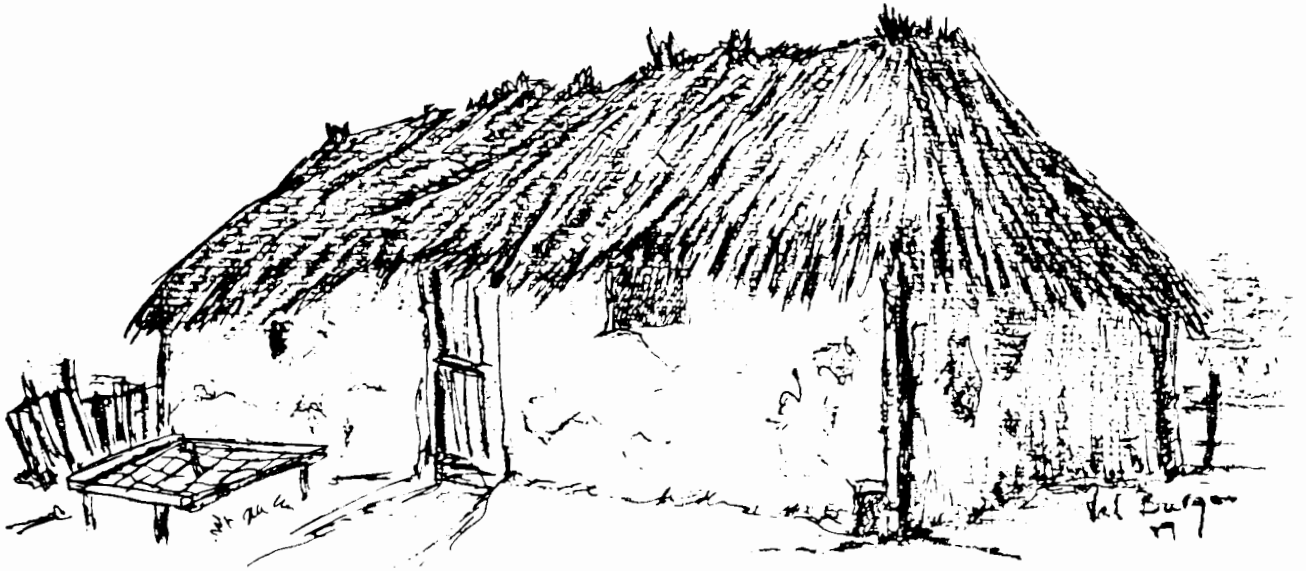


VERLORENVLEI VERNACULAR:
A STRUCTURALIST ANALYSIS OF
SANDVELD FOLK ARCHITECTURE

BY
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THESIS PRESENTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF ARTS

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Abstract

A sample of 41 vernacular houses from the Verloenvlei and Lange Vlei valleys in the Sandveld on the Cape West coast, have been subjected to a structuralist analysis of their form. As elements of human material culture these houses represent the physical objectification of invisible culture. They are the products of a culturally dictated mental process of design, and in their form reflect the successful mediation by their creators of a set of binary oppositions common to all human experience. The mental rules that guide this process of design, and therefore account for the physical form of the object, are called the artifactual competence. Because, as a product of this competence, an artifact has implicit within its form the set of rules that account for its being, it is theoretically possible, through an inductive analysis of artifactual form, to isolate this set of relational rules. The houses in the sample were all carefully recorded and then compared and contrasted. This resulted in the creation of a statement of architectural competence for Verloenvlei vernacular architecture, based upon which an explanation of its function as an element of human material culture, and a participant in human social relations was attempted.

Acknowledgments

A study such as this is not simply the product of a single scholar's endeavour. It is rather the result of the combined contributions and talents of a number of people, to each of whom I wish to express my thanks and appreciation :-

Dr Martin Hall for acting as my supervisor; Professor James Deetz for planting the seed; Professor Henry Glassie for providing the inspiration; Professor Mark Leone for his guidance and ideas; Gail Euston-Brown for her invaluable help with the initial fieldwork, and her unfailing encouragement and support; Jeff Hardwick, Tatiana Tilley and Andrew Madson for their help with recording the houses; Jill Gribble for correcting my grammar, and James Gribble for his encouragement; Val Burger for her charming sketches of some of the houses; and Cindy Euston-Brown for the great job she did of typing this project.

I also wish to thank the staff of the Government Archives, the Cape Town Deeds Office, and the Office of the Surveyor-General for their assistance in my archival research.

Financial assistance, without which this study would not have been possible, was provided by a research grant from the Harry Oppenheimer Institute of African Studies and a University of Cape Town Research Scholarship. The financial assistance of the Institute for Research Development of the Human Sciences Research Council towards this research is hereby also acknowledged. Opinions expressed in this study, and conclusions arrived at, are mine and are not necessarily to be attributed to the Institute for Research Development or the Human Sciences Research Council.

Finally, but perhaps most importantly, I wish to thank the people of the Verlorenvlei and Lange Vlei valleys for their friendliness and open-heartedness in allowing total strangers free access to their homes, and for the many hours of conversation and endless cups of coffee.

I know it is not possible to mention everyone here, so I therefore say to everyone else who contributed in any way to this study; Thank you.

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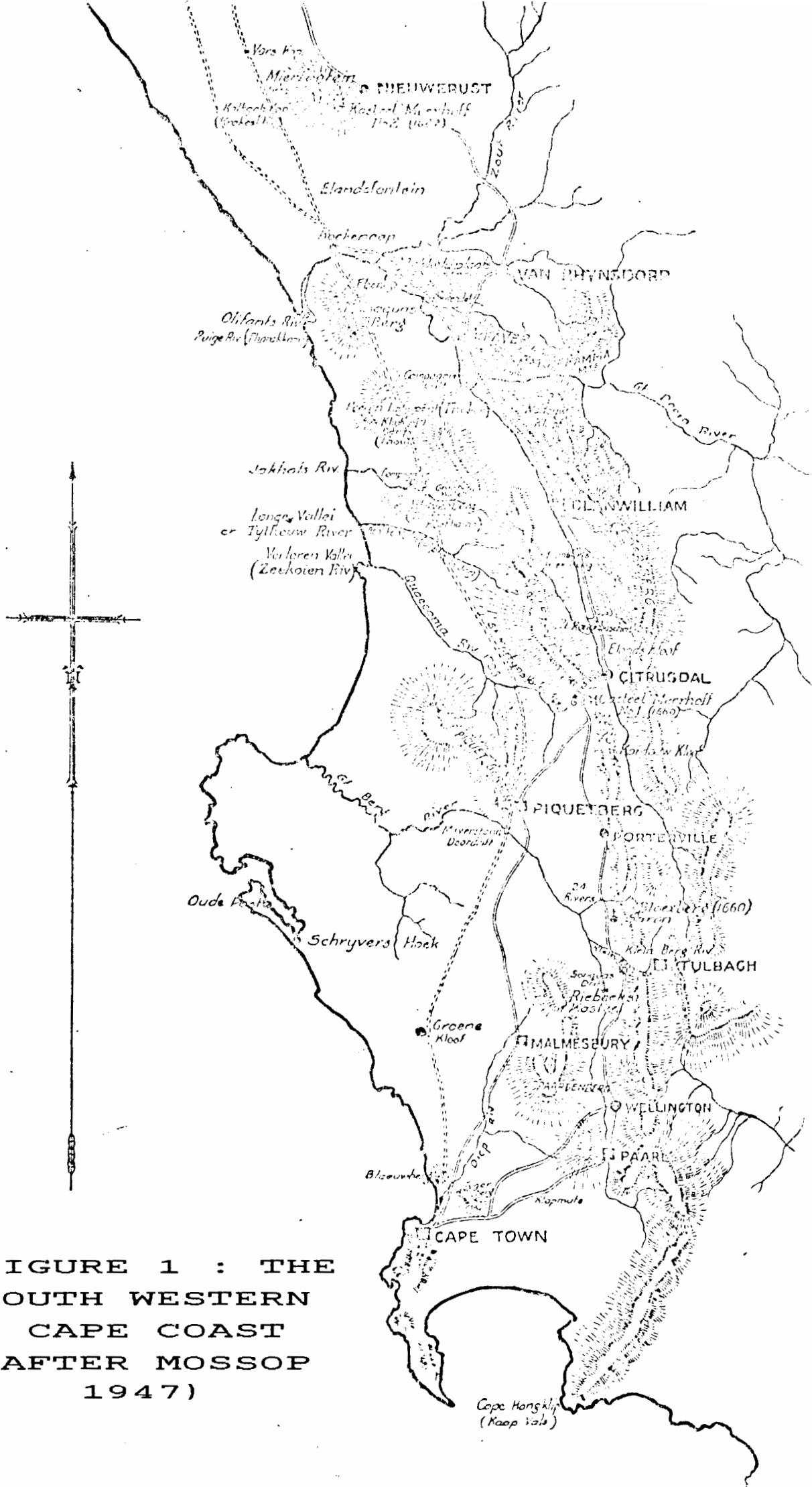
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Introduction

About two hours drive north of Cape Town, along the Cape West coast lies a narrow coastal belt, bounded in the west by the Atlantic Ocean and in the east by the Cape Folded Belt mountains. Known as the Sandveld, it is an arid region of rolling sandy hills, broken by isolated rocky mountains, and covered with a sparse, scrubby vegetation (Figure 1). With an average annual rainfall of less than 200mm and an infertile sandy soil, this region would be largely useless for farming if it weren't for the fact that it is bisected by a series of wetlands. The largest of these rivers and vleis is the Verlorenvlei which is situated beyond the northern end of the Piquetberg Mountains, right at the heart of the Sandveld, while about 12 kilometres to the north of it lies the Lange Vlei (Figure 2).

The Verlorenvlei is by far the more substantial of the two, being 14 kilometres long, up to 1.2 kilometres wide, and covering an approximate area of 1 000 hectares (Miller 1987), while the Lange Vlei River only broadens into a vlei where it enters the Wadrif saltpan no more than 2 kilometres from the sea. Apart from providing a perennial water source, these bodies of water both also act as reliable and rich resource zones, offering fertile soil and lush pasture along their banks, a plentiful supply of waterfowl and fish (Sinclair 1980) and, in the past, an abundance of game (Skead 1980). With respect to the historical period, the vleis were also the source of much of the material required for the physical existence of the farming settlements that developed on their banks (Grindley and Grindley 1987).

It is little wonder, therefore, that this region of the otherwise rather inhospitable Sandveld has attracted the exploitative attentions of white farmers for over 250 years, a timespan representing only the tail end of its earlier exploitation by the indigenous population of the area, which stretches



**FIGURE 1 : THE
SOUTH WESTERN
CAPE COAST
(AFTER MOSSOP
1947)**

back into the Middle Stone Age (Parkington 1972, 1976, 1977). These two vleis have therefore occupied a central, if not vital position in the lives of all of those, from San hunter-gatherers and Khoi pastoralists, to White stock and arable farmers, who were drawn into their life-giving spheres of influence.

This has resulted in the concentration of the majority of the historical farming settlements on the banks of these bodies of water. The research area I chose, therefore, incorporates farms immediately on either side of both vleis, and in the Verlorenvlei valley stretches from Het Kruis to the sea. In the Lange Vlei valley I have included the area from the coast as far inland as the farm Boven Lange Vallei, which is where a confluence of streams forms the Langevlei River (Figure 2)

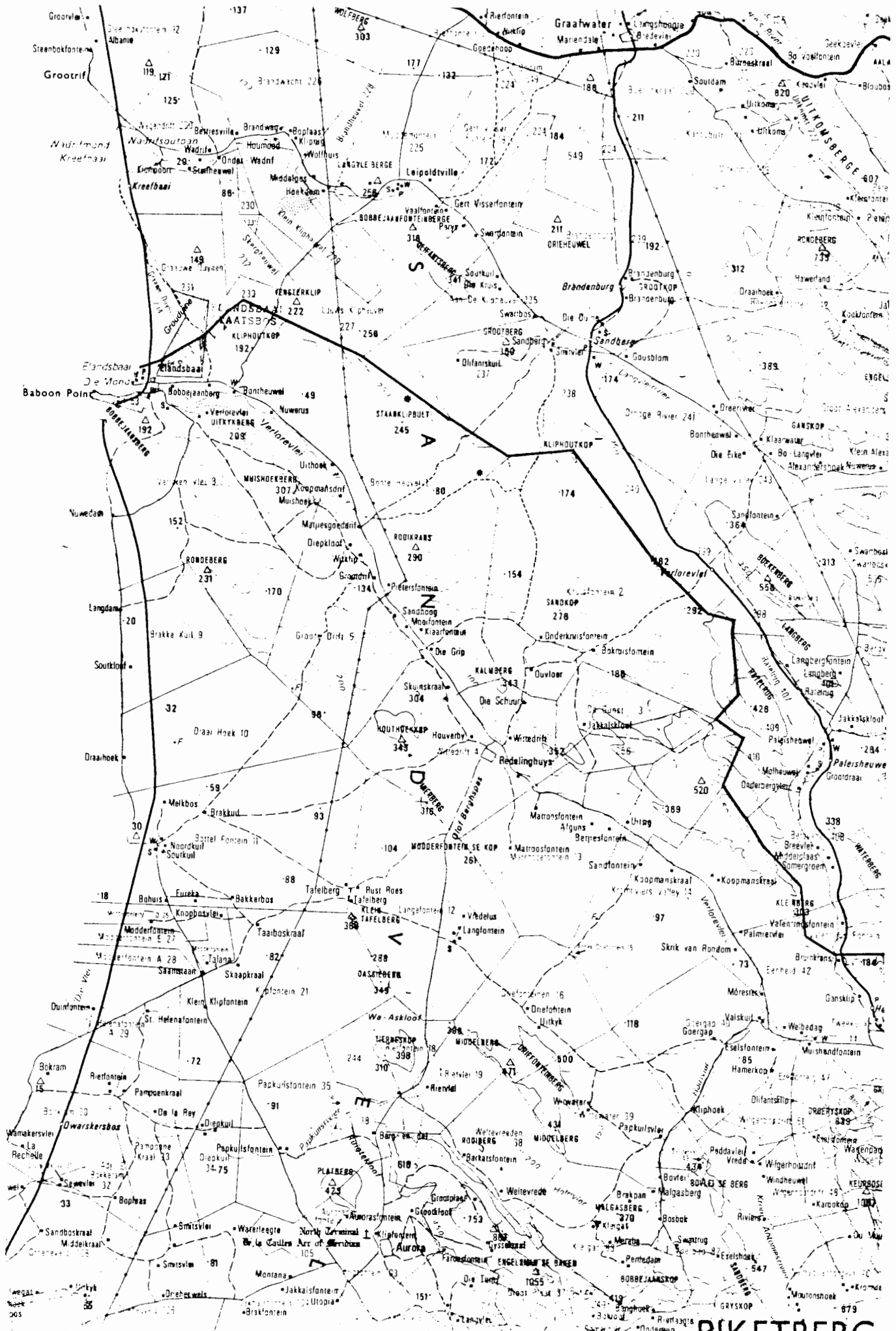
Prior to this study, this area of the Cape had never been the subject of any historical archaeological research, although it has been exhaustively studied by prehistoric archaeologists for more than 20 years. Aside from infrequent visits by architectural historians (Fransen and Cook 1980), vernacular architecture societies (Walton 1972) and artists (Grogan 1978), there have thus far been only two studies of the historical record of the area, neither of which has been archaeological.

In 1980 a multi-disciplinary project was initiated by the Department of Environmental Studies at the University of Cape town, which was to attempt a broad-based study of the human settlement on the farm Verloren Vlei. The aim of the project was to record a form of communal rural life that was fast disappearing, using the skills of architects, surveyors, geographers and historians (Floyd 1980; Sinclair 1980).

The second study was conducted by M H D Smith, and was in its orientation purely historical, tracing the history of a number of prominent Sandveld families, using genealogical and archival sources (1985).

Unlike, particularly the South Western and Eastern Cape, therefore, within both of which areas there have been numerous historical archaeological and historical studies, the Western Cape has remained on the fringe of academic study and thus far received scant attention. This may be the result of the

**FIGURE 2 : THE SANDVELD SHOWING
EXTENT OF RESEARCH AREA
(SCALE 1 : 250 000)**



area's relative isolation, both real and perceived, and its low historical profile in comparison with the other areas mentioned above.

In particular, the South Western Cape has been at the forefront of historical archaeological work in South Africa, although until quite recently much of that work, carried out by institutions such as the South African Cultural History Museum, has taken the form of rescue or salvage projects (Vos 1981; Abrahams 1985). This has resulted in the collection of a wealth of historical archaeological material remains and data, but has yielded very little inter-site comparison, or methodological and theoretical development (Malan 1986).

The last three years, however, have seen the establishment at the University of Cape Town of the Historical Archaeological Research Centre (Martin Hall personal communication), and the initiation of large scale historical archaeological studies, such as that presently being undertaken by Professor James Deetz, Margot Winer and Patti Jeppson in and around Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape (Deetz 1988 b; Winer and Deetz in press). A Contracts Office has also been set up at the University of Cape town and is currently undertaking work at the Castle in Cape Town, as well as on an urban site in the city centre (Martin Hall, personal communication). The development of suitable methodological and theoretical frameworks for this work has kept pace with the fieldwork, through contact with scholars such as Professor James Deetz and Professor Mark Leone, both of whom are at the forefront of American historical archaeology.

The effect for South African historical archaeology of this burgeoning of interest, has been an increasing awareness of the importance of the role it has to play in the discovery and presentation of the historical past of this country. Old and established assumptions about the colonial past are now being questioned and re-evaluated in the light of new data and fresh theoretical approaches, one of which concerns the study of vernacular architecture.

As an historical archaeological study object, vernacular architecture is often ignored simply because of the fact that it does not have to be dug up. Highly visible and often relatively intact, vernacular architecture is as much the concern of historical archaeologists as are the broken ceramics and other fragmentary remains of past material culture that lie scattered round and about

the houses.

The failure by historical archaeologists in the past to acknowledge the legitimacy of vernacular architecture as a potential study object, both here and abroad, led to the study of this architecture becoming the domain of preservationists and architectural historians. I will consider the development of South African vernacular architecture studies in a later chapter, but because of their methodological and theoretical primacy to this study, wish now to briefly consider the growth of American studies, as represented mainly by their development in Virginia.

As in South Africa, the failure by American historical archaeologists in the past, to take the initiative in studying vernacular architecture, led to these studies being undertaken by preservationists. Because of their art- and architecture-historical approach these scholars identified mainly upper-class buildings as being the most important and characteristic examples of Virginian architecture (Upton 1988).

These studies of a wholly unrepresentative set of vernacular buildings, because they were definitive, have until recently seldom been challenged, whilst the painstaking restorations they have occasioned and the image of past gentility these have produced, have coloured much of the current view of the architectural past (Upton 1988).

More recently, however, the remains of the far less substantial, far more representative forms of Virginian vernacular architecture, which had previously generally been ignored, have become the topic of much research (Carson, Barka, Kelso, Stone and Upton 1981). These changing perceptions of what constitutes representative vernacular architecture, and new notions about the social and economic history of early colonial Virginia, have begun to seriously question the ideas developed and entrenched by scholars in the past (Upton 1988). They have led to the development of vernacular architectural and historical archaeological studies which are endeavouring to create an account of the past that is far more representative of the daily experience of life of the historically invisible mass of common people, and far less the history of the rich, the famous and the powerful (Taylor 1948; Glassie 1975; Deetz 1977, 1988; Carson et al 1981; St George 1986; Upton 1986; Upton and Vlach 1986).

By virtue of the fact, therefore, that America and South Africa have in common their colonial backgrounds, many of the recent theoretical developments in the American approach to historical archaeology in general, and vernacular architecture in particular, are, as a result, probably also applicable in the South African context.

Faced with the task of undertaking historical archaeological research in the previously virgin area around the Verlorenvlei, I chose as my study objects that set of material culture remains, which in this region are the most visible and intact of all historical remains: vernacular architecture. Perhaps the major reason for my choosing to study vernacular architecture, rather than any other class of material culture remains, quite aside from its universality, high visibility and often excellent preservation in this geographical area, was my exposure to the work of an American folklorist, Henry Glassie, in a book entitled "Folk Housing in Middle Virginia" published in 1975.

A product of the more socially aware and representative stance of recent American historical and historical archaeological research mentioned above, this book is the result of a study by Glassie in which, using structuralist theory and principles borrowed from linguistics, he created a "grammar" or set of creational rules according to which the existence of the vernacular architecture forms he encountered in a small area of Middle Virginia could be explained.

Archaeologists, who have borrowed many of their theories from other, inappropriate disciplines, not connected with the study of people as cultural beings, are often inclined to approach their artifacts positivistically. They see as their goal, the illumination of past behaviour by the analysis of these artifacts in terms of their use, and accordingly the conclusions they reach are descriptive rather than explanatory.

Structuralist theory, however, sees the artifact as the end product of a mental process of design. As developed by Levi-Strauss (1963, 1970) and employed by Glassie (1975), structuralism holds that the form of any artifact is the result of the mental mediation by its creator of a series of binary oppositions that control and structure human thought. It is claimed that these oppositions, such as those between culture and nature, emotion and intellect, public and private, corporate and individual, are universal to the human psyche, and

that cultures differ from one another only in the manner in which they each effect these mediations (Winer and Deetz in press).

Because of the universality of these oppositional pairs, it is generally acknowledged that any human material culture can, therefore, be seen to be the product of their successful mediation by the human mind, and its translation of this mediation into a tangible object or artifact by the employment of a set of cultural, mental rules to produce the correct form (Deetz 1967; Glassie 1975).

Based on this premise, therefore, it is assumed that within a particular cultural group there is a set of subconscious, unwritten rules which govern the operation of that culture. Culture is therefore invisible but finds physical manifestation in the material objects, or material culture produced by a group, and it is such items that archaeologists study. It follows then that if material culture is the product of an invisible set of rules, which influence all areas of the life of a cultural group, it should in theory have these rules deeply imbedded within it. Thus the archeologist, through careful analysis of the material culture, should be able to isolate these rules and attain a level of understanding and interpretation of the objects, and therefore also their makers, that goes beyond the merely descriptive and purely functional, and attempts to be explanatory.

The development of such a set of rules for the Sandveld vernacular architectural form will require that after first carefully measuring and recording the structural details of each of the buildings in my sample, I then subject this data to a process of abstraction and synthesis. This continual generalization of the information is meant to result in the discovery of the most basic conceptual unit from which these houses were formed, and allow the generation of a set of rules which will account, in the simplest possible manner, for the design and physical form of the houses.

Because these houses are the products of a culturally controlled design process that is reflective of the minds behind it, an understanding, therefore, of how they functioned and what they meant, will provide the scholar with a means to understanding the people that built and lived in them.

Finally, I must stress that throughout this process it must be borne in mind that any attempt to recreate such a past theory of mind from a position in the

present will always be just that; a recreation. The rigorous reduction of the house form to its most basic unit is an attempt to work as objectively as possible, but it must be recognized that just like in any other attempt to recapture that which is past, there are certain limitations imposed on the study by the present. Nevertheless the success Henry Glassie (1975) as well as Dell Upton (1986) have had with such an approach to the vernacular architecture of Virginia, leaves me in little doubt that the 'langhuis' form from the Sandveld will yield equally meaningful insights into the folklife of the Verlorenvlei and Langevlei.

Chapter

One

It is possible to say that historical archaeologists are uncommonly lucky scholars of the humanities, for their discipline, or sub-discipline if you wish, straddles two related yet separate fields of social scientific endeavour, and enjoys the benefits of both.

The relationships within historical archaeology are, however, not really as simple as I have made them sound. The sometimes vast and seemingly irreconcilable differences that seem to exist between the two disciplines, in terms of method and ideology, and how these influence their use of their different databases, do create problems. It seems that together with the benefits both fields receive by virtue of their association with each other, they also inherit each others' problems. Their association is therefore perhaps something of a mixed blessing. I will return to consider these problems and some possible solutions shortly, but before going any further, feel it is necessary to define historical archaeology.

HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY - A DEFINITION

Historical archaeology, as the name implies, is in essence a combination of both history and archaeology. The result, for the practitioner, is access to the data and expertise of two disciplines, which, despite their each employing

different source and study materials, and having different ideological and methodological backgrounds, are nevertheless both ultimately concerned with the same thing: the construction of our human past.

This close association between history and archaeology produces a field of study that is fundamentally different from prehistoric archaeology. The major difference lies in the scope of historical archaeology, which is defined as "any archaeology that deals with the remains of literate people" (Deetz 1988:362) The entire remaining vast span of human history is dealt with by the prehistorians. The civilizations of Egypt, Greece, the Middle East, India and China, as well as those that arose in the Americas, being fully literate, therefore theoretically all fall within the domain of the historical archaeologist (Deetz 1977; 1988). These civilizations have however always been considered to be part of the Classical School of Archaeology, and have always been studied as such, never having really been considered to be historical.

What, then, is historical archaeology? A second definition has arisen which, even though less accurate, representing only part of the range of historical literate societies, and smacking of ethnocentrism in terms of what part of the record it does choose to study, has nonetheless gained the widest following and now represents the entire realm of the historical archaeologist. This post hoc definition, which originated from those involved in historical archaeology in the United States of America, describes the discipline as the "archaeology of the spread of European culture throughout the world since the 15th century and its impact on indigenous peoples" (Deetz 1977:5). Historical archaeology, therefore, attempts to reconstitute the unwritten past of worldwide European colonialism and expansionism, and its effect on the rest of the world, through the examination of survivals (Glassie 1978).

Historical archaeology serves two different disciplines - history and archaeology. Although this should be a felicitous situation for historical archaeologists in terms of the consequently much wider range of data available to them through access to the expertise of two disciplines instead of just one, it has, instead, often left them with an uneasy feeling of professional ambiguity. It is a small wonder that historical archaeology should suffer from what Deetz (unpublished:17) calls a "mild kind of schizophrenia", being undertaken by both historians and archaeologists, with each discipline claiming its approach to be the correct one; the study of man.

Neither discipline, however, can truthfully claim such a thing, as neither history nor archaeology, alone, would be capable of recovering, synthesizing and understanding the totality of human experience that the title "The Study of Man" would demand. In fact, the likelihood of any single discipline accomplishing this is slim in the extreme. "The task is, at the very least, a cooperative undertaking" that requires, for its success, the unreserved cooperation and exchange of data and ideas between not only historians and archaeologists, although this is my concern here, but between a wide range of disciplines, from both the humanities and the sciences (Taylor 1948:29).

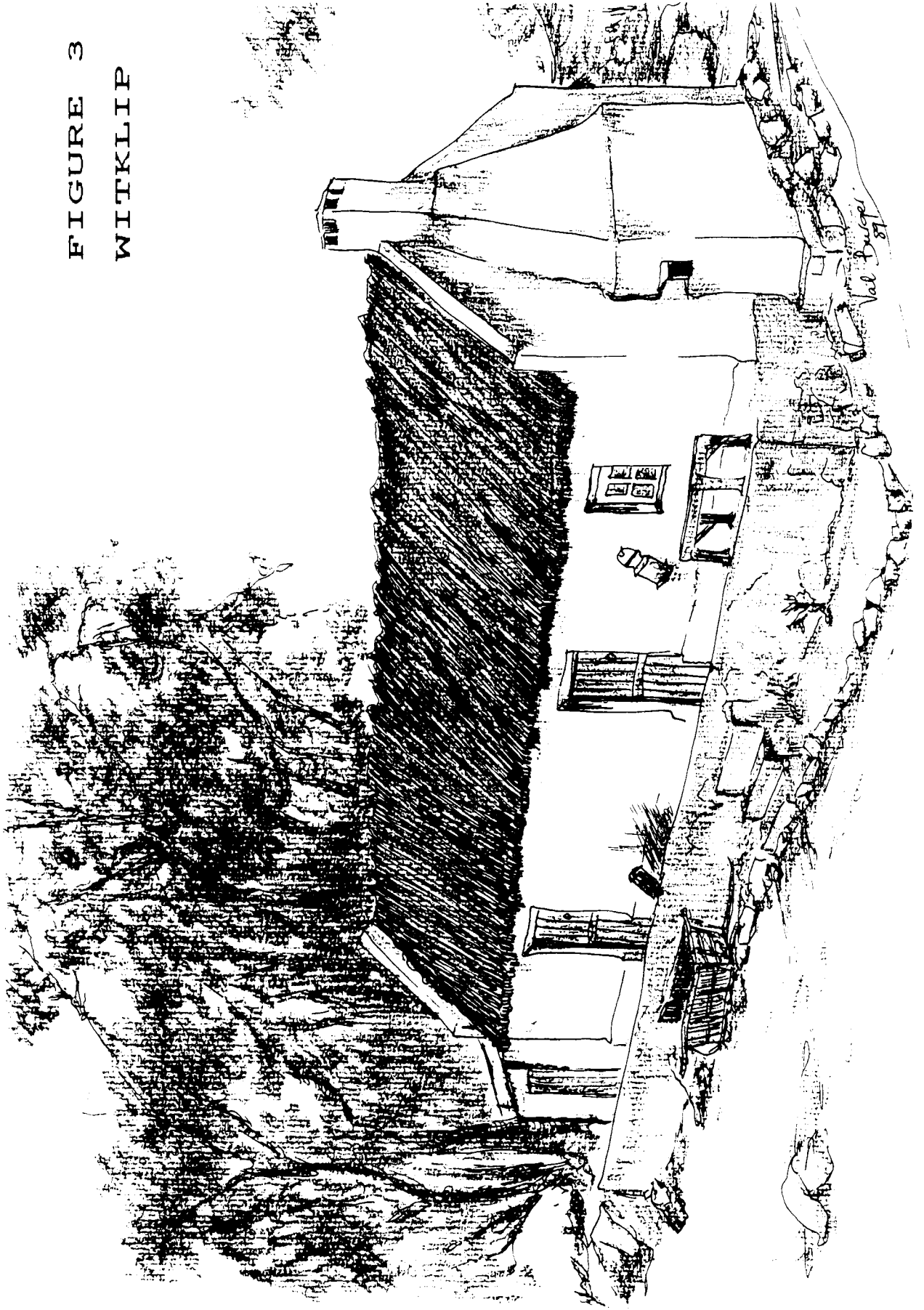
Thus the accusations against history of particularism and against archaeology of being too scientifically orientated to be in a position to deal truthfully with the complexities of the human past, although often grounded in truth, should, instead of being exploited - in this manner driving a further wedge between the two disciplines - rather be mediated to attempt to find common ground and a relationship which is tenable and beneficial to both history and archaeology.

Such a mediation between the two fields is not difficult to achieve, because despite their differences "the resonance between history and [archaeology] has always been strong ... Both deal with the human experience, both have strong components of narrative and a concern with process, and both have attempted to develop contexts in which the human experience can be better understood" (Deetz unpublished:1)

Taylor (1948:31) defines history, or more correctly historiography, which is literally "the writing of history", as "the written or verbal exposition of contemporary thought about past actuality in terms of cultural man and time sequences". When one compares what archaeology is trying to achieve with this definition of history, it becomes apparent that both disciplines are trying to achieve exactly the same result. Archaeology can thus also be described by exactly the same definition as history. At the level of definition therefore no difference exists between history and archaeology.

The next possible source of a differentiation between history and archaeology comes with a consideration of comparative academic procedure. Both fields belong to the group of non-experimental disciplines, which means that the data which they deal with is the product of real, rather than laboratory events.

FIGURE 3
WITKLIP



Such non-experimental disciplines are characterised by the use of four levels of roughly sequential procedure in attaining their study objectives (Taylor : 1948).

These are: the initial definition of a problem; followed by the gathering, analysis and criticism of empirical data; this data is then ordered into a chronological sequence; and finally it is subjected to some form of synthesis, which is the ultimate goal of all our studies and involves the isolation or establishment of reciprocal relationships within the analysed sequence (Taylor 1948; Deetz 1977; Sharer and Ashmore 1979). A comparison of history and archaeology in terms of their procedural sequences, however, reveals that right up to the fourth level the two disciplines are once again identical, both using the same steps to achieve the level of synthesis (Deetz 1977).

Where they do differ is in the data they each use. Historians work with documents, and archaeologists' primary source of data is material culture, or the physical remains of the human past. (Thus, while historians create contexts of the past based on historical, written material, and archaeologists' contexts are derived from the analysis of excavated artifacts or material culture, because "people in the past produced both documents and material objects, it is obvious that archaeology and history must be complementary" (Deetz 1988:362).)

In terms of their objectives, their methodological procedure, and, as I have shown, even the origin of their individual study objects or data bases, history and archaeology therefore share far more than either is perhaps willing to admit. But the differences mentioned earlier do exist and should be considered briefly here, as this will clarify some of the reasons for historical and archaeological cooperation.

The accusation levelled at history about its preoccupation with the creation of particularistic historical sequences is often perfectly valid. The very nature of traditional history, which treats, "to the virtual exclusion of all else, ... great events and ... topics believed to represent the most worthy achievements of mankind" (Taylor 1948:33), and which is often "too much the genealogy of contemporary institutional power and too little the story of people" (Glassie 1975:9), has laid it open to the charge of elitism (Glassie 1975; Deetz 1983). Such a history confines itself to a concern with "princes and politics, the military and the mighty" generally ignoring the

importance of "the masses of common people, of everyday life, and of the normal happenings of the past" (Taylor 1948:33), and pulls us up short of a proper understanding of the past; both people and events.

Likewise, the critics of archaeology condemn its often positivistic treatment of the past. This positivism is a feature of the ambiguous position occupied by archaeologists in the academic landscape, which has us borrowing our goals from the humanities and our methodology from the social sciences. Without our knowledge, however, this latter loan has also endowed us with some of the social sciences' more positivistic goals, which have not mixed well with those of our own tradition.

In trying to be scientifically rigorous in our treatment of the material remains of the past, we have enslaved "the people we wish to understand, reducing them to rats and factors" (Glassie 1978:27). Human behaviour is thus seen to be ultimately understandable as an expression of a set of laws similar to those formulated by physical scientists (Deetz 1983). The discovery of these laws lies, we are told, in our being sensitive to the existence of pattern in the artificial data, and because "pattern recognition [is] dependent on quantification, ... we must count" (Deetz 1983:27).

There is no denying that these differences are real, but they are also relative, a matter of degree. As I have described them here they represent the extreme view in each discipline, with by far the greatest proportion of work these days, by both historians and archaeologists, representing a more human and socially aware approach. Instead of constantly harping on them we should be attempting the mediation Deetz (1983) attempts, in order that history and archaeology be installed as equal partners in a mutually beneficial, reciprocal relationship. I will now consider the question of how history and archaeology can be reconciled in such a relationship, that would produce results that neither discipline could produce on its own.

History's rich and varied documentary record is its prime attraction to archaeology, as no amount of excavation will ever produce the kind of data the written records contain. Because such documents are a part of human material culture, archaeologists may therefore use the constructions of the past, created by historians, to project their findings against, and to seek explanations for their set of material cultural data. (Deetz 1988).

In its turn, archaeology can provide information about the large numbers of people in the past who are either invisible in the documents, or who, if represented, were treated in a biased or minimal manner. "As ... historical archaeologists, one of our tasks is to rescue from anonymity the average people of the past," something historians are often unable to do because of their commitment to the primacy of the printed or documentary record which is, in essence, a record of "the literate, the wealthy and the maladjusted" (Glassie 1978:28-29).

Archaeology has a second, related value to history which is "a function of the commonplace quality of most material culture" (Deetz 1988:363). The material we "excavate", and I use this term advisedly, because not all material culture needs to be dug up, are the everyday objects made, used and finally discarded by the silent majority of humanity. Such a corpus of well-dated, commonplace artifacts can not only provide insights into the past not available from the "elitist" written record, (Glassie 1978) but is also far more democratic than documents, being a grassroots, primary representation of the artifacts with which the mass of the people interacted daily, and which were shaped, for the most part, by them and their needs. Such material is relatively free of the subjectivity automatically introduced by even the most aware historical writer into his or her descriptions of people and events (Deetz 1983; 1988), reflecting rather what one might call a "folk subjectivity" in terms of what forms of material culture people chose to use or not use. Such subjectivity is what the historical archaeologist seeks to uncover and understand, as it can reveal much about aspects of past culture and society, and is essentially what this study attempts to do with folk architecture.

Historical archaeology therefore needs the contributions of both history and archaeology to realize its full potential. Although archaeologists and historians often ask different questions of the data, "neither is necessarily more 'right' than the other" (Deetz 1988:362). The oft-times result of the combination of the historical and archaeological records is the revelation of a far richer picture of the past than either field would have yielded separately. The documents supply such things as names, dates and events, while the archaeologist can "flesh out ... the bare bones of the historical accounts" (Deetz 1967:4).

Chapter

Two

For the majority of people in the past, no written records exist to provide the modern scholar with clues as to the general nature and quality of their lives. As mentioned earlier, though, there does exist an extremely rich and complex corpus of material remains - both preserved and discarded - that represent perhaps the truest and most revealing reflection of daily social reality in the past.

Archaeologists are faced with the task of extracting meaningful and illuminating answers to questions posed of the past, from the vast assortment of broken and decaying rubbish scattered about the land by our predecessors. If one is to be able to make any sense of these fragmentary material remains of long-dead people one must first know what it is one is dealing with.

All branches of archaeology have at the heart of their often quite diverse methods and research strategies a common interest in "man as a cultural being" (Taylor 1948:42), and in the elucidation of the nature and workings of human culture, a common goal.

Culture is a uniquely human construct which, if one were to choose from the myriad definitions available, could probably best be described by four statements :-

1. Culture is learned behaviour. Aside from the biological and genetic traits we inherit from our ancestors, we also inherit a set of non-biological, humanly constructed customs and habits which govern our interaction with the world (Deetz 1967).
2. Culture is uniquely human. Although certain species of animals and insects exhibit patterns of behaviour similar to the social patterns humankind exhibits, man is the only animal "who uses culture as his primary means of coping with his environment" Culture is man's adaptive system which he "has elaborated ... into an ever more complex buffer between him and his world" (Deetz 1967:6).
3. Culture is patterned. The array of customs and habits, or the culture, of any group of people, is a structured collection of interrelating parts, each of which relates to every other part in a systematic manner (Deetz 1967). These internal relationships are crucial to this project, as I shall explain shortly.
4. Society is the vehicle for culture. Just like material culture and culture are two different concepts, so too are society and culture. Societies are "groups of interacting organisms" (Deetz 1967:7). This definition can apply to some species of animals too, but it is only humans whose society is largely shaped and controlled by culture, for which society is the repository (Deetz 1967).

Deetz (1967:7) brings all of these components of culture into a final, general definition which states that culture is therefore "a uniquely human system of habits and customs acquired by man through an extrasomatic, [or out of body] process, carried by his society, and used as his primary means of adapting to his environment."

Part of Taylor's (1948) argument about the nature of culture should perhaps be used here to stress a point implicit in Deetz's description but which, because of its immediacy to this work, should be stated more explicitly. That is, that culture is a mental construct, which consists of ideas rather than physical material objects.

The fact that culture itself is invisible, a set of constructs borne in the

collective and individual human mind, means that it is extremely perishable and logically cannot be excavated. Those things which are tangible, such as artifacts, and which an archaeologist can work with, cannot therefore be culture. They are rather the physical manifestations of culture (Taylor 1948; Deetz 1967).

Defined as "that segment of man's physical environment which is purposely shaped by him according to culturally dictated plans" (Deetz 1978:10) and called material culture, it is this that the archaeologist studies to try to discover the underlying mental rules, or culture, that shaped its creation (Glassie 1978).

The archaeologist is therefore dependent on artifacts to form the bulk of archaeological data from which he or she works. Although behaviour is also an element of material culture, it too, like culture itself, is transient and perishable and is therefore usually not available to the archaeologist as a primary data source, except in cases where behaviour is reflected in the archaeological record in the form of visible patterns (Taylor 1948).

But why should archaeologists choose to study artifacts rather than other things? The answer is that some of the patterns we wish to discover require the study of artifacts. These are, specifically, patterns in time. Unlike many other disciplines which have easy access to the people behind the artifacts, the very nature of our field binds us inextricably to time (Deetz 1978; Glassie 1975, 1978).

Because our subjects have long since gone, we, as archaeologists, in order to understand the people in the past, study what they left behind, the tangible markers of their presence; material culture or artifacts (Glassie 1978) which happens to be "the set of most culturally sensitive data available" to us (Deetz 1978:10).

The careful and rigorous analysis of material culture will often reveal to the scholar information in no way inferior to that collected by people like ethnographers, who, because of the time depth of their field, have direct access to the people we have to view through "the screen produced by [time and] the material culture" (Deetz 1978:10).

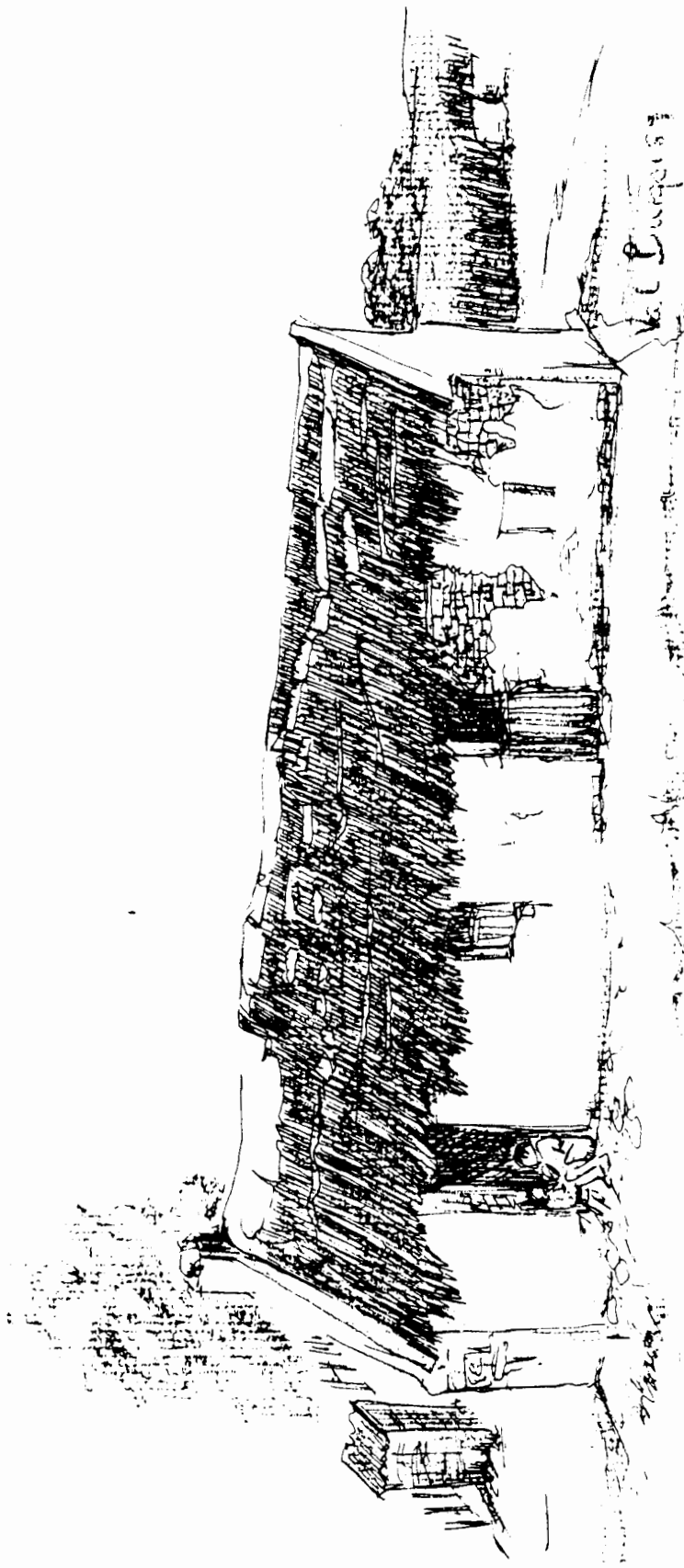


FIGURE 4 : WOLFHUIS 2

This temporal gap between archaeologists in the present and their study objects from the past has a number of consequences, one of which I would like to mention here because of its central importance to the results of my work.

We, as archaeologists, must realize that our creation of the past takes place from our position within the present. We have as our data a corpus of empirically reliable primary observations which are based on facts gained through "scientific procedure". For example, we may know that a house is forty by fifteen feet ¹, has three rooms, two doors, five windows and a chimney. Such data, based on rigorous firsthand, in situ field or laboratory observations, is at this level relatively free of our personal subjective biases (Parkington and Smith 1986).

As soon as we move to the levels of analysis and synthesis however, we cease being "scientific" and impartial and become "active and motivated participants in an industry the business of which is creating versions of the past" (Parkington and Smith 1986:43).

Because contemporary values and interests shape contemporary thought about the past, the history arrived at "depends on the interests and concerns held by the [researcher]" (Deetz unpublished:6). Archaeologists are therefore not "impassive and neutral conduits" through whom the past is passed on to others (Parkington and Smith 1986:43; Smith 1983).

The past therefore is not self-evident, nor should we claim to be reconstructing it as this would require both an objectivity and insight way beyond our grasp. Rather we should acknowledge the conscious and subconscious manipulation that we subject our data to, as this would help us to provide a more honest account of an unknowable past. We should also refrain from calling our accounts of past actuality, reconstructions, and instead use the term constructions, thus acknowledging the uncertainties involved in such work as well as our personal stake in the finished product, no matter how objective we may feel we have been. This will raise subjectivity "to a more explicit level of consciousness and allows us to deal with it" (Deetz unpublished:7; Taylor 1948; Parkington and Smith 1986).

Bearing this caveat in mind, I return once again to consider the artifact. It is clear that archaeologists have little choice in having mute artifacts as

their primary study objects and data source. This situation is not nearly as gloomy as it may seem, however, because "the artifact is always genuine, [being] an expression of its maker's mind" (Glassie 1975:10). Put another way, the artifact is "the largely unconscious realization and materialization of a mental dynamic" (Glassie 1978:27).

Since our primary study objects are artifacts, therefore, and since these artifacts are man-made, cultural derivations, the rigorous analysis of their form should, in theory, lead to the revelation of the underlying guiding cultural principles or mental templates (Deetz 1967) that governed their production (Glassie 1975; 1978).

In other words, every artifact, being the product of human cultural ideas, represents an approximation of what someone once thought that artifact should look like. Thus, within each and every culture, artifactual form is the product of a set of cultural conventions that account for "what makes an object look 'right' and how much that object can vary in form until it becomes 'wrong'" (Deetz 1967:45).

The ideas of proper artifactual form, therefore, are mental constructs which exist primarily in a collective cultural mind and, secondarily, in the culturally saturated individual mind. Such ideas, when expressed in raw material, result in artifacts, which are a "reflection of the patterning of the culture which produced [them]" (Deetz 1967:7).

The task of the archaeologist, therefore, is to develop "the ability to see, to experience form as the product of a mental argument over order" (Glassie 1978:27). Quite often, however, archaeologists have failed in this goal, mainly because of our relationship with the positivistic social sciences which I mentioned earlier.

This positivism has taught us that the elucidation of past behaviour, rather than thought, is the goal of our studies. As a result, much effort has been spent on often ingenious speculation as to the uses of old artifacts. Glassie (1978:27) takes issue with such studies, claiming that it is "both more profound and theoretically easier to read an artifact first as the end product of a mental process of design, as a projection of thought rather than as an element in performance, as a reflection of cognitive pattern rather than a

reflection of behavioural patterns."

Artifacts should, therefore, be seen primarily as cultural, rather than material (Glassie 1978), as the expressions of intentions within their makers' minds, rather than just as mere usable objects to which some behavioural meaning must be assigned (Glassie 1975; 1978).

We as archaeologists have therefore, to learn to read the mute artifact. But these artifacts carry no relevant information on their surfaces, so in order for us to achieve our goal, we have to crack the subtle code that accounts for their form and their being. Thus, the painstaking analysis of the material objectifications of a culture can make them reveal their makers, and is a prerequisite for the discovery of the underlying mental templates of design and reason, a knowledge of which is in turn required for the construction of a more "philosophically and socially valid history" (Glassie 1975:12).

We therefore have before us our study objects; material culture left us by past people. We also have our ultimate goal; the construction of a more honest, human history. We still lack a vital component of our study, however, a component which must relate to both our goals and our study objects. It will also relate them to each other. This component is a relevant theory, without which we will not be able to move our study beyond mere description, into the realm of explanation.

It is the goal of our work that defines, to a large extent, the theory we choose to apply to our study objects. Therefore, because we are interested here in developing an understanding of the mental constructs that dictate, and are in turn to some extent dictated to by, the form of the material culture we have access to, the theory we choose is cognitive (Deetz 1967, 1977; Glassie 1975, 1978). In the case of my work, this is a form of structuralist theory, to which discussion I now proceed.

FOOTNOTES :

1. ON PAGE 21

I have chosen not to use metric units of measurement on my houses as I feel that they are better understood in terms of feet and inches, their contemporary measuring system. Because I could not obtain an Old Dutch measuring tape I chose to use standard British measurements. There is only minimum difference between them :-

1 Cape/Dutch foot = 0.3148581 m

1 English foot = 0.3047790 m

Chapter

Three

As is clear from what I have said previously, historical archaeologists have to deal with study objects which are the physical objectifications of culturally formed mental templates. That all objects produced from such mental blueprints have, underlying and accounting for their form, a set of rules that dictates what is acceptable or not, has also been established.

For us to be in a position to move beyond such generalized statements of artifact composition, requires that we adopt a suitable theory. Such a theory should, ideally, facilitate the recovery of the invisible structural underpinnings of the particular artifacts that concern us, and help us to attain a deeper and far more meaningful insight into the cultural and social conditions that led to their production.

Because the material remains we study are cultural, and therefore have "specifically symbolic significance" (Wylie 1982:39) it is argued that archaeologists should adopt some form of structuralist theory in undertaking their artifactual analysis.

Structuralism, "the social scientific manifestation of modernist thought" (Glassie 1973:314), appeared on the scene in the first decade of the present century. To date, probably its most noteworthy proponent has been Claude Levi-Strauss, a scholar whose work has influenced, and continues to influence most structuralist theory.

Structuralism's interest is "in process more than product, in hidden law more than manifest shape, in relations more than entities," (Glassie 1975:41; Levi-Strauss 1963, 1970). It has at its centre a concern therefore with abstraction, simultaneity and the unconscious - or the recovery of mind (Leone 1982). As the theoretical basis for a study of autonomous objects, structuralism is perhaps a vast improvement over other methods. "Its method enables the analyst to locate an unexpected abundance of information in discreet things - things floating free of their contexts - and it enables him to relate apparently unconnected phenomena into systems" (Glassie 1975:42). Besides offering the analyst an insight into the reasons for relations within his own times, structuralism is therefore, also especially germane and helpful to the scholar forced to begin his or her study with discrete, autonomous objects (Glassie 1975; Pettit 1977; Wylie 1982).

Structuralist theory can most productively be applied to the study of material culture at a level beyond analytical typologies. This is because, according to Deetz (1967), in its most basic application, the formal analysis of artifacts divides them up into categories which are based upon shared attributes. The product of these typologies is, therefore, the establishment of groups of similar artifacts which can then be compared on the basis of their attributes, a process which implicitly recognizes behavioural patterning in the artifacts (Deetz 1967).

This patterning is the product of a specific mental template, or set of ideas and actions that are responsible for the object's creation and form. Because this mental template derives from a number of diverse sources, however, - traditional, functional, technological, innovative - Deetz (1967:83) holds that "some further standardization must have prevailed to produce a series of artifacts which share not only in their attributes, but also in the way those attributes were combined." In contrast to typological analysis, therefore, which concentrates on the comparison of discernable physical attributes, the structuralist approach to analysis goes one step beyond and attempts to uncover

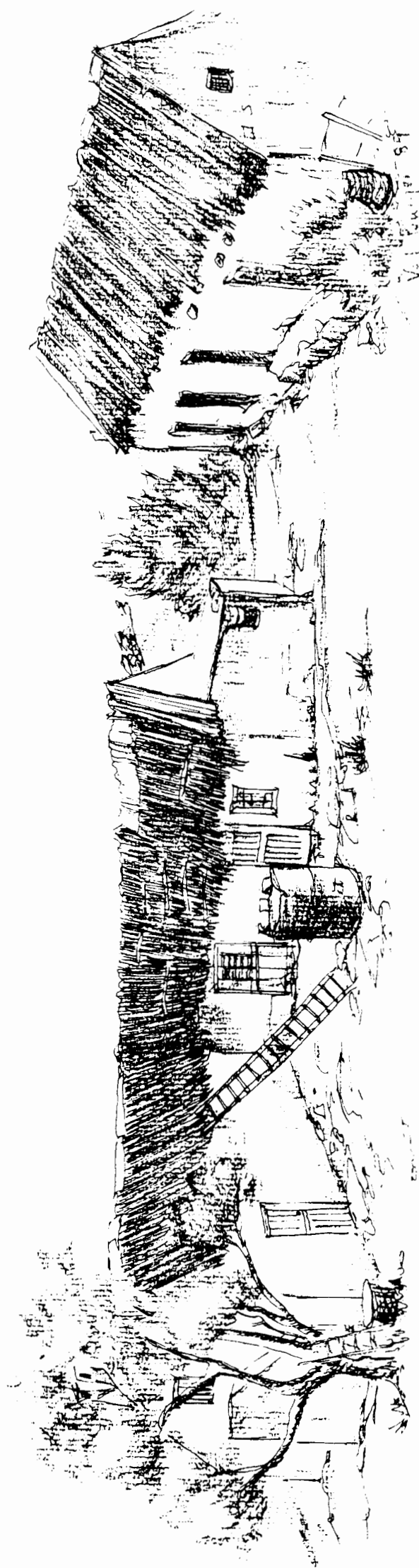


FIGURE 5

KLAAREFFONTEIN T-EXTENSION AND OUTBUILDINGS

the "grammatical" rules that account for the combination of those typological attributes (Glassie 1973).

The ability to penetrate the object and extract from it the cultural information implicit within its structure, enables the historical archaeologist to gain a knowledge of such aspects of past people as, "the way in which they perceived their environment, the world view that underlay the organisation of their physical universe, and the way ideology shaped their lives. Such factors, which exert a profound influence on the form and function of artifacts, can be uncovered by the historical archaeologist "if intelligent and imaginative use is made of the rich [historical cultural record]." This will admit to the scholar's consideration a consequently more diverse and rich set of factors than available otherwise. "Structuralism, therefore, when applied to human material cultural remains, can bring the relationship between material culture and cognition into sharper focus (Deetz 1977:23; Wylie 1982).

How exactly structuralist theory can come to be applied to things like broken dishes, bits of rusted metal and old houses is a function of the diversity and range of what can be construed to be material culture. In terms of the definition given earlier of what constitutes material culture, such diverse and seemingly unrelated cultural manifestations as artifacts - houses, ceramics, clothes - and human communication systems - languages - can be termed homologous (Deetz 1967).

Although, because of its transient and ephemeral nature, human language cannot be touched or seen in the same way an old house can, it is nevertheless as much a part of man's modified physical environment as the house is. This relationship is crucial to me here because it is in the field of linguistics that structuralist theory has advanced the furthest, and been best synthesized (Deetz 1967, 1978; Lyons 1970; Glassie 1973; Pettit 1977; Wylie 1982).

Linguists were the first to demonstrate "the precise structural form of a patterned cultural phenomenon" - namely language - because their concern with structural, or grammatical rules was as strong as their concern with context and function (Deetz 1978:12). They have thus developed a set of analytical techniques to deal with and describe these structural relationships. Therefore, if one aspect of human material culture can be understood in terms

of the application to its form of a structural dynamic, this raises the possibility that, because of their common origin as products of the human thought process, all other forms of material culture might also benefit from being subjected to such analysis.

Henry Glassie's (1975) application of such a structuralist rubric to a set of artifacts - vernacular, or folk architecture - led to what is perhaps one of the most incisive and exciting explanations of past culture yet produced. James Deetz attempted a similar study in his book "In Small Things Forgotten" (1977), although including in his synthesis a far greater range of material culture than Glassie, as well as using a slightly different theoretical platform. More recently, Dell Upton (1986) has produced a successful structuralist analysis of Virginian churches.

What each of these studies has relied on has been the parallel that should, theoretically, exist in the rules governing the structure of both language and artifacts. And what each study has proven is that these deep rules of structure and form do reside in the artifacts.

is has been possible to achieve because both language and artifacts are the products of culturally motivated human motor actions on substance; be it air, as in the case of language, or some other form of raw material in the case of artifacts. "The resultant form of any artifact is a combination of structural units - attributes - which in any particular combination produce an object which has a specific function in the culture which made it. Change any of these attributes and the functional significance will change if the change is sufficient to affect this significance" (Deetz 1967:87).

Structuralism assumes that the human mind always works in an orderly manner, using a logic that has been called grammatical by structural linguists (Leone 1982). It is theorized that the mind "categorizes and divides; creates contrasts and oppositions; that it reverses, displaces and distinguishes between inside and outside, culture and nature, male and female; furthermore, ... the mind uses ... categories like these to think about virtually all reality" (Leone 1982:742; Levi-Strauss 1970; Leach 1970).

Thus, structuralists have come to see this ordering ability of the human mind as affecting everything these minds create. This means that is possible to see

all levels of culture - technology, social organization, religion - as equivalent, regardless of function, because of their common root in such human thought processes (Leone 1982).

To the structuralist then, the mind is primary and therefore, "just as social organization and myth [are] structures articulated by mind through action, [so too it is] that all three-dimensional objects [are] things shaped by this fundamentally mental structural, as well as primary use" (Leone 1982:743; Levi-Strauss 1970; Leach 1970). All material objects produced by a culture should therefore, theoretically, have implicit within them this mental structure.

A second assumption structuralists make is that because there exist only a limited number of rules that "serve to specify how the basic sets of [binary] oppositions, [such as natural and artificial, inside and outside, and so on] can be played out," this means that at least the mental structures and guiding principles, if not explicit details, of any past culture can be rescued from the threat of eternal oblivion (Leone 1982:743).

These then are the two basic premises to which the users of structuralist theory subscribe, namely, that all objects within a culture are equal "with respect to the overall organization and coherence of the total structure of that culture", and that despite a dearth of details, the general principles of past cultures are retrievable (Leone 1982:743; Glassie 1975; Upton and Vlach 1986).

The acceptance of these premises by those using the theory, however, has led to sharp criticism by others of the structuralist's apparently deterministic subjection of often idiosyncratic and highly individualistic human mind to sweeping generalizations and laws (Leone 1982).

Unlike environmental determinism, which sets human cultural change up in an often simplistic one-to-one relationship with environmental change, structuralism in no way stifles intra-cultural idiosyncracies. Human culture is never seen to be best understood by the most logical or commonsense explanation. Structuralists instead, regard commonsense as culturally relative (Deetz 1977). The general principles of human mental operation they base their analyses on are non-exclusive and can accommodate and account for any variation

they may, nay will, encounter in the course of any study.

A second criticism of structuralism, which must be dealt with here, is the thorny question of the position of concepts of time in structuralist theory.

A structuralist analysis, such as this one, or that undertaken by Glassie (1975), has as one of its goals the creation of a set of rules that account for the production of a group of artifacts, using the principles of cultural opposition and mediation, as expressed by Levi-Strauss (1963, 1970). Because Levi-Strauss was concerned with developing a set of universal human cultural oppositions that would account for the structure of artifacts, both real and intangible, this has led to structuralism being accused of treating obviously diachronic study objects synchronically; of ignoring the dimension of time and change in favour of the establishment of apparently changeless and universal concepts of human cultural relations.

Although this is probably quite true of many attempts at applying structuralist theory to human material cultural objects, it is not necessarily so. It is possible, as some work has demonstrated, to successfully account for the temporal aspects of a set of artifacts whilst subjecting them to a specifically structuralist analytical approach.

When scrutinised carefully, it becomes clear that such studies merely use synchrony as a convenient step towards diachrony, as it is both theoretically and physically impossible for a scholar to proceed directly to a diachronic consideration of a set of data. Besides the sheer physical immensity of such a task, and the mental chaos and confusion such an attempt is likely to engender in the scholar's mind, such an approach is also theoretically unsound, implying an attempt to study change, through time, without first knowing what is changing.

The creation of a synchronic rule set based on all the artifacts in a sample therefore, which initially ignores the dimension of time and gives each artifact the same treatment no matter what its real and relative age, is necessary not merely in order that the scholar may cope, but also to provide the study with a comparative context. If such an initial synchronic statement does not precede diachrony, the scholar could end up with a group of similar sets of data, none of which can be compared to another because of their lack of

a common background.

While it is obvious, therefore, that synchrony is an artificial, academic construct that is applied to artifacts which are diachronic by nature, it is nevertheless also clear that without such a concept, scholars would be unable to say very much of importance about the past, its products, and ultimately, its people (Taylor 1948). Synchrony is, therefore, a necessary evil, the existence of which is acknowledged. It is thus up to the scholar, once a synchronic statement for the artifacts has been predicated, to re-admit time to their consideration in order to produce a full and democratic account of their being.

Some of the concepts in this general overview of structuralist theory, have not been treated in any great depth here, but I will return to them as they become necessary to my argument. Having laid the theoretical foundations of my study, I will now proceed to the consideration of questions of methodological procedure in the collecting of data.

Chapter

Four

While choosing a suitable object or set of objects to study, historical archaeologists often subconsciously hamstring themselves by accepting that in order to truly be "doing archaeology", they are obliged to have to retrieve their data from the ground, by digging. In so doing, they eliminate from their consideration perhaps one of the potentially richest of all material culture categories; houses.

Some form of shelter from the elements has been an essential part of human existence since the very earliest stages of our development. Not always physically, or biologically equipped for the diverse environments it has found itself in, humankind has built houses to function as a buffer against the elements (Taylor 1983).

Houses, however, are far more than just shelter. As the focus for the most basic human social group, the family, they occupy a central position in the production and maintenance of fundamental human cultural, social and productive relations (Deetz 1977). They are also themselves the products of such cultural relations, reflecting in their form "the needs and minds of those who built [them]" (Deetz 1977:92; Reynolds 1929; St George unpublished).

Architecture, or perhaps more correctly, folk housing, is therefore just as

much a class of material culture as are ceramics, and can thus lay just as much claim to archaeologists' attentions as can these more traditionally accepted classes of material culture. In fact, if viewed within a structuralist rubric, the centrality of houses to human interaction and relations seems to hold the promise of their containing a wealth of data about the basic cultural rules that account for their production and form (Deetz 1977).

At a more mundane, purely practical level, vernacular architecture invites study simply because, in a discipline where one's data is usually, quite literally, extremely fragmented, houses often survive on the landscape as highly visible and relatively intact links with the past.

Scholars who decide to avail themselves of this source of cultural data are, however, immediately faced with a division within the field of historical architecture: that between vernacular and polite architecture. The difference between the two is essentially the difference between architecture and building (Brunskill 1978).

