.

(30) Board of Trade and Industries. Report No.180 of 1935, p.27.

By the late 1930s, slum conditions among the coloured fishing population had reached such an extent that council were faced with the alternative of simply evicting large numbers of fishermen, forcing them to move "down the line" to the Retreat and Heathfield area [See Map 1], or rehousing them at Kalk Bay.⁽³¹⁾ In a rare moment of concern for the fishermen, the local ratepayer's association argued that the former course of action would have resulted in great inconvenience. The men would have had to catch the last train at night to Kalk Bay, arrive there at about 00h30 and then wait several hours on the quay for the boats to leave.⁽³²⁾ Noting the comments of the Fisheries Committee of 1926 cited earlier, this action would almost certainly have resulted in severe decline in, or collapse of, the local fishing industry, with consequent high unemployment. Apparently influenced by this reasoning, the Cape Town City Council undertook the construction of fishermen's flats between November 1940 and September 1945.⁽³³⁾

As the flats were completed, coloured fishing families were removed from "pondokkies", wood and iron structures on the mountain side, and condemned cottages. The vacated homes were bulldozed.⁽³⁴⁾ A total of 55 flats were provided within an area bounded by Gordon Road on the mountainside, Ladan Road on the Clovelly side, Harbour Road on the sea side and Clairvaux Road on the Cape Town side, with a row of cottages being left between the flats and Clairvaux Road. The remainder of the coloured fishermen continued to

(31) Corporation of the City of Cape Town Mayor's Minute, 1938. p.21 and Report of the Medical Officer of Health 1937, p.88; The Messenger October 1936, July 1938 and October 1939; Cape Times 8 October 1936.

(32) Cape Times 8 October 1936.

(33) Corporation of the City of Cape Town Mayor's Minute, 1941. p.8, 1942, p.11, 1944. p.6 and 1946. pp.14-15.

(34) Corporation of the City of Cape Town Mayor's Minute, 1946. p.15; Cape Times 25 July 1946.

live in cottages and larger houses, generally surrounding the flats or in the vicinity of the mosque in Quarterdeck Road. [See Map 3] All flats had a living room, from one to three bedrooms, a kitchen and a bathroom (including water closet), and were supplied with electricity and cold water. A central playground was provided for children.⁽³⁵⁾ The Cape Town City Council Maternal and Child Welfare Clinic, which had operated at Holy Trinity Church since 1939, moved to new premises within the scheme in 1945.⁽³⁶⁾ A greengrocer's store and new Roman Catholic mission school within the scheme had been completed by 1947.⁽³⁷⁾ The flats thus represented a vast improvement on previous slum conditions. [See Illustrations 9 and 10] This had nevertheless been achieved at the expense of more rigid residential zoning by race and class. In addition, the inhabitants were allowed no livestock.⁽³⁸⁾ This ruling, and the lack of ground suitable for gardening, would have prevented the continued supplementing of incomes by the keeping of livestock and home-growing of produce, further reducing the self-sufficiency of the community. Moreover, as a result of increased wartime demand for fish, the men were reportedly earning £5 or more a week. They were thus well able to afford the rentals of these new homes, which varied from £2. 7s. 6d. to £3. 10s. per month.⁽³⁹⁾ However, within a few years, the fisherfolk were facing new problems in both social and economic life which threatened far more than their ability to pay the rent.

(35) Cape Times 25 July 1946; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, pp.14-15.

(36) Corporation of the City of Cape Town Report of the Medical Officer of Health, 1939. pp.20 and 21-22, 1944. pp. 16-18 and 1945. p.18.

(37) Corporation of the City of Cape Town Mayor's Minute, 1946, p.14 and 1947. p.9.

(38) Cape Times 25 July 1946.

(39) Ibid.

CHAPTER 5KALK BAY TO THE 1980s

The post Second World War period has seen new challenges for the Kalk Bay fisherfolk and the continuance of problems which have affected the community since the late nineteenth century. Increasing de facto and de jure social segregation has been paralleled by growing limitation of the market available to handline fishermen. The establishment of the Fisheries Development Corporation, in 1944, has facilitated the creation of large monopoly fishing interests by an alliance of the state and capital. Domination of the post war fishing industry by purse-seining, rather than trawling, has seen a growing public demand for fish products which largely excludes those caught by the Kalk Bay men. Attempts to capture at least a part of the market have further eroded the former self-sufficiency of the latter group. Langgannas have continued to dominate the local fish market, which has remained small, easily over-subscribed and prone to disruption. Returns from fishing have decreased as a result of continued overexploitation of the bay by externally-based commercial fishing interests. The fishing family has thus been increasingly unable to survive without infusions of capital from members employed in occupations other than fishing. Dislocation occasioned by the application of the Group Areas Act has not been alleviated by the subsequent decision to allow the fishermen to continue to occupy the area abutting the harbour. The combined weight of these factors has thrown into doubt the continued existence of handline fishing, the fishing family and the fishing community at Kalk Bay.

