

**Memory and documentation in exhibition-making: A case study of the  
Protea Village exhibition, *A History of Paradise 1829 - 2002***

**Uthando Lubabalo Baduza**

**Student no: 9803778**



**A mini-thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
the degree of M.A. in Public and Visual History, in the Department of  
History, University of the Western Cape**

**Supervisor: Prof Ciraj Rassool**

**Date Submitted: 15 November 2007**

## Declaration

I, Uthando Lubabalo Baduza declare that **‘Memory and documentation in exhibition-making: A case study of the Protea Village Exhibition, *A History of Paradise 1829 - 2002*’** is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

-----  
**Uthando Lubabalo Baduza**

-----  
**Date**



## Acknowledgements

I am most grateful to the wonderful people of Protea that were so generous and gracious in their dealings with me. Eileen Nomdo, Geoff van Gusling, Cedric van Dieman and Ann Ntebe of the Protea Village Action Committee (PROVAC) stand out as individuals who facilitated access to the rest of the community. Many thanks to you.

The staff members of the District Six Museum are just awesome! Bonita Bennett, Margaux Jordan, Menisha Collins, Thulani Nxumalo, Donald Parenzee (former Exhibitions Curator) are tireless activists for the preservation of community memory. You all inspire me to do more and I would not have been able to undertake this study if it was not for all your help.

Maureen Archer, Carohn Cornell, Jos Thorne, Garth Erasmus and Haajirah Esau were always very supportive during the research and planning for the exhibition. I learnt a great deal from you all and I am inspired by your dedication to your work.

Many thanks to Sandra Prosalendis and Prof. Ciraj Rassool, for their ongoing support and encouragement.

Thanks also go to the National Research Foundation (NRF) for funding the Project on Public Pasts of which I have been a fortunate beneficiary. They should in no way be held responsible for what is contained in this study.

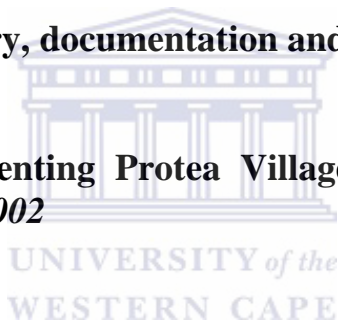
It's very hard to work on an M.A. whilst being employed full-time but my colleagues at the HSRC Press have put up with my many absences from the office. My thanks to you.

Finally I would like to thank my family and friends who have supported me through what has been the most challenging endeavour I have undertaken, and for enduring the endless conversations as I tried to formulate my ideas. I trust that I have been able to demonstrate the faith that you shown in me. Ndiyabulela.

I dedicate this work to the memory of my cousin, Simphiwe Mgojo-Ndoro (1976-2003). May your soul rest in peace.

## Table of Contents

<b>Introduction</b>		<b>6</b>
<b>Chapter One</b>	<b>District Six Museum: Digging Deeper and Wider</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>Chapter Two</b>	<b>Reconstruction of Place and Community Memory: Protea Village</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>Chapter Three</b>	<b>Memory, documentation and exhibition-making</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>Chapter Four</b>	<b>Representing Protea Village: <i>A History of Paradise 1829-2002</i></b>	<b>76</b>
<b>Conclusion</b>		<b>99</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>		<b>102</b>



## List of Figures

- Figure 1: Surveyor General Diagram of Protea Area (1865), Surveyor- General's Office, City of Cape Town. 84**
- Figure 2: Aerial Map of Protea/Kirstenbosch/Bishopscourt (1944), Land Affairs: Surveys and Mapping, City of Cape Town. 85**
- Figure 3: Aerial Map of Protea/Kirstenbosch/Bishopscourt (1968), Land Affairs: Surveys and Mapping, City of Cape Town. 87**
- Figure 4: Aerial Map of Protea/Kirstenbosch/Bishopscourt (1996), Land Affairs: Surveys and Mapping, City of Cape Town 87**
- Figure 5: Patterns of Property Ownership exhibit at the settlement of the community land ceremony, 24 September 2006 90**

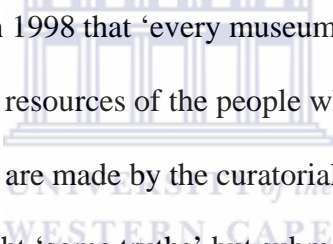


## Introduction

This mini-thesis seeks to interrogate the interplay between memory and documentation in the process of exhibition-making by a looking at the preparation for and mounting of the exhibition, *A History of Paradise 1829-2002 – Protea Village* by the District Six Museum. This will be achieved by looking at the institutional methodologies employed by the Museum in dealing with ex-residents of District Six, their memories and artefacts in the heritage practice of a Museum as a forum. This practice was put into effect as the District Six Museum engaged ex-residents of other locations of removal.

A desire had been expressed by the Museum to narrate the broader stories of forced removal in the whole of Cape Town. The analysis of how the *Protea Village* exhibition was prepared and mounted, as well as how it was received by the actors involved, offers an opportunity not only to ask how the District Six Museum has been successful in its mission but also to ask how the interests of the different actors were represented and mediated in the final exhibition. This mini-thesis will also attempt to understand how the different stakeholders were implicated in the reconstruction of Protea Village and seek to chart how this reconstruction had a huge influence on the final exhibition. The prevailing question, then, is whether this reconstruction of a place and memory, cast within a revisionist history paradigm, has been successful in excavating ‘stories from below’.

Chapter One seeks to interrogate the ‘institutional methodologies’ of the museum in the attempt to highlight some of the strengths and challenges still faced by the Museum in excavating ‘histories from below’. In doing so, the chapter argues that the formation of the Hands Off District Six (HODS) committee in 1987, and the subsequent conference in 1988 heralded a unique moment in the longer history of District Six.<sup>1</sup> A symbol for all the devastating effects of the Group Areas Act legislation, the destruction of complex, dynamic, “vibrant” community which goes beyond its own physical boundaries and District Six, the place, became a potent symbol for inserting the history of forced removals in the narrative of post-apartheid history.<sup>2</sup>



Karp and Lavine have argued in 1998 that ‘every museum exhibition ...inevitably draws on the cultural assumptions and resources of the people who make it.’<sup>3</sup> They argue that there are deliberate choices that are made by the curatorial teams who mount the exhibitions, which often highlight ‘some truths’ but submerge others. I will refer to what the Museum says about itself, its audiences and its approach to exhibition-making to interrogate how successful the Museum has been in its mission.

Chapter Two begins to suggest that the idea of Protea Village as a coherent community was in many ways a product of the land claim itself. When the community decided to institute a land claim in terms of the Land Restitution Act 22 of 1994, they had to satisfy

---

<sup>1</sup>S Jeppie and C. Soudien, “Introduction”, in S Jeppie and C. Soudien (eds). *The Struggle for District Six: Past and Present: A Project of the Hands Off District Six Committee* (Cape Town: Buchu Books, 1990), p 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p 3.

<sup>3</sup>I. Karp and S. D Lavine, “Introduction: Museums and Multiculturalism” in S.D. Lavine and I. Karp (eds), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000), p 1.

certain criteria in terms of Section 2 of the Act. This Act was the ‘first piece of transformative legislation to be passed by the newly democratically elected South African Government.’<sup>4</sup> It sought to redress the gross imbalances in land ownership in South Africa, where 80% of the land ownership is in the hands of a 13% white minority. It sought to create a legislative instrument to accelerate land reform in South Africa and ensure that it is more equitably redistributed.

As part of the criteria for your claim to be considered to be legitimate for consideration, claimants were required to write a brief historical background of the area where the claimant community had previously settled before they were forcibly moved. There were range of actors who took it upon themselves to resurrect the memory of Protea. The Land Restitution Act provided the framework for the resurrection of that memory. This chapter seeks to examine the different sites of memory and the genealogy of that memory.

My direct involvement in the research and mounting of the exhibition, presents one with interesting opportunity simultaneously to offer an insider account of the curatorial process as well as to critically assess how the processes of exhibition-making unfolded. I agree with Kratz, when she argues that ‘with most exhibitions how they are initially conceptualised, differs greatly to the eventual final product.’<sup>5</sup> There is often robust debate within curatorial teams about how the exhibitions should be mounted and often practical considerations – budgets, space, lack of materials, time, and human resources – can have

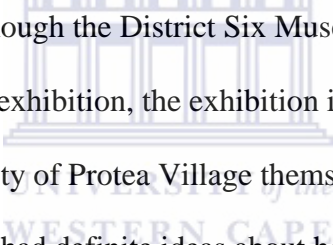
---

<sup>4</sup> C. Walker, “Delivery and disarray: the multiple meanings of land restitution” in S Buhlungu, J Daniel, R Southall and J Lutchman (eds) *State of the Nation: South Africa 2005-2006* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2006), p 69.

<sup>5</sup> C. Kratz, *The Ones that are Wanted: Communication and the Politics of Representation in a Photographic Exhibition* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2002), p 99.



a huge impact on how the exhibition eventually turns out. Kratz further argues that it's not only important 'to understand exhibitions and what people do through them' but how they also 'unfold in time - ...how they are situated in broader historical, social and political terms.'<sup>6</sup> This is critical when one is discussing a museum like the District Six Museum as I think that the fact that the museum centres around the story of District Six – and its attempt to insert other narratives of forced removal areas into its own narrative- requires one to look more closely at how the Museum conducts its work. Also how does it mediate the telling of other stories? The obvious question becomes how successful has it been in doing this?



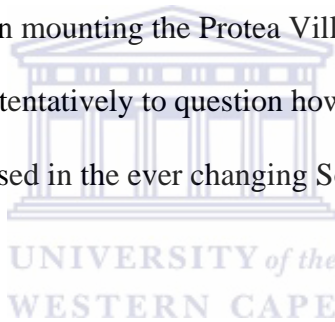
I argue in chapter three that although the District Six Museum was instrumental in the mounting of the Protea Village exhibition, the exhibition itself was a moment in the longer struggle by the community of Protea Village themselves to re-insert themselves onto the urban landscape. They had definite ideas about how this re-insertion should be narrated. In this chapter I look at the research strategies that were employed in mounting the exhibition in order to further unpack how these various stakeholders shaped the final exhibition. An analysis of the methodological approach, employed by the Museum, of encouraging its ex-residents and visitors to constantly engage and shape the representations and meanings depicted in the museum through series of workshops becomes a key feature of this chapter. This is done through looking at how the materials for the exhibition were collected and asking questions such as, 'What drove or informed the research process, which ex-residents were interviewed, how was the process of engagement with the community documented?' As it's clear that museums are not

---

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p 91.

unmediated places because there are various processes at work in relation to collected material that are taken out of one context and put into another.

Chapter Four on the other hand, examines the exhibits of the Protea Village exhibition, *A History of Paradise 1829-2002*. In looking at the displays that formed part of the exhibition more closely, I will attempt to examine how the representations within the exhibits have supported the interests of the different stakeholders which were invested in the exhibition. It also attempts to weave together how the institutional contexts and methodologies of the District Six Museum have shaped the telling of a broader story of forced removal in Cape Town in mounting the Protea Village exhibition. As the concluding chapter, it attempts tentatively to question how the history of forced removals has been and will be memorialised in the ever changing South African heritage landscape.



## Chapter One

### District Six Museum: Digging Deeper and Wider

This chapter begins by charting a brief history of the evolution of the District Six Museum Foundation and its motivations in telling the histories of forced removals in Cape Town. It seeks to interrogate the ‘institutional methodologies’ of the museum in the attempt to highlight some of the strengths and challenges still faced by the Museum in excavating ‘histories from below’. In doing so, the chapter argues that the formation of the Hands Off District Six (HODS) committee in 1987, and the subsequent conference in 1988 heralded a unique moment in the longer history of District Six.<sup>7</sup> A symbol for all the devastating effects of the Group Areas Act legislation, the destruction of complex, dynamic, “vibrant” community which goes beyond its own physical boundaries and District Six, the place, became a potent symbol for inserting the history of forced removals in the narrative of post-apartheid history. The formation of the HODS was driven by the desire of a cross section of civil society (activists, organisations of District Six, etc) that unified in an attempt to resist development of the District by a multi national corporation without consulting the ex-residents of District Six. Its affiliation with the broader structures of the liberation movement signified the deep connection that the people of District Six had with the national liberation struggle for freedom and justice.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> S. Jeppie and C. Soudien, “Introduction”, in S. Jeppie and C. Soudien (eds). *The Struggle for District Six: Past and Present: A Project of the Hands Off District Six Committee* (Buchu Books: Cape Town, 1990), p 1.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p 3.

Karp and Lavine have argued in 1998 that ‘every museum exhibition ...inevitably draws on the cultural assumptions and resources of the people who make it.’<sup>9</sup> They argue that there are deliberate choices that are made by the curatorial teams who mount the exhibitions, which often highlight ‘some truths’ but submerge others. I will refer to what the Museum says about itself, its audiences and its approach to exhibition-making to interrogate how successful the Museum has been in its mission. This chapter is an attempt to contextualise the emergence of this ‘institutional methodology’ employed by the museum in its exhibitionary making processes. What I will attempt zone in on, is a particular moment in the exhibition-making process, which is part of the District Six Museum methodological approach encouraging its ex-residents and visitors to constantly engage with and shape the representations and meanings depicted in the museum through a series of workshops for exhibitions that the museum has conducted. This approach is best captured by what was said by the late Dr Irwin Combrinck, one of the founding Trustees of the museum that: ‘It’s not a place where you just come to view artefacts. It’s something that you become involved in...’<sup>10</sup>

The forced removal of people from District Six is of course not an isolated event as the physical displacement of people, colonial dispossession and the re-occupation of land were happening across the Peninsula. The arrival of Jan van Riebeeck in the Cape of Good Hope in the 17<sup>th</sup> century heralded the beginning of intense conflicts between the settlers

---

<sup>9</sup> S. D. Lavine and I. Karp, “Introduction: Museums and Multiculturalism” in I. Karp and S.D. Lavine (eds), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000), p 1.

<sup>10</sup> C. Rassool, “Introduction: recalling community in Cape Town” in C. Rassool and S. Prosalendis (eds) *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001), p x.

and the local inhabitants, especially when the Dutch East India Company ‘allowed’ some of its employees to farm the land that they had ‘acquired.’<sup>11</sup> It was something that spread around across the country through the various successive colonial governments beginning with the dispossession and removal of the Khoi through the often-violent struggles that ensued between the settlers and the local inhabitants. But when in the early 1900s African dockworkers were targeted for removal after they were scapegoated as the carriers of the bubonic plague in 1901 during the Anglo-Boer War.<sup>12</sup> It heralded a significant moment in how people were relocated in urban areas to different areas as these contests over land before then were largely rural in nature. The African dockworkers had been the first victims of the plague because they were the ones who unloaded the hay in which the rats who stowed on the ships carried the fleas that carried the disease. There were initially moved to two locations: a barrack at the docks and another at Uitvlugt forest (soon renamed Ndabeni). They were later in the 1920s moved again from Ndabeni to Langa and later to Gugulethu, amidst strong protest and resistance from the Africans who were constantly calling for better living conditions, as these places themselves were not healthy places to live.<sup>13</sup>

The prevailing notion that District Six was predominantly ‘coloured’ stems from the relocation of these Africans, but according to memoirist Nomvuyo Ngcelwane, this has been over-generalized as she writes about the continued albeit small presence of Africans

---

<sup>11</sup> M. Hall, “The Archaeology of Colonial Settlement in Southern Africa”, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol 22, p 179.

<sup>12</sup> V. Bickford-Smith, “Mapping Cape Town: From Slavery to Apartheid” in S. Fields (ed) *Lost Communities, Living Memories: Remembering forced removals in Cape Town* (Cape Town, Centre for Popular Memory UCT: David Phillip, 2001), p 17.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, p 18.

in District Six.<sup>14</sup> The application of segregation gradually escalated across Cape Town leaving very few areas unscathed. The Group Areas Act (GAA) of 1950 enabled the government to demarcate vast tracts of land according to racial categories, building on the previous legislation such as the Native Land Act of 1913 that limited the ownership of land by blacks to 13% of the entire land surface of the country. The cruelty inflicted by the GAA was that it entailed the displacement of thousands of people from homes that had been occupied by generations of families and it was massive in scale. When the GAA was repealed in 1991, it had displaced nearly 900,000 people in the period 1960 to 1983.<sup>15</sup>

In District Six, 60 000 people were dispossessed and displaced after the area was declared a 'white' area in 1966, to be replaced but a 'new white residential area of townhouses and high-rise apartments.'<sup>16</sup> District Six has emerged as the most iconic symbol of the destruction of communities in Cape Town because it was heralded as this vibrant multi-racial community and its demise left an indelible mark as many pioneers of the struggle emanated from that community.

The District Six Museum's most recent core exhibition, *Digging Deeper*, was opened in the Buitenkant Street Methodist Mission Church in 2000. The church had a long

---

<sup>14</sup> S. Dubin, *Transforming Museums: Mounting Queen Victoria in a Democratic South Africa*, (New York – Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p 125.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, p 127. He is quoting Delpont 2001c, p 42 who is in turn quoting Platzky and Walker 1985, p 114 – I am doubtful of these numbers as I think that the history of removals have a much longer history and the number of the people that have been affected over the centuries is too many to quantify.

<sup>16</sup> C. Rassool, "Community Museums, Memory Politics and Social Transformation in South Africa: Histories, Possibilities and Limits in I. Karp, C. Kratz, L. Szwaja and T. Ybarra-Frausto with G. Buntinx, B. Kirshenblatt-Gimlett and C. Rassool (eds), *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), p 2.

historical association with the struggle, as it had provided a meeting space and sanctuary to many activists during apartheid.<sup>17</sup> Different stakeholders -trustees, ex-residents, artist, academics, tour guides, and community organisations – were invited to contribute to the exhibition in a number of ways. Street signs, photographs, furniture, music, press clippings, maps, everyday households, identity documents – basically anything that people preserved as a memento of District Six came to constitute the fabric of the museum. It was ‘a self-conscious and self-reflective exhibition’ which attempted to address the restlessness within the Museum to tell a more complex story of District Six.’<sup>18</sup> *Streets: Retracing District Six* which opened in 1994 preceded the *Digging Deeper* exhibition. It had become the core exhibition for over four years – a number of other exhibitions were curated alongside it which were *(Di)splaying the Game*(on the sporting and cultural heritage), *The Last Days of District Six: Photographs by Jan Greshoff* (a display of the architecture of District Six before its bulldozing) *Buckingham Palace* (based on the work of Richard Rive and aimed at school learners) and *Tramway Road* (about forced removals in Sea Point, Cape Town).<sup>19</sup> These exhibitions also sought to acknowledge the fact that District Six is one of the many stories of the destruction and dispossession of individuals and communities across the country.

The District Six Museum Foundation’s other important area of operation was to support the institution of a land claim in respect of District Six, in terms of the Restitution of

---

<sup>17</sup> S. Abrahams, ‘A Place of Sanctuary’ in C. Rassool and S. Prosalendis (eds) *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001), p 3.

<sup>18</sup> C. Rassool, “Introduction: recalling community in Cape Town” in C. Rassool and S. Prosalendis (eds) *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001), p x.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, p vii.

Land Rights Act (no 22 of 1994).<sup>20</sup> Attached to this was the desire to ‘unearth pasts and recording memory of traumatic experience’, very much in tune with the work undertaken by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Rassool argues that the ‘association [with the TRC] illustrates the moral dimension of the Museum’s work of defending human rights and can be seen in how the Museum is often viewed as a site of forgiveness and ‘the healing of memories.’<sup>21</sup> This healing of traumatic memories has been central to how the Museum has been conceived and how it has approached working with communities, as many ex-residents have walked through the doors of the Museum and have shared their painful experiences of removal as the former Director of the Museum, Sandra Prosalendis recounts, ‘I felt the pathos of that space. It would bring millions of tears just [about] everyday... There was a lot of counselling we were doing...’<sup>22</sup>

Annie Coombes argues that the ‘legacy of apartheid has left many individuals and communities alienated from their own histories.’<sup>23</sup> She argues, however, that the story of District Six has been exceptional as it has been the ‘locus of public debates on abstract concepts of history, heritage, commemoration, memory and nostalgia’. The approach and methodologies of the museum emerged out of the socio-political movements and disciplines, which endeavoured to move away from the traditional centres of learning

---

<sup>20</sup> C. Rassool, ‘Community Museums, Memory Politics and Social Transformation in South Africa: Histories, Possibilities and Limits in I. Karp, C. Kratz, L. Szwaja and T. Ybarra-Frausto with G. Buntinx, B. Kirshenblatt-Gimlett and C. Rassool (eds), *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), p 3.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, p 3.

<sup>22</sup> S. Dubin, *Transforming Museums: Mounting Queen Victoria in a Democratic South Africa*, (New York – Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp 138-139.

<sup>23</sup> A. E. Coombes, *History After Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003), p 118.



towards a broader range of social and community-based movements.<sup>24</sup> This is characterized by the ‘productive ambivalence about the categories of ‘museum’ and ‘exhibition’ which lies at the centre of the founding motivations for the establishment of the museum. As some have argued that the museum ‘is known not so much for what it possesses as for what it *does*.’<sup>25</sup> The Museum, since its establishment, has viewed itself as ‘an independent site of engagement, a space for questioning and interrogation of the terms of the post-apartheid present.’<sup>26</sup> Rassool further argues that the Museum also wanted to interrogate ‘the institutions, relations and discourses embedded in its production and reproduction.’<sup>27</sup> Moreover as Rassool argues, it is necessary to unpack the category of ‘community’ as that is intensely contested. Katherine Goodnow sees the ‘main conceptual concerns ... [of the Museum] were with the nature of the narrative, the nature of memory, the role of the “art practitioner”, and the place of words.’<sup>28</sup> What Goodnow means about the role of the “art practitioner”, is not clear especially in light of the fact there is already so much written about the emergence of the Museum and most authors mention the cross-section of disciplines that people who were involved in making the Museum came from. The other conceptual concerns she mentions I will address later in the chapter.

---

<sup>24</sup> District Six Museum, *District Six: A National Heritage Site, Draft of Conservation Management Plan* prepared for SAHRA Council, July 2006, p 11.