The archtypical example of polite, or academic architecture would be a building designed by professional architect and built, perhaps by a professional builder, according to a set of drawn plans (Brunskill 1978). Vernacular architecture on the other hand, is folk architecture. It is done without formal plans, often being built by its user (Deetz 1977; Upton and Vlach 1986).

Polite architecture, usually aesthetically pleasing and in "good taste", represents popular culture, which behaves like fashions always have done, constantly changing, while interacting with human culture and society at only the most superficial of levels. Ranged against this is vernacular building. Inherently conservative and slow to change, though this must never be construed as stagnant, vernacular structures "are the immediate products of their users and form a sensitive indicator of these persons' inner feelings, [and] their ideas of what is or is not suitable to them" (Deetz 1977:93).

Vernacular architecture, therefore is a far more accurate barometer and reflection of the traditional culture the majority of people adhere to, with changes in values, attitudes and worldview likely to find expression in changing physical form (Deetz 1977; Upton 1986).

As an aspect of traditional culture, therefore, folk houses offer the scholar a unique source of data. It is thus that I now turn to the description of the methods I have employed to collect this raw data, as represented by houses on the land.

"It is no test of the scholar or his craft to invent a theory - [hypothesis] - and pop bits of information into it... The test, rather is to see whether the theory fits a natural body of material," just as a grammar must fit a language (Glassie 1975:13).

Such a natural body of data is the scholar's safeguard against triviality, or of finding oneself in the position of being able to assert virtually anything, yet actually prove nothing, and its accumulation is therefore of paramount importance.

Whatever the goals of a study, the archaeologist always begins by studying objects. These objects thrust themselves into the scholar's perception in chaotic profusion, each vying to claim his or her attention by being more unusual, less fragmented or more beautiful than the next.

When presented with this vast array of potential source material many archaeologists succumb to whim and fancy in their data recording and collecting. They "accumulate information randomly, incompletely, and then ... order [it] into conscious patterns ... [Because] normal perceptions are selectively small [and] normal concepts ... large and weak ... [these patterns] are specific, yet complicated and unwieldy" (Glassie 1975:13).

A body of data that is naturally tightly clustered, however, though it may seem mundane, and lack the allure that studies of the unusual and exotic possess, is the archaeologists' key to adequate perceptions and efficient concepts. With such a natural corpus of data, one constantly encounters objects that are the same or similar and this leads to the unconscious generation of patterns of fundamental similarity and difference, the first step on the path towards creating an artifactual grammar (Glassie 1975).

The assembly of a natural body of data is no mean feat. Fieldwork is usually

undertaken within strict time constraints and in an alien setting. Such factors, together with the researcher's "natural proclivities" or biases, mean extreme care must be taken to "labour to develop simple, powerful concepts ... [and] edit as little as possible at the [level] of perception" (Glassie 1975:13).

The solution, one is generally told, is to work deductively. A scholar should always begin by formulating an hypothesis or set of hypotheses, which are then constantly tested and refined as the collection and analysis of data proceeds. Glassie (1975) raises the point, though, that an hypothesis incorrectly formed at the outset will, with little doubt, virtually assure triviality. Besides this, if a scholar is working in an area devoid of any prior research work, he or she may initially lack sufficient data from which even to form an hypothesis.

According to Glassie (1975:14) the solution for a scholar in this position may lie in a strategy, called neoinductive or quasi-phenomenological - "that moves rigorously, not by means of hypotheses about particular cultures or things, but by means of theories of inquiry not tied to particular cultures or things."

This therefore allows the archeologist to approach unfamiliar objects inductively rather than deductively. The combination of the constant re-experiencing of, particularly, the similarities within a tight body of data, in effect allows the objects to "speak" to the scholar, thus producing what one might call a natural rapport with, and understanding of the artifacts. Such an approach to the artifacts will often produce a dialogue, or two-way interaction between them and the scholar, rather than have the scholar impose upon the mute artifacts his or her rigid, culturally and temporally informed set of notions about the past and those artifacts' place within it.

The use of a neoinductive approach to the artifacts has an important effect too on the artifact sample a scholar will choose to consider. If he or she is guided in the collection of a sample by a neoinductive dialogue with the potential study objects, the sample eventually realized will conform to the concept of a natural body of data mentioned above.

Glassie identifies two main problems with such a neoinductive approach, which must be stressed before I proceed to a more practical description of the

methodology that applies to a study such as mine. The first difficulty is that if a scholar is not guided by an hypothesis, his or her data can be interpreted in any number of ways. In such a case interpretation of one's data must be deferred until "the collected information has been built into efficient, simple concepts that are natural to [one's] corpus [of data]" (Glassie 1975:14).

The second danger of using such a method is that if one begins to build models without a clear idea, first, of what they are going to explain, it is possible to end up with results that explain nothing, or at the very least reduce scholarship "to a puzzle-solving reinforcement of academic norms" (Glassie 1975:14).

"Any serious study of culture must confront the goals of full, complex observation and powerful, simple conceptualization. If hypotheses about particular cultures are not introduced at the beginning of inquiry, they must be held off until systematic concepts have been formed. The scholar, gambling a bit, must begin blind to interpretive possibilities, by means of a rigorous method" (Glassie 1975:14).

Thus it was that I came to be in the field, searching for a better understanding of the past through the study of vernacular architecture.

My decision to undertake an historical archaeological study stems largely from the profound influence the work of James Deetz has had on my thinking. Coincidental with this, field work on the prehistoric sites in the Verlorenvlei and Lange Vlei valleys exposed me to the historical archaeological potential of the region, which as a study area was ideal for a number of reasons.

Despite over, twenty years of prehistoric archaeological research in the area (Parkington 1972, 1976, 1977; Manhire 1984; Mazel and Parkington 1981) until now, the historical archaeological record has hardly been touched. With an account of close on 40 000 years worth of human occupation and exploitation of the area around the vlei, provided by the work of the prehistorians, a comprehensive study by historical archaeologists of the last approximately 280 years, which represent the historical period at Verlorenvlei, will produce what is perhaps a unique occurrence, at least in South African archaeology; a

complete account of the whole span of the human occupation of an area, from its earliest times to the present. This lack of prior research is possibly a result of the region's relative physical or geographical isolation, which has only recently been broken, with the building of new roads and railways and the commercial exploitation of, particularly, the area's rich marine resources. A positive result of this isolation has been the excellent preservation, in large part, of the historical archaeological record.

According to the histories and the archival sources, the area north and east of the Piquetberg Mountains was one of the first to be settled by White colonists as the boundaries of the Cape colony expanded during the first two decades of the eighteenth century. The time depth of the historical archaeological record in this region is therefore second only to that of the area of the South Western Cape that saw the earliest colonial settlement.

A further consideration in choosing a suitable research topic and area, lay in the knowledge that contemporaneous with my work, a similar study of Eastern Cape British vernacular architecture was to be undertaken by Margot Winer of the University of California, Berkeley. Her project, a structuralist analysis of the architecture of Salem village, forms part of a multi-component study in the Grahamstown area being led by James Deetz, which, when completed, will be a source of comparative data between the frontier experience of the Western Cape Dutch stock farmers on one hand and the British settlers of the Eastern Cape on the other (Winer and Deetz in press).

In general, therefore, the area offers the historical archaeologist a well-preserved corpus of historical data with a substantial time depth. The historical archaeological potential is greatly enhanced when cognisance is taken of the fact that for a time the Verlorenvlei and Lange Vlei valleys represented the northernmost boundary of the Cape colony. As a result, the historical archaeological record of this area may represent one of the earliest cultural, and by extension, ideological manifestations of the frontier mentality that developed in South Africa during the process of colonial expansion.

Ideally, all components of the artifactual assemblage of a particular site or area, should be studied and eventually synthesized into a broad, interrelating scenario of past lifeways. Deetz's work in New England represents probably the

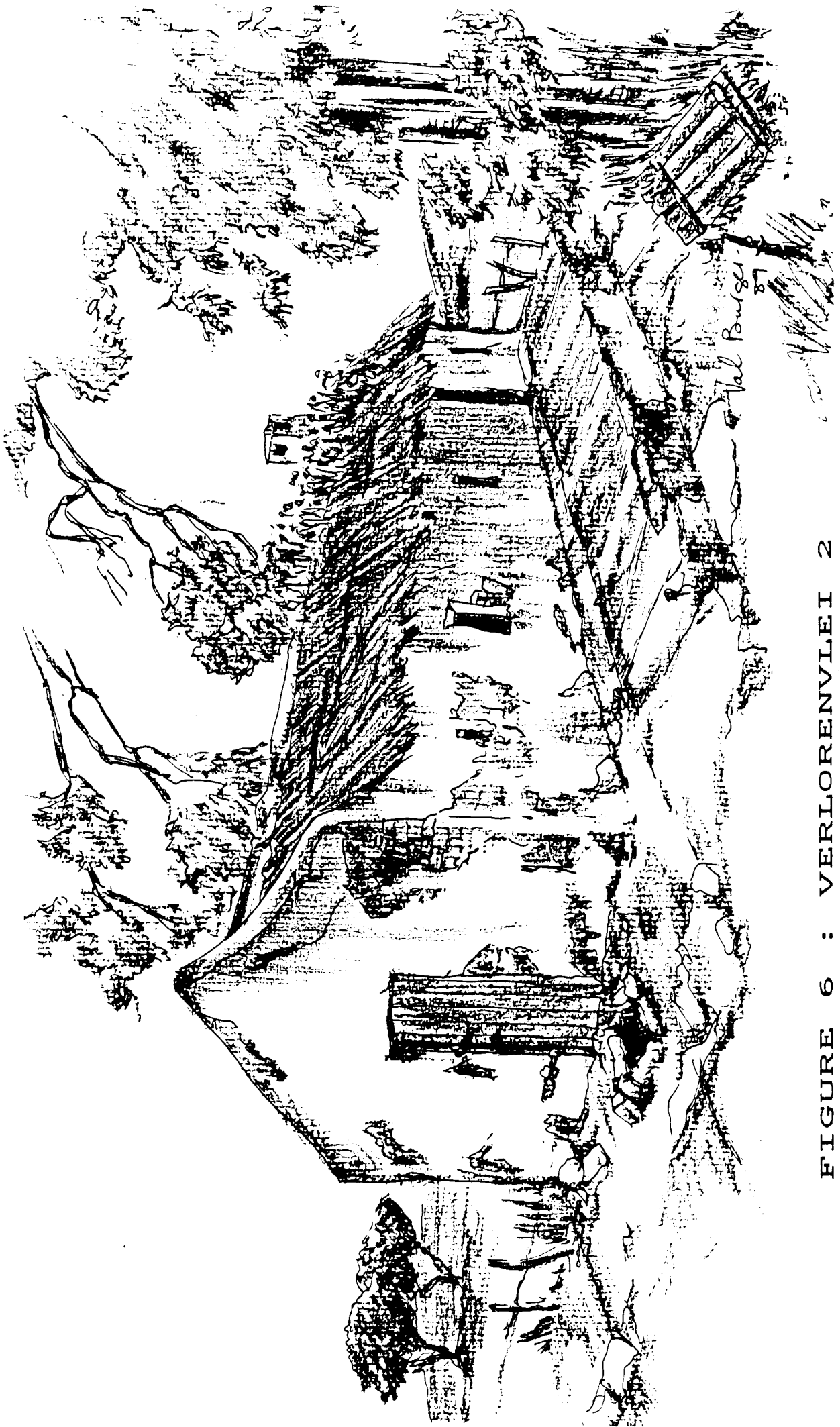


FIGURE 6 : VERLORENVLEI 2

most complete example of such an holistic description and explanation of the cultural and ideological history of a specific area and time yet undertaken (Deetz 1977, 1978, 1988; Deetz et al 1987).

Such syntheses, however, require the combined results of a number of research designs, and many take years to achieve. If a scholar therefore chooses a geographical study area which has been the setting of no previous historical archaeological investigations, the problem naturally arises of which aspect of the material culture record he or she should concentrate on first.

The commonsense solution to such a quandary, would be to choose that set of cultural remains which would reveal the most about the operation of the minds that gave rise to, and guided their production, whilst at the same time bearing in mind such practical considerations as degree of preservation, and availability, or accessibility to the archaeologist.

Thus, as was shown above, because vernacular structures form such a vital and central element in, not only human survival and existence, but also in our social and cultural relations too, they appear to represent an admirable and worthwhile class of objects with which to begin an historical archaeological study. Such considerations, their highly visible and tangible presence in the area of the Verlorenvlei and Lange Vlei valleys, and the fact that in this area the vernacular architecture is often still remarkably well-preserved, mark such structures as prime candidates for initial study objects in this academically virgin area.

Yet another reason I chose that historical archaeological research in this area should be initiated by an architectural analysis, is the fact that, although in many cases still inhabited or still in fair structural condition, the majority of these houses will not see out many more seasons. Within even the relatively short four year period since I first visited the area, I have witnessed both the wanton destruction of some buildings, and the gradual collapse of others due to neglect. These houses are gone forever, unrecorded. One aim of my work therefore, quite apart from the search for an architectural grammar, was to record as many extant vernacular structures as I was able, lest they too disappear unnoticed and without trace.

At the outset of my work I embarked on a preliminary survey, which entailed my driving along every road and sandy track in both valleys, in order to visit each house in the area. This survey revealed that the houses were widely scattered across the land in nearly seventy small discrete clusters. It also showed that, in order to obtain a sample representative of the vernacular architectural style of the region, my research area would have to be quite large. The boundaries I eventually defined left me with an area of approximately 2 400 square kilometers to cover. (See Figure 2).

While constantly aware of needing a natural body of data, free of as much perceptual editing as academically and methodologically feasible, the aims of my study and the definition of my chosen study objects, required that my next step was to eliminate from consideration all those houses that were obviously not examples of the vernacular. What remained was a sample of approximately 62 vernacular structures.

During subsequent periods of fieldwork each of these houses was visited in order to record it. For a variety of reasons, it was only possible to record 41 of the houses, but these were exhaustively measured and drawn and comprehensive measured floor plans and elevations were drawn for each house, all of which are included in Chapter 6. Besides this, notes were taken of the location of each house, its map reference on the South African Trigonometrical Survey 1:50 000 map series and its compass bearing, as well as details of building materials and methods, and as much first-hand historical data as could be gleaned from interviews with the house's occupants or former occupants, all of which will also be detailed in Chapter 6.

The result of this exhaustive surveying and recording was the establishment of a hopefully natural set of culturally significant data which contains, it is theorized, the underlying relational rules that account for the artifacts' physical and cultural form.

This exposition of the practical aspects of the data gathering process I used, implies that I should now proceed to a description of this data, and an attempt to establish a "grammar" that will account for the houses in my sample. Unlike Glassie (1975) who had no choice but to proceed immediately in this direction, because of the dearth of historical and archival records for his research area in particular, and Virginia in general, I have no such constraints.

As mentioned earlier, historical archaeologists are offered "a luxury to be exploited to its fullest extent; [a] combination of numerous often well-preserved sites [and] a rich body of documents" (Deetz 1983:30). The availability to me of historical documents and archival material is something I may not ignore and therefore now turn to consider the historical record of my research area as a source of potential data, before proceeding to the analysis of my architectural data.

Chapter

Five

According to one of the definitions of historical archaeology given earlier, what sets it apart from prehistory is the literacy of the people who made up these societies and cultures. As has also been previously stated, the existence of this historical documentary record provides the historical archaeologist with an additional source of data, to be used in conjunction with the archaeological record.

People "were born, married and died, and these events were recorded ... church records, diaries, court records, land deeds and contemporary histories give us a window through which to witness the past" (Deetz 1977:7). Although this documentary window can never claim to be fully representative of the past, it does offer the historical archaeologist a wealth of empirical data to supplement and complement the archaeological material culture record.

Of all the sets of documents available to the archaeologist, one of the most important must surely be the probate records. These documents are lists of the contents of houses, and any other property owned by any person at the Cape who either died intestate, or who left heirs who were minors or who lived abroad. A complete inventory of such a person's property was therefore taken, to facilitate the equitable division and handling of the estate.

The inventories, housed at the National Archives in Cape town, were drawn up by the Orphan Chamber, a board formed in 1673, specifically to administer these deceased estates. They were recorded between 1673 and 1834 and are bound in 48 volumes, referenced by the prefix MOOC 8, which is the Cape Archives reference for the Archives of the Master of the Supreme Court (Cape of Good Hope). These volumes are, however, not properly indexed or in strict chronological order, which makes finding individual or specific inventories a difficult and time-consuming procedure.

The value of these documents to the archaeologist, however, is twofold. As complete and faithful listings of everyday household goods as they occur in houses they are of inestimable worth to the archaeologist. They provide him or her with comprehensive lists of the commonplace material culture, that seldom survives in anything more than the most fragmentary of states in archaeological sites, and is virtually unrepresented in museum collections (Deetz 1977; Malan 1986).

Beyond this, "the terms used in inventories are those used by the people themselves, and as such constitute ... a folk taxonomy," which is important for the further glimpse it offers us of the nature of the culture at work behind the objects. The second value of inventories is one that has been exploited by both Deetz et al (1987) and Malan (1986), and has its application in the reconstruction of both architecture and past lifeways.

By and large, inventories were taken on a room-by-room basis. As a result they are assumed to "faithfully reflect the layout of the rooms and their relationships to one another" (Malan 1986:56). Even if, in most inventories, rooms are not named according to their function, but rather in terms of their position in the house - such as left or right, front or back - this nevertheless enables an archeologist, working with the physical remains of a house, to figure out from the documents, the physical form and extent of the building, perhaps now only represented by foundations, while the names of those goods found in any one room will tend to make its nature and use obvious (Malan 1986). Finally, a consideration of the listed contents of each room will show the distribution within a house of items of material culture, particularly items of conspicuous display, and what this reveals of the social dynamics and relationships at play both within the house, and between the occupants of the house and the world at large (Deetz 1977, 1987; Malan 1986).

In his analysis of the vernacular architecture of an area of Middle Virginia, Henry Glassie chose not to use such documents, because of their paucity; a result of the majority of them having been destroyed when Richmond was put to the torch during the American Civil War (Deetz, personal communication). The method he adopted in his study was therefore partly a response to this situation. He found himself dealing with an assemblage of material culture which was, because of the lack of the documentary portion of the historical record, essentially the same as a prehistoric assemblage. In my case, however, the documentary records for the Cape do still exist, and therefore, where applicable, should be used in my study.

The process of tracing inventories which represent probably the most culturally rich set of documents, is, as I have already said, convoluted and time-consuming, involving prior reference to a number of other sets of documents. In order to find the relevant inventories, one first has to know who was living where and when. Once this has been established, the next step is to find out when these people died. Only then can one turn to the MOOC 8 volumes in the hope of finding a set of inventories for a particular area.

To discover, then, who was on which farm, and when, the researcher is obliged to make extensive use of a set of documents, known as Loan Place Records. A loan place was a rented farm, and will be described in greater detail later. Suffice it here to say, this system of land tenure was in existence for most of the eighteenth century, and the records of the loans are to be found in a series of volumes called the Oude Wildschutte Boeke. (See Figure 7)

The volumes are referenced by either the letters SG, short for "Surveyor-General", or by the newer abbreviation RLR, indicating "Receiver of Land Revenue", followed by the volume and page number. Indexing by farm names, or by people's names, both of which are spelt in a variety of ways, makes tracing these allocations a difficult task.

The most satisfactory method of gaining an entre to the loan place records was, I found, to first visit the Cape Town Deeds Office and consult the original Quitrent allocations of farms in my area. This system, introduced by the new British administration at the Cape in 1795, replaced the loan place system, and as a result each quitrent document has recorded on it the name of the original loan place it superseded (See Appendix B).

werd door deesen Gepermitteerde
 Huyden den 23. Octob. van Juff: Anna de Coninck hooft wylten van oud Cap
 1731 wed. deese nevens Olof Bergh, omme nog vroeden tyd van een geheel
 staande ordonn. volgens
 permissie van den Gouveneur met haer mee te mogen blijven leggen en wegden
 huer gouverneur nog voor
 Dertyd van een gelick - boren de proquet bergen en aan goeraap, milt
 jaer gepaal ongeest
 J. P. Aphenius
 aldaar in hand leggende in t boeren met hinderlyk ten
 syn nog selgen geen consequentie te hebben gebouwen
 Huyden den 10. octob.
 1731 wed. deese nevens
 staande ordonn. Valgent
 veelvoud permissie van
 van Edelen heer van Gouveneur
 nog voor een geheel jaer
 te continueerd milt
 van d. te betalen deese te moeten later vernieuwen op weene dat by sijn
 Gebiecht
 J. P. Aphenius
 te van d. sal overvallen sijn in sodanige boeten etc.
 Huyden den 3. Octob. 1733 werd
 deese nevens staande
 de ordonn. volgens aldaar te oijste boeren ten deesen Castel van de
 permissie van den
 Edelen heer van heet ofte d. Comp. te moeten op brengen, ende
 weeneit nog voor
 den tyd van een droevens aan den Landdroet over te geresen en by d. d.
 geel jaer geprofer
 geest
 dees boeren plaats boerden mag te worden
 J. P. Balravens
 te na an de geene sloof te leggen sal deselce
 Huyden den 13. sept. 1734 werd
 nevens staande ordonnantie
 aan den Landdroet
 Mijel legns voor den
 tyd van een geheel jaer
 te contin. sijn
 gebiecht van m.
 J. P. Aphenius
 margine / vol daas / geteek / C. Grand / can
 ge / gebiecht
 C. H. Sommers

FIGURE 7 : ALLOCATION OF THE LOAN FARM GOERGAP TO CAPT. OLOF BERGH, 1730 (RLR 9/1:65)

Armed with these, the original names, it was far easier to find the loan place references for each farm, although a good dose of imagination was sometimes required when tracing obscure names with a plethora of spellings.

To attempt a comprehensive synthesis here of the results of my loan place search is not feasible, especially since each loan place entry I found is detailed in Appendix A and can be referenced there. I will therefore just give an outline here of the most pertinent details as they apply to this study.

The earliest allocations of loan farms I have been able to trace in the Verlorenvlei area are dated to 1730 and 1731. In those two years no fewer than 13 farms were granted on loan in this area. ¹

According to Botha (1926) and Smith (1985), however, these were by no means the earliest allocations. Smith (1985) claims that the loan place "Goergap" was given to Olof Bergh as early as 1715, and that "aan de verlore valley agter de piquet berg", the present farm Wittedrift, was thrice occupied before its allocation to Johannes Hendrik Blankenberg on 27.12.1730. ² He claims the earliest occupant to have been one Hendrik Moel (Muhl), who used the land between 1720 and 1724, after which the widow of Klaas Meijboom and then one of her sons, Johannes, each held the farm for two years. Smith (1985) however produces no archival references of any sort to substantiate these claims. Botha (1926) too makes an unsubstantiated assertion with reference to the earliest, undated allocation of the loan place "in de Verloorne Valley aan de Zeekant tussen de Piquet Bergen en de Oliphants rivier", which is represented by the present farm Roode Verloren Vlei. The record of this loan to Nicolaas Brommert, is undated ³. Botha (1926), however, ascribes a date of 1723 to the loan, but provides no proof of the veracity of this statement.

These claims, although unsubstantiated, should, however, not merely be dismissed. In the course of my research, I came across a loan place record, also cited, but again not referenced by Smith (1985), which referred to the allocation of "aan de Piketburg in 't Kleigat of aan Sonquas Kloof" the modern Kleigat, a farm on the southern edge of my research area (See Figure 2), to Willem ten Dammme, the Company Chief Surgeon, on 9 March 1709. ⁴ This, together with the early allocations cited by Smith (1985) and Botha (1926), seems to suggest that the Verlorenvlei area was already being exploited by White graziers by as early as the end of the first decade of the 18th century,

having been traversed by numerous parties of hunters and travellers since the late 17th century.

It is sufficient here merely to establish the fact that loan farms were being given out in this area at least twenty years earlier than the first allocations I was able to trace. Perhaps the major reason for this gap in the record is the bad preservation of many of the earliest loan place records, some of which are only represented by fragments of the original documents.

After the 1730's, however, most of the farms in my area were held in a nearly continuous series of loans (See Appendix A), until the 1790's when the quitrent system of land tenure was introduced. I was able to establish for my area, therefore, a sequence of names and dates that spans two thirds of the 18th century, a source of data not only useful in its own right, but vital to the tracing of death notes and inventories.

Extensive reference to the "Geslagsregister van die ou Kaapse families", compiled by De Villiers and Pama (1966) was my next step. These three volumes contain comprehensive genealogies of most early Cape families, and were particularly useful in aiding me in a search for the names of the spouses of those represented in the loan place records. In some cases De Villiers and Pama (1966) also provided the date of an individual's demise, but this was more the exception than the rule for my sample.

I was therefore obliged to turn to the death notices, also housed at the National Archives and accessioned by the prefix MOOC 6. All deaths were, theoretically, recorded in these volumes in chronological order by month and year. Once again, however, as in the case of the loan place records, the archival card index system is far from complete, which greatly hampers the researcher's ability to find the relevant references. Common, much used names, with no consistency in their spelling only made the task of deciding on which reference was the correct one that much more difficult.

Of the total number of 105 names in my sample, it was possible to find death notices for only 27 people (See Appendix C). Whether this is because the original death notices were not scrupulously maintained, perhaps due to the size of the colony and the extreme physical isolation of many areas from the centre of the Company bureaucracy in Cape Town, which made effective

administration impossible, or because the modern archival index is not complete, the result is the same for the scholar: an incomplete sample.

In total, these relatively few names, some dates gleaned from De Villiers and Pama (1960) and Smith (1985), and a few informed guesses on my part, based on data available in the loan place records, gave me a sample of approximately 44 names for which inventories potentially existed.

Although the inventories are listed largely chronologically and have a form of index, a safety precaution one should adopt while searching for them, is to also consult the volume on either side of the one in which a particular inventory should, theoretically, be found. Having consulted all the necessary volumes I came away with a mere 8 inventories (See Appendix C).

Although these inventories all have a link with my research area, in that each represents a person who at one time or another held one of the farms in the Verlorenvlei and Lange Vlei valleys on loan, not all of even this small number were of any use to me.

Elisabeth Loret, the wife of Daniel Bocklenberg died on 22.10.1760 in Waveren. ⁵ Her estate was inventoried ⁶ but is of no use to me because her husband had vacated "aan de twee kuiylen agter de picquet bergh" nine years earlier on 16.12.1751. ⁷

The same applies to Johannes Hendrik Blanckenberg and his wife, Anna Margaretha van der Heyden, who died within four months of each other; in February and June 1773 respectively. ⁸ Blanckenberg held three Verlorenvlei loan places. He took out "aan de verlore valley agter de piquet berg" (Wittedrift) on 27.12.1730. ⁹ The next year he applied for "aan de Modder Fontain gelegen in de Verloorene Valley" on the 19th of September, ¹⁰ and "aan de Verloorne Valleij gent. de Kruijsfontein" (Kruisfontein) two months later on 22 November. ¹¹ He vacated "aan de Modder Fontain" in 1741, ¹² but continued to use Kruisfontein and Wittedrift until 1750 and 1752 ¹³ respectively, at which time he appears to have abandoned all his interests in this area, a full twenty years before his death.

In the case of Gideon van Zyl, Pietersz, who was given the loan place "aan de Verlore valley agter de Picquet Berg" (Wittedrift) on 6 September 1770, ¹⁴ an

inventory was taken of his first wife's estate. She however, died on 1779 ¹⁵ and he had remarried, to Catharina Johanna Kriel (De Villiers and Pama 1966), by the time he took Wittedrift out on loan.

Finally, the estates of both Jurgen Hanekom and Jochem Koekemoer were inventoried, ¹⁶ but both these men had already vacated the farms they had held, ¹⁷ by the time they died.

There were, therefore, only two inventories, that I was able to find, with direct relevance to my research area during the 18th century. The first, is that of the deceased estate of Huibrecht Slabbert, ¹⁸ wife of Gerrit Cloete, Jacobsz (See Appendix D), who held the loan farms, "aan de verloore valley genaamt de groote drift" (Groote Drift) between 1745 and 1770 ¹⁹ "in die Verloorne Valley aan de Zeekant tussen de Piquet Bergen en de Oliphants river" (Roode Verloren Vlei) between 1742 and 1763 ²⁰ and "aan de Hoek van de Verloore Valley" between 1753 and 1763. ²¹

The inventory makes reference to four farms, each of which has an opstal, a Dutch, and now Afrikaans word for a farm building. Two of these farms are Roode Verloren Vlei and Groote Drift, but neither appears to represent the farm on which Cloete and his family lived, which was probably "aan de blaauwe berg gent. de Oliftantsberg" ²² (See Appendix D). The listed estate, at least as far as household goods go, therefore probably applies to this latter farm, although it would be impossible to tell if any goods from the other farms are included in the list.

The second inventory is that of Gerrit Hendrik Meyer, Jansz who died on 24 November 1774 in Waveren ²³, leaving a wife, Josina Elisabeth de Wet and three children ²⁴ (See Appendix D). Meyer held three loan places in the Lange Vlei valley the first of which, "agter de Picquet berg in de Lange Valley" was granted to him 1763. ²⁵ He subsequently also took out both "agter de Picquet berg aan de Modder fonteyn" (Modderfontein) ²⁶ and "agter de Picquet berg genaamd Brandenburg" (Brandenburg) ²⁷ on 9 May 1764.

The inventory lists all three of these loan places, as well as another situated "aan de Sagte Valleij" ²⁸. This latter farm is probably the one to which reference is made in the inventory as "Zynde den Weduwe woonagtig op een Plaats in 't Land van Waveren gelegen ²⁹". The inventory goes on to say that

because Meyer's widow lived in Waveren, or the area around present-day Tulbagh, permission to inventory the properties in the Lange Vlei had to be obtained from her mother, the widow of Jacobus de Wet, who must obviously have lived in the vicinity, perhaps even on one of the said farms.

Three comprehensive lists of household goods follow, the last of which is positively identified as representing "in de Lange Valley ³⁰". Another is labelled, "Een Opstal", but is not specifically named. The third probably represents Meyer's farm in Waveren, as it is labelled "Op de Woonplaats" (lit. on the Home farm). Judging from the number of goods listed and the fact that this list includes 35 slaves, it would appear to represent a permanent, well-established and rich farm, and not a semi-permanent, stock post such as is represented by the inventory of the Lange Vallei opstal.

In the light of all of the above, therefore, it would seem that my position as regards the documentary half of the historical record is not significantly different from Glassie's. Granted, I do have a large corpus of information he lacks, such as deed, quitrent grants, loan place records, and death notices. What all of these data actually detail, though, is the demography of the area I now know a lot about names, place and dates, but still very little about the people they refer to. The inventories, which would have allowed such a glimpse of past realities, by their recording of such aspects of material culture as its use and position within the context of social and cultural interaction, as discussed above, are so marginally represented for my area as to be virtually invisible.

Thus, like Glassie, the route I must take to gain an understanding of the past culture of the Verloren Vlei area lies in an analysis of an aspect of material culture, and again like him, I have chosen to study the houses these people built and lived in.

FOOTNOTES :

1. RLR 9/1: 11 : Bonteheuwel on 01.09.1730
 RLR 9/1: 65 : Goergap on 09.10.1730
 RLR 9/2:441 : Krommeriviers Valley on 18.06.1731
 RLR 9/1:149 : Tweekuilen on 16.11.1730
 RLR 9/3:589 : Kruisfontein on 22.11.1731
 RLR 9/1:221 : Wittedrift on 27.12.1730
 RLR 9/2:505 : Roode Verloren Vlei on 23.07.1731
 RLR 9/2:409 : "aan de hoek van de Verloorne Valley" on 01.05.1731
 RLR 9/3:563 : "aan de Modder Fontein" on 19.09.1731
 RLR 9/3:569 : "aan de Sant Fonteyn in de Verloorne Valley" on 17.10.1731
 RLR 9/1:165 : Brandwacht on 22.11.1730
 RLR 9/1: 7 : Modderfontein on 01.12.1730
 RLR 9/1:185 : "agter de Piquet berg in de Lange Valley" on 29.11.1730
2. RLR 9/1:221 and RLR 38:91
3. RLR 10:228
4. RLR 1:204
5. MOOC 6/1:V1:14
6. MOOC 8/10:7 and 7:5
7. RLR 12/1:111
8. MOOC 8/14:59
 MOOC 8/14:60
9. RLR 9/1:221
10. RLR 9/3:563
11. RLR 9/3:589
12. RLR 9/3:563
13. RLR 9/3:589
 RLR 9/1:221
14. RLR 36/2:487
15. MOOC 8/16:60

16. MOOC 8/7:65
MOOC 8/14:47
17. RLR 9/1:7
RLR 13:433
18. MOOC 8/6:121
19. RLR 11/1:193
20. RLR 10/2:389
21. RLR 13:553
22. MOOC 8/6:121
23. MOOC 6/1:119
24. MOOC 8/15:34
25. RLR 18/1:259
26. RLR 18/1:261
27. RLR 18/1:263
28. MOOC 8/15:34
29. *ibid*
30. RLR 18/1:259

Chapter

Six

"Any serious study of culture must confront the goals of full, complex observation and powerful, simple conceptualization" (Glassie 1975:14). I feel it necessary, therefore, before attempting to create a "grammar" for Sandveld vernacular architecture, to give a short physical description of each of the houses in my sample, as this will provide a firm base of empirical data from which to attempt to account for the mental rules that governed their creation.

As I mentioned earlier, each house in my sample of 41 was exhaustively measured and recorded. Measurements of the internal and external dimensions of each building were taken, these including door and window width and placement, chimney width and depth, room size, and the internal and external wall width. This data was then translated into a groundplan for each house. Comprehensive external measurements of door and window size, wall, gable and roof height, as well as chimney configuration and height were taken, and whilst elevational drawings were produced in the majority of cases, there are a few exceptions which are due to the fact that my access to some of the houses was limited. These drawings are included in this chapter.

All of the measurements were taken in feet, as I decided that the houses were not likely to have been built using modern metric units of measurement. Although the houses were probably originally built according to the old

Rhynland or Cape measures, the closest modern equivalent available is the English foot, which relates to the Cape foot in a ratio of 1 Cape foot : 1.033 English feet (Hendrikz 1944; Property and Survey 1969). While a small discrepancy between these two units does exist therefore, it is not serious enough to compromise the accuracy of measurements in houses which are, in their physical form, quite uneven and rough. The scale in which the measured groundplans and elevations are drawn therefore, is English feet.

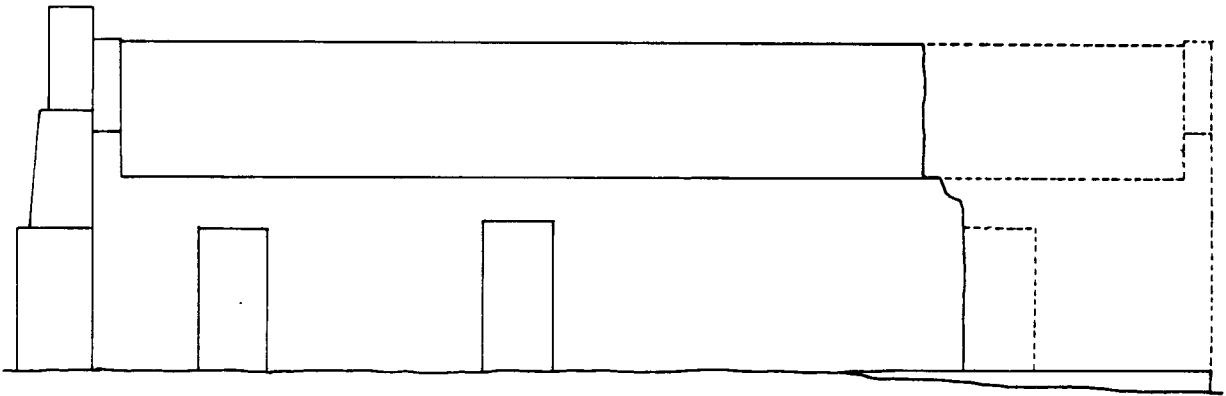
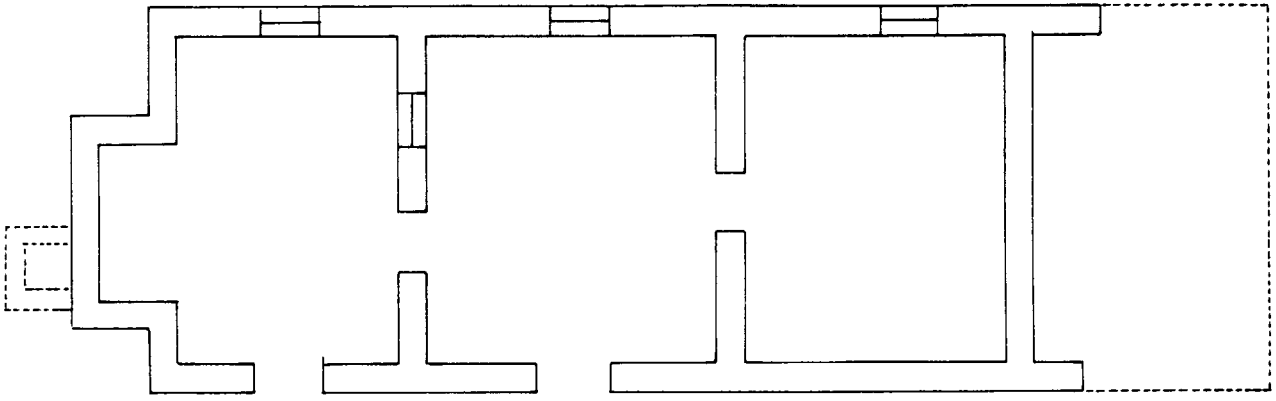
Besides its measurements, the physical details of each building were recorded: such as the materials from which it was constructed and the methods of construction used; the type and number of its windows and doors; its present physical and structural condition; its geographical location and aspect; and as much first-hand historical data about its age, former occupants, present occupants and/or owner, and general history as I could glean. All of this information was noted down, and forms the basis for the house by house descriptions that follow below.

A final point to mention in connection with the sample concerns the reference system I have used. Each house was given a prefix, VV88, which stands for Verlorenvlei and the year, then assigned a number, based simply on the order in which the buildings were measured. This is followed by the name of the settlement or farm of which the house was a part, eg V88/11 Het Kruis.

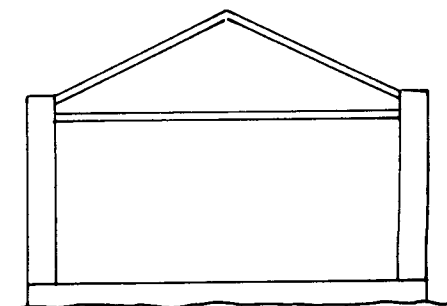
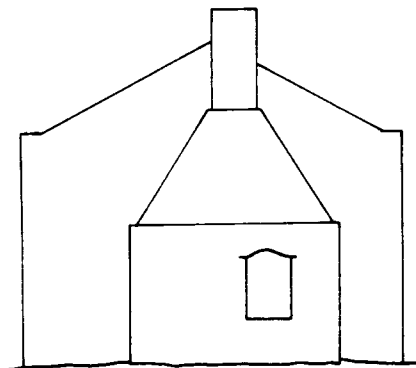
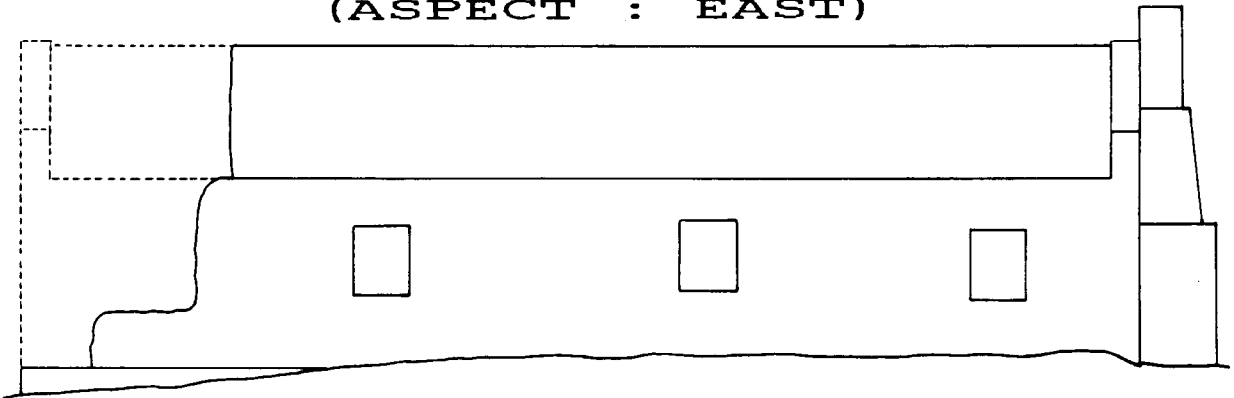
* VV88/1 : SANDFONTEIN (FIGURE 8)

Situated on the farm Krommeriviers Valley and owned by a Mr Tredouw, this house forms part of a now abandoned farming settlement. It is a four-roomed building built of mudbrick, although the chimney and its associated gable are built of fired red brick. Structurally the house is in a very poor condition. The room farthest from the chimney has been demolished, while the walls of the remainder of the house are melting, due to the fact that a large part of the roof has collapsed. This house is an example of the common local "langhuis" (literally, long-house) house form, which will be accounted for in the next chapter.

FIGURE 8



VV 88/1 : SANDFONTEIN
(ASPECT : EAST)



* VV88/2 : WITTEDRIFT (FIGURE 9)

When it was recorded this house was occupied by a labourer's family, but has since been abandoned. Built of mudbrick, the walls are quite sound except that they have had to be buttressed where they are collapsing outwards at the rear of the house. The roof, which is hipped at both ends, is old and rotten and beginning to give way in the middle. The house does not have a chimney, so cooking is done either out of doors, or over an open fire in the centre of the floor of the first room.

* VV 88/3 : SWARTFONTEIN 1 (FIGURE 10)

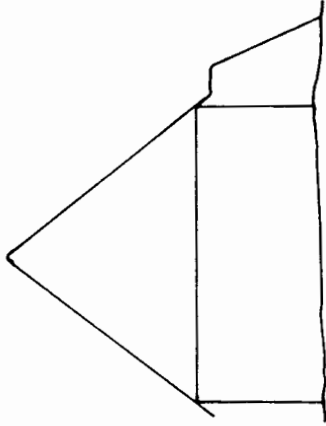
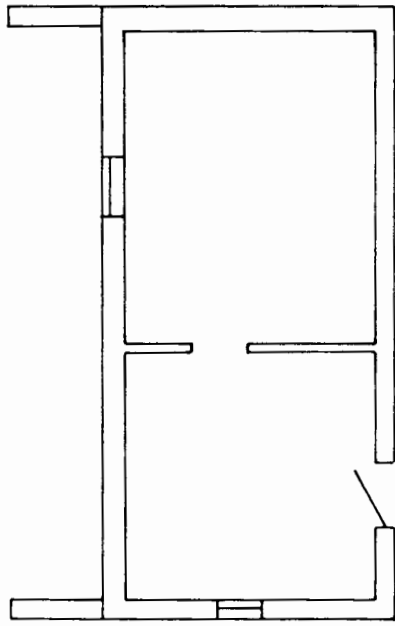
This two roomed house is unusual in that each room has an external doorway. Still occupied when it was recorded, it was not possible to get into this house, so the internal dimensions were approximated. Aside from the fact that much of the plaster is missing from the walls, and that a large section of the roof is covered by plastic, the house is in a reasonably good condition.

* VV88/4 : SWARTFONTEIN 2 (FIGURE 11)

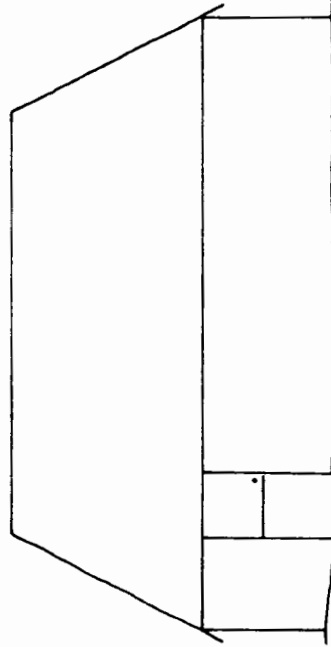
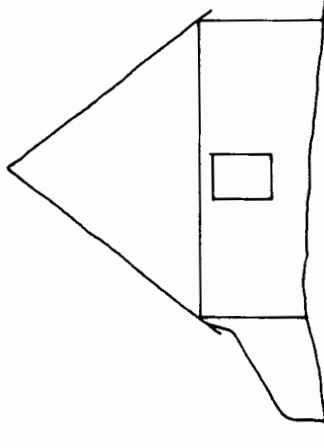
This house represents the first of three reed houses, locally known as "hardbieshuise", in the sample. It is a two-roomed dwelling constructed of a framework of poles which is then thatched on all sides with reeds and grass. The building has a single external door and one tiny window in each room. The wall between the rooms consists of a divider made of reeds lashed together. The thatch and reed are old and very dry, and the whole building is leaning to one side.

* VV88/5 : SWARTFONTEIN 3 (FIGURE 12)

The second hardbieshuis, this house is identical in configuration to VV88/4, but is in far better condition. Its internal room divider consists of sheets of corrugated iron. Both of these hardbieshuise have dirt floors and an open fireplace in the centre of the first room.



VV 88/2 : WITTEDRIJFT



(ASPECT : SOUTH)

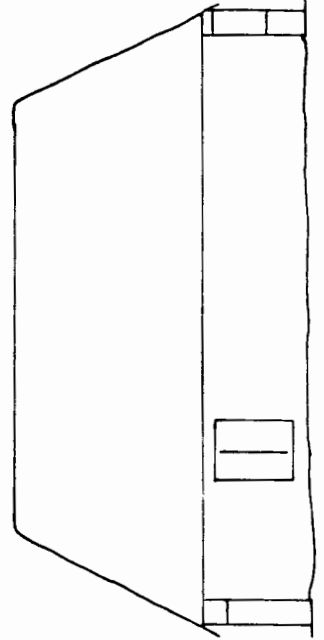


FIGURE 9

VV 88/3 : SWARTFONTEIN 1
(ASPECT : SOUTH EAST)

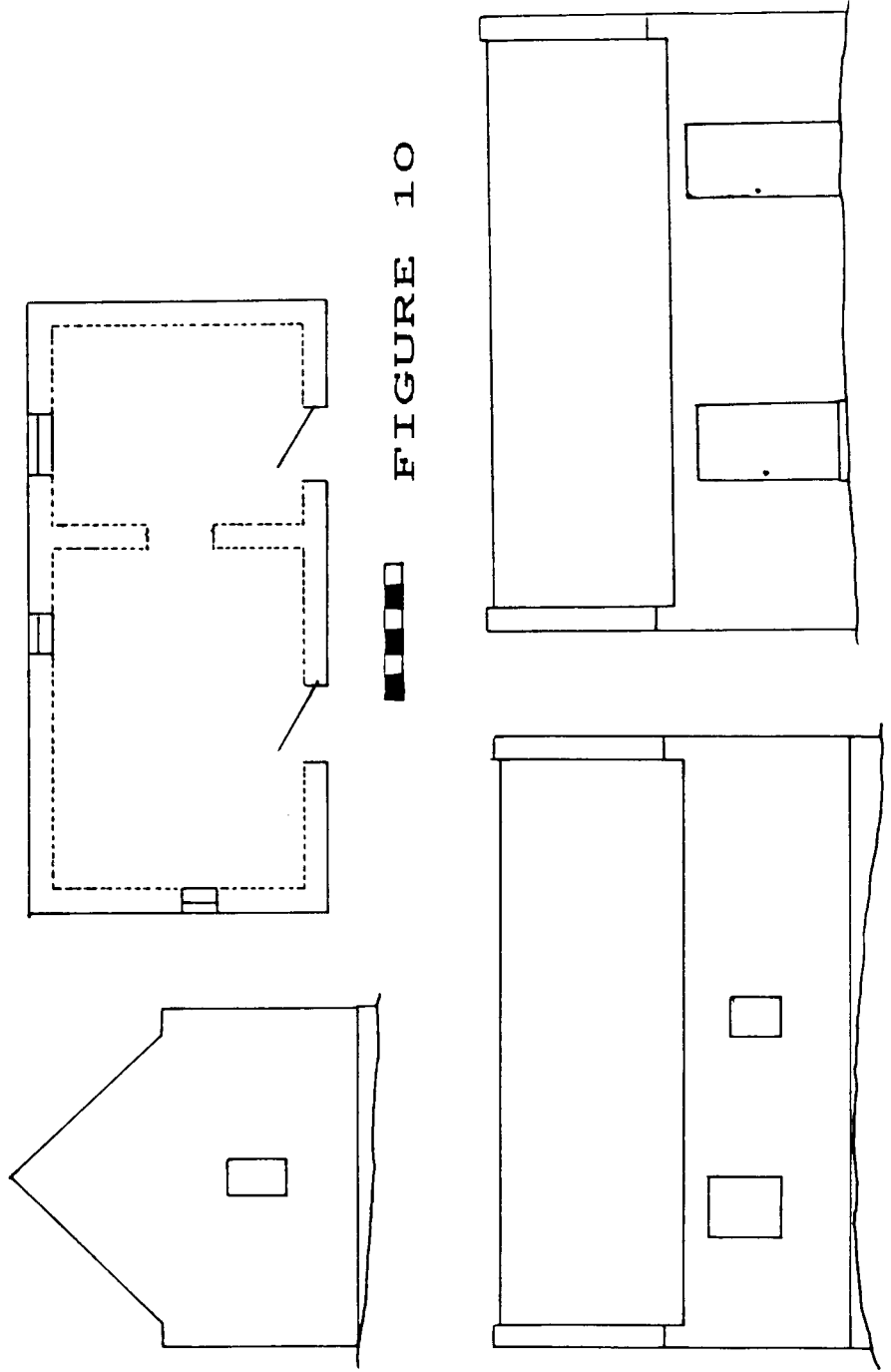


FIGURE 10

FIGURE 11

VV 88/4 : SWARTFONTEIN 2

(ASPECT : SOUTH EAST)

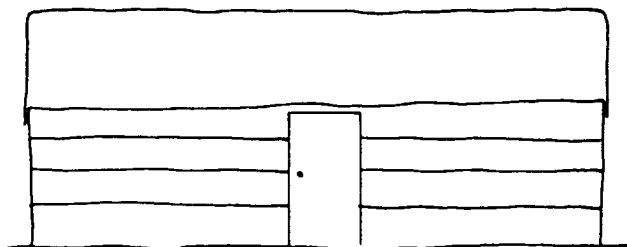
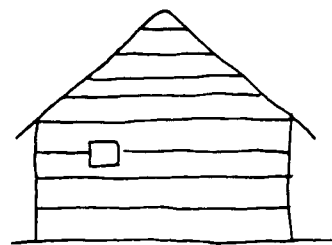
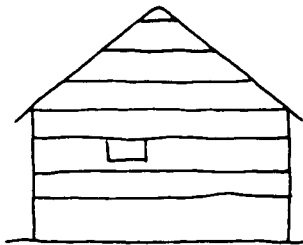
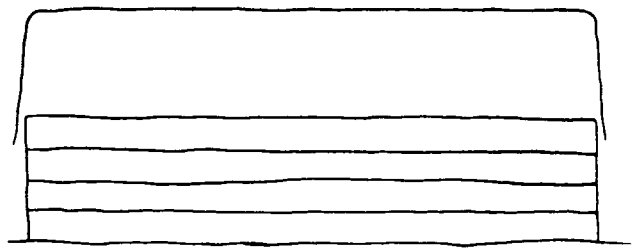
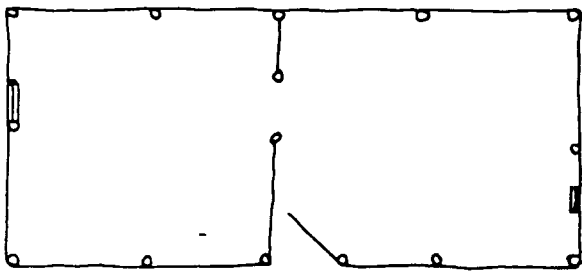
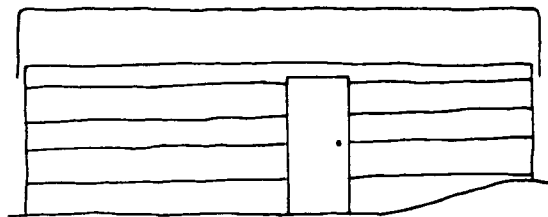
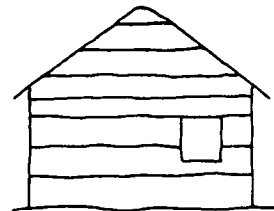
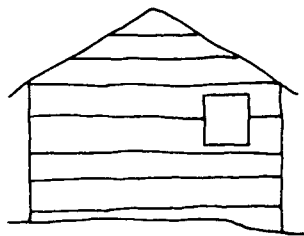
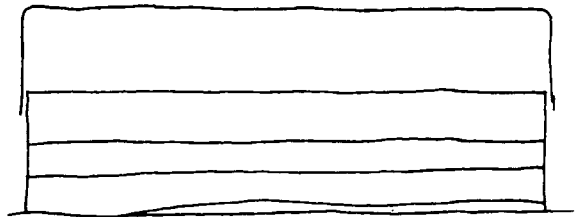
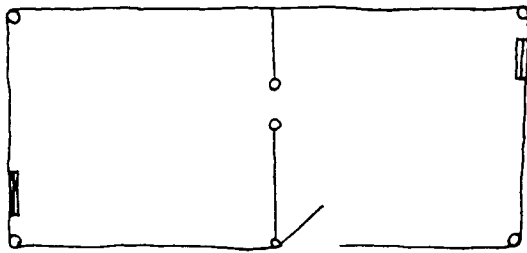


FIGURE 12

VV 88/5 : SWARTFONTEIN 3

(ASPECT : EAST)



* VV88/6 : SWARTFONTEIN 4 (FIGURE 13)

A three-roomed dwelling, this house consists of two interleading rooms to which a third, with its own external doorway, has later been added. The end of the roof over the addition is fully hipped, whilst the other end is gabled. Unusually, the main doorway is situated in the end wall of the building. In a fairly good condition, this house is still occupied.

* VV88/7 : SWARTFONTEIN 5 (FIGURE 14)

Although still occupied this house is in a terrible structural condition. Apart from the fact that the loss of their whitewash and plaster has meant that the mudbrick walls have begun to dissolve, these walls are collapsing outwards and have had to be propped up with wooden beams. This house is not safe to be lived in. It is a four-roomed langhuis with an internal chimney and attached bread oven. It has another structure associated with it, which was originally two-roomed, with a chimney, although only one room and the foundations of the kitchen now remain. This second house is joined to the main house by a small, quite recent flat-roofed connecting room. The langhuis has a reed ceiling, or "brandzolder", in its three main rooms.

According to Mrs Slabber, the woman who lives in the house together with her family, this was the first house on this part of the farm, and until relatively recently had been occupied by a farmer's family.

* VV88/8 : WOLFHUIS 1 (FIGURES 15 AND 16)

This double-room depth house is the result of the later addition of three rooms, one of them containing a chimney, parallel to the earlier house. The original three-roomed structure consists of a large room, complete with a brandzolder, and two separate, smaller rooms. These two rooms have no ceiling, but a bricked-up door in the southern gable suggests they may once have had a loft. The physical state of this building is poor. The walls are melting and have had to be heavily buttressed, and only the modern corrugated iron roof on the later part of the house is still intact.