After 1945, the harbour became increasingly popular as a haven for recreational craft⁽¹⁾, a development which, it will be argued, foreshadowed serious disruption of the local fish market by growing numbers of ski-boats, particularly since the 1960s. Increasing de jure social segregation was reflected in the further creation of racially segregated tourist facilities.⁽²⁾ The growing popularity of Kalk Bay as a "coloured" resort, particularly over the Christmas and New Year period, contributed towards the development of an unflattering stereotype of the character of persons from "down the line" held by both coloured and white residents. The continuance of this practice was thus thrown into question by the 1960s.⁽³⁾ So strong was this feeling against the annual "invasion" that, when "beach apartheid" was introduced in 1967, some residents felt that this would be sufficient to save Kalk Bay from being declared "white".⁽⁴⁾ Viewed against the background of local opposition, and the continuing saga of the Group Areas Act at Kalk Bay and in South Africa generally, the future of the area as a recreational site remains uncertain. The 1980s have nevertheless seen attempts to popularise the

(1) Cape Times 26 June 1946; The Messenger June 1940.

(2) Corporation of the City of Cape Town Mayor's Minute, 1942. p.8, 1944. p.4, 1946. p.2 and 1948. p.4.

(3) Interview with V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Fisheries Development Corporation: F 66C File : Kalk Bay, leases. C.G. Du Plessis, Director of Sea Fisheries, to Town Clerk, Municipality of Cape Town, 2 February 1961 and 12 January 1962; Weekend Argus 12 November 1977; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", pp.53-54; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, pp.8, 34, 43 and 45; Carse "A Great Day", pp.14-17; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, pp.133-134. For a fictional account of a New Year picnic at Kalk Bay, in the post "beach apartheid" era, by residents of District Six (prior to the destruction of their community) see R. Rive "Buckingham Palace", District Six, Cape Town, David Phillip, 1986. pp.90-96.

(4) Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", p.53.

whole of the False Bay coastline.⁽⁵⁾ It is unlikely that the fishermen will benefit in any way from these schemes, which would lead to a proliferation of anglers, sports fishermen and pleasure craft, thereby further disrupting the local fishing effort.⁽⁶⁾ Far more serious challenges to the fishing community have nevertheless been provided by the post Second World War development of the South African fishing industry and the application of the Group Areas Act, a logical extension of increasing segregation. Local changes thus engendered have thrown into doubt the continued existence of handling fishing and the fishing community at Kalk Bay.

Control over fishing was taken over from the two maritime provinces by the central government in 1940.⁽⁷⁾ The construction of the harbour and closure of False Bay to trawlers had given the local fishermen the ability to increase catches and supply new markets. By the mid-1940s, the Kalk Bay fisherfolk were apparently enjoying a period of comparative prosperity, resulting from increased wartime demand for fish and the curtailment of operations of trawling companies. Proposals for increasing state control over the fishing industry were met with requests for reassurance that the local market and the existing freedom of action of the fishermen would not be affected. The Kalk Bay men were nevertheless prepared to support the creation of the Fisheries Development Corporation. They believed that the proposed body could enable the provision of cold storage facilities as

- (5) Argus 7 December 1982; Cape Times 18 May 1980, 27 June 1980 and 1 December 1982; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", pp.42-43 and 81; Mayhew Reader's Digest Illustrated Guide to Southern Africa, p.37; Burman The False Bay Story, pp.132-133.
- (6) Interview with V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 6 December 1979; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", p.42.
- (7) Extraordinary Government Gazette No.2749, 10 April 1940. pp.xvi-xxiv. [Sea Fisheries Act No.10 of 1940]

well as offer them a means of protection against domination of the local fishing industry by capital.⁽⁸⁾ The fisherfolk had, however, misunderstood the Corporation's purpose and over-estimated the strength of their position.