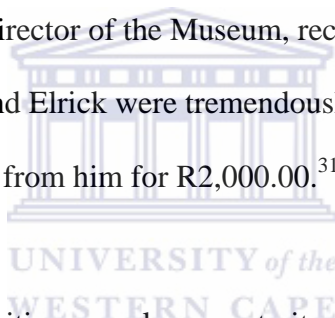
<sup>25</sup> S. Dubin, *Transforming Museums: Mounting Queen Victoria in a Democratic South Africa*, (New York – Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p 115. Original emphasis

<sup>26</sup> C. Rassool, “Community Museums, Memory Politics and Social Transformation in South Africa: Histories, Possibilities and Limits in I. Karp, C. Kratz, L. Szwaja and T. Ybarra-Frausto with G. Buntinx, B. Kirshenblatt-Gimlett and C. Rassool (eds), *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), p 3.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, pp 4-5.

<sup>28</sup> K. J. Goodnow with J. Lohman and J. Bredekamp, *Challenge and Transformation: Museums in Cape Town and Sydney*, (Paris: UNESCO, 2006), p 114.

The first exhibition, *Streets: Retracing District Six*, with which the District Six Museum opened *as a museum* in December 1994 was described as an ‘archeology of memory.’<sup>29</sup> It was scheduled to be open only for a couple of weeks. This was not to be as the groundswell of interest in the story of District Six that was generated by the exhibition resulted in funds being raised by the recently established District Six Museum Foundation in 1989 as a spin-off of the HODS campaign. This enabled unprecedented growth in the museum’s work of collecting, exhibitions and education. The exhibition itself, centred around a collection of streets signs that were remarkably saved by the foreman of one of the demolition teams, David Elrick who had saved them in his cellar.<sup>30</sup> Sandra Prosalendis, a former Director of the Museum, recalls that the negotiations that ensued between the Museum and Elrick were tremendously intense and they eventually had to purchase the street signs from him for R2,000.00.<sup>31</sup>



Other key elements of the exhibition were large portraits of prominent ex-residents, photographs from long packed away albums and family collections, transparent display cases containing the excavated fragments of family life, a large map covering the most of the ground floor space and a long calico cloth on which visitors could write the names. What made the map and calico cloth so innovative was their interactive nature – ex-residents could fill in where they lived on the map and inscribe the calico cloth turning it

---

<sup>29</sup> C. Rassool, “Introduction: recalling community in Cape Town” in C. Rassool and S. Prosalendis (eds) *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001), p vii.

<sup>30</sup> C. Rassool, “Community Museums, Memory Politics and Social Transformation in South Africa: Histories, Possibilities and Limits in I. Karp, C. Kratz, L. Szwaja and T. Ybarra-Frausto with G. Buntinx, B. Kirshenblatt-Gimlett and C. Rassool (eds), *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006) p 6.

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Sandra Prosalendis, 8 August 2006.

into a ‘memory cloth.’<sup>32</sup> The critical point that is made by Goodnow is that ‘many of its aspects became continuing [exhibition] features for the museum.’<sup>33</sup> The premises in which the exhibition was held was very significant as it has been a sanctuary for many activists during the struggle and according to some ‘has carved its name into the annals of our history for a democratic South Africa.’<sup>34</sup> The inscribed brass plaque at the entrance of the premises ‘so poignantly encapsulates the story of dispossession’ that the exhibition sought to tell when it opened and sought to invoke shame in the apartheid government for the dissolution of thousands of families that ‘were forced by law to leave their homes because of the colour of their skins...’<sup>35</sup>

The call for the establishment of a museum had emanated from a large public meeting that had been called by the HODS in July 1988 to preserve the memory of District Six.<sup>36</sup> The museum was able to grow so rapidly because it was able to ‘foster dedication and loyalty ... and to summon the enthusiastic support of ordinary people in the city.’<sup>37</sup> Le Grange suggests that the reason behind the museum’s ability to foster such loyalty was that ‘at the time [the museum] gave some of us a sense of belonging – belonging not only a memory and a history but to this city of ours.’<sup>38</sup> The prevailing desire by the Foundation was ‘for a place of memory not a monument, but a focus for the recovery and

---

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, p 6.

<sup>33</sup> K. J. Goodnow with J. Lohman and J. Bredekamp, *Challenge and Transformation: Museums in Cape Town and Sydney*, (Paris: UNESCO, 2006), p 119.

<sup>34</sup> S. Abrahams, “A Place of Sanctuary” in C. Rassool and S. Prosalendis (eds) *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001), p 3.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, p 3.

<sup>36</sup> C. Soudien, “The first few years of the District Six Museum Foundation” in C. Rassool and S. Prosalendis (eds) *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001), p 5.

<sup>37</sup> L. le Grange, “The collective spirit of a museum” in C. Rassool and S. Prosalendis (eds) *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001), p 7.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*, p 8.

reconstruction of the social and historical existence of District Six.’<sup>39</sup> Whilst others argued that the Museum should rather devote its energies ‘to mobilize the masses of ex residents and their descendants into a movement of land restitutions, community development and political consciousness.’<sup>40</sup>

The emphasis on ‘processes of engagement’ in the Museum’s approach, as already indicated, was informed by activism of the 1980s as many of the academics, ex-residents and other curatorial members were involved in the struggle in one way or another. This has informed a lot of the work of the museum in its attempt to excavate ‘histories from below’ by telling histories that have been previously marginalised by colonialism and apartheid. The Museum’s approach to museum practice seeks ‘to open up questions of *relations of knowledge* contained within and generated by all aspects of its work and about the possibilities and limits of self-representation.’<sup>41</sup> More explicitly the creators of the museum desired to interrogate the assumed ‘neutrality of tourist discourses of diversity [and] therefore place a more complex model of the community museum - as a space of contestation on the agenda for heritage transformation. The creators of the museum were also patently aware of how international tourism circuits continued to provide a ‘safe haven’ for the representation of troubled histories,<sup>42</sup> so they were keen for the Museum to disrupt those narratives. Steve Dubin has argued that ‘[the museum] is

---

<sup>39</sup> P. Delport. “Museum or place for working with Memory?” in C. Rassool and S. Prosalendis (eds) *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001), p vii.

<sup>40</sup> C. Rassool, “Introduction: recalling community in Cape Town” in C. Rassool and S. Prosalendis (eds) *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001), p viii. Italics, original emphasis

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*, p xi.

<sup>42</sup> B. Kirshenblatt-Gimlett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and Heritage*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) p 140.

populist at its core ... [and] aims to construct a space where memory and community can be activated confronted and explored.’<sup>43</sup> Quoting the recently former Director of the Museum, Valmont Layne, he argues that ‘[the museum] allows people to “self-articulate” – it provides a setting that draws out memories and encourages reflection.’<sup>44</sup> But before I turn my attention to the District Six Museum as a ‘space’, I want to focus on the emergence of the approaches and methodologies of the museum to heritage practice by looking at how two particular exhibitions were mounted by the museum.

*The District Six Public Sculpture Exhibition and Festival* sought to mark the scarred landscape with transient markers to invoke memories of the District Six and began a conversation around the future development of District Six, was a pivotal moment in the concretizing on the institutional methodology of the museum’s approach to exhibition projects.<sup>45</sup> The involvement of almost a hundred artists in the Project, with a Steering Committee driving the process necessitated a lot of consultation, debate and workshopping ideas around the ‘use of the landscape [which] was something that had not been previously attempted in South Africa.’<sup>46</sup> The curators of the exhibition saw it as a ‘forum for different voices’ and they saw their role as ‘providing information, support and co-ordination to the participating artists.’<sup>47</sup> The approach of the curators was to include the artists in that all aspects of setting up the exhibition so that the artists could be fully enriched by the experience. There were no limitations placed on the works of the

---

<sup>43</sup> S. Dubin, *Transforming Museums: Mounting Queen Victoria in a Democratic South Africa*, (New York – Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p 119.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, p 119.

<sup>45</sup> R. Meyer, “Introduction” in C Soudien and R Meyer (eds), *The District Six Public Sculpture Project*, (Cape Town: District Six Museum Foundation, 1998), p 1.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, p 1.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*, p 1.

artist with the only requisite being that the works need to be ‘sensitive to the issues around District Six.’

If the artists were not ex-residents they were requested to visit ex-residents and trawl through the District Six Museum archive. There was also much discussion around questions of vandalism and the effect of the elements, which guided the artists in the materials that they chose for their sculptures. It was decided at a meeting held on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of May 1997 ‘that anybody, whether be it a prominent artist, student, ex-residents or anybody sympathetic to the tragedy of forced removals could participate.’<sup>48</sup> This was indicative of the ethos contained in the founding documents of the District Six Museum of shifting the balance of power in terms of the production of history knowledge away from ‘experts’ towards a more democratic mode of knowledge production through inclusiveness. The desire by the Steering Committee was ‘to mark the space, history and future of the land and establish it as a heritage site.’<sup>49</sup>

As Layne argues that ‘District Six has always been a place in which struggles have occurred and over which fierce battles have been fought.’<sup>50</sup> The sculptures were envisaged to be ‘triggers of recognition, association and memory – which was an opportunity for [those] connected and/or implicated... within the histories of District Six

---

<sup>48</sup> K. Brand, “Introduction” in C. Soudien and R.Meyer (eds), *The District Six Public Sculpture Project*, (Cape Town: District Six Museum Foundation, 1998), p 2.

<sup>49</sup> A. Ismail, “District 6 sculpture festival”, *Sunday Times* – 14 September 1997.

<sup>50</sup> V. Layne “Whom it may, or may not concern but to whom this appeal is directed anyway” in C. Soudien and R Meyer (eds), *The District Six Public Sculpture Project*, (Cape Town: District Six Museum Foundation, 1998), p 5 quoting Jeppie and Soudien (1997).

to find and convey meaning within the place.’<sup>51</sup> The series of meetings and workshops and the working with the materials in the archive of the Museum were instrumental in ensuring that there was broad-based buy in for the Sculpture Festival and facilitated the work of Steering Committee thereby ensuring the success of the Festival as a commemoration of the complex memory of District Six.

Peggy Delpont, a Trustee and former curator, has argued that visitors to the Museum ‘engage in interpretative and expressive processes – particularly in the area of narrative symbolism.’<sup>52</sup> She further argues that ‘written texts have always been visual elements and when the need for designing a floor for the Memorial Hall emerged – the notion of writers’ tiles were immediately envisaged as part of the mosaic’. The *Words in the House of Sound* project was born, driven by the ‘human need to interpret historical experience.’ With around 60 writers were represented on the floor and over forty writers who took part in the workshops where they used brushes or pens to write their poems or prose with glaze on tiles. There was the practical concerns that the poems or prose should fit on to the tiles and Delpont seems to suggest that the result is that the texts themselves became fragments. This project embraced the consultative, discussion-driven process approach in terms of coming up with the concept for ‘the mosaic floor was linked to the notion of District Six as a place representing the centre ... but linked to a broader webbing of places and connections.’<sup>53</sup>

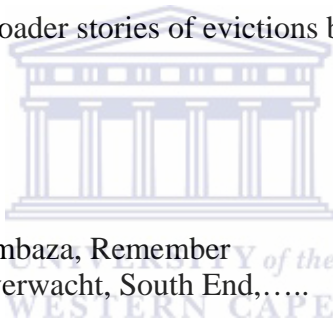
---

<sup>51</sup> E. Bedford and T. Murinik, “Re-membering that Place: Public Projects in District Six” in C. Soudien and R. Meyer (eds), *The District Six Public Sculpture Project*, (Cape Town: District Six Museum Foundation, 1998), p 1.

<sup>52</sup> P Delpont, “Preface” in *Words in the House of Sound: The Writer’s Floor of the District Six Museum*. (Cape Town: District Six Museum Foundation, 2001), p 4.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, p 4.

I think that the fact that museum centres on the story of District Six – and its attempt to insert other narratives of dispossession areas into its own narrative, raises interesting questions. Is it possible to tell other stories in a space that is dedicated to one place such as District Six? Does a hierarchy emerge in terms of which stories of dispossession are highlighted? It's clear that the founders have been explicit about the story of District Six being a symbol for forced removals across the country, and the Museum has attempted to narrate other stories of urban displacement through exhibitions like *Tramway Road* (in Sea Point , Cape Town). The Museum has acknowledged on one its exhibition panels, that there is a need to tell the broader stories of evictions both at a national and international level:



Remember Dimbaza, Remember  
Botshabelo/Overwacht, South End,.....

... We wish to remember so that we can all, together  
and by ourselves, rebuild a city which belongs to  
all of us, in which we can all live, not as races but  
as people...<sup>54</sup>

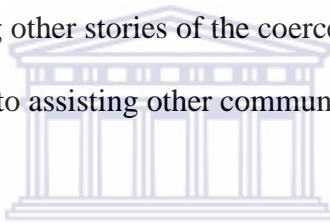
The museum's involvement in the founding of the International Coalition of Historic Site Museums of Conscience, illustrates its aim to 'bring together the experiences of other sites of trauma.' As part of the Coalition, that Museum committed itself to '...engaging in programs that stimulate dialogue on social issues, promoting humanitarian values as a

---

<sup>54</sup> *Digging Deeper* Exhibitionary Panel in C. Rassool and S. Prosalendis (eds) *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001), p vii.



primary function and sharing opportunities for public involvement....<sup>55</sup> Rassool argues although within the museum there is a 'productive ambivalence about the categories of 'museum' and 'exhibition', it has undergone deep and substantial processes of 'museumisation.'<sup>56</sup> So much that the museum has forged links with other museums in South Africa and beyond. It has indirectly assisted in setting up other community museums like the South End Museum in Port Elizabeth and Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum in Somerset West.<sup>57</sup> Others have argued 'the story of District Six is not just about District Six ... [it] will continue to be used as a symbol of wider issues of civil justice and a unique instance of "multicultural" living.'<sup>58</sup> It is clear to me that the Museum is committed to telling other stories of the coerced state-driven relocation of communities and is committed to assisting other communities to do so.



Lavine and Karp argue that 'no matter how exhibitions are organized, the subject matter is inevitably open to multiple responses ... based on the cultural assumptions of the curators and the viewers.'<sup>59</sup> Jos Thorne argues that the 'curatorial intentions of the

---

<sup>55</sup> District Six Museum, *District Six: A National Heritage Site, Draft of Conservation Management Plan* prepared for SAHRA Council, July 2006, p 5.

<sup>56</sup> C. Rassool, "Community Museums, Memory Politics and Social Transformation in South Africa: Histories, Possibilities and Limits in I. Karp, C. Kratz, L. Szwaja and T. Ybarra-Frausto with G. Buntinx, B. Kirshenblatt-Gimlett and C. Rassool (eds), *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), p 20.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, p 4.

<sup>58</sup> S. Prosalendis, J. Marot, C. Soudien and A. Nagia, "Punctuations: periodic impressions of a museum" in C. Rassool and S. Prosalendis (eds) *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001), p vii.

<sup>59</sup> S. D. Lavine and I. Karp, "Introduction: Museums and Multiculturalism" in I. Karp and S.D. Lavine (eds), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington, Smithsonian Institution Press: 2000), p 13.

District Six Museum – such as inclusivity, interactivity, discussion...- have created a environment that is able to better invoke bodily experience and feeling... [which] is achieved by the participatory framework of the exhibition involving the viewer with the exhibits.’<sup>60</sup> The question of who the intended audience for the exhibitions is, becomes a crucial question as the Museum defines its ‘public’ as ‘a diverse body of people joined together in ever-changing alliances to make choices about how to advance their well being.’<sup>61</sup> I would argue that it was primarily the ex-residents who were the primary audience for the exhibition but more recently, as Dubin seems to suggest, the museum’s core audience is shifting away from ex-residents to the foreign tourist.’<sup>62</sup> I think that he is overstating it here, as I think as long as the ‘permanent’ exhibition, *Digging Deeper*, remains as the anchor for the narration of the history and memory of District Six – ex-residents will continue to play a pivotal role in the work of the museum. The Museum has also more recently ‘shifted from the production of memory and the commemoration of the “salted earth” of District Six, to memory work closely associated with land restitutions and recovery’<sup>63</sup> in its bid for District Six to be recognised as a National Heritage Site. The shift to a ‘hands on’ District Six has raised question around the methodological integrity of the museum’s practice in relation to the site i.e. how does redevelopment [of District Six] affect and redefine the memory work of the Museum in

---

<sup>54</sup> J.Thorne, “The Choreography of Display: Experiential Exhibitions in the Context of Museum Practice and Theory”, (unpublished MPhil –dissertation, 2003), p 2.

<sup>55</sup> District Six Museum, *District Six: A National Heritage Site, Draft of Conservation Management Plan* prepared for SAHRA Council, July 2006, Glossary, p 4.

<sup>56</sup> S. Dubin, *Transforming Museums: Mounting Queen Victoria in a Democratic South Africa*, (New York – Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p 119.

<sup>57</sup> District Six Museum, *District Six: A National Heritage Site, Draft of Conservation Management Plan* prepared for SAHRA Council, July 2006, pp 11-12.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid* , pp 11-12.

<sup>59</sup> C. Kratz, *The Ones that are Wanted: Communication and the Politics of Representation in a Photographic Exhibition* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2002), p 91.

relation to a changing site.’<sup>64</sup> Clearly, in my view, ex-residents have a huge role to play in this discussion.

Kratz argues that ‘exhibitions mediate between those who create exhibitions and exhibitions visitors... [and its] through such mediation that exhibitions are involved in creating, disseminating and debating cultural values, identities and cultural knowledge.’<sup>65</sup>

What is interesting about the process followed by the District Six Museum is that there is a constant engagement with the exhibition subjects therefore there are continued struggles over what these mean. The narratives in the oral interviews have been tightly woven into the exhibitionary methodologies of the museum, and have sought ‘to be concerned with the context as well as the persons...as the community has not one voice but many representative voices.’<sup>66</sup> This approach of paying more attention to the oral testimonies was driven by the growing trends amongst social historians ‘to recover the agency of ordinary people and by doing so democratise the historical record.’<sup>67</sup> The insertion of oral testimonies into the historical is not without its problems especially when the testimonies are recounting a traumatic experience such as the forced removals.

---

<sup>66</sup> B. Nasson, “Oral History and the Reconstruction of District Six in S. Jeppie and C. Soudien. *The Struggle for District Six: Past and Present: A Project of the Hands Off District Six Committee* (Cape Town: Buchu Books, 1990), pp 5-6.

<sup>67</sup> G. Minkley and C. Rassool, “Orality, memory and social history in South Africa” in S. Nuttal and C. Coetzee (eds), *Negotiating the past: The Making of Memory in South Africa* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1998), p 90.

Alessandro Portelli quoting Enzenberger, argues that ‘history is the invention which reality supplies with raw materials.’<sup>68</sup> Hofmeyr also makes a similar point but different point by arguing that ‘oral history is the raw material for historical information’ but there has been no real attempt ‘to understand the oral historical narrative as a literary form.’<sup>69</sup> She further argues quoting Barber that there is a need ‘to acknowledge simultaneously the historicity and the textuality of texts and to combine a sociology with a poetics of oral literature.’<sup>70</sup> Brison looks at survivors of trauma in trying to understand how memory works, she argues that before and after the traumatic event ‘there is a radical disruption of memory... [which] is the undoing of the self.’<sup>71</sup> She further argues that despite this traumatic disruption, survivors of trauma are still able to ‘find ways to reconstruct themselves and carry on with reconfigured lives.’<sup>72</sup> Through its various processes of engagement with communities (reunion, oral histories, memory workshops, public meetings, schools visits and youth educational programmes) the museum has been able to facilitate this. Delpont has argued that ‘the human responses and actions that are generated [in the museum] are more significant than its physical form. I think this is the quality that draws many ex-residents to the museum. Photographs have also formed the core of exhibitions not only on District Six but other exhibitions that have been curated by the Museum, which has resulted in the museum being a key space ‘where visual knowledges of South African society have been developed’. They have begun to

---

<sup>62</sup>A. Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and other stories: form and meaning in oral history* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1991), p 1.

<sup>63</sup>I. Hofmeyr, *We Spend Our Years as a Tale that is told: Oral Historical Narrative in a South African Chieftdom*, (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1993), pp 3-4.

<sup>64</sup>*Ibid*, p 3.

<sup>65</sup> S. Brison. “Trauma Narratives and the Remaking of the Self” in M. Bal, J. Crewe and L. Spitzer (eds), *Acts of Memory: Cultural recall in the present* (Dartmouth: University Press of New England, 1999), p 38.

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid*, p 38.

‘challenge ethnographic forms of representation and to transcend the narrow documentary framework.’<sup>73</sup>

I think that this chapter has demonstrated that the attempt by the curators of the exhibition of the *Digging Deeper* exhibition to put the people of District Six at the forefront of the exhibition, to show the as much of the diverse cultures and people who lived in District Six and their complex histories informed the thinking behind the conception of the ‘Two Rivers Project’. In initiating the project, the Museum didn’t want to rest on its laurels but wanted to continue to excavate these ‘histories from below’ and the Protea Village exhibition heralded the continuation of this process. It was decided in order to support their land claim and to further the interest of the Museum to tell more stories of forced removals in Cape Town that the museum would mount and host an exhibition on Protea Village. Despite its expansion and desire to memorialise other sites of forced removal, ‘the museum remains committed to its original objective: the preservation of the history and memory of forced removal and the debilitating effects of social repression.’<sup>74</sup>

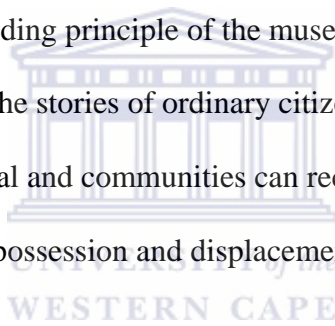
It’s clear the democratic traditions of the liberation movements have filtered through in the approaches and methodologies of its exhibitionary processes. There have been some that have argued that with all the talk of inclusivity, the Museum has failed to focus on the working class character of District Six as a result the histories of gangsters, prostitutes

---

<sup>73</sup> T. Smith and C. Rassool, “History in Photographs at the District Six Museum” in C. Rassool and S. Prosalendis (eds) *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001) p vii.