VV 88/6 : SWARTFONTEIN 4

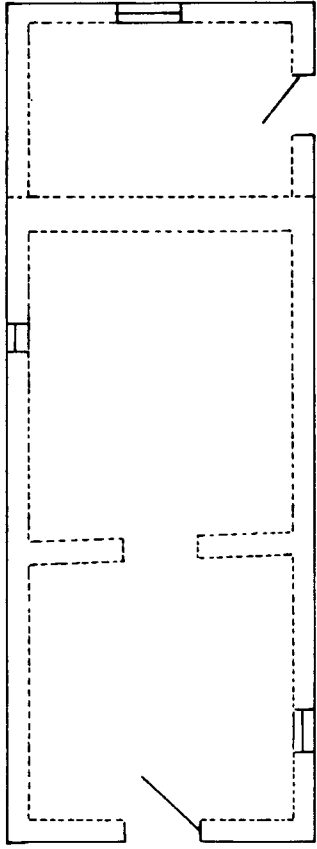
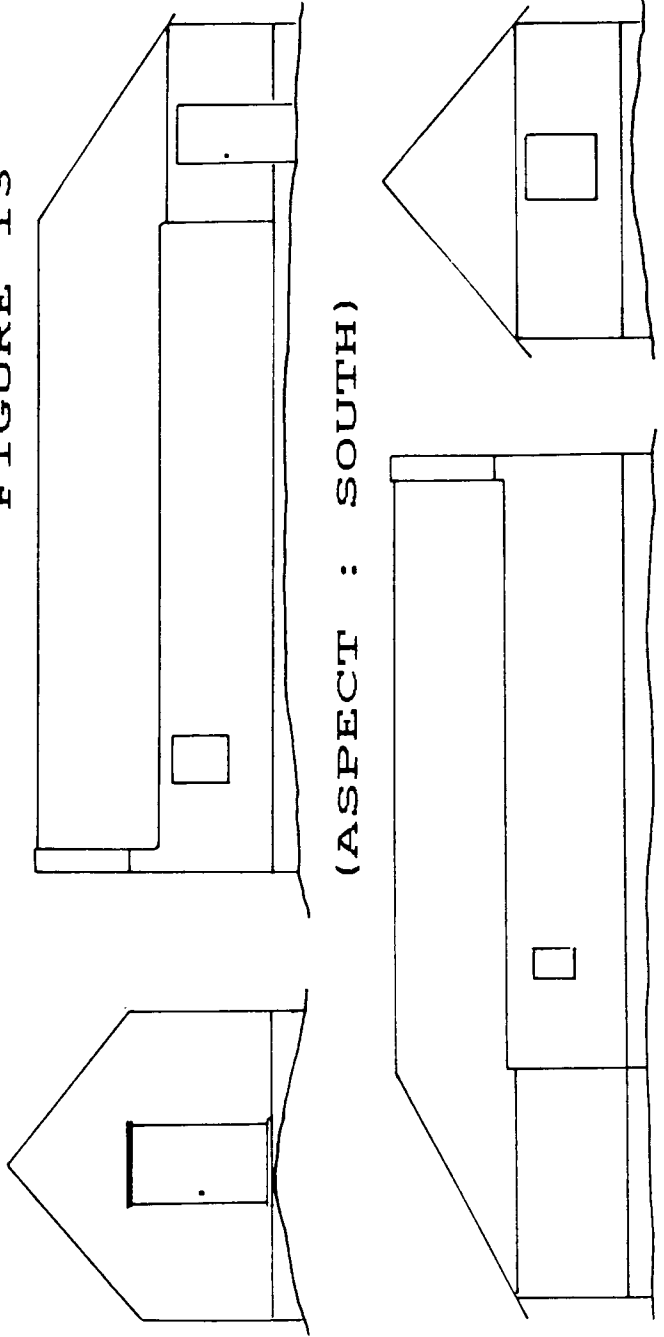
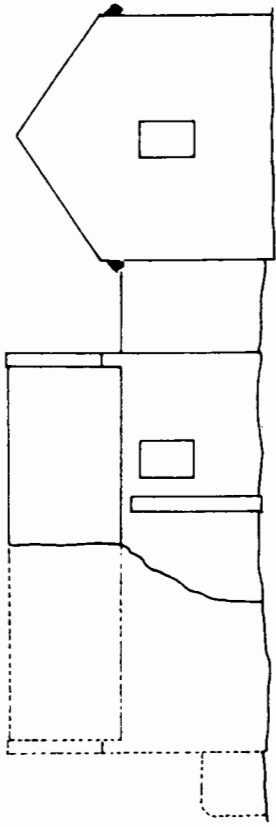


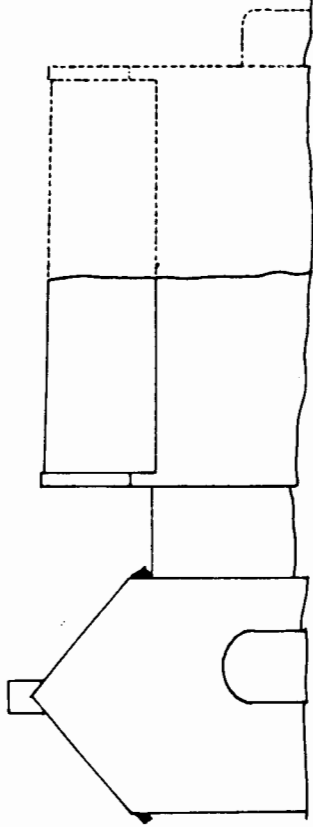
FIGURE 13



(ASPECT : SOUTH)



VV 88/7 : SWARTFONTEIN 5



(ASPECT : S S EAST)

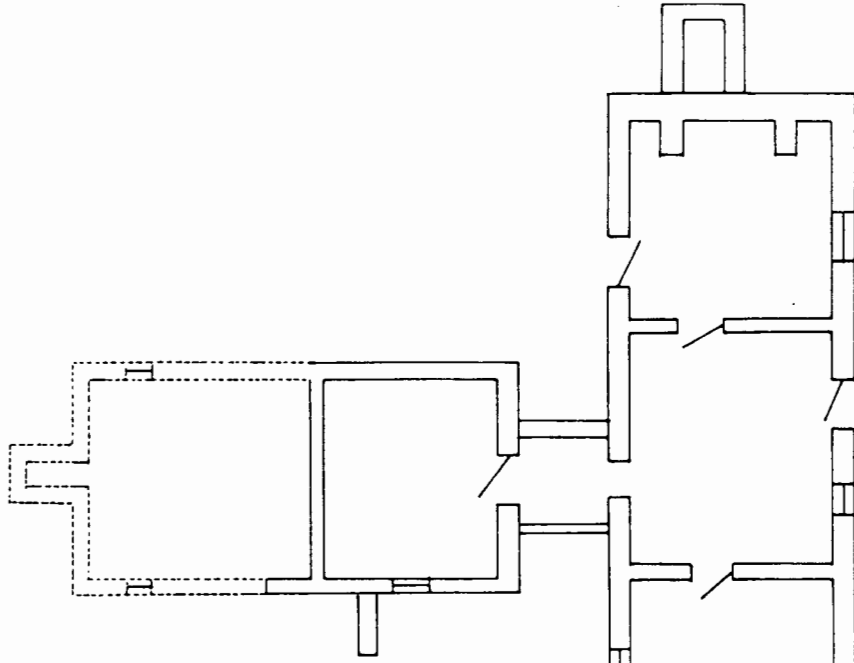
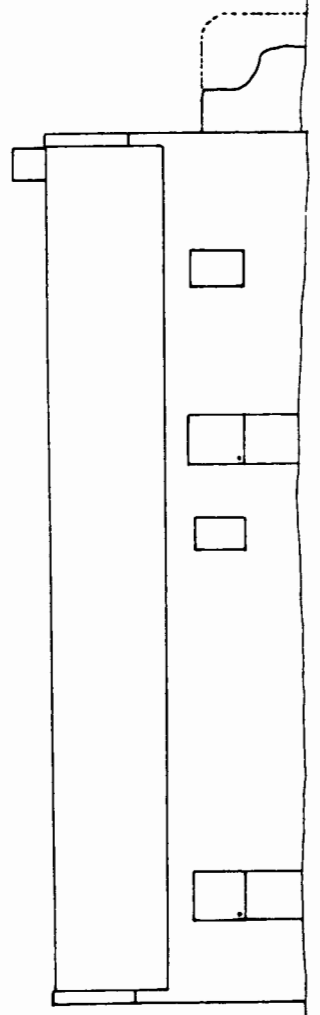
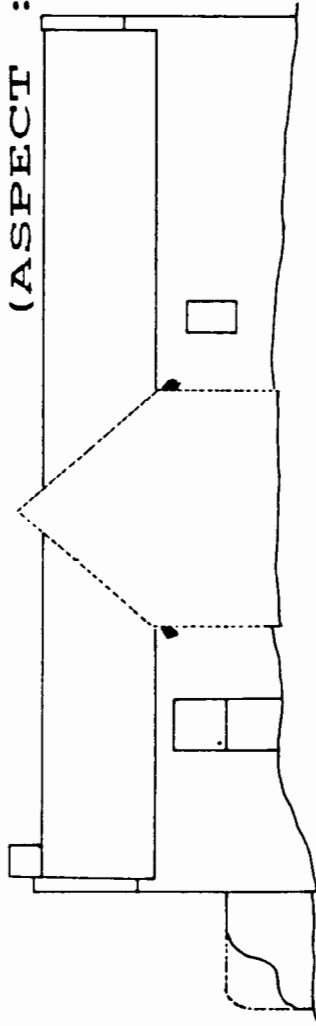
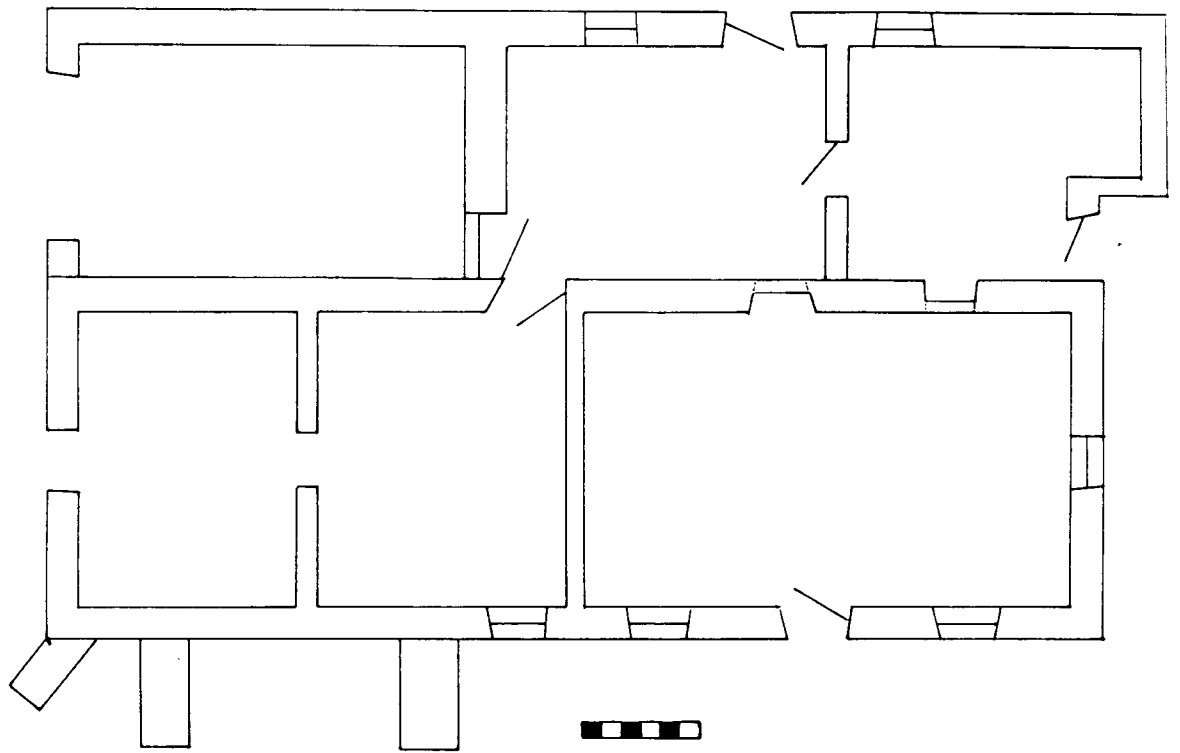
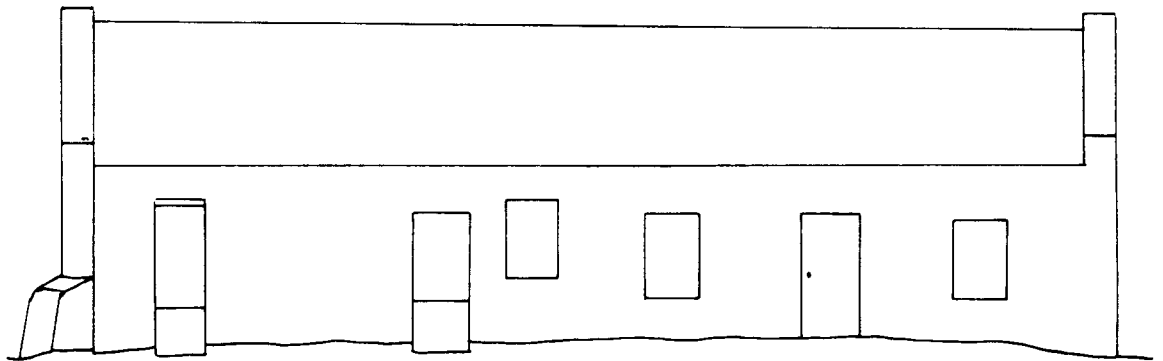


FIGURE 14





VV 88/8 : WOLFHUIS 1



(ASPECT : EAST)

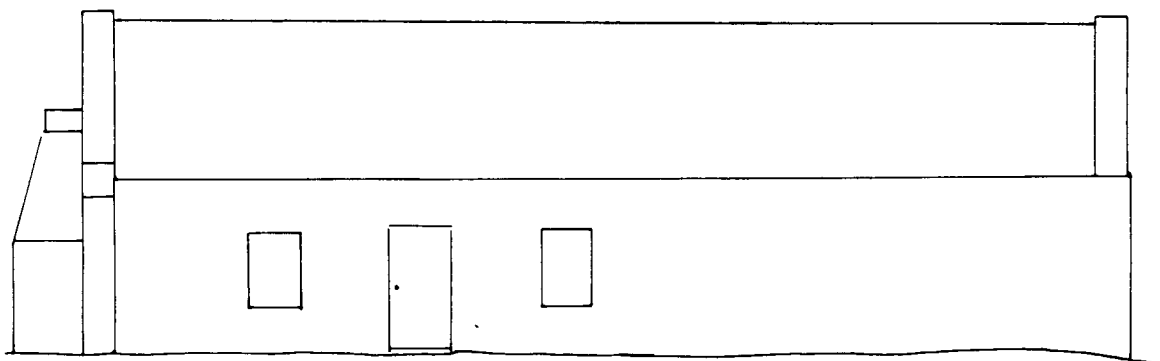


FIGURE 15

VV 88/8

WOLFHUIS 1

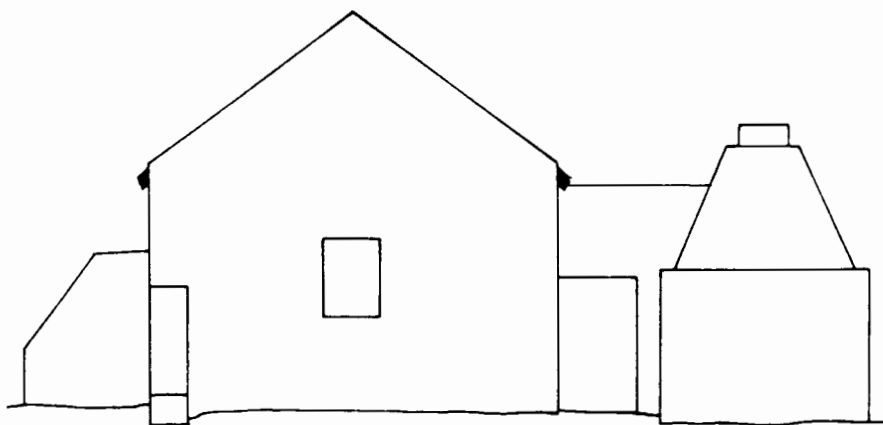
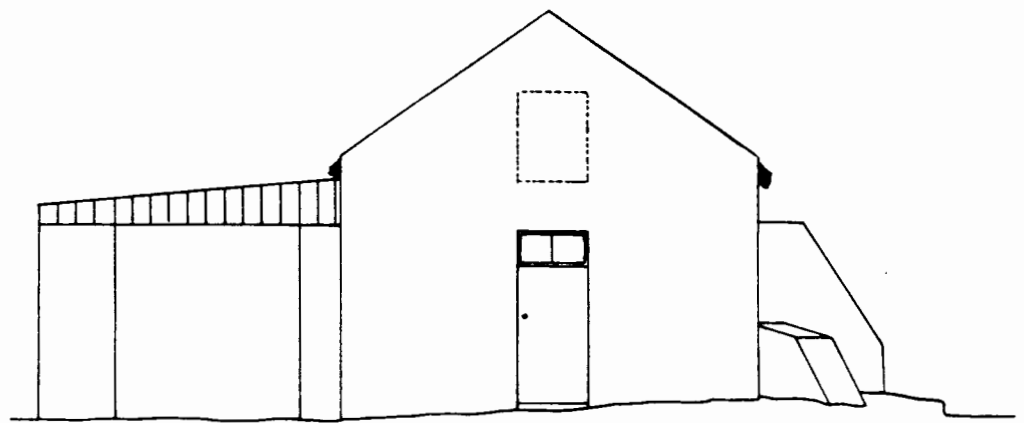


FIGURE 16

* VV88/9 : WOLFHUIS 2 (FIGURE 17)

This house is a three-roomed langhuis, to which has been added a later inter-connected room. There is a clear wall break between the two components of the house, and a step down between the old and the new elements. The building material also differs, the newer section built of mud-brick, whilst the walls of the original house were built of mud and clay mortared stone, topped by only three or four courses of mudbrick. The house is generally in a good condition, except that the end gable of the later addition is leaning outwards and is in danger of imminent collapse. (See Figure 4)

* VV88/10 : WADRIF (FIGURE 18)

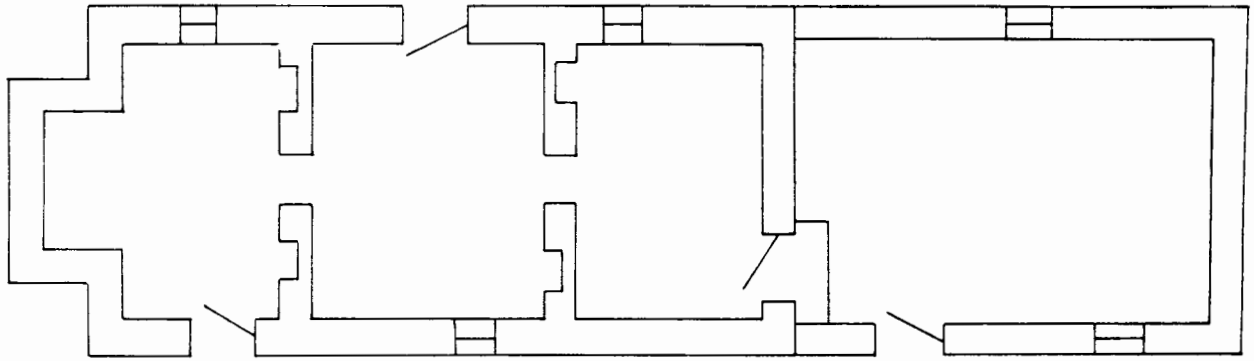
This, the third hardbieshuis, is a far more substantial structure than are the other two. Low walls are topped by a high, steeply pitched roof which is hipped at both ends. Thatched with reeds and grass, the inside of the walls of this house have been plastered with clay and whitewashed. Built about 40 years ago, this house has been kept in good repair and is, according to its former occupants, cool in summer, warm in winter and totally impervious to rain. (See Figure 54)

* VV88/11 : HET KRUIS (FIGURE 19)

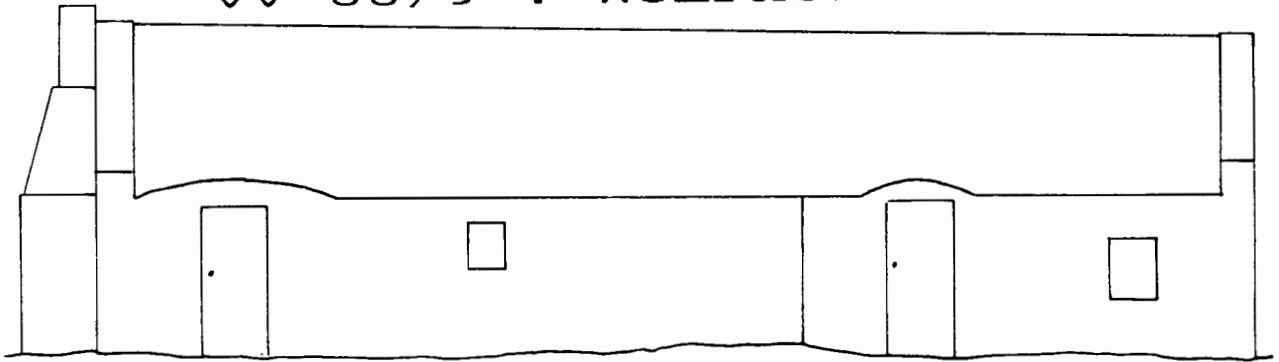
This typical langhuis consists of five rooms, the last two of which are possibly later additions. The end of the roof furthest from the chimney is fully hipped. In a fair condition, this house is, according to its owner, Mrs Koegenlenberg, the oldest on the farm.

* VV88/12 : VERLOREN VLEI 1 (FIGURE 20)

Rented from Mr Theunis Smit, whose parents occupied it until \pm 1960, this house is used as a field station by the University of Cape Town Department of Archaeology. It consists of three interleading rooms and one outside room, although as evidenced by the clear wall breaks on the southern wall it probably originally consisted of only two rooms.



VV 88/9 : WOLFHUIS 2



(ASPECT : EAST)

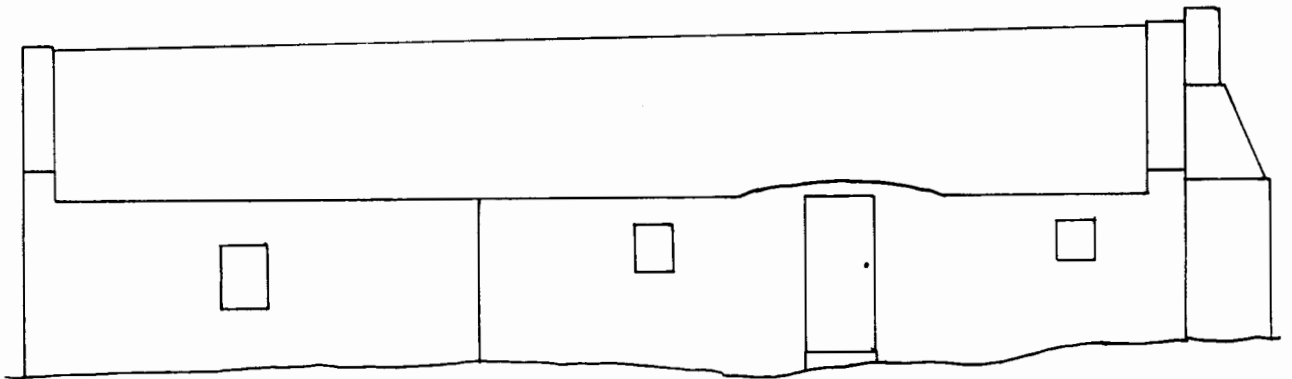
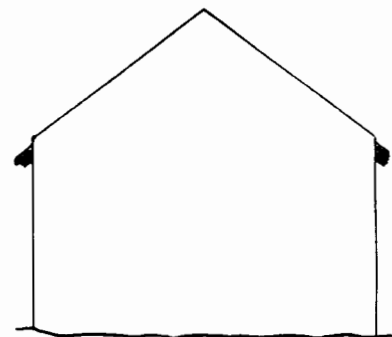
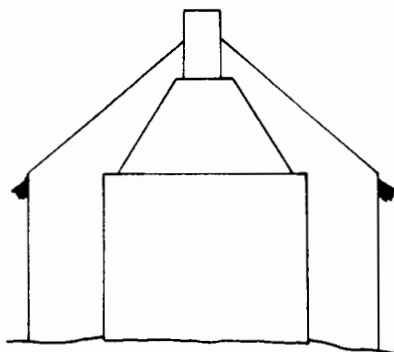


FIGURE 17



VV 88/10 : WADRIF

(ASPECT : EAST)

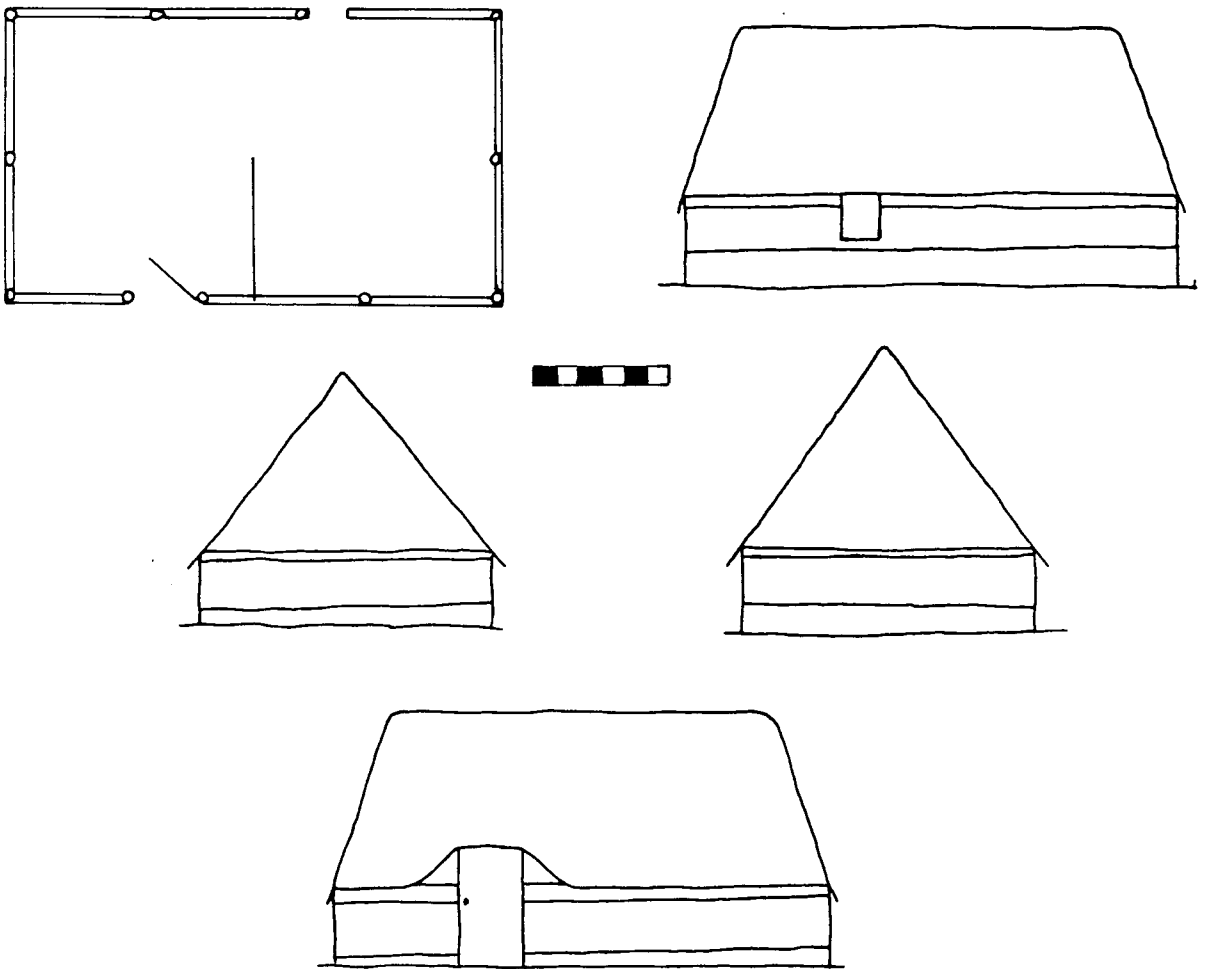
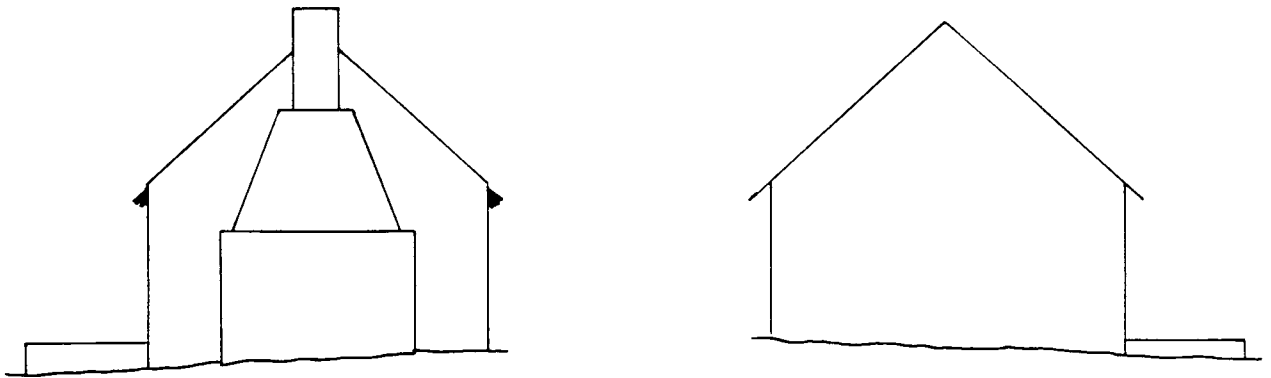
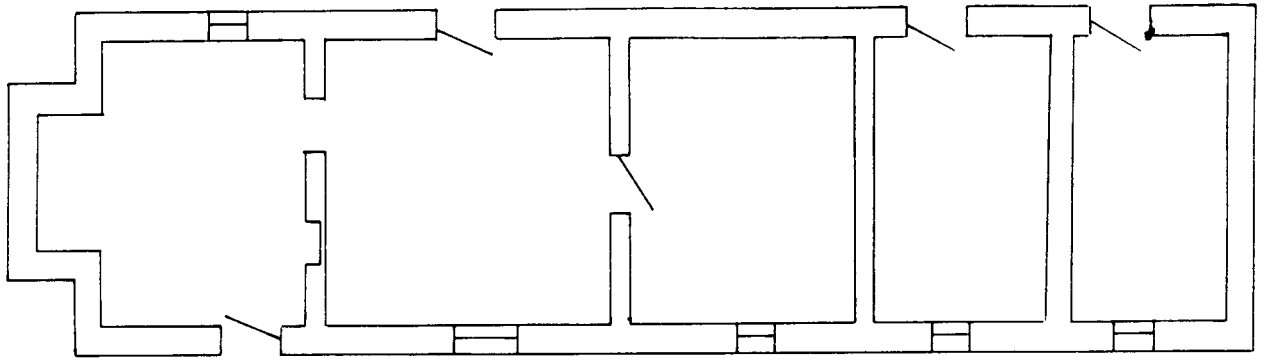


FIGURE 18



VV 88/11 : HET KRUIS
(ASPECT : WEST).

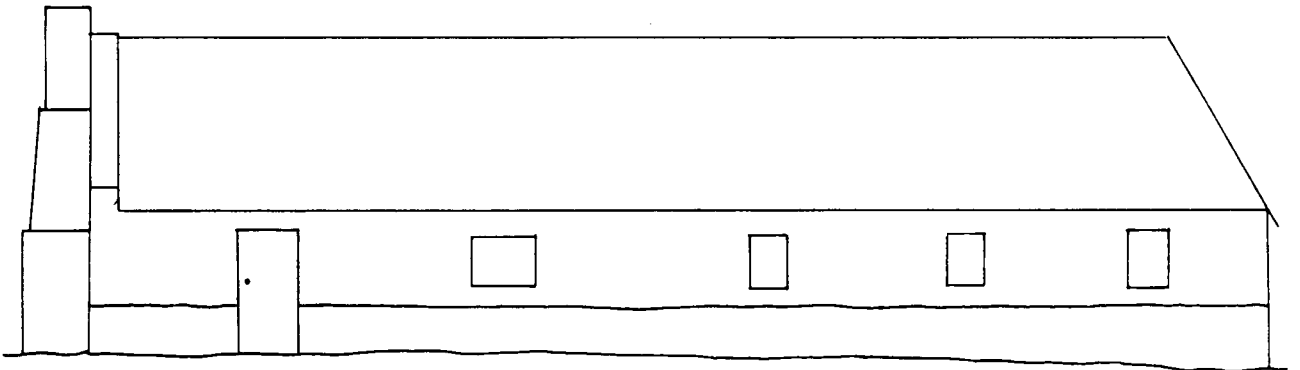
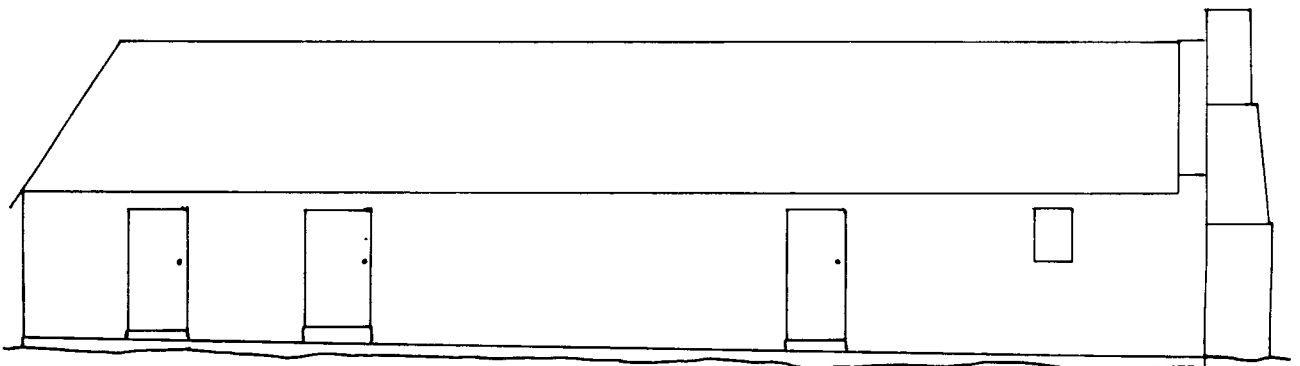
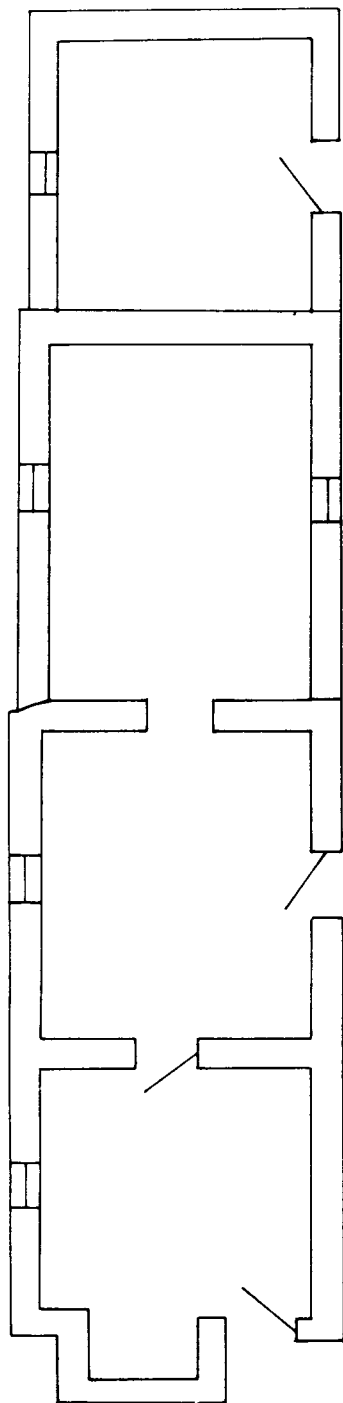
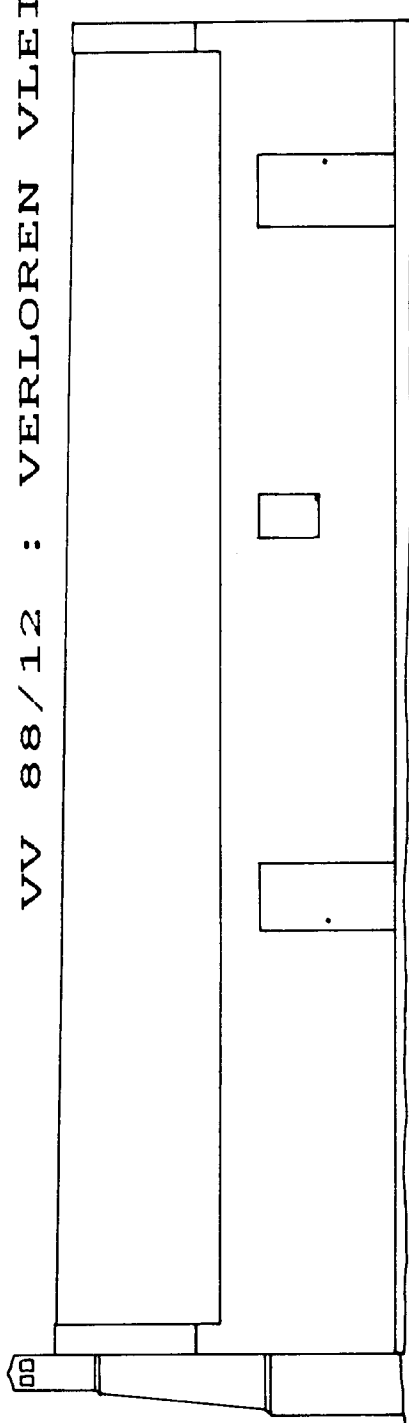


FIGURE 19





VV 88 / 12 : VERLOREN VLEI 1



(ASPECT : N N WEST)

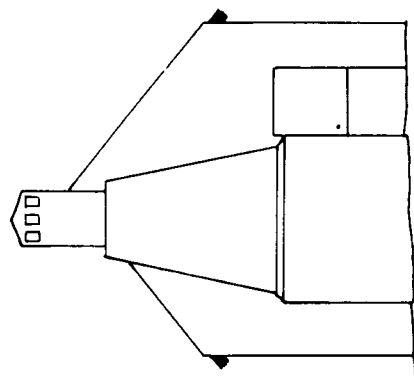
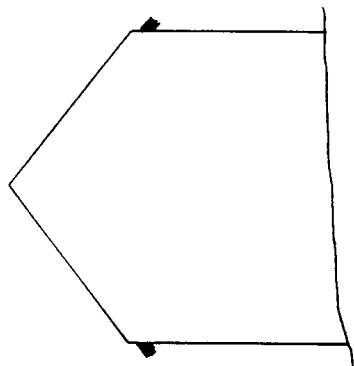
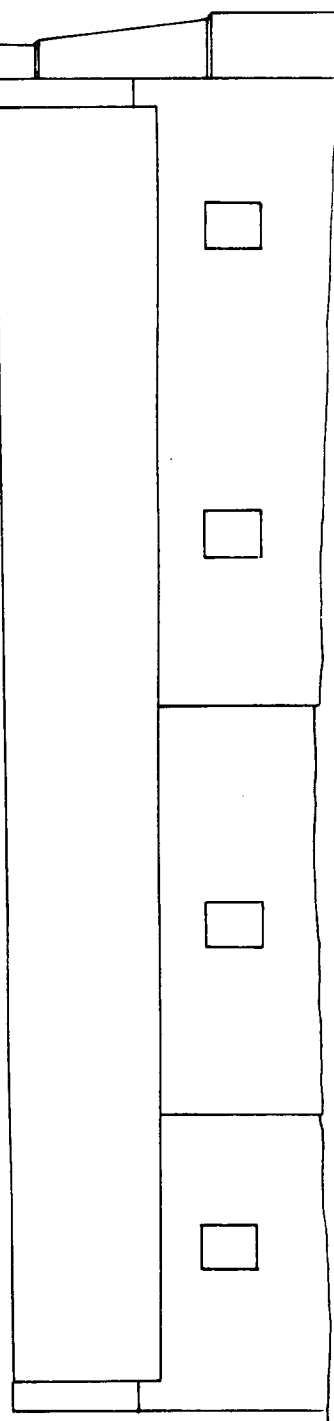


FIGURE 20

* VV88/13 : VERLOREN VLEI 2 (FIGURE 21)

Another four-roomed langhuis, this building is in a state of bad repair. The thatch in its roof is rotten and its walls riddled with termites. The buitekamer of this house is entered by a door in the end wall, and is an unusually large room. (See Figure 6)

* VV88/14 : VERLOREN VLEI 3 (FIGURE 22)

This house is 121 feet in length and appears to consist of three main sections, each of which was probably built at a different time. This impression is strengthened by the composition of walls, which now virtually devoid of plaster and whitewash, exhibit a number of clear changes of brick and clay colour.

According to Mrs Coetzee, the wife of the farmer on whose farm this house stands, who lived in the house when young, it was divided into three sections each of which was occupied by a family. Now in a very bad state of repair, only the south eastern end of the house is still roofed and is used as a lucerne store.

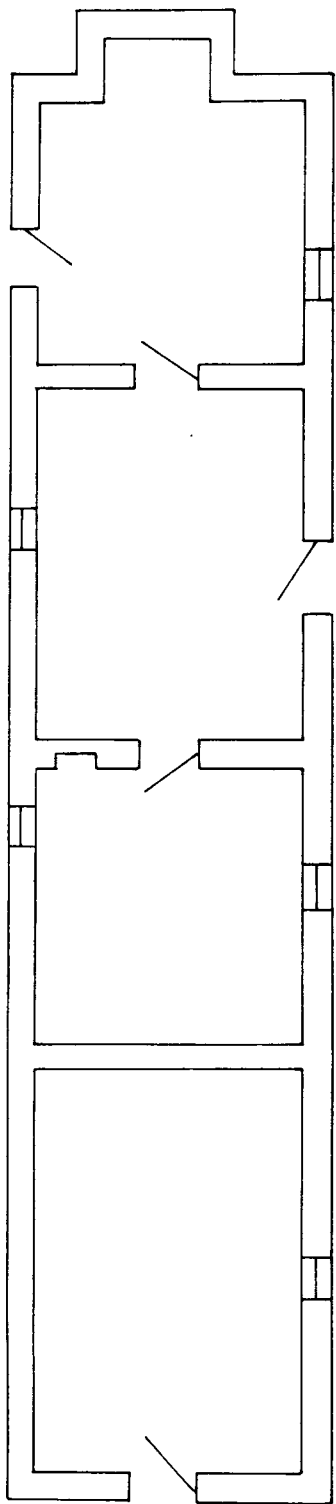
* VV88/15 : VERLOREN VLEI 4 (FIGURE 23)

In an excellent structural condition, this house was occupied until late 1988. It is a langhuis which is unusual in two respects. Firstly, it has an internal room width of 18 feet, far wider than is the norm. The other unusual feature is the fact that because of this width, the last two rooms in the house are built parallel to each other; one with an internal connecting door with the rest of the house, and the other with only an external doorway.

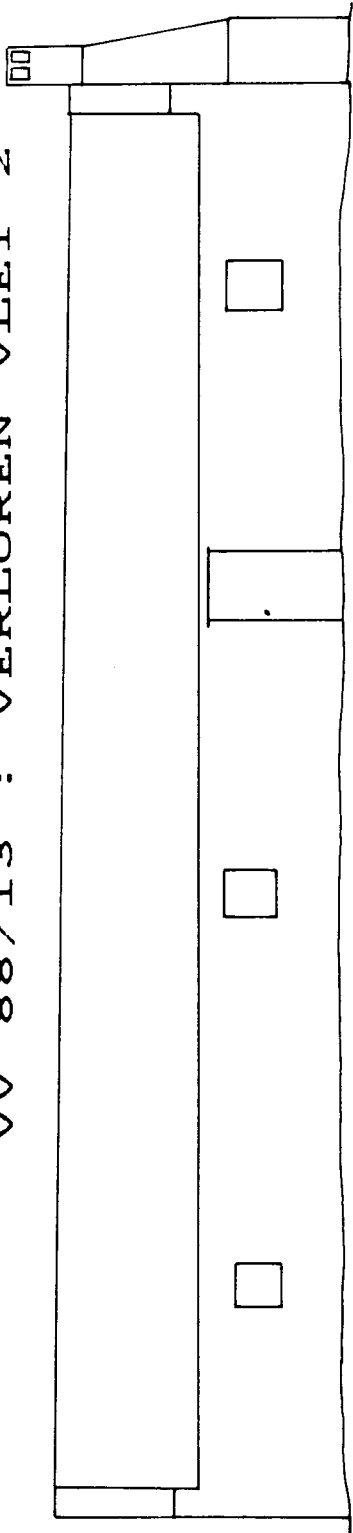
According to Floyd (1980) this particular house was built in approximately 1830.

* VV88/17 : VERLOREN VLEI 6 (FIGURE 24)

Like VV88/14 this house was gradually added to as more space became necessary. According to Floyd (1980) this entailed four building phases,



VV 88/13 : VERLOREN VLEI 2



(ASPECT : NORTH)

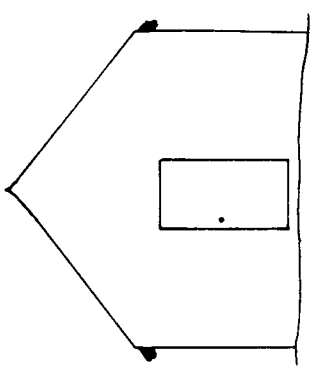
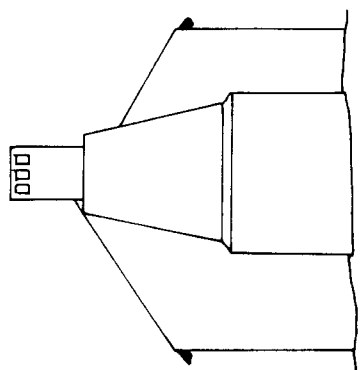
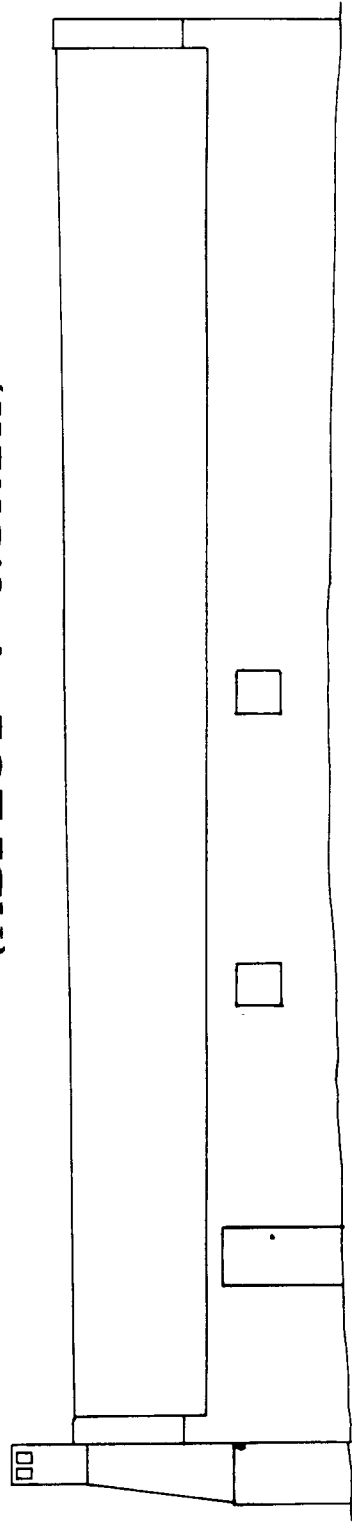
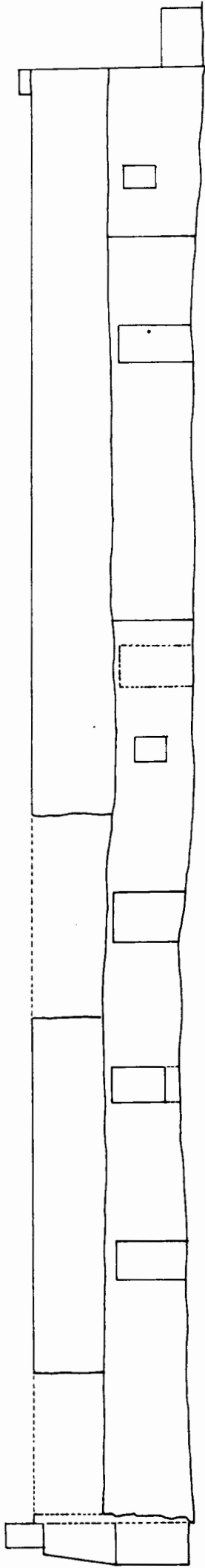


FIGURE 21



VV 88/14 : VERLOREN VLEI 3

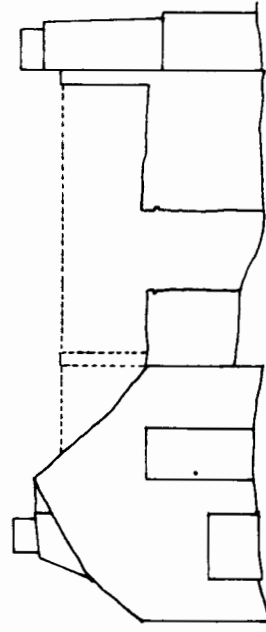
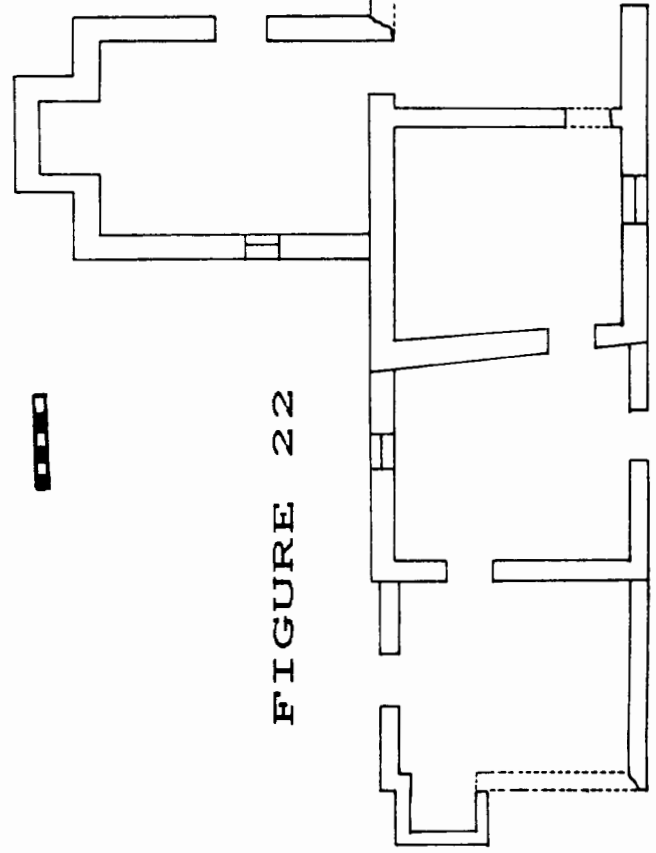
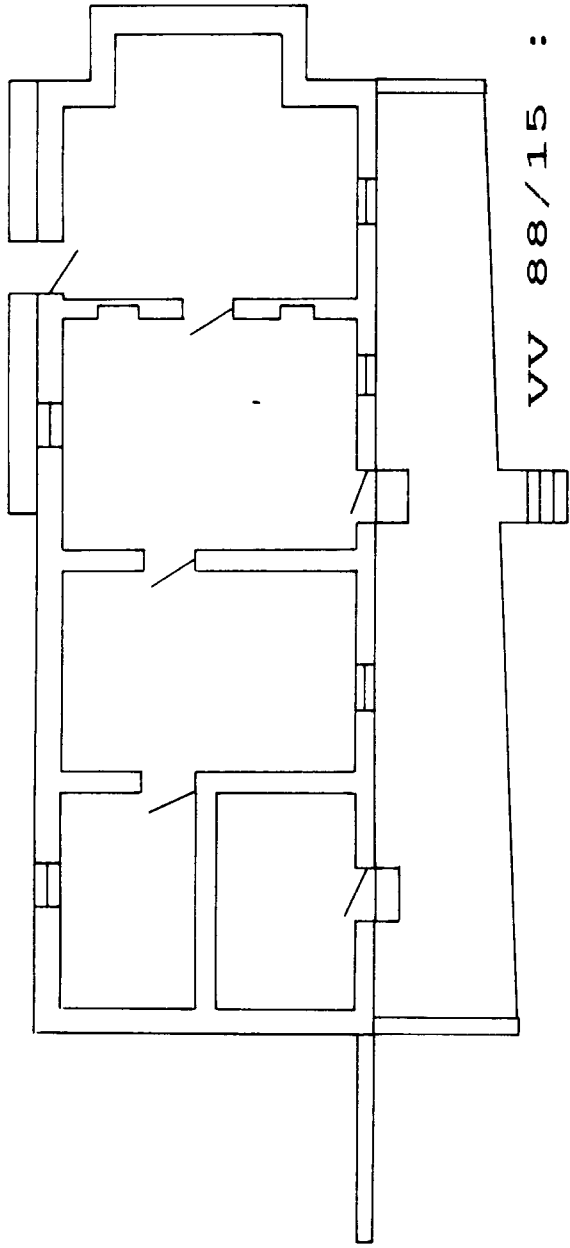


FIGURE 22

(ASPECT : S EAST)





VV 88/15 : VERLOREN VLEI 4

(ASPECT : NORTH)

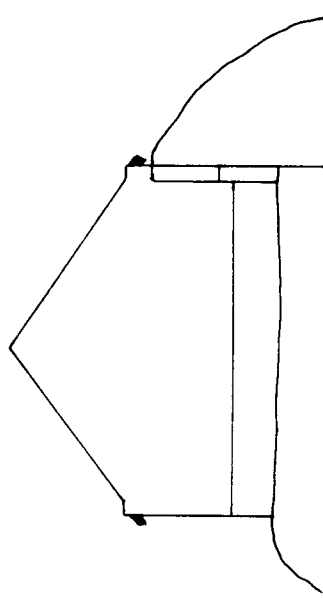
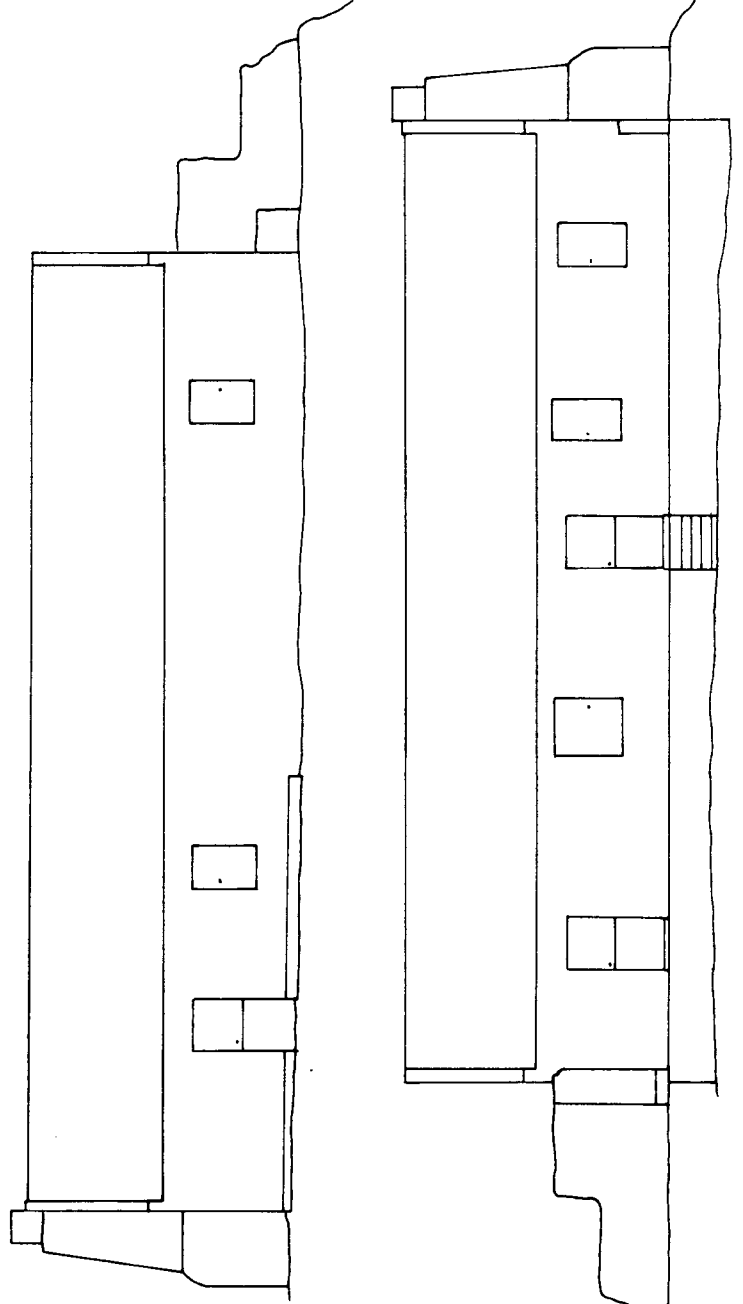
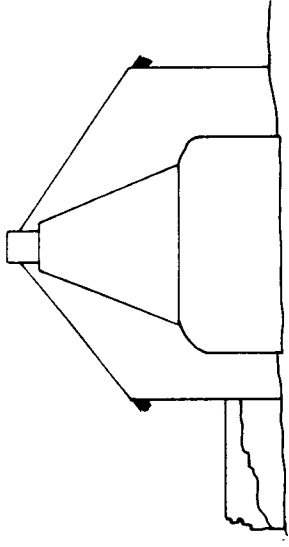
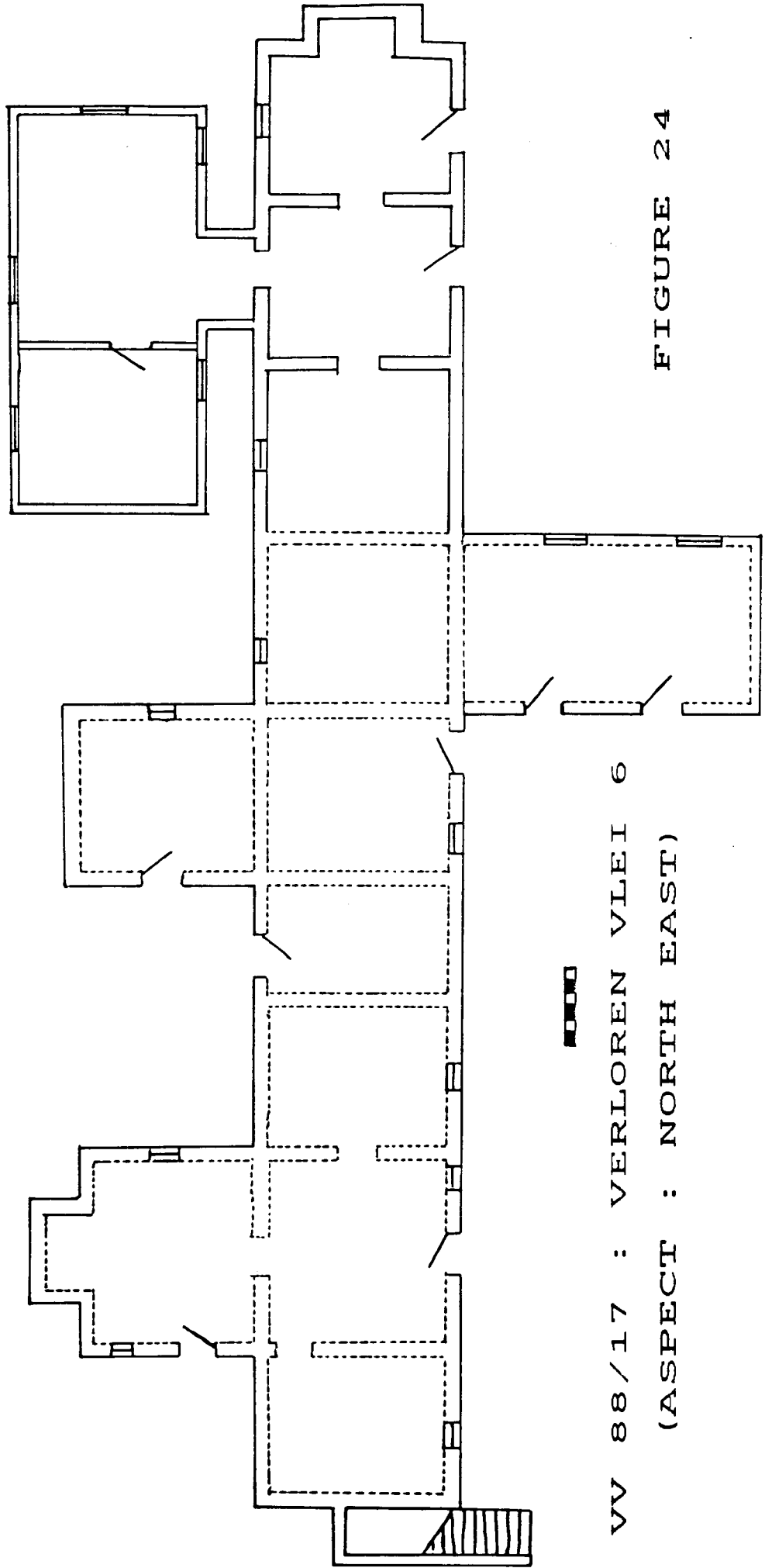


FIGURE 23



VV 88/17 : VERLOREN VLEI 6

(ASPECT : NORTH EAST)

FIGURE 24

the earliest of which was \pm 200 years ago and is represented by the four-roomed, T-shaped eastern section of the house. Although it was not possible to gain access to this part of the house, as it is rented out as a holiday cottage, an inspection of the loft revealed that the front three rooms are covered by a brandzolder. This ceiling does not extend backwards to cover the kitchen, however, nor does it extend across to the fourth room, now used as a storeroom.

The other end of the building, consisting of a four-roomed langhuis is \pm 150 years old (Floyd 1980). Used now as a butchery and storerooms it is in bad repair, the roof recently having caved in at its centre. This section of the building has been constructed with mudbricks, whilst the 200 year old house appears to have been built largely of stone, and possesses a stone stairway to the loft. How the other one-roomed T-extension and adjacent room relate to the rest of the house is unclear because I had not access to them.

* VV88/19 : WITKLIP (FIGURE 25)

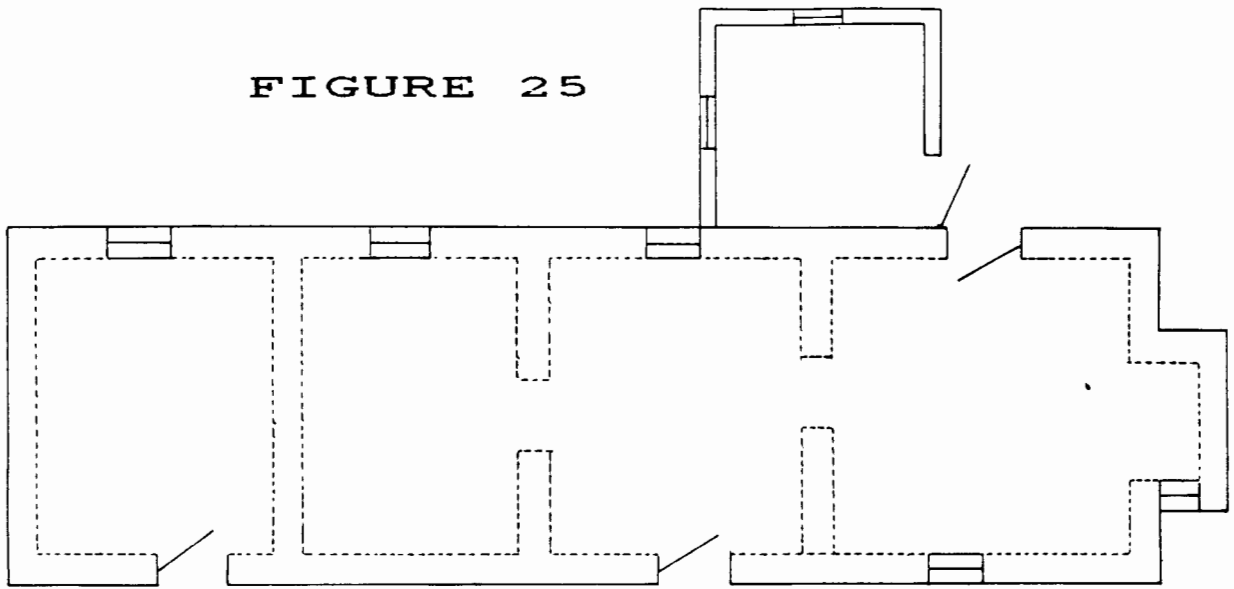
Another house rented out as a holiday cottage, this building is a three-roomed langhuis with a single buitekamer, and a small shed appended to its rear. The window on the eastern elevation, and the central window on the western side of the house are glazed, whilst the remaining two are simply shuttered. According to Mr P M A van Zyl of Groote Drift this house was built by his father in 1933. (See Figure 3)

* VV88/20 : MIDDELPOS (FIGURE 26)

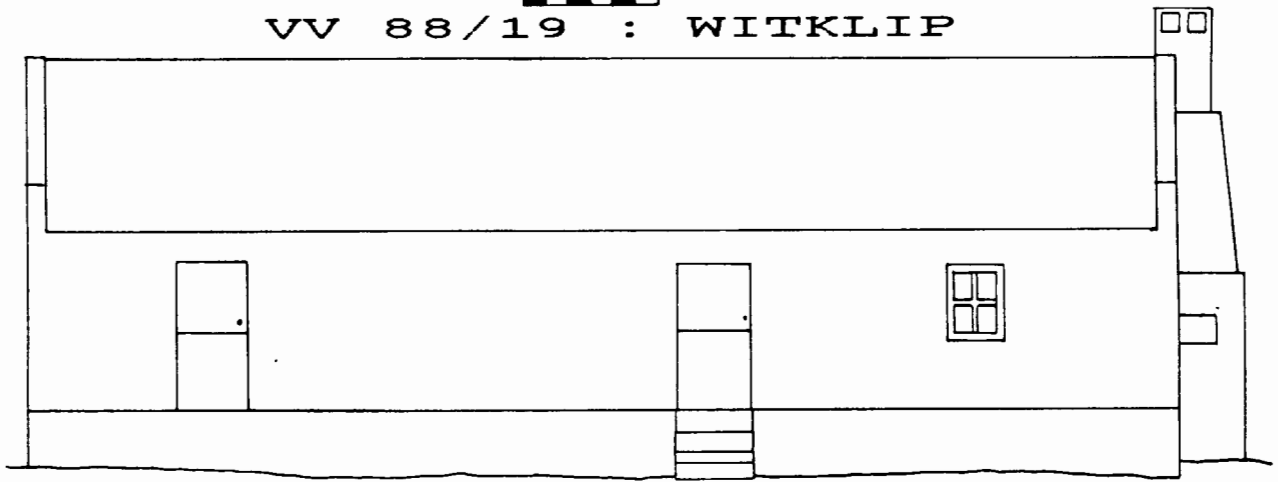
This house very clearly represents two distinct phases of building, the first of which probably accounts for the langhuis. Now no more than a shell, this house appears to have burned down some years ago, and was then simply abandoned. The wall in the centre of the second room is probably not original, and represents a later addition, as does the buitekamer which is the only section of the langhuis still roofed in any way.