The advantages over inshoremen enjoyed by the state and capital and their role, and that of technology, in the transformation of a wide range of "traditional" fishing societies has been well documented.⁽⁹⁾ Newfoundland examples are particularly depressing, demonstrating the inability of these communities to withstand the powerful alliance of state and capital. Local economy and social order have crumbled in the face of proletarianisation of the labour force.⁽¹⁰⁾ At the opposite extreme, strong cohesive factors in local social and economic organisation have enabled a flourishing of "traditional" forms within the new environment

(8) S.C. 4 - 1944, pp.397 (2313), 417-418 (2521), 419 (2527-2534) and 420 (2537)-421 (2549) S.J.P. Louw.

(9) Sinclair From Traps to Dragners (see especially pp.105-106); Thompson et al. Living The Fishing, pp.24-27, 40-46, 359-260 and 363; E. Antler and J. Faris "Adaptations to changes in technology and government policy : A Newfoundland example", in R. Andersen (ed.) North Atlantic Maritime Cultures, pp.129-154; G. Britan "'Modernization' on the North Atlantic Coast : The transformation of a traditional Newfoundland Fishing Village", in R. Andersen (ed.). pp.65-81; A. Jackson "Socioeconomic Change in the Faroes", in R. Anderson (ed.). pp.31-64; O. Lofgren Fangstman i industri samhalett : En hallandsk omvandling, 1800-1970, Liber Laromedel Lund, 1977. pp.226-235 (English Summary); Gersuny et al. Some effects of technological change on New England Fishermen; B. Cattarinussi "A Sociological Study of an Italian Community of fishermen" in P.H. Fricke (ed.) Seafarer and Community, pp.30-43; Brox Newfoundland Fishermen in the age of Industry; C.A. Goodland "Old and Traditional, New and Unknown Technological Confrontation in the Shetland Herring Fishery", in R. Andersen and C. Wadel (eds.) North Atlantic Fishermen, pp.61-81; C. Wadel "Capitalization and Ownership : The persistence of fishermen-ownership in the Norwegian Herring Industry", in R. Andersen and C. Wadel (eds.). pp.104-119.

(10) See especially Antler and Faris "Adaptations to changes in technology and government policy", pp.129-154; Britan "'Modernization' on the North Atlantic Coast", pp.79-80 and Brox Newfoundland Fishermen in the age of industry, pp.9 and 51-69.

faced by Faroese and Norwegian fishermen.⁽¹¹⁾ Ward compares conditions in Kau Sai Village, Hong Kong, in 1952 with those in 1962, noting the rapid development and mechanisation of fishing after World War Two. Improved education and standard of living over this period, resulting from the development of fishing, have been paralleled by organisational and structural changes.⁽¹²⁾ The effects of the state, capital and technology on small fishing communities may thus be positive or negative. In South Africa, their influence has been mostly negative.

The Fisheries Development Corporation was created in terms of the Fishing Industry Development Act of 1944. This body has used its wide ranging powers to facilitate the creation of large monopoly fishing interests in which it, and through it the state, has a major share.⁽¹³⁾ The only advantage to the Kalk Bay fisherfolk has been that a number of skippers

(11) See especially Jackson "Socioeconomic Change in the Faroes", p.63; and Wadel "Capitalization and Ownership", pp.104-107.

(12) B. Ward "Chinese Fishermen in Hong Kong : Their post-peasant economy", in M. Freedman (ed.) Social Organization : Essays presented to Raymond Firth, London, Frank Cass, 1967. pp.271-289.

(13) Fisheries Development Corporation of South Africa Annual Report, 1945-1952; Extraordinary Government Gazette No.3360, 20 June 1944. pp.xxvi-lxii. [Fishing Industry Development Act No.4 of 1944]; Van Sittert "Gebrei in die aambag", p.117. For examinations of the Act, the Corporation and the influence of the latter body on the South African fishing industry see Van Sittert "Gebrei in die aambag", pp.117-126 and 129-140; Van Sittert "'Slawe van die fabriek' : The state, monopoly capital and the subjugation of labour in the Hout Bay Valley crayfish fishing industry 1946-1956", unpub. Paper, 5th Cape Town History Workshop, U.C.T., 6-7 December 1985. pp.9-12; Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation" and Lees Fishing for Fortunes, pp.113-122. Note that Van Sittert's work contains telling criticisms of that by Stohr, the only specific work on the Act. Lees' contribution is both management-centred and racist.