<sup>74</sup> A. Powell, “District Six Museum in expansion mode”, *Cape Towner*, 18 December 2003.

has been elided and has only reflected middle-class sensibilities.<sup>75</sup> As I have argued in this chapter no matter how hard curators try to be inclusive, gaps will emerge. I think that as I have realized during the course of this chapter that the question should not be which ‘truths’ are represented and which ones are submerged but rather how much space is given for the identification of gaps and the challenging of the narratives that are presented within an exhibitionary framework. The ability of spaces like the District Six Museum to generate debates around that very nature of concepts like heritage and history through its ‘processes of engagement’ is what should be encouraged in all heritage projects. The ongoing engagement with ex-residents of District Six by the Museum through its various programmes embodies the founding principle of the museum of trying to democratise the historical record by inserting the stories of ordinary citizens. The Museum continues to provide a space where individuals and communities can reconstitute themselves in order to heal the tragic memories of dispossession and displacement.



---

<sup>75</sup> E. Salo, *Museum Frictions* Book Launch Seminar, 08 Oct 2006.

## Chapter Two

### Reconstruction of Place and Community Memory: Protea Village

Protea Village became a site of the forced removal of people through the Group Areas Act of 1957 in the Bishopscourt and Kirstenbosch area of Cape Town when it was declared a 'white group area' through Proclamation 34 of 1961.<sup>76</sup> This chapter examines the ways that community memory of life in Protea before removals was shaped by the desire to re-insert Protea Village back into the urban landscape through the land claim.

This chapter begins to suggest that the idea of Protea Village as a coherent community was in many ways a product of the land claim itself. When the community decided to institute a land claim in terms of the Land Restitution Act 22 of 1994, they had to satisfy certain criteria in terms of Section 2 of the Act. This Act was the 'first piece of transformative legislation to be passed by the newly democratically elected South African Government.'<sup>77</sup> It sought to redress the gross imbalances in land ownership in South Africa, where 80% of the land ownership is in the hands of a 13% white minority. It sought to create a legislative instrument to accelerate land reform in South Africa and ensure that it is more equitably redistributed.

The legislation was not passed without contest, indeed the question of land redistribution became a contentious issue during the constitutional negotiations. How was it possible to

---

<sup>76</sup> S. Gross (compiled by) *Protea Village Community Claim Bishopscourt KRK6/2/3/A/1/0/9574/73 (P 745) April 2001* (Protea Village Collection -District Six Museum Foundation Collections), p 7.

<sup>77</sup> C. Walker, "Delivery and disarray: the multiple meanings of land restitution" in S. Buhlungu, J. Daniel, R. Southall and J. Lutchman (eds) *State of the Nation: South Africa 2005-2006* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2006), p 69.

balance the protection of established white property interests and the pressing need to redress the dispossession of Africans of their land through colonialism and apartheid?<sup>78</sup> The outcome of negotiations was that claimants would be required to meet a set of criteria in order for the claim to be valid for consideration by the Lands Claims Commission. The Act also provided for the creation of the Land Claims Court, as an operational instrument, which would arbitrate in difficult land restitution cases. The Act stipulated specific timeframes; individuals or communities could institute claims if they were dispossessed of their land after the Native Land Act of 1913. They had to make sure that claim would have reached the Commission by 31 December 1998 for investigation, verification and settlement.<sup>79</sup> They also had to prove that they had lost their land a ‘result of racially discriminatory laws and practices by the former state.’<sup>80</sup> The Act further stipulated that if the claim was successful, restitution could be that the claimant’s original land would either be given back to them, or the state could provide alternative land or the payment of financial compensation.

As part of the criteria for your claim to be considered to be legitimate for consideration, claimants were required to write a brief historical background of the area where the claimant community had previously settled before they were forcibly moved. There were a range of actors who took it upon themselves to resurrect the memory of Protea. The Land Restitution Act provided the framework for the resurrection of that memory. This chapter seeks to examine the different sites of memory and the genealogy of that memory. The Protea Village Action Committee (PROVAC), the Land Commission as

---

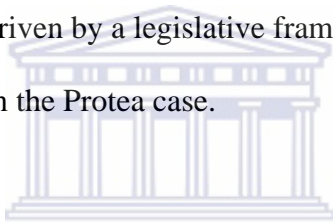
<sup>78</sup> *Ibid*, pp 69-70.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid*, p 70.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid*, p 70.



well as the District Six Museum all were involved at different times in providing the necessary spaces and platforms to reconstruct a memory of Protea Village that would be reinserted into the urban landscape. All these various actors have contributed in shaping not only individual memory of Protea but also how the whole community remembers Protea. This is where my account of the different Protea Village histories and memories begins. I will juxtapose this with ex-residents memories of Protea. These interviews were conducted not solely but predominantly by Carohn Cornell as part of the research process in the making of the exhibition. She was under clear instructions of the District Six museum and the exhibition reference group. What is most interesting to me is that the catalyst for remembering was driven by a legislative framework and we need to explore how these processes unfolded in the Protea case.



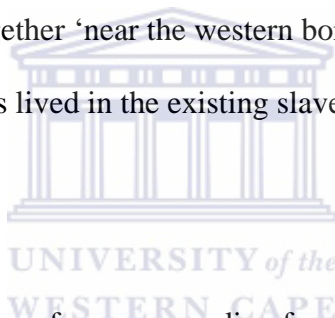
The most authoritative account of a documented history of Protea Village prior to the Protea Village exhibition was one written by Langham-Carter. He wrote other works on the Anglican Church, and what he wrote on Protea was based on church archives and minutes.<sup>81</sup> He traced the ownership of the land that Protea Village was eventually established on, to the ‘tract of land –measuring 101 morgen- on the lower slopes of Table Mountain on the banks of the Protea stream granted by the Dutch East India Company in 1658 to Jan van Riebeeck.’<sup>82</sup> Its history is closely linked to the land that Jan van Riebeeck granted to Leendert Cornelissen who owned the part of land that eventually became the

---

<sup>81</sup> Mr. Langham-Carter, “A History of Protea Village” in S. Gross (compiler) *Protea Village Community Claim Bishops Court KRK6/2/3/A/1/0/9574/73 (P 745) April 2001 Annexure 11* (Protea Village Collection - District Six Museum Foundation Collections), p 1.

<sup>82</sup> Mr. Langham-Carter, “A History of Protea Village” in S. Gross (compiled by) *Protea Village Community Claim Bishops Court KRK6/2/3/A/1/0/9574/73 (P 745) April 2001 Annexure 11* (Protea Village Collection - District Six Museum Foundation Collections), p 1.

Kirstenbosch National Botanic Gardens.<sup>83</sup> The farm was originally known as Leendertsbos before it eventually became known as Kirstenbosch. The other farm that formed of the original 101 morgen of land was the farm Fernwood Estate. The area was initially called Wynberg, then Boscheuvel, but was later renamed Protea by Honoratus Maynier in the late eighteenth century. Langham-Carter traced the origins of the community to the original 29 slaves (including children) that were on the farm when slavery was abolished at the Cape in 1834. The farm was still owned by Maynier's son at the time. Like all the other slaves at the Cape after emancipation, 'they had to work for their old owners as so-called apprentices.'<sup>84</sup> The farmhands on the Protea estate lived in 'shacks' that were clustered together 'near the western border with the Kirstenbosch farm, whilst the domestic slaves lived in the existing slave quarters facing the courtyard of the homestead.'<sup>85</sup>



Langham-Carter argues that slaves from surrounding farms joined the former Protea slaves. One of the ex-residents, Geoff van Gusling remembers stories that he was told by his grandfather about his lineage:

...they came from all over the Western Cape, Franschoek and where – you can see from our colours – we are different. My great-grandfather, he was Maleier from Madagascar, the black people with the long black hair. Then you get the Hottentots and the Bushmen – it was different slaves. They were made into a community in Protea

---

<sup>83</sup> D.P. McCracken and E. M. McCracken, *The Way to Kirstenbosch*, (Cape Town: National Botanic Gardens, 1988), p 94.

<sup>84</sup> V. Bickford-Smith, "Mapping Cape Town: From Slavery to Apartheid" in S. Fields (ed) *Lost Communities, Living Memories: Remembering forced removals in Cape Town* (Cape Town, Centre for Popular Memory UCT: David Phillip, 2001), p 16.

<sup>85</sup> Mr. Langham-Carter, "A History of Protea Village" in S. Gross (compiler) *Protea Village Community Claim Bishops court KRK6/2/3/A/1/0/9574/73 (P 745) April 2001 Annexure 11* (Protea Village Collection - District Six Museum Foundation Collections), p 2.

Village. That is why we became a family.... . [All] of us sitting here, originated from slaves. There are some people that are ashamed. I'm not ashamed. Now that was the slave cottages and after that, the slaves were set free. They built the houses on the farm...<sup>86</sup>

This quote from Geoff van Gusling, raises interesting avenues for enquiry as it implores one to question why some members of the community are ashamed of their slave history? How is this apparent in the narrative that emerges in and around the exhibition? What histories are 'allowed'<sup>87</sup> to surface and what other histories are submerged? These are questions that will inform some of the discussions in this thesis.

In his booklet, Langham-Carter then swiftly turned his attention to the close relationship that was cultivated between the community and successive Anglican Archbishops. The most prominent among these was Bishop Robert Gray and his wife Sophia who were tireless in their efforts when they arrived in 1848 to convert the now almost 83 ex-slaves in 25 families. The families were all originally from Mozambique and all Muslims.<sup>88</sup> The Grays wasted no time in forming close links with the communities by employing a number of the tenants, establishing the Church of the Good Shepherd, hosting an annual picnic for the residents and building a school for children of the community.<sup>89</sup> Many of the ex-residents of Protea were educated at that school and speak fondly of the teachers that taught there. Abdullah Hossain, born in 1930 in Protea remembers:

---

<sup>86</sup> Interview with Geoff van Gusling, 11 November 2001.

<sup>87</sup> I use this term very loosely as what histories emerge to form the narrative of an exhibition is a complex and dynamic process between the exhibition 'subjects', the viewer and the curatorial team. See Lavine and Karp (2000).

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*, p2. Langham-Carter contends that the number of slaves was quoted to an Anglican clergyman M J Merriman when he stayed at Bishopscourt in 1848.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid*, pp 2-10.

..My school days ... were spent at the English Church Mission School, up in Kirstenbosch .... We had a very good educational standard there. I did my preparatory education there ... up to std 4 ... the whole thing was done firstly by Mrs Sissing, thereafter Mrs Smith who took std 1's and 2's. And then Mr Ernstzen, the Principal, he took the 3's and 4's. a thatch roof building, but it had another section, proper galvanised roof, brickwork. Nice, very neat...<sup>90</sup>

Many ex-residents remember how the one time principal of school, Mr Ernstzen was such a huge impact in their lives as he was a strict disciplinarian. Ex-resident, John Valentine remembers:

...The Principal was very, very strict, and you know in the old days, there was corporal punishment. And if you do something wrong ... they take a quince "latjie" ... and give you a hiding with that..<sup>91</sup>

Felix de la Cruz remembers him more fondly:

...He was very strict where his children are concerned, but helping children – grape day or orange day or cheese day or milk day, every day, he was lekker. Taking children to the beach or stuff like that, he was wonderful - but hiding!...<sup>92</sup>

The tradition of the Anglican Archbishops of Cape Town being linked to the community continued right until the forced removals and the association with the Church of the Good Shepherd endured after the displacement. The information on these relations comes from the Baptism register at St. Saviours in Claremont, where the baptisms of the ex-residents were conducted. This was because the Church of the Good Shepherd was a chapelry and therefore baptisms could not be held there. The entries reveal the progression of the conversion of members of the community and its long association with

---

<sup>90</sup> Interview with Abdullah Hossain 22 March 2001.

<sup>91</sup> Interview with John Valentine, 23 May 2002.

<sup>92</sup> Interview with Felix de la Cruz, 14 May 2002.

the Anglican Church. There is a notice in the *St Saviours Parish Magazine* from 1930 about the long association of congregation of Protea with the household of Bishopscourt and the Archbishop's contribution through his chaplains in the building a village school and the church.<sup>93</sup> In 1983, there was an article in *The Argus* about how a Florrie Caralse (81 years old) travelled every Sunday from Manenberg to attend the service at Church of the Good Shepherd despite having been forcibly removed from the area and that her community being dispersed along the Cape Flats.<sup>94</sup>

The establishment of the Kirstenbosch National Botanical Gardens 1913 was an important moment in the history of Protea Village as it gave employment to a number of residents.<sup>95</sup> McCracken and McCracken, authors of an official account of Kirstenbosch's history, argue that the National Botanic Gardens were established largely because of two factors. Firstly it was established as part of the dominion of the Union of South Africa. Secondly they suggest that the charm and tenacity of its first Director, Professor Harold Welch Pearson was also significant.<sup>96</sup> The role played by generations of families from the Protea Village community is completely absent from this official historical narrative of the founding of the botanical gardens. It was through the oral interviews conducted for the Protea Village exhibition and land claim that these histories surface. Wilfred Smith remembers:

---

<sup>93</sup> *St Saviours Parish Magazine*, 1930, p 4 . The original church was built in 1866 by Bishop Gray and was subsequently improved upon by successive Archbishops in 1880 and 1904. See McCracken and McCracken (1988).

<sup>94</sup> M. Robinson, 'The Church's People', *The Argus*, 23 December 1983, p 9.

<sup>95</sup> Mr. Langham-Carter, "A History of Protea Village" in S. Gross (compiler) *Protea Village Community Claim Bishopscourt KRK6/2/3/A/1/0/9574/73 (P 745) April 2001 Annexure 11* (Protea Village Collection - District Six Museum Foundation Collections), p 11.

<sup>96</sup> D.P. McCracken and E. M. McCracken, *The Way to Kirstenbosch*, (Cape Town: National Botanic Gardens, 1988), pp 92-93.

My grandfather, my father, my uncle built rockeries there in the Kirstenbosch gardens .. named after them, like Matthews Rockery ... I think it's just something that they learnt from generation to generation. And you can see all the small little stone paths, built from stones they collected from the river. They used to take us there and show us ... and they knew all the plants...<sup>97</sup>

The land on which the Gardens was established was part of the original farm that was granted to Jan van Riebeeck but was subdivided into three farms Kirstenbosch, Boscheuevel and Fernwood Estate. Cecil John Rhodes managed to acquire Kirstenbosch in 1898 from the Cloete family and although he appointed a caretaker to look after the land in became run down with masses of pigs taking over a huge section of the property. When Rhodes died in 1902, he bequeathed Kirstenbosch to the nation as part of his great Groot Schuur estate.



The Gardens and horticultural memory came to play an important role in the life of the Protea as it became embedded in the community as generation upon generation of people from the same families worked in the Gardens, with some employees living in Cottages that were built by the Gardens. There is a gushing reference to the 'cobbling, curbing, dry stone walls, rockeries and stone features of a high standard' and how they 'illustrate the talent of the staff who contributed significantly to the development and history of Kirstenbosch.'<sup>98</sup> The website of the Gardens makes no mention of who these people were exactly. It is clear that many families from Protea Village are descended from the original labourers that built created the foundation for what the Gardens are today. The fact that

---

<sup>97</sup> Interview with Wilfred Smith, 12 May 2002.

<sup>98</sup> <http://www.nbi.ac.za/kirstenbosch/history.htm#born>

the people of Protea Village do not feature in the historical narrative is indicative of how the village and its people were erased from the landscape of memory like they never existed there.

Almost all of the ex-residents who were interviewed spoke very vividly about the beautiful gardens and the abundance of trees in Protea, Ann Ntebe recalls:

..I do remember about Auntie Marrie's yard, she had honeysuckle at her backdoor and it grew into a hedge. Honeysuckle and mulberries. So what do we as children? We used to like to suck the flower of the honeysuckle and the mulberries we used to get there. And in her garden she had about two or three guava trees, and I think apple trees. But I love guavas. And so we would raid Auntie Marrie's guava tree (laughs) and she'd chase us. But not in a rude way. As children we were mischievous, so we'd go and get some of her lovely guavas...<sup>99</sup>

WESTERN CAPE

Many ex-residents also speak of the ability of the community to be able to live off the land and how the different plants were often used for natural remedies against illnesses:

...If you got headache, potato. Cut the potato up, put it in vinegar, put it on your head. For a stroke or a fit, she [granny, Auntie Lisa Pelston] took raw pumpkin, cut and peeled it and put it in their hands to bring them back, and for a stroke, red pepper powder under their tongues so that their speech can come back....<sup>100</sup>

---

<sup>99</sup> Interview with Ann Ntebe, 6 May 2002.

<sup>100</sup> Interview with Lydia Veldsman (nee Pelston), 8 May 2002.

...pinecones, we used to collect ...to sell to the people nearby. We used it for keeping warm at homes. And then it would be the time for acorns, and we used to pick them up and we'd get about 20c for paraffin tin. Up towards Constantia ... up till today those trees are still standing there, those chestnuts are still falling down. It was something nice for us ... Of course there were grapes there, which we used to go and pick ...<sup>101</sup>

Protea Village itself was made up of four distinct areas, which everyone considered to be one community. The 'Stegmann Cottages', were the hub of Protea Village which contained the spring which provided the whole village with water. This area is now listed as Erf 212. Most of the cottages were actually adjacent to this plot of land which is now Erf 242.<sup>102</sup> Other cottages known as 'Bishopscourt Estate' ran along the north side of Bishopscourt Drive and were adjacent to these, bordering on the south and south-west border of Erf 212. Some of the other cottages were in between Winchester Avenue and Rhodes Drive in Bishopscourt. The aforementioned 'Garden Cottages' which three of the buildings were referred to as the 'Stone Cottages' (divided into six-semi detached cottages) are the only houses that remain. These were not bulldozed when people were evicted, on the Eastern side on Rhodes Drive. These cottages and the 'Rondawel Cottages' were adjacent to Erf 242 and the Stegmann Cottages. There were three other cottages within the National Botanical Garden proper. A few other families 'occupied properties to the north of the bloc of Stegmann Cottages',<sup>103</sup> and an even smaller amount of families actually owned their properties with the others being owned by Mr Hoosain . He was the owner of the shop that was a prominent feature in the life of Protea Village. Most of these

---

<sup>101</sup> Interview with David Wilson, 8 March 2002.

<sup>102</sup> S. Gross (complier) *Protea Village Community Claim Bishopscourt KRK6/2/3/A/1/0/9574/73 (P 745) April 2001* (Protea Village Collection -District Six Museum Foundation Collections), p 2.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid*, p 3.



families were said to be living in Fernwood Estate because of the fact that they were more-or-less adjacent to Fernwood Estate and rented these properties from Mr. Hoosain. John Valentine who worked at the Kirstenbosch Provision Store prior to the removals remembers:

The owner of the shop was a very old man. We used to call him Baas, not because of baasskap ... his sons used to call him Baas as well. He owned quite a lot of houses here. He owned the two fields here.... I used to work at this shop in the old days. You don't get sugar and salt that is pre-packed. Again on a Thursday night what we do is put the salt in a badtjie, and the sugar. Then you put it in pound packets, or two pound packets. Then flick it over, and then it's got to be packed away. Because on a Friday people get paid and this shop is chock-a-block full on a Friday night. I can remember still working in pennies, tickeys, sixpences, ten shillings and pounds...<sup>104</sup>

The removals themselves occurred over a period of about ten years, when a substantial area surrounding Table Mountain was proclaimed a White Group Areas in terms of Proclamation no 190 of 1957.<sup>105</sup> The first families to be relocated were those living in what was called Bishops court Estate in 1959 and they found housing in the areas of Lansdowne, Steenberg and Retreat. This was followed by the second wave of removals between 1964 and 1968 of those living in the Stegmann Cottages and Fernwood Estate. There were a number of households in the Stegmann Cottages who moved pre-emptively between 1960 and 1964 in order to spare themselves the trauma of sudden forced removal. They also moved to Lansdowne, Steenberg and Retreat.<sup>106</sup> Those that were moved between 1964 and 1968 were moved to Lotus River and Grassy Park. Many of the

---

<sup>104</sup> Interview with John Valentine, 23 May 2002.

<sup>105</sup> Commission on Restitution of Land Rights, "Ex-Protea Villagers to receive 12,35 ha as compensation – Kirstenbosch" Press Release (Ref no F110), 11 September 2006.

<sup>106</sup> S. Gross (compiler) *Protea Village Community Claim Bishops court KRK6/2/3/A/1/0/9574/73 (P 745) April 2001* (Protea Village Collection -District Six Museum Foundation Collections, p 9.

ex-residents in their interview spoke of the suddenness of the move and of the trauma caused by the move. Ann Ntebe recalls:

...I don't remember, I think it's probably something that I just blotted out of my mind, I don't even remember driving. I do remember that we had to go onto this van, and where we drove, because it's an area I just didn't know. So we got to this block of flats, I can't remember the roads, I just do remember when the van stopped and we got into our section we were looking for the back door and it had no back door...<sup>107</sup>

Many of the ex-residents struggled to adjust to their new surroundings, Ann Ntebe whose family was moved to Heideveld further recalls:

.the other shock was our toilet led off from the lounge. We are not used to that. We couldn't imagine your toilet being inside because our toilet was outside. And we had all these jokes about 'gosh it's going to stink'. But it was just such a shock. It turned my life certainly upside down. And I think we were all in a state of shock for months...<sup>108</sup>

Another ex-resident, David Wilson and his family were moved to Grassy Park. He expressed his mourning for what he and his family lost when they moved from Protea:

..If I know back then what I know now, I would have maybe used a tape recorder, [or] used a camera and recorded all those things....<sup>109</sup>

The driving force behind the enactment of the Groups Areas Act was the government desire for the population to 'be rigidly divided by law, into distinct racial groups... [and]

---

<sup>107</sup> Interview with Ann Ntebe, 6 May 2002.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>109</sup> Interview with David Wilson, 8 March 2002.

that social intermingling had to be prevented to ensure the continued “purity” [within the racial groups].<sup>110</sup>

As I have said before, prior to the exhibition little was written about the life of the community of Protea. The only remaining official records are those that relate to land ownership which were located in the then Department of Local Government. They reveal that forced removals in the 1960s were a culmination of a longer history of how the colonial officials prescribed the conditions of tenure on the land for the community. The pre-colonial history of Protea Village has been submerged within the recorded ownership of the land by the Dutch East Company and Jan van Riebeeck from 1658. How the land was used before the arrival of European and who inhabited the land, has become difficult to answer as that history was not recorded. The colonial authorities only concerned themselves with what would further their interests in the Cape and with a particular leaning towards creating an efficient bureaucracy to assist in the governing of the colony.<sup>111</sup>

What these records, reveal about Protea Village is that, as early the 1930s the government was beginning to clamp down in the ability of ‘non-Europeans’ to own land. When an application was made by the Colonial Bishopric Fund to the Provincial Secretary for establishing a township at Bishopscourt or Protea, one of the conditions of sale was that

---

<sup>110</sup> R. Bantom, “A Study in[sic] the History of Protea Village and the Impact of the Group Areas Act, (UWC, 1995 long research paper), pp 5-10.