The double-room depth section of the house is probably a younger addition and is still habitable. Its roof is half-hipped at both ends and it has a loft which is reached by a stone stairway situated between it and the

FIGURE 25



VV 88/19 : WITKLIP



(ASPECT : EAST)

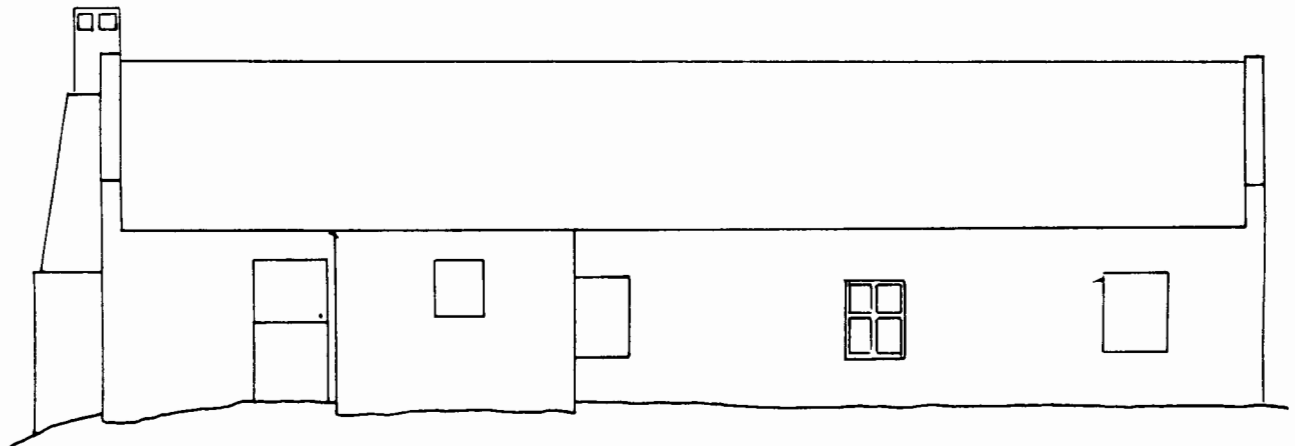
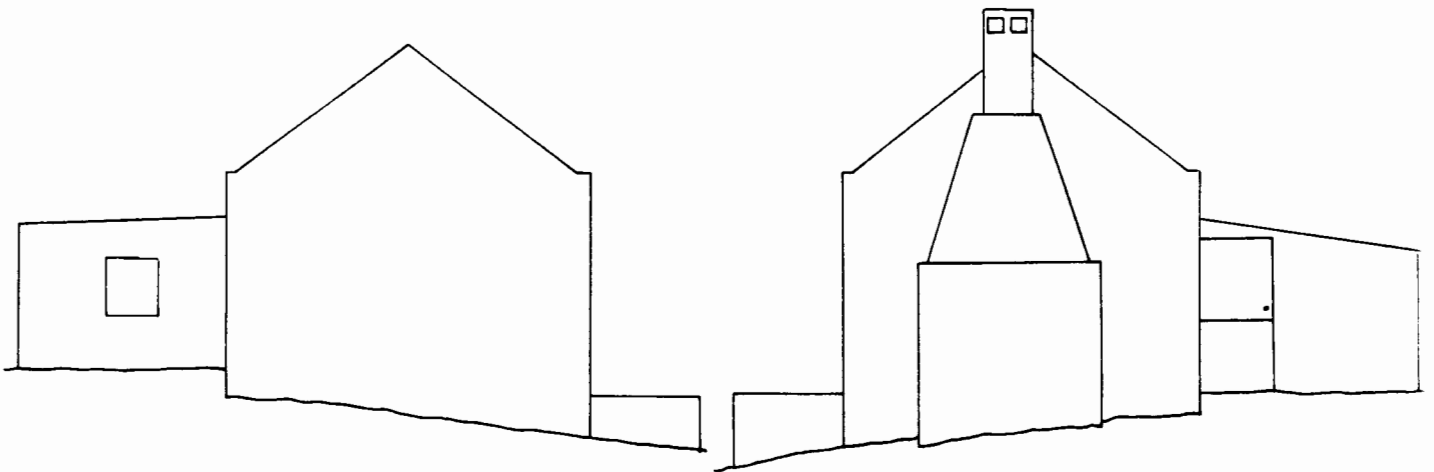
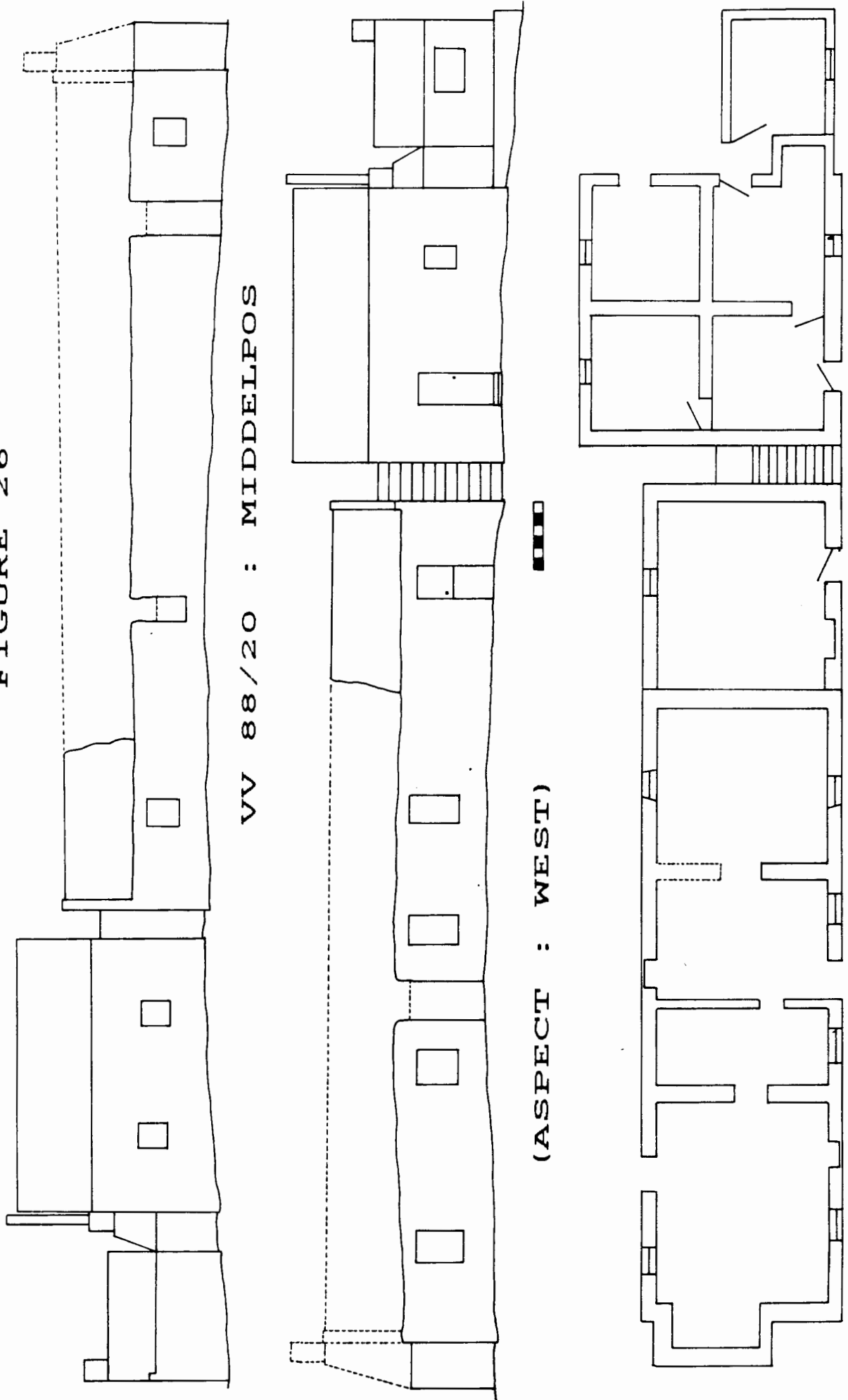


FIGURE 26



langhuis. A small external kitchen has been added to the end of this structure.

* VV88/21 : KLIPRUG (FIGURES 27 AND 28)

Built by "Swart" Gert Louw between 1918 and 1920 this four-roomed langhuis is presently occupied by Mr H C Louw. According to Mr Louw the two flat-roofed additions on the front of the house were erected by his father when the family outgrew the house. This house possesses a bread oven which is unique in my sample. It is round and domed, and built into the side rather than the rear of the chimney. Although it is now bricked closed, Mr Louw's mother used it. (Figure 53)

The kitchen of this house has a reed ceiling, while the rest of the house has what appear to be more modern timbered ceilings. The additions to the front of the house required, firstly, that a kitchen window be turned into a doorway for what is now the pantry, and secondly, the bricking up of a window in the fourth room from the kitchen. The remaining window in this room is closed with a shutter, but those in the rest of the original house are 12-paned sash windows. The additions have steel-framed, glazed windows.

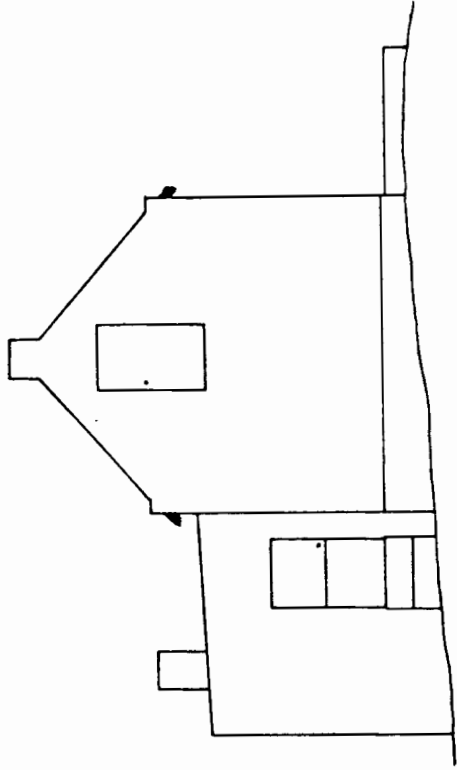
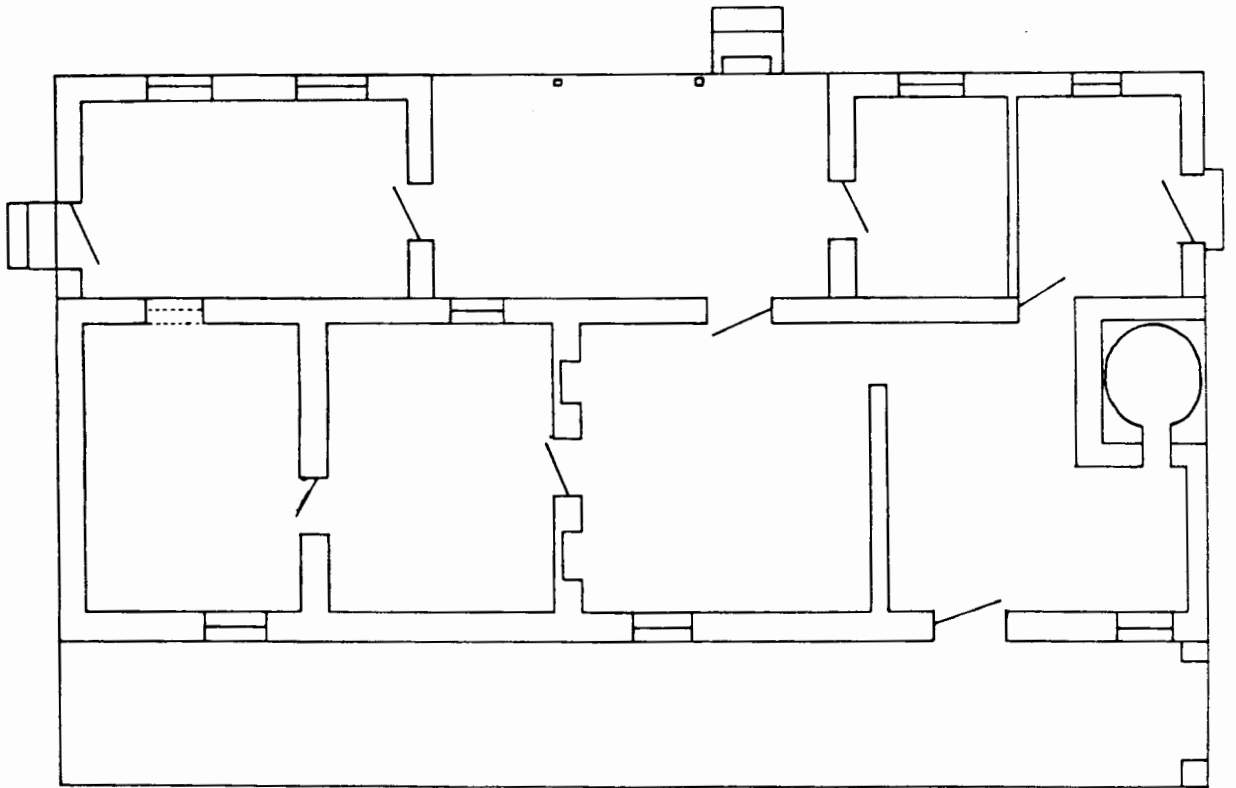
* VV88/18 : VERLOREN VLEI 7 (FIGURE 28)

This house is a typical extended langhuis, consisting of three connected rooms and two separate outside rooms. Because it is rented by a family from Lamberts Bay it was not possible to measure and draw more than its exterior groundplan. It was possible to ascertain its internal arrangement by questioning the farmer on whose land it stands. Although in good condition generally, the roof above the second buitekamer, which is hipped rather than gabled, has collapsed.

* VV88/22 : HOEKDAM 1 (FIGURE 29)

In a very good state of repair when recorded in October 1988, this house burned down in April or May 1989. It appears to have been modified quite recently, its thatch that having been replaced by corrugated iron, and its walls plastered with cement and painted, rather than whitewashed.

VV 88/21 : KLIPRUG



(ASPECT : WEST)



FIGURE 27

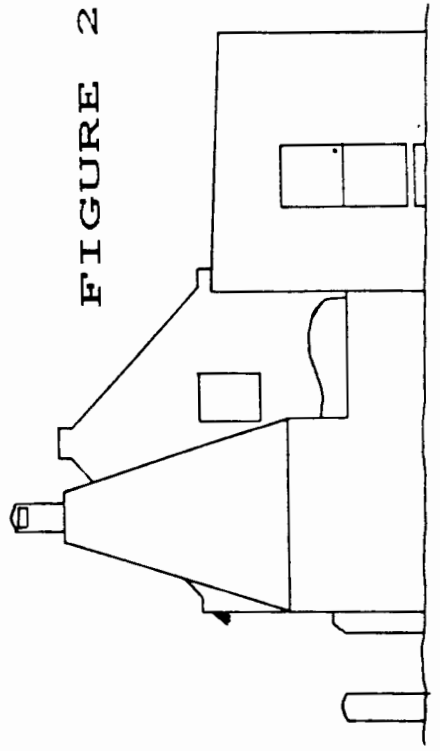
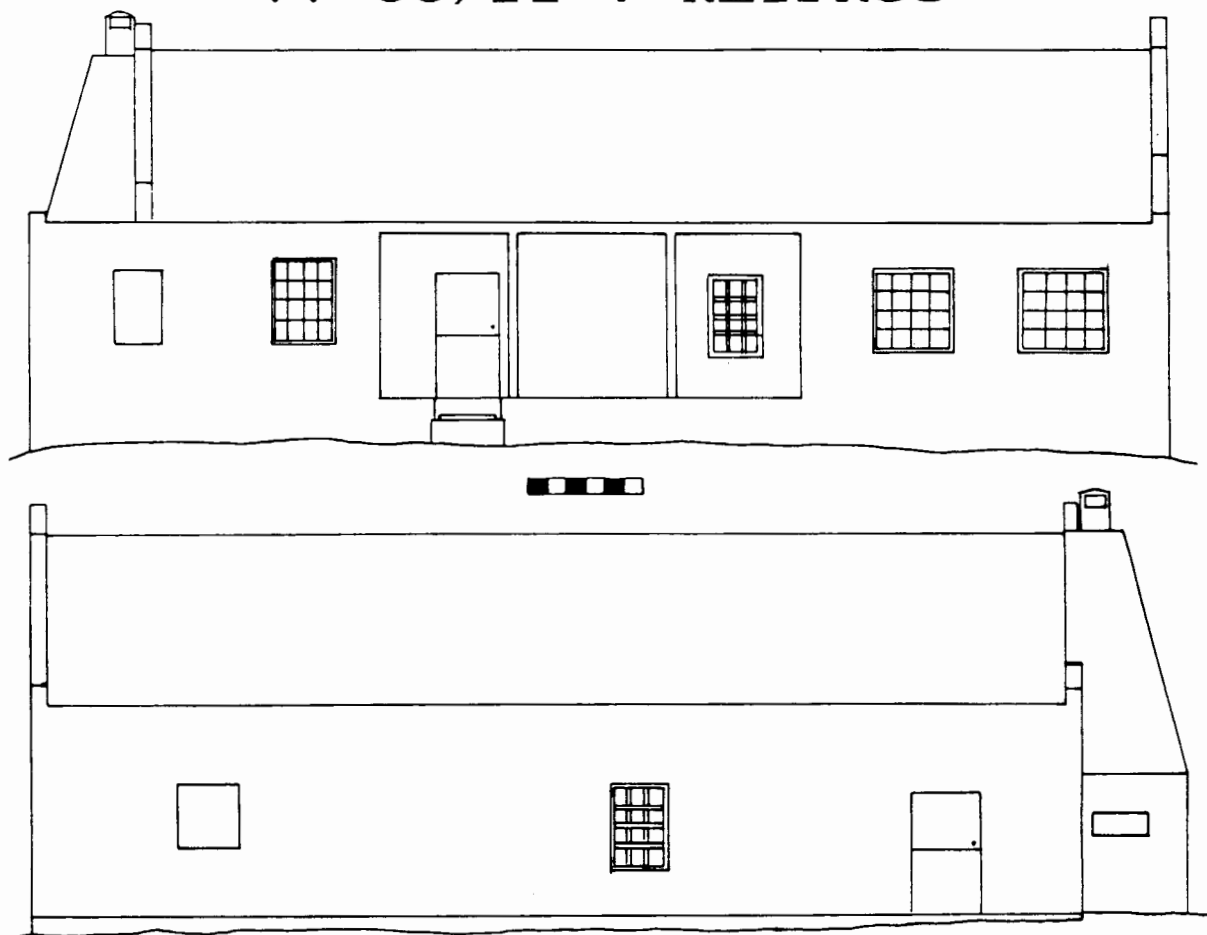
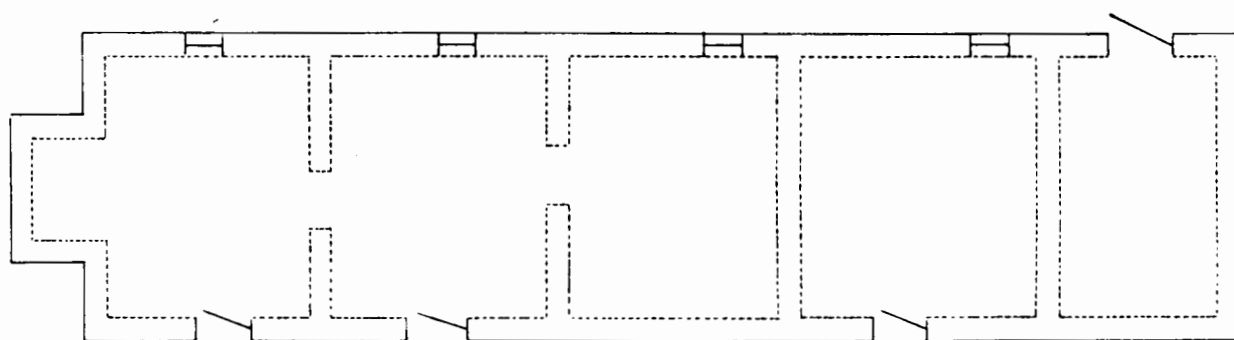


FIGURE 28

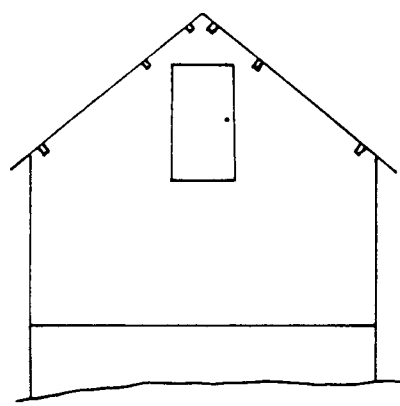
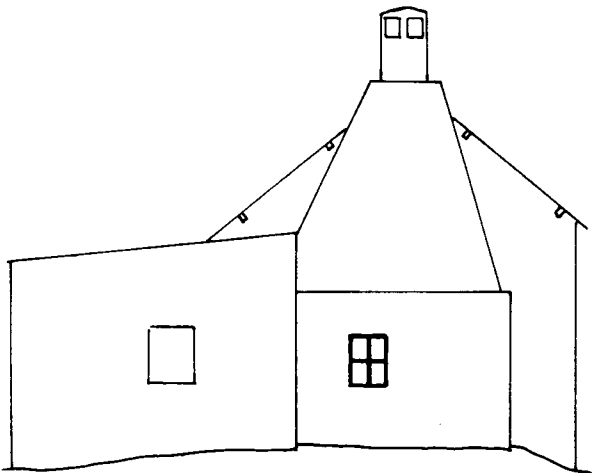
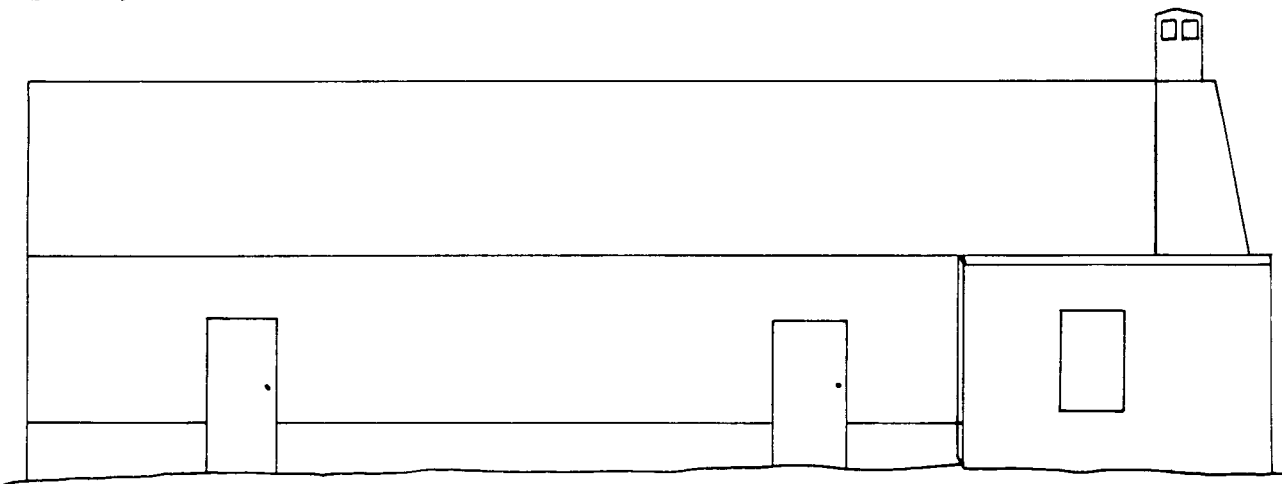
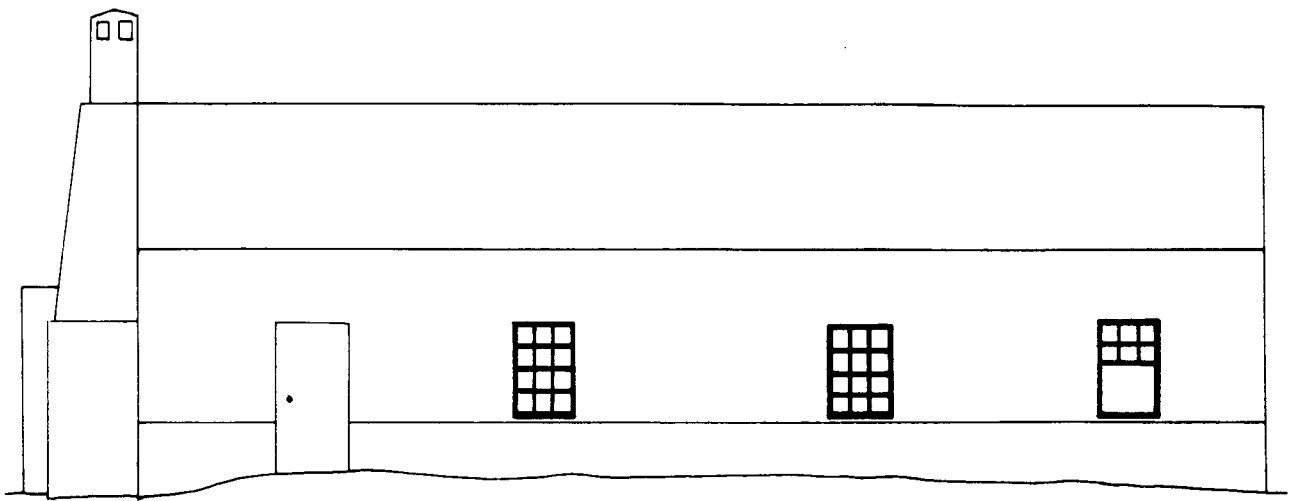
VV 88/21 : KLIPRUG



VV 88/18 : VERLORENVLEI 7



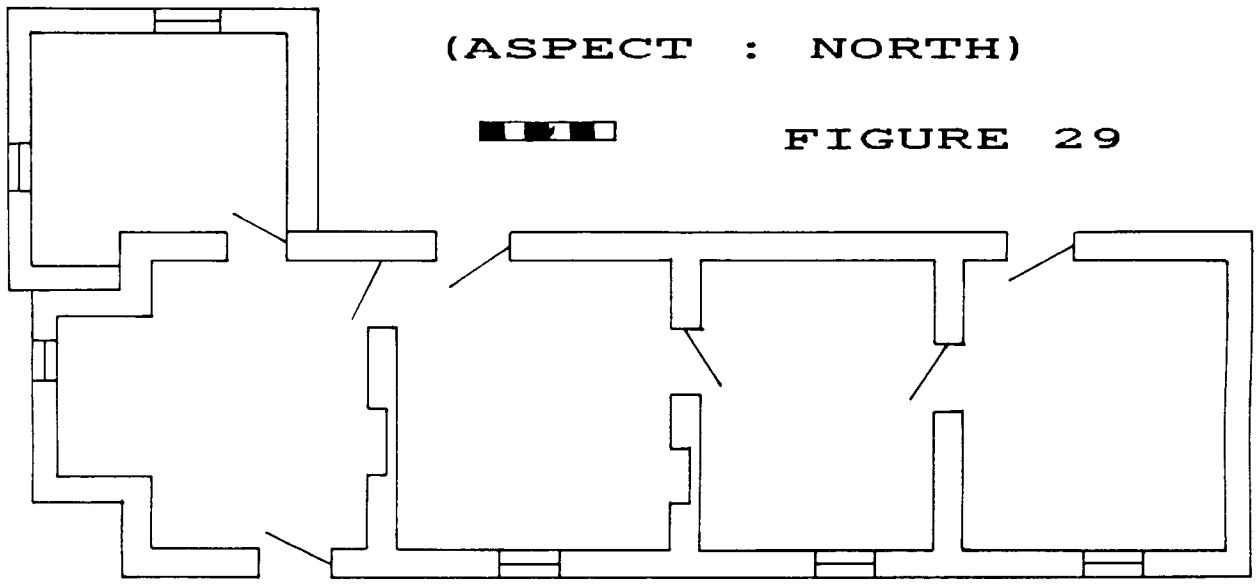
(ASPECT : NORTH EAST)



VV 88/22 : HOEKDAM 1
(ASPECT : NORTH)



FIGURE 29



Prior to its destruction by fire this house possessed a reed brandzolder in every room, except for the second room, or voorkamer, which had a wooden ceiling. A later flat-roofed room was added at right angles to the house, next to the kitchen, and probably necessitated a kitchen window being enlarged into a door.

* VV88/23 : HOEKDAM 2 (FIGURE 30)

According to the occupants of Hoekdam 1, this house is the original house on the farm. Although its date of construction is not known, I was told that it is associated with the people buried in the nearby graveyard, most of whom died in the mid- to late 19th century.

Originally a langhuis of three rooms, to which a fourth was added, not much beyond crumbling walls now remains of this house. The fourth, added room, however shows a marked difference in its wall construction to the rest of the house. While it is constructed of mudbrick, and probably supported a hipped roof, the walls of the first three rooms are very reminiscent of a hardbieshuis in their construction and composition. In the second and third rooms, brick walls have been covered with a layer of vertical reeds and then plastered. In the largely destroyed kitchen however, the walls are constructed just like those of a hardbieshuis, consisting of a wooden framework thatched with reeds and bamboo, which has then been plastered with clay, inside and outside. This room appears to have a chimney, although only the foundations now exist, and therefore probably had an end-gable.

* VV88/16 : VERLOREN VLEI 5 (FIGURE 30)

This house was locked up and appears to be used as a holiday cottage. In its configuration it is a typical langhuis, to which has been appended two recent, insubstantial lean-tos. Of its five windows, four are glazed and shuttered, while the fifth, in the second buitekamer, has a modern steel frame.

VV 88/23 : HOEKDAM 2

(ASPECT : NORTH)

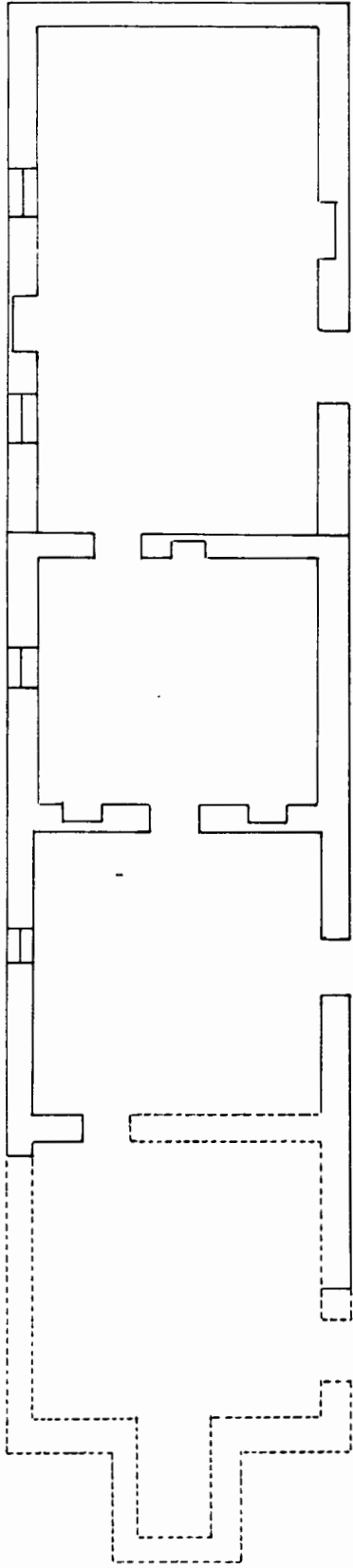
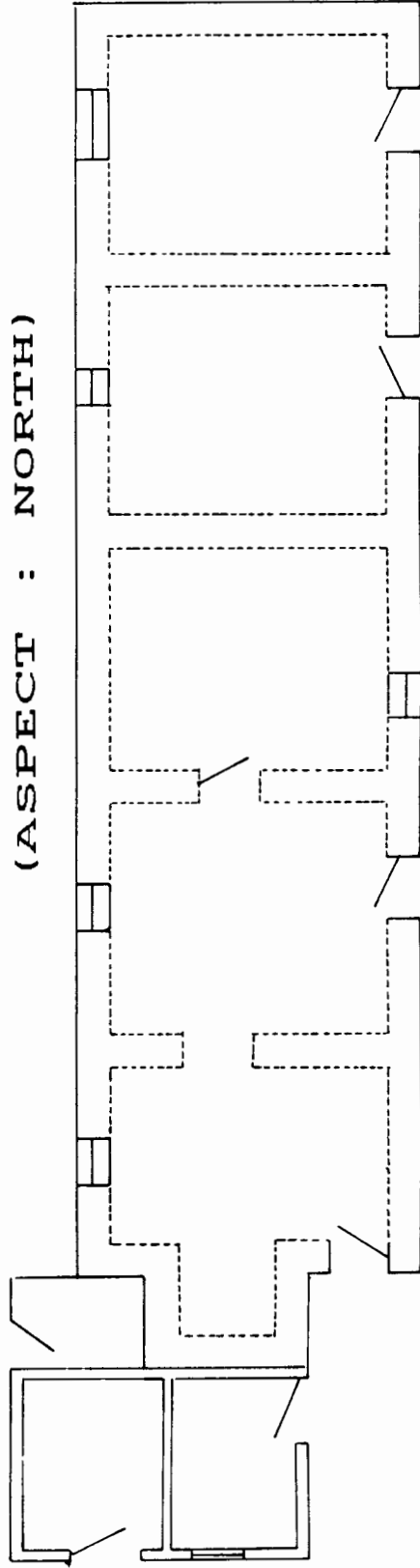


FIGURE 30



VV 88/16 : VERLOREN VLEI 5

(ASPECT : NORTH)



* VV88/24 : HOEKDAM 3 (FIGURE 31)

Another four-roomed langhuis, this building has had recent additions to it in the form of four appended rooms, none of them connected to the original house by internal doors. The thatched roof has also been replaced with corrugated iron, and a veranda has been added to the front facade of the house. All the windows in the main house are 12-paned sash windows, and those in the later additions are steel-framed. Based on wall thickness, the first two rooms of the langhuis are conceivably the earliest.

* VV88/25 : LEIPOLDTVILLE (FIGURE 32)

This small house was built by the late husband of its present occupant, Mrs Valentyn, about 30 to 40 years ago. Constructed using a technique similar to that employed in building a hardbieshuis, four major corner posts were first sunk into the ground, and were then interspersed by other less substantial poles. This framework was packed with mud-bricks, and these low walls were then plastered and white-washed. Each of the three rooms has a single, small window. The whole structure is covered by a low roof, less than 9 feet high at its apex, which is hipped at both ends. (See Cover Illustration)

* VV88/27 : PARYS (FIGURE 33)

Originally a three or four-roomed langhuis, built in 1937, this house has undergone a series of major changes. Besides a row of rooms that have been added to the back of it, a modern veranda and a bedroom with an ornate gabled facade have been added to its front. Internally, the installation of a modern bathroom has led to the creation of a passage linking the kitchen and present lounge. The original langhuis form is nevertheless still clearly visible.

* VV88/28 : DE HOOP (FIGURE 34)

Owned by Mr H Enderstein, this house is associated with an old barn and dairy. The entire complex is estimated to be 100 to 150 years old. The house consists of a two-roomed unit containing a kitchen, at right angles to which have been added five other rooms; three connected and two with

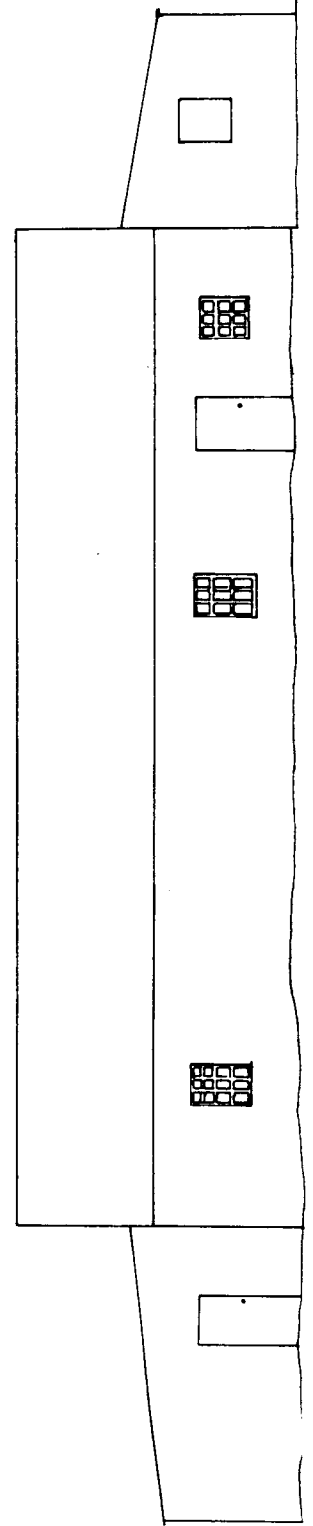
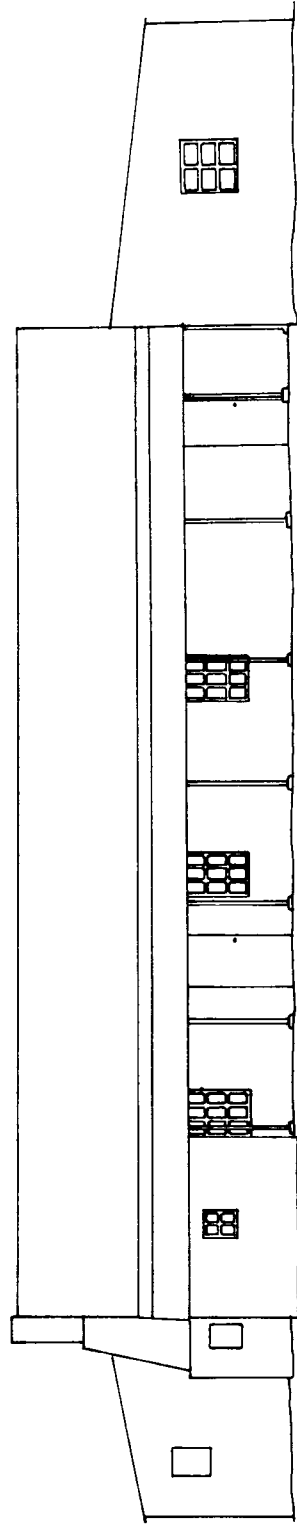
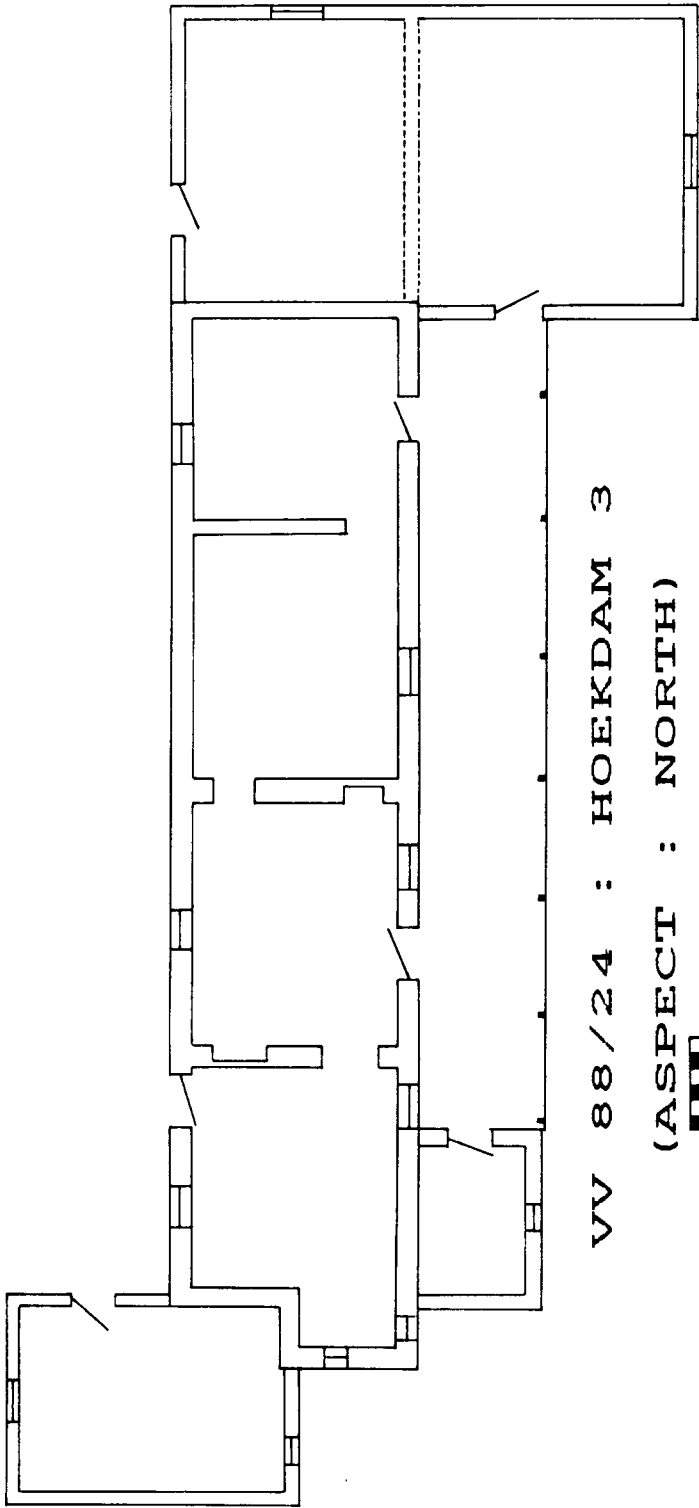


FIGURE 31

VV 88/25 : LEIPOLDTVILLE
(ASPECT : S S WEST)

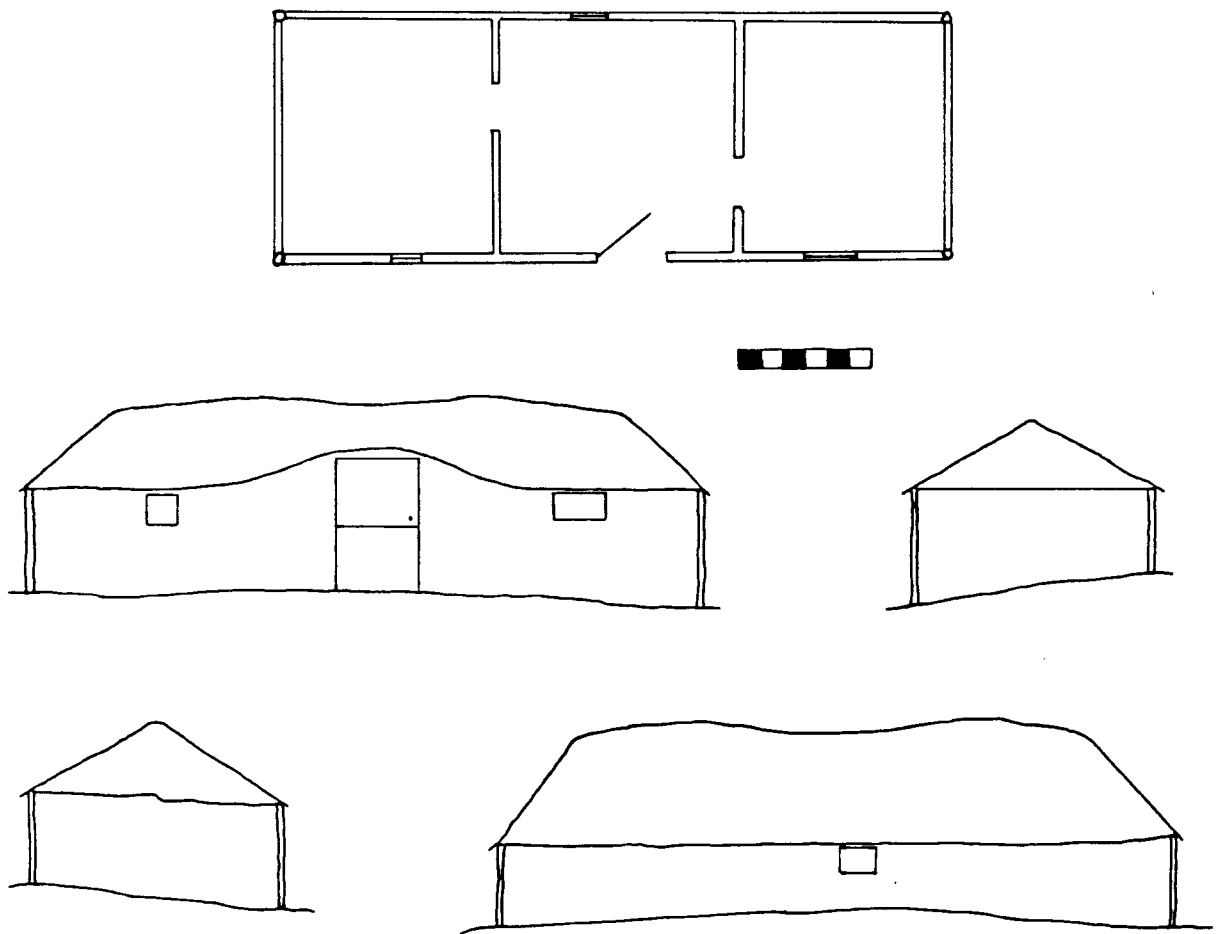


FIGURE 32

VV88/27 : PARYS
(ASPECT : SOUTH)

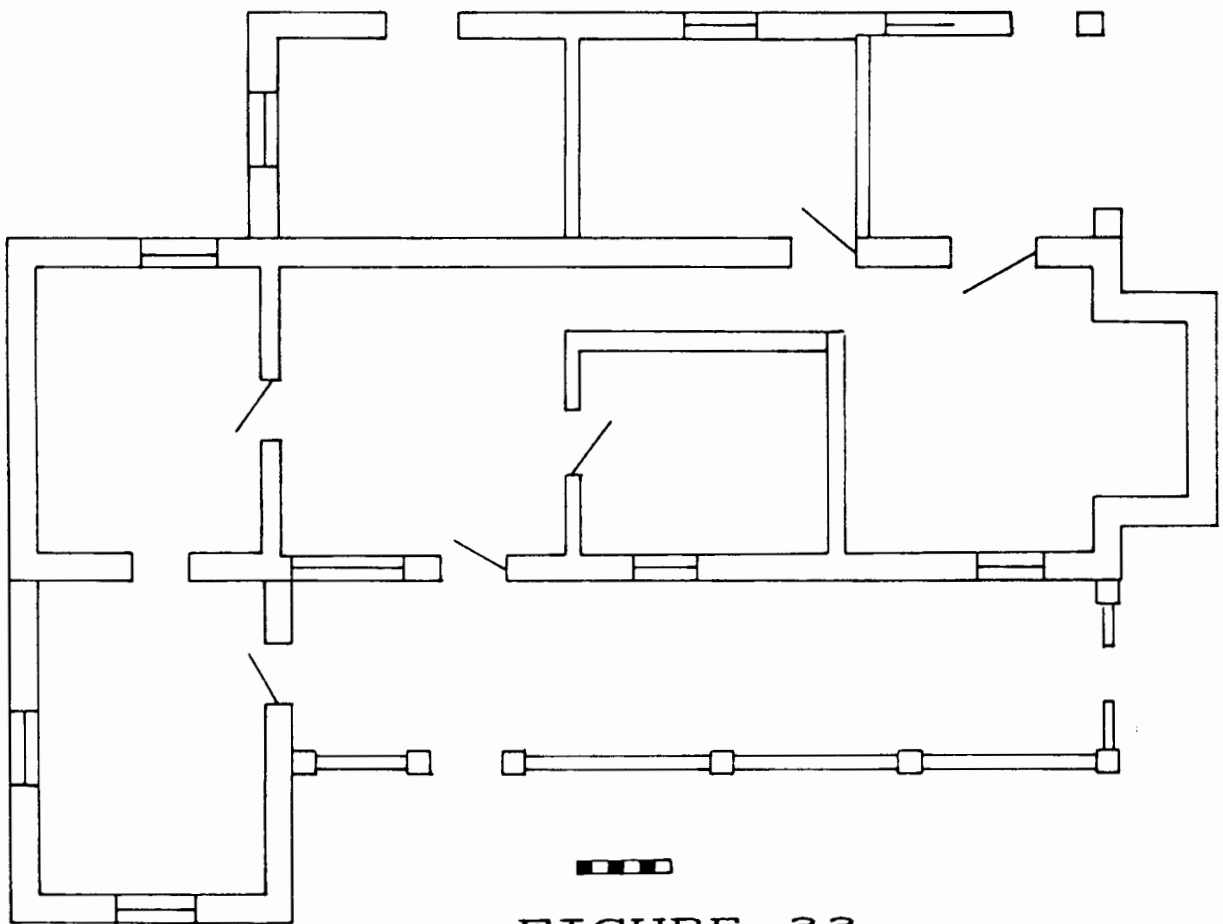
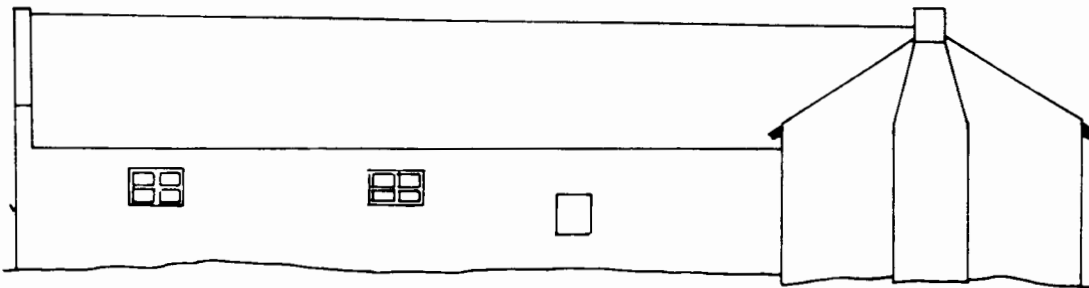
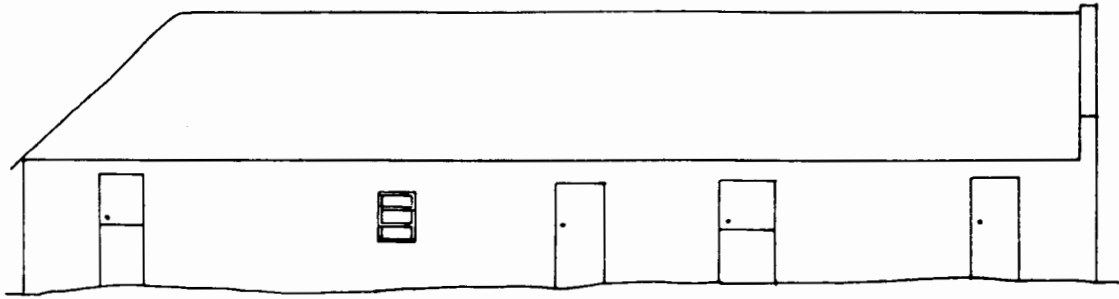


FIGURE 33



VV88/28 : DE HOOP
(ASPECT : SOUTH)

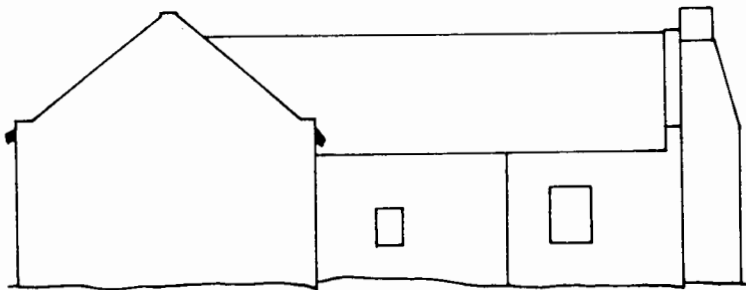
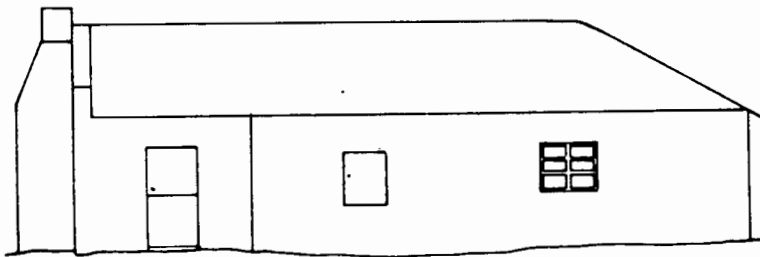
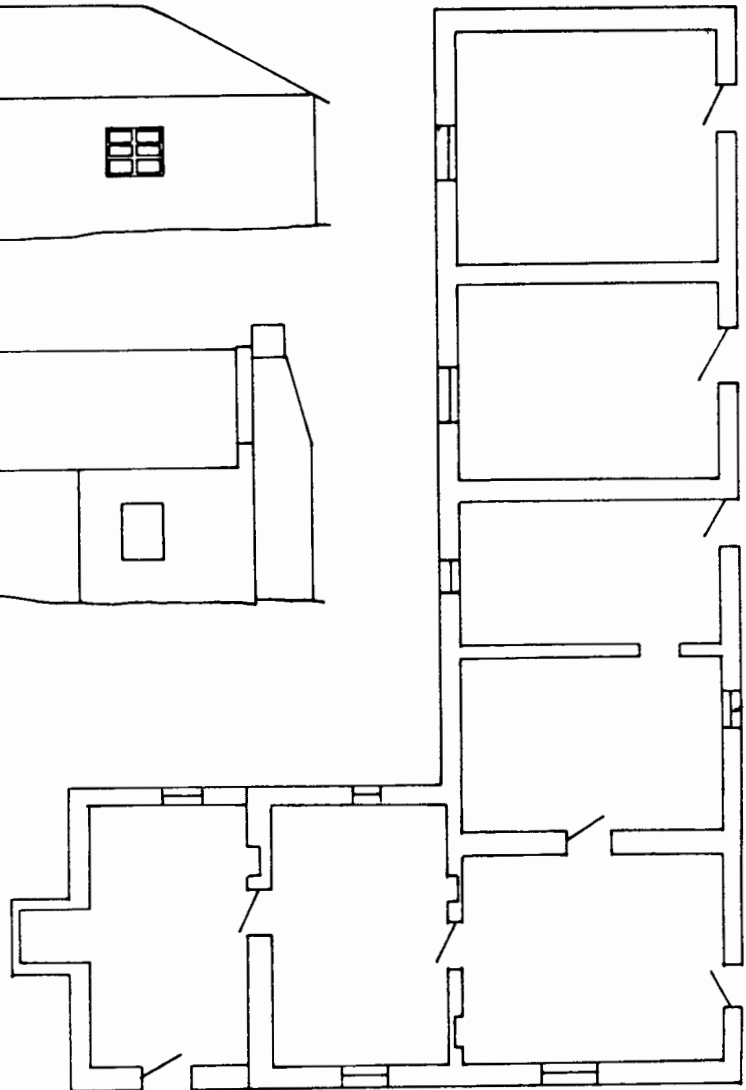


FIGURE 34



external doorways. The walls are of mudbrick and are in excellent condition. The roof, hipped at the end opposite the kitchen is thatched and is also still sound.

* VV88/29 : NUWERUS (FIGURE 35)

This house originally only comprised the three rooms closest to the chimney, to which have been added three subsequent rooms. The first of these extensions was probably domestic in nature, but the second two represent a stable and a horsemill, respectively. Current use of the house, which is beginning to show signs of severe neglect, as a storeroom, has resulted in the demolition of the chimney and the dividing walls between the first two rooms, and the addition of a lean-to, in the form of a garage, to the front corner of the building. The deterioration of the roof has created large holes in the thatch, especially over the room housing the remains of the horsemill.

* VV88/30 : KLAAREFONTEIN (FIGURES 36, 37 AND 38)

Klaarefontein is unique in the sample in that it possesses a front gable. This gable, which is an unadorned dormer, (See Figure 55) is set in what was once a symmetrical facade, but which has since had a kitchen added to one end. According to the late owner's brother, the other end of the house also once had what was probably a buitekamer attached to it, but this has since been demolished.

This house has a T-extension attached to the rear of it, the last room of which contains a massive hearth. Unlike the rest of the house, which is covered by a wooden ceiling, this room is open to the roof. Access to the loft can be gained via a ladder in this latter room, or by using the stone stairs attached to the end of the front of the house. The loft itself is floored with clay and mudbrick, and this suggests that the present ceiling of the house was added below an existing reed brandzolder.

Entering the house from the front one finds oneself in a voorkamer, or sittingroom, which is flanked on either side by a bedroom. The construction of the later kitchen on the end of the house has occasioned the creation of a passage into the voorkamer, which violates the spatial

integrity of the bedroom it bypasses. At the rear of the voorkamer a door leads into a third bedroom, which has also had space stolen from it to create a modern bathroom.

The present kitchen, on the end of the front of the house, has an internal chimney, and the roof above it is half-hipped. The other end of the roof is gabled.

The physical state of this house, which is reputed to be the oldest in the area, and is variously dated to be between 220 and 250 years old, is deteriorating rapidly. It has stood unoccupied for nearly a year, and since its owner has now died it appears that it will remain empty. The walls, although still relatively well plastered and white-washed are showing signs of termite infestation, and the roof is in dire need of rapid repair.

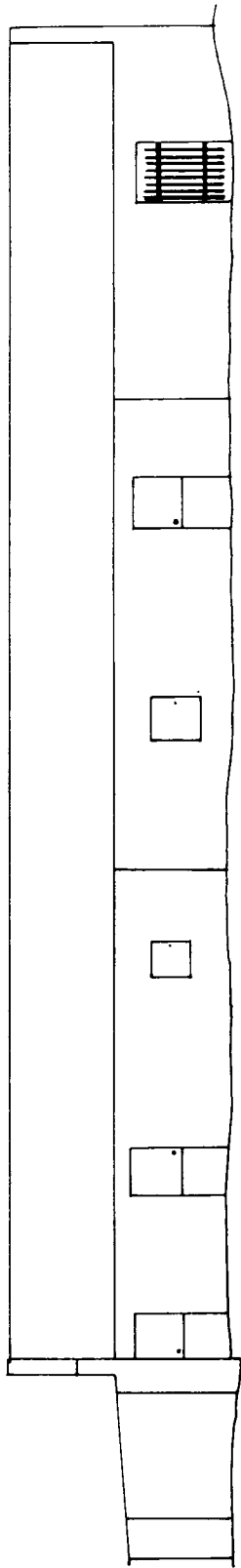
* VV88/26 : VAALFONTEIN (FIGURE 38)

A langhuis with a T-extension, this house is another that has been constructed in a unique manner. While the end walls and the internal divisions in the langhuis are solid mudbrick constructions, the front and rear walls are built like those of a hardbieshuis; a low wooden framework thatched with reeds and plastered inside and outside with clay.

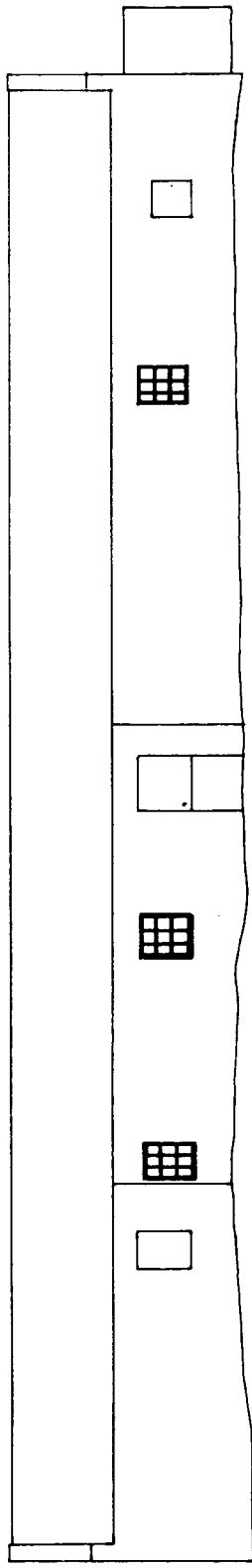
The T-extension which is divided into two rooms by a flimsy wooden partition, is built in the same manner as was VV88/25, a framework of posts filled in with mudbricks. Its addition to the rear of the house required that an existing window be enlarged into a doorway. While the roof-ends of the main house are gabled, the extension is hipped.

* VV88/31 : MUISHOEK 1 (FIGURE 39)

This house represents a typical, three-roomed langhuis to which no buitekamer has been added. Its one odd feature is that it has no chimney, although the platform outside the kitchen may be the remains of one.