have purchased boats or engines with loans from the Corporation.⁽¹⁴⁾ The men appear to have believed that the wartime demand for fish would continue unabated after the declaration of peace and that the recommencement of extensive trawling operations would have "no effect whatsoever" on their market.⁽¹⁵⁾ It has nevertheless been purse-seining, and not trawling, which has dominated the post-war fishing industry, a process accompanied by a move away from fresh to processed fish products.⁽¹⁶⁾ In order to meet this challenge, and retain a position as the second largest sector of the industry, both deep-sea and inshore trawling companies have undergone significant expansion and focussed on the development of a wide range of products, beginning with the "quick frozen fish" and "fish sticks" of the 1950s.⁽¹⁷⁾

While attempts have been made to increase incomes from fishing and capture at least a part of the market, the Kalk Bay fishermen have simply been

(14) Interviews with R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979 and V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", pp.35 and 67. For details of the boat ownership scheme, introduced by the Corporation in 1946, see: Fisheries Development Corporation of South Africa Annual Report, 1947. p.5, 1949. p.6 and 11950, p.6 and Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", pp.277-279.

(15) S.C. 4 - 1944, p.420 (2535-2536) S.J.P. Louw. [Quotation p.420 (2535)]

(16) R.P. 93 - 1980 Report of the Commission of Inquiry into certain aspects of the Conservation and Utilization of the Living Marine Resources of the Republic of South Africa, pp.5 (20)-9 (6219); R.P. 47 - 1972, pp.9 (66)-10 (77), 11 (88) and 17 (141)-23 (1982); Department of Industries Sea Fisheries Panorama, pp.9-12 and 14-17; Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", pp.59-65, 164, 272 and 321-322; Lees Fishing for Fortunes, pp.100-101, 104-106, 109-113 and 128; Von Bonds So Great Thy Sea, pp.196-197 and 200-202.

(17) R.P. 93 - 1980, pp.10 (64)-17 (126(5)); R.P. 47 - 1972, pp.26 (210)-28 (226) and 32 (267)-35 (294); Department of Industries Sea Fisheries Panorama, pp.17-19; Viljoen "A computer-based modelling tool to optimise fish catch utilisation", pp.12-13, and 40; Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", pp.163-164; Rosenthal "The Irvin and Johnson Story", pp.2-5.

unable to compete against these odds. Post-war attempts at increasing incomes by shark fishing, seasonal employment on the Namibian fishing grounds and the formation of a fishermen's co-operative and cold storage company, all ended in failure. These failures suggest that attempts at united action have been rendered ineffectual as much by local and national socio-economic factors, particularly those related to the race and class of the fishermen, as by the nature of the men's efforts themselves.⁽¹⁸⁾

The difficulties of achieving unity among men who are employed at sea, in an exhausting occupation, in small crews and on individually owned boats competing for catches of fish, would presumably also have played a role in preventing significant expansion of the local market for fish.⁽¹⁹⁾

An obvious means of increasing catches and incomes has been the acquisition of larger boats, more powerful engines and improved fishing aids. This process has its origins in the purchase of motorised vessels and the extension of fishing limits during and after the construction of the harbour.⁽²⁰⁾ Since the war, larger boats, equipped with radio and echo sounders, have been acquired, while the men have increasingly depended upon purchased bait supplies and bought, rather than home-made, fishing tackle. The result has been further moves away from self-

(18) Interview with V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Holy Trinity Church : Regulations of the Peninsula Fishermen's Co-operative Trading Co. Ltd. 1947 : Fisheries Development Corporation of South Africa Annual Report, 1947. p.8 and 1948. p.9; S.C. 4 - 1944, pp.421 (2547-2552) S.J.P. Louw; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", p.35; Stohr "The Fisheries Development Corporation", pp.70, 164, 279-280 and Appendix A pp.11-12, 15-16 and 36; Lees Fishing for Fortunes, pp. 106-107, 123 and 135-138; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, pp.29, 40-43 and 113.

(19) For comparative purposes see Thompson et al. Living the Fishing, pp.4-5 and 49-50; Poggie and Gersuny Fishermen of Galilee, pp.41-46 (especially p.46) and Cattarinussi "A Sociological Study of an Italian Community of fishermen", pp.32-33 and 39.