<sup>111</sup> Scholars like Stoler and Breckenridge have written extensively about the dominance of the ‘documentary order’ in the colonies. Through the relations between ‘the mother country’ and the colonies, officials learned what were the key things that were earmarked for regulations and therefore implemented the necessary bureaucratic measures. Colonial officials set up commissions, wrote dispatches and travelogues enacted laws, etc and ‘governed by the written word’. See Stoler (2002) and Breckenridge (2001).

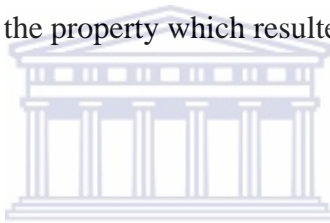
‘non-Europeans [would] not be permitted to acquire, occupy or buy portions thereof.’<sup>112</sup>

What was further noted was that ‘smaller holdings are situated near the River and are designed to form a buffer between the better holding south of the [Liesbeeck] River and the poor area of Stegmann’s Estate....’<sup>113</sup> The local municipal council also tried to

remove the community of Protea Village through the Slum Clearance Act 34 of 1934.

The Medical Officer of Health submitted a report to endorse the application of the provision that was stipulated in the Act claiming that ‘certain structures were injurious or dangerous to the health of the occupants.’<sup>114</sup> Due to a delay in the Slum Clearance

Court’s consideration of the report, the Provincial Administration succeed first in expropriating a large portion of the property which resulted in the removal of the Protea community.



The removal of the residents of Protea was of course not an isolated event as removals were happening across the Peninsula dating back to early 1901 and it was something that was happening across the country. The Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994, as already argued, sought to ‘redress the injustices of land seized under apartheid.’<sup>115</sup> The Act stipulated that in order for a land claim to be legitimate it had to be accompanied by oral and/or documentary historical evidence of land tenure. The operation of the Act had the potential to effect the re-insertion of these dispersed communities back onto the urban

---

<sup>112</sup> P. Wernich, “Protea Village: Extracts from Cape Provincial Administration and Divisional Council Records (for Regional Land Claims Commissioner: Nov 1996) in S. Gross (compiled by) *Protea Village Community Claim Bishopscourt KRK6/2/3/A/1/0/9574/73 (P 745) April 2001 Annexure 10* (Protea Village Collection -District Six Museum Foundation Collections), p 3.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid*, p 4.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid*, p 6.

<sup>115</sup> C. Walker, “Delivery and disarray: the Multiple Meanings of Land Restitution” in S. Buhlungu, J. Daniel, R. Southall and J. Lutchman (eds), *State of the Nation: South Africa 2005-2006*, (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2006), p 67.

landscape. The Act was created within the context of a constitution that Fagan argues had various provisions within it to ‘constantly remind the interpreter... of the unequal society that forms the backdrop to the Land Restitution Act (1994).’<sup>116</sup>

The re-insertion of Protea back into the urban landscape was guided by a legislative framework. The various actors, PROVAC, the Land Commission, the District Six Museum and the ex-residents, were all motivated to strengthen the land claim by invoking the ‘community memory’ of Protea Village. The formation of PROVAC in 1995 occurred against this background of this legislative framework, as it was decided by the community to lodge a community claim. The Act stipulated that a community organisation would have to be formed to speak on behalf of the whole community, where a community claim is lodged with the Commission.<sup>117</sup>

The first meeting of PROVAC was held at the St Saviors Anglican Church after the Sunday church service in 1995. Current Bishops court residents, Jenny and Andrew Wilson and other ex-residents initiated the meeting. They invited Riaz Saloojee, the Regional Director from the Lawyers for Human Rights to brief the community on the Land Restitution Act (22 of 1994) and the steps required in instituting a claim.<sup>118</sup> Mr Saloojee gave a very thorough background to why the Land Restitution Act was enacted and emphasised that one of its key purposes was to redress ‘the land losses that are still in

---

<sup>116</sup> E. Fagan, “The Constitutional entrenchment of memory” in S Nuttall and C Coetzee (eds), *Negotiation the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1998), p 250.

<sup>117</sup> D. James, “Hills of Thorns: Custom, Knowledge and the Reclaiming of Lost Land in the New South Africa” *Development and Change*, Vol 31 (2000), p 634.

<sup>118</sup> Video of Protea Village Community Meeting at St Saviours Church, 1995.

living memory... [and] to provide just settlement'<sup>119</sup> In addition to reconstructing the history of the area of forced removal, ex-residents were required to be direct descendants of the dispossessed. Furthermore, there had to be proof that the loss of land was as a result of the state furthering the aims of racist apartheid legislation.

Saloojee made a very important point at that meeting that it was often more straightforward for the Land Commission to settle land claims in the rural areas because often the land was vacant and therefore restitution was easy to implement. This did not mean, however that the rural restitution process did not have its own set of unique problems and challenges that hindered implementation. In the urban context however, the restitution process was a whole lot more complex as was the case with the Protea land claim. Saloojee argued that it was therefore important to separate the emotions that are aroused by the land claim process and focus on the 'facts of tenure'. He made this point, after one of the white current residents of the area claimed that the community were nothing more than squatters on the land. The most important thing that occurred at this meeting, however, was the formation of the Protea Village Action Committee that was mandated by the community to take the land claim forward. PROVAC was initially made up of eleven members and it was decided at that meeting that Andrew Wilson would serve as interim chairman until the committee got its act together. When it did, Ann Ntebe was elected as its first chairperson.<sup>120</sup>

---

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid*

Jenny Wilson<sup>121</sup> alerted one of the community members about a series of meetings that were being held by the Boscheuvel Action Committee and the Friends of the Liesbeek River who wanted to develop the now vacant land into a park with the assistance of the City of Cape Town Parks and Forest Department. The first act of the new committee was to notify these two organisations that the committee were the representatives of the ex-residents of Protea, which was preparing to institute a community claim for restitution on behalf of all the ex-residents that were moved through the Group Areas Act (1957) when the area was declared a 'white group area'. Plans for the park were put on ice as a result of the intervention by PROVAC.

PROVAC began in earnest to resurrect the community memory of Protea Village. One could even argue that the memory of Protea Village had been kept alive by the reunions held by the ex-residents at the Church of the Good Shepherd in Bishopscourt and at St. Saviours Church in Claremont. As far back as 1979, many ex-residents started attending the Sunday service and the Reverend Ian Eve, the priest in charge at the St Saviours then recounted how, '... although they [ex-residents] left the village in 1968...they kept their own reunion going over the years- looking after the sick, arranging burials, weddings, ....'<sup>122</sup> The reunions were pivotal in ensuring that the connection to the land of Protea was kept and that the 'residues of the memory of the people of Protea Village was not erased.'<sup>123</sup>

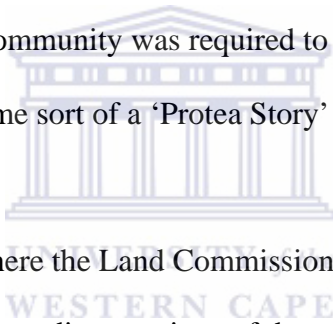
---

<sup>121</sup> She is the wife of Andrew Wilson and also became a member of PROVAC

<sup>122</sup> B Hielbuth, "Protea Village is not Dead", *Cape Argus*, 16 October 1979.

<sup>123</sup> R Bantom, "A Study in[sic] the History of Protea Village and the Impact of the Group Areas Act, (UWC, 1995 long research essay), p 4.

Most of the ex-residents in their interviews spoke of how the community was ‘a close-knit community.’ Hatta van Gulsing, the oldest surviving member of the community remembered, ‘Ja, we were a very close community ... all the years.’<sup>124</sup> It is clear then that the narrative of the community memory had enough time to form and cohere. During these reunions, stories of the past would be recalled and as Luise White argues, it is the circulation of stories that give them unity.<sup>125</sup> Indeed the added sensory experience of being on the land that they were removed from acted as a trigger for yearning for what was lost. As Seremetakis argues that our senses can be seen as ‘meaning-generating apparatus’ and that we have to interrogate the inherent ‘historicity in sensory forms and practices.’<sup>126</sup> Even before the community was required to invoke the memory of the place by the land claim, there was some sort of a ‘Protea Story’ already in circulation.



PROVAC took the initiative where the Land Commission dilly-dallied,<sup>127</sup> by beginning their own memory process by recording reunions of the community. They also put together a video identifying the important landmarks of Protea such as where the school was, the bus route, the sports fields, the trees.<sup>128</sup> This acted as catalyst for the insertion of the community onto the landscape. Two PROVAC members, Cedric van Dieman and

---

<sup>124</sup> Interview with Hatta van Gulsing Gardens and Memory Video, Plexus TV/District Six Museum Foundation, 2002.

<sup>125</sup> L White, *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa* (Berkeley: UCLA Press, 2000), pp 2-3.

<sup>126</sup> C.N. Seremetakis, “The Memory of the Sense Part 1: Marks of the Transitory” in C.N. Seremetakis (ed) *The Senses Still: Perception and Memory as Material Culture in Modernity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp 3-4.

<sup>127</sup> The Regional office of the Land Commission was required by the Land Restitution Act To provide the necessary support to claimants in order to institute their land claim. There were several researchers that were appointed by the Commission to carry out interview and research on Protea but never lasted long enough to complete the research. It was until the Commission appointed Sally Gross to undertake the work that the research was completed. Ms Gross’s research built on the extensive research that was done by the PROVAC members themselves.

<sup>128</sup> Video of the Identification of Land in Protea, June/July 1995.



Geoff Van Gusling also began a memory map of Protea, where all the different houses were plotted onto the map and ex-residents were encouraged to fill in where they lived which was often confirmed by other ex-residents. It was with this disparate collection that PROVAC made overtures to the District Six Museum Foundation to help them mount an exhibition that would not only serve to preserve the memory of Protea Village but also highlight the land claim that had been instituted by the community.

As I have argued in this chapter, the desire to reinsert Protea onto the urban landscape has a longer history and preceded the land claim. Prior to the land claim, the memory of Protea Village has been sustained by the continued connections of the ex-residents with the place largely through the Church of the Good Shepherd and reunions that were held over the years. These reunions served as a means of reinventing community bonds, after the devastating effects from the displacement caused by the Groups Areas Act (1957). The legislative framework of the land restitution process can be seen to have provided the necessary frame for the Protea Story to flourish in. The resurrection of community memory had a purpose and had to cohere in order to legitimize the land claim. The question of how this unfolded within the exhibition-making process will form the basis on the next chapter.

## Chapter Three

### Memory, documentation and exhibition making

This chapter will attempt to look at how the research and planning for the exhibition unfolded. It will examine the ways in which the oral, visual and textual material was collected for the exhibition. By focusing on the moments of community engagement with the materials collected for the exhibition and workshops that were held with Protea ex-residents, this chapter will seek to examine how Protea Village was actively created and imagined by both the curators and ex-residents.

#### District Six and Protea Village

The fact that I was directly involved in the mounting and research of the *Protea Village: A History of Paradise 1829-2002* exhibition, presents one with interesting opportunity to simultaneously offer an insider account of the curatorial process as well as to critically assess how the processes of exhibition-making unfolded. I agree with Kratz, when she argues that ‘with most exhibitions how they are initially conceptualised, differs greatly to the eventual final product.’<sup>129</sup> There is always so much debate within curatorial teams about how the exhibitions should be mounted and often practical considerations – budgets, space, lack of materials, time, and human resources- can have a huge impact on how the exhibition eventually turns out. Kratz further argues that it’s not only important ‘to understand exhibitions and what people do through them’ but how they also ‘unfold in

---

<sup>129</sup> C. Kratz, *The Ones that are Wanted: Communication and the Politics of Representation in a Photographic Exhibition* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2002), p 99.

time - ...how they are situated in broader historical, social and political terms.’<sup>130</sup> This becomes key when one is discussing a museum like the District Six Museum whose main focus centres on the story of District Six – but which attempts to insert other narratives of forced removal areas into its own memory work. This requires one to look more closely at how the Museum conducts its work and how does it mediate the telling of other stories. The obvious question becomes how successful has it been in doing this?

I want to argue in this chapter that although the District Six Museum was instrumental in the mounting of the Protea Village exhibition, the exhibition itself should be understood more as a moment in the longer struggle by the community of Protea Village community themselves to re-insert themselves onto the urban landscape. In other words, members of the Protea Village may not have done the technical exhibitionary work. However, they intervened at every turn and in the negotiation of what would be in the exhibition and they had definite ideas about how it should be narrated. Nonetheless this does not detract from the need to see the process of exhibition as mediated.

In this chapter it will be necessary to look at the research strategies that were employed in mounting the exhibition in order to further unpack how these various stakeholders shaped the final exhibition. It becomes important to explain the methodological approach of encouraging its ex-residents and visitors constantly to engage and shape the representations and meanings depicted in the museum through a series of workshops. This will be done through looking at how the materials for the exhibition were collected. What drove or informed the research process? Which ex-residents were interviewed?

---

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid*, p 91.

How was the process of engagement with the community documented? These are some of the questions that need to be explored, as I try to unravel how these materials were mediated by the exhibition team in the final exhibition. Museums are not unmediated spaces because there are various processes at work in relation to collected material that are taken out of one context and put into another.

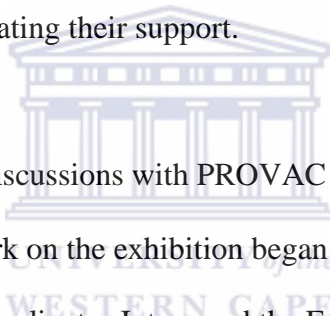
The efforts by the curators of the *Digging Deeper* exhibition to put the people of District Six at the forefront of the exhibition was an attempt to show as much of the diverse cultures and people who lived in District Six. Their complex histories informed the thinking behind the conception of the 'Two Rivers Project'. The Museum didn't want to rest on its laurels but continued to excavate these 'histories from below.' The Protea Village exhibition heralded the continuation of this process. The main desire of the 'Two Rivers Project' was to 'engage people's memories of public spaces of Cape Town – be [they] urban or ecological ... [and] to ensure the re-entry of removed people as *enduring* participants in the environmental and cultural life of the city.'<sup>131</sup> It was decided that the project would 'initially emphasise communities who were removed from Protea Village, Mowbray, Black River in Rondebosch, Harfield Village, Cavendish Square in Claremont and Newlands.'<sup>132</sup> The focus on specifically the rivers was motivated by the fact that these water sources 'played a vital role in the lives of the communities' and the removals meant the loss of the quality of life to be found near river environments.

---

<sup>131</sup> District Six Museum Foundation, "Project Plan: *The Two Rivers Project* – A Project to research, collate and innovatively document the history of areas of forced removal along the Black and Liesbeeck Rivers", p 1. Original emphasis.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid*, p 1.

It is clear that the formation of the Protea Village Action Committee (PROVAC) in early 1995 was a pivotal moment in the re-insertion of Protea Village into public discourse.<sup>133</sup> Through the contacts and networks of some of the Trustees of the Museum, especially Pastor Stan Abrahams, in early 2001 the Museum made contact with the community of Protea Village who were busy trying to finalise their land claim. Meetings were held between representatives of the community who were leading the community claim and the Trustees of the Museum and it was decided to support their land claim and to further the interest of the Museum to tell more stories of forced removals in Cape Town. It was also decided that the museum would assist in mounting and host an exhibition on Protea Village as a means of demonstrating their support.

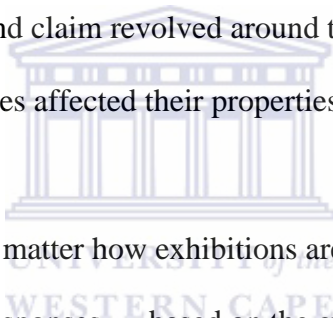


It was only in late 2001, after discussions with PROVAC and fundraising for the project over a number of years that work on the exhibition began in earnest. I joined the District Six Museum as a Research Co-ordinator Intern and the Exhibition Curator's Assistant and was employed to work on the mounting of the exhibition on Protea Village. My initial research built upon the research that was done in order to satisfy the required criteria in terms of the Land Restitution Act (1994) for the submission of the community land claim. I conducted further primary research at the State Archives, Surveyor-General and the Title Deeds Offices. The idea was to see from looking more closely at the recorded ownership of the properties, what could be told about the land tenure of the community. A parallel process of interviewing of the ex-residents also begun with interviews being predominantly conducted by researcher Carohn Cornell on behalf of the museum. Maureen Archer was also engaged to focus her research skills on the Anglican

---

<sup>133</sup> John Valentine, Video of the first Public Meeting of the ex-residents of Protea Village (March 1995).

Church and its involvement with the community. Donald Parenzee – was the Exhibition Curator- with Garth Erasmus and Jos Thorne as his assistants and with inputs from the Curatorial Committee of the Museum. Together, they were responsible for the overall design of the exhibition. It was clear from the research we conducted that the exhibition would be drawing from oral testimonies of the ex-residents as well as materials on the role of the Anglican Church and Kirstenbosch National Botanical Gardens in the lives of the community. In addition the Land Commission and of course the District Six Museum itself were all key institutions that would also compete for space in the exhibition. On the periphery, were the Residents’ Association of Fernwood Estate and Bishopscourt whose interest in the Protea Village land claim revolved around their desire to have a say in how the restitution of the communities affected their properties.



Lavine and Karp argue that ‘no matter how exhibitions are organized, the subject matter is inevitably open to multiple responses ... based on the cultural assumptions of the curators and the viewers.’<sup>134</sup> And in the case of the Protea Village exhibition, the question of who the intended audience for the exhibition was, is crucial in unpacking how the exhibition was shaped. I would argue that it was primarily the ex-residents of Protea Village were the primary audience for the exhibition. Yet all the various stakeholders-the District Six Museum, the Land Commission, the Anglican Church, the City and to a lesser extent the Resident Association of Fernwood Estate, tourists and the Kirstenbosch National Botanical Gardens- staked their claim for a place in that audience. It was

---

<sup>134</sup> S. D. Lavine and I. Karp, “Introduction: Museums and Multiculturalism” in I. Karp and S.D. Lavine (eds), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000), p 1.

through the desire of the various stakeholders to insert themselves into the narrative of Protea Village that they all became the audience for the exhibition.

### **Collecting Protea Village**

The initial research consisted of gathering all the primary and secondary documents relating to property transfers (maps, titles deeds, survey diagrams and aerial photographs), the church (church bulletins, magazine, minutes of vestry meetings, baptismal records), the Kirstenbosch Gardens, photographs, identity documents, household objects. We also selected extracts from the 22 interviews that were conducted for the exhibition. We gathered and affixed photos and maps on walls and put the titles deed transfer sheets on tables. We then invited the ex-residents of Protea to a series of workshops on Saturdays to engage with the material, so they could insert themselves into the exhibition. This approach flowed from what Delport argues was an ‘aesthetic principle of inscription that emerged from the participation of visitors by writing on the maps and the calico memorial cloths.’<sup>135</sup>

What is apparent about the District Six Museum is that it has deliberately sought to disrupt what we understand to be housed and collected by museums. Bennett argues that ‘museums were [conceived]...as institutions of classification and order’ and they sought to educate the public (mostly a western audience) about the world.’<sup>136</sup> The resultant classificatory order of the world resulted in the subjugation of non-Europeans due to the

---

<sup>135</sup> P. Delport, “Digging deeper in District Six: features and interfaces in a curatorial landscape” in C. Rassool and S. Prosalendis (eds) *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001), p 158.

<sup>136</sup> T. Bennett, “The Exhibitionary Complex” in J. Evans and D. Boswell (eds) *Representing the Nation: A Reader: Histories, Heritage and Museums* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp 333- 365

proximity in the classificatory system of the native colonized people with animals in natural history museums. European cultures on the other hand were housed and displayed in cultural history museums. This classificatory order of culture was a key element of the exhibitionary complex. This knowledge order and system of looking and conduct in the museum framed the basis of modern (Western) citizenship.<sup>137</sup>

Wells further argues that the ‘acts of looking and recording are not neutral but contain and express relationships of power and control.’<sup>138</sup> I think that the District Six Museum has sought to challenge this very notion by ensuring that the histories of those marginalized by colonialism and apartheid receive the attention that is due to them. In addition, people would enter collections and exhibitions not as cultural types but as subjects of history. The District Six Museum in its desire ‘to excavate histories from below’ has sought to ensure that donors to the museum have a say in how their donated material is used and displayed. More importantly as some in the museum have argued, ‘the museum exists ... to reflect the ideals of non-racialism, democracy and human rights.’<sup>139</sup> With this new methodology of democratising the museum process with a transaction model, questions arise about the ‘original’ context of the donated materials and how meanings change.<sup>140</sup> Also, how does the museum contextualise their contemporary meanings in the present?<sup>141</sup>

---

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid*, pp 333-365.

<sup>138</sup> L. Wells. *Photography: a critical introduction*. (London: Routledge, 1997), pp 57-58.

<sup>139</sup> J. Battersby, “Spirit of District Six refuses to die’, *The Sunday Independent*, 21 December 2003.

<sup>140</sup> A. Appadurai, “Introduction: commodities and the politics of value” in A. Appadurai (ed) *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp 4-25.

<sup>141</sup> S. Greenblatt, ‘Resonance and Wonder’ in I. Karp and S.D. Lavine (eds), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000), p 42.



In the workshops which happened over three Saturdays, many of the ex-residents were uncertain about how to engage with the material. Donald Parenzee, who facilitated the workshops, requested the ex-residents that were present to engage with the materials in order to explore the possibilities for the exhibition. He clearly explained to the ex-residents present that the Museum was interested in finding out where were the families who had been moved. What is apparent from the workshops is that the District Six Museum's methodology of engaging with communities laid the framework for how community memory unfolded within its exhibitions. I think it's important to note that unfortunately only one workshop was adequately documented with a digital video camera. Other work commitments prevented the others from being documented.