VV 88/29 : NUWERUS



(ASPECT : WEST)

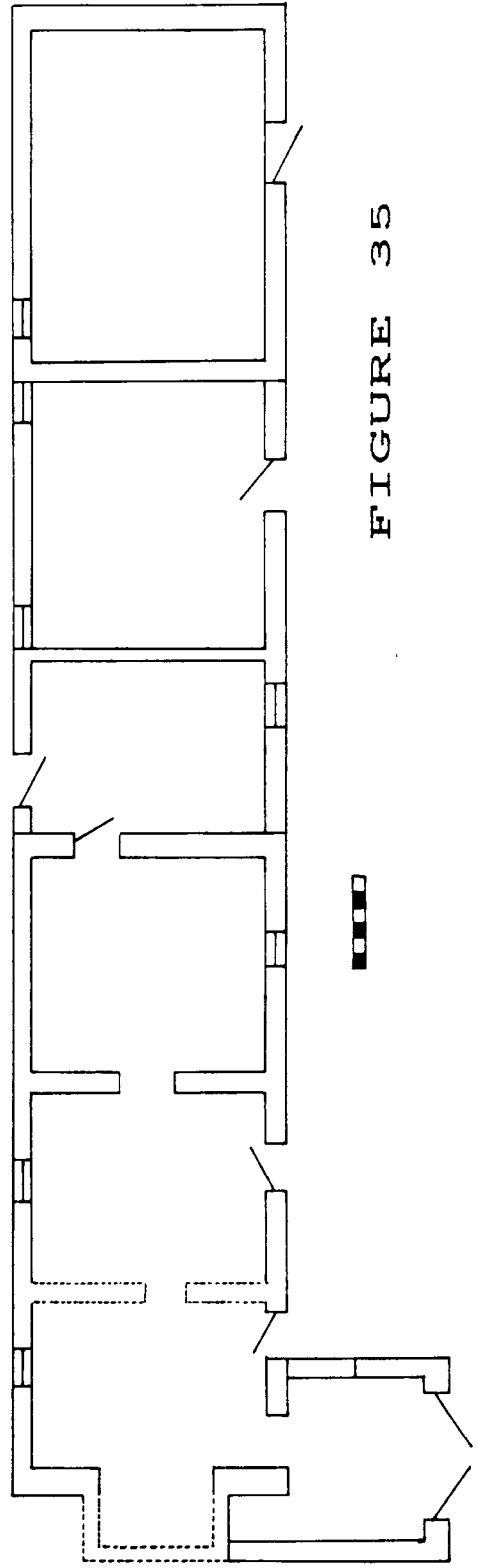


FIGURE 35

VV 88 / 30
KLAARFONTEIN
(ASPECT : WEST)

FIGURE 36

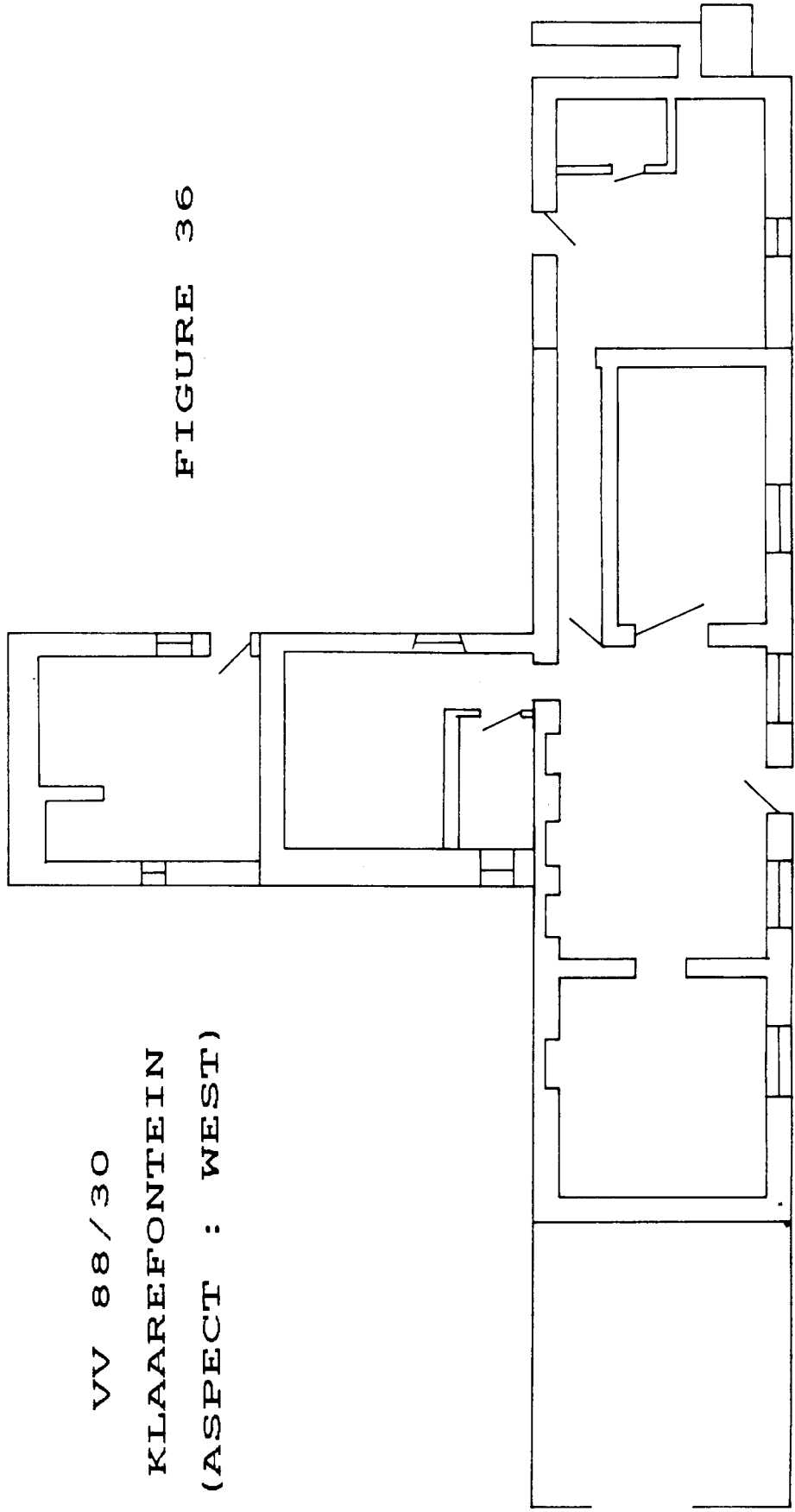
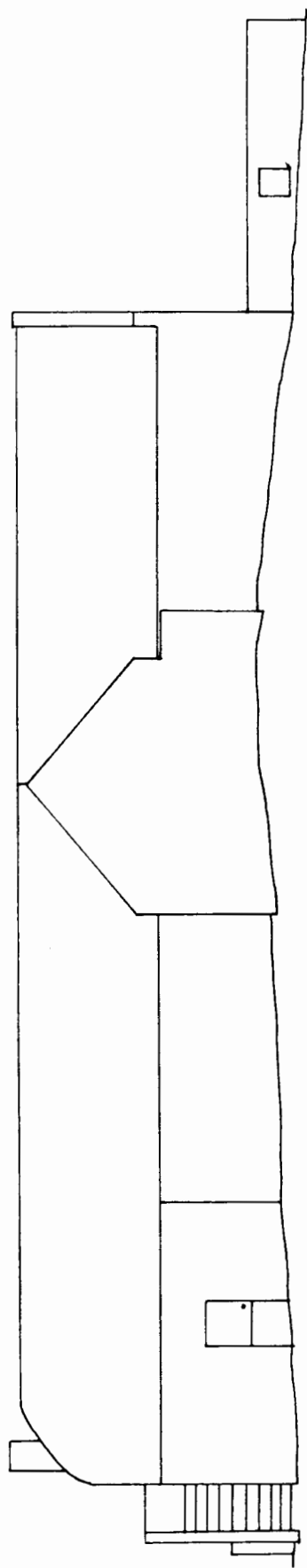
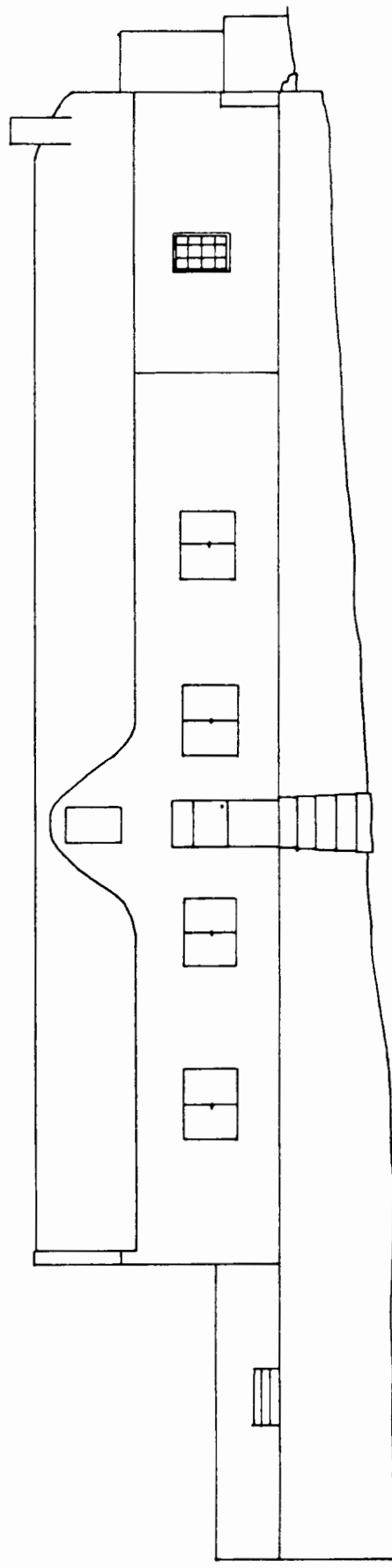
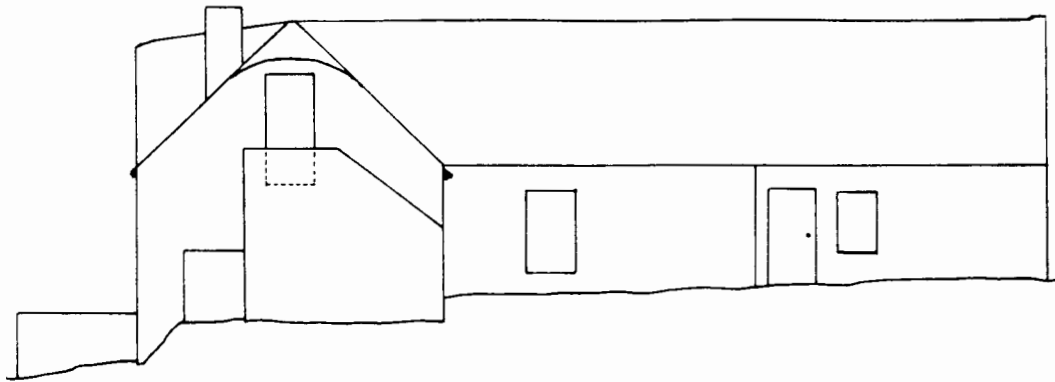


FIGURE 37

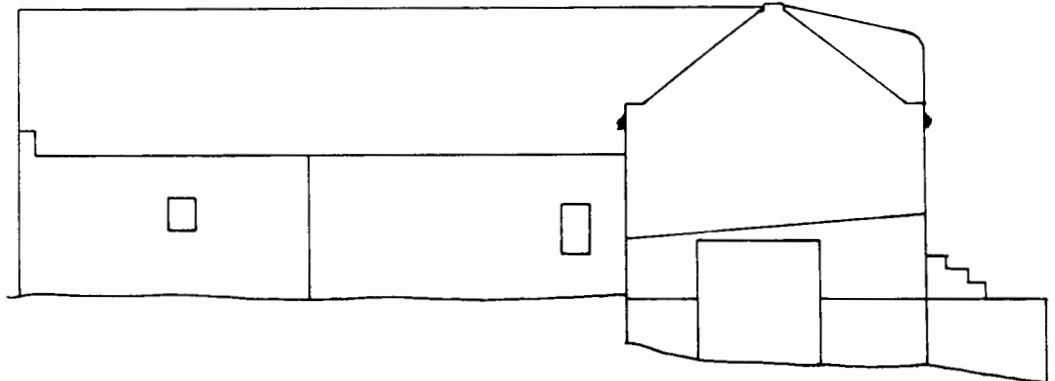


VV 88/30 : KLAAREFONTEIN

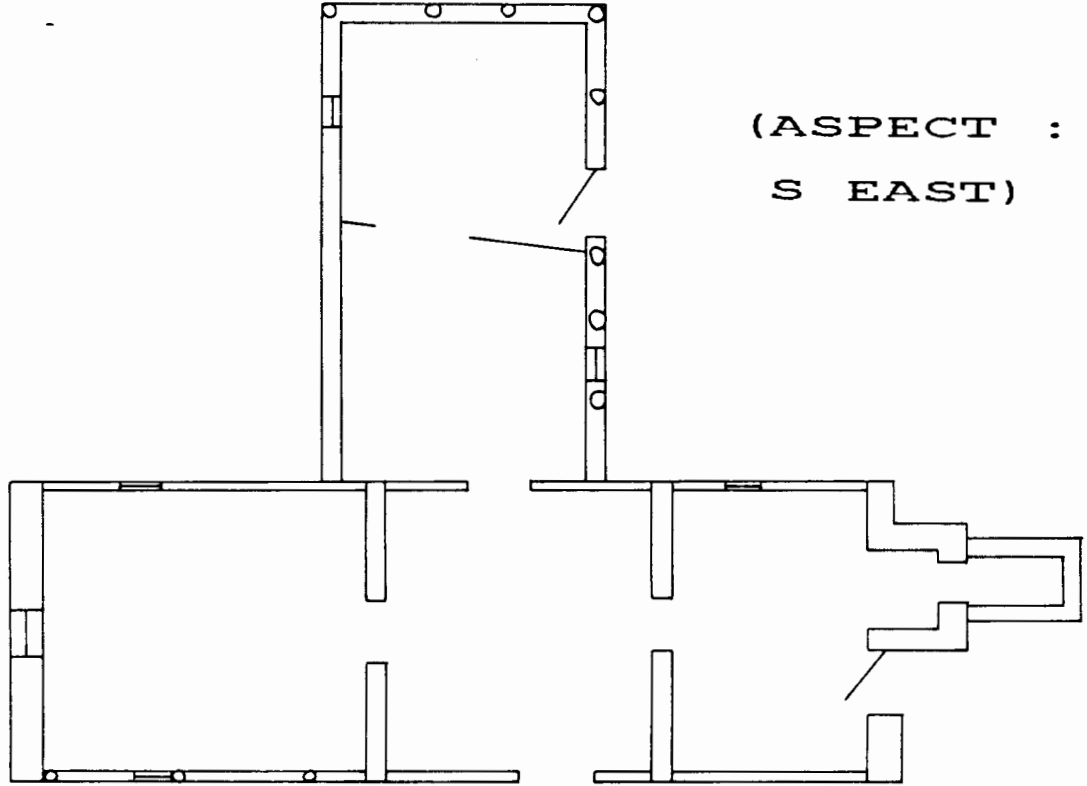




VV 88/30 : KLAAREFONTEIN



VV 88/26 : VAALFONTEIN



(ASPECT :
S EAST)

FIGURE 38

VV 88/31

MUI SHOEK 1

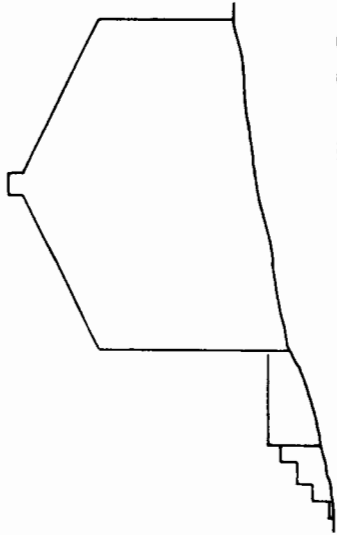
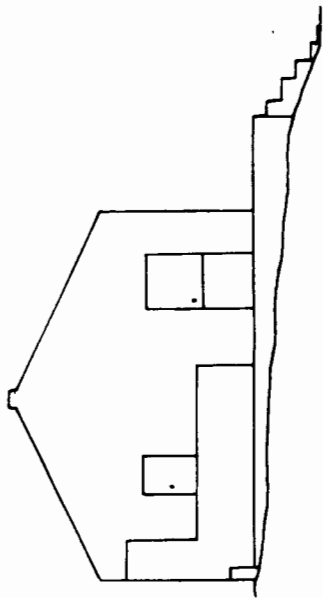
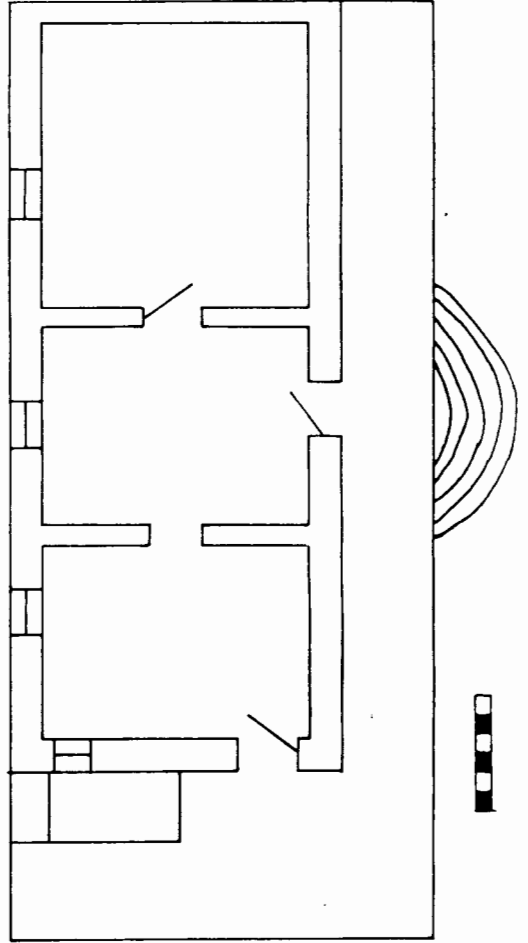
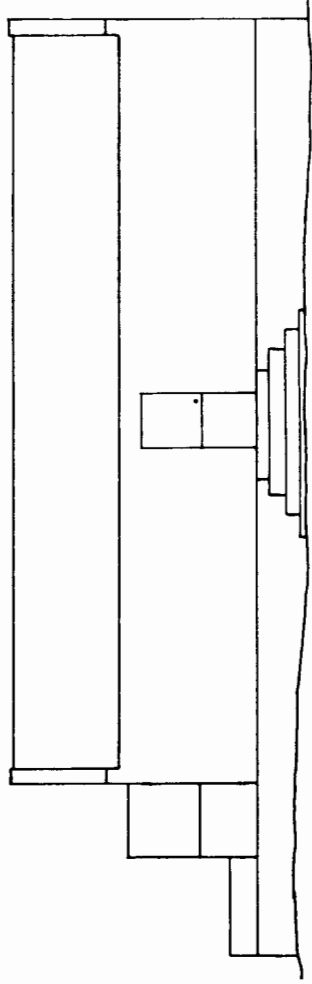
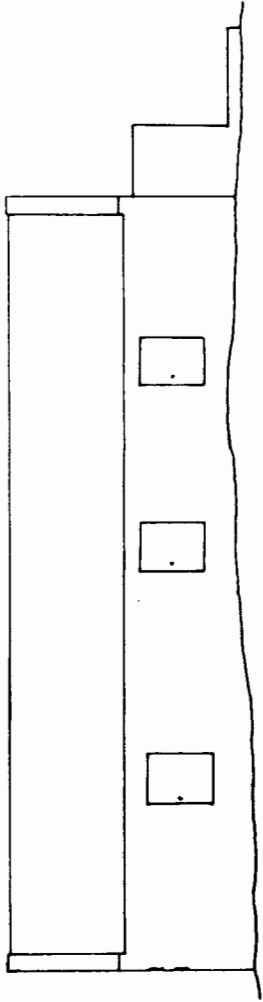


FIGURE 39



(ASPECT :
NORTH EAST)



* VV88/32 : MUISHOEK 2 (FIGURE 40)

Currently occupied by Mr van Zyl and his wife, this four-roomed langhuis has had two recent additions, one on the front and one on the back of the house, the latter of which has necessitated the creation of a door from a window. In an excellent condition, this house has remarkably small original windows and doors, the former of which are all shuttered and unglazed. The doors are very low, no more than 5 feet high in some cases, and very narrow, most of them little over 2 feet wide. I was told that this was the oldest building on the farm, although no age was given.

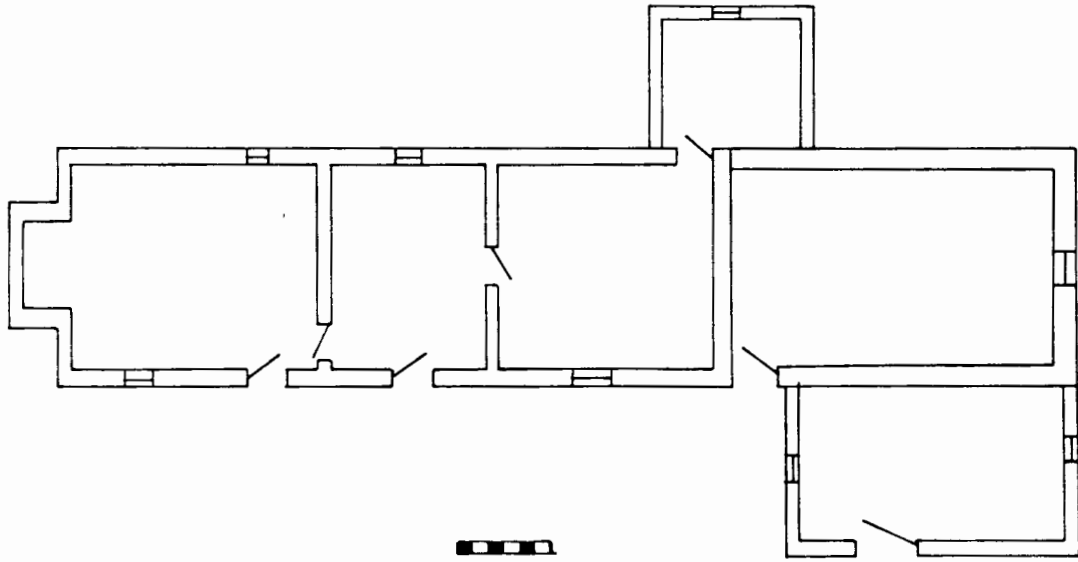
* VV88/33 : MUISHOEK 3 (FIGURES 41 AND 42)

An originally three-roomed langhuis, reputed to be \pm 70 years old, this well-preserved building has had three buitekamers added to it. It is built of mudbrick and has a thatched roof which is gabled at both ends. All of its windows, with the exception of those in the chimney and the single one in the kitchen, are shuttered. These other three are glazed. A small buttress has been built against the rear wall of the kitchen.

* VV88/34 : MATJIESGOEDDRIF (FIGURES 43 AND 44)

Although much of this building's roof has collapsed, its walls are nevertheless still standing. This langhuis has had two rooms added to its original three, one with an external doorway, and the other with a connecting doorway, probably specially cut in the end wall of the original house. All of its windows are closed with shutters, with the exception of one in the voorkamer which is a glazed sash window.

According to the present owner, his parents had lived in the house for an unspecified time prior to his taking over the farm 22 years ago. They had first occupied the house some 10 to 15 years after its previous owner, an 80 year old man who had been born in the house, died. This means that this house is at least 110 years old.



VV88/32 : MUISHOEK 2
(ASPECT : SOUTH EAST)

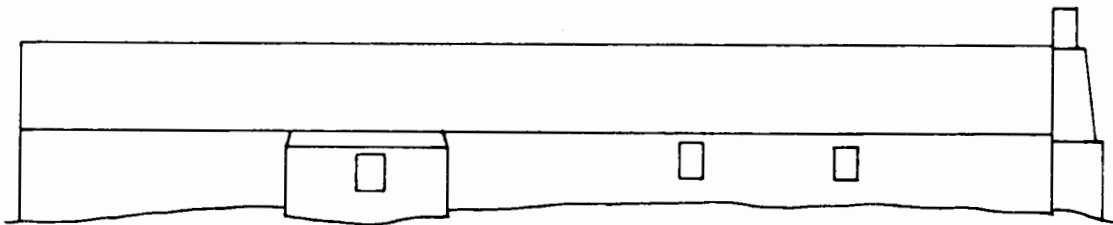
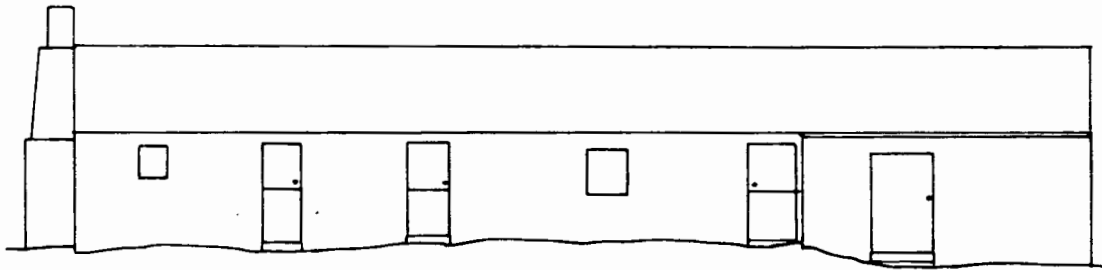


FIGURE 40

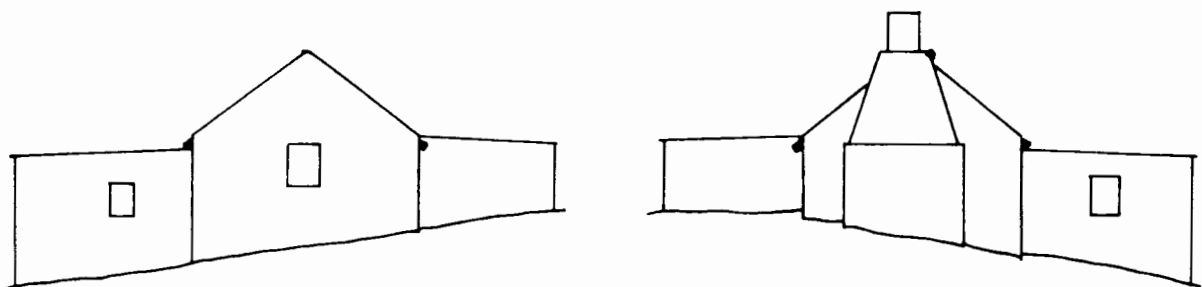
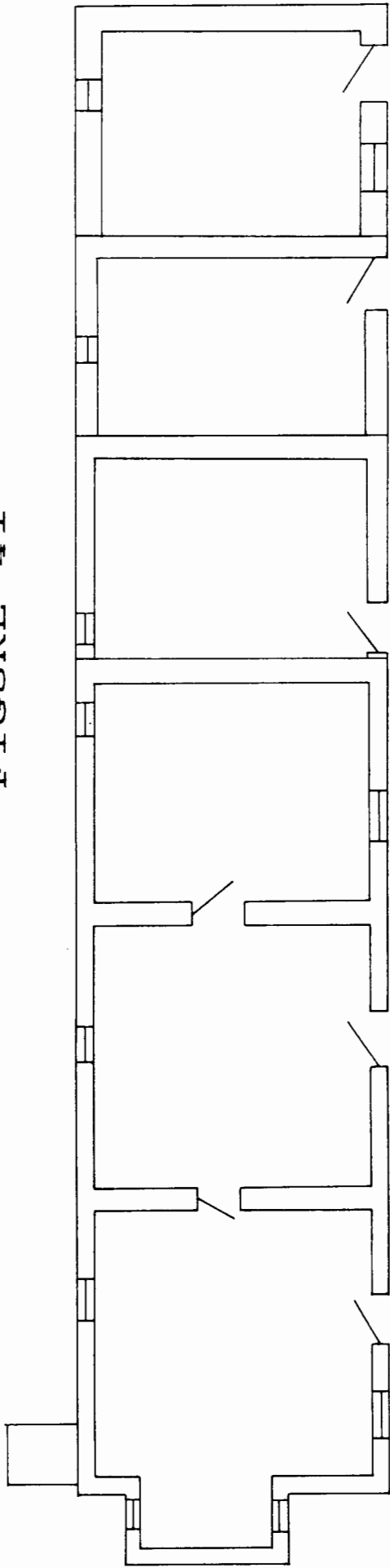


FIGURE 41



VV 88/33 : MUI SHOEK 3
(ASPECT : EAST)

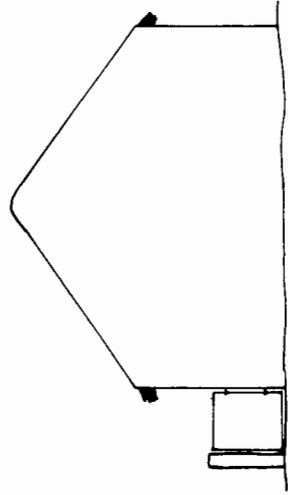
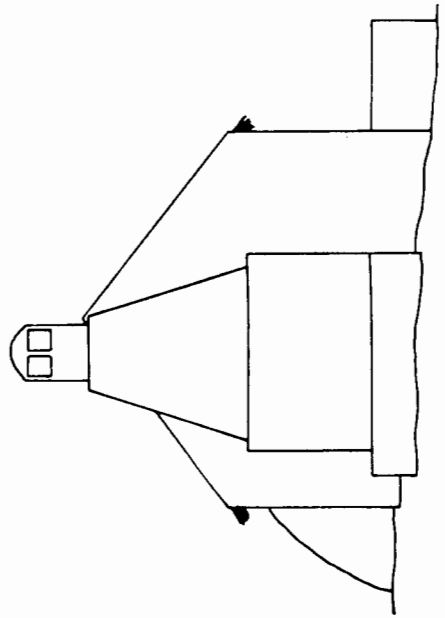
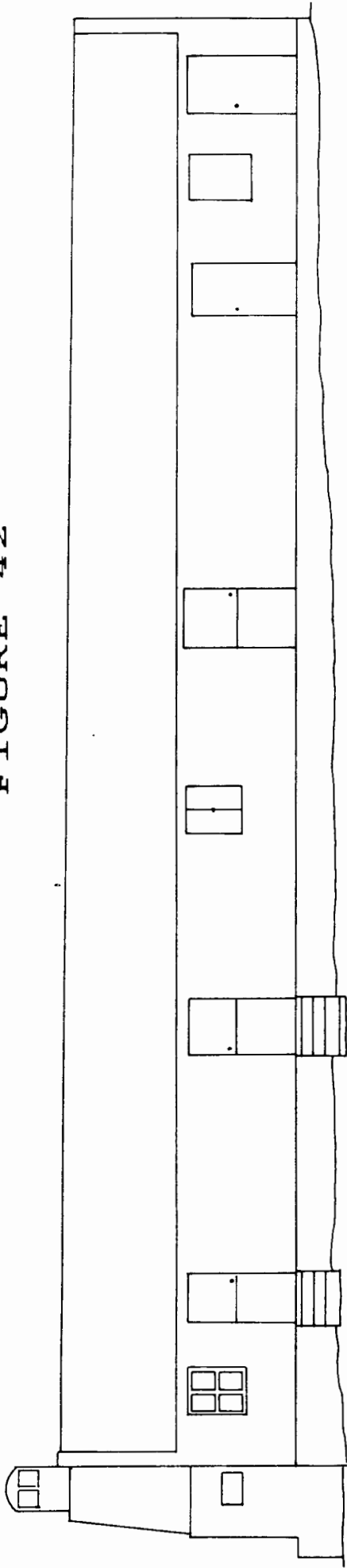
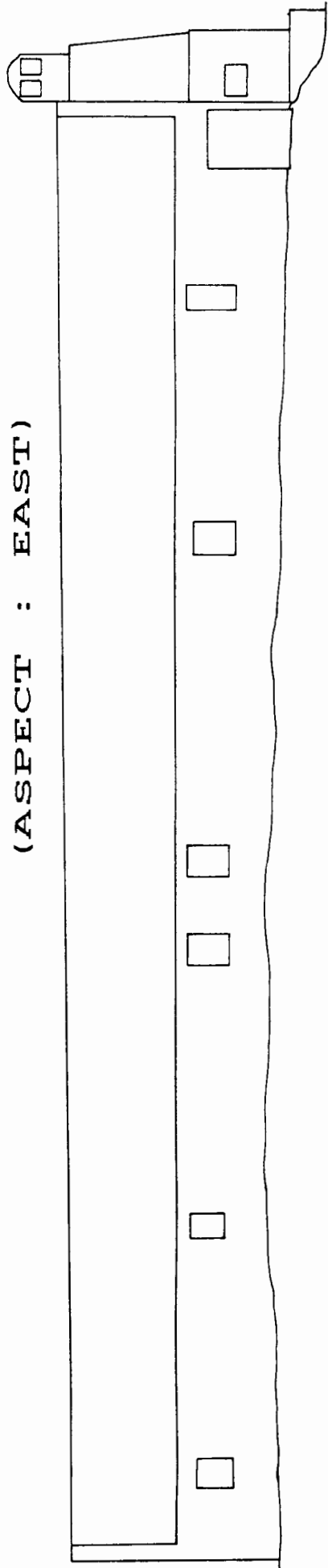


FIGURE 42



VV 88 / 33 : MUI SHOEK 3
(ASPECT : EAST)



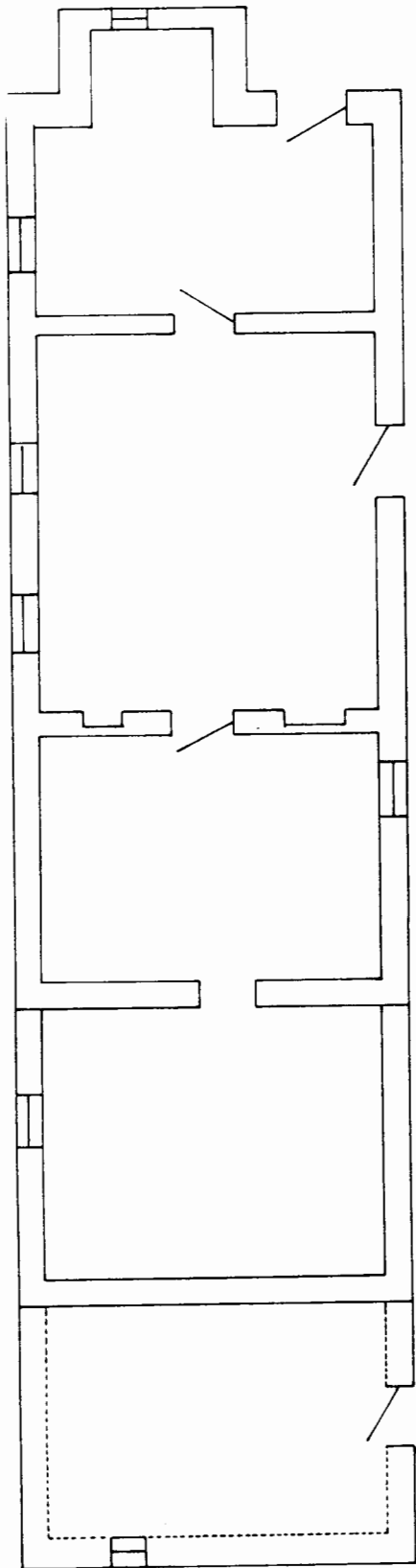
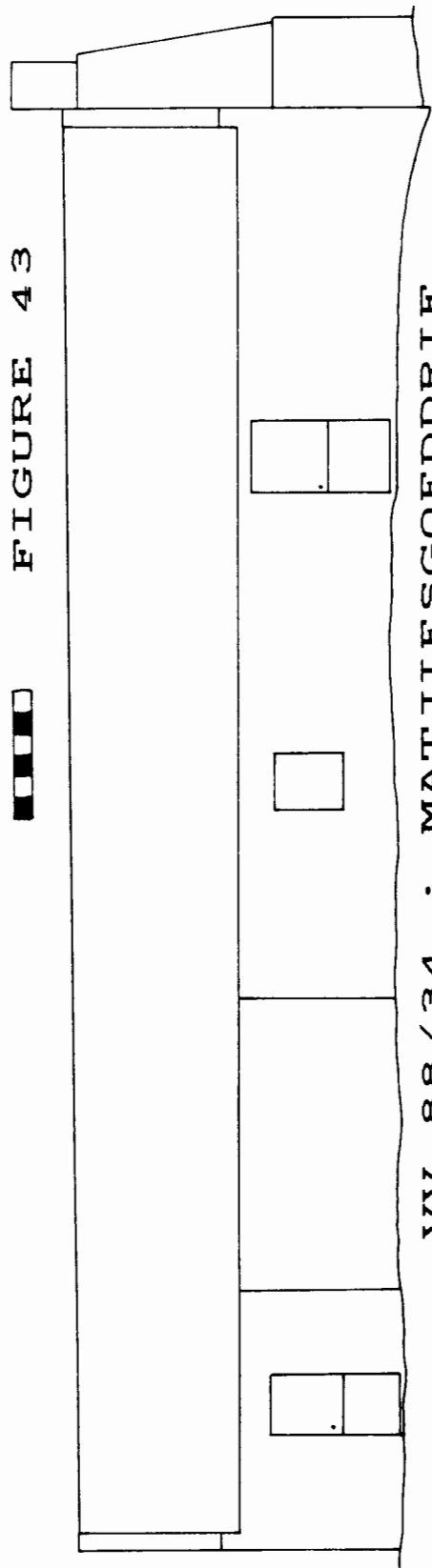
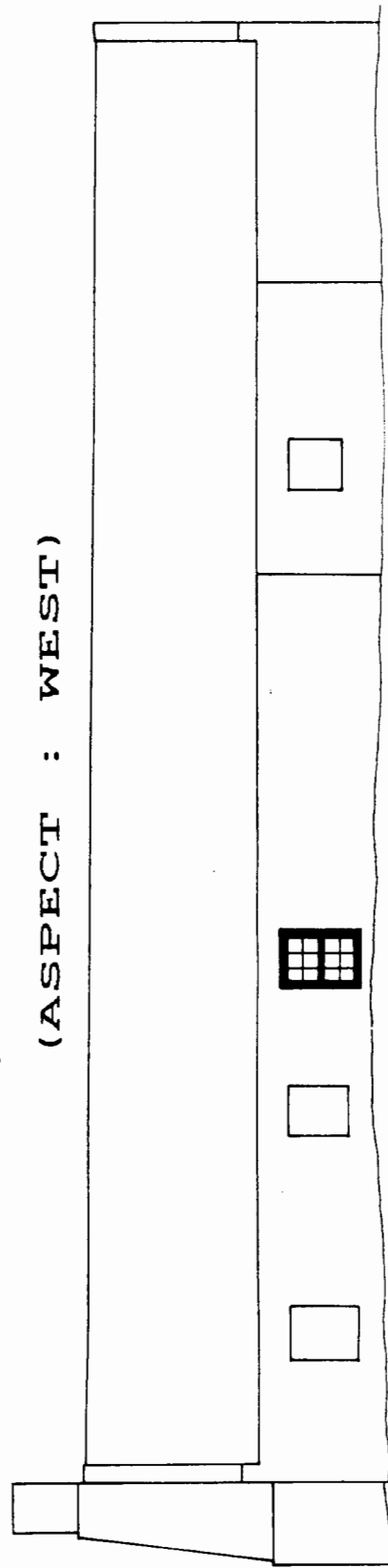


FIGURE 43

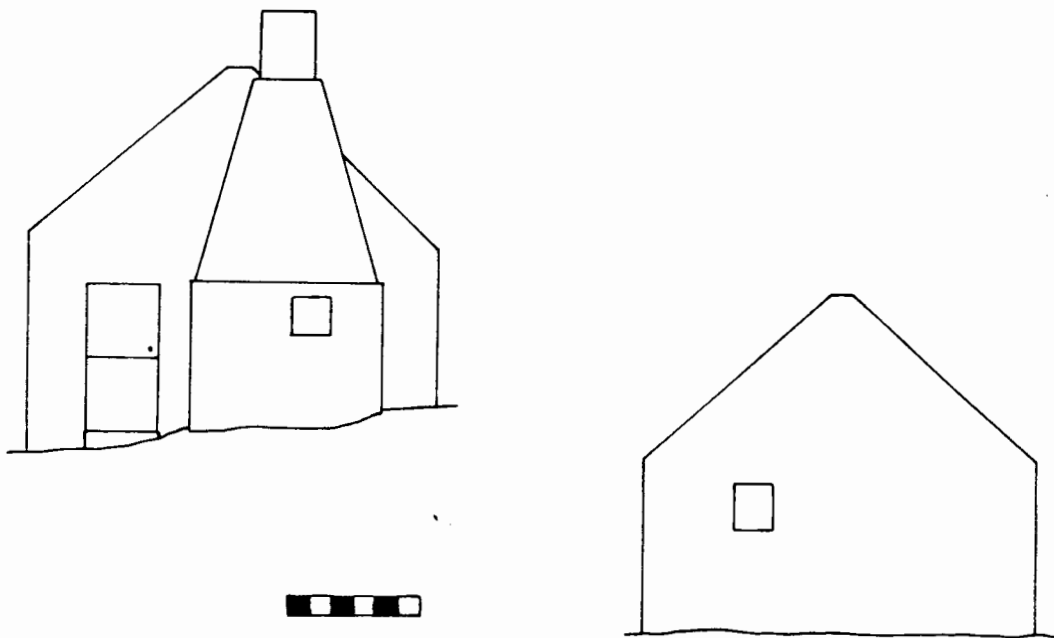


VV 88/34 : MATJIESGOEDDRIF
(ASPECT : WEST)



VV 88/34

MATJIESGOEDDRIF



(ASPECT : WEST)

FIGURE 44

* VV88/35 : MOOIFONTEIN (FIGURE 45)

This abandoned langhuis has had a covered veranda added to its front facade. It once had an oven built on beyond the chimney, but only the bricked-up doorway now remains. Possessed of a reed ceiling throughout, this building has a loft-door cut in the gable opposite the chimney. According to Mr P M A van Zyl, it is "very old", though how old he could not say.

* VV88/36 : SANDHOOG (FIGURE 46)

Probably only \pm 50 years old, this building is two rooms deep, and is consequently substantially wider than most of the other houses in the sample. All of its rooms are identical in size, and each is nearly symmetrical in its door and window placement to its parallel room. Lacking most of its roof, and a substantial portion of its northern gable, this house is slowly collapsing.

* VV88/37 : UITSIG (FIGURE 47)

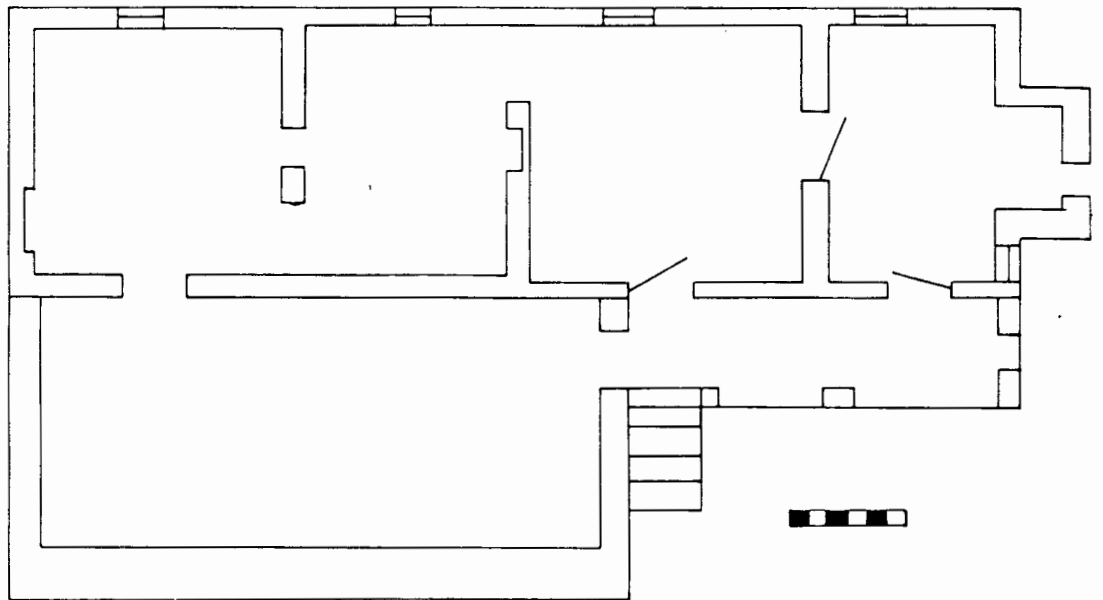
A two-roomed dwelling, this house is similar in configuration to a hardbieshuis, except that it has a chimney. It is built of large bricks that may be cement, and is thus probably relatively young. What is interesting though is that this relatively recent structure conforms to the pattern of the older houses.

* VV88/39 : DIE KRUIS 1 (FIGURES 47 AND 48)

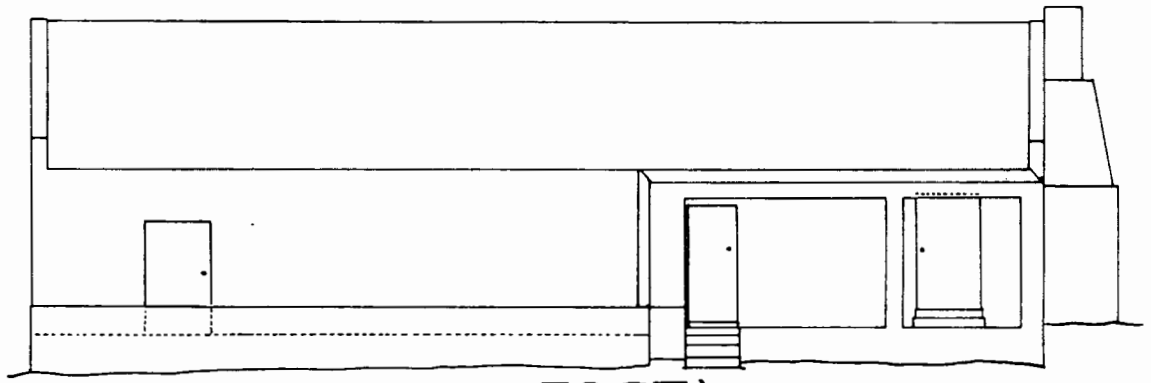
Another two-roomed house, this building is odd in that it has two external doorways into the kitchen. Although its roof is still intact, the thatch in a reasonable condition and most of its walls are still sound, the end wall furthest from the chimney and bread oven, has collapsed outwards.

* VV88/38 : WELBEDAG (FIGURES 49 AND 50)

This large house has eight of its nine rooms built parallel to one another. The two rooms furthest from the kitchen were added to the house in 1918, but the remainder of the building is substantially older. The



VV88/35 : MOOIFONTEIN



(ASPECT : EAST)

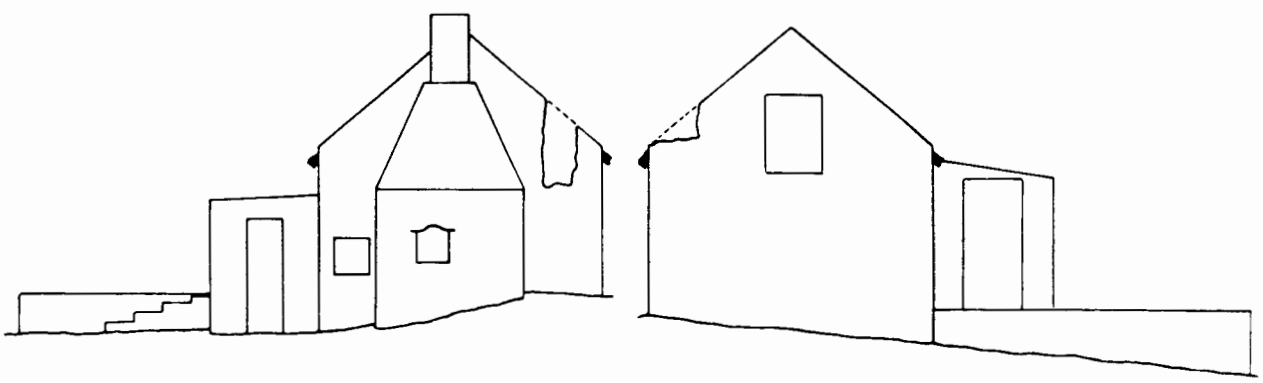
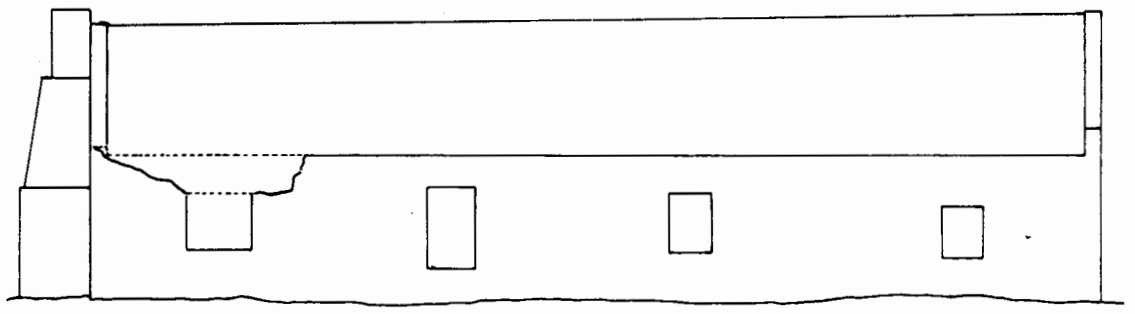
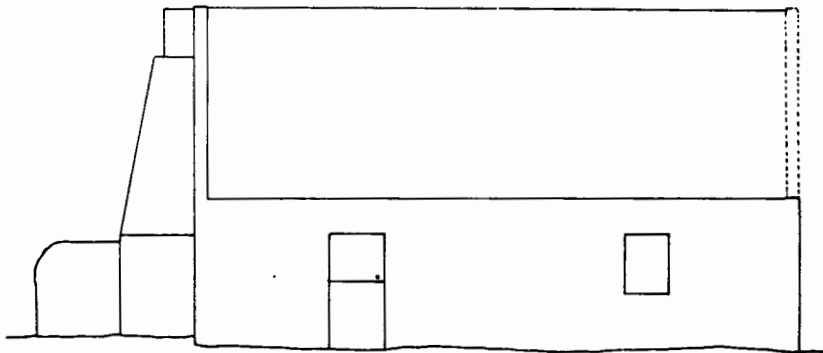
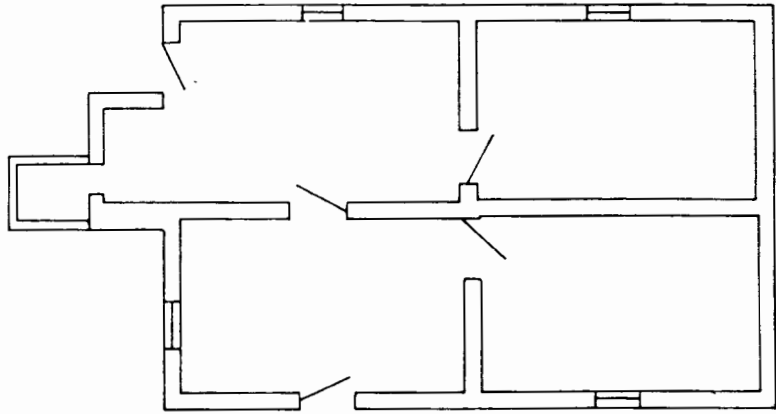
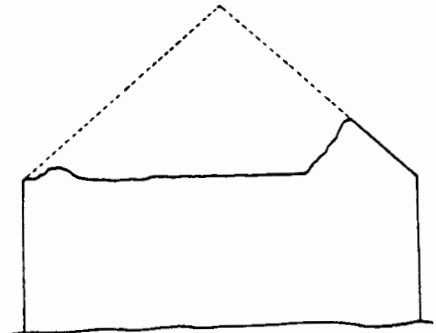
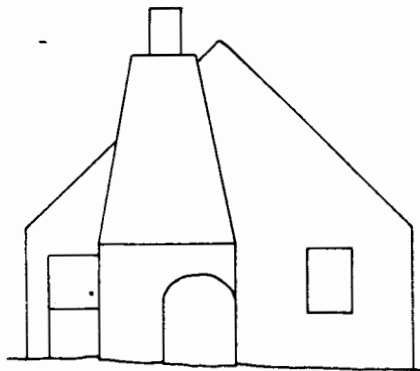


FIGURE 45



VV 88/36 : SANDHOOG



(ASPECT : EAST)

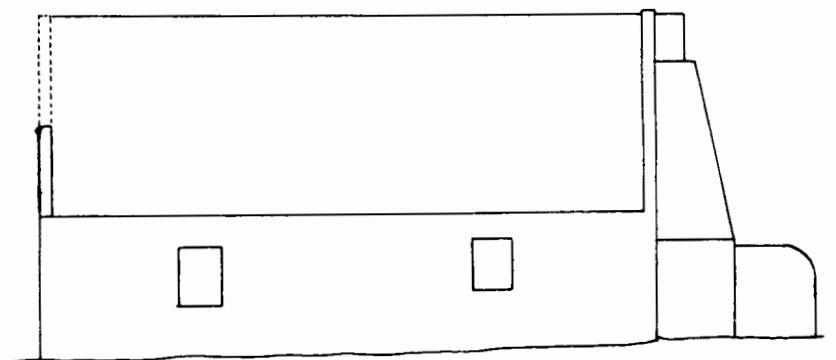
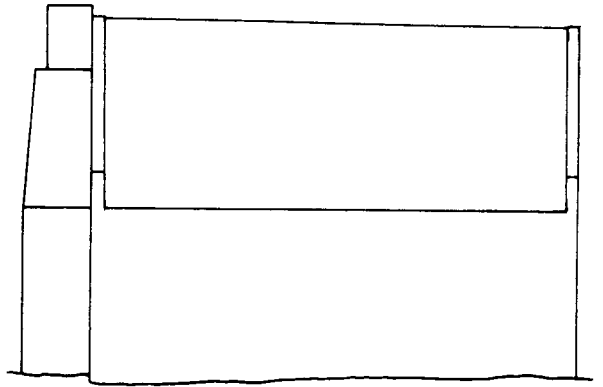
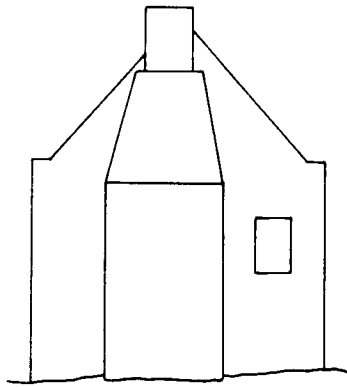
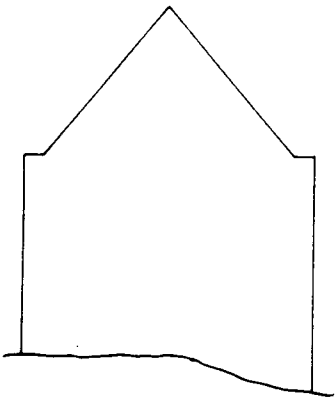
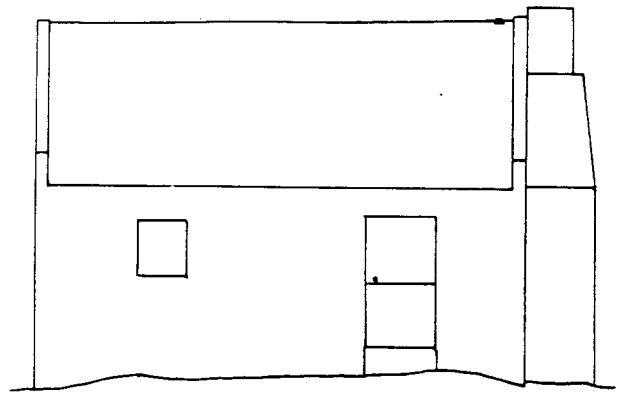
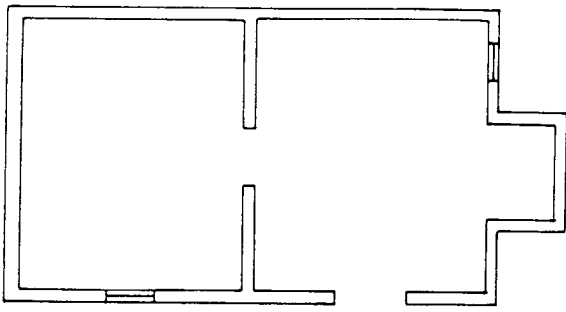
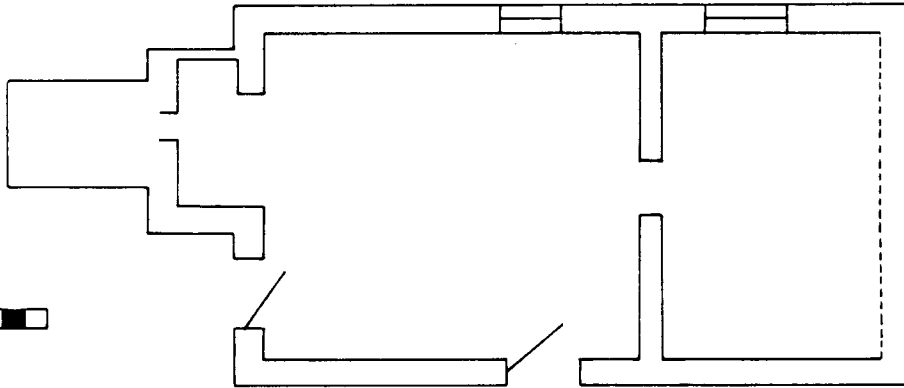


FIGURE 46



VV 88/37 : UITSIG
(ASPECT : WEST)

FIGURE 47



VV 88/39 : DIE KRUIS 1
(ASPECT : NORTH EAST)

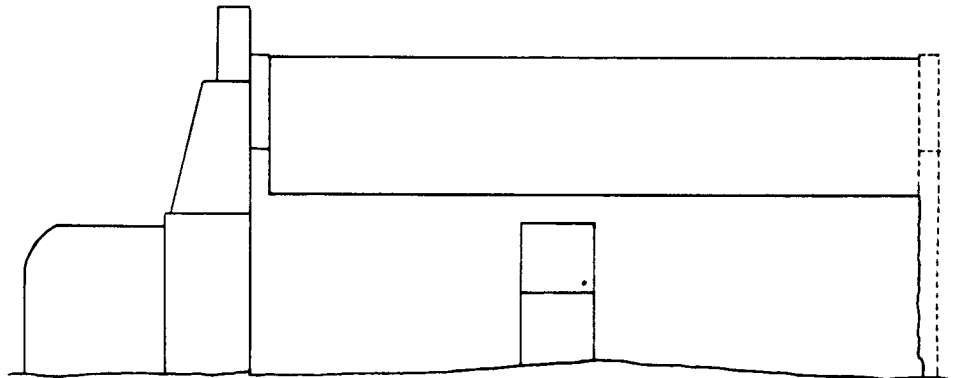
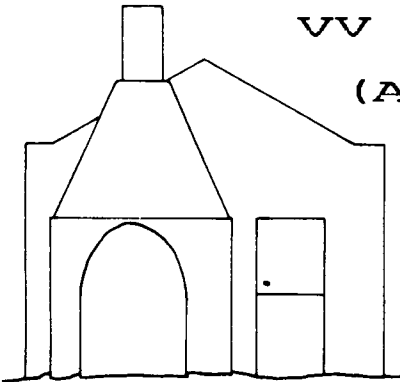
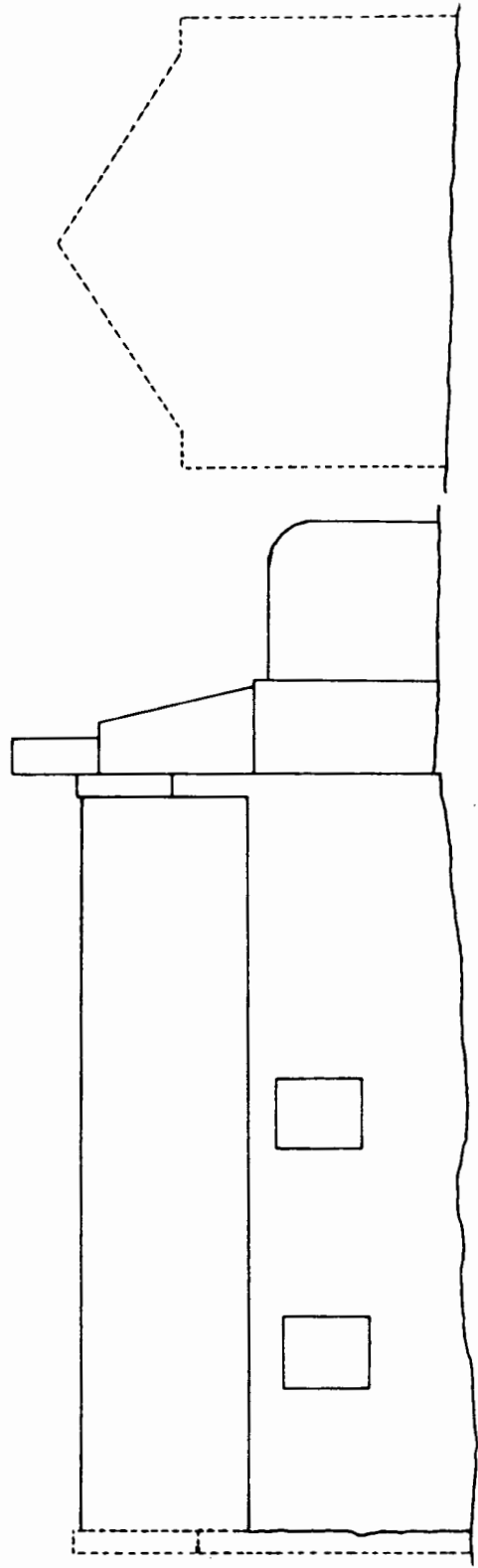
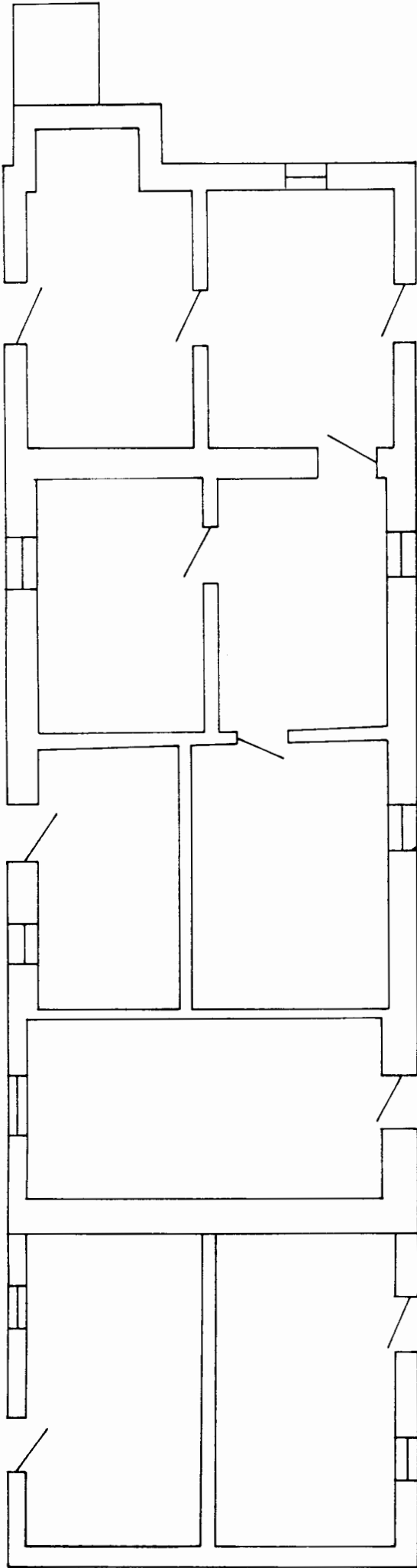


FIGURE 48

VV 88/39 : DIE KRUIS 1





VV 88 / 38 : WELBEDAG
(ASPECT : S WEST)