(20) See Chapter 4.

sufficiency and increasing dependence upon capital goods requiring ongoing maintenance. Fishermen have had no control over purchase and maintenance costs. If allowed to continue unchecked, this trend will result in outlay far exceeding returns, thus rendering the continuance of handline fishing uneconomical. (21)

Attempts at increasing incomes have been further hindered by factors arising from the nature of the market. As a result of their continuing inability to withhold a perishable commodity from the market, given the absence of cold storage facilities, the fishermen have remained unable to achieve any control over market prices and have been virtually at the mercy of the langgannas. The market has remained small and easily over-subscribed, with accompanying sharp fluctuations in prices paid for fish. (22) During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the market was prone to disruption by large hauls made by the beach-seine net fishermen of Muizenberg or large catches of snoek at Cape Town reducing demand for Kalk Bay fish. (23) Particularly since the 1960s, this disruptive function has been served by the proliferation of ski-boat

(21) Interviews with R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979 and V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Cape Times 26 July 1946, 23 February 1982 and 9 April 1988; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", pp.46, 57-59, 76 and 84; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", p.43; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, p.6; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, pp.122-123.

(22) Interviews with R. Bross, Cape Town, 16 July 1982; V. Walpole, Heathfield, 10 March 1982, R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay 12 January 1979 and V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Argus 10 May 1988 and 12 May 1988; Weekend Argus 9 April 1988; Cape Times 23 February 1982; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", pp.47-52; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", pp.50 and 52; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, pp.27-30. For discussion of similar problems faced by fishermen in Newfoundland see Sinclair From Traps to Draggers, pp.43, 45-46, 117-120 and 123-126 and Brox Newfoundland Fishermen in the age of industry, pp.34-35 and 37-38.

(23) See Chapter 2.

anglers.⁽²⁴⁾ Positive factors within the market situation nevertheless explain its continued re-creation and survival in changing economic circumstances. A crewman has remained his own boss under the Kalk Bay system of fishing and has continued to value his independence and freedom to choose workmates and when, and when not, to work.⁽²⁵⁾ Changes have also occurred in the ethnic composition of the langgannas. In 1967, there were still white, especially Portuguese, and coloured middlemen at Kalk Bay. By 1980, only coloured hawkers came down, and they controlled the harbour market.⁽²⁶⁾

Problems arising from the nature of the market have been compounded by diminishing returns from fishing. The purse-seining industry has posed an even greater threat to the Kalk Bay fishermen than the capturing of their market, for its vessels began to exploit False Bay from 1956.⁽²⁷⁾ Within three years, fishermen were complaining of dramatically declining catches, particularly of the larger species of fish, as a result of overfishing of the shoaling fish upon which they fed.⁽²⁸⁾ In evidence before the Yeats and Treurnicht Commissions of 1966 and 1980 respectively, False Bay fishermen in general, and Kalk Bay fishermen in particular, laid great emphasis on declining catches and fish stocks in the bay. In both cases,

(24) Interview with V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 6 December 1979; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", pp.52 and 81. A ski-boat owner claimed that feeling against these vessels is so strong that, not only were their crews subjected to frequent abuse by the local fishermen, but on a number of occasions craft had been rammed by the fishing boats. [Interview with J.D. Moloney, Pinelands, 20 March 1985.]

(25) Interviews with R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979 and V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", p.77; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, p.31.

(26) Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", p.50; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, p.29.

(27) R.P. 93 - 1980, p.36 (211); Lees Fishing for Fortunes, pp.201 and 205.

(28) Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.83.

the major causative factor was attributed to overfishing and infringement of the two mile offshore seining limit by externally based commercial purse-seine boats.⁽²⁹⁾ In the case of the Treurnicht Commission, however, operations by beach-seine net fishermen and ski-boat anglers were also considered contributory factors.⁽³⁰⁾

Recourse by fishermen to these problems has been limited as much by their social situation as by economic and ecological factors. Vincent Cloete, another Kalk Bay skipper and two white skippers, representing Hout Bay and Fish Hoek, went to see the then local M.P., Mr John Wiley, in the late 1970s. Given his publicly expressed concern for the fishermen, they had hoped that he would be helpful in pressing for legislative control over ski-boats, particularly with regard to the imposition of a bag limit. Skipper Cloete stated that, after the meeting, he had realised it had been a futile exercise:

You know, while we were talking to this certain M.P., a local chap, this went through my mind: "he said, Yes, Yes, Yes, Yes too many times." And then the penny dropped. As a community here at Kalk Bay we have no vote ... A non-voter is asking the M.P. to stop his voters from fishing - its like banging your head against a brick wall, you see what I mean?⁽³¹⁾

Overfishing and restriction and dislocation of the market by purse-seiners and anglers are clearly reflected in the fishermen's poor incomes. Whisson and Kaplinsky found that, in 1967, the average earnings of the 73 fishermen who were prepared to estimate their income was R402 per annum,

⁽²⁹⁾ R.P. 43 - 1980, pp.36 (207)-37 (217) and 38 (221(5)); An. 546 - 1966, constant references but especially pp. 2 and 7-9.

⁽³⁰⁾ R.P. 43 - 1980, p.38 (225-228).

⁽³¹⁾ Interview with V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 6 December 1979.

or R33.50 per month. The experienced men claimed to earn between R500 and R600 per annum, only two of the skippers, with more than one boat each, claiming to earn more. Only six stated that they earned R200 or less per annum, and they were novices.⁽³²⁾ Basing his calculations on data collected from January to March, and in June, of 1980, Quinlan concluded that a fishermen's income was "not high". At no time during the field-work period did the average daily income for any boat's crew rise above R10.00 per man and usually varied between R4.00 and R7.00. In addition, he acknowledged the likelihood that there could have been considerable differences in income between crew members, some being more skilled or fortunate than others and earning several times as much.⁽³³⁾

The gradual, but continuing, move away from family based subsistence production by fisherfolk and diminishing returns from fishing have both contributed to and interacted with a move away from employment on the boats by the fishermen's sons and within the home and domestic service by their daughters. Improved educational facilities for coloured children closer to Kalk Bay than Cape Town since the 1930s, and increasing employment opportunities for coloured persons since the Second World War, have made possible the move into blue and white collar employment for males, and factories, office and shops, for females.⁽³⁴⁾ The local fishing effort had increasingly been unable to survive without infusions of capital from those family members in alternative shore-based employment. Their greater autonomy and higher earnings have nevertheless

(32) Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, p.29.

(33) Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", pp.53-55.

(34) Interview with V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", pp.73-74; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", pp.51-52 and 58-59; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, pp.12-13, 22-23 and 32-33; Carse Die Bloudam is hul oesland, p.40.

threatened the continuance of handline fishing, "traditional" authority patterns and the family as an economic unit.⁽³⁵⁾

Dislocation occasioned by diminishing returns from fishing and the drift away from the sea has been compounded by the application of the Group Areas Act, which its adjustment at Kalk Bay has done little to alleviate. The application of the Act accelerated the former drift out of Kalk Bay by fisherfolk, resulting from shortage of accommodation. Most of the fishermen are now commuters, coming into Kalk Bay daily from their homes in the Retreat, Steenberg and Heathfield area.⁽³⁶⁾ A few also live in Mitchell's Plain. Younger men forced to move out of Kalk Bay have joined the fishermen's sons in leaving the sea. From 1967 to 1980, the number of boats regularly fishing decreased from 30 to 20. There were approximately 340 to 360 fishermen in 1967. By 1980 there were no more than 200, there usually being only 140 to 160 men on the boats on any given day. As a result of these trends, non-familial forms of recruitment of crews have played an increasing role since the war. Contemporary crews even include a handful of Africans who commute to work daily from the townships.⁽³⁷⁾

Implicit in these trends have been further moves away from family based production and self-sufficiency, with rewards from fishing no longer being concentrated in the family. Thus, while there has been little inclination

(35) Interview with V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", pp.72-73; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", pp. 47 and 59-61; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, pp.7, 33 and 43-45.

(36) Interviews with R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979 and V. Cloete, 11 January 1979; Cape Times 23 February 1982; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", p.46; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", p.51; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, p.25.