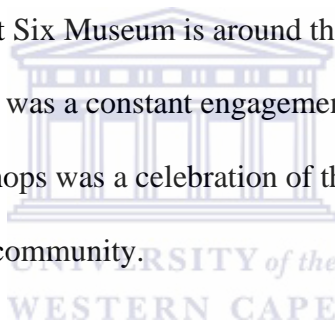
In the unfolding of events, other District Six events that were documented were deemed to have more importance at the time. Of course with the benefit of hindsight this is unfortunate as now we do not have a full audio-visual 'record' of what transpired over subsequent weeks. In his interview Thulani Nxumalo, District Six Museum's main audio-visual archivist, spoke at length about how hard it was to make hard decisions about what story was more important to document at a specific time and place.<sup>142</sup> The scarcity of resources often put a strain on an under-staffed Sound Archive. Nxumalo was therefore required to document most of the events that involved some form of community participation. From my experience of working in the museum, any event that revolves around the story of the District Six got top priority. It is the District Six Museum, after all. Often in the Museum's noble attempt to tell other stories of forced removal, the story

---

<sup>142</sup> Interview with Thulani Nxumalo , 04 August 2006

of District Six loomed large. This was not only in the physical space of the building where the story is exhibited but even how work is prioritized by the staff of the museum. In some ways the District Six narrative became too influential.

The dialogue between the exhibition team and the community continued as they both actively imagined and created Protea in the present. Kratz argues that ‘exhibitions mediate between those who create exhibitions and exhibition visitors... [and its] through such mediation that exhibitions are involved in creating, disseminating and debating cultural values, identities and cultural knowledge.’<sup>143</sup> What is interesting about the process followed by the District Six Museum is around these ‘cultural values, identities and cultural knowledge.’ There was a constant engagement with the exhibition subjects. What emerged from the workshops was a celebration of the sense of community and the values that were shared by the community.



It was also clear from the first workshop that there was a strong desire to include the post-Protea generations in a prominent way in the exhibition. ‘Family trees’ became the entry point for these generations into the narrative of Protea as there was also a strong desire to restore the familial bonds shattered by apartheid. Parenzee informed the ex-residents present that a multi-media panel would be created with the families that populated their family trees. Ex-residents were encouraged to bring photos to the workshops. In a recent interview, Parenzee recalls that at the time, he was not keen on

---

<sup>143</sup> C. Kratz, *The Ones that are Wanted: Communication and the Politics of Representation in a Photographic Exhibition* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2002), p 91.

making this the focus of the exhibition.<sup>144</sup> The focus on the families was spontaneous as we had no way of knowing how the ex-residents would respond to the material nor what they expected to be included in the exhibition. Parenzee recounts that ... “I had particular ideas about how I wanted the exhibition to unfold... I had to respond to what the ex-residents were focused on...”<sup>145</sup>

We encouraged the ex-residents on the succeeding Saturdays to bring photographs of their families and artefacts from the time when they lived in Protea as well as their lives on the Cape Flats. Jos Thorne, one of the curators, explained to the ex-residents that the museum was actively making ‘a Protea Village museum collection’. She explained the processes of accessioning material into an archive and what the rights were of the donor or lender depending on the terms by which you handed over material to the exhibition team. The process of exhibition-making became a process of collecting and negotiating the nature of the collection. It becomes important to be cautious when trying to understand what became part of this ‘Protea Village Collection’. What was not in the collection may have been of greater significance. There are always memories and artefacts that escape the all-consuming glare of the archive.

Hamilton, Harris and Reid argue that ‘the archive is always...being refigured and is in dynamic relation with its physical environment, hence the importance of looking

---

<sup>144</sup> Interview with Donald Parenzee, August 2006.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*

...beyond the idea of archives as physical records...'<sup>146</sup> They argue that there is a need to interrogate the notion of an archive as the 'foundation of the production of knowledge in the present, the basis for identities in the present and for the possible imaginings of community in the future.'<sup>147</sup> What was striking about the process of the creating a 'Protea Village Archive' is that these workshops were held in the exhibition space, where the final exhibition was going to be mounted. The Protea Village ex-residents were encouraged to 'come in anytime to bring materials.'<sup>148</sup> In doing that, they came into the exhibition space in the museum. Parenzee also highlights the importance of the time between the workshops, of how people would come whilst we were working in the space and would engage with whoever was working in the space at the time. These interactions embodied the essence of how the museum wanted to work with communities, as a space of healing and of telling one's story. I agree then with Hamilton et al when they argue that 'the archive is porous to societal processes and discourse... the need to understand the conditions and circumstances of preservation of material as – and the exclusions of material from- the record.'<sup>149</sup> More importantly it is necessary to unpack 'the relations of power underpinning such inclusions and exclusions.'<sup>150</sup> The extent, to which these informal encounters influenced what was included and excluded from not only the archive but the exhibition itself, is hard to quantify. It is clear, however, we cannot underestimate their significance.

---

<sup>146</sup> C. Hamilton, V. Harris and G. Reid, "Introduction" in C. Hamilton, V. Harris, J. Taylor, M. Pickover, G. Reid and R. Saleh.(eds)*Refiguring the Archive* (Dordrecht and Cape Town: Kluwer Academic Publishers and David Phillip, 2002), p 7.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid*, p 9.

<sup>148</sup> Video of Protea Village Workshops, District Six Museum Foundation.

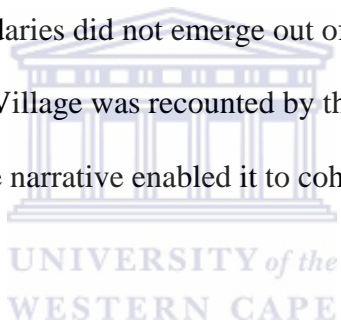
<sup>149</sup> C. Hamilton, V. Harris and G. Reid, "Introduction" in C. Hamilton, V. Harris, J. Taylor, M. Pickover, G. Reid and R. Saleh.(eds)*Refiguring the Archive* (Dordrecht and Cape Town: Kluwer Academic Publishers and David Phillip, 2002), p 7.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid*, p 9.

The Protea Village collection was made up of not only oral interviews of various ex-residents from the community. It also included property deeds transfer sheets, maps, aerial photographs, various artefacts, baptismal records, identity documents of ex-residents, rental receipts, archival photographs, newspaper and magazine clippings, church newsletters and minutes of parish meetings and family photographs. A television production company, Plexus TV was commissioned by the District Six Museum to produce a short documentary for the exhibition titled 'Gardens and Memory', which sought to highlight the community's close association with the National Botanical Gardens and the landscape of Protea. The photographer, Paul Grendon was also commissioned to take portraits of all the ex-residents who were interviewed for the exhibition. Additional audio visual material that formed part of the collection were videos of community reunions and meetings. It was at one of these meetings that PROVAC was formed. A video was also made by PROVAC to identify landmarks in the Kirstenbosch/Bishopscourt area that had significance to the community as part of the community's land claim. There were also videos of reunions that the community had held over the years. Through the efforts of two PROVAC members, Geoff van Gusling and Cedric van Dieman, the community had begun to draw up a memory map of Protea Village identifying where the various families had lived.

With Michel Foucault in mind, Hamilton et al argue that an 'archive is simply not an institution, but rather the law of what can be said – the system of statements, or rules of

practice, that give shape to what can be said and cannot be said.’<sup>151</sup> Moreover they argue that ‘archives are often both documents of exclusion and monuments to particular configurations of power.’<sup>152</sup> I concur with their view that what is often more revealing and opens up various avenues for inquiry is to pay more attention to the ‘... processes by which the record was produced and subsequently shaped...’<sup>153</sup> In the contest of the District Six Museum’s institutional methodology of negotiation the nature of the collection, this has particular resonance. The workshops that were held with the community provided a space for this negotiation to unfold which implicitly set boundaries about what could be earmarked for preservation and inclusion in the Protea Village collection. These boundaries did not emerge out of thin air but unfolded over time as the narrative of Protea Village was recounted by the ex-resident in different contexts. This recounting of the narrative enabled it to cohere and put these boundaries in place.



Mbembe argues that ‘no archive can be the depository of the entire history of a society, of all that has happened in the society.’<sup>154</sup> Why then is there the desire to reflect all that has happened in that society by using the archive in various ways? Mbembe argues that ‘the archive ... is fundamentally a matter of discrimination and selection.’<sup>155</sup> He argues that this results in a “privileged status being given to certain written documents and the

---

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid*, p 9 they recommend one to see *Archeology of Knowledge and Discourse on Language* (New York, Pantheon: 1972), pp 79-134.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid*, p 9.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid*, p 9.

<sup>154</sup> A. Mbembe, “The Power of the Archive and its Limits” in C. Hamilton, V. Harris, J. Taylor, M. Pickover, G. Reid and R. Saleh (eds). *Refiguring the Archive* (Dordrecht and Cape Town: Kluwer Academic Publishers and David Phillip, 2002), p 21.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid*, p 20.

refusal of the same status to others, thereby judged ‘unarchivable.’”<sup>156</sup> The District Six Museum was patently aware of the politics that governed the archive and in the ways that it sought to collect materials for exhibition. There was a deliberate attempt to disrupt the script and encourage a more complex and democratic approach to what was earmarked for the collection. The desire to destabilize the dominance of the apartheid archive and recover the marginalised voices that were suppressed by the apartheid state inevitably followed the same patterns of constituting the archive. In the case on the Protea Village archive, the processes of accessioning that were followed used the very same operational tools that were used by the state in constituting its archives. The use of forms, detailing the terms that govern the use of the donated material by the ex-residents to the Museum is unavoidable which reveals the fundamental characteristic of an archive. They gain their currency through organizing memory –in its various facets- into a text. Mbembe argues that ‘the power of the archive as an “instituting imaginary” largely originates in [its] trade with death.’<sup>157</sup> Most pertinently, he argues that death fails to totally eradicate ‘all the properties of the deceased.’ He argues that, ‘there always remain traces of the deceased... [and that] archives are born from a desire to reassemble these traces rather than destroy them.’

Within the context of Protea Village, the desire to reassemble these traces was driven by the desire for the community to claim their place on the urban landscape. The traces of community life after forty years could not be completely eradicated from the actual land as there are still fragments of crockery, fences, cups and saucers that can be found on the

---

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid*, p 20.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid*, p 22.

landscape. The daughter of Dr David Bass, a former chairperson of the Fernwood Resident's Association, donated a small tree in a pot with these fragments attached with strings on the branches of this tree. Dr Bass and his family became interested in the story of Protea after finding these traces when going for walks in the area:

...I've tried to put together a mental picture of what sort of existence was led on that site. What life was like at the time when Protea Village was a community. Not just a piece of land. One picks up little remnants of civilisation there as you will have seen from the pottery fragments, coins, bottle-tops - everything under the sun - which my children have accumulated since we moved in here 15 years ago. And I've always tried to find any kind of picture, painting, picture, to give me some idea of the life that existed on the Protea Garden Village. It's difficult to do so, it's all a bit of a dream for me at the moment but the land claim process makes it a lot more real...<sup>158</sup>

### **Protea Village Orality**

I have alluded to how the District Six Museum has sought to 'understand and critically engage with the disciplinary knowledge that surrounds and informs its work.'<sup>159</sup> This extends particular to the contested dynamics of collecting of oral histories in the present. The focus on the oral interviews in the exhibition raises interesting questions as not only did we extract quotes which painted a picture about the material culture of the community – stories around birthdays, the water spring, the shop, the fruit trees, the gardens -but we had the full interview transcripts available for reading by the ex-residents if they wished to do so during the workshops. This approach of paying more attention to the oral

---

<sup>158</sup> Interview with Dr David Bass, May 2002.

<sup>159</sup> C. Rassool, "Community Museums, Memory Politics and Social Transformation in South Africa: Histories, Possibilities and Limits in I. Karp, C. Kratz, L. Szwaja and T. Ybarra-Frausto with G. Buntinx, B. Kirshenblatt-Gimlett and C. Rassool (eds), *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), p 25.



testimonies was driven by the growing trends amongst social historians ‘to recover the agency of ordinary people and by doing so democratise the historical record.’<sup>160</sup>The narratives in the interviews that the ex-residents were drawn to in the workshops, played an important role in what was included in the final exhibition. The insertion of oral testimonies into the historical is not without its problems especially when the testimonies recount a traumatic experience such as the forced removals. It is also important to look at who was conducted the interview and in what kind of environments they were conducted. “Social historians have relied on the idea of the ‘lived experience’, as communicated through oral testimony, as a means of overcoming the silence of the written sources.”<sup>161</sup> The insertion of the oral testimonies of the ex-residents was driven by the desire to fill that silence and give voice and healing to the trauma suffered by the community.

The interviews were primarily conducted by Carohn Cornell, who initially volunteered her services to the museum. She had extensive experience in conducting interviews with communities such as Protea through her work with various non-governmental organisations that focused on labour conditions of workers on the Cape Peninsula. I would argue that this influenced her approach to a lot of the interviews and her interview style was therapeutic in nature. Critics of oral history always complain about the inherent unequal power relations that exist between the interviewer and interviewee. One cannot easily dismiss this matter it came into play in the interviews that were conducted for the Protea Village exhibition. Although Cornell came from an activist background, her

---

<sup>160</sup> G. Minkley and C. Rassool, “Orality, memory and social history in South Africa” in S. Nuttal and C. Coetzee (eds), *Negotiating the past: The Making of Memory in South Africa* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1998), p 90.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid*, p 91.

background as an educated, middle class woman certainly added a dynamic to the interview as she was interviewing ex-residents of a predominantly working class community. The sense that I had from listening the interviews is that they saw her as a sympathetic witness to their trauma and she was sensitive enough to allow her interviewees to fully express their range of emotions that were evoked by recalling their time in Protea Village. She was further tasked, after the interview and transcription process, to select particular extracts and group them together into themes that had emerged during the interviewing process. These formed the basis of the excerpts that we had available during the workshop, but others in the exhibition team also contributed excerpts that they had selected after listening to the interviews.

Brison argues that before and after a traumatic event ‘there is a radical disruption of memory... [which] is the undoing of the self.’<sup>162</sup> Despite this traumatic disruption, survivors of trauma are still able to ‘find ways to reconstruct themselves and carry on with reconfigured lives.’<sup>163</sup> The key objective of the ex-residents engaging with interviews during the workshops was to ascertain how the ex-residents wanted their ‘reconfigured lives’ depicted. I was certainly interested in finding out how the loss of this ‘idyllic paradise’ affected these families within the present day context of the grim conditions of poverty and gang warfare prevalent in the Cape Flats. We had extracts there that spoke to the tragic sense of loss experienced by the community, such as that from Lydia Veldsman who remembered that,

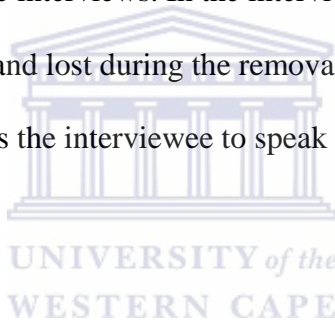
---

<sup>162</sup> S. Brison. “Trauma Narratives and the Remaking of the Self” in M. Bal, J. Crewe and L. Spitzer (eds), *Acts of Memory: Cultural recall in the present* (Dartmouth: University Press of New England, 1999), p 38.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid*, p 38.

..It was Jones's Deliveries ... I can still remember that big truck standing in front of our house ... just packing in and packing in and packing in. Starting from the morning and just, and the goodbyes wasn't good. I think we were the first family to move, the very first family to move...<sup>164</sup>

Alessandro Portelli makes a crucial point when he argues that there is interplay between oral sources and the written record.<sup>165</sup> Due to the dearth of written sources on Protea, the transcribed interviews gained potency as the oral becomes the textual and shifts the dominance of earlier written sources. This immediately becomes evident when one reads some of the transcriptions of the interviews. In the interview with Ann Ntebe, who led the initial process of claiming for land lost during the removals, the interviewer takes a very therapeutic approach and allows the interviewee to speak at length moving from one thing to the next:



I: Where were you born?

Ann: I was actually born in Protea and we lived at No.2 Kirstenbosch Drive, nearest the river. When you do enter from the Claremont side, there are only three semi-detached houses before you get to the shop, the only shop: Kirstenbosch Provision Store. And we lived in the first semi-detached, the second unit of the first semi-detached. We were Tomlinsons of Protea. My grandfather, as I said yesterday in the church, was called by the community people as Uncle Pollie. And I thought last night that you know he was well known in the area as he was a plumber, a *loodgieter* in Afrikaans, but apart from plumbing jobs, he also fixed people's pots and as a child, I remember that so vividly...<sup>166</sup>

---

<sup>164</sup> Interview with Lydia Veldsman (nee Pelston), May 2002.

<sup>165</sup> A. Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and other stories: form and meaning in oral history* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1991), p 1.

<sup>166</sup> Interview with Ann Ntebe 6 May 2002.

What the transcription alludes to but doesn't capture entirely is that she moves from one topic to the next seamlessly and renders one narrative that contains various others. The excerpt from Ann Ntebe's interview illustrates how memory operates at a fundamental level, 'that there is a relationship between individual testimony, evidence and historical memory.'<sup>167</sup> These elements are forever in conversation in the desire by some to paint a picture of the past in the present. Vansina broadly defines oral tradition as 'verbal messages that have been transmitted at least over one generations by word of mouth'<sup>168</sup> The summary of the definition might be a bit narrow and focused on oral tradition as opposed to oral history but I think that the essence of the definition is useful in unpacking how oral history becomes oral tradition, handed down and more widely disseminated. Vansina argues that 'perceptions must be organized in a coherent whole...' and that 'logic... supplies that missing pieces of observation.'<sup>169</sup> I think more importantly he argues that the '*mediation* of perception by memory and emotional state shapes an account.'<sup>170</sup> I think what he argues here is crucial in trying to engage with oral sources/texts. For people to comprehend events there is need to recount or narrate what occurred in order for them to process the event, what Brison refers to as 'speech acts of memory.'<sup>171</sup> Vansina further argues that memory selects and interprets according to expectation –i.e. 'what must have happened.'

---

<sup>167</sup> G. Minkley and C. Rassool, "Orality, memory and social history in South Africa" in S. Nuttal and C. Coetzee (eds), *Negotiating the past: The Making of Memory in South Africa* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1998), p 89.

<sup>168</sup> J.Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Chicago, London: James Curry Publishers, 1985), p 3.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid*, p 5.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid*, p 5. Italics own emphasis.

<sup>171</sup> S. Brison. "Trauma Narratives and the Remaking of the Self" in M. Bal, J. Crewe and L. Spitzer(eds), *Acts of Memory: Cultural recall in the present* (Dartmouth: University Press of New England, 1999), p 38.

Minkley and Rassool are useful in unpacking the excerpt a bit further as they further argue that, 'oral history ...[is] the connection between the past and past struggle, between historians and the voice of the community, between the individual and the collective, between knowledge and power, between memory and history'. They further argue that the past is viewed as a 'journey taken - a procession with an origin, a course and a destination.'<sup>172</sup> They further argue that in Cape Town, oral history has sought to recover the past through a 'nostalgia of ordinary people's experience, constructed as a community splintered by state interventions.'<sup>173</sup> Ntebe speaks often through her interview of the great community spirit that existed in pre-forced removals Protea Village. Minkley and Rassool caution us to look more closely at how individual and collective memory are so interposed at times that the teller often cannot distinguish between the two. Ntebe moves very swiftly from her individual memories of her own family and taps to the collective community memory of her grandfather fixing things for others in the community. Vansina argues that 'collective memory is more likely to be institutionalised'<sup>174</sup> and this was the case with the collective memory of the ex-residents whose interviews were lodged with the District Six Museum. How then has the process for the collection of Protea oral histories been different?

Minkley and Rassool make another a point that I agree with, when they argue it's important to focus on the theory and method of collecting the oral histories rather than the interpretation. In what kind of environment and context that memory was constructed? These kinds of questions reveal more about what kind of histories were

---

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid*, p 93.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid*, pp 93-94.

<sup>174</sup> J.Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Chicago, London: James Curry Publishers, 1985), p 21.

constructed. This goes back to an earlier point by Vansina about understanding how memory is moulded to fit into the expectation of what the audience want to hear. As a result, the more nefarious aspects of the community's life, such as the fact some of the residents were alcoholics was absent from the final narrative in the exhibition As David Wilson recounts, 'liquor was freely available....because they don't need to pay for it now. They were given the book, people used to give them wine.'<sup>175</sup> The stories that emerge to dominate the narrative of the Protea Village were of survival and resilience of a community, giving a sense of community coherence. As Eileen Nomdo remembers whilst attending a reunion at site of Protea Village,

...Coming here it was mixed feelings. I mean, meeting up with people ... and here we had electricity, we had an inside bath and tell it like it is My father ... linked up with the neighbours that travelled to work and we came to know people on the road, on the buses ... There's work to be done, life must go on – yes, get on with it, no use moping ... My parents just had to go on. Everybody, for that matter, that was removed, they had to just adapt...<sup>176</sup>

### **Protea Village Photographs**

Smith and Rassool argue that photography has always played a central role in the exhibitionary strategies of the District Six Museum, as a result 'visual knowledges of South Africa society have been developed which begin to challenge ethnographic forms of representation and to transcend a narrow documentary framework.'<sup>177</sup> Karp and Lavine argue that there are deliberate choices that are made by the curatorial teams who mount

---

<sup>175</sup> Interview with David Wilson, 8 March 2002.

<sup>176</sup> Interview with Eileen Nomdo, December 2001.

<sup>177</sup> T. Smith and C. Rassool, "History in Photographs at the District Six Museum" in C. Rassool and S. Prosalendis (eds) *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001), p 131.

the exhibitions, which often highlight ‘some truths’ but submerge others.<sup>178</sup> It becomes crucial then not only to unpack how the role on photography has been implicated in the recreation of Protea but to also unpack the motivations behind the curatorial decisions made by the team about visual images and other design and visual elements.