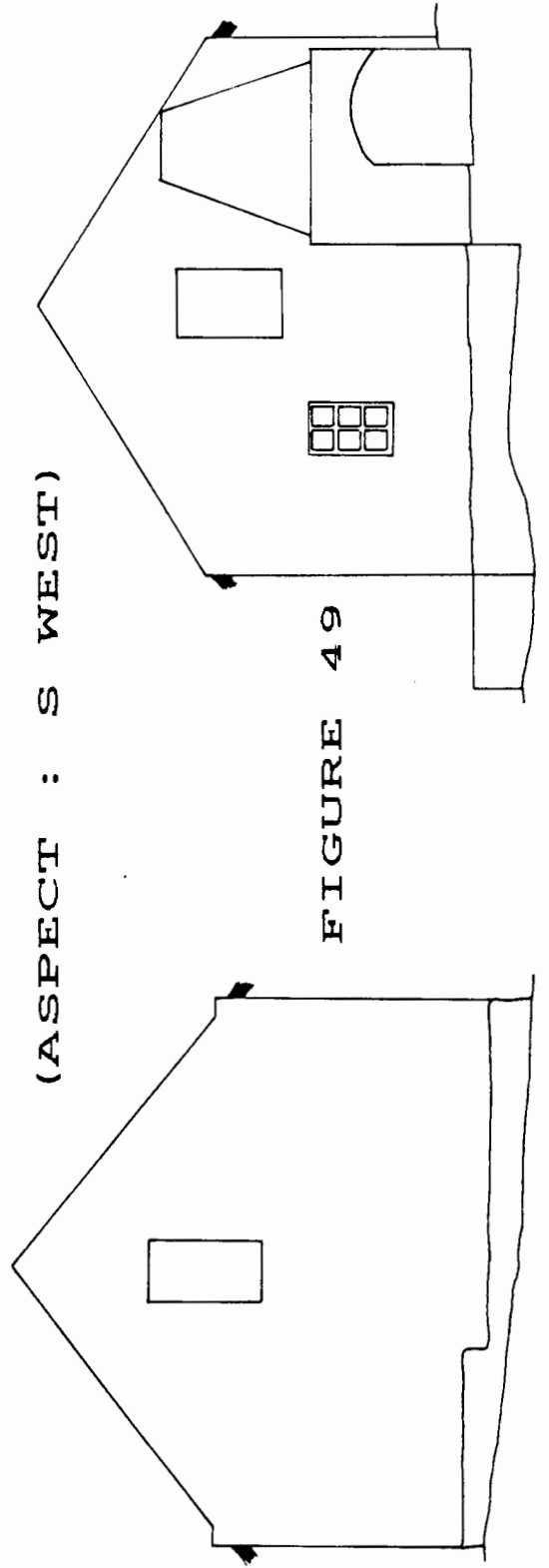


FIGURE 49

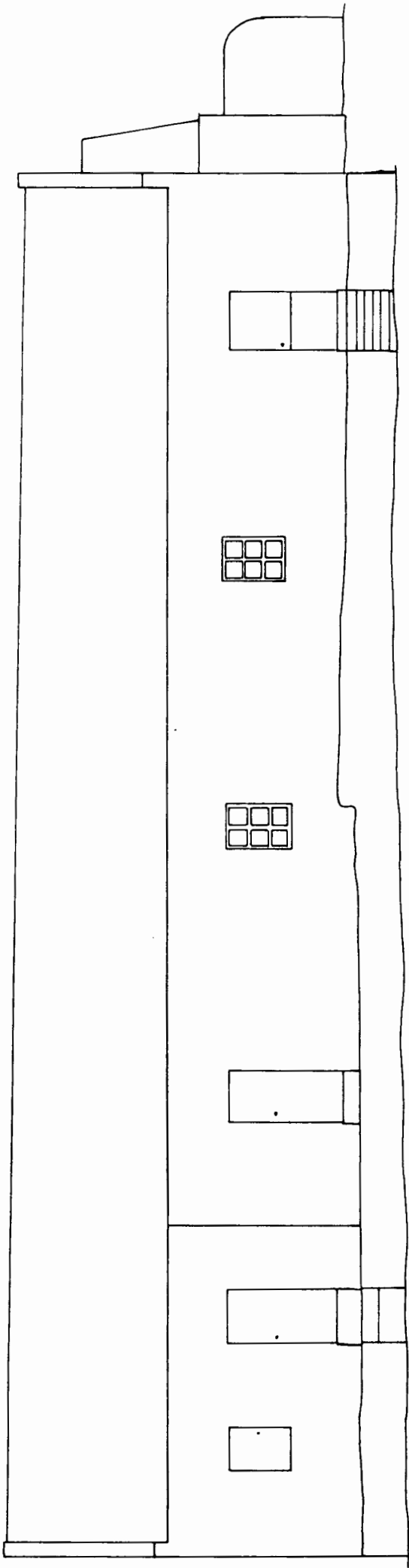
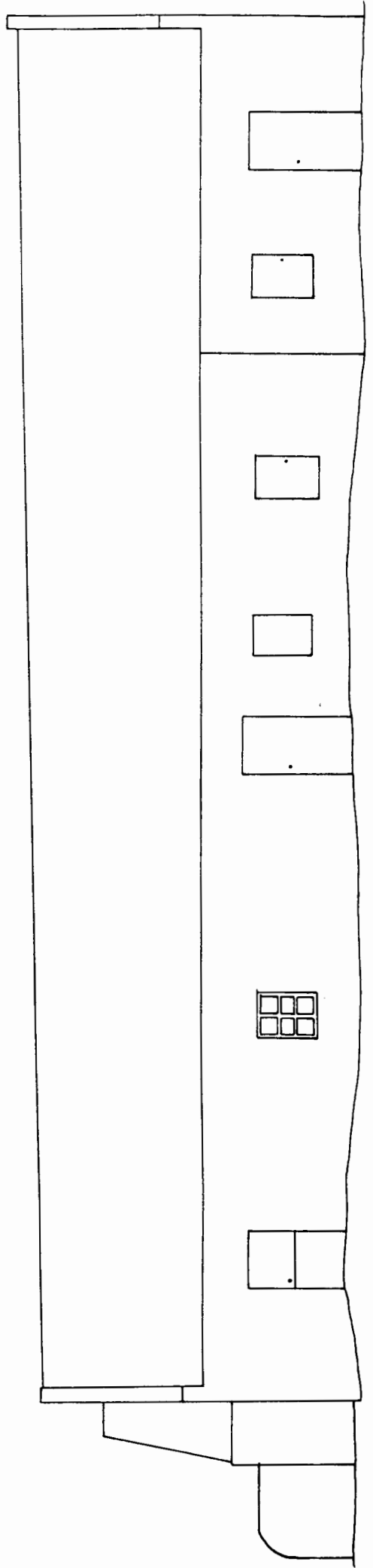


FIGURE 50 VV 88/38 : WELBEDAG
(ASPECT : S WEST)



VV 88/40 : DIE KRUIS 2
(ASPECT : NORTH EAST)

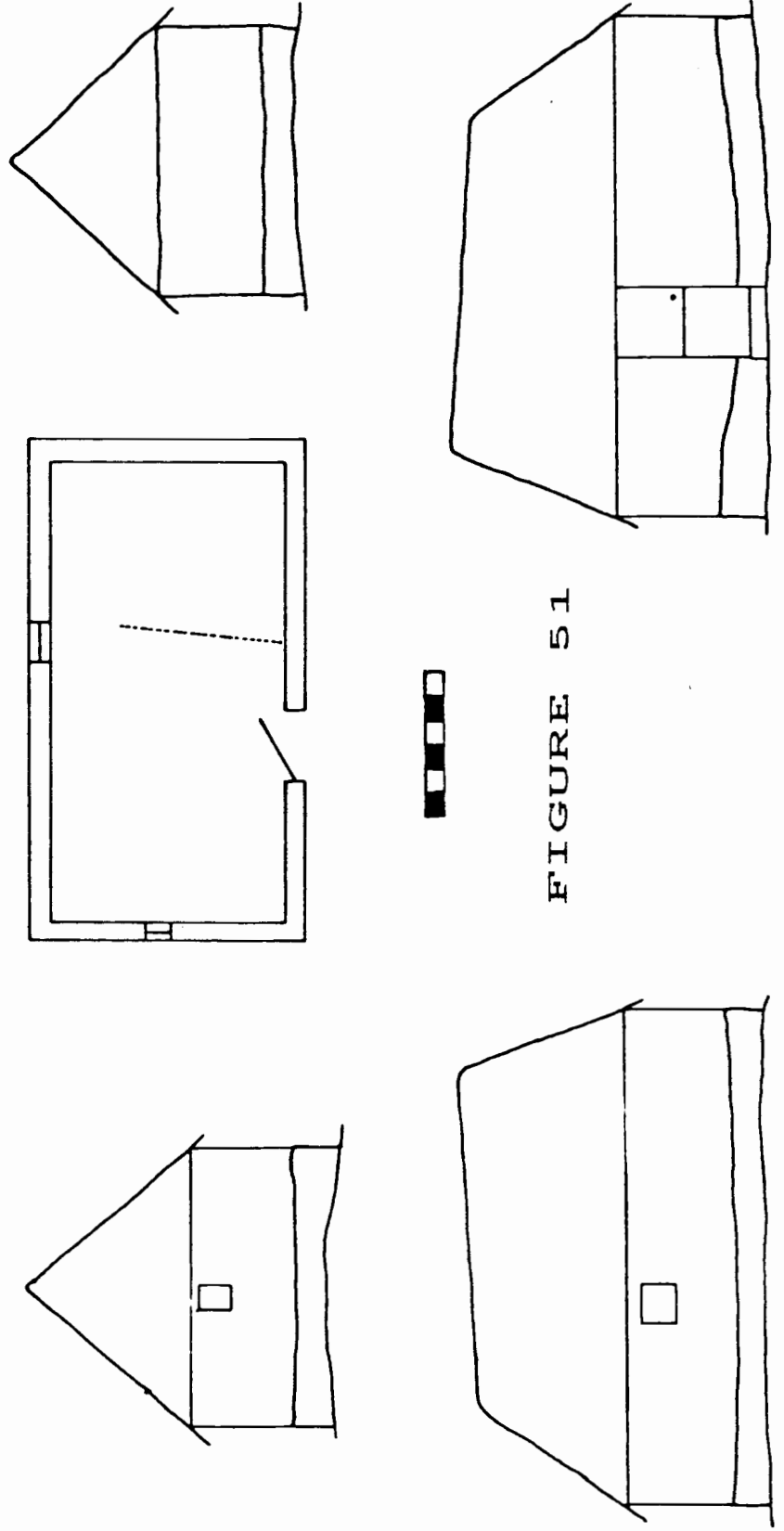
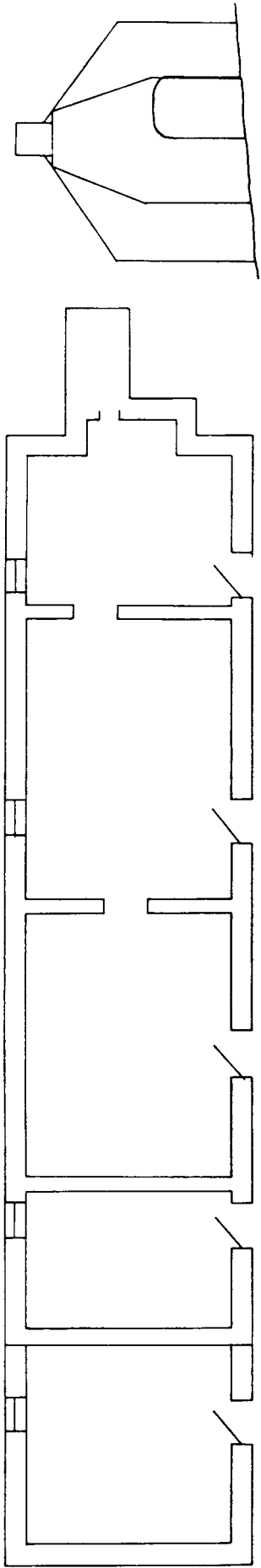


FIGURE 51



VV88/41 : DIE EIKE

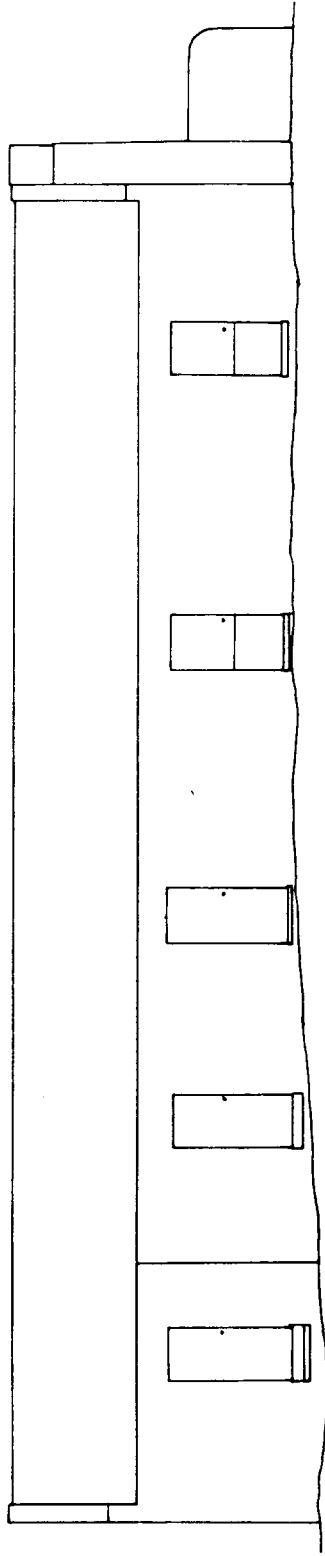
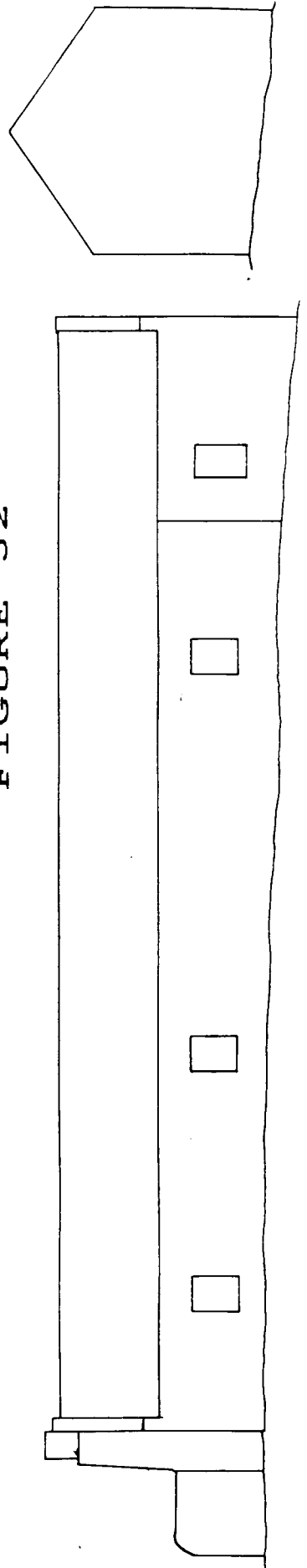


FIGURE 52



single room that spans the entire width of the house was probably never lived in, but served as a storeroom. It too may have been a later extension.

The core of the house therefore probably consists of the two parallel rows of three rooms each, associated with the chimney.

* VV88/40 : DIE KRUIS 2 (FIGURE 51)

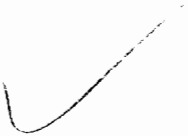
Built of a far more substantial material, namely mudbrick, this small dwelling is nevertheless identical to a hardbieshuis. It has a single door, two small windows, an open hearth in the centre of the floor, and a flimsy reed internal partition. Like the rest of the house, its roof is in good condition and fully hipped at both ends.

* VV88/41 : DIE EIKE (FIGURE 52)

Finally, this typical langhuis, which is still in very good condition and being used as a storeroom, probably originally consisted of four rooms. The room farthest from the chimney is very clearly an addition. The house is built of mudbrick and is still well plastered and whitewashed. The thatch too is still sound.

Before proceeding, I would like to mention in advance that because Glassie's (1975) definitive study of Virginian folk housing represents my role model, I have made wide and extensive reference to this study in the chapter that follows.

Chapter



Seven

Like the learner maker of artifacts, the student of material culture is presented with a continuous, chaotic field of view "to which he or she wishes to bring some order" (Glassie 1973:327). Rigorous method, such as that applied above, in the accumulation of a finite set of data about, in our case as archaeologists, the past, is the scholar's means of dealing with the profusion of possibilities a contemplation of this past thrusts at him or her. By, in the first place, imposing temporal and spatial limits on what will be considered, and then arranging the resultant set of data into chronologies, typologies or grammars, etc, the scholar is exerting order on a raw and entropic world, past and present, as a means to cope with it.

This unconscious process of mental abstraction moves a person away from an overwhelming reality - in a step which one might describe as self-preserving perception management - to a level at which the world is reduced to essences, or simple, pure and controllable concepts.

One of the criticisms of structuralist theory has been that those who use it assume that the human mind "works in orderly ways ... that [it] categorizes and

divides ... [and] that it uses a limited repertoire of contrastive categories ... to think about virtually all reality" (Leone 1982:742; Leach 1970). Such a criticism is only valid if one denies the connection that exists between the modern scholar and his subjects, people in the past: their common humanity.

It is possible to argue that the experience and worldview of the modern scholar and that of, for example, a group of San hunter-gatherers, is so vastly different as to be totally incomparable, or only comparable at the most general of levels. As a scholar with a white, colonial background, studying an aspect of the colonial past, however, my position in the present, in terms of worldview and my perceptions of reality, is largely shaped by my European colonial ancestry.

Although in many respects the 200 years that separate me from my subjects in the past may as well be light years, so alien and incomprehensible are many aspects of the past to me, at the deepest cultural level the colonial past and the colonially informed present are in many ways very close. On the surface, the material expressions I, and someone living on the banks of the Verlorenvlei in 1750, produce in response to our interaction with and perceptions of our individual worldly realities are likely to be very different. This, however, does not imply a mutual incompatibility that will thwart the scholar and deny him or her access to past mind. Rather, many of the differences are likely to be the result of two different sets of mediations of similar experiences of reality.

This is not to deny that the twentieth and eighteenth centuries are still worlds apart, but when one considers what people did then, and do now in response to the real world, certain very deep parallels are discernable. Both our responses to nature and the world are the same. In order to cope, humans withdraw from the world's chaotic reality by creating artificial order in their culture, society and material universe (Levi-Strauss 1970).

If we in the present, therefore, use categories of opposites between which we mediate to order and control our environment and world (Leone 1982) why, then, in the light of the above, should not the people of, at least the relatively recent past, not have used similar, if not identical concepts and categories. The work done by Glassie (1975), Deetz (1977) and Upton (1986) all indicates that these deep structures of mind, as manifest in the present, do exist in the

past.

A young child will initially be filled with myriad confused perceptions as he surveys the world around him. "His visual sensations are not neat, for his world does not present itself as an ordered assemblage of geometric entities." (Glassie 1975:19). In order to deal with reality, therefore, this learning designer and potential producer of artifacts, develops a set of pure and simple geometric ideas. "As thinker, as perceiving, conceptualizing human being, he shatters and rebuilds reality by dint of an inward capacity for surrendering and ordering" (Glassie 1975:19).

The past designer therefore develops an unconscious geometric repertoire which "is not composed of models of the sights of the phenomenal world ... but [is] a set of simple shapes abstracted beyond any connection with [the real world or real things]" (Glassie 1975:19). His ability to design is based upon this repertoire, which is the product of his individual assimilation, conceptualization and abstraction of the general cultural and societal socialization to which he is consciously and sub-consciously subjected.

This capacity to design artifacts has been called the designer's "competence", or ability to compose, and is one of two abilities in mind that account for the physical form of any object a person may make. The other is the ability of the designer to relate this composition to "things external to it in its 'context'" (Glassie 1975:17). This interrelation produces a person's actual "performance" - physical objects in the world.

A person's competence, therefore, proceeds from the abstract to the concrete; from ideas to houses. According to Glassie, scholars have often recognized static sections of this process and called them typological levels. If one is trying to recover mind, however, and "comprehend the ideas behind the measurable artifact" (1973:325), one must develop a structural system which will account for the entire object, through the use of a set of transforming rules that tie these levels together and result in templates, rather than types (Deetz 1967; Glassie 1973, 1975).

The production of an artifact by a person therefore, is the result of a mental dialectic in which reality is broken down and abstracted, and then rebuilt according to that person's perceptions. This competence, it must be stressed,

is the result not only of the mental processes discussed above, but is also heavily influenced by external context. An object is not simply created in the mind "and then related to internalized ideas of external objects while the object is being composed" (Glassie 1975:17). In other words, an object is not composed in isolation from external stimuli, and the context into which it will fit when finished. Rather, during its conception, these external forces and stimuli will "intrude" in the mind of the designer or creator, influencing this conception and therefore, ultimately, the competence and performance represented by the object.

When considered carefully, it becomes apparent that the past designer, and the modern scholar of artifacts, in essence, follow the same procedure in their relationships with the same artifacts. In both cases, the first step is to reduce reality to a series of abstract, powerful and easily understood concepts.

These concepts form the base from which we both then proceed to compose our individual, yet parallel, accounts of artifactual competence. After this, the past designer uses his competence to inform his performance and produces an artifact. The scholar, on the other hand, uses the competence, or set of "relational rules required for [the artifact's] complete design" to provide a complete description of artifactual form (Glassie 1978:30).

To produce such an account of artifactual competence then, is the primary task of the scholar. Because the study of artifacts is one of form, this account of artifactual competence a scholar produces should answer questions of process. It cannot, therefore, merely be a list of typological levels, but must instead "consist of rules that might have been used to generate perceivable things." (Glassie 1975:20). This set of rules governs the structure of the whole artifact, and binds individual elements into a synchronic whole, the subsequent analysis of which is intended to create a "systematic model that accounts for the design ability of an idealized maker - a sort of artifactual grammar" (Glassie 1975:17).

It is in the nature of my discipline that, as an archaeologist, I begin a study with small, discrete, and "relatively autonomous study objects". Although aware of larger cultural, social, political, economic and historical issues, it is preferable not to accept them as givens, but instead try to build up to them

through the study of their products (Glassie 1978:30).

An important reason for my use of structuralist theory is, as discussed above, the fact that it puts me in a similar conceptualizing position in terms of my study objects, to that occupied by the original designer and creator of these objects. I am able to take discrete, complex objects and break them down into simpler components. The idea is not to eliminate any data during this process, but instead to generalize it through continual abstraction and synthesis, until one achieves the deepest and most powerful level of artifactual abstraction; the recognition of the base structure that underlies the form of the artifacts (Glassie 1973, 1975, 1978).

Once this has been achieved, the scholar can then proceed to build the artifacts up again, into larger and larger systems, the final result of which will be a set of relational rules that will account, in the simplest possible manner, for the design of the artifacts; in my case the houses. This set of rules must be closed with every rule bound to every other, and it must account completely for the form of the artifacts, providing the scholar "with a complete statement of all the similarities and differences in a particular set of data" (Glassie 1978:31; 1975).

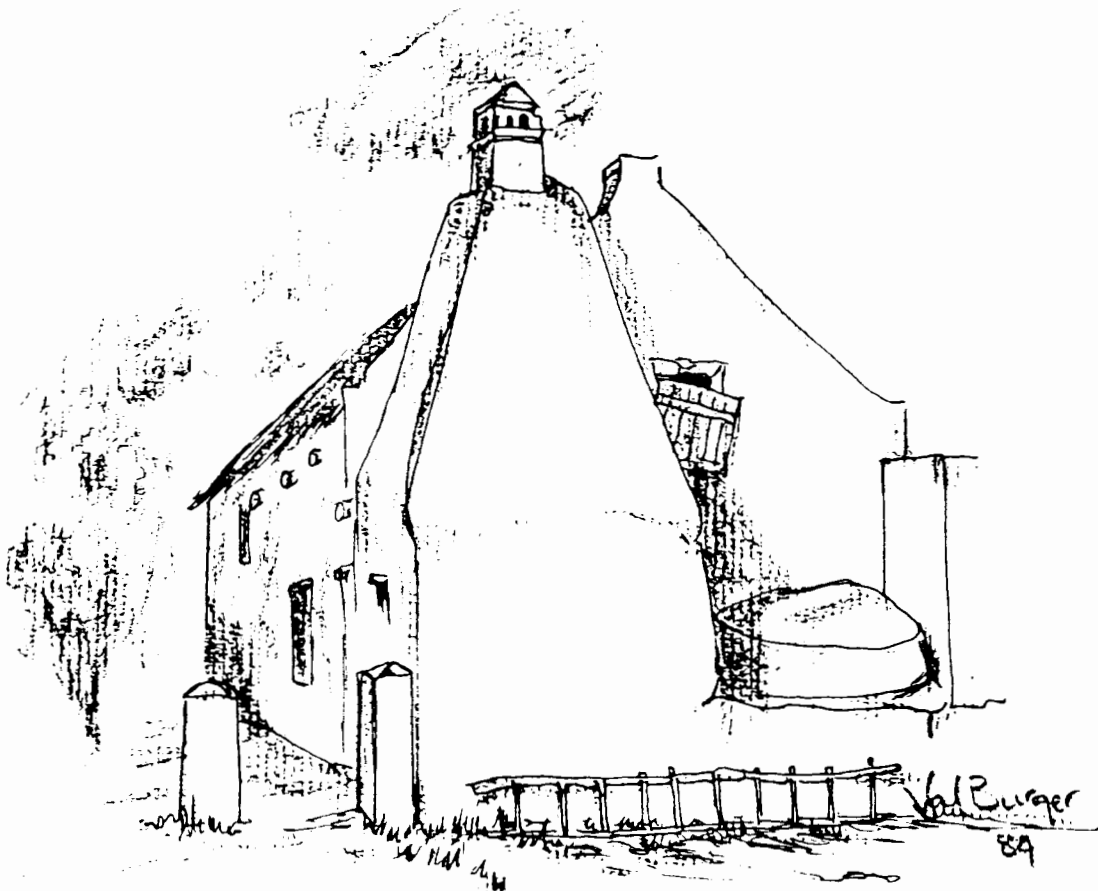
The rule set the analyst produces is an attempt to objectify an unconscious mental process of design. As a result, it is never possible for the scholar to answer the question of whether the rules he or she has created are the same as those in the mind of the object's designer. All the scholar can know, according to Glassie (1975:20) "is that if the rules that emerge during the attempt to indwell in other minds account completely for observable phenomena, the chances are fair that many of them coincide, in truth with the mental acts of the creators of the phenomena; and at least a possible, partial explanation for the phenomena has been constructed."

The statement of architectural competence that I now present therefore, represents an attempt at a complete account of the available data, in terms not of the manner in which a house was built, but rather in terms of the mental constructs that governed this physical process of building.

This grammar was initially developed from the data on the first thirteen houses in the sample to be recorded, through an inductive interaction with the

buildings on my part. As more buildings were added to the sample, and my "feeling" for or rapport with the houses grew, so the rule set was changed, re-written and refined, until it accounted fully for the form of Verlorenvlei vernacular architecture. During this process of dialogue with the houses, each developed its own character and, for me, ceased merely being constructs of clay and thatch, and became fascinating examples of the idiosyncratic way in which different builders utilized the options open to them in the architectural competence to produce houses that are similar but never identical. Once again I must mention that I have relied heavily on Glassie's example in "Folk Housing in Middle Virginia" for guidance on the construction and layout of the grammar. Any similarity between my scheme and Glassie's, however ends here, each representing a vastly different set of data.

FIGURE 53 : CHIMNEY
AND BREAD OVEN
AT KLIPRIG



* RULE SET I : THE CREATION OF THE BASE STRUCTURE

I.A Choosing the Geometric Entity : The entity chosen is a rectangle (X)

I.A.1 The Base Structure consists of two rectangles of equal width placed end to end (XX)

1.A.1.a The base structure has the facility to be doubled laterally

I.A.2 By definition, all sides are parallel.

I.A.3 The diagonals are not always parallel.

1.A.3.a The length of the rectangles may therefore not be identical.

I.B Invariability : The base structure formed in Rule 1.A.1 will be present in every structure

I.C Transformation of the Geometric Entity : A range of sizes and shapes of the geometric entity is created by the addition and subtraction of units of measurement.

It must be stressed at this point that the vernacular nature of the houses, their building methods and the raw materials used, all combine to create buildings which are physically rough and uneven. Corners are rounded, while walls curve and vary in thickness. This means that even within a single room, two theoretically parallel walls usually differ slightly in length. As a result, the measurements one obtains all vary slightly. I do not believe that this variance is caused solely by the factors of building material and method, mentioned above, however, but that it is probably also partly the result of a decision made at the same level of the architectural competence at which the form of the base structure is decided.

The rules for the base structure, as set out above, do not account, for the

real physical size of the idealized unit. It is necessary therefore, that an attempt be made here to discover the set of physical measurements the builder of such a house would have employed, and upon which are based the "transformed ... scale of shapes" from which the rest of the house stems (Glassie 1975:22).

My initial contemplation of all the measurements left me totally bewildered and confused, and unable to make any sense of what seemed to be an irrational and completely unrelated set of data. The only thing immediately obvious was that the measurements to which I should apply myself were those representing the internal dimensions of the two geometric entities forming the base structure. (See Rule V.A.2)

Eventually, following repeated failed attempts at cracking the code that would reveal a common unit of measurement for the houses, a discussion with a farmer, Mr van Zyl of the farm Muishoek, provided the solution to my puzzlement. A bachelor, and probably in his late sixties, Mr van Zyl has apparently lived at Muishoek his entire life. He took over the job of local tack and harness maker from his father (Landbou-Weekblad 1967), and still plies his trade from one of the outside rooms of his house. Although he did not build this house, his father probably did, and he grew up in it and has lived in it all his life. According to him, builders used two stock units of measurement; the fathom, and the pace. Houses were conceptualized and planned in terms of combinations of these two units.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, a fathom represents a measurement of six feet, while a pace is roughly equivalent to a yard, about three feet in length. Exactly how these units were applied is not clear, but from the description by Mr van Zyl, it appears that formal measuring apparatus such as rules or tapes in all likelihood did not exist. This suggests that each builder probably employed the size of his own pace, and the distance between his outstretched hands to obtain a fathom, resulting in a set of measurements that correspond generally, from house to house yet reflect in their range of variation the physical size of their individual builders.

The application of these two units to the internal measurements of each base structure revealed a remarkable degree of correspondence. Allowing for a slight range of variation caused by both the builders' individual physiologies and the materials and methods employed in actually constructing a building, the

basic dimensions of all the houses can be explained in terms of combinations of the fathom and the pace.

By far the most common combination of these units takes the form of geometric entities that are two fathoms (twelve feet) wide and one fathom one pace (nine feet) in length. There is never a combination of more than three fathoms (eighteen feet) in sequence in one direction, nor will any side of a rectangle ever be less than one fathom (six feet) in length. These permutations of size and shape will be discussed in greater detail as necessary.

The discovery of these two basic units of measurement, and their successful application to the measured dimensions of the base structures, has resulted in the highlighting of the sharedness and continuity of the cultural rules governing Sandveld house construction, and has allowed me, as Glassie (1975:25) puts it, "to abstract away from manifestations of individual behaviour toward collective mind."

* **RULE SET II: THE BASE STRUCTURE IS NOW EXPRESSED THREE-Dimensionally IN SPACE**

The mentally conceptualized base structure is given concrete expression and becomes an observable, tangible object of material culture, shaped by both the competence and performance of its creator.

II.A A house can consist of a base structure only

Should this be the case Rule Set III does not apply to such a building.

* **RULE SET III: GROWTH**

III.A Growth occurs through the selection and addition of transformations of the geometric entities to the base structure.

III.A.1 The structure is extended from the end of the base structure

furthest from the chimney (See Rule Set VIII)

III.A.1.a If the base structure contains no chimney, extension may take place on either side of it.

III.A.2 The extension is in a straight line parallel to the base structure

III.A.2.a Extension may also be lateral - this implies a structure of double depth (Rule I.A.1.a)

III.A.2.b Extensions must always have parallel walls.

III.A.2.c The walls must line up with the base structure.

III.B The diagonals of the extensions need not be parallel to those of the base structure

III.B.1 The lengths of the extensions therefore, need not be identical to those of the base structure's geometric entities

III.B.1.a The lengths of the extensions need not be identical to each other either.

* RULE SET IV : THE EXTENSIONS ARE EXPRESSED THREE-DimensionALLY IN SPACE

* RULE SET V : MASSING

The expression of the base structure and the extensions as three-dimensional forms requires that they have substance. I have used Glassie's (1975:26) term "massing" to mean, as he does, "imagining the existence of substance". To conceptualize a house in space implies the existence of walls.

V.A The boundaries of the geometric entities, the base structure and the extensions are real

V.A.1 These boundaries are expressed as walls.

V.A.2 These walls are external to the boundaries of the geometric entities of both the base structure and the extended form.

Walls are discrete, external manifestations that enclose the geometric entities, but do not impinge in any way on the integrity of the internal volume of these geometric entities.

V.A.2.a Adjacent geometric entities share a common wall, external to them both.

V.A.3 Geometric entities may not be internally sub-divided by a partition.

V.A.3.a Except when Rule Set X is applicable.

* **RULE SET VI : PIERCING THE MASSED STRUCTURE**

The presence of substantial walls around the space occupied by the geometric entities of the base structure and extended house form, requires the existence of a conceptual ability to pierce these walls with holes, to allow passage through them, between structural components.

VI.A Not all the walls surrounding any component need be pierced.

VI.B Piercings take two forms - doors and windows

VI.C Piercing position : Piercings need not be central to a wall

VI.D. The side walls of an entity may be pierced more than once

- VI.D.2 The walls between entities may be pierced once only,
 - VI.D.2.a except when pierced, or partially pierced by a wall cupboard,
 - VI.D.2.b In which case any one wall may be pierced three times only.

- VI.E The piercings of the first geometric entity of the base structure (Kitchen)
 - VI.E.1 Two walls must be pierced
 - VI.E.1.a One will always be an external wall pierced by a doorway
 - VI.E.1.b The other will always be an internal wall pierced by a doorway allowing access to the second entity of the base structure.

 - VI.E.2 A third wall may be pierced
 - VI.E.2.a This will always be an external wall
 - VI.E.2.b It will always be pierced by a window

 - VI.E.3 A fourth piercing is possible.
 - VI.E.3.a This piercing may take the form of a window or a doorway.
 - VI.E.3.b If it is a doorway it may be external, or internal (Rules I.A.1.a and III.A.1.a)
 - VI.E.3.c If it is a window it will be positioned in the same side wall as the external doorway

VI.F. The piercings of the second geometric entity of the base structure (Voorkamer)

The voorkamer shares a common end wall with the kitchen which is always pierced by a door.

VI.F.1 If this room forms the second rectangle of the base structure (Rule II.a) then only one side wall will be pierced.

VI.F.1.a This piercing will always take the form of a window.

In the case of a house, such as Sandhoog¹ formed by Rule I.A.1., and consisting of only a basic structure (Rule II.A.) Rules VI.F.1 and VI.F.1.a both apply to each of the laterally parallel base structures. Swartfontein^{1 2}, a house consisting only of a base structure represents an exception to these rules, and will be accounted for in terms of Rule VI.F.2.

VI.F.2 In an extended form all four walls must be pierced.

VI.F.2.a One side wall will always be pierced by an external doorway.

VI.F.2.b The shared internal wall opposite the kitchen will always be pierced by an internal doorway.

VI.F.2.c The fourth wall will be pierced by a window.

VI.F.2.c.1 Should Rule III.B apply, the fourth wall may be pierced by an internal doorway.

VI.F.2.d In terms of Rule VI.D a fifth piercing can occur in side wall.

VI.F.2.d.1 This will always take the form of an external window.

VI.G The piercings of the first geometric entity of an extended form (Bedroom)

VI.G.1 If this room is the last conjoining entity of an extended form, then it must have two walls pierced.

VI.G.1.a It may have a third or fourth wall pierced

VI.G.2 This room may have no external door.

VI.G.2.a The internal wall shared with the voorkamer will always be pierced by a door (Rule VI.F.2.b)

VI.G.3 One or both of the side walls may each be pierced once by a window.

VI.G.4 The end wall may only be pierced if it represents the end of the extended form, and then only by a window.

VI.G.5. Should this room be followed by another conjoining entity of an extended form, the wall furthest from the chimney will be pierced by a doorway.

VI.G.6 Should this room be formed by Room I.A.1.a, there will be an internal doorway (Rule VI.G.5) to only one of the two laterally adjacent geometric entities (Figure ...???)

VI.G.6.a The other entity will have an external door

VI.G.6.b There will exist no internal door between these entities.

VI.G.6.c Rule VI.G.3 applies to the external walls of both of these rooms

VI.H. The piercings of the second geometric entity of an extended form
(Second Bedroom)

VI.H.1 Only three walls of this room may be pierced

VI.H.1.a The wall furthest from the kitchen will never be
pierced

VI.H.2 One side wall may be pierced by an external doorway.

VI.H.2.a Rule VI.D can apply to this wall in the form of a
window.

VI.H.2.b The same wall will always be pierced by a window.

VI.H.3.a Rule VI.D can apply to this wall.

VI.H.4 Should this room be formed by Rule I.A.1.a, Rule Set VI.G.6
will apply.

An extended form may also incorporate up to three outside
rooms (Buitekamers) which are pierced as follows :-

VI.I This room must have an external doorway, as it has no internal link
with any other room.

VI.I.1 One wall must be pierced by a window.

VI.I.1.a A second wall may be pierced by a window.

* RULE SET VII : COVERING OF THE PIERCINGS

VII.A All external piercings are covered.

VII.A.1 External doorways are always covered.

VII.A.1.a These coverings are usually halved or stable doors

VII.A.2 Internal doors need not be covered.

VII.A.2.a If covered, these coverings are full doors.

VII.B All windows are covered

VII.B.1 They may be covered by shutters, glass or both.

* RULE SET VIII : THE CHIMNEY

Not all of the houses possess chimneys. This is especially common in the buildings consisting of only a base structure, where more often than not there is a simple open hearth in the centre of the floor of the first geometric entity. Chimneys are usually present in extended house forms, however.

VIII.A The chimney is always located at only one end of the structure.

VIII.B It is located on walls at right angles to the front of a house, except where Rule Set X applies.

VIII.C The chimney does not pierce the wall it is located on.

VIII.D A single house may possess more than one chimney (See Rule Set X)

* RULE SET IX : ROOFING

IX.A The roof will cover the whole structure.

IX.B Only a house formed by a base structure may have both ends of the roof fully hipped.

IX.B.1 Such a house may also have one or both ends gabled.

IX.B.2 Extended forms must always have one end of the roof gabled.

IX.B.2.a The opposite end may be :-

IX.B.2.a.1 Gabled

IX.B.2.a.2 Hipped

IX.B.2.a.3 Half-hipped

IX.C A loft may be created by the addition of a ceiling to all or part of the base form.

Such a feature, apart from its functional use as a brandsolder, has the conceptual effect of creating a usable storage area from an otherwise dead area of space.

Having accounted for the deep form and structure of the houses through the creation of these rule sets, I have now reached the less abstract level of type.

It is immediately clear from the grammar above, that two basic types exist in this vernacular architecture tradition. These types do not, however, detract from the continuity and coherence of the architectural tradition, by representing two separate, unrelated occurrences. They are, instead, two related forms, produced by the use, in different combinations, of the common regional rules of architectural competence. Once the builder of a house has satisfied the obligatory set of rules for the base structure, he is free, within the bounds of the other rule sets, to create the house form most suitable to his circumstances.

The first type is represented by those houses that consist of a single base structural form, as created and guaranteed by Rule II.A and shall be called

Type A. The second architectural type, which I will call Type B, consists of all those houses that represent examples of the extension of the base structure by the addition of further geometric entities to it in terms of Rule Set III, to form what is locally known as a "langhuis".

In the light of the above, it may be possible to contend that Type B represents a sub-type of Type A, rather than being a full, independent type in its own right. I believe, however, that the establishment of this second, full typological level, is completely justified.

Unlike most other typological categorizations of artifacts, which are achieved through the artificial division of natural sets of artifacts into typological levels based on real or perceived differences in their physical form, a structural or structuralist analysis strives to create a set of transformational rules or relations that will explain these perceived artifactual dissimilarities. Such an analysis is more concerned with discovering continuity and similarities within the artifact sample, than with isolating differences, and therefore views the submission of such a sample to a typological breakdown with the greatest circumspection. The typological divisions employed are only of the most general sort, and are used more as synchronic academic explanatory devices than as indicating real divisions in an essentially diachronic set of data.

A balance is always maintained in such a case by the existence of the statement of artifactual competence, created by the scholar, which stresses the continuity that underlies and unites the entire artifactual sample, regardless of typological divisions.

It is clear, therefore, that for a natural set of data, the concepts of type and sub-type do not exist, and are, in reality, only artificial constructs, created by the scholar to assist him or her. Whether I call Type B a sub-type of Type A or not, is therefore of no real importance.

I chose to create two types, however, because in terms of my understanding of the Verlorenvlei architectural competence, I feel that although inextricably related, the base structure house and the extended house, were nevertheless conceptualized as two forms, each with its own integrity. A house formed from a base structure only, is the result of a conscious decision of architectural

competence by the builder that it would take the form it does, and as such forms a complete, rounded, and fully performed expression of competence. Such a house is not merely a base structure waiting to be extended, although this form, and an already extended form are both options open to the builder.

These two types are therefore, in essence, merely differing manifestations of a common, complex design process, or mental template, the recognition of which is the key to understanding the minds that built the houses.

These builders, who were responsible for the competent performance of the internalized architectural rule set that accounts for the Verlorenvlei vernacular, did not merely create or recreate stereo-typical, invariable and repetitive house forms however. As mentioned earlier, once the most basic, obligatory design requirements had been satisfied, the innovative potential of any designer was free to work through his competence, although always within its rules, to generate different or novel architectural forms, which the scholar would label sub-types.

Sub-typification involves the builder breaking types into their component parts and then, by the re-ordering or selective use of these components, creating new structures (Glassie 1975).

Aside from the two basic house types, the Verlorenvlei vernacular also contains two sub-types. Sub-type 1 is accounted for by Rule III.A.1.a, and is a good example of the artificiality of the application of typologies to a dynamic system of architecture. This sub-type is formed by the addition of geometric entities to either one or both ends of a basic structure, which does not have a chimney incorporated in one of its end walls. Thus, this sub-type is an extended form which is dependent for its existence on the availability of a suitable base structure.

The houses accounted for by Rules I.A.1.a and III.A.2.a form Sub-type 2, being those structures incorporating double room-depth in their physical form. Aside from the ability to double laterally, however, their components, taken in sequence, are perfectly grammatical.

It is clear, therefore, that just as no precise descriptive boundaries can be drawn about the two general house types present in the sample, so sub-types

also appear to represent a variety of individual modulations between types and sub-types.

The statement of the architectural competence achieved thus far does not, however, account for the entire physical form of the houses as they stand on the landscape. What it describes is a "basic formal system upon which other aspects of the total competence are dependent" (Glassie 1975:38).

Details of walling, fenestration and general construction, as well as appendages such as sheds, near wings and later additions, are still lacking.

I will undertake a more comprehensive description of construction techniques and such details in the next chapter, but will account for appendaged elements here :-

*** RULE SET X : Appendages**

X.A Appendages may be added at right angles to the basic structure.

X.A.1 They may be added to any side of the basic form.

X.B Appendages must be analysed as separate structural conceptualizations, distinct from the forms to which they are appended.

Any appendage, whether contemporary with the original use of the house, or a later addition, is always conceptualized as separate from the basic form. Whether an entire wing or just a small lean-to has been added to a house, (eg Swartfontein 5³, Wolfhuis 1⁴ or Hoekdam 3⁵) the analyst must treat each of these elements as a formal unit quite apart from the house to which it is appended.

Such appendages may abutt a basic structure without altering its form in any way, but should adjustments to the basic house form be necessary they will occur in the following ways :-

X.C A door can be made between them should no piercing exist (eg Wolfhuis 2⁶)

- X.C.1 A window may be enlarged to form a door (eg Hoekdam 1⁷, Muishoek 2⁸)
- X.D. A linking structure may be constructed once either Rule 1 or 2 has been utilized (eg Swartfontein 5⁹)
- X.E Appendages may occasion an internal re-arrangement of the basic house form through the construction of partitions within a geometric entity (See Rules V.A.3 and V.A.3.a)
- X.E.1 This will result in the creation of an internal passageway (eg Klaarefontein 1⁰, Parys 1¹)
- X.F A flight of steps may be appended to the end of a house to provide access to the loft (See Rule IX.C)

Using a structuralist approach, and applying it to the careful analysis of a set of vernacular buildings, I have created a system of relational rules that attempts to account fully for the creation of these objects of material culture. It proves that the houses in Verlorenvlei area, whether built of reeds or stone, are all the products of a common, culturally derived, mental design ability. This system treats all houses equally, reducing them all to a common value-free level at which objective comparison is possible.

The result, for the scholar, is that his or her study objects cease being simple objects and begin to appear as what they are: the repositories of the culture of their makers. The deeper the level of understanding of the structure of the objects the scholar achieves, therefore, the closer he or she comes to being able to "recover" the human minds that initiated and guided this formal development (Leone 1982).

The formal, analytical phase of this study has been completed with this account of artifactual structure. The next phase involves an attempt to account as fully for the cultural and human meaning of the structure.

FOOTNOTES :

1. VV88/39
2. VV88/3
3. VV88/30
4. VV88/3
5. VV88/25
6. VV88/8
7. VV88/22
8. VV88/36
9. VV88/30
10. VV88/34
11. VV88/29

Chapter

Eight

The formal account of Verlorenvlei and Lange Vlei architectural competence produced in the previous chapter "begins rather than exhausts scholarly possibilities" (Glassie 1973:333). As a systematic account of their structure, it also functions as a theoretical representation of the culturally informed mental process of architectural design of the people who built these houses. Having successfully come to understand the structural principles of the architecture, therefore, the next task of this study is to try to account for their meaning; to try to discover how these houses worked (Upton and Vlach 1986).

As mentioned earlier, a house is not designed and built in a vacuum, but is the product of a very real, if abstracted, interaction between the designing mind and the physical and cultural world in which it finds itself; its context. It is possible, without reference to context, to discover the architectural competence of an area, but should the scholar wish to explain why a competence changes, rather than simply describe these changes, then a consideration of its context is necessary (Glassie 1975).

According to Glassie (1975) there are two different conceptualizations of context that are both often unwittingly subsumed under the general concept of context with no distinction made between them. Such a distinction is

necessary, for the same reason as the consideration of artifactual context by a scholar is necessary; namely, one of the contextual conceptualizations is descriptive, the particularistic context, while the other is explanatory, an object's abstracted context. Any object is subject to both of these conceptualizations of context.

An artifact's particularistic context is its "phenomenal setting, [its] behavioral surface" or put more simply, its physical existence and position in the real world (Glassie 1975:114). Abstracted context, on the other hand, is invisible. It is "context in mind" (Glassie 1975:115). While an object's particularistic context serves to position it in the real world, therefore, its abstracted context is what produces and regulates its competence (Glassie 1975).

Because of the highly visible nature of an object's particularistic context, an old house situated on the land and associated with other houses, scholars have often assumed that the reconstruction of this context is the most easily achieved. All that such an attempts usually yield, however, are descriptions of the object, and perhaps some guesses as to its function and meaning. An attempt to uncover an object's abstract context, based on an analysis of its form and substance, in contrast, will often lead to "the observation that, whatever it was, [the object] was a natural substance modified in the direction of an idea held in mind" (Glassie 1975:115). Such an artifactual analysis will result in the creation of a statement of artifactual competence, by means of which a scholar may then attempt an explanation, rather than just a superficial description of the artifact.

In order to be able to find some explanation for the meaning of his or her study objects, the scholar must first have some understanding of their context. For most scholars, a primary concern with their study object's particularistic context disallows the consideration of their much more attainable abstracted context. When I chose to study houses, I had the option of approaching the architecture from a purely particularistic or descriptive angle.

The fact that architecture, as an element of human material culture, represents the physical manifestation or expression of human mind, however, implies that in order for a study to approach the position of being able to ascribe some

meaning to the houses, it should concern itself with the search for, and construction of their abstracted contexts.

A further consideration is that, whereas a particularistic approach denies the scholar anything but perhaps the most limited access to an artifact's abstracted context, a study primarily concerned with the recovery of abstracted context can usually also provide an explanation of the artifact's particularistic context. This is possible by virtue of the fact that the "abstracted context surrounds the competence [and] serves to control and prod [it] so that the things generated out of it will fit into their particularistic contexts" (Glassie 1975:115).

An object's abstracted context, therefore, in large part determines its particularistic context, and as a result represents by far the more sensible, not to mention least difficult of the two approaches open to a scholar in search of an explanation of artifactual meaning.

When viewed in these terms, it becomes clear that up until now by far the greatest portion, if indeed not all of the studies of vernacular architecture in South Africa, and more specifically the South Western Cape, have approached their subjects from a particularist, art- or architectural-historical perspective. This has resulted in a wealth of descriptions of houses, but very little actual accounting for their meaning. Of primary concern to most scholars has been the discovery of the origins of so-called "Cape-Dutch" architecture, based mainly on discussions of the origins of one of the most superficial and unrepresentative elements of the architecture: the Cape gable. Concern with the structure and meaning of the houses behind the gables was only secondary. These studies have therefore, for the most part, produced a superficial, particularistic, object orientated perception of Cape vernacular architecture, and have largely ignored the people and minds that produced it (Obholzer, Baraitser and Malherbe 1985).

What governed these studies from the outset was a preoccupation with so-called traditional "Cape-Dutch" architecture, driven by a desire to prove its relationship to its presumed Dutch parent form. This trend was initiated in 1900 by Sir Herbert Baker, who stressed the Dutch heritage of Cape architecture. Ignoring the fact that the ground plans of the two architectures were at odds with one another, a seemingly minor anomaly which he explained as

being due to the different range of building materials available at the Cape from those available in Holland, Baker based his comparison on gable styles (Obholzer et al 1985).

Both Dorothea Fairbridge (1922) and G E Pearse (1933), the next two influential works on the topic, continued Baker's line of comparison, confining themselves virtually exclusively to a consideration of the gable styles.

In 1952 James Walton published "Homesteads and Villages of South Africa"; but although his book considered a far broader range of house forms, as well as some other aspects of, particularly, household material culture, it did not attempt to move much beyond the descriptive, nor did it attempt any meaningful explanation of Cape architectural and cultural origins (Walton 1965).

The next comprehensive book on Cape architecture was published by Fransen and Cook in 1965. In their work Fransen and Cook (1980) also devote a lot of space to a consideration of gable forms and origins, once again with little reference to the houses behind them. Unlike previous authors, however, they saw the gables not as a direct Dutch export to the Cape, but as introduced by German settlers. This promising line of argument is cancelled out, however, when they then insist that these German settlers were in fact only reproducing forms that they had originally seen in the Netherlands (Fransen and Cook 1980).

The first major work in South African vernacular architecture studies to concentrate primarily on house form, and only secondarily on gables, was a doctoral thesis produced by Jan van der Meulen in 1962. Van der Meulen (1962, 1963) questioned the existing assumption that the clear differences between Dutch and Cape architectural groundplans were merely the results of the adaptation to the different climatic and environmental conditions, and new raw materials encountered at the Cape.

According to Van der Meulen (1963), for this relationship between Dutch and Cape architecture to have existed, especially between two such different architectural styles, implies the rapid development of a local colonial architectural competence. The relative insignificance of the Cape would have tended to militate against such a development, however, and Van der Meulen is forced to conclude that Cape vernacular architecture is not the locally mutated product of a Dutch parent form.

As will be discussed in far greater detail in Chapter 9 a number of studies have revealed that the majority of settlers at the Cape were in fact not Dutch, but natives of the German states (Geyl 1961; Boxer 1965). Van der Meulen's (1963) research supports this discovery, by tracing an eastern German, southern Scandinavian origin for the Cape vernacular groundplan.

Subsequent to Van der Meulen's work, the only major publication has been "The Cape House and its Interior" by Obholzer et al (1985). Once again, however, a superficial, art-historical or preservationist fixation with objects and ornamentation produces a book, which, because of its primary concern with the construction of particularistic contexts for antique furniture and household interiors, fails to reveal anything of the minds of the people who made and used these objects, and very little beyond the superficial, about the architecture. Although representative of a far wider range of house styles and forms than earlier works, which tended towards elitism in their choice of houses Obholzer et al (1985) still tend to concentrate on descriptions of the beautiful, unusual and exotic, at the expense of the mundane and ordinary.

From the above it becomes clear that vernacular architecture studies in this country have, up till now, largely followed much the same course as those in parts of the United States (Kniffen and Glassie 1966; Upton and Vlach 1986; 1988). The tendency has been to lose themselves in prose, superficial descriptions of houses often wholly unrepresentative of the norm, all the while either choosing to ignore, or being genuinely oblivious to the deeper culturally determined contexts and meanings of these buildings.

What is also apparent from a perusal of the available literature is that because of their choice of elitist and unrepresentative "Cape-Dutch" houses as their study objects, most scholars in South Africa have been studying an architecture which is, by definition, not vernacular, but representative more of a "semiotose", academic architecture of power (Hall in press). The true vernacular architectural forms, meanwhile, have received scant attention, and often only value-laden reference in the majority of these studies. Those few notable exceptions, such as Walton (1965) and Lewcock (1963), who have actually considered these "primitive buildings" (Greig 1971:21) and "simplistic houseforms" (Vos unpublished:1) instead of being blind to everything but gabled forms, have, however, because of their particularist architecture-historical approach to the houses and the "facile assumption that simple forms represent

simple realities" (Upton and Vlach 1986:XIII) produced no more than superficial architectural descriptions.

Instead of attempting to account for the cultural and social meaning of houses through an exploration of how they functioned, therefore, these studies adopted a "one-dimensional view of function as a way of explaining physical features" (Upton and Vlach 1986:XVIII). Such a functionalist approach to artifacts, and particularly to vernacular architecture, assumes a far too simple one-to-one relationship between form and function. It "presumes of single simple cause for ... architecture", an element of material culture which even in its most basic forms exhibits a complexity beyond the scope of functionalism to explain (Upton and Vlach 1986:XVIII).

Functionalism, therefore, relies heavily on the notion that there exists for the maker of an artifact or the builder of a house, only one best way of creating that object (Sharer and Ashmore 1979; Upton and Vlach 1986). Objects, therefore, are denied any meaning beyond that given them by their function. Such a deterministic approach to human material culture is very clearly at odds with the idea of the existence of abstracted context and artifactual competence which this study has developed.

A functionalist explanation of the meaning of houses, or how they worked, therefore assumes a far too superficial stance in relation to what are the products of a complex mental process of design. But, as Upton and Vlach warn, "if we set aside functionalism, we must not abandon with it the idea of function" (1986:XVIII). Artifacts were not, after all, produced primarily as symbols or cultural statements, but to be used or lived in by their makers.

A scholar attempting an explanation of an architectural competence knows, at the outset, that the physical form and particularistic context of a house is a product of the abstracted mental mediation by its creator of two main sets of functional oppositions. According to Glassie (1975:116), therefore, the house functioned, firstly, within "the structure that relates [its] inhabitant, [or inhabitants], to the other members of [a] community", and secondly "within the structure that relates the [inhabitant] to nature." I have chosen to begin my attempt at providing a meaning for Sandveld vernacular architecture, with a consideration of its mediation of this latter oppositional pair.

Any artifact made by a person, because it is the result of the action of human cultural ideas on natural substance, represents a successful mediation of what is perhaps structuralism's most basic oppositional pair: culture and nature (Levi-Strauss 1970). Natural substances such as mud, clay, stone, timber and grass, in the case of this study, were all humanly modified to produce objects "located, literally, between people and the environment": the houses (Glassie 1975:116). An attempt to explain how the Verlorenvlei vernacular house form functioned requires, therefore, besides an account of the architectural competence, a functional description of building materials and techniques.

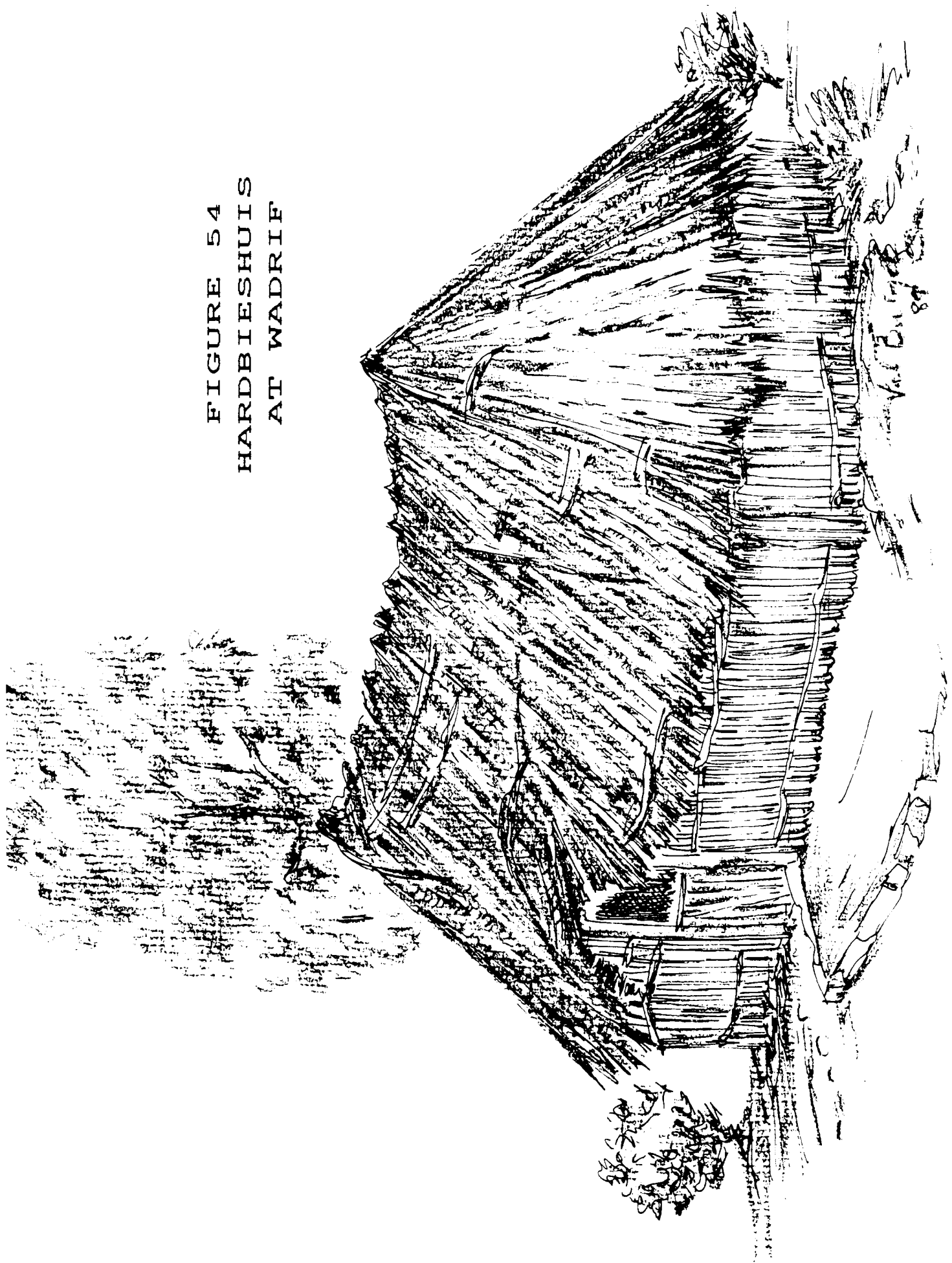
As in the case of almost any initial colonial settlement, the earliest structures to be raised on the shores of Table Bay in 1652 by the recently arrived European settlers, were probably rudimentary semi-permanent shelters, meant to last only a short period until some more formal and durable houses could be erected. They represented, therefore, very basic, temporary expedients, and were probably replaced quite quickly by a second generation of structures that were far more permanent (Carson et al 1981).

It is quite likely that such a pattern would not have been confined only to the geographic area of initial settlement, but that it would have manifested itself anywhere that primary, frontier settlement took place. In terms of the Verlorenvlei and Lange Vlei areas, therefore, the initial vernacular structures were probably just such temporary arrangements, which were replaced, as soon as feasible, with a second generation of houses probably quite similar, if not identical in form to those that still dot the landscape today.

Although no known extant examples of those earliest semi-permanent structures exist today, Walton (1965) contends that they were probably single-storeyed, rectangular wattle-and-daub constructions, roofed with thatch, a form not dissimilar in groundplan or construction from the semi-permanent "hardbieshuise", or reed houses, that form part of the Verlorenvlei vernacular, and are represented by Swartfontein 2 and 3¹ and Wadrif².

A framework of poles is constructed to form the skeleton of the house. This entire structure is then thatched with grass and reeds, after which the walls may be plastered with clay (Wessels 1985). The most basic of these houses, such as the three mentioned above, consist of only the base structure of the architectural competence, and do not include chimneys in their form. Extended

FIGURE 54
HARBIESHUIS
AT WADRIF



forms, such as Vaalfontein ³, however, also employ these materials and building techniques, whilst a house such as Hoekdam 2 ⁴ represents the inclusion of an original hardbieshuis base structure in a house extended later, using a different building materials and techniques.

It is therefore possible that these hardbieshuise, and derived forms, may represent the modern manifestation of the earliest semi-permanent vernacular architecture forms built at the Cape, but such a speculative statement may only be verified by the discovery of the remains of such early structures.

As far as the other houses in my sample are concerned, no difference exists between them and the hardbieshuis type structures at the deeper levels of competence. Where they do differ is in the shallower levels of that competence, for when faced with choosing an appropriate building material with which to construct a house, the builders of the hardbieshuise made a different choice from that made by the builders of the other houses in the sample.

These houses, which are locally known as "langhuise" represent a far more permanent architectural performance than do the hardbieshuise. Built of stone, layered clay and mudbrick (Walton 1965, 1982; Floyd 1980; Sinclair 1980), and roofed with thatch, they required for their construction a far greater investment of time, energy and resources than did the more impermanent hardbieshuise. (Higgs and Jarman 1972).

The first step in building such a house was to lay a foundation of two or three layers of stone and rock. Apart from creating a level surface upon which to then built the walls of the house, this stone foundation probably also served as a damp course, effectively raising the clay walls off the ground. The walls were sometimes partially constructed of stone, but were most often built from either sun-baked mudbrick, or layer upon layer of sun-dried clay (Walton 1965; Sinclair 1980). They were plastered with clay and whitewashed with a mixture of lime and animal fat, to waterproof them.

These houses, just like the hardbieshuise, were roofed with thatch, "which rested on a framework of roughly dressed poles" (Walton 1965:6). According to Floyd (1980) and Greig (1987) the roofing timbers, which were usually unworked Poplar, and sometimes Yellowwood beams, had to be imported into the area due to

the scarcity of suitable wood in the Sandveld. In many of the houses, the "dwarslatte", or tiebeams for the thatch were bamboo or reed, of which the area possessed a plentiful supply.

The original floors of the houses in my sample were usually either packed earth, or smeared mud and cow dung. In recent years, however, the upkeep that these floors demanded has resulted in their being replaced in large part, by far less labour-intensive cement floors. Light was provided for the houses by small shuttered, and originally unglazed window openings. The more recent houses, however, often possess many-paned sash windows, which may also be shuttered and which are invariably far larger than the original window openings.

When one considers the question of the extension of the house, it is clear from the statement of competence in the previous chapter, that Walton's (1965, 1972) description of an evolutionary type of growth for this vernacular form was correct. These houses, and this includes the hardbieshuise form (eg Vaalfontein ⁵) (Wessels 1985), could be extended lengthways away from the chimney by the addition of rooms, a process which Walton (1965) ascribes to a purely functional need for more space as the builder's family grew.

The physical form and composition of the house, as described above, would tend to reinforce this view of these houses representing a very functional, utilitarian and "straightforward response to both human needs and environmental forces [as evidenced] in the strong link between form and purpose" (Taylor 1983:9).

All of the the materials used in the construction of the houses, with the possible exception of the roofing timbers, were abundantly available to the builder within the immediate environment. Most of these materials were used too, with very little modification of their natural form. The mud and clay for the walls was used either completely unmodified except for the addition of a dung and straw temper, or, if modified, only into the relatively natural form of sun-baked bricks. Roofing timbers were very seldom worked in any way, this occurring only where a later, more formal wooden ceiling was installed in a house. The more usual, although not universal ceiling, which served as a "brandsolder" (literally, fire loft) to protect the house below from falling burning debris should the roof catch alight, consisted simply of a layer of

reeds overlaid with mudbrick or puddled clay.

The process by which the Verlorenvlei house grew too represent a highly functional approach to the necessity for more living space. Rooms were added to the end of a house as they became necessary. Additions continued in a straight line until growth in that direction become impossible or unfeasible, after which they were added to either the front or rear of the house.

The Verlorenvlei vernacular architecture, therefore, represents the commonsense use of locally available largely unmodified building materials to create a utilitarian, yet socially acceptable house, whose primary function was to provide shelter for the people who inhabited it. It is important to stress, though, that although functional and utilitarian in many aspects of its form and construction, such a house can not be represented accurately by a functionalist analysis. Whereas functionalism tends to deny any element of human choice in the form of the house, the statement of Verlorenvlei architectural competence developed above is an explicit acknowledgment that the form of a house is very much the result of culturally informed mental choices made by its builder, prior to, and during its performance.

The highly functional nature of Verlorenvlei vernacular architecture is therefore nōt simply a factor of technological and raw material constraints, but is the result of a conscious culturally informed choice on the part of its builders to resolve the mediation between the culture/nature opposition in favour of the natural.

