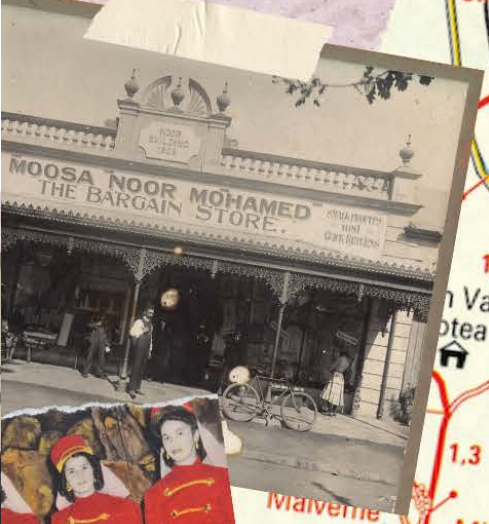
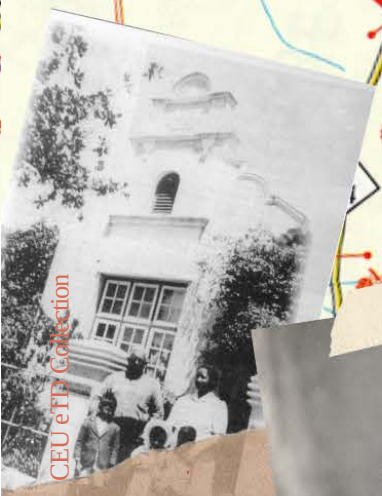
Colouring in the Map

a community photo mapping project





Colouring in the Map: Community Photo-Mapping as a Public History Method of Centering Coloured History in the Stellenbosch District

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Abstract

This capstone project and thesis explores a community-centred approach to colonial photo archives by developing a community photo mapping method in Stellenbosch, South Africa. This method involved archival research, qualitative interviews, and the photo-elicitation technique, focusing on the coloured community – a group with a violent history of racial oppression and ongoing marginalisation. Historically, their heritage has been neglected in official historiographical sources, contributing to continued marginalisation. The *Colouring In the Map* project creates a digital photo map that centres this marginalised history using archival images, which community members contextualised, and photos from private family collections. The map thus counters the colonial gaze inherent in official archives by providing a platform for self-representation and alternative historical narratives.

During two months of fieldwork in 2024, approximately 160 historical photographs of coloured people in Stellenbosch were collected, spanning from circa 1890 to 1980. These images were georeferenced and categorised into themes such as work, leisure, education, religion, family, and violence. A sharp contrast between archival images, which predominantly depict coloured individuals in subservient roles, and private family photographs, which highlight personal pride and self-representation, was revealed. The digital photo map's visualisation of the coloured community's history and its spatial relationship with Stellenbosch's urban landscape offers a new perspective on the town's hegemonic historical narrative, which focuses on colonial history, thus challenging the Eurocentric perspective perpetuated by official archives. The findings underscore the importance of inclusive historical representation in addressing contemporary issues of racism and marginalization in settler societies. This thesis demonstrates that community photo mapping can effectively centre marginalised histories, offering a model for similar initiatives worldwide. It highlights the potential for digital humanities to transform public history, making it more inclusive and representative of diverse cultural identities, as well as the possibilities for studying the role of inclusive historical representation in addressing contemporary issues of racism and marginalisation.

Key words: digital public history; community photo mapping; marginalised identities; South Africa.

Acknowledgements

While undertaking this project, I wrestled repeatedly with the question of whether it was my place, as a white South African of Afrikaans and European descent, to write about a coloured community. In my life, I've been able to access education and international opportunities at least partly thanks to the sheer luck of being born into an affluent family that has never been barred from voting or accessing opportunities due to the colour of their skin. My ancestors were not enslaved, and under Apartheid, my forebears both carried out and benefited from the racial oppression, discrimination, and violence against people of colour in South Africa. These same ancestors, and by extension, all Afrikaners today, are complicit in the epistemic violence that the *Colouring In the Map* project aims to counteract. Writing about decolonisation and decentering whiteness is one thing, but actually changing the way one looks at one's society and world is another; it is a project which, at least for me, is ongoing.

I want to thank the following people for the insights they contributed to both this project as well as to me on a more personal level, when trying to make sense of the society that I grew up in and love yet still sometimes feel like