The use of photographs in the exhibition clearly demonstrates how the various stakeholders actively imagined and created Protea Village. As I have mentioned, we asked the ex-residents to bring family photographs and artefacts of Protea Village to the workshops. In this collecting process these photographs were brought from largely private family albums and collections and inserted into a Protea Village public history project. The meanings and representations contained in the photographs shifted from the private realm merely for the consumption of the family. They took on a different character as they entered the public visual historical record. Hayes et al argue that ‘when a photograph moves out of its stored archived space - it is as if energy is released... [and this] suggests how forcibly such fragments are capable of bridging time.’<sup>179</sup> I would argue that the character they took was that of the documentary photograph in that they were mobilised to highlight the pertinent social issues around the tragedy of the loss of a sense of community through forced removals. They came to serve as evidence of the vibrant picturesque community that existed on that landscape alongside the mountain.

---

<sup>178</sup> S. D. Lavine and I. Karp, “Introduction: Museums and Multiculturalism” in I. Karp and S.D. Lavine (eds), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington, Smithsonian Institution Press: 2000), p 1.

<sup>179</sup> P. Hayes, J. Silvester, W. Hartmann, ‘ “Picturing the Past” in Namibia: The Visual Archive and its Energies’ in C. Hamilton, V. Harris, J.Taylor, M. Pickover, G. Reid and R. Saleh.(eds)*Refiguring the Archive* (Dordrecht and Cape Town: Kluwer Academic Publishers and David Phillip, 2002), p 104.

Solomon-Godeau argues that documentary photography is a 'sign system possessed of its own accretion of visual and signifying codes determining reception and instrumentality.'<sup>180</sup> This brings us to the most salient purpose of documentary photography, which is to improve the 'lot of their subjects'.<sup>181</sup> In the South African context this 'ameliorative intent' was quite explicit, as documentary photography was 'committed to expose the repressive conditions' that existed in the country as a result of apartheid. Minkley and Rassool argue that social documentary photography in South Africa could not be neutral and its main partisan motive was to 'raise awareness to spur others into action'. They further argue that it derived 'its meaning and power' within the public context (e.g. exhibitions).<sup>182</sup> The photographs that were used in the Protea Village exhibition saw a transfer in photographic meaning. They had the intention of creating particular meanings that were vested in 'improving the lot of the community' by drawing attention to the reclaiming of land and the restitution process.

How photography and history managed to collude with imperialism in depicting 'native people as primitive' clearly illustrates how the process of 'documenting' has trapped people in a visual narrative of documenting their 'progress' and how power relationships work within a 'colonial' society. More startling was the evident 'coloniser's gaze' that

---

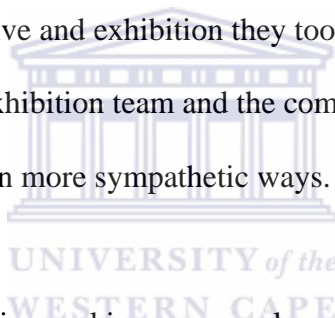
<sup>180</sup> A. Solomon-Godeau. 'Who is speaking thus? Some questions about documentary photography', In A. Solomon-Godeau (ed) *Photography at the dock. Essays on photographic history, institutions and practices.* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press: 1991), p170.

<sup>181</sup> L. Wells, *Photography: a critical introduction.* (London: Routledge, 1997.), p 68.

<sup>182</sup> G. Minkley and C.Rassool. "Photography with a difference?" Leon Levson's camera studies and photographic exhibitions of native life in South Africa, 1947-1950' *Kronos: Journal of Cape History Vol 31, 2005* . Their paper refers extensively to Gordon Metz's curatorial notes on the 'Margin to the Mainstream' exhibition.



reduced people to ‘representatives of racial and social groups.’<sup>183</sup> Wells further highlights that documentary photography – not only in its ethnographic form – played a pivotal role in how ‘imperial power structures institutionalised the attitudes and assumptions necessary in viewing the ‘Other’ as a subject for photography.’<sup>184</sup> The photographs used in exhibition over time accumulate meaning that can be read and understood within the contemporary context of the present day. As I have said many of these were from private family collections, but there were some that we found at the State Archives. They were mostly of the landscapes of Protea and were devoid of the people, but those that did have Protea people were depicted as servants to the colonial landowners. Yet when they entered the Protea Village archive and exhibition they took on new meanings which were informed by the desire of the exhibition team and the community to locate the people of Protea on the urban landscape in more sympathetic ways.



The documenting of the exhibition-making process also produced many photographs that were also included in the exhibition. The exhibition team became documentary photographers in a sense and sought to depict the methodology of the District Six Museum in working with communities. Hilton-Barber argues documentary photographers operate with a ‘sense of responsibility and sincerity.’<sup>185</sup> ‘They never take the picture that they intended,’<sup>186</sup> the mediated selection of their photographs for interpretation becomes thus very problematic. My argument is that when as the exhibition team, we selected these photographs and we ‘imagine[d] the intent’ behind each photograph. We come to this process of selection with our

---

<sup>183</sup> L. Wells, *Photography: a critical introduction*. (London, Routledge: 1997), p 58.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid*, p 58.

<sup>185</sup> S. Hilton-Barber, ‘In good photographic faith’ in *Staffrider* Vol 9 No 4 (1991).

<sup>186</sup> P.Hayes, “The iconography of proximity”, paper presented to the ‘Transaction of Public Culture Workshop’, Cape Town Jan 2003 (Draft) p.1 quoting oral interview with David Goldblatt

own set of ideas (ideological and otherwise) that were informed by the knowledge of the histories that have unfolded and given the photographs layered meanings. These meanings were made even more ‘fluid’ by the different contexts in which these documentary photographs were read. Moreover the photographs of the community in the past and those in the present became difficult to distinguish as the exhibitionary space renders them part of the same seamless visual historical record. What escaped the glare of the camera was submerged by the dominance of this visual historical record.

It has been my intention in this chapter to illustrate that the ideas that curatorial teams have about an exhibition differ greatly from what eventually ends up in the final exhibition. In the case of the Protea Village exhibition it is clear that the methodologies developed by the District Six Museum laid the broad framework for what was deemed not only archivable but worthy of exhibition. The District Six Museum in its work sought to problematise how cultural knowledge was produced with the view of democratizing the historical record through engaging and negotiation with communities. It was also intent on ensuring that ordinary people in the city of Cape Town could stake a historical claim to spaces on the urban landscape that they previously were unable to. It is clear that exhibition represented a further moment in the active creating and imagining of the Protea Village in the present. Contrary to the commonly held assumption that curators have a more powerful voice in determining what included in exhibition. The making of the Protea Village exhibition clearly demonstrates that when working with communities, the exhibition becomes contested and negotiated between exhibition teams and the community. We must be alert to these meaning changes and process

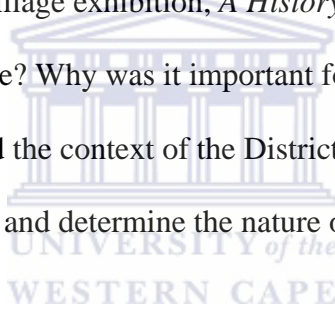
of contestation, as history and memory become institutionalised and private remembrance is moved into public history.



## Chapter Four

### Representing Protea Village: *A History of Paradise, 1829-2002*

Karp asks the question, ‘what do exhibitions represent and how do they do so?’<sup>187</sup> I would want to add to this question by asking, *why* an exhibition needed to do the work of representation? Karp goes on to argue that ‘exhibitions are placed in museums that differ in age, collections, content, target audiences, national and regional orientations and ambitions.’<sup>188</sup> These questions are the essence of what this chapter will attempt to address. What did the Protea Village exhibition, *A History of Paradise 1829-2002*, represent and how was this done? Why was it important for this history to be represented through an exhibition? How did the context of the District Six Museum which differs from other museums, influence and determine the nature of the exhibition?



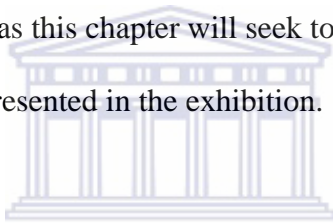
In looking at the displays that formed part of the exhibition more closely, I will attempt to examine how these representations have supported the interests of the different stakeholders which were invested in the exhibition. This chapter will attempt to weave together how the institutional contexts and methodologies of the District Six Museum have shaped the telling of a broader story of forced removal in Cape Town in mounting the Protea Village exhibition. It will also attempt tentatively to question how the history of forced removals has been and will continue to be memorialised in the ever-changing South African heritage landscape.

---

<sup>187</sup> I. Karp, “Culture and Representation” in I. Karp and S.D. Lavine (eds), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000), p 11.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid*, p 11.

The move within historical studies towards a ‘new social history’ advocates for a broader analysis of the complex and dynamic intersections between the political, economic and social processes that play a role in the representation of the past in the present. This ‘new social history’ is located within a revisionist paradigm preoccupied with ‘telling marginalised stories.’<sup>189</sup> And yet, as Gable and Handler further argue that ‘history is a construct ... that the manner in which history is presented is an inherently political statement.... that what constitutes history reflects the values and attitudes of those who interpret it.’<sup>190</sup> They further assert that ‘no version of the past is neutral or objective.’ This is crucial for my analysis, as this chapter will seek to unpack how the interests of the different stakeholders were represented in the exhibition.



The mounting of the Protea Village exhibition is an interesting case study for analysing how the political, economic and social processes intersect and how they shaped the final exhibition. The District Six Museum has viewed itself as ‘an independent site of engagement, a space of questioning and interrogation of the terms of the post-apartheid present.’<sup>191</sup> How the remembering of the past in the present with a view to memorialise for the future is shaped by the intersection of these processes has become a crucial line of enquiry in this study. What were the tangible signifiers of the materiality of Protea which

---

<sup>189</sup> E. Gable and R. Handler, “The Authority of Documents at Some American History Museums”, *Journal of American History*, Vol 81, no1, June 1994, p 119.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, p 119 quoting Carson (1981); Krupler (1991).

<sup>191</sup> C. Rassool, “Community Museums, Memory Politics and Social Transformation in South Africa: Histories, Possibilities and Limits in I. Karp, C. Kratz, L. Szwaja and T. Ybarra-Frausto with G. Buntinx, B. Kirshenblatt-Gimlett and C. Rassool, *Museum Frictions/Global Transformation*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), p 5.

triggered not only individual memory but a community memory that produces a narrative that everyone adheres to?

More pertinently what becomes of more interest is how the museum ‘professionals’ mediated the representation of that community memory in the District Six Museum as the exhibitionary processes unfolded. Turnbridge and Ashworth argue that heritage is produced when certain experts or conservation agencies deliberately select certain aspects of history. This process of packaging and reinterpretation is what they refer to as ‘the commodification of heritage as these products are created with a target audience in mind’, which are ‘consumed by the public/consumers in an economic transaction’.<sup>192</sup> The Museum in its approach has always been vehemently opposed to commercialised and commoditised conceptions of its work, consciously seeking to ‘manage the ways in which the Museum has been turned into a destination.’<sup>193</sup> Nevertheless, it became acutely aware of the politics of public culture and how concepts of heritage and community memory are constructed, deployed and contested under particular socio-political circumstances. Hence the deliberate attempt by the museum to question the very notion of knowledge production within the museum and its self-reflexive approach to curating and archiving. According to Donald Parenzee, the main aim of the exhibition was to ‘assist the Protea Village community to publicise their land claim.’<sup>194</sup> He also argues that,

---

<sup>192</sup> J. E. Turnbridge and G. J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage*, (John Wiley and Sons: Chichester, 1996), pp 6-7.

<sup>193</sup> C. Rassool, “Community Museums, Memory Politics and Social Transformation in South Africa: Histories, Possibilities and Limits in I. Karp, C. Kratz, L. Szwaja and T. Ybarra-Frausto with G. Buntinx, B. Kirshenblatt-Gimlett and C Rassool, *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006)], p 30.

<sup>194</sup> Interview with Donald Parenzee, 23 August 2006

‘...it is important for people to know that the purpose of the exhibition is to open up history.’<sup>195</sup>

The key elements of the Protea Village exhibition were the *Introductory Panel*, *Patterns of Property Ownership* exhibit, *The Church* exhibit, the *Mural*, the *Memory Map of Protea Village*, the *Family Boxes*, the *Gardens and Memory Video* exhibit. There were excerpts from the oral interviews and other photographs that were integrated in between and within these exhibits. The idea behind the excerpts was to show that the people of Protea constituted the fabric of what we were trying to exhibit. They ranged from ordinary printed out paper affixed onto the wall, to adhesive sheets which we printed the excerpts on and pasted onto Styrofoam boards and to small wooden plaques. The idea was to illustrate how the narratives of Protea Village were always in flux but also that there were others, which celebrated the vibrancy of the community that had endured for generations.

The *Introductory Panel* was interestingly not in the actual Memorial Hall space where the rest of the exhibition was mounted in the museum. It was in a small passage which gave access from the main exhibition space of the *Digging Deeper* exhibition to the Memorial Hall. On the other side of the passage is the coffee shop, where many visitors and staff of the museum sit and have refreshments. The reason for its location was largely a practical consideration, as there was nowhere else we could mount it. The wall that is adjacent to the Museum’s neighbour the crèche, Stepping Stones, was reserved for the *Mural*. The other possible wall space was already earmarked for the *Patterns of the Property*

---

<sup>195</sup> T. Stuart, “Remapping lives and family histories at Protea, *Cape Towner*, 5 December 2002.

*Ownership* exhibit and the *Memory Map of Protea Village* exhibit. The idea was also that the passage would act a channel through which visitors could enter the exhibition and not through the coffee shop which was associated with the District Six narrative.

Stephen Greenblatt defines “resonance” as ‘... the power of a displayed object to reach out beyond its formal boundaries to a larger world... to invoke in the viewer complex and dynamic cultural forces from which it has emerged to which it may be taken by the viewer to stand...’<sup>196</sup> And he defines “wonder” as ‘... the power of a displayed object to stop the viewer in his or her tracks, to convey an arresting sense of uniqueness, to evoke an exalted attention.’<sup>197</sup> I think that line between the two - i.e. ‘resonance and wonder’- is relative and very thin. I personally think that when one looks at an object, a little bit of both happens and to make a distinction between the two is problematic. When an object *resonates* with the viewer – they are ‘arrested by the sense of uniqueness’ and can be connected to ‘a larger complex narrative.’ I don’t think that he truly engages with these problematic nuances in the definitions, as he seems to gloss over them. The Protea Village exhibits sought to create ‘resonance and wonder’ in the ex-residents who were the primary audience for the exhibition. This is not to say that the curators didn’t want other visitors to experience the same things but for the exhibition to be considered successful the representations in the exhibition had to, in a sense, ‘resonate’ with the ex-residents, and create ‘wonder’ at the reflections of their lives in Protea Village.

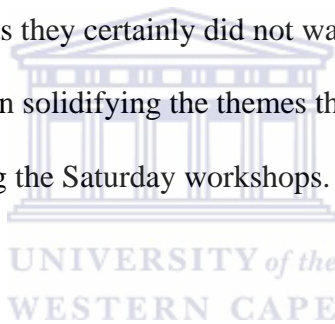
---

<sup>196</sup> S. Greenblatt, “Resonance and Wonder” in I. Karp and S.D. Lavine (eds), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000), p 42.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid*, p 42.



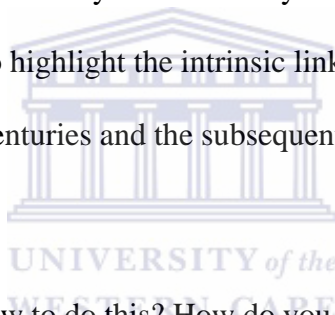
I think it is also important to note that in addition to the workshops that were held with the Protea Village residents over succeeding Saturday mornings before the actual exhibition opened, there was what was termed as a ‘presentation’ to the community. The purpose of this presentation was to reach a broader cross-section of the community, as not all ex-residents were able to attend the workshops. At the presentation opening, Donald Parenzee further encouraged the ex-residents to bring materials to the Museum as we began to finalise the exhibition. This presentation created a great deal of excitement amongst the community members as they began to see the exhibition taking shape. Those that didn’t see themselves reflected in the exhibition were motivated to make a contribution to the exhibition, as they certainly did not want to feel left out. In retrospect, I think this was a key moment in solidifying the themes that had emerged from the memory work conducted during the Saturday workshops.



What we, as the exhibition team, saw as one of the core components of the exhibition exhibits was the *Patterns of the Property Ownership* exhibit which sought to examine patterns of land ownership in the Protea area (Kirstenbosch, Bishopscourt and Fernwood Estate). Building on research that had been conducted for the land claim, we traced the property development and exchange of ownership over three centuries from the appropriation of land by the VOC (Dutch East India Company) to the present day land restitution process. As the records reveal, the Protea Village community that lived on the land had never been properly acknowledged in official documentation. The exception was that in some sources they were identified firstly as slaves then as labourers on the various farms. This display directly addressed the core aim of the exhibition, which was

to support the community land claim lodged with the Land Claims Commission by locating the community on the land.

It is interesting to note that occupancy of the land reflected a master-servant relationship, and eventually culminated in the residents of Protea being forcibly removed from the area. The purpose of this exhibit was to place the people of Protea Village back on the land, and to draw attention to the fact that the dispossession and displacement of the Protea Village residents was the act of a racially discriminatory bureaucracy. This power was an older and more broadly based system than only the apartheid legislation of the 1950s. The exhibit attempted to highlight the intrinsic links between the 'patterns of property ownership' over the centuries and the subsequent 'forced removals'.



The challenge was of course how to do this? How do you visual represent pattern of land tenure and ownership in an exhibitionary form? Jos Thorne, one of the curators, and I were tasked with putting the exhibit together. Thorne was tasked with designing the exhibit and I was to provide research support on the exhibit. There were many months of trying out different ideas and robust debate in many meetings about how we go about designing and mounting the exhibit. We finally decided to use property-related documents (aerial photography, erven register transfer sheets, noting sheets and property diagrams) and interwove them with a historical narrative as well as oral histories of Protea Village in the exhibit. The District Six museum has argued that 'aerial photographs survey social and cultural spaces... (and) fix the physical environment to the

landscape and indicate land use patterns.’<sup>198</sup> These powerful visual mediums have been used because they narrate these ‘visual histories’ more succinctly than any other medium. After 40 years of dislocation and hundreds of years of dispossession, we wanted to place the people of Protea Village back into the official story of the land, and record the community’s eventual repossession of the land.

We decided to use a series of diagrams and aerial photographs (Fig 1-4) to illustrate key moments in the how the patterns of land tenure changed in Protea Village. These were overlaid with diagrams showing how the land was successively claimed, sold and subdivided over the centuries. Figure 1 depicted that Protea after the Anglican Archbishop Robert Gray had already arrived in the area. The original farm Kirstenbosch has already been subdivided into the three farms, Bishops court, Fernwood Estate and Kirstenbosch.<sup>199</sup> In fact, according to Langham- Carter, in 1864 a small thatched chapel (designed by Sophia Gray, wife of the Anglican Archbishop) had been constructed by Protea villagers on the site of the present Church of the Good Shepherd. The chapel had been blessed by the Bishop on the 8<sup>th</sup> of December that year and was named “Protea Chapel”. It was dedicated on the 29 June 1865 and had an average attendance of 60 people.<sup>200</sup> This diagram sought to illustrate the long tenure of the community on the land.

We also had older surveyor diagrams from the early 1800s that we did not use as they did

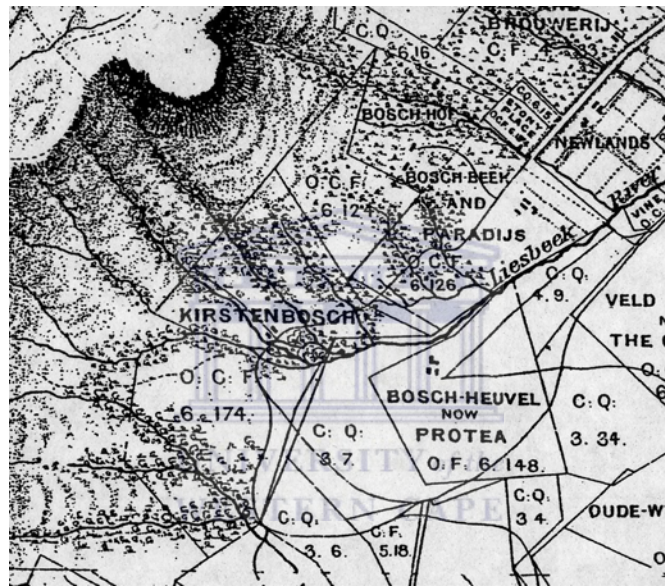
---

<sup>198</sup> T. Smith and C. Rassool, “History in Photographs at the District Six Museum” in C. Rassool and S. Prosalendis (eds) *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001), p 131.

<sup>199</sup> Mr Langham-Carter, “A History of Protea Village” in S. Gross (compiled by) *Protea Village Community Claim Bishops court April 2001 Annexure 11*(Protea Village Collection -District Six Museum Foundation Collections), pp 2-6.

<sup>200</sup> *Patterns of Property Ownership* exhibition text. This text is quoting from Mr Langham-Carter, “A History of Protea Village” in S. Gross (compiled by) *Protea Village Community Claim Bishops court April 2001 Annexure 11*(Protea Village Collection -District Six Museum Foundation Collections).

not provide the same level of detail as the 1865 diagram. We managed to overlay them onto the 1865 diagram in order to show the changes in the ownership of the land up until then. In Figure 2, one can clearly see a cluster of houses, locating the community on the land. This map sought to illustrate that the community were still there and flourishing before they were summarily removed by the then apartheid state despite attempts to do so through the various laws passed by previous colonial governments.



**Fig 1 Surveyor General Diagram of Protea Area (1865)<sup>201</sup>**

---

<sup>201</sup> Surveyor General Diagram of Protea Area (1865), Surveyor- General's Office, City of Cape Town.