Because, according to Glassie (1975:117) vernacular architecture is "the material rendering of human need", and, as such, represents the physical manifestation of a mental desire, it is likely, therefore, that the form of a vernacular building will be indicative of its cultural and social setting, and the relationships and roles of its occupants within this setting. The mediation by the Verlorenvlei folk architect of the culture/nature opposition in favour of a more natural, less artificial house form, therefore, has important implications too for the consideration of the way in which the structure relates to, and is in turn related to by the society of which it is part.

In terms of its relation to people, therefore, a vernacular dwelling functions

at two distinct, yet related levels. At the first level it provides shelter and security for its occupants, and acts as a focus of interpersonal relations and interaction for the family or group which it houses. The second level at which a house functions is that of regulating the relationship between its occupants and the community of which they are part, or the world in general, by the statements it broadcasts through its physical form and setting.

The fact that architecture therefore also functions as a regulator of human relations, implies that it contains within its structure a mediation of the binary oppositions of public and private. The physical form of individual houses, and of the architecture in general, as well as the situation of houses both within the landscape and in relation to one another, all represent cusps or levels at which builders will resolve, in varying degree, the mediation between what their cultural, social and personal realities dictate is the public domain, and what is the private.

I have chosen to approach the consideration of how this mediation was achieved in the Verlorenvlei vernacular in the same way that I, a researcher in an alien setting, faced with initially unintelligible study objects, first experienced the houses; as structures set in the landscape.

As one moves through both the Verlorenvlei and Lange Vlei valleys, one's attention is constantly drawn to the houses that dot the landscape. In a drab world of sand, rock and scrub, these widely scattered clusters of whitewashed buildings, each sheltering within its grove of trees, appear as highly visible markers of the human presence in the area.

The great aridity of the Sandveld means that two large bodies of water such as the Verlorenvlei and Lange Vlei, would attract human settlement to their life-giving spheres of influence. Nearly all of these clusters of buildings are, therefore, situated close to the vleis, usually in prime positions from which they can monopolize and control access not only to the water, but also to the best grazing and agricultural land on its edge.

Startlingly visible and situated at all the best positions of access to the available resources, these small settlements appear isolated and aloof not only from one another, but also from the rest of the world. The statement they make to the observer is one of self-sufficiency and independence, of a very private

and closed family domain.

Once one has approached and entered such a settlement, however, it becomes clear that behind the image of privacy they present to the world in general by their isolated clustering, whitewashed facades, and sheltering behind rows of trees, internally they and the houses that comprize them, represent a mode of life in which the public, the communal, and the corporate are stressed.

The physical form of the houses which make up these settlements, as described above, is organic and natural. Growth by extension occurs randomly and when necessary, and the houses are constructed of largely unmodified or culturally mediated raw materials. To the observer, therefore, these houses do not present a closed or private face, but instead stress human interaction and relations.

This may be borne out by the one house in the sample which is an exception to the norm. The house at Klaarefontein⁶ is, in a number of ways, quite at odds with the other architecture in the area. Aside from a single other house situated in Leipoldtville to which I had no access, Klaarefontein is the only house in the area which has a front gable and a symmetrical facade. It is also, uncharacteristically, situated right above the road that passes it, and in its settlement layout approaches the pattern more common to the so-called "Cape-Dutch" homesteads found nearer Cape Town. This means that the farm buildings associated with the main house are tucked away behind it, to form a closed and private "werf", or courtyard (Obholzer et al 1985), instead of being erected at seeming random around the house. (See Figure 5)

Klaarefontein, therefore, presents to the world an image of control and order, far greater than that presented by the physical situation and whitewashing of most of the other houses in my research area. The point must be made clearly here, though, that Klaarefontein is the product of the Sandveld vernacular tradition, and was built according to the local architectural rule set. This house must in no way be seen to represent a "Cape-Dutch" form. Conversely, "Cape-Dutch" architecture must not be considered understandable in terms of the rules that account for Klaarefontein, which is essentially a langhuis with a gable. Why this single house should have developed such an intensely controlled and ordered image, may perhaps be explained by its position, relative to the other houses, in the cultural and social life of the valley.

According to the brother of the deceased owner of Klaarefontein, this farm was at one stage the general outspan for traffic moving both north and south, to and from the Cape, and for wagons moving up and down the valley. It also served as the local community gathering place and was the place at which everyone assembled to receive "nagmaal", or communion and attend church services when a minister visited the area. As the focus of much of the wider social and official community interaction, therefore, it is not surprising that Klaarefontein developed this image of order, control and privacy, in such contrast to the images of openness implicit in the form of the other vernacular houses in the area.

Clustered together in small groups isolated in large expanses of land, it is possible that, as Winer and Deetz (in press) suggest, the occupants of the other houses in the area did not need the type of severely ordered and private mediation exhibited by Klaarefontein, because the very land around the houses would have acted as a public/private mediator. "With a vast stretch of open land [around the] homestead to traverse, any [approaching] outsider will be visible and acknowledged" (Winer and Deetz in press:14).

If, as seems likely, this is the case in the Sandveld, as well as in the Eastern Cape, once an outsider has reached the house, he or she has negotiated the transitional zone between public and private, and will be readily accepted by the occupants of the house itself. Should the physical transitional zone of the landscape be considered too short by the occupants of the house, they will erect barriers and obstacles, such as walls, fences, gates and elevated porches, which the outsider is forced to negotiate in approaching the house.

Once this transitional zone has been traversed, one reaches the house which, as is apparent from the statement of competence developed earlier and the physical description given above, is communal and quite public in its form. More often than not these buildings are orientated towards the vlei with little regard for any sort of planned settlement pattern, and thus, within the bounds of each settlement, exhibit a loose, unstructured relationship with one another, indicative of an open, communal social milieu.

Access to the houses is through one of two doors, and although the main door is that leading into the "voorkamer", the equivalent of a sittingroom, the defined approach to most houses leads one direct to the kitchen door. The kitchen,

with its hearth, probably represented the social heart of the house, and while the voorkamer was the formal reception area for guests, it was in the kitchen that most social interaction took place.

This is a feature of the nature of a house built to serve a farm (Obholzer et al 1985), whereby, because of the orientation of much of the life of its inhabitants to the external world of the farm during the day, bedrooms and formal reception rooms received only necessary visits. The kitchen, in contrast, providing warmth and succour, would naturally serve as the focus for much of the physical use of the house.

Those buildings that consist only of base structures and possess no hearth probably represent the extreme form of this external orientation of life, by serving virtually exclusively as shelter, whilst cooking and socializing took place mainly around an open fire outside the front door.

As far as sleeping arrangements are concerned, the often large families meant that rooms were probably generally shared. The extension of the house by the addition of geometric entities, to form rooms not connected internally with the rest of the house, has, however, been postulated by Walton (1965) to represent not only the provision of space for a growing family, but also an aspect of socialization in the provision for the eldest son of his own "buitekamer", or outside room. The fact that this room nevertheless forms part of the house may be a subconscious affirmation of community, despite the patriarchal stress on the importance of this particular individual.

The arrangement of the elements of the house is suggestive of their relative importance in the lives of their users. The room in which the least formal and specific, yet highest degree of human social interaction took place is the kitchen. Connected to it is the voorkamer, which probably acted as the area in which the more formal social relations were played out. The most specific, and therefore most private rooms in the house would be the bedrooms. Their specific orientation is towards a single set of activities, and they therefore function as the least public elements of the house.

Finally, when considered as a whole, nearly every house in the sample was orientated to face the vlei. Although it would be possible to claim that this represents a purely functional answer to the fact that because the ground

slopes down towards the vlei, builders naturally orientate the front of their houses in the direction of this slope, an answer which is equally likely, yet less easy to prove, may be that this orientation towards the vleis represents a sub-conscious acknowledgement of the part of the builder and farmer, of the primacy of these bodies of water to the maintenance of life and human society in this area.

In conclusion, therefore, in terms of the statement of architectural competence developed earlier and through the consideration of the way in which their abstracted and particularistic contexts mediated between the two main pairs of structural oppositions - culture/nature and public/private - it seems that Verlorenvlei vernacular architecture, with some exceptions, reflects in its form, layout, orientation and physical setting, a style of life for its occupants which is emotional and public, and which stresses the importance of the communal and corporate, above the individual.

I turn finally, now, to the written word to provide an historical context for these houses and their meaning.

FOOTNOTES :

1. VV88/4
VV88/5
2. VV88/10
3. VV88/26
4. VV88/23
5. VV88/26
6. VV88/30

Chapter

Nine

The turn of the 18th century signalled a new era in the history of the Cape colony. A number of processes, begun in the 17th century, based on European colonial responses to the environmental, economic and social conditions encountered at the Cape, began to come into focus as the 18th century progressed, and as they matured, gave rise to a set of attitudes about most aspects of colonial life which were indigenous to the Cape. The combination of the European input and the Cape setting resulted in the growth of a colonial experience peculiar to the Cape, which despite showing some similarities to contemporary colonial developments elsewhere in the world, was nevertheless wholly unique.

Perhaps one of the most important causes of such responses was the expansion of the colony, even more rapid in the 18th century than in the 17th. This led to the development of a frontier experience, which in turn permeated and profoundly influenced virtually every aspect of colonial economy, society and ideology. According to Guelke (1974) the importance of the frontier experience in shaping the character of South African society cannot be ignored, producing as it did a distinctive social order.

* BACKGROUND TO EXPANSION :

The end of the 17th century had witnessed the dynamic growth of the vrijburger population and its spread outwards from the Peninsula; first eastwards across the Cape Flats to Stellenbosch, and then northwards, following the Cape Folded Belt mountains, into what became known as Drakenstein (Spilhaus 1966; Guelke and Shell 1982). The original intensive arable farming practice established at the Cape had gradually become mixed crop and stock farming, followed by the fairly rapid climb to dominance of the latter. Stock farming as an independent enterprise however had not come into being in the 17th century because, according to Spilhaus (1949) and Guelke (1974), in terms of their freehold land grant agreements, farmers were required to raise crops, as well as stock. Add to this the early low livestock prices, even worse than the prices for grain, and the Company monopoly on the meat trade, based primarily on bartering with the Khoi, and it is clear why, although increasingly dominant, stock farming never reached ascendance in the 17th century (Walton 1965; Guelke 1974; Elphick 1985).

The 18th century, however, saw a set of new, interrelated circumstances introduced, which favoured the growth of stock farming. In January 1699 the new governor, Willem Adriaan van der Stel, arrived to take up his position at the Cape, bringing with him very different perceptions of the situation and problems of the Cape from those of his father and predecessor, Simon van der Stel, perhaps because of having spent some of his childhood at the colony (Spilhaus 1966). Although it may be argued that all Willem Adriaan van der Stel did was to legalize an inevitable and already established process of colonial expansion, it is nevertheless true that within a few years of his arrival he had, through a number of proclamations, altered the course of history the colony was to take.

Received wisdom about early South African colonial society has been that European settlers enjoyed easy access to land, and that wealth disparities were insignificant, these two conditions contributing to the homogeneity of the agricultural population. It is also a fact that freehold land was granted on a first come, first served basis, and in limited quantities (Spilhaus 1966; Guelke and Shell 1982). Based on these facts, Guelke and Shell (1982) contend that access to land within the colony became increasingly limited as the 17th century drew to a close. Using the documentary records they were able to show

that by 1731 a minority of 7% of the total population controlled most of the land, both freehold and frontier loan farms; they held more than 50% of the agricultural slave labour force; and also produced more than 50% of the colony's total agricultural output (Guelke and Shell 1982). This clearly represents a less than egalitarian distribution of landed wealth, and a very different picture to that generally painted of the early Cape.

This monopoly of the colony's land, and that just beyond its borders, was a result of the agricultural system which was developing at the Cape. "By the close of the 17th century, the herds of cattle and sheep of the older [freehold] settlers were too large to pasture on the unalienated land around their freehold farms" (Guelke and Shell 1982:6). Consequently these settlers began to exploit the "unused" pasture on the edge of the colony, a practice which was outlawed by Simon van der Stel in 1692. The arrival of Willem Adriaan van der Stel, however, coincided with a growing pressure on the land and in 1703, therefore, he once again legalised the use of frontier pastures, which had continued unabated despite the restrictions, and issued permits which authorised certain farmers to move their huge herds, particularly during the dry summer months, to the new frontier areas.

Thus, in terms of the argument Guelke and Shell (1982) put forward, the opening up of the frontier area can be initially ascribed mainly to the wealthy, freehold, arable farmers. As the 18th century progressed however this situation began to change. This was the result of a number of factors, each of which I will now touch on.

Near the start of the 18th century the ever-increasing number of vrijburger farmers had managed to fulfil the original Company ideal for the Cape; that of self-sufficiency. At last the Cape was producing a surplus of vegetables and grain, as well as some export quality wines (Walton 1965; Guelke 1974; Abrahams 1987). The grain surplus had been exported annually to Batavia since 1684, but in 1695 the authorities there finally refused to continue buying Cape grain. Firstly, it was not of a very high quality and secondly, it was far more expensive than that available from India (Smith 1985). As a result the Cape authorities were obliged to try to restrict grain production, and this was translated to the farmers in the form of increasingly depressed cereal prices, and the cessation of freehold grants for the purpose of growing grain.

At the same time, livestock prices were rising because, according to Walton (1965) and Elphick (1975), the Company was fighting an uphill battle to maintain a constant, let alone adequate supply of fresh meat at the Cape. The Company monopoly on livestock was crumbling as the supply available through barter with the Khoi began to dry up (Elphick 1975). This was mainly because it had been overtaxed and abused in the half century since the founding of the refreshment station, and also because of a hardening of attitude on the part of the Khoi when it became clear to them that the colonists were here to stay.

The Khoi therefore became increasingly hostile, and less and less amenable to bartering away the foundation of their lives, social order and wealth; their stock. This led to a number of wars between them and the colonists which did nothing to improve relations or alleviate the meat shortages (Walton 1965). The Company was therefore forced to find another meat source and first tried to establish Company-run stock posts. A far better solution was already staring them in the face, however, as more and more arable farmers, both the established and those who were just starting out in agriculture, turned away from the depressed grain market, and supplemented their incomes by increasing their stock numbers (Smith 1985). The Company soon realized that, in the future, it would in all likelihood have to buy most, if not all of its meat from the vrijburgers (Smith 1985).

Stock farming by the vrijburgers was therefore now encouraged, a complete turnabout on earlier policy, and this change in Company attitude manifested itself in the following ways. Firstly, in 1700, a new area of freehold land in the Land van Waveren was opened up on the colony's Northern frontier, and stock farming was encouraged as its primary agricultural and economic base (Walton 1965; Elphick 1975, 1979). This established a precedent which was only promoted by the repealing, as mentioned earlier, of the restrictions on grazing stock beyond colonial boundaries and the institution of a system of grazing permits in 1703 (Boxer 1965; Guelke and Shell 1982; Smith 1985).

The final sign of approval for the growth of an independent, white, stock farming agriculture was the scrapping in 1704 of the Company monopoly on stock barter with the Khoi (Elphick 1975). In terms of this proclamation, independent farmers were now free to obtain stock direct from the Khoi, whereas before they had had to do so via the Company. As can be expected, this system was open to much abuse, the results of which only quickened the pace of the

destruction of the Khoi nation.

A factor of which it is important to take cogniscance at this point is the fact that the Cape was a slave society, with slaves playing a vital role in the agricultural, economic and, perhaps most importantly here, the social development of the Colony.

Slavery came to the Cape at the same time as the colony was founded. Van Riebeeck and some other Company officials brought their personal slaves with them, and all were familiar with slavery in one form or another; the Dutch because of its practice in their East Indian colonies, and the Europeans of other nationalities because of their personal experience of feudalism in Europe (Armstrong 1979). "The introduction of slavery to the [Cape] came as a virtually foreordained, although accidental, consequence of its settlement. For the Company, ... whose resources were much over-extended even in its periods of prosperity, and which was always short of manpower, slavery solved otherwise intractable problems of labour supply" (Armstrong 1979:76).

From 1658 onwards, ever-increasing numbers of slaves were imported to the Cape until in 1798 the slave population numbered at least 25 764, outnumbering the free population of the colony (excluding Khoi) by in excess of 4 000 (Armstrong 1979). Thus, according to Worden (1979), by the end of the 18th century the Cape colony, with a slave population accounting for close on 55% of the total population, was a true slave society, the criterion for which is a slave population comprising 20% of the total. This must have had a profound effect on the social and economic development of the Cape, producing as is inevitable, a slave-owners' mentality (Walker 1930).

Owing mainly to their long use of slavery as a labour source in particularly their East Indian colonies, but also to a strong Calvinistic ethic exported by them from Europe, which bestowed on them a "self-confidence bred of the still vigorous doctrines of election and predestination" (Walker 1930:7), the White colonists arrived in this country with a set of values, stressing their racial superiority, which were to colour their relationship with the Khoisan, and lead to attempts to enslave the indigenous peoples of the Cape. This inbred assumption of superiority and its accompanying assumption that the Khoisan could and would naturally come to be no more than slaves, came to form an important part of the frontier experience and will be discussed further now.

The fact that, of the total slave population, by far the majority were owned by the rich wheat and grape farmers of the Stellenbosch and Drakenstein and were therefore concentrated within the South Western Cape (Ross 1983), means that one expects there to be a relative, or coincident decline in slave numbers the further away from the Peninsula one moves. This dearth of slaves amongst the frontier stockmen would account for the reliance these farmers came to have on Khoisan labour, which I shall discuss now.

* THE KHOISAN AND THE COLONY :

When Van Riebeeck and his party landed at the Cape they had not, of course, come to an empty or unoccupied land. The southern tip of Africa was the home of two groups of indigenous people, collectively known as the Khoisan. The pastures of the future colony had been occupied by Khoikhoi herders for centuries, while the San hunter-gatherers had lived off this land from time immemorial (Elphick 1975, 1979; Ross 1983; Parkington 1972, 1976, 1977; Smith 1986, 1987). Until the late 18th century these people were to play a leading role in the unfolding drama of the growth of the colony, both hindering and helping it, until their society was either annihilated or assimilated by the more powerful white colonial society.

A first point to make concerns the nature of Khoisan society and economy. The division between the two groups is not clear. Khoikhoi are often argued to be hunter-gatherers who had managed to amass herds and flocks, and who could easily slip back into a hunter-gatherer mode of existence should they lose their stock (Elphick 1985). Hunter-gatherers were characteristically small, highly mobile bands, living off the bounty of the land, and sharing the egalitarian ethic so common to most hunting and gathering groups the world over (Ross 1983). The Khoi on the other hand were inclined to form far larger aggregates of people, a result of their firmer economic base, their livestock herds which provided many of their subsistence commodities. Unlike in the case of the San where the leadership of the band was determined by such qualities as hunting prowess and wisdom, in Khoi society, the leader of a group was usually that individual who was wealthiest in terms of numbers of livestock (Ross 1983). It is clear from the above why Elphick (1985) can speak of the frailty

of Khoi society. It was relatively young, at the most about 1 500 years old, and based on a commodity which was easily prey to destructive influences such as drought, disease, wild animals and theft. Any major destruction of the Khoi herds would therefore result in the collapse of their society.

When the Dutch arrived at the Cape, they had to establish some sort of relationship with the Khoi, because the colonists "above all wanted to buy cattle, and only the Khoikhoi had cattle to sell" (Ross 1983:39). The European impact on the Khoi consisted of three distinct, though overlapping phases, which Elphick (1985) names for their prominent agents - the Company traders, the early vrijburgers and the stock farmers - each of whom affected the Khoi in their own way.

The first group was the Company employees, trying to obtain enough meat to satisfy the demand for it by the ever-growing refreshment station and settlement at the Cape. Originally it had been easy to persuade the Khoi to part with their stock for mere trifles (Spilhaus 1949), but as time passed and the settlement continued to grow and demand meat, so the Khoi, whose herds were all this time bearing the brunt of this demand and becoming increasingly depleted, became ever more loath to barter with the Company (Elphick 1979, 1985).

As if the loss of their stock was not enough of a blow to the Khoi, with the granting of freehold farms and their rapid spread, the Khoi were faced with the usurpation of their pastures (Elphick 1985). Although for many years the land remained open enough for both European farmers and Khoi pastoralists to live comfortably, side-by-side, as the 17th century drew to a close so freehold grants took up more land and the vrijburger dispersal into the interior increased, gradually forcing the Khoi out (Guelke 1974; Penn 1986). The Khoi were now faced with three possible choices.

Firstly they could, as many did, move inland with their herds and thereby preserve their lifestyle and existence for another century before they were once again overtaken by the colony in the form of trekboer expansion (Ross 1983; Elphick 1985). Secondly, they could resist the colonists. An intense and fierce opposition to the expansion of the colony was set up by the San, who after an initial period of retreating in the face of the colonists, went on to harass and attack frontier farms. This resistance only ended with the virtual

annihilation of the San by the colonists, who regularly mounted punitive commando raids, shooting all the San they could, particularly the men, and taking many of the rest, mainly women and young children, back to their farms as servants or slaves (Guelke 1974; Elphick 1979, 1985; Penn 1984, 1986).

The resistance by the Khoi was, by comparison, only token, taking the form of a number of protracted, low-intensity conflicts which usually ended in stalemate (Spilhaus 1966; Guelke 1974).

The third option that the Khoi, in particular, had, was to submit to the whites and enter their service. At first this was rare, but by the early 1700's it was becoming increasingly common as their wealth and security of access to pasture was steadily eroded away (Elphick 1979). The rapid expansion of colonial agriculture in areas beyond the immediate environs of the oldest farms, where farmers were not wealthy enough to afford many slaves and therefore sought an alternative source of cheap labour, led to a demand for Khoi labour, and the Khoi as a result found themselves with no choice but to enter into the service of the colonists (Elphick 1979; Penn 1986).

The position the Khoi occupied was, however, rather ambiguous in that they were usually seasonally employed at the busiest times of the agricultural year, and could be hired and dismissed at random, often sans payment (Guelke 1974). Technically they were free, and made every effort to maintain this position and distance themselves from being mentally associated with slaves. Their original relationship with the colonists was one of semi-cooperative symbiosis.

In terms of VOC policy the Khoisan were not to be enslaved, a move which appears to represent good, sound business acumen, as one does not enslave the people who have a monopoly on the goods one is trying to obtain, in this case livestock. "As a consequence, the Khoisan maintained their rights as putatively free individuals ... [and] their bargaining position with the whites was by no means entirely unfavourable" (Ross 1983:43). This was so in the early decades of the colony, but after 1700 a number of major blows led to the virtual destruction of Khoi society and their eventual subjugation to a position often less enviable than that of slaves.

Rampant European agricultural expansion, and the opening of barter to vrijburgers, led to a further deprivation of Khoi land and stock, over and

above that which had already occurred. But perhaps the worst blow came in 1713, when the colony was swept by a smallpox epidemic. Being alien to southern Africa, the disease swept through the indigenous population and nearly wiped it out, an estimated nine out of ten Khoi dying of it (Elphick 1979, 1985). The result of this was that firstly, vast areas of the countryside were effectively scoured of their indigenous populations, offering white pastoralists an "empty" land to move into. Secondly, the remnant of the Khoi became virtually totally dependent on the colonists for subsistence, needless to say in a less than favourable bargaining position regarding terms of employment (Guelke 1974; Smith 1985; Penn 1986). White loan places offered safe havens to this pitiful remnant from the ravages wrought by drought and wild animals on their remaining herds, as well as ensuring access to pasture and water and protection from marauding bands of San who would not hesitate to steal Khoi livestock. The price of this protection was the Khoi's freedom (Elphick 1979, 1985; Penn 1986).

In the light of the above it is easy to see why, by 1740, the Khoi had lost the battle for the productive forces of land, livestock and labour associated with an open frontier and had, at least in the areas of earliest loan place settlement, become squatters on what was originally their land.

The concept of land ownership as viewed by the Khoisan was markedly different from the European perception, which saw land as a commodity to be physically and privately owned for the exclusive use of a single individual and his or her dependants. The Khoisan ideology, informed by both hunting and gathering and nomadic pastoralism, held that all land was a communal and common resource, to be shared and enjoyed by all. Unlike in the case of the Europeans, no-one was therefore able to monopolize the best pasture and deny others access to water. The application of European exclusivity to the Verlorenvlei area will be discussed later (Penn 1984).

As the Western Cape was the first area of South Africa, apart from the Peninsula, to be colonized by Whites this makes the economic, political and social relationships "that developed between the colonists and the Khoisan assume the importance of prototypes" (Penn 1984:1). The easy destruction of the Khoisan resistance and existence led to the development of a set of racial attitudes that were to form the basis for the modern racism that today permeates and polarizes the life of this country. Their easy subjugation led

FIGURE 55 : GABLED
FACADE OF KLAAREFONTEIN



Klaarefontein - Verloorenvallei
ELANDSBAAI

to the perception of the Khoisan as inferior and weak (Walker 1930), and the social and economic positions this produced led to their being seen in only one of two possible lights; either servant or enemy. This frontier experience, therefore, profoundly influenced, and continues to do so, the fabric of South African society (Legassick 1980).

Before going any further I feel it is important to look briefly at the nature of the Cape settler population as it was primarily responsible for the shaping of the course and features of Cape agriculture and culture. "The Europeans who settled in South Africa in the 17th and 18th centuries created new combinations of man and nature that differed both from the ones established by their immediate predecessors in the area and the ones they ... left behind in Europe" (Guelke 1974:VIII)

* THE SETTLERS

Only after the turn of the 17th century did the white South African population begin to expand due to natural increase, or become self-perpetuating. Prior to this, the growth had been due to settlement by former Company employees in the early years, and independent European immigrants in the later decades of the century (Guelke 1979).

The Company employees who started the vrijburger population have long been thought, or accepted to have been virtually exclusively Dutch, because the VOC was a Dutch company. This was, however, not the case. Admittedly and naturally enough there were a number who were Dutch, but the vast majority were actually drawn from other areas of Europe, particularly the German states (Obholzer, Malherbe and Baraitser 1985).

The Netherlands of the 17th century was very different from her European neighbours in a number of ways. Firstly, her huge commercial empire ensured that she was vastly more prosperous than most other European countries. Virtually controlled by the giant mercantile concerns, of which the VOC was just one, Holland was the very opposite of most of the economically depressed and backward countries surrounding her (Geyl 1961, 1964; Boxer 1965; Grieg 1987).

Secondly, and it is difficult here to say whether this was the result of her commercial success, or vice versa, Holland was one of only two countries in the 17th century (the other was England) to evolve politically into a constitutional state (Mckay, Hill and Buckler 1983). In most of the rest of Europe, the 17th century witnessed the growth of absolute monarchies and the perpetuation of the feudal system of the Middle Ages. Holland, however, was evolving in the opposite direction. She experienced an agricultural revolution and a cultural flowering. Her political success rested on the fact that she was a constitutional republic, the sovereign power residing in the electorate and their elected representatives, who were none other than the middle class entrepreneurs who controlled her trade (Mckay et al 1983).

Thus, with a stable agricultural base and a strong commercial empire built on the middle-class principles of hard work, thrift, frugality and religious tolerance, Holland attracted investments of foreign capital from all over Europe (Geyl 1961; Boxer 1965). Not only this, but she also attracted labour from many of her neighbours, which was just as well, because when considered in the light of the above it is easy to discern why Dutch settlers made up such a small percentage of the colonial population of the Cape, and of the other Dutch possessions too, for that matter.

Despite a high unemployment and severe poverty in Holland, caused by the rapid growth she was undergoing, very few of her citizens were willing to embark for the colonies in the service of the commercial Companies. Extremely poor pay, "the hardships of a six or eight months' voyage, and the dangers of life in tropical countries ... naturally deterred the great majority of people who could get any sort of a job at home" (Boxer 1965:51). This reluctance on the part of their own people to provide the manpower needed to run the commercial empire, led the Companies to recruit "foreigners", or people from most of the nearby countries, who were only too eager to leave feudal Europe for the chance of a free life in the colonies (Geyl 1961; Boxer 1965; Obholzer et al 1985).

Although, as mentioned earlier, the VOC was not primarily interested in colonisation but in trade, in order to be successful in such trade a certain amount of colonisation was necessary to establish administrative and military authority in these territories. Perhaps because it was a refreshment station, primarily concerned with producing agricultural supplies and in this way different from all the other Dutch colonies, where money-making was the main

concern, the Cape may have been more receptive of the idea of colonization and permanent settlement. Unlike in the other colonies where the Dutch had a stake in the commerce of the territory, at the Cape the colonists had been made into farmers by the VOC, and therefore had a stake in the land, in the soil, and were therefore more likely to form a permanent settlement than their counterparts elsewhere, whose only interest in a place was superficial and ended at profits. As we have seen, this colonial presence at the Cape grew and became more permanent as the settlement slowly expanded. The unique position the Cape occupied, therefore, in terms of its *raison d'etre*, combined with a fairly gentle and moderate climate, were probably the reasons why the Cape only, of all the VOC possessions, developed into a permanently settled European colony (Boxer 1965).

This singular position would possibly also account for the differences between Cape colonial culture and the cultures that developed in the other Dutch possessions. Although Cape culture was also a product of the European background of the settlers, particularly the common European Protestant heritage which stressed the importance of individualism, and individual initiative and achievement (Guelke 1974), it was the unique environment, physical, social, and economic, which it encountered at the Cape which led it to develop in its own unique direction.

The Dutch and German former Company employees, the nearly 200 French Huguenots who arrived at the Cape in the 1680's (Leipoldt 1939; Nathan 1939; Spilhaus 1966; Boucher 1983) and the other Europeans of diverse origin who made use of the Company's offer of free passage to the Cape, made up a rather motley collection of diverse backgrounds and experiences (Guelke 1979). What united them all though, was their common wish to become landowners. Peasants and artisans alike longed to own their own land, an opportunity denied them in feudal Europe, but temptingly real at the Cape (Guelke and Shell 1982).

In the early years of the settlement, life was largely shaped by the VOC administration. It was Company policy at all times to keep trade, diplomacy and politics out of the hands of foreigners and firmly controlled by the small Dutch colonial upper classes (Geyl 1961, 1964; Boxer 1965; Obholzer et al 1985).

The Cape was, therefore, administered by Dutch, European-born officials whose

control, although often weak, was never absent. In this way many of the social and economic conditions "which were created ... by the application of Dutch-derived institutions to the distinctive Cape environment were to prove far more powerful in moulding the new society than the specific traditions the settlers brought with them" (Guelke 1974:3).

As the 17th century drew to a close, however, the originally diverse European settler population, now producing their first generation of South African-born offspring, began to homogenize. United by their common occupation, the majority of them being farmers, their common Cape experience and their common exclusion from government, they came to form a powerful group whose influence was at a deeper, more lasting level than that of the Dutch administration (Guelke 1974; Malan 1986). Together they and their slaves were responsible for creating the colonial Cape; they were the farmers, the explorers, the hunters; they were the architects and the builders. It was they, rather than the VOC administration, that left us the legacy that is the Cape's.

It is logical to assume, therefore, that the rules of vernacular culture at the Cape were the product of these people (Malan 1986). This vernacular culture, because it is the product of this diverse yet united group, was probably heavily influenced by the transmitted cultures of their home countries, and their application to the unique Cape environment, whereas the aloof Dutch administration left its mark mainly in the official sphere of Cape society and culture (Obholzer et al 1985).

It seems, therefore, that although they did not originally administer the colony, the settlers certainly shaped its destiny, and that by the end of the 17th century enough time had elapsed for a distinctively Cape worldview and culture to have begun to emerge, leaving the 18th century as the arena in which it was to flourish.

Chapter

Ten

The encouragement of stock farming in the early 18th century by the Governor heralded the start of the process of colonial expansion that was to ultimately embrace Verlorenvlei, and is therefore very important to this study. Helped and supported by the legality it had been lent, the tempo of expansion at the Cape colony quickened as ever-increasing numbers of vrijburgers made use of the new Company regulations to graze their rapidly burgeoning herds and flocks on previously "virgin" land.

* THE LOAN PLACE SYSTEM

As already mentioned, in 1703 Willem Adriaan van der Stel reversed his father's placaat concerning the settlement and use of land beyond the colonial borders, and introduced a system of permits or licences, which gave formal approval to the use, by certain farmers of frontier pasture for grazing their stock (Guelke 1979; Guelke and Shell 1982; Smith 1985). Perhaps because a decade had passed and the population of the colony, both human and animal, had grown, and land availability had therefore diminished; or because Willem Adriaan van der Stel was not his father and did not think as he had, having different aims for the colony; or perhaps because of a combination of all of these factors, W A van der Stel was quick to see that expansion was inevitable if the economy of

the colony, and particularly the meat supply was not to suffer.

He therefore legalised expansion, but by using a system of permits instead of granting the land in freehold, tried to limit it. Theoretically, because the land was being rented by the farmers, the government had the right at any time to withdraw any permit, and therefore, the right of occupancy of any lessee (Spilhaus 1949).

That these grants were not permanent is to be seen in the other details of the permit system. Originally licences were issued free and for a period of three to four months, reflecting the early use of the land on a purely seasonal basis. This period of tenure changed to six months as time passed, and eventually an annual grant became the norm. Besides giving a vague approximation of the geographical position of the land being used, farmers had only to undertake to ensure that their grant did not overlap with, or interfere in any way with that of any other farmer (Guelke 1974; Smith 1985).

Such leniency and vagueness was a reflection of the original intentions of the system. It was introduced to satisfy the needs of the wealthy, established, freehold farmers of the South Western Cape, whose flocks and herds were outgrowing the carrying capacity of the increasingly limited land available for their grazing. The permits were therefore issued to alleviate this problem and although it was not to remain the case for very long, "in this early period the wealthy freehold farmers were largely responsible for opening up the frontier." The system that was created, therefore, although it did provide some new farmers with access to land, originally "served mainly to help the established farmers" (Guelke and Shell 1982:6-7).

Very soon, however, the permit system was being used by farmers who were solely graziers and who possessed no established freehold farms. This group, as well as those who had lived beyond the colonial borders even before this system was introduced (Smith 1985), grew so quickly that on 3 July 1714 the authorities deemed it necessary to pass a resolution "designed to catch up with the unauthorised expansion of the colony" (Spilhaus 1966:89). It was a futile attempt to stem an inevitable flood that had only been encouraged by the prior laxity of the Company concerning expansion, and could never have hoped to be stopped.

The new system of land tenure was a move to try to curb the rapid movement of graziers further and further into the interior, by setting limits, both financial and geographical, on the land an individual could occupy. Although based on the earlier permit system this new system was far more formal, yet as it turned out, was also not rigid or strong enough to slow the expansion (Spilhaus 1949; Elphick 1985).

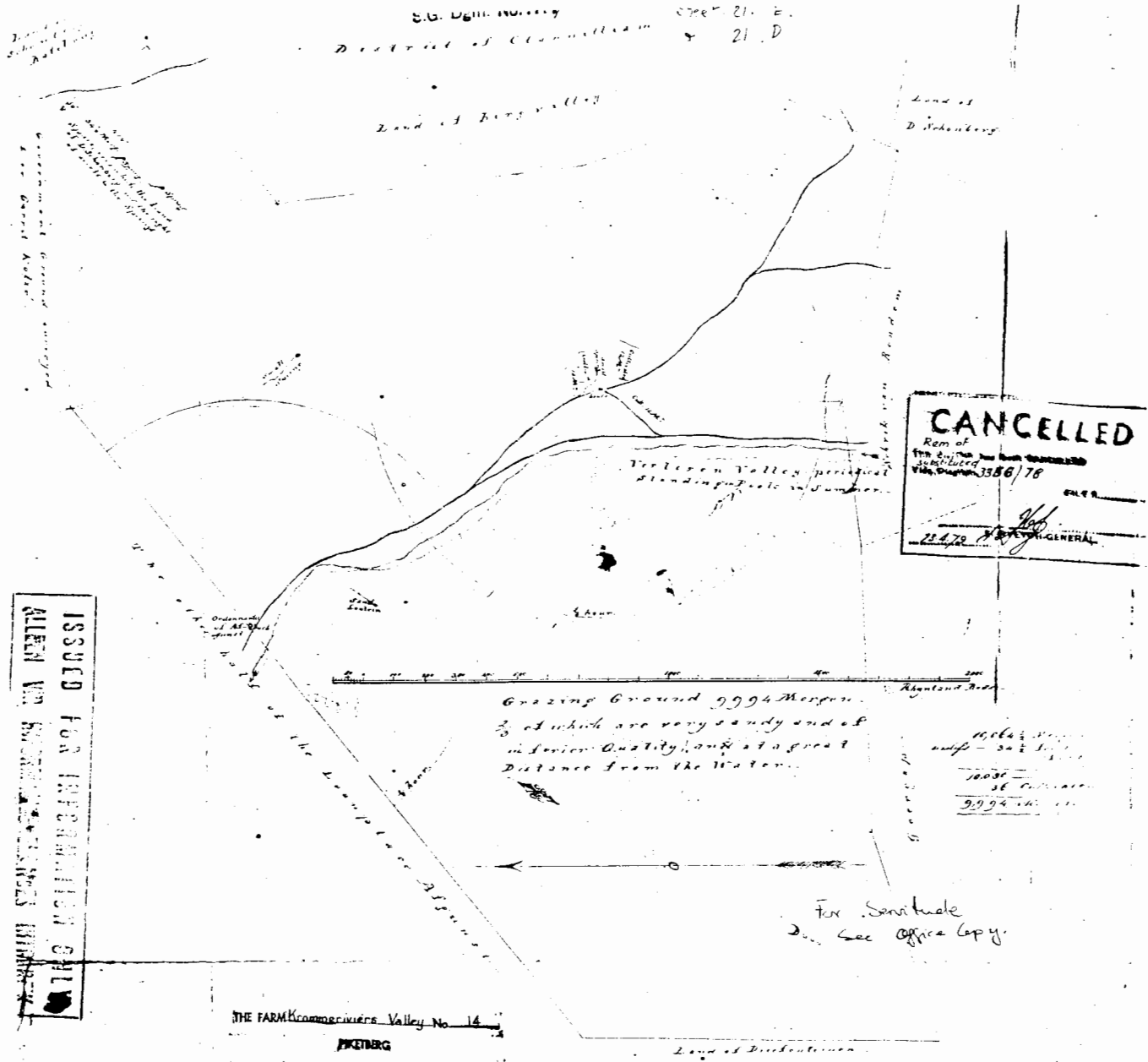
Each lessee would now be obliged to pay a 12 rixdollar annual rent for the use of what became known as a "leeningplaats" (or loan farm/place) (Spilhaus 1966; Guelke 1974; Penn 1984). The extent of the land a grazier could occupy was now also defined, and although this was not easy to control on the frontier, the size of loan places was now somewhat more standardized than before. Henceforth a loan place was determined by the distance a man on horseback could cover at a walk in half an hour, in all directions from a central point. The result, according to Duly (1968) was a roughly circular farm of approximately 3 000 morgen (6 000 acres or 9 square miles) in extent. (See Figure 56)

In terms of these grants, farmers were not able to sell the land they occupied, because they were only renting it, nor could they bequeath it to their heirs, although the latter could re-apply for the grant upon their parent's death (Botha 1926). Initially this led to the terrible misuse of the land, because it was not seen as a permanent investment (Guelke 1974). The Company therefore ruled that all improvements to the land, in particular any buildings put up by the lessee, were his or her property, and could be sold or bequeathed (Botha 1926; Duly 1968).

* THE GROWTH OF FRONTIER PASTORALISM :

Instead of slowing the rate of expansion however, these measures were introduced only to see a rapid rise in the number of loan place grants, and a steady expansion of the colonial borders. The speed of this expansion is best illustrated by some examples.

In April 1706 Heemraad Dirk Coetzee had taken out the first loan place north of the Berg River, which up till then had served as the border of the colony (Smith 1985). By 1718 permits had been taken out for the area as far north as



The above Diagram represents 10,064 1/2 Hegeren of Land situated in the District of Ceres, on the Verloren Valley, being the extent of the Langplaat Krommeriviers Valley, and one half of the Langplaat val adjacent, occupied by Martinus Smuts and Joh. Alb. Loubscher and 1/2 adjoining Government Ground; -

FIGURE 56
ORIGINAL QUITRENT GRANT OF
KROMMERIVIERS VALLEY TO MARTINUS
SMUTS AND JOHANNES ALBERTUS
LOUBSCHER, 1939, SHOWING THE
EXTENT OF THE EARLIER LOAN PLACE

the Piketberg and as far east as the Breede River (Guelke 1974). According to Penn (1984) cattle were being grazed near the head of the Verlorenvlei River by as early as 1712. Between 1706 and 1716 the frontier moved so quickly in all directions that the total area of the colony was doubled in this decade, to cover 3 000 square miles. By 1730 parts of the Oliphants River Valley were being used, and by the 1740's the northern frontier had reached the Cedarberg Mountains (Guelke 1974; Spilhaus 1966).

During this first phase of expansion, and before 1745, the northern frontier, therefore, reached the Oliphants River, where the increasing aridity partially checked its advance, while in the south and east it had reached Mossel Bay, and Swellendam had become a district (Guelke 1974). In both regions, at this stage, settlement was mainly limited to the better watered areas that had easy access to the South Western Cape, which was indicative of who was taking out most of these grants; the wealthy Cape freeholders (Guelke 1974).

After about 1745, the colony saw the development into maturity of the "trekboer" frontier, which had started in the first couple of decades of the 18th century. Expansion continued, and by 1779 the colony covered an area of roughly 100 000 square miles and its borders extended from the Great Fish River in the east to the Orange river in the north (Guelke 1974, 1979).

A critical question now arises, and that is, why such expansion should have taken place? The answer seems obvious enough. After all, the conditions listed earlier are all reasons enough to encourage farmers to seek new opportunities outside the colony. This seems perfectly acceptable until one looks at the historical facts more closely, and then one sees that there are actually two conflicting points of view regarding this question, one represented by Neumark (1957) and the other by Guelke (1974).

Neumark (1957) argues that the frontier stock farmer was not just a subsistence farmer. He shows that the profits to be made from such farming were substantial enough to attract large numbers of settlers to the grazier life. Guelke (1974) on the other hand, sees the growth of the frontier agriculture as the result of a lack of suitable opportunities within the boundaries of the colony. He matches the expansion with a number of economic events which should have affected the frontier/colony reciprocal trade relations, the existence of which, Neumark's (1957) argument would require, and finds that the expansion

continues unmoved by the fluctuations in demand for frontier produce. The frontier appears to be independent of the colonial economy, which strengthens his argument that the frontier graziers were, rather, subsistence agriculturalists, moved by more fundamental motivations than simply increasing their profits from their agriculture (Guelke 1974).

It seems impossible that two perceptions of what is apparently a single historical process can be so different, and that the models Guelke (1974) and Neumark (1957) put forward can possibly refer to the same period of South African colonial history. The dilemma is, however, possibly the result of a failure to recognise that even a single historical process is actually the sum of a vast number of interrelated and overlapping events. Thus, it appears to me that although Neumark and Guelke's positions on a single historical process seem irreconcilably different, they are actually both correct, because they are each pursuing a different strand of the historical process. The key to understanding their positions lies in the application of stricter temporal parameters to their arguments. Also, because they are looking at albeit different aspects of a single process, there is bound to be some degree of overlap between each of their areas of interest.

To demonstrate how both researchers can be correct it is necessary to turn to the history itself. The study by Guelke and Shell (1982) is a good starting point, for in it they argue for growing inequality in the distribution of land within the colony in the early 18th century, as mentioned earlier. As land became an increasingly scarce commodity within the colony, so two processes were initiated in an attempt to reduce the pressure, one some 15 years before the other. The positions taken by Neumark (1957) and Guelke (1974) each correspond with one of these processes. The most convenient division between them is perhaps the year 1717, which marked the start of the second process, though not the end of the first, and was the year after which no further freehold titles were to be granted within the colony, which meant that the only way a person could subsequently obtain such land was by buying it.

As mentioned earlier, it seems that prior to 1717 the vast majority of loan places were issued to established freehold farmers (Guelke and Shell 1982). Because they already had a sound financial base in the form of their freehold land, these farmers were really only interested in exploiting the resources of the loan places, and not necessarily in owning such land. Also, they would not

have been primarily interested in expansion, except as far as it was necessary in order to obtain water and good pasture for their stock. Such expansion was therefore more profit motivated than anything else, the land being used merely as a vehicle to serve the interests of the elite, wealthy farmers, which is just what Neumark (1957) found.

After 1717, however, the process of expansion seems to have taken on a new tone. The withholding of further freehold grants meant that land now became not only scarce, but also expensive, and according to Guelke (1979) a huge increase in the number of settlers moving onto loan places on the frontier took place, as landless individuals sought opportunities beyond the colonial boundaries, where land was still to be had aplenty. This is the situation Guelke (1974) argues is responsible for the rapid growth of the colony and spread of the frontier.

It is clear from the above how both Guelke (1974) and Neumark (1957) were correct in their evaluations, in each of their particular areas, of the process of colonial expansion. What also becomes clear is that the utilization of the loan place system prior to 1717 was for the most part very different from the manner in which it was used after this time, and that during the 18th century there are two clearly discernible waves of expansion. These points are crucial to this study in terms of the Verlorenvlei area's position in respect of them both.

The first phase of expansion, that by wealthy freeholders, has already been covered adequately, but a few points need to be added in the light of the above. Firstly, according to Smith (1985), until approximately 1720 none of the loan places around the Verlorenvlei were lived on by their leasees. This seems to have been the case with many of these early loan places. They seem for the most part to have been run and inhabited by slaves, and possibly a number of Khoi herders employed to tend the stock. Occasionally the eldest son of the leasee lived on a loan place to act as overseer (Guelke 1974).

Secondly, after 1714 when the right to plant cereals on loan places was granted as a general concession, perceptions of loan places began to change, and with them so did occupation patterns. The right to grow cereals on a loan place had originally been a rare, individual concession to those few farmers who from the start occupied their loan places permanently and personally. Thus, its

extension to all loan places meant that such land was seen to be becoming a far more permanent investment. This concession may have been granted to encourage dwindling grain production as stock farming boomed, but was taken by the colonists to imply an acknowledgement of greater permanence of tenure by the authorities. As a result, loan places now became more than cattle posts, and developed into settled, built-up, family farms where the nomadic, pastoralist life was mellowed by crop cultivation into a kind of increasingly permanent sedentism (Guelke 1974, 1979; Smith 1985).

The approximate geographic limit of this first phase of loan place occupation on the northern frontier appears to have been in the area just south and west of the Oliphants River. Settlement was mainly limited to the Sandveld, and loan places were chosen, as they always would be, for good grazing and water. The result was that the areas around water - rivers, springs, lakes and vleis - were the first to be exploited, and this had clear implications for the Verloren Vlei which represents the southernmost of three substantial and permanent bodies of water available on the semi-arid Sandveld.

* THE TREKBOER AND THE GROWTH OF THE FRONTIER EXPERIENCE :

After 1717, as land became harder to come by within the colony, and as the first generation of farmers' sons reached majority, so a new pressure for expansion was created and the second phase of colonial growth was initiated.

The evolution of the solely pastoralist, or trekboer frontier was very different from the earlier, perhaps in a way more placid, expansion of the landed elite, in a number of respects. The first major difference lay in the reasons for expansion. Whereas before it had been guided by a wish to increase personal wealth, it was now more likely to be based on subsistence motivations. Guelke (1974) argues that the new movement was of people who, because of their social and economic position, were unable to compete for more valuable land in the old, more settled areas of the colony. Frontier loan places offered opportunities to mostly young men seeking to establish themselves financially, and this is reflected in the fact that a "fairly high proportion of the white adult males at the frontier were propertyless" (Penn

1986:10). Such loan places, based as they were on pastoralism, required very little initial capital outlay, and held the promise of quick and substantial returns, as well as a far greater measure of freedom and self-sufficiency than was possible within the spatially, politically and economically restricted colony (Guelke 1974; Penn 1986).

The term "trekboer" is an accurate and apt description of the mode of existence of these farmers, who resembled the Khoi, or any other pastoral people for that matter, in that they were nomadic, continually on the move with their stock, searching for water and pasture in the increasingly arid regions north and east of the Oliphants River. For the majority of them, settling down was not foremost in their minds, and this, according to Guelke (1974), is reflected in the relative rarity of families in this frontier region. In the areas that had been used for longer and had fallen behind the frontier, families were more common, with the original loan places showing the highest degree of family settlement.

But on the actual frontier the majority of the trekboeren were single men, driven further and further into the interior by a restless land-hunger and wanderlust; into areas where the old colony could barely touch them, and they were free to be their own masters (Spilhaus 1966; Ross unpublished; Legassick 1980). Although I am referring here specifically to the trekboer who represented the extreme example of the process of colonial expansion in action, this does not mean that such values and experiences were limited to this group. Everyone who moved out to live beyond the established colonial bounds would have experienced most, if not all of the same things the trekboeren did, and although possibly not to quite the same degree, such a frontier mentality and social experience was bound to develop anywhere that people were isolated from the mainstream of colonial economy, politics and society. The extensive system of agriculture they evolved, with its vast geographical extent and large distances between individual loan places - population density often as low as one person per ten square miles - both accommodated, and dictated such isolation from interference by, or interaction with the colonial administration. It meant, to all intents and purposes, that the trekboer was only marginally connected with the colonial economy (Ross unpublished).

Once every few years they would make the journey to Cape Town; to settle accumulated business, attend "nagmaal" and church, get married, baptize

children, sell some produce and buy essential supplies (Guelke 1974; Ross unpublished; Legassick 1980). The journey could often take up to three months. A result of this isolation from Cape Town, government, markets and the influences of "civilization" led to the evolution of a "wide divergence in social outlook and manners between them and the colonists who remained in the Peninsula and in the farming districts within comparatively easy reach of [Cape Town]" (Spilhaus 1966:105). Trekboer society was highly independent, it was anarchic and suspicious of, and hostile to government and authority, except that of the Lord and the family patriarch, and because of its isolation learned to be totally self-sufficient in most areas of life (Legassick 1980).

Thus it was that even in the earliest areas of loan place occupation, once people had settled permanently on the land and were thereby isolated from the colony, in the same manner that distance isolated the nomadic trekboeren, a frontier experience was sure to evolve.

Conclusion

The structuralist analysis undertaken in this study, of an aspect of the historical human material cultural record of the Verlorenvlei and Lange Vlei valleys, namely vernacular houses, has led to a number of important conclusions regarding the historical past in the region.

The first point to be raised here regards the general dearth of historical documentary records for this area of the Sandveld. By virtue of the relationship between history and archaeology in historical archaeology, an archaeologist has, as one of his or her potential study objects, this rich, written historical record, which when used in conjunction with the archaeological record, can theoretically produce interpretative results superior to those attainable by each discipline separately.

The archival research I undertook as part of this study, revealed that almost without exception, the documents available for the Verlorenvlei and Lange Vlei valleys were demographic in their nature. I uncovered a wealth of information regarding land occupancy - names, dates and places in abundance - based upon which I was able to trace the personal details of many of the people associated with each farm. Beyond this relatively superficial social data however, the archival documents were silent, and the type of information about people in the past, such as their social relationships, worldview and the general quality of their lives, that an archaeologist seeks to discover, was not forthcoming.

I was obliged, therefore, to rely virtually exclusively on other elements of human material culture as a means by which to learn something of the nature of social and cultural life in the area around the Verlorenvlei during the 18th and 19th centuries. Of the entire range of objects that comprise material culture, I chose to concentrate on a study of vernacular architecture, partly because of its high visibility and excellent preservation in this particular

geographical area. Perhaps my main reason for choosing to study folk houses, above all other manifestations of human culture, however, is a function of the fulfilment by houses of one of the most basic of human needs; the need for shelter.

The fact that the objects people produce are the physical embodiments of the invisible cultural rules that govern all aspects of their lives, together with the primacy of the house as shelter to any human group, implies that vernacular architecture, in its physical form and situation, is potentially the repository of some of the most basic and fundamental cultural and social information available to the modern scholar about people in the past.

Using structuralist theory, therefore, which sees artifacts as the products of a human, mental process of design, I attempted to account for the form and meaning of Verlorenvlei vernacular architecture through the creation of a set of relational rules, such as would be called a grammar by linguists. These rules arose out of my constant, inductive re-experiencing, in my sample of houses, of the common form and structure of these buildings, and are an attempt at a complete description of the architectural competence of Verlorenvlei vernacular builders.

Based upon a consideration of both the abstracted and particularistic contexts of these buildings, and supported by the historiographic evidence in the previous two chapters, it is possible to say that at one level, Verlorenvlei vernacular architecture represents a functional response by its builders to their environment and needs. Using local materials, in largely unmodified form, these builders have created houses which are a direct and economical response to the particular situation and needs of their occupants.

At a deeper level of abstraction, vernacular architecture represents the largely unconscious objectification by the builder of his or her culturally, and socially derived attitudes and worldview. The Verlorenvlei vernacular tradition is no exception. The form of the houses in my sample, their internal component relations, their relationship to one another and their situation in the landscape, are the physical manifestations of the invisible cultural and social dynamics of the people that built them.

By employing a structuralist rubric, therefore, and applying it to Verlorenvlei vernacular house forms, I have been able to develop not only a set of rules that account for the structure of the houses, from their most abstract to concrete levels, but have also been able to explain how they functioned and what this reveals of the people who built them and the past reality that shaped them.

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Appendix A

LOAN PLACE RECORDS

- * PIQUETBERG DISTRICT

- * CLANWILLIAM DISTRICT

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
QUEEN VICTORIA STREET
CAPE TOWN

1. PIQUETBERG DISTRICT : LOAN PLACE RECORDS

* TSASAARS KRAAL : NUMBER 8 : No references

* GROOTE DRIFT : NUMBER 5

1. RLR 11/1 : PAGE 193

DATE OF ISSUE: 23.09.1745
 NAME: "aan de verloore valleij genaamt de groote drift"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Gerrit Cloete, Jacobsz
 RENEWED: 1746, 1747, 1763, 1765, 1767
 VACATED: 01.06.1770

2. RLR 21/1 : PAGE 41

DATE OF ISSUE: 01.06.1770
 NAME: "aan de verlooren valley genaamt de groote drift"
 GRAZING LICENCE: oud burgerraad Petrus Michiel Eksteen
 VACATED: 26.08.1773

3. RLR 23/1 : PAGE 15

DATE OF ISSUE: 26.08.1773
 NAME: "aan de verlooren valley genaamt de Groote Drift,
 vacated by den out Burgerraad Petrus Michiel
 Eksteen"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Andries Greef
 RENEWED: 1777
 VACATED: 14.11.1778

4. RLR 25/2 : PAGE 497

DATE OF ISSUE: 14.11.1778
 NAME: "de groote drift geleegen aan de Verloren Valley,
 vacated by Andries Greef"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Hendrik Nicolaas Cotze
 RENEWED: 1786

* BONTEHEUWEL : NUMBER 1

1. RLR 9/1 : PAGE 11

DATE OF ISSUE: 01.09.1730
 NAME: "in de Verloore Valleij na de kant van de
 langevalley"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Johannes Niel
 RENEWED: 1731 to 1735
 VACATED: 11.09.1736 : Ockert Schalkwyk mentioned in note of
 vacation along with the widow of Niel

2. RLR 38 : PAGE 431
 DATE OF ISSUE: 11.09.1736
 NAME: "aan de Verloore Valley na de kant van de Lange Valley, vacated by Ockert Schalkwyk"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Jan Coetze
 RENEWED: 1751
 VACATED: 10.02.1756 : Notice of vacation given by his widow Anna Elisabeth Paal
 NOTE: Loan place given to Jacob Coetse, Jansz
3. RLR 14/2 : PAGE 267
 DATE OF ISSUE: 10.02.1756
 NAME: "aan de Verloore Valley na de kant van de Lange Valley, vacated by the widow of Jan Coetze, and mother of Jacob Coetze, Jansz"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Jacob Coetze, Jansz
 VACATED: 07.02.1764
 NOTE: Note gives loan place to Dirk Jacobus Coetzee
4. RLR 18/1 : PAGE 161
 DATE OF ISSUE: 07.02.1764
 NAME: "aan de Verloore Valley na de kant van de Lange Valley, vacated by Jacob Coetze, Jansz"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Dirk Jacobus Coetzee
 RENEWED: 1765, 1769 and 1770
 VACATED: 24.09.1771
5. RLR 21/2 : PAGE 455
 DATE OF ISSUE: 11.09.1771
 NAME: "aan de Verloore Valley na de kand van de lange valley, vacated by Dirk Jacobus Coetse"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Jan Jurgen Kotze
 RENEWED: 1774, and 1777 to 1780
 VACATED: 21.03.1781
 NOTE: Note give loan place to Johannes van Nieuwkerken, Hendrikszoon
6. RLR 28/1 : PAGE 59
 DATE OF ISSUE: 21.03.1781
 NAME: "aan de verloore valley na de kand van de Lange valley, vacated by Jurgen Coetze"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Johannes van Nieuwkerken, Hendrikszoon
 RENEWED: 1782
 VACATED: 20.04.1785
7. RLR 34/1 : PAGE 73
 DATE OF ISSUE: 22.04.1785
 NAME: "aan de verlore valley na de kant van de Lange Valley, vacated by Johannes Nieuwkerken, Hendriksz"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Andries Carel Eduard Alexander Valkolyn Gous
 RENEWED: 1787, 1789, 1790 to 1792

This farm was also known as Klawerfontein (Klaarefontein)

1. RLR 38/2 : PAGE 463
 DATE OF ISSUE: 07.05.1738
 NAME: "aan de Claver fonteijn gelegen in de Verloore Valleij"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Michiel de Groot
 NOTE: Note that the opstal was sold by the Orphan Chamber to Burger-Luitenant Jacobus Cuylets : SEE NEXT REFERENCE: BOOK 5 FOL 236; BOOK 2 FOL 222

2. RLR 20/2 : PAGE 229
 DATE OF ISSUE: 05.01.1769
 NAME: "de Clawerfonteyn, vacated by Johan Nicolaas Scholt"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Andries Stephanus Goutsch (Gouws?)
 RENEWED: 1770 to 1785, and 1787 to 1792

* GOERGAP : NUMBER 40

1. RLR 9/1 : PAGE 65
 DATE OF ISSUE: 09.10.1730
 NAME: "boven de piquet bergen en aan goergap"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Anna de Conink, widow of "den oud Kapt. Olaf Bergh"
 RENEWED: 1731 to 1733
 VACATED: On 13.09.1734 the loan place was given to Migiel Eeyens (Heyns) : NO REFERENCE FOR HIM : Another note tells that the opstal on the farm was sold by the Orphan Chamber to Myndert van Eden, and the loan place given to him (no date)

2. RLR 10/1 : PAGE 239
 DATE OF ISSUE: 02.07.1740
 NAME: "aan de picquetbergen gent. goergap by de Kruijsrivier, vacated by de heer Johannes Swellengrebel"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Myndert van Eeden
 RENEWED: 1741
 VACATED: 06.09.1744 : Note that the opstal was sold to Jonas van der Poel and the loan place given to him

3. RLR 11/2 : PAGE 245
 DATE OF ISSUE: 02.02.1746
 NAME: "Boven op de piquet bergen"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Jonas van der Poel
 RENEWED: 1747 to 1751, 1754, and 1759 by the widow of "den oud burgerraad Jonas van der Poel"
 VACATED: 16.02.1760 : Notice given by Burger Cornelis van der Poel : Note gives loan place to Ockert Schalkwyk on 18.02.1760

4. RLR 15/2 : PAGE 519
 DATE OF ISSUE: 18.02.1760
 NAME: "op de Piquet Bergen gent. de goergap, vacated by the widow of 'den Burgerraad Jonas van der Poel'"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Ockert Schalkwyk
 RENEWED: 1766, 1769 and 1771
 VACATED: 11.03.1772
5. RLR 22/1 : PAGE 131
 DATE OF ISSUE: 11.03.1772
 NAME: "de Goergap geleegen op de Picquet Bergen, vacated by Ockert Schalkwyk"
 GRAZING LICENCE: "den Oud Commissaris van Civiele en Huwelyke Saaken Joachim Johan Lodewyk Wernick"
 RENEWED: 1777 by the widow of Wernick
 VACATED: 01.11.1777 : Notice given by the widow : Note dated 8(?) .10.1777 tells that the opstal on the farm was sold to Andries Jenssen on public auction : Note gives the loan place to Andries Jenssen
6. RLR 25/1 : PAGE 269
 DATE OF ISSUE: 01.11.1777
 NAME: "de Goergap geleegen op de picquet berge"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Andries Jensen
 RENEWED: 1783
 VACATED: 04.03.1785
7. RLR 33 : PAGE 179
 DATE OF ISSUE: 05.03.1785
 NAME: "de Goergap gelegen op de piquetberg, vacated by burger Luitenant Andries Jenssen"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Jan Basson, Jansz

* SKRIK VAN RONDOM : NUMBER 41 : No references

* KROMMERIVIERS VALLEY : NUMBER 14

1. RLR 9/2 : PAGE 441
 DATE OF ISSUE: 18.06.1731
 NAME: "agter de Picquet bergen aan de Kromme reviers (sic) Valleij"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Ockert Schalkwyk - Johannes Niel crossed out on licence
 RENEWED: 1732 to 1736
 VACATED: 11.09.1736

2. RLR 10/2 : PAGE 577
 DATE OF ISSUE: 22.06.1743
 NAME: "agter de Piquet berge aan de Cromme Riviers valley, vacated by Jan Coetze"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Ockert Schalkwyk
 RENEWED: 1748, 1753 and 1754
 VACATED: 21.04.1761 : Note gives loan place to Jan Basson
3. RLR 16/2 : PAGE 317
 DATE OF ISSUE: 28.04.1761
 NAME: "agter de Picquetbergen aan de Cromme Riviers Valley, vacated by Ockert Schalkwyk"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Jan Basson
 RENEWED: 1762, 1763, 1765, 1769, 1771 and 1773
 VACATED: 27.01.1774 : Notice given by Arnoldus Basson on behalf of his mother, the widow of Jan Basson
4. RLR 2/1 : PAGE 135
 DATE OF ISSUE: 27.01.1774
 NAME: "agter de piquet bergen aan de Cromme riviers valley, vacated by Jan Basson"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Everhardus Johannes Laubscher
 RENEWED: 1778, 1783 to 1789, 1791 and 1792

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1. RLR 25/1 : PAGE 155
 DATE OF ISSUE: 17.04.1777
 NAME: "de Kromme Rivier gel. tussen de verloore valleij en de picquet berg, vacated by Erasmus Smit, d'oude"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Johannes Cornelis Beukes
 VACATED: 06.10.1779 : NOTE: Note on the document to the effect that the opstal was sold to Erasmus Smit on 19.03.1770 (?)
2. RLR 26 : PAGE 239
 DATE OF ISSUE: 06.10.1779
 NAME: "de Kromme Rivier gel. tussen de Verloorevalley en de Picquetberg, vacated by Johannes Cornelis Beukes"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Pieter Burgers, Andriesz
 RENEWED: 1786, 1787 and 1790

* TWEEKUILEN : NUMBER 44

1. RLR 9/1 : PAGE 149
 DATE OF ISSUE: 16.11.1730
 NAME: "aan de Twee Kuijlen agter de Piquet berg, vacated by 'den Burger Johannes Franken' " - NO REFERENCE FOR HIM
 GRAZING LICENCE: Erasmus Smit
 RENEWED: 1731 to 1733, 1735 to 1738, 1740, 1742 and 1744
 VACATED: 03.10.1748 : Note gives loan place to Daniel Bockelenberg