(37) Interview with V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", pp.46, 73 and 84; Whisson "The Fishermen of Kalk Bay", p.49; Whisson and Kaplinsky Suspended Sentence, p.24.

on the part of established fishermen to find alternative work, or even part-time jobs during the winter months, a situation noted as early as 1892, the question remains as to whether small scale handline fishing can survive.⁽³⁸⁾

This thesis has demonstrated that the Kalk Bay fisherfolk of today are the product of a cultural and economic tradition, based upon the exploitation of the area's natural resources and incorporation into the community of varying groups of immigrants, which pre-dated the Portuguese voyages of discovery by thousands of years. They thus have the historic right to occupy Kalk Bay and exploit False Bay's natural resources. The establishment of a subsistence based immigrant fishing community, may be traced to the early nineteenth century. Whaling, an important cause of human settlement, was practised at Kalk Bay from 1806. By the late nineteenth century, the industry had become a subsidiary economic activity practised by the local fishermen as the resource could not withstand exploitation by competing capitalist concerns. The local whaling effort had collapsed by 1913, thus illustrating the fragile nature of False Bay's marine resources and their inability to withstand intensive exploitation.

From the 1860s, Kalk Bay became increasingly popular as a health and tourist resort. The arrival of the railway, in 1882, resulted in rapidly escalating settlement of the area of non-fishing commuters. Conflict of interests developed between those who wished to develop the area as a

(38) Interviews with R. Poggenpoel, Kalk Bay, 12 January 1979 and V. Cloete, Kalk Bay, 11 January 1979; Cape Times 23 February 1982; Sunday Times 14 February 1982; Argus 9 February 1982; Quinlan "Line Fishing in Kalk Bay", pp.75-76. For the situation in 1892, see Chapter 2.

resort and place of seaside residence and the fisherfolk, who were attempting to exploit new markets opened by the mineral revolution and the establishment of rail communication with Cape Town. Access to new markets was further limited by the emergent South African trawling industry, while the future of small scale handline fishing at Kalk Bay was threatened by local attempts at capitalization of fishing. Increasing de facto and de jure residential zoning by race and class, and growing social segregation of fisherfolk, reflected this group's weaker position in conflicts with local authorities, capital and the state concerning the future development of Kalk Bay and its fishing industry. The men's experience of contracts with middlemen and early companies at Kalk Bay had nevertheless instilled in them a fear of dependence upon a single buyer or transformation into dependent wage labourers and they continued to fight against these trends.

The construction of a harbour, between 1913 and 1918, enabled the acquisition of motorised vessels and the extension of fishing limits. These changes were necessitated by hardships occasioned by the extension of the railway to Simon's Town, in 1890, and overexploitation of False Bay by trawlers. False Bay was closed to bottom trawling in 1928. By this stage, development of Kalk Bay as a resort and suburb, as well as the growth of the South African fishing industry, together with the achievement of monopolistic control over inland markets by Irvin and Johnson, had ensured that the Kalk Bay fishermen would become suppliers of a shrinking local market. Their ability to supply even this market would subsequently be threatened by the post Second World War development of the South African purse-seining industry, overfishing of False Bay by

externally based commercial purse-seine vessels and the accompanying move away from fresh to processed fish products by consumers.

Implicit in all attempts to increase catching potential and supply new markets have been further moves away from self-sufficiency on the part of the fisherfolk. The logical end of this process has been the inability of the Post Second World War fishing family to survive without infusions of capital from family members employed in alternative, shore based occupations. Chronologically paralleling these developments, residential zoning by race and class and social segregation have reached their logical conclusion; first in forcing fishermen out of Kalk Bay as a result of shortage of accommodation and, later, by the application of the Group Areas Act. While its provisions have subsequently been modified at Kalk Bay, the area occupied by the fishermen is now legally restricted to that abutting the harbour. The Group Areas Act has been one more challenge, albeit the most serious, in a long line faced by the fisherfolk of Kalk Bay, threatening the continuance of both handline fishing and the fishing community. Conservation measures applied from the beginning of 1983, particularly the closure of False Bay to purse-seine vessels, appear to have at least partly halted the decline of the local fishing industry.⁽³⁹⁾ Should catches and rewards decrease any further, the handline fishing effort will collapse, possibly by the end of this century. While at present it seems unlikely, it is to be hoped that increasing commitment to conservation, research of alternative methods and assistance to Kalk Bay fishermen by the State will prevent this situations from arising. Thompson et al. have agreed that the post Second World War regeneration and

(39) Cape Times 23 October 1982 and 5 March 1988; Argus 23 October 1982.

dominance of inshoremen in the British Isles may be sourced largely to the government grant-in-aid scheme, introduced in 1945.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Should racial ideologies and commitment to monopoly capitalization of the fishing industry be set aside by the state, the Kalk Bay fisherfolk could survive, albeit in altered and diminished circumstances.

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