**Fig 2 Aerial Map of Protea/Kirstenbosch/Bishopscourt (1944)<sup>202</sup>**

Figure 3 was taken at the height of the removals and shows many homes that were in the process of being demolished, as one can see that many of them already had their roofs already removed. The fact that these removals happened over almost a decade is significant as 1968 is represented as the final wave of evictions from the land. One can never conjure up, for the purposes of an exhibition, how surreal it must have been in those years at the end. As Martin Williams recalled in an interview, contained in the panel:

..When they started putting up taps in the area I knew we have to move. I was already the age that I know what's going to happen. It's only when we saw them started putting up the taps, then we knew...<sup>203</sup>

Others in the community simply had nowhere to go and believed until the end that they would not be moved from their homes. While this sense of disbelief featured, there were of course many members of the community who saw what was happening and who

---

<sup>202</sup> Aerial Map of Protea/Kirstenbosch/Bishopscourt (1944), Land Affairs: Surveys and Mapping, City of Cape Town.

<sup>203</sup> Interview with Martin Williams, 14 August 2002.

moved pre-emptively to areas such as Steenberg, Landsdowne and Retreat. The panel also quoted Wilfred Smith who remembered as follows:

...We actually moved before everybody else was moved. That was before any official letters we moved. But of course we knew it's going to happen, but I think it was just about a year and a half and then like I used to still go every weekend there, and then my aunties used to tell me that they got the letters that they are going to be removed. But the gardens people that stayed in the stone cottages, and inside the gardens fence, they believed that they were going to build more houses further up into the gardens for them. That's what somebody told them, which they believed. And they were actually the last people, the gardens people who stayed in the stone cottages, and inside the gardens. And they were actually the worst off because they were moved to Manenberg...<sup>204</sup>

Figure 4 on the other hand, showed how the area looked today. What is clear in this aerial photograph is that the area was now dominated by palatial homes on huge properties.

This was in stark contrast to the area when it was occupied by the community and in contrast to their new homes on the Cape Flats where they had been moved to. To give a sense of this removal experience we considered a statement by Charles Wilson also remembered that:

'It was rough, I tell you ... We didn't know the people, you can't go anywhere because you're afraid of people who might catch you, the gangsters. But some of the people also went to the gangsters because they were forced to join the group, or they would rather stab you. That's what caused hatred amongst people living in Cape Flats - their anger against the community because being from out of the area they lived, going into an area ... and the community was hateful...'<sup>205</sup>

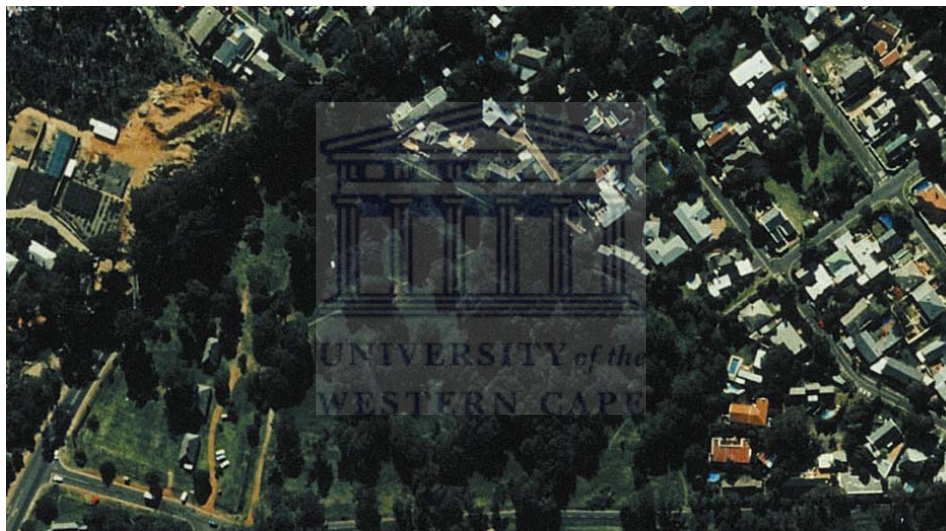
---

<sup>204</sup> Interview with Wilfred Smith, 12 May 2002.

<sup>205</sup> Interview with Charles Wilson, 11 December 2001.



**Fig 3 Aerial Map of Protea/Kirstenbosch/Bishopscourt (1968)<sup>206</sup>**



**Fig 3 Aerial Map of Protea/Kirstenbosch/Bishopscourt (1996)<sup>207</sup>**

We soon realised, however, that the property related materials on their own could not fully render what we sought to depict with the exhibit. This motivated the adoption of the strategy of overlaying the very dry property transfer sheets, with a historical narrative that situated the transfer of land within the context of what has happening not only in the area but in the country as a whole. We also focussed on the role played by the Anglican

---

<sup>206</sup> Aerial Map of Protea/Kirstenbosch/Bishopscourt (1968), Land Affairs: Surveys and Mapping, City of Cape Town. I have zoomed in on the area that made up the majority of the community.

<sup>207</sup> Aerial Map of Protea/Kirstenbosch/Bishopscourt (1996), Land Affairs: Surveys and Mapping, City of Cape Town. I have zoomed in on the area that made up the majority of the community.

Archbishops through the communities close association with the Church of the Good Shepherd and St Saviours Church in Claremont. The emphasis was on the role of Bishop Robert Gray and his wife Sophia in converting the Muslim ex-slave families to Christianity, which was expanded upon in the *Church* exhibit.

The historical narrative deliberately tried to trace tenure of the land to pre-colonial times right up to the present. It began by locating the Khoe-Khoe on the land, arguing that they had used the area as their summer grazing lands.<sup>208</sup> And it ended in 2002, when the exhibition was held. Interwoven within these textual components were photographs not only of the landscape but of the community on the land. The exhibit sought to show the inter-connectedness of these three farms and the community. As a result the exhibit was very dense and was dominated by text, although the aerial photographs served their purpose in providing explicit visualisation of the removal of the community from the landscape. The exhibit required visitors to spend more time engaging with the text and to trace the often very intricate transfers of property from one owner to the next.

It's interesting how after the exhibition - this panel came to serve as a travelling exhibition for the story of Protea Village. When the community land claim was finally settled in September 2006, the panel was used as an exhibit at the ceremony that was attended by various dignitaries from the national and provincial Department of Land Affairs, the Land Commission, the District Six Museum, Kirstenbosch National

---

<sup>208</sup> *Patterns of Property Ownership* exhibition text. See R. Elphick, *Kraal and Castle* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985).



Botanical Gardens, local government and of course the Protea Village community represented by the Protea Village Action Committee (PROVAC).<sup>209</sup> I think the reason that the panel has been able to perform this function four years later, is due to its multiple narratives that show the complex and dynamic history of the area. The exhibit was layered and multi-textured as it drew from different sources and clearly depicted the how the different interests and stakeholders shaped the community. Moreover, “the exhibition was being designed with the view that some of it will stay at the museum and other parts of it will be taken to Protea to form part of any Heritage project the community might decide on.”<sup>210</sup>

We must then take heed of what Kratz has said about how meanings and representations in exhibitions ‘unfold over time.’<sup>211</sup> The exhibit gains a powerful potency in its ability to be deployed as instrument to locate the people on the land, within the context of the land restitution process and redevelopment of Protea. The *Patterns of the Property Ownership* and the *Memory Map of Protea Village*, which was also exhibited at the land settlement ceremony, will become key features of any eventual Protea Village heritage project. I think that new meanings and representations will be able to be drawn from them when these exhibits are displayed in the Stone Cottage, where it’s envisaged that a heritage project will be established with the National Botanical Institute.<sup>212</sup> The Protea Village

---

<sup>209</sup> The Deputy Minister of Land Affairs, Dirk du Toit and the Premier of the Western Cape, Ebrahim Rasool were at the ceremony.

<sup>210</sup> District Six Museum, Minutes of the Research Meeting on the Protea Village Exhibition Held on 15 April 2002.

<sup>211</sup> C. Kratz, *The Ones that are Wanted: Communication and the Politics of Representation in a Photographic Exhibition* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2002), p 91.

<sup>212</sup> Commission on Restitution of Land Rights, “Ex-Protea Villagers to receive 12,35 ha as compensation – Kirstenbosch” Press Release (Ref no F110), 11 September 2006.

Community will have a strong base to continue the memory work of re-inserting the community back on the urban landscape.



**Fig 5: Patterns of Property Ownership exhibit at the settlement of the community land ceremony, 24 September 2006<sup>213</sup>**

The *Memory Map of Protea Village* exhibit was largely the initiative of two ex-residents, Geoff van Gusling and Cedric van Dieman who were both members of PROVAC. We were able to develop this exhibit during the workshops and it functioned as quite a powerful catalyst for invoking memories of Protea Village. In the Saturday workshops it was the scene of lively debate and discussion. It was a fairly simple map based on a Surveyor General diagram which was blown up into a large scale. Garth Erasmus, one of the curators and an artist, was tasked to bring together the different layers of the memory that the ex-residents would inscribe on the map. The ex-residents identified land marks, where various people lived, affixed excerpts and photographs that were connected to particular places on the memory map. The eventual direction that Erasmus took was to try to emulate an old tattered map that could be found in an archive. Each Saturday, after

---

<sup>213</sup> Charles Wilson, Protea Village ex-resident, is in the foreground.

the ex-residents had added materials to the map, he would blend them into the map rendering it more 'final' each week. This happened until the ex-residents themselves stopped adding material when they began to see it as more final. I think it's interesting that this exhibit was seen as 'final', as the memory work has not stopped and will continue to occur in the future when the community is able to proceed with a heritage project at the Stone Cottages.

The *Family Boxes* were mounted on the wall where the mural was painted. The mural was sought to invoke Protea Village the place and was largely inspired by a series of photographs that we, as the exhibition team, took of the current site. The photographs echo the emptiness of the landscape where once the village stood and are a powerful testament of the loss of this 'idyllic paradise.' There was a lot of debate within the exhibition team about the appropriateness of the mural for the exhibition, which was overshadowed by the fact that Erasmus had definite ideas about how he saw the mural unfolding which he implemented. We eventually then had to work with the mural, and Museum trustee, Peggy Delpport was brought in after much debate to give creative input into finalisation of the painting of the mural. It became apparent then, that we would have to in some way integrate the people of Protea Village into the mural (the place). *The Family Boxes* were a result of the memory work of certain families that participated in and brought photographs and artefacts to all the workshops. In the workshops, when the ex-residents cottoned on to the idea of 'family trees', a few which Donald Parenzee had extracted a few from the community land claim and had affixed to the walls. In the process, the idea of a family box emerged. The ex-residents began what Parenzee referred

to as the ‘practical memory work’ of engaging with the material that we had collected for the exhibition.<sup>214</sup> The ex-residents brought many photographs of how they lived their lives in Protea Village and they also brought photographs of their lives after Protea. The *Family Boxes* became a key entry point for the descendants of Protea Villagers generations into the exhibition in a prominent way. They were populated with a family trees representing the generations of the families beginning with the relative on whose behalf the claim was being submitted. Many of the families that were represented within the *Family Boxes* also had a member/s of the family that had been interviewed; we encouraged the families to pull out extracts from those interviews. We were not restrictive in terms from whose interview they could select. They could use the ones we had selected, or select an extracts from any interview that resonated with them. The photographs, interviews extracts and the family trees were all integrated using desktop publishing software onto a series of photographs that we had taken of the present day site. This collage was printed on huge sepia tone transparent sheets, as the idea was to mount the boxes a few inches from the wall so that they could be lit from behind. This would serve to illuminate the collage and bring life to all the various elements.

When I think about the exhibit now, the idea behind was largely driven by the desire to populate the ‘empty’ mural with the people of Protea. I would argue that the ‘boxes’ can be seen to have sought to invoke the interior lives of some of the families of Protea. This is consistent with the exhibition strategies that the Museum had employed with the *Digging Deeper* exhibition. Whereas the *Streets* had focused on what happened on and

---

<sup>214</sup> Interview with Donald Parenzee, 23 August 2006.

who lived on these streets of District Six, *Digging Deeper* sought to delve more deeply into the complex interior spaces of District Six.<sup>215</sup> We also mounted many photographs around these ‘boxes’ that were grouped loosely into various themes of church events, working and playing on the land, flowers and gardens, baptismal and 21<sup>st</sup> birthdays, funerals and weddings and working at the University of Cape Town and Kirstenbosch National Botanical Gardens. These showed that all these families whose lives were depicted were not disconnected from the community. Moreover the close familial links between families, were also shown.

The brief that was given to Plexus TV, the television production company that produced the *Gardens and Memory* exhibit, was that it would ‘conduct interview-conversations with approximately six ex-residents of Protea Village to enable these individuals to explore the meanings of ‘Gardens’ in relation to their memories of life in Protea, the forced removals, life after Protea.’ We wanted the video to also examine memories related to work in the Kirstenbosch National Botanical Gardens, making a living through planting, flower selling, healing or any other aspect that may arise in the course of filming.’<sup>216</sup> All the ex-residents that were interviewed for the exhibit spoke of how the community’s life in Protea was dominated by gardening. Through their work in the Kirstenbosch National Botanical Gardens through successive generations of families, most people in the community were knowledgeable about plants and the environment and the soil type that was conducive to gardening. The narratives that come through in this

---

<sup>215</sup> C. Rassool, “Introduction: recalling community in Cape Town” in C. Rassool and S. Prosalendis (eds) *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001) pp iv-xi.

<sup>216</sup> District Six Museum, “The Gardens Video Brief to Plexus TV”

short documentary are dynamic and complex and speak to the complexities of seeking restitution of land lost during apartheid.

There is a strong desire by some as 'represented' by Ann Ntebe (a PROVAC member and former chairperson) and Francis 'Hatta' van Gusling in the documentary to return to the land and to the quality of life they experienced in Protea. They both spoke about how the community's roots were in Protea and about the need by many to return to those roots.

Hatta quotes the famous line, 'there is no like place like home' to express this desire.<sup>217</sup>

Eileen Nomdo, who was also interviewed, saw herself as settled in her home of 34 years in Manneberg in the Cape Flats as she recounted that she often told her neighbours that she would 'never give them up... even for a land claim.'<sup>218</sup> Her reluctance to go back was

shared by the Bernice Valentine who was interviewed with her husband, John Valentine.<sup>219</sup> For her it would be too painful to relive what was lost during the

dispossession of the community, convinced that 'it never would be the same.' John

Valentine's view was that 'even if two families moved back on the land... then I can say we had a good fight which was rightfully ours.... [then] I can close the chapter of Protea Village.'<sup>220</sup>

The Church exhibit was made up of various elements and sought to depict the prominent role the Anglican Church had played in the role of the Protea Village community. The family trees that did not make into the family boxes were brought on to huge adhesive

---

<sup>217</sup> Video of *Garden and Memory* Produced by Plexus TV on behalf the District Six Museum Foundation

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>219</sup> Both have been members of PROVAC.

<sup>220</sup> Video of *Garden and Memory* Produced by Plexus TV on behalf the District Six Museum Foundation

sheets and were stuck onto clear Perspex squares that were linked and hung together. These were hung in such a way that the natural light coming in from the banks of windows from the wall behind the exhibit would illuminate them. This hanging was designed by Donald Parenzee and it also included a huge panel with dates and names of who had been baptised from the community at the St Saviour's Anglican Church in Claremont and when. We had commissioned a photographer, Anthony Scott, to photograph the baptismal books. Due to their age and fragility the archdiocese of Cape Town as represented by Rev Garth Counsell<sup>221</sup> was reluctant for us to scan the books fearing that so much handling would further damage the registers. Another element of the hanging panel was the portraits, which were taken by Paul Grendon of the interviewees. We selected excerpts from these interviews which we printed below the portraits and they were hung next to the huge baptismal register panel. The panel was designed to invoke the feeling of one being in a church, and one could argue that the panel represented continuity with the exhibition strategies of the District Six Museum. The Museum has sought to include the role of religious organisation and institution in their lives of the communities that were displaced across the Peninsula.

We also produced a 'book' which gave a history of the role of Anglican Archbishops in the community which was designed by Peter Stuckey, a graphic designer. This was put on a table in front of the hanging panel to simulate an altar. The text for the 'book' was put together by Carohn Cornell, Maureen Archer and I which was interspersed with photographs depicting the involvement of the church in the lives of the community. The

---

<sup>221</sup> The parish priest who was based at St Saviours when the community began their journey of instituting a community land claim. He is now one of the Suffragan Bishops of Cape Town, Bishop of Table Bay.

‘book’ focussed on the role of the church played in converting the community to Christianity and the role of the mission schools established by the church in the education of the community. It is clear that the strategies that the church adopted in its ‘civilising mission’ in Protea Village can be seen to have had a huge impact in how the church went about its work in the rest of the country. A further analysis of the parallels or difference of how this played out in the rest of the country is unfortunately outside the scope of this study, but the exhibit sought to shed some light on this issue.

Gable, Handler and Lawson argue that all historical narratives in their selection and interpretation, are influenced by ideology.<sup>222</sup> It’s clear that the different stakeholders who had a vested interest in the representations in the exhibition were influenced not only by ideologies but clear political aims. The District Six Museum sought to further expand its work of telling other stories of removal across the Cape Peninsula and to a large extent, achieved its aim as the exhibition was able to open finally open on the 19<sup>th</sup> of October 2002.<sup>223</sup> The Museum's commitment to telling the stories of forced removals throughout South Africa, and inviting these forcibly removed communities to make their own contributions was clearly apparent in the final exhibition.<sup>224</sup> As the community had been part of the exhibition-making processes and greatly influenced the representation in the exhibits through the workshop processes of engagement. The Museum was successful in its objective of excavating ‘histories from below’ and in doing so played a huge role in drawing attention to the Protea Village land restitution claim. This success has

---

<sup>222</sup> E. Gable, R. Handler and A. Lawson, “On the Uses of Relativism: fact, conjecture and black and white histories at Colonial Williamsburg”, *American Ethnologist*, 19 (4), (Nov 1992) p 791.

<sup>223</sup> ‘Protea Village: A History of Paradise 1829-2002’, Postcard Exhibition Opening Invite (October 2002).

<sup>224</sup> <http://www.districtsix.co.za/protea%20village.htm>



culminated in the ‘areas of land [being] pinpointed for restitution... erven 242 and 212 and a portion of farm 875: Cecil Rhodes in Bishopscourt...’<sup>225</sup>

It is clear then that indeed, especially within the context of exhibition-making, ‘no version of the past is neutral or objective.’<sup>226</sup> As evidenced within the exhibition-making processes of the Protea Village exhibition, many factors impact on the final representations contained in an exhibition. Karp further argues that ‘the alleged innate neutrality of exhibitions ... is the very quality that enables them to become instruments of power as well as instruments of education and experience.’<sup>227</sup> Moreover the ability of exhibits mediated by curators to shift in meaning over time, speaks volumes about the conditions in which the remembering of the past unfolds in the present. Karp argues that ‘the actors involved in the process bring to the making and experiencing of exhibition different abilities, assumption, desires and interests.’<sup>228</sup> The methodologies of the District Six Museum have sought to ensure that the processes of exhibition-making are more ‘democratic’ and to dislodge ‘museum professionals’ as the sole arbiters of representations in exhibitions. Karp argues that exhibitions are contested terrain over ‘not only what is represented, but over who will control the means of representing.’ This is in stark contrast to the methodologies of the Museum, which have sought to remedy through its processes of engagement with communities.

---

<sup>225</sup> K. Kotze, “Cementing sad history in stone: Plans proposes to turn Protea Village into a Museum”, *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 12 June 2003.

<sup>226</sup> E. Gable and R. Handler, “The Authority of Documents at Some American History Museums”, *Journal of American History*, Vol 81, no1, June 1994, p 119.

<sup>227</sup> I. Karp, “Culture and Representation” in I. Karp and S.D. Lavine (eds), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000), pp 14 -15.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid*, p 14-15.

Parenzee has argued that in mounting the exhibition the idea was ‘to bring to public knowledge the history of forced removal, that forced removals are a history of the city, [and] not just [about] the Group Areas Act (1957).’<sup>229</sup> The idea was to locate the story of Protea Village not only in the history of Cape Town but of the country as whole. It is clear that through the exhibition one can see the ‘complex and dynamic intersections between the political, economic and social processes that played a role in the representation of Protea Village’s past in the present. The key driver for these representations was the land restitution process, and despite the fact that there were other stakeholders that had a vested interest in those representation. The ex-residents narrative of trying to recover ‘paradise’ seems to have superseded them all.

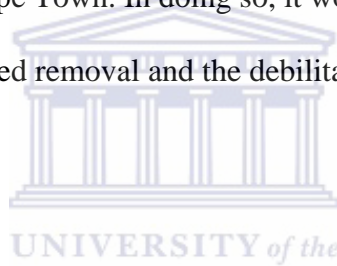
The District Six Museum needed to go beyond the narrative of District Six and to extend its methodologies to other experiences in order to further legitimise its memory work. The Protea Village community needed to turn its land claim activism into a powerful visual statement of history and the land in order to stake its powerful claim. The desire of Protea Village land politics of representation met the exhibition-making expertise of the District Six Museum’s methodology to create a powerful exhibition about Protea Village. In the process of this negotiation, a more coherent narrative and a visual sense was given to the idea of a Protea Village community with strong roots and powerful historical claims.

---

<sup>229</sup> T. Stuart, “Remapping lives and family histories at Protea, *Cape Towner*, 5 December 2002.

## Conclusion

The attempt by the curators of the exhibition of the *Digging Deeper* exhibition to put the people of District Six at the forefront of the exhibition, to show as much of the diverse cultures and people who lived in District Six and their complex histories informed the thinking behind the conception of the ‘Two Rivers Project’. The museum wanted to continue to excavate these histories from below and the Protea Village exhibition was the continuation of this process. The decision by the museum to mount and host an exhibition on Protea Village, was motivated by the desire of the museum to tell other stories of forced removal in Cape Town. In doing so, it would ensure the preservation of the history and memory of forced removal and the debilitating effects of social repression.<sup>230</sup>

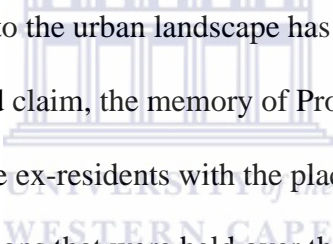


It's clear that the approaches and methodologies of the Museum's exhibitionary processes have been influenced by the democratic traditions of the liberation movement through the apartheid activists that have been involved in its work. The Museum has sought to be inclusive and to engage with the communities that it works with in creating its exhibitions. The effect would be to unseat the 'museum professional' as the purveyors of historical knowledge. As I have argued in this study no matter how hard curators try to be inclusive, there will always be gaps and silences. It is clear to me that the question should not be which 'truths' are represented and which ones are submerged but rather how much space is given for the identification of gaps and for the challenging of the narratives that are presented within an exhibitionary framework. This is indeed the

---

<sup>230</sup> A. Powell, "District Six Museum in expansion mode", *Cape Towner*, Thursday 11 2003.