2. RLR 12/1 : PAGE 111
 DATE OF ISSUE: 03.10.1748
 NAME: "aan de twee kuiylen agter de picquet bergh, vacated by Erasmus Smit"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Daniel Bockelenberg
 RENEWED: 1750
 VACATED: 16.12.1751 : Note gives loan place to the widow of Paul Jordaan
3. RLR 12/3 : PAGE 645
 DATE OF ISSUE: 16.12.1751
 NAME: "aan de Twee Cuylen agter de Piquet berg, vacated by Daniel Bockelenberg"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Widow of Paul Jordaan
 RENEWED: 1754
 VACATED: 25.03.1758 : Note gives loan place to Jan Adriaan Venter
4. RLR 15/1 : PAGE 181
 DATE OF ISSUE: 24.03.1758 (another date of 15.12.1758 also appears)
 NAME: "aan de Twee Cuylen agter de Piquetberg, vacated by the widow of Paul Jordaan"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Jan Adriaan Venter
 RENEWED: 1766, 1767, 1770 and 1773
 VACATED: 17.10.1776 : Notice given by Willem Wouter : Note gives the loan place to Dirk Coetze, Jansz on 17.10.1776
5. RLR 25/1 : PAGE 15
 DATE OF ISSUE: 31.12.1776
 NAME: "de twee kuijlen geleegen agter de picquet berg, vacated by Jan Adriaan Venter"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Dirk Coetzee, Jansz
 RENEWED: 1783 and 1785
 VACATED: 10.06.1785 : Notice given on behalf of the widow of Coetzee
6. RLR 34/1 : PAGE 77b
 DATE OF ISSUE: 15.07.1785
 NAME: "de Twee Kuylen geleegen agter de Picquetbergen, vacated by the widow of Dirk Coetzee, Jansz"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Reynier Basson

* KRUISFONTEIN : NUMBER 2

1. RLR 9/3 : PAGE 589
 DATE OF ISSUE: 22.11.1731
 NAME: "aan de Verloorne Valleij gent. de Kruijsfonteyn"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Johannes Hendrik Blankenberg
 RENEWED: 1732 to 1737, 1739 and 1741 to 1750

2. RLR 13 : PAGE 249
 DATE OF ISSUE: 15.02.1752
 NAME: "aan de Verloorne Valleij genoemd Cruijs Fontaine,
 vacated by 'den Burgerraad Johannes Hendrik
 Blankenberg' "
 GRAZING LICENCE: Burger Cornet Petrus Michiel Eksteen
 RENEWED: 1755 and 1768
 VACATED: 26.08.1773 : Note gives the loan place to Andries
 Greef

3. RLR 23/1 : PAGE 13
 DATE OF ISSUE: 26.08.1773
 NAME: "aan de verlore valleij gent. Cruys fonteyn,
 vacated by 'den oud Heemraad Pieter Michiel
 Eksteen' "
 GRAZING LICENCE: Andries Greef
 RENEWED: 1777, 1779, 1782, 1784 and 1785

* DE GUNST : NUMBER 3 : No references

* WITTEDRIJFT : NUMBER 4

1. RLR 9/1 : PAGE 221 AND RLR 38 : PAGE 91
 DATE OF ISSUE: 27.12.1730
 NAME: "aan de verlore valley agter de piquet berg"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Johannes Hendrik Blankenberg (Burgerraad)
 RENEWED: 1732 to 1737, 1739, 1741 to 1750 and 1751
 VACATED: 14.12.1752 : Note gives the loan place to Petrus
 Michiel Eksteen

2. RLR 23/1 : PAGE 11
 DATE OF ISSUE: 26.08.1773
 NAME: "de verlore valleij agter de piquet berg, vacated
 by Petrus Michiel Eksteen"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Andries Greef
 RENEWED: 1777, 1779, 1782 1784 and 1785
 VACATED: 07.09.1790

3. RLR 36/2 : PAGE 487
 DATE OF ISSUE: 06.09.1790
 NAME: "aan de Verloore valley agter de Picquet Berg,
 vacated by David Kriel" : NO REFERENCE FOR HIM
 GRAZING LICENCE: Gideon van Zyl, Pietersz

* MATROOZEFONTEIN : NUMBER 13 : No references

* ROODE VERLOREN VLEI AND KEURBOSCHFONTEIN : NUMBER 8

1. RLR 9/2 : PAGE 505
 DATE OF ISSUE: 23.07.1731
 NAME: "in de Verloorne Valley aan de Zeekant tussen de Piquet Bergen en de Oliphants rivier"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Heemraad Andries Grove
 RENEWED: 1732 to 1734
 VACATED: 07.01.1735

2. RLR 10/2 : PAGE 389
 DATE OF ISSUE: 30.01.1742
 NAME: "in de Verloorne Valleij aan de Zeekant tussen de Piquet bergen en de Oliphants rivier, vacated by Nicolaas Brommert"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Gerrit Cloete, Jacobusz
 RENEWED: 1743 to 1748 and 1750
 VACATED: 22.04.1763 : Note gives the loan place to Dirk Jacobus Coetsee

3. RLR 18/1 : PAGE 13
 DATE OF ISSUE: 23.04.1763
 NAME: "in de Verlore Valley aan de Zeekant tussen de Piquet bergen en de Oliphants rivier, vacated by Gerrit Cloete, Jacobusz"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Dirk Jacobus Coetsee
 RENEWED: 1767, 1769, 1770, 1774 to 1776, 1778 and 1785

* VERLOREN VALLEY : GENERAL

1. RLR 9/2 : PAGE 409
 DATE OF ISSUE: 01.05.1731
 NAME: "aan de hoek van de Verloorne Valley"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Gerrit Mos
 RENEWED: 1732 to 1738
 VACATED: 21.10.1740

2. RLR 10/1 : PAGE 255
 DATE OF ISSUE: 22.10.1740
 NAME: "aan de hoek van de Verloore Valleij, vacated by Gerrit Mos"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Michiel Groot
 RENEWED: 1741 to 1750 : A note at the end shows opstal sold to Luitenant Jacobus Cuylets and loan place given to him

3. RLR 12/3 : PAGE 611
 DATE OF ISSUE: 10.09.1751
 NAME: "aan de hoek van de Verloore Valley, vacated by Michiel de Groot"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Burger Lieutenant Jacobus Cuylets
 RENEWED: 1752
 VACATED: 14.11.1753 : Note gives the loan place to Gerrit Kloete
4. RLR 13 : PAGE 553
 DATE OF ISSUE: 14.11.1753
 NAME: "aan de Hoek van de Verloore Valleij, vacated by Burger Luitenant Jacobus Cuijlets"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Gerrit Kloete, Jacobuszn
 RENEWED: 1754
 VACATED: 15.03.1763

* REFER TO CLANWILLIAM LOAN PLACES : MODDERFONTEIN : NUMBER 225

1. RLR 9/3 : PAGE 563
 DATE OF ISSUE: 19.09.1731
 NAME: "aan de Modder Fontain gelegen in de Verloorene Valley
 GRAZING LICENCE: Jan Hendrik Blankenberg
 RENEWED: 1732 TO 1737 and 1739
 VACATED: 11.09.1741
2. RLR 15/2 : PAGE 423
 DATE OF ISSUE: 02.10.1759
 NAME: "aan de Modder Fonteyn gelegen in die Verlooren Valley, vacated by 'den gewesenen Oud Burger Raad en Sekretaris der Wees Camer' Johannes Hendrik Blankenberg"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Erasmus Smit
 NOTE: Withdrawn by the Governor in 1760. Smit given "d'Uytkomst" and "Bosjesmanskloof" instead
- +++
1. RLR 9/3 : PAGE 569
 DATE OF ISSUE: 17.10.1731
 NAME: "aan de Sant Fonteyn in de verloorne Valley
 GRAZING LICENCE: Jan Dietlof
 VACATED: 17.10.1732

2. CLANWILLIAM DISTRICT : LOAN PLACE RECORDS

* DROOGE RIVIER : NUMBER 8 : No references

* BRANDWACHT : NUMBER 8

1. RLR 9/1 : PAGE 165
 DATE OF ISSUE: 22.11.1730
 NAME: "in de Langevalley aan de Brandwacht"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Albert van Seyl
 RENEWED: 1731, 1732, 1734 (twice), 1736 and 1742
 VACATED: 30.09.1746 : A note says the loan place then went to Jacobus Louw, Jacobsz

2. RLR 11/2 : PAGE 321
 DATE OF ISSUE: 30.10.1746
 NAME: "in de lange valley aan de Brandwacht; zynde de verlatene plaats van Albert van Zyl"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Jacobus Louw, Jacobsz
 RENEWED: 1748, 1750, 1752, 1754, 1758, 1762, 1766, 1773 and 1775 to 1779
 VACATED: 06.11.1781 : Notice given by Daniel Louw on behalf of the widow of Jacobus Louw, Jacobsz

3. RLR 28/2 : PAGE 189
 DATE OF ISSUE: 06.11.1781
 NAME: "in de Lange Valley en de Brandwagt; vacated by Jacobus Louw, Jacobsz"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Johannes Louw, Jacobsz
 RENEWED: 1785 to 1789, 1792 and 1793

* WAGENDRIFT : NUMBER 230

1. RLR 13 : PAGE 507
 DATE OF ISSUE: 31.08.1753
 NAME: "de Klipheuvel in de Wage Drift gelegen aan de Mond van de Lange vallei"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Hermanus Engelbreght
 RENEWED: 1754 and 1758
 VACATED: 19.10.1762

2. RLR 17/2 : PAGE 245
 DATE OF ISSUE: 21.10.1762
 NAME: "de Klipheuwel in de Wagendrift geleegen aan de mond van de Lange Valley; zynde de verlaatene plaats van Hermanus Engelbregt"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Jacobus Louw, Jacobsz
 RENEWED: 1766, 1769, and 1773 to 1779
 VACATED: 06.11.1781
3. RLR 28/2 : PAGE 191
 DATE OF ISSUE: 06.11.1781
 NAME: "de Klipheuwel geleegen in de Wagendrift aan de Mond van de Lange Vallei; vacated by Jacobus Louw, Jacobsz"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Johannes Louw, Jacobsz
 RENEWED: 1785 to 1789, 1792 and 1793

* LOUW'S KLIPHEUWEL : NUMBER 227

1. RLR 28/2 : PAGE 183
 DATE OF ISSUE: 06.11.1781
 NAME: "aan de klip heuwel agter de picquetberg; vacated by Jacobus Louw, Jacobusz"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Hermanus Louw, Jacobsz
 RENEWED: 1784, 1786, 1789, 1790 and 1793

* MODDERFONTEIN : NUMBER 225

1. RLR 9/1 : PAGE 7
 DATE OF ISSUE: 01.12.1730
 NAME: "agter de Piquetberg aan de Modder Fonteyn"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Jurgen Hanekoom
 RENEWED: 1731 to 1739, 1742 and 1744 to 1746
 VACATED: 04.12.1747 : Note gives loan to Pieter Louret
2. RLR 11/2 : PAGE 475
 DATE OF ISSUE: 04.12.1747
 NAME: "agter de Piquet bergen aan de Modder Fonteyn"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Pieter Louret
 RENEWED: 1749 (twice), 1751, 1753 (twice), 1754, 1755, 1757 and 1759 to 1761
 VACATED: 24.11.1762 : Note gives loan to Jan Abraham Meyer
3. RLR 17/2 : PAGE 285
 DATE OF ISSUE: 24.11.1762
 NAME: "agter de Picquet bergen aan de Modder Fonteyn"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Jan Abraham Meyer
 VACATED: 09.05.1764 : Notice given on behalf of the wid. of Meyer, Anna Koekemoer : Note gives loan place to Gerrit Hendrik Meyer

4. RLR 18/1 : PAGE 261
 DATE OF ISSUE: 09.05.1764
 NAME: "agter de Picquet berg aan de Modder fonteijn"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Burger Cornet Gerrit Hendrik Meyer, Jansz
 RENEWED: 1768, 1772 and 1776
 VACATED: 30.11.1776 : Note gives farm to Jacob de Villiers
 on the same day
5. RLR 24/2 : PAGE 445
 DATE OF ISSUE: 03.12.1776
 NAME: "agter de piquet berg aan de Modder fonteyn;
 vacated by Burger Cornet Gerrit Hendrik Meyer"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Oud Heemraad Jacob de Villiers, de oude
 RENEWED: 1778 to 1780 and 1782
 VACATED: 23.12.1782 : Note gives farm to Hendrik van Zeyl,
 Albertsz
6. RLR 29 : PAGE 169
 DATE OF ISSUE: 23.12.1782
 NAME: "de Modder fonteyn geleegen agter de piquet berg;
 vacated by Jacob de Villiers, d'oude"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Hendrik van Zeyl, Albertsz
 RENEWED: 1786 and 1787

REFER TO VERLOREN VALLEY : PIQUETBERG LOAN PLACES

1. RLR 9/3 : PAGE 563
 DATE OF ISSUE: 19.09.1731
 NAME: "aan de Modder Fontaine geleegen in de Verloorene
 Valley"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Johannes Hendrik Blankenberg
 RENEWED: 1732 to 1737
 VACATED: 11.09.1741 : Note gives loan place to Erasmus Smit
2. RLR 15/2 : PAGE 423
 DATE OF ISSUE: 02.10.1759
 NAME: "aan de Modder Fonteyn geleegen in de Verlooren
 Valley; vacated by Johannes Hendrik Blankenberg,
 former Secretary of the Orphan Chamber"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Erasmus Smit
 NOTE: Note to the effect that Smit was forced to vacate
 the farm for some unusual reason the very next
 year, and was given the farm named "d'uytkomst
 geleegen in die Verloore Valley aan de Bosjesmans
 Cloof" - this dated 04.02.1760 : There is no
 reference to Uitkomst in the Loan Place index

* AAN DE KLIPHEUWEL : NUMBER 235 : See Louws's Klipheuwel : Number 227

* BRANDENBURG : NUMBER 239

1. RLR 13 : PAGE 433
 DATE OF ISSUE: 26.04.1753
 NAME: "agter de Piquet bergen genaamd Brandenburg;
 vacated by Jurgen Hanekom"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Jochem Koekemoer
 VACATED: 12.04.1756 : Note gives loan place to Jan Abraham
 Meyer on 28.03.1760

2. RLR 16/1 : PAGE 31
 DATE OF ISSUE: 29.03.1760
 NAME: "agter de Picquet Bergen genaamd Brandenburg;
 vacated by Jochem Koekemoer"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Jan Abraham Meyer
 VACATED: 09.05.1764 : Notice given on behalf of the widow of
 Meyer, Anna Koekemoer, by burger Cornet Gerrit
 Hendrik Meyer (erfgenaam)

3. RLR 18/1 : PAGE 263
 DATE OF ISSUE: 09.05.1764
 NAME: "agter de Picquet berg genaam Brandenburg"
 GRAZING LICENCE: burger Cornet Gerrit Hendrik Meyer
 RENEWED: 1768 and 1772
 VACATED: 14.03.1776 : Notice given on behalf of the widow of
 Burger Luitenant Gerrit Hendrik Meyer, Jansz by
 Burgerraad Gerrit Hendrik Meyer

* GRAAUWE DUYNEN : NUMBER 224 : No references

* LOT 1091 : NUMBER 224 : No references

* LOT B : NUMBER 240 : No references

* GRAAUW DUINEN : NUMBER 234 : No references

* LANGE VALLEY (GENERAL)

1. RLR 9/1 : PAGE 185
 DATE OF ISSUE: 29.11.1730
 NAME: "agter de Piquet berg in de Lange Valley"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Jan Valk
 RENEWED: 1731 to 1733
 VACATED: 15.11.1734

2. RLR 10/1 : PAGE 241
 DATE OF ISSUE: 07.07.1740
 NAME: "agter de Picquetberg in de Lange Valley"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Johannes Albertus Loubser
 RENEWED: 1741
 VACATED: 06.08.1742 : Note gives it back to Johannes Albertus Loubser on 06.05.1752

3. RLR 13 : PAGE 85
 DATE OF ISSUE: 06.05.1752
 NAME: "agter de Piquet berg in de Lange Valley; zynde de selfs verlaatene plaats"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Johannes Albertus Loubser

4. RLR 14/2 : PAGE 271
 DATE OF ISSUE: 13.02.1756
 NAME: "agter de picquet berg in de Lange Valleij; vacated by Johannes Albertus Loubser"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Jan Abraham Meyer
 RENEWED: 1757, 1759 and 1761
 VACATED: 09.05.1764 : Notice given on behalf of the widow of Meyer, Anna Koekemoer and burger Cornet Gerrit Hendrik Meyer, Jansz

5. RLR 18/1 : PAGE 259
 DATE OF ISSUE: 09.05.1763
 NAME: "agter de Picquet berg in de Lange Valley, vacated by Jan Abraham Meyer"
 GRAZING LICENCE: (The widow of Cornet)* Gerrit Hendrik Meyer, (Jansz)*
 * bracketed words added to document at a later date
 RENEWED: 1768, 1772 and 1776
 VACATED: 30.11.1776 : Notice given by the Weesmeester as the executor of the estate of the late Gerrit Hendrik Meyer, Jansz

6. RLR 25/1 : PAGE 107
 DATE OF ISSUE: 11.03.1777
 NAME: "agter de picquet berg in de Lange Valley, vacated by Gerrit Hendrik Meyer, Jansz"
 GRAZING LICENCE: Johannes van Aarden d'oude
 RENEWED: 1781 and 1786

* REFER TO PIQUETBERG LOAN PLACES : BONTEHEUWEL : NUMBER 1

1. RLR 9/1 : PAGE 11

DATE OF ISSUE: 01.09.1730
NAME: "in de verloore Valleij na die kand van de
langevalley"
GRAZING LICENCE: Johannes Niel
RENEWED: 1731 TO 1735
VACATED: 11.09.1736 : Ockert Schalkwyk mentioned in note of
vacation along with the widow of Niel

2. RLR 14/2 : PAGE 267

DATE OF ISSUE: 10.02.1756
NAME: "aan de Verloore Valley na de kant van de Lange
Valley; zynde de verlaatene plaats van deselfs
moeder, wedwe. wylen Jan Coetze"
GRAZING LICENCE: Jacob Coetze, Jansz
VACATED: 07.02.1764 : Note gives loan place to Dirk Jacobus
Coetsee

Appendix B

CAPE QUITRENTS :

PIQUETBERG DISTRICT

WORCESTER QUITRENTS :

CLANWILLIAM DISTRICT

DEEDS OFFICE

H F VERWOERD BUILDING

PLEIN STREET

CAPE TOWN

C Q 9/46
GRANTED TO: GOERGAP : NUMBER 40
 Nicolaas Laubscher
SIZE: 5 223 Morgen 300 square Roods
INCLUDING: The old loanplace "Goergap"
DATE: On 15 April 1839
DIAGRAM: The diagram by Knoebel was surveyed and drawn in 1834.
 It shows the loanplace "half-hour" circle, with a house
 as the circle centre.
OCCUPIED BY: Nicolaas Laubscher.

C Q 9/47
GRANTED TO: SKRIK VAN RONDON : NUMBER 41
 Johannes Tobias Laubscher (Tobias is crossed out and
 replaced with Albertus)
SIZE: 2 393 Morgen 360 square Roods
INCLUDING: The old loanplace "Schrik van Rondon"
DATE: On 15 April 1839
DIAGRAM: A note on the back of the diagram by a subsequent
 Governor explains the different names. The loanplace
 which Tobias took out as a quitrent was owned by
 Albertus. The Governor therefore returned it to the
 latter by means of a new deed on 15 February 1845. Hence
 the crossed out name "Tobias"
 The Knoebel diagram of 1834 however gives the occupant of
 the land as Johannes Tobias Laubscher. Perhaps this was
 where the original confusion started.
 The diagram also shows the "half-hour" circle as well as
 a Kraal and an Ordonnantie marked together.

C Q 9/48
GRANTED TO: KROMMERIVIERS VALLEY : NUMBER 14
 Martinus Smuts and Johannes Albertus Laubscher
SIZE: 10 064 Morgen 300 square Roods
INCLUDING: The old loanplace "Kromme Riviers Valley" and one half of
 the loanplace "Afgunst"
DATE: On 15 April 1839
DIAGRAM: Knoebel's diagram (1834) shows the "half-hour" circle for
 Krommeriviers Valley at the centre of which is a house.
 It also shows the circle for Afgunst with an ordonnantie
 at its centre.
 A condition of the grant is that there should be a 200
 morgen outspan place on the road west of the house.
OCCUPIED BY: Martinus Smuts and Johannes Albertus Laubscher

C Q 8/50 ROODE VERLOREN VLEI AND KEURBOSCHFONTEIN : NUMBER 8
 GRANTED TO: Michiel Johannes de Beer
 SIZE: 5 598 Morgen 400 square Roods
 INCLUDING: The old loanplaces "In die Verlorene Valley" and
 "Keurboschfontein"
 DATE: 25 May 1837
 DIAGRAM: Knobel's diagram shows a hut and an old foundation near
 the site of the present settlement, and at the centre of
 the "half-hour" circle
 GRANT CONDITIONS ARE:
 1. Access for cattle from Zoutekuylen to drink at
 Atjarsfontein
 2. Access for all to the salt pan
 3. Access over the farm for people "coming to fish"

C Q 8/73 KRUISFONTEIN : NUMBER 2
 GRANTED TO: Jacobus Marais (Paul son)
 SIZE: 11 512 Morgen 200 square Roods
 INCLUDING: The old loanplace "Kruisfontein"
 DATE: On 30 November 1837
 DIAGRAM: The diagram by Knobel shows a Poplar grove and a house on
 the western side of the property.

C Q 10/11 DE GUNST : NUMBER 3
 GRANTED TO: Hendrik Nicolaas Kotze (D J Son)
 SIZE: 3 017 Morgen
 INCLUDING: The old loanplace "de Gunst" or "Jackals Kloof"
 DATE: On 31 December 1841
 DIAGRAM: The diagram by Knobel shows no buildings on the property,
 but what is interesting about it is that it was applied
 for by Dirk Jacobus Kotze, probably the D J to whose son
 the property was later granted in quitrent, by this
 document.

C Q 10/12 WITTEDRIFT : NUMBER 4
 GRANTED TO: Hendrik Nicolaas Kotze (D J Son)
 SIZE: 6 677 Morgen 200 square Roods
 INCLUDING: The old loanplace "Wittedrift"
 DATE: On 31 December 1841
 DIAGRAM: The diagram by Knobel (1834) shows the "half-hour" circle
 with a house at its centre. Just east of this house is
 something marked "De waal's Verblyf". This appears to be
 a later addition to the diagram and has an accompanying
 explanatory note on the Quitrent deed itself which
 read :-

"By Virtue of a Power of Attorney granted to me by the Inspector of this Land, Jacobus Nicolaas Redelinghuys, and dated 31 October 1859, I hereby consent to a Servitude of Outspan upon this land at a spot marked De Waal's Verblyf to an extent not exceeding Three Hundred Morgen at the eastwards of said spot, and of using the water for purposes of outspan - within the limits of the above extent."

Cape Town, 12 September 1860

Jesp... (?) Schonberg

OCCUPIED BY:

According to the diagram the land was previously occupied by Dirk Kotze, and now by Hendrik Nicolaas and Gerrit Kotze

C Q 10/13
GRANTED TO:
SIZE:
INCLUDING:

MATROOZEFONTEIN : NUMBER 13

Hendrik Nicolaas Kotze (D J Son)

5 525 Morgen 300 square Roods

The old loanplace "Matroozefontein" and half of the loanplace "Afgunst"

DATE:

31 December 1841

DIAGRAM:

Knobel's (1834) diagram shows the Matroozefontein ordonnantie at the centre of the "half-hour" circle, as well as the Afgunst ordonnantie and a kraal at the centre of half of it's "half-hour" circle.

OCCUPIED BY:

Last occupied by Dirk Kotze, but now by Hendrik Nicolaas and Gerrit Kotze

CLW Q 8/5
GRANTED TO:
SIZE:
PART OF:
DATE:
DIAGRAM:

TWEEKUILEN : NUMBER 44

Johannes Basson and Gideon Johannes Basson (John Sn)

2 375 Morgen 583 square Roods

Being part of the loanplace "Tweekui (?) len alias Kruis"

29 April 1847

Diagram by John Bird shows a house marked at the position of the modern settlement.

2. WORCESTER QUITRENTS : CLAINWILLIAM DISTRICT

WOR Q 3/10 DROOGE RIVIER : NUMBER 241
 GRANTED TO: Pieter van Aarde
 SIZE: 4 629 Morgen 130 square Roods
 INCLUDING: The old loanplace "Drooge Rivier, hitherto occupied by
 him on loan"
 DATE: 15 August 1828
 DIAGRAM: The diagrams by Tulleken (1826) show the "half-hour"
 circle (an area of 3 000 morgen) with the ordonnantie at
 its centre, SW of the Lamberts Bay/Clanwilliam Road

WOR Q 4/84 BRANDWACHT : NUMBER 226
 GRANTED TO: Martha Mouton, widow of the late Johannes Louw, Jan Sn
 SIZE: 6 486 Morgen 458 square Roods
 INCLUDING: The old loanplace "Brandwacht"
 DATE: 31 December 1831
 DIAGRAM: Diagram by Tulleken (1827) shows the "half-hour" circle
 with an ordonnantie at its centre

WOR Q 4/85 WAGENDRIFT : NUMBER 230
 GRANTED TO: Martha Mouton, widow of the late Johannes Louw, Jan Sn
 SIZE: 4 069 Morgen 115 square Roods
 INCLUDING: The old loanplace "Klipheuwel in the Wagendrft"
 DATE: 31 December 1831
 DIAGRAM: Diagram by Tulleken (1827) shows the "half-hour" circle
 with an ordonnantie at its centre

WOR Q 4/86 LOUW'S KLIPHEUWEL : NUMBER 227
 GRANTED TO: Johannes Louw (Jacobus Sn) and Abraham Hendrik Petrus
 Louw (Jan sn)
 SIZE: 6 171 Morgen 299 square Roods
 INCLUDING: The old loanplace "Louwsklipheuwel"
 DATE: 31 December 1831
 DIAGRAM: Diagram by Tulleken (1827) shows the "half-hour" circle
 with an ordonnantie at its centre

WOR Q 4/87
GRANTED TO: MODDERFONTEIN : NUMBER 225
 Johanna Engelbrecht, widow of Erasmus Johannes van Zyl
SIZE: 9 566 Morgen 564 square Roods
INCLUDING: The old loanplace "Modderfontein"
DATE: 31 December 1831
DIAGRAM: Diagram by Tulleken (1827) shows the "half-hour" circle
 with an ordonnantie at its centre

WOR Q 4/88
GRANTED TO: AAN DE KLIPHEUWEL : NUMBER 235
 Willem Louw and Jacobus Adriaan Louw (Hermanus sons)
SIZE: 9 598 Morgen 130 square Roods
INCLUDING: The old loanplace "aan de Klipheuwel"
DATE: 31 December 1831
DIAGRAM: Diagram by Tulleken (1827) shows the "half-hour" circle
 with an ordonnantie at its centre

WOR Q 4/86
GRANTED TO: BRANDENBURG : NUMBER 239
 Johannes Engelbrecht (Josias' Son)
SIZE: 8 265 Morgen 493 square Roods
INCLUDING: The old loanplace "Brandenburg"
DATE: 31 December 1831
DIAGRAM: Diagram by Tulleken (1827) shows the "half-hour" circle
 with an ordonnantie at its centre

CLW Q 8/47
GRANTED TO: GRAAUWE DUYNEN : NUMBER 224
 Abraham Hendrik Petrus Louw
SIZE: 2 997 Morgen
INCLUDING: The old loanplace "GraaiweDiuienen"
DATE: 25 May 1853
DIAGRAM: Diagram shows no buildings

CLW Q 10/27
BEING: LOT B : NUMBER 240
 Lot 4270, Clanwilliam Division, Field-cornety Lange
 Vallei
SOLD TO: Johannes Christian van Zyl and Hermanus Adrian van Zyl
SIZE: 2017 Morgen 401 square Roods
DATE: 23 July 1881
DIAGRAM: No buildings shown on the diagram, which was done in 1862

CLW Q 10/28 (NO NAME) : NUMBER 236
BEING: Lot 4271, Clanwilliam Division, Field-cornety Lange
Vallei
SOLD TO: Petrus Andries Louw, Gerhardus Jacobus Laubscher, Jacobus
Martin Laubscher and Gideon Jacobus Smit
SIZE: 424 Morgen 572 square Roods
DATE: 23 July 1881
DIAGRAM: Diagram shows nothing. Drawn in 1862

PIQ Q 2/12 GRAAUW DUINEN : NUMBER 234
BEING: Lot 7254, Piquetberg Division, Field-cornety Lange Vallei
SOLD TO: Johan Carel Stephan and Hendrik Rudolph Stephan, trading
together under the style or firm of Stephan Brothers
SIZE: 833 Morgen
DATE: 30 January 1892
DIAGRAM: Diagram, drawn in 1889, shows no buildings

Appendix C

DEATH NOTICES

FOR THE HOLDERS OF :-

1. PIQUETBERG LOAN PLACES
2. CLANWILLIAM LOAN PLACES

MOOC 6 AND MOOC 8

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
QUEEN VICTORIA STREET
CAPE TOWN

1. DEATH NOTICES FOR THE HOLDERS OF: PIQUETBERG LOAN PLACES

- 1.1. **NAME:** JAN BASSON, JANSZ
 BAPTISM DATE: 24.10.1706
 MARRIAGE DATE: 02.05.1734 to Johanna Catharina van Jaarsveld
 REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** JOHANNA CATHARINA VAN JAARSVELD
 BAPTISM DATE: 12.07.1716
 REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- *****
- 1.2. **NAME:** REYNIER BASSON
 MARRIAGE DATE: 09.08.1778 to Anna Geertruida Gysberta Mostert
 REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** ANNA GEERTRUIDA GYSBERTA MOSTERT
 BAPTISM DATE: 29.01.1758
 REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- *****
- 1.3. **NAME:** OLAF BERGH of Gothenburg in Sweden
 MARRIAGE DATE: Anna de Koning, daughter of Angela of Bengal
 DEATH DATE: + 1730
 REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** ANNA DE KONING (CONINK)
 REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- *****
- 1.4. **NAME:** JOHANNES CORNELIS BEUKES
 BAPTISM DATE: 28.10.1742
 MARRIAGE DATE: 28.04.1776 to Magdalena Adriana Dippenaar
 REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** MAGDALENA ADRIANA DIPPENAAR
 BAPTISM DATE: 07.10.1753
 REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- *****

1.5. **NAME:** **JOHANNES HENDRIK BLANCKENBERG**
MARRIAGE DATE: To Anna Margaretha van der Heyden
DEATH DATE: February 1773
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 MOOC 8/4:59

NAME: **ANNA MARGARETHA VAN DER HEYDEN**
DEATH DATE: June 1773
REFERENCE: MOOC 8/14:60

1.6. **NAME:** **DANIEL BOCKELENBERG**
BAPTISM DATE: 17.07.1707
MARRIAGE DATE: 25.05.1732 to Elisabeth Loret
DEATH DATE: May/June 1777 in Waveren
REFERENCE: MOOC 6/1:138
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: **ELISABETH LORET**
BAPTISM DATE: 30.09.1713
DEATH DATE: 22.10.1760 in Waveren - "huysvrou van Bokkelberg"
REFERENCE: MOOC 8/10:7 AND 7.5

1.7. **NAME:** **NICOLAAS BROMMERT**
MARRIAGE DATE: 28.10.1736 to Sara Krugel (Kruger)
DEATH DATE: 04.08.1776
REFERENCE: MOOC 6/1:129
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: **SARA KRUGEL**
BAPTISM DATE: 24.01.1717
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

1.8. **NAME:** **PIETER BURGERS, ANDRIESZ**
BAPTISM DATE: 01.10.1747
MARRIAGE DATE: 12.03.1769 to Cecilia Oberholster
SECOND MARRIAGE: 07.01.1786 to Sara Coetzee
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: **CECILIA OBERHOLSTER**
BAPTISM DATE: 16.03.1748
DEATH DATE: September 1785 in Waveren - "vrou van Piet Burger"
REFERENCE: MOOC 6/1:231 AND 358
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: **SARA COETZEE**
BAPTISM DATE: 04.07.1762
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

1.9. **NAME:** GERRIT CLOETE, JACOBSZ
 BAPTISM DATE: 02.03.1710
 MARRIAGE DATE: 02.09.1731 to Huibrecht Slabbert
 REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: HUIBRECHT SLABBERT
 BAPTISM DATE: 16.12.1714
 DEATH DATE: 1748
 REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 MOOC 8/6:128 (SEE APPENDIX E)

1.10. **NAME:** DIRK COETZEE, JANSZ
 BAPTISM DATE: 20.04.1721
 MARRIAGE DATE: 27.09.1748 to Johanna Visser
 REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: JOHANNA VISSER
 BAPTISM DATE: 28.11.1723
 REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

1.11. **NAME:** DIRK JACOBUS COETZEE (KOTZE)
 BAPTISM DATE: 31.10.1728
 MARRIAGE DATE: 28.10.1753 to Martha van Schalkwyk
 DEATH DATE: February 1787 in the Swartland
 REFERENCE: MOOC 6/1:252
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: MARTHA VAN SCHALKWYK
 DEATH DATE: 1780
 REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

1.12. **NAME:** JACOB (JACOBUS) COETSE, JANSZ
 BAPTISM DATE: 08.10.1730
 MARRIAGE DATE: 06.01.1754 to Maria Margaretha Cloete
 REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: MARIA MARGARETHA CLOETE
 BAPTISM DATE: 13.05.1736
 REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

- 1.13. **NAME:** JAN COETZE
DEATH DATE: 01.04.1782 in Paarl
REFERENCE: MOOC 6/1:191
TWO OTHER REFERENCES TO JAN COETZEE, JACOBUSZ DATED
APRIL 1782, BUT THEY ARE FROM THE SWELLENDAM
DISTRICT
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** NAME OF WIFE NOT KNOWN
- *****
- 1.14. **NAME:** JAN (JOHANNES) COETZEE
BAPTISM DATE: 01.02.1688
MARRIAGE DATE: 15.10.1713 to Anna Elisabeth Paal
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** ANNA ELISABETH PAAL
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- *****
- 1.15. **NAME:** HENDRIK NICOLAAS COTZE
BIRTH DATE: 06.10.1743
MARRIAGE DATE: 01.01.1769 to Susanna Jacoba Scholtz
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** SUSANNA JACOBA SCHOLTZ
BAPTISM DATE: 13.12.1750
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- *****
- 1.16. **NAME:** JACOBUS CUYLETS (CUIJLETS) from Niederheimbach,
near Keulen. Arrived in 1717, as a soldier. Later
taylor in Stellenbosch (1723)
DEATH DATE: 10.08.1758
MARRIAGE DATE: 06.09.1772 to Barbara Cornelisz Backer
SECOND MARRIAGE: 04.11.1742 to Maria de Bode
DEATH DATE: 10.08.1758 at the Cabo
REFERENCE: MOOC 6/1 V1:3
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** BARBARA CORNELISZ BACKER
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** MARIA DE BODE
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- *****

1.17. **NAME:** JAN DIETLOF from Stettin
MARRIAGE DATE: 04.03.1742 to Catharina van Eeden
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: CATHARINA VAN EEDEN
DEATH DATE: 1758 - "huysvrouw van Dietlof"
REFERENCE: MOOC 6/1 V1:6
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

1.18. **NAME:** MIGIEL EEYENS
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: NAME OF WIFE NOT KNOWN

1.19. **NAME:** PETRUS MICHIEL EKSTEEN
BAPTISM DATE: 18.01.1728
MARRIAGE DATE: 16.03.1749 to Sophia Cloete
DEATH DATE: 12.02.1779 in the Caab
REFERENCE: MOOC 6/1:152
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: SOPHIA CLOETE
BAPTISM DATE: 30.05.1728
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

1.20. **NAME:** ANDRIES GREEF
BAPTISM DATE: 17.08.1732
MARRIAGE DATE: 20.05.1763 to Hester van Zyl
DEATH DATE: October 1783 in the Swartland
REFERENCE: MOOC 6/1:210 AND 351
 REFERENCE IS MADE TO A TESTAMENT
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: HESTER VAN ZYL
BAPTISM DATE: 01.10.1741
DEATH DATE: 20.10.1786 in the Caab (while married to Johan David Kriel)
REFERENCE: MOOC 6/1:247
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

1.21. **NAME:** MICHIEL GROOT
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: NAME OF WIFE NOT KNOWN

- 1.22. **NAME:** ANDRIES GROVE of Viborg, Denmark
MARRIAGE DATE: 26.01.1721 to Anna Nel
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** ANNA NEL
BAPTISM DATE: ABOUT 1704
DEATH DATE: 28.02.1773 at the Cabo - "wed. van den oud
burgerraad andries grove in de kerk in een eijge
graft"
REFERENCE: MOOC 6/1:106
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- *****
- 1.23. **NAME:** ANDRIES JENSEN (JENSSEN)
DEATH DATE: 19.03.1795 at the Caab
REFERENCE: 6/1:327
MOOC 8/21:15
- NAME:** NAME OF WIFE NOT KNOWN
- *****
- 1.24. **NAME:** PAUL JORDAAN
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** NAME OF WIFE NOT KNOWN
- *****
- 1.25. **NAME:** JAN JURGEN KOTZE
BAPTISM DATE: 07.09.1734
MARRIAGE DATE: 13.09.1766 to Susanna Francina van Aarde, widow of
Dirk Verwey
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** SUSANNA FRANCINA VAN AARDE
BAPTISM DATE: 01.01.1736
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- *****
- 1.26. **NAME:** AMOS LAMBRECHT
BAPTISM DATE: 04.10.1750
MARRIAGE DATE: 08.12.1776 to Christina Catharina Louw
SECOND MARRIAGE: 29.04.1781 TO Johanna Catharina van der Byl
THIRD MARRIAGE: 31.08.1794 to Alida Munnik
DEATH DATE: + 1810
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: CHRISTINA CATHARINA LOUW
BAPTISM DATE: 10.08.1732
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: JOHANNA CATHARINA VAN DER BYL
BAPTISM DATE: 03.09.1758
DEATH DATE: 25.12.1792
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: ALIDA MUNNIK
BAPTISM DATE: 05.07.1772
DEATH DATE: 26.01.1805 in the Swartland
WIDOWER: Amos Lambregts
REFERENCE: MOOC 6/2:98
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

1.27. **NAME:** EVERHARHARDUS JOHANNES LAUBSCHER
BAPTISM DATE: 13.04.1749
MARRIAGE DATE: 28.11.1773 To Catharina Christina Basson
SECOND MARRIAGE: 22.12.1782 to Anna Petronella van der Westhuyzen
THIRD MARRIAGE: 23.07.1797 to Engela Jourdan
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: CATHARINA CHRISTINA BASSON
BAPTISM DATE: 24.11.1754
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: ANNA PETRONELLA VAN DER WESTHUYZEN
BAPTISM DATE: 02.09.1753
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: ENGELA JOURDAN
BAPTISM DATE: 16.04.1769
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

1.28. **NAME:** GERRIT MOS OF AMSTERDAM
MARRIAGE DATE: 26.04.1722 to Elisabeth Uys
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: ELISABETH UYS
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

- 1.29. **NAME:** JOHANNES NIEL (NEL)
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** NAME OF WIFE NOT KNOWN
- *****
- 1.30. **NAME:** OCKERT SCHALKWYK
BAPTISM DATE: 14.11.1706
MARRIAGE DATE: 01.10.1735 to Sara Coetsee, widow of Jan Nel (Niel)
DEATH DATE: 1774 in Waveren "op commando van de hottentotten"
REFERENCE: MOOC 6/1:119
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** SARA COETSEE
BAPTISM DATE: 10.12.1713
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- *****
- 1.31. **NAME:** ERASMUS SMIT of Holstein
Arrived 1717 as a soldier
DEATH DATE: 06.05.1787 (Stellenbosch)
MARRIAGE DATE: 06.05.1731 to Cornelia van Emmenes
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** CORNELIA VAN EMMENES
BAPTISM DATE: 05.12.1707
DEATH DATE: June/July 1769 in Waveren - "de huisvrouw van Rasmus Smit d'oude"
REFERENCE: MOOC 6/1:63
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- *****
- 1.32. **NAME:** JONAS VAN DER POEL
BIRTH DATE: 29.12.1695
DEATH DATE: 04.07.1756
MARRIAGE DATE: 11.08.1720 to Sophia Myburgh
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** SOPHIA MYBURGH
BIRTH DATE: 27.09.1702
DEATH DATE: 16.11.1775
DEATH DATE: 30.10.1796 at the Caab - "de wed. van Jonas van der Poel"
REFERENCE: MOOC 6/1:338
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- *****

- 1.33. **NAME:** MYNDERT VAN EEDEN
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** NAME OF WIFE NOT KNOWN
- *****
- 1.34. **NAME:** JOHANNES VAN NIEUWKERKEN, HENDRIKSZ
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** NAME OF WIFE NOT KNOWN
- *****
- 1.35. **NAME:** GIDEON VAN ZYL, PIETERSZ
BAPTISM DATE: 11.02.1753
MARRIAGE DATE: 05.05.1776 to Anna Maria Botma
SECOND MARRIAGE: 10.08.1788 to Catharina Johanna Kriel
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** ANNA MARIA BOTMA
BAPTISM DATE: 06.07.1755
DEATH DATE: 1779
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 MOOC 8/16:60
- NAME:** CATHARINA JOHANNA KRIEL
BAPTISM DATE: 08.09.1771
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- *****
- 1.36. **NAME:** JAN ADRIAAN VENTER
BAPTISM DATE: 14.05.1730
MARRIAGE DATE: Maria Jourdan
SECOND MARRIAGE: 30.01.1763 to Cornelia Smit
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** MARIA JOURDAN
BAPTISM DATE: 09.02.1727
DEATH DATE: 16.04.1761 at "Agter de picquet berg" - "huysvrou
 van J A Venter"
REFERENCE: MOOC 6/1 V1:16
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** CORNELIA SMIT
BAPTISM DATE: 04.10.1738
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- *****

1.37. **NAME:** JOACHIM JOHAN (JAN) LODEWYK WERNICK
BAPTISM DATE: 06.08.1730
MARRIAGE DATE: 28.11.1751 to Anna Margaretha van Reenen
SECOND MARRIAGE: 08.02.1756 to Johanna Sophia Beck
THIRD MARRIAGE: 16.12.1764 to Anna Catharina Koekemoer, widow of
Jan Abraham Meyer
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: ANNA MARGARETHA VAN REENEN
BAPTISM DATE: 19.04.1733
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: JOHANNA SOPHIA BECK
BAPTISM DATE: 04.07.1732
DEATH DATE: 14.10.1764 in Waveren - "Huiysvrou van den oud
Burger Commissaris"
REFERENCE: MOOC 6/1 V1:31
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: ANNA CATHARINA KOEKEMOER
BAPTISM DATE: 30.06.1720
DEATH DATE: 02.05.1797 in Paarl
REFERENCE: MOOC 6/1:344
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

2. DEATH NOTICES FOR THE HOLDERS OF: CLANWILLIAM LOAN PLACES

-
- 2.1. **NAME:** **JACOB COETZE, JANSZ**
REFERENCE: **NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE**
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** **NAME OF WIFE NOT KNOWN**
- *****
- 2.2. **NAME:** **JACOB DE VILLIERS, D'OUDE**
BAPTISM DATE: **19.04.1739**
DEATH DATE: **+ 1789**
MARRIAGE DATE: **23.05.1762 to Maria Elisabeth Marais**
DEATH DATE: **18.02.1784 in Paarl**
REFERENCE: **MOOC 6/1:215 AND 352**
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** **MARIA ELISABETH MARAIS**
BAPTISM DATE: **28.04.1743**
DEATH DATE: **13.08.1790 in Paarl - "de wed. Jacob de Villiers,**
 Janszn"
REFERENCE: **MOOC 6/1:291**
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- *****
- 2.3. **NAME:** **HERMANUS ENGELBREGHT**
BAPTISM DATE: **11.07.1734**
MARRIAGE DATE: **30.11.1761 to Susanna Ras**
REFERENCE: **NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE**
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** **SUSANNA RAS**
BAPTISM DATE: **05.01.1738**
REFERENCE: **NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE**
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- *****
- 2.4. **NAME:** **JURGEN HANEKOM (JORS HANNEKOOM) of Rathlosen at**
 Sulingen in Hannover
OCCUPATION: **Woodcutter**
MARRIAGE DATE: **11.11.1717 to Johanna van den Bosch**
REFERENCE: **NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE**
 MOOC 8.7:65

NAME: JOHANNA VAN DEN BOSCH
BAPTISM DATE: 11.06.1690
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

2.5. **NAME:** JOCHEM KOEKEMOER (JOACHIM)
BAPTISM DATE: 22.11.1744
MARRIAGE DATE: 19.03.1769 to Johanna Adriana de Beer
DEATH DATE: May 1772 in Waveren - "Jochem Koekemoer,
 Deiderikzoon"
REFERENCE: MOOC 6/1:245
 MOOC 8/14:47

NAME: JOHANNA ADRIANA DE BEER
BAPTISM DATE: 11.07.1751
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

2.6. **NAME:** JOHANNES ALBERTUS LOUBSER (JOHAN ALBERTUS)
BAPTISM DATE: 29.09.1720
MARRIAGE DATE: 08.10.1741 to Elisabeth Johanna Mostert
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: ELISABETH JOHANNA MOSTERT
BAPTISM DATE: 09.09.1725
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

2.7. **NAME:** PIETER LOURET (LORET)
BAPTISM DATE: 04.04.1717
MARRIAGE DATE: 06.08.1747 to Hester Melius
DEATH DATE: 09.08.1773 in Drakenstein
REFERENCE: MOOC 6/1:109
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: HESTER MELIUS
BAPTISM DATE: 29.01.1713
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

2.8. **NAME:** HERMANUS LOUW, JACOBSZ
BAPTISM DATE: 13.03.1757
MARRIAGE DATE: 12.10.1783 to Hester Wilhelmina van Zyl
SECOND MARRIAGE: 08.12.1795 to Helena Nieuwoudt
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: HESTER WILHELMINA VAN ZYL
BAPTISM DATE: 19.03.1769 at the age of 14
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: HELENA NIEUWOUDT
BAPTISM DATE: 04.03.1753
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

2.9. **NAME:** JACOBUS LOUW, JACOBSZ
BAPTISM DATE: About 1717
MARRIAGE DATE: 03.09.1741 to Johanna Guillaumet of Languedoc
DEATH DATE: Document is dated 1762
REFERENCE: 6/1:26 (CANNOT FIND)
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: JOHANNA GUILLAUMET
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

2.10. **NAME:** JOHANNES LOUW, JACOBUSZ
BAPTISM DATE: 12.03.1752
MARRIAGE DATE: 12.10.1783 to Martha Mouton
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: MARTHA MOUTON
BAPTISM DATE: 06.07.1766
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

2.11. **NAME:** GERRIT HENDRIK MEYER, JANSZ
BAPTISM DATE: 15.03.1733
MARRIAGE DATE: 01.09.1754 to Josina Elisabeth de Wet
DEATH DATE: 24.11.1774 in Waveren
REFERENCE: MOOC 6/1:119
 MOOC 8/15:34 (SEE APPENDIX E)

NAME: JOSINA ELISABETH DE WET
BAPTISM DATE: 10.09.1730
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

2.12. **NAME:** JAN ABRAHAM MEYER
REFERENCE: MOOC 6/1:230 (CANNOT FIND)
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: ANNA KOEKEMOER
BAPTISM DATE: 30.06.1720
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

2.13. **NAME:** JOHANNES NIEL
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: NAME OF WIFE NOT KNOWN

2.14. **NAME:** JAN ERASMUS SMIT (JOHAN)
BAPTISM DATE: 05.07.1733
MARRIAGE DATE: 09.03.1760 to Rachel Jordaan
SECOND MARRIAGE: 01.03.1767 to Johanna Theresia Loubser
DEATH DATE: 06.01.1779 at the Caab - Jan Smit
REFERENCE: MOOC 6/1 V1:47 (CANNOT FIND)
 MOOC 6/1:151
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: RACHEL JORDAAN
BAPTISM DATE: 25.09.1740
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 MOOC 8/11:14

NAME: JOHANNA THERESIA LOUBSER
BAPTISM DATE: 25.12.1748
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

2.15. **NAME:** JAN VALK of Sevenhysen (owner of Elsenburg : 1730)
BIRTH DATE: About 1681
MARRIAGE DATE: 06.09.1716 to Josina Mos of Amsterdam
SECOND MARRIAGE: Maria van Brakel
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: JOSINA MOS of Amsterdam
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

NAME: MARIA VAN BRAKEL
BAPTISM DATE: 30.05.1677
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
 NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

- 2.16. **NAME:** JOHANNES VAN AARDE (VAN AARDEN)
MARRIAGE DATE: 02.05.1744 to Susanna Bekker
DEATH DATE: 24.12.1794 in Swartland
REFERENCE: MOOC 6/1:311
MOOC 8/21:25
- NAME:** SUSANNA BEKKER
BAPTISM DATE: 28.09.1727
DEATH DATE: 15.07.1786 in Swartland - "de huisvrouw van Johannes van Aarde"
REFERENCE: MOOC 6/1:238 AND 359
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- *****
- 2.17. **NAME:** ALBERT VAN ZYL (ALBERTUS)
MARRIAGE DATE: 06.03.1729 to Martha Vivier
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** MARTHA VIVIER
BAPTISM DATE: 29.09.1711
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- *****
- 2.18. **NAME:** HENDRIK VAN ZYL, ALBERTSZ
BAPTISM DATE: 06.03.1746
MARRIAGE DATE: 11.11.1770 to Geertruy Smit
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE
- NAME:** GEERTRUY SMIT
BAPTISM DATE: 22.01.1741
REFERENCE: NO MOOC 6 REFERENCE
NO MOOC 8 REFERENCE

Appendix D

INVENTORIES

1. MOOC 8/6:128
2. MOOC 8/15:34

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
QUEEN VICTORIA STREET
CAPE TOWN

1. E1 MOOC 8/6:128

Inventory of Huibrecht Slabbert, wife of Gerrit Cloete, Jacobusz dated 22 February 1748.

Agt minderjarige kinderen:	Francina	:	oud 16	
	Johanna	:	oud 15	
	Maria	:	oud 11	
	Jacob	:	oud 10	
	Catharina	:	oud 7	
	Jasper	:	oud 6	
	Gerrit	:	oud 2 jaaren	
	Johannes Cloete	:	oud een maand	
Een opstal geleegen aan de blauwe berg gent. de Oliphantsberg				166 : 32
Een opstal geleegen agter de Piquetberg gent. de Soutekloof				100 : --
Een opstal geleegen agter de Piquetberg gent. de Verlooren Valley				100 : --
Een opstal geleegen agter de Piquetberg gent. de Grootedrift				100 : --
1 Slaavejonge gent. Februarij van Bengalen				100 : --
1 Slaavejonge gent. Alexander van Bengalen				100 : --
1 Slaavejonge gent. Groenland van Madagascar				100 : --
1 Slaavejonge gent. Geelland van Madagascar				100 : --
1 Slavinne gent. Silvia van bengalen				70 : --
1 Slavinne gent. Flora van Bengalen				70 : --
1 Slavinne gent. Sara van de Caap				70 : --
1 Slaavejongetije gent. Dawid van de Caap				70 : --
1 Slaavejongetije gent. Adam van de Caap				60 : --
1 Slaavemeysije gent. Rosa van de Caap				50 : --
1 Slaavemeysje gent. ? van de Caap				10 : --
420 beesten groot en klyn				1260 : --
1 800 schaapen groot en klyn				1350 : --
20 paarden groot en klyn				100 : --

2 halfsleeten wagens	160 : --
2 ploegen met haar toebehooren	14 : --
1 parthy bouwgereetschap	5 : --
2 Kevrens)	
4 bootenvaaten)	10 : --
4 paardetuygen	10 : --
6 yster pooten in soort	10 : --
1 handmoole	20 : --
1 kast	10 : --
2 ledikasten sonder behangsels	10 : --
3 veere cultsacken)	
3 veere peuluwen)	
10 veere kussens)	30 : --
2 tafels	10 : --
8 stoelen	3 : --
2 kisten	3 : --
5 nasken	2 : --
24 porcelyne borden	1 : 16
7 porcelyne schootels	3 : --
12 porcelyne kopjes en pierintjes)	
1 pypraak)	1 : --
4 tinne kommen	2 : --
2 tinne schootels)	
10 tinne bordens)	2 : --
1 tinne schenkboot)	
12 tinne leepels met een rak)	1 : --
2 cooper kandelaars	2 : --
2 cooper keetels	3 : --
1 striykyster	1 : --
4 emmeers	4 : --
1 pottebank	1 : --
20 Byloekse saken	10 : --
100 mudden Skoon	150 : --
4 geweeren	20 : --

Aldus gedaan ende getaxeert der weeskamer aan Cabo de goede Hoop den 22
Februarij 1748

34

Interpretation of ...

van alle beaminge ...

vergelaten door den burger ...

van die overgeblevene ...

den Staat ...

van de ...

van de ...

van de ...

van de ...

van de ...

1792

Een Opstal staande op de
nietige plaats agter de Biggich
bergen in de Lange Valley

aan de aan de Modderfonteyn
zij

Deen de gemeente Branden
berg

al twee laatste jaren mede
gelegen agter de Biggich
bergen. Zynde alle drie
de vorderen plaatsen te
samen getuacert op 150.

Een opstal staande op de
nietige plaats gelegen
aan de Lange Valley, 1100.

Zynde een Weduwe woon
woning op een plaats in
2 van van Haseren
gelegen, welke niet aan
haar maar aan haar
moeder de wed. van
Witlen Jacobus de
Wet de oude in eigen
dom is te behouden
en op welke plaats zij
de navolgende goederen
komen te bevinden,
namelyc

Transporteere van 1910.

Transportto 13/16.92.

1. Eetens kast	10.	11
1. Spiegel	4.	5
9. Schilderijen	4.	24
1 ovale tafel	4.	-
2. hooft tafeltjes	3.	-
1. thee tafel	2.	3
2. Schoolbanken	-	24
4. vrede stoelen	-	24
1. koper lamp met Lyn beethen	4.	2
1. — hooftmeedel	2.	4
1. tinne schenkmeedel	1.	5
1. koper vysel met Lyn stampen	3.	-
1. — handblaker	-	24
2. hout arm blaker	-	24
2. tinne kommen	-	24
12 porcelyne borden	-	24
1. stic meezel	-	12
2 porcelyne kommen	-	36
1. — Coffynen	-	12
2 water halfbaanen	3.	-
2 kommen	1.	-
1 yzere potten	4.	-
1 drie voet	-	24
1 wuirtang	-	24
1 aschop	1.	-
1 yzere twekopen	1.	-
20 verken in doort	15.	-

Transportto 13/16.92


Stamps 1389.20

22 gansen - - - - - 6.24

Op de woonplaats.

3 kabinetten - - - - -	150.-
1 st. porcelijne potten - - - - -	25.-
3. Ledenanten - - - - -	24.-
3. Leden - - - - -	1.24
1. grote kast met koperbeslag - - - - -	10.-
10. do. do. do. - - - - -	3.-
2 - - - - -	1.-
5 kleine trommels - - - - -	2.24
1 seepzeem met lijnsehoed - - - - -	2.-
2 - - - - -	1.24
1 pore lampet met lijnsehoed - - - - -	1.24
1 grote vierkante tafel - - - - -	3.-
1 - - - - -	1.24
1 bocherak - - - - -	1.24
3 koperen koffij kanne - - - - -	3.-
6 - - - - -	3.-
1 - - - - -	4.-
2 kleine schenktheekels - - - - -	1.24
6 adjar potten - - - - -	1.24
5 koperen snijmesjes - - - - -	1.24
5 oude kanne - - - - -	1.24
2 kleine water potten - - - - -	1.-
1 hespenaar - - - - -	3.-
1 grote Spiegel - - - - -	4.-

24	2 guerdons	2.-
	1 koper nagtflaker	1.24
	6 Spiegels	— .36
	2 vorse mek. Koelels	3.-
	1 — nese	
	3 Snaphammer	12.-
	1 gemeer vak	— .12
24	2 grote poel Lemmen	1.24
	4 kleine	
	3 feulse kammetjes	— .12
	1 thee kistje	1.24
24	3. Schijfdraven	— .36
24	6 beddens met pin tubervoren	50.-
24	daar van 6 getruceerd op.	
	1 vorse tafel	6.-
	1 thee tafel	2.-
24	2 vorse bakken	2.-
12	2 theegood bakken	
	1 pijperak	— .12
	1 koper lampet	10.-
	3. spinaw thee bakken	1.24
	2 kleine spiegels	3.-
24	2. — Schilderijen	
24	4 vogelkrijen	— .36
12	1 porcelijne Schervecaken	
30	2 Caraffe	3.-
	2 vorse	
	42 glazen in doos	


 Importeur 1740.26

G. J. Jansz 1740. 20

5 Minare Schenkpieringes	— 30
1. tunc Stander met Dijn pinneljes	1. —
2 glase Lot draahtjes	} 1. —
3 porc: biter potjes met hare pieringes	
1 koper sigel met Dijn Stampes	
1 tunc Schenkbord	} 1. —
1. loode tabakskruas	
6. Perdyne porc: borden	
20 porc: Schotel van Leert	5. —
1 — trechpot	— 12
2 tunc —	} 2. —
3 Stellen theegaed	
1 grote vercheijker	
18 gesnede Stelen	9. —
6 gevraijde defectes	1. 20
1 viercante gambijs tafels	2. —
6 Staven	} 1. —
1 gijter leij	
1 bakhiest	2. —
1 Emmer bank	2. —
12 Emmer	6. —
7 ijzere potten	14. —
1 grote kopere hebel	2. —
1 ijzere draadpan	} 1. 20
2 — hekopannen	
1 rooster	} 1. 20
3 ijzere vleeschforke	

G. J. Jansz 1740

2 ijzere leepels	
1 — Jochijmspan	} 2. —
1 — asfchop en vrientang	
2 — drie vanden	
1 koper leepel	3. —
2 — poffertjespannen	} 11. —
1 — cappel	
1 — vergiet test	
1 — gasp	
2 — schalen	
3 — Spijtigser	
2 ijzere	
1 koper braus	} 1.24
1 Anne	
2 — pappertroze	— .24
1 wasfelzer	— .14
1 blieke lantaarn	— .14
2 Anne Schokels	2. —
1 Don Zing gesneeide Stoclen	} 36. —
1 — type priopen	
3 onde blieke brommels	1. —
1 meel diff	} — .24
1 pist	
1 hante tabaksdoos	
1 leepel rath	} — .6
1 poffijnmolen	
15 c. vly slofen	
1 overflag molen	25. —

Amsterdam 1838. 2

14
14
26

3 hoerwater	9. —
2 rijntjes ijers	} 9. —
1 knoefmes	
1 ongenade witte dijelboom	96
5 Bogen met haren sacchore	40. —
4 Bogen sardaren	} 9. —
1 Egenet ijere tanden	
1 — y hante	} 9. —
1 ijere schroef	
1 smitswinkel met bij- bebe hoore	80. —
3 tent Zeylen	9. —
50 Bakken in doort	18. 24
6 paarde ringen met koper beslag	40. —
2 agter ringen met ijserde ring	8. —
4 of 5 wagen met hante de hoore	200. —
1 paarde wagen	60. —
1 onde	4. —
1 Garre	10. —
460 voet geelhorde mankey	28. 96
50 geel hante bakken	150. —
10 ledige leggers	50. —
5 halve	15. —
1 Bierpyp	} 9. —
2 halvaanen	
1 rijsoalj	

Totaal 2652. 14

De Franse No 2652. 14

2 trapbuis	-----	
2 kleine	-----	
1 grote trogier	-----	4.25
2 capere	-----	
2 Wynraane	-----	
1 leken van der staats	-----	
6 ongemachte dijselboomen	-----	9.-
1 kleine ende brandmijn	-----	
kestel	-----	2.-
1 onde soelvat	-----	
1 party timmer handwerk	-----	8.-
3 onde buidels	-----	12.-
3 donder timme bevels	-----	
2 schaal forken	-----	3.-
12 tafelmessen	-----	
1 timme sacplepel	-----	
1 navel bank	-----	1.25

Geestdial.

143 Beesten	-----	420.-
300 Schapen	-----	266.35
50. bokken	-----	8.10
33 paarden	-----	990.-

Leijf eijgenen.

1 Slave jongen van Simson
 Van de suab lijnde
 met de lasten lijst
 behelt 7 vras

Transport No 9720. 1.

1 Slave gongen gen: Cupido
van mallabuar,

1 ————— 2 July
2 Bengalen,

1 ————— 2 Lucas
2 mallabuar,

1 ————— 2 Cupido
2 Timor

1 ————— 2 Alst
2 Bengalen

1 Slave gongen: Victorie
van de Caab

1 ————— 2 Lijl

1 ————— 2 Leena

1 ————— 2 Anna

1 ————— 2 Spasie

1 ————— 2 Martha

1 ————— 2 Rachel

1 ————— 2 Flora

1 ————— 2 Bebecca

1 ————— 2 Eva

1 ————— 2 Adonia

1 alle de vromme Slaves zijnde 34
in getal 1000er getal 9400. —

No 1
Voorts bevinden Liemog
op voorsd Plaats Sae
Lange Valley genaamt.
de volgende Gederen
Namen & lyk. —

1 Magen	50. —
1 Bloeg	12. —
1 Eymet ijzere tanden	14. —
Ijzere potten in doort,	10. —
1. Moolen	12. —
3 Snapskeumt	18. —
3 boter vaten	— .24
4 Carns	— .24
1 Misd.	1. —
1 tafel	1.24
4 vnde Stuelen	5. —
3 hout bijlen	6. —
1 Daedel	2. —
6 Emmer	6. —
6 balij	6. —
1 groote Schroef	2. —
4 tinne Schotels	1. —
4 — borden	1. —
1 aschop	1. —
1 Wierdekung	1. —
1 Onervoet	1. —
1 ijzere pan	1. —
1 hooftkeedel	— .24
1 Laedel	

Transport 7260.14
Beestraden -

406 Beesten	1218.-
1351 Schaapen	450.15
136 Bokken	22.-
2 Paarden	20.-

Innschulden van
Diverse Personen, 6066, 2022.-

10092.30

Lasten des Broedes

over agterstal op de zwaren
drieën ingeplaat, 477.-

Sulda des Broedes zwaren
vondert, 10515.30

Koninkrijk van de groen
Hof, de 28 April 1775

Asquith Meester van de
medinvenier

M. Schout

M. Liller

M. B. van

M. B. van