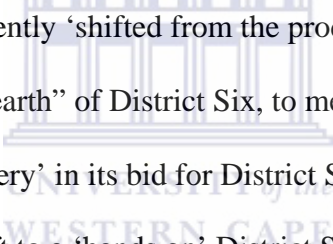
uniqueness of spaces like the District Six Museum as it has the ability to generate debates around the very nature of concepts like heritage and history through its 'processes of engagement'. As I have argued I think this is what that should be encouraged in all heritage projects. The ongoing engagement with ex-residents of District Six by the Museum through its various programmes embodies the founding principle of the museum of trying to democratise the historical record by inserting the stories of ordinary citizens. The Museum continues to provide a space where individual and communities can reconstitute themselves in order to heal the tragic memories of dispossession and displacement.



The desire to reinsert Protea onto the urban landscape has a longer history and preceded the land claim. Prior to the land claim, the memory of Protea Village was sustained by the continued connections of the ex-residents with the place largely through the Church of the Good Shepherd and reunions that were held over the years. The legislative framework of the land restitution process can be seen to have provided the necessary frame for the Protea Story to flourish in. The resurrection of community memory had a purpose and had to cohere in order to legitimize the land claim.

In the case of the Protea Village exhibition it is clear that the methodologies developed by the District Six Museum laid the broad framework for what was deemed not only archivable but worthy of exhibition. The District Six Museum in its work sought to problematise how cultural knowledge was produced with the view of democratizing the historical record through engaging and negotiation. It was also intent on ensuring that

ordinary people in the city of Cape Town could stake a historical claim to spaces on the urban landscape that they previously were unable to. It is clear that exhibition represented a further moment in the active creating and imagining of the Protea Village in the present. Contrary to the commonly held assumption that curators have a more powerful voice in determining what included in exhibition, the making of the Protea Village exhibition clearly demonstrates that when working with communities this becomes contested and negotiated between exhibition teams and the community. We must be alert to these meaning changes and process of contestation, as history and memory become institutionalised and private remembrance is moved into public history.



The Museum has also more recently ‘shifted from the production of memory and the commemoration of the “salted earth” of District Six, to memory work closely associated with land restitutions and recovery’ in its bid for District Six to be recognised as a National Heritage Site. The shift to a ‘hands on’ District Six approach has raised questions around the methodological integrity of the museum’s practice in relation to the site i.e. how does the redevelopment [of District Six] affect and redefine the memory work of the Museum in relation to a changing site. This approach points to a potential future of Protea Village heritage work as well. It is interesting in conclusion to think about the implications of the Protea Village landscape itself being marked by its history of dispossession. To do this successfully however, would require a longer history of activism and a commitment to a dissident heritage practice. In the case of Protea Village, this may prove impossible.

## **Bibliography**

### **1. Manuscript Sources: Library and Archival and Museum Collections**

Aerial Map of Protea/Kirstenbosch/Bishops court (1944), Land Affairs: Surveys and Mapping, City of Cape Town.

Aerial Map of Protea/Kirstenbosch/Bishops court (1968), Land Affairs: Surveys and Mapping, City of Cape Town.

Aerial Map of Protea/Kirstenbosch/Bishops court (1996), Land Affairs: Surveys and Mapping, City of Cape Town

*Claremont: A People's History*, (United Women's Organisation: Athlone 1990). *Two Rivers Project Working File* – District Six Museum Foundation Collections.

Mr. Langham-Carter, "A History of Protea Village" in S. Gross (compiled by) *Protea Village Community Claim Bishops court KRK6/2/3/A/1/0/9574/73 (P 745) April 2001 Annexure 11* (Protea Village Collection -District Six Museum Foundation Collections).

Donald B Molteno, Molteno Papers, "Survey of Development and Projected Development In Respect of the Business Area in the Main Road", *Two Rivers Project Working File* – District Six Foundation Museum Collections. (BC 579/BC330, UCT Manuscripts and Archives, 2 May 1969)

S. Gross (compiled by) *Protea Village Community Claim Bishops court KRK6/2/3/A/1/0/9574/73 (P 745) April 2001* (Protea Village Collection -District Six Museum Foundation Collections).

Surveyor General Diagram of Protea Area (1865), Surveyor- General's Office, City of Cape Town.

P. Wernich, "Protea Village: Excracts from Cape Provincial Administration and Divsional Council Records (for Regional Land Claims Commissioner: Nov 1996) in S. Gross (compiled by) *Protea Village Community Claim Bishops court KRK6/2/3/A/1/0/9574/73 (P 745) April 2001 Annexure 10* (Protea Village Collection - District Six Museum Foundation Collections).

District Six Museum Foundation, *District Six: A National Heritage Site, Draft of Conservation Management Plan* prepared for SAHRA Council, July 2006

District Six Museum Foundation, “The Gardens Video Brief to Plexus TV”, February 2002

District Six Museum Foundation, Minutes of the Research Meeting on the Protea Village Exhibition Held on 15 April 2002.

District Six Museum Foundation, “Project Plan: *The Two Rivers Project* – A Project to research, collate and innovatively document the history of areas of forced removal along the Black and Liesbeeck Rivers.

## **2. Official Government Statements, Documents**

Commission on Restitution of Land Rights, “Ex-Protea Villagers to receive 12,35 ha as compensation – Kirstenbosch” Press Release (Ref no F110), 11 September 2006.

Commission on Restitution of Land Rights, “10 Years of Putting Land Rights in the Rights Hands”, *Annual Report* for the year ended 31 March 2005.

*Report of the Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG)*, presented to the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, June 1995.

[www.dac.gov.za/legislation\\_policies/white\\_paper\\_on\\_arts\\_culture\\_heritage.html](http://www.dac.gov.za/legislation_policies/white_paper_on_arts_culture_heritage.html)

## **3. Newspapers, Periodicals and Magazines**

J. Battersby, “Spirit of District Six refuses to die’, *The Sunday Independent*, 21 December 2003.

A. Ismail, “District 6 sculpture festival”, *Sunday Times*, 14 September 1997.

I. Fredericks, “Evicted families to get a slice of Kirstenbosch”, *Sunday Times*, 13 June 2004

B Hielbuth, “Protea Village is not Dead”, *Cape Argus*, 16 October 1979.

K. Kotze, “Cementing sad history in stone: Plans proposes to turn Protea Village into a Museum”, *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 12 June 2003.

K. Kotze, “Our field of tears and of hope: Protea Village Claimants share their Stories”, *Southern Suburbs Tatler*, 24 June 2004.

R. Philander, “Oudiwoners oor geld nie gou terug na Kirstenbosch”, *Die Burger*, 10 June 2004

A. Powell, “District Six Museum in expansion mode”, *Cape Towner*, Thursday 11 2003.

M. Robinson, 'The Church's People', *The Argus*, 23 December 1983.

*St Saviours Parish Magazine*, 1930.

T. Stuart, "Remapping lives and family histories at Protea, *Cape Towner*, 5 December 2002.

#### **4. Audio-Visual Sources, Websites and Internet Sources**

Video of Protea Village Exhibition Presentation to Ex-Protea Community, 13 July 2002.

Video of Protea Village Land Claims Financial Compensation/ 8<sup>th</sup> Reunion, 05 May 2002.

Video of Protea Village Workshops, Memorial Hall – District Six Museum.08,15,22,29 June 2002.

Video of Protea Reunion, 24 March 1996.

Video of *Garden and Memory* Produced by Plexus TV on behalf the District Six Museum Foundation.

Video of Protea Village Identification of Land, June/July 1995.

John Valentine, Video of the first Public Meeting of the ex-residents of Protea Village (March 1995).

[www.districtsix.co.za](http://www.districtsix.co.za)

<http://www.nbi.ac.za/kirstenbosch/history.htm#born>

<http://ccn-northamerica.org/writings/proteavillage.html>

<http://www.districtsix.co.za/protea%20village.htm>

[http://fernwood.org.za/new\\_page\\_4.htm](http://fernwood.org.za/new_page_4.htm)

<http://www.news.uct.ac.za/mondaypaper/archives/?id=5936>

[http://www.property24.com/Property24/Hub/ShowSectionArticles\\_Full.aspx?articleid=3978#](http://www.property24.com/Property24/Hub/ShowSectionArticles_Full.aspx?articleid=3978#)



## 5. Interviews

Interview with David Wilson, 8 March 2002 (Interviewer: Carohn Cornell).

Interview with Ann Ntebe (born Ann Tomlinson), 6 May 2002 (Interviewer: Carohn Cornell).

Interview with Geoff van Gusling, 11 November 2001 (Interviewer: Carohn Cornell).

Interview with Abdullah Hossain, 22 March 2002 (Interviewer: Carohn Cornell).

Interview with Lydia Veldsman (nee Pelston), 8 May 2002 (Interviewer: Carohn Cornell).

Interview with John Valentine and Tour of Protea, 23 May 2002 (Interviewer: Carohn Cornell).

Interview with Dr David Bass 23 June 2002 (Interviewer: Carohn Cornell).

Interview with Thulani Nxumalo, 04 August 2006 (Interviewer: Utando Baduza).

Interview with Donald Parenzee, 23 August 2006 (Interviewer: Utando Baduza).

Interview with Sandra Prosalendis, 06 August 2006 (Interviewer: Utando Baduza).

Interview with Geoff van Gusling, 26 August 2006 (Interviewer: Utando Baduza).

Interview with Eileen Nomdo, 26 August 2006 (Interviewer: Utando Baduza).

## 6. Published Books

A. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

A. E. Coombes, *History After Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003).

G. Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History* (St Leonard's: Allen and Unwin, 2000).

- S. Dubin, *Transforming Museums: Mounting Queen Victoria in a Democratic South Africa* (New York – Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).
- E. Edwards (ed), *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).
- E. Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* (Oxford: Berg Press, 2002).
- R. Elphick, *Kraal and Castle* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985).
- K. J. Goodnow with J. Lohman and J. Bredekamp, *Challenge and Transformation: Museums in Cape Town and Sydney* (Paris: UNESCO, 2006).
- R. Handler and E. Gable, *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).
- I. Hofmeyr, *We Spend Our Years as a Tale that is told: Oral Historical Narrative in a South African Chiefdom* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1993).
- C. Kratz, *The Ones that Are Wanted: Communication and the Politics of Representation in a Photographic Exhibition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
- B. Kirshenblatt-Gimlett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
- D. Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- D.P. McCracken and E. M. McCracken, *The Way to Kirstenbosch* (Cape Town: National Botanic Gardens, 1988).
- A. Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and other stories: form and meaning in oral history* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1991).
- R. Rosenstone, *Visions of the Past: The Challenge of Film to Our Idea of History*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995).
- T. Smith and C. Rassool, “History in Photographs at the District Six Museum” in C. Rassool and S. Prosalendis (eds) *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001).
- A. Solomon-Godeau, *Photography at the dock. Essays on photographic history, institutions and practices* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991).

J. E. Turnbridge and G. J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage* (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 1996).

J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage, 1990).

J. Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Chicago and London: James Curry Publishers, 1985).

L. Wells, *Photography: a critical introduction* (London: Routledge, 1997).

L. White, *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

## 7. Published Articles and Exhibition Texts

S. Abrahams, 'A Place of Sanctuary' in C. Rassool and S. Prosalendis (eds) *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001).

A. Appadurai, "Introduction: commodities and the politics of value" in A. Appadurai (ed) *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

T. Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex", in D. Boswell and J. Evans (eds), *Representing the Nation: Histories, Heritage and Museums*, (London: Routledge, 1999).

E. Bedford and T. Murinik, "Re-membering that Place: Public Projects in District Six" in C. Soudien and R. Meyer (eds), *The District Six Public Sculpture Project* (Cape Town: District Six Museum Foundation, 1998).

V. Bickford-Smith, "Mapping Cape Town: From Slavery to Apartheid" in S. Field (ed.) *Lost Communities, Living Memories, Remembering Forced Removals in Cape Town*. (Cape Town: David Philip, 2001).

J. Blatti, "Public History and Oral History", *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 77, No. 2, (1990).

K. Brand, "Introduction" in C. Soudien and R. Meyer (eds), *The District Six Public Sculpture Project* (Cape Town: District Six Museum Foundation, 1998).

A. Brink, "Stories of History: Re-imagining the past in post-apartheid narrative" in S. Nuttal and C. Coetzee (eds), *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1998).

S. Brison. "Trauma Narratives and the Remaking of the Self" in M. Bal, J. Crewe and L. Spitzer (eds), *Acts of Memory: Cultural recall in the present* (Dartmouth: University Press of New England, 1999).

E. Bruner, "Tourism in Ghana: The representation of Slavery and the Return of the Black Diaspora, *American Anthropologist* 98(2), 1996.

C. Carson, "Lost in the Fun House: A Commentary on Anthropologists First Contact with History Museums", *Journal of American History*, vol 81 no 1, June 1994.

A. Cummings, 'Caribbean Museums and National Identity', *History Workshop Journal* Vol 58 no 1 (2004).

*Digging Deeper* Exhibitionary Panel in C Rassool and S Prosalendis (eds) *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (District Six Museum, Cape Town: 2001).

P. Delport. "Museum or place for working with Memory?" in C. Rassool and S. Prosalendis (eds) *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001).

P. Delport, "Digging deeper in District Six: features and interfaces in a curatorial landscape" in C Rassool and S Prosalendis (eds) *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001)

*Protea Village: A History of Paradise 1829-2002*, Postcard Exhibition Opening Invite. (Oct 2002)

P. Delport, "Preface" in *Words in the House of Sound: The Writer's Floor of the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum Foundation, 2001).

S. Greenblatt, 'Resonance and Wonder' in I. Karp and S.D. Lavine (eds), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000).

E. Fagan, "The Constitutional entrenchment of memory" in S Nuttall and C Coetzee (eds), *Negotiation the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1998).

E. Gable, R. Handler and A. Lawson, "On the Uses of Relativism: fact, conjecture and black and white histories at Colonial Williamsburg", *American Ethnologist*, 19 (4), Nov 1992

E. Gable and R. Handler, "The Authority of Documents at Some American History Museums", *Journal of American History*, Vol 81, no1, June 1994.

M. Godby, Images of //Kabbo' in P. Skotnes (ed), *Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen* (Cape Town: UCT Press, 1996).

C. Hamilton, V. Harris and G. Reid, "Introduction" in C. Hamilton, V. Harris, J. Taylor, M. Pickover, G. Reid and R. Saleh (eds) *Refiguring the Archive* (Dordrecht and Cape Town: Kluwer Academic Publishers and David Phillip, 2002).

M. Hall, "The Archaeology of Colonial Settlement in Southern Africa", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol 22 (1993)

P. Hayes, J. Silvester, W. Hartmann, "Picturing the Past" in Namibia: The Visual Archive and its Energies in C Hamilton, V Harris, J Taylor, M. Pickover, G Reid and R. Saleh.(eds) *Refiguring the Archive* (Dordrecht and Cape Town: Kluwer Academic Publishers and David Phillip, 2002).

S. Hilton-Barber, 'In good photographic faith.' In *Staffrider* Vol 9 No 4 (1991).

D. James, "Hills of Thorns: Custom, Knowledge and the Reclaiming of Lost Land in the New South Africa" *Development and Change*, Vol 31 (2000).

W. James, "Group Areas and the Nature of Apartheid" *SA Sociological Review* Vol.5 no.1 (1994).

S. Jeppie and C. Soudien, "Introduction", in S. Jeppie and C. Soudien. *The Struggle for District Six: Past and Present: A Project of the Hands Off District Six Committee* (Cape Town: Buchu Books, 1990).

I. Karp, "Culture and Representation" in I Karp and S.D. Lavine (eds), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000).

S. Klopper, "Global Tourism, marginalised communities and the development of Cape Town's City Bowl area in D. Chidester, P. Dexter and W. James (eds) *What Holds Us Together: Social Cohesion in South Africa* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2003).

P. Kok, D. Gelderblom and J.van Zyl, 'Introduction' in P. Kok, D. Gelderblom, J. Oucho and J van Zyl (eds) *Migration in South and Southern Africa: Dynamics and determinants* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2006).

S. D. Lavine and I. Karp, "Introduction: Museums and Multiculturalism" in I. Karp and S.D. Lavine (eds), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000).

- V. Layne “Whom it may, or may not concern but to whom this appeal is directed anyway” in C. Soudien and R Meyer (eds), *The District Six Public Sculpture Project* (Cape Town: District Six Museum Foundation, 1998).
- L. le Grange, “The collective spirit of a museum” in C. Rassool and S. Prosalendis (eds) *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001).
- D. MacCannell, ‘Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings’, *American Journal of Sociology* LXXIX(3).
- A. Mbembe, “The Power of the Archive and its Limits” in C. Hamilton, V. Harris, J. Taylor, M. Pickover, G. Reid and R. Saleh (eds). *Refiguring the Archive* (Dordrecht and Cape Town: Kluwer Academic Publishers and David Phillip, 2002).
- R. Meyer, “Introduction” in C Soudien and R Meyer (eds), *The District Six Public Sculpture Project* (Cape Town: District Six Museum Foundation, 1998).
- G. Minkley and C. Rassool. “Photography with a difference?” Leon Levson’s camera studies and photographic exhibitions of native life in South Africa, 1947-1950’ in *Kronos Vol 31* (2005).
- G. Minkley and C. Rassool, “Orality, memory and social history in Social History” in S. Nuttal and C. Coetzee (eds), *Negotiating the past: The Making of Memory in South Africa* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- B. Nasson, “Oral History and the Reconstruction of District Six in S. Jeppie and C. Soudien (eds). *The Struggle for District Six: Past and Present: A Project of the Hands Off District Six Committee* (Cape Town: Buchu Books, 1990).
- S. Prosalendis, J. Marot, C. Soudien and A. Nagia, “Punctuations: periodic impressions of a museum” in C. Rassool and S. Prosalendis (eds) *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001).
- C. Rassool, “Community Museums, Memory Politics and Social Transformation in South Africa: Histories, Possibilities and Limits in I. Karp, C. Kratz, L. Szwaja and T. Ybarra-Frausto with G. Buntinx, B. Kirshenblatt-Gimlett and C. Rassool (eds), *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).
- C. Rassool, ‘The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstitution of History in South Africa’, *Kronos*, Vol 26, August 2000.

C. Rassool, "Introduction: recalling community in Cape Town" in C. Rassool and S. Prosalendis (eds) *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001).

C. Rassool and L. Witz, "South Africa: A World in One Country: Moments in International Tourist Encounters with Wildlife, the Primitive and the Modern", *Cahiers d'Etudes africaines*, 143 XXXVI (1996).

S. Robins, "City Sites" in C-A. Micheal and S. Nuttall (eds), *Sense of Culture* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 2000).

C.N. Seremetakis, "The Memory of the Sense Part 1: Marks of the Transitory" in C.N. Seremetakis (ed) *The Senses Still: Perception and Memory as Material Culture in Modernity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

C. Soudien, "The first few years of the District Six Museum Foundation" in C. Rassool and S. Prosalendis (eds) *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum* (Cape Town: District Six Museum, 2001).

F. Swanson, "Mense van die Vlak": Community and Forced Removal in Lower Claremont in S. Field (ed.) *Lost Communities, Living Memories, Remembering Forced Removals in Cape Town* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2001).

W. Taliep, "Belletiejiesbos, Drape Street and the Vlak: The Coloured Neighbourhoods of Claremont before Group Area" *African Studies Vol 60 no 1* (2001).

C. Walker, "Delivery and disarray: the multiple meanings of land restitution" in S. Buhlungu, J. Daniel, R. Southall and J. Lutchman (eds) *State of the Nation: South Africa 2005-2006* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2006).

P. Weinberg, 'Documentary Photography: Past, Present and Future', *Staffrider Vol 9 No 4*, (1991).

L. Witz 'Transforming Museums on Post Apartheid Tourist Routes in I. Karp, C. Kratz, L. Szwaja and T. Ybarra-Frausto with G. Buntinx, B. Kirshenblatt-Gimlett and C. Rassool (eds) *Museum Frictions/Global Transformation* (Durham, Duke University Press: 2006).

N. Worden, "Contested heritage at the Cape Town Waterfront" *International Journal of Heritage Studies Vol 2 no 1 and 2* (1996).

## **8. Dissertations, Theses, Seminar And Conference Papers, Lectures, Unpublished Manuscripts And Notes**

G. Abungu, "Heritage, Community and the State in the 90s: Experiences from Africa", paper presented at 'The Future of the Past Conference', UWC, 10-12 July 1996.

F. Badsha, 'Aspects of SA documentary photography in the 1980s.' unpublished paper submitted to the Visual History course project, 1999.

R. Bantom, "A Study in[sic] the History of Protea Village and the Impact of the Group Areas Act" (UWC, 1995 long research paper)

L. Dondolo, 'Depicting history at the Sivuyile Township Tourism Centre', paper presented at the "Mapping alternatives: Debating new heritage practices in South Africa", University of Cape Town 26-27 September 2001.

P. Hayes, "The iconography of proximity", paper presented to the 'Transaction of Public Culture Workshop', Cape Town Jan 2003 (Draft).

N. Shepherd, "Roots and Wings: Heritage Studies in the Humanities", 2006[unpublished]

J. Thorne, "The Choreography of Display: Experiential Exhibitions in the Context of Museum Practice and Theory" (unpublished MPhil dissertation, 2003)

## 9. Articles on the Internet

E. Bruner and B. Kirshenblatt-Gimlett, "Maasai on the lawn: Tourist realism in East Africa", *Cultural Anthropology* 9 (2) 1994 <http://www.nyu.edu/classes/bkg/tourist/brun-mas.dos>,

J. Urry, 'Globalising the Tourist Gaze' (2001).  
<http://www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/soc079ju.html>

L. Witz, G. Minkley and C. Rassool, 'Tourist Memories of Africa'  
[http://www.fl.ulaval.ca/celat/historie/cape1/rassool\\_witz.htm](http://www.fl.ulaval.ca/celat/historie/cape1/rassool_witz.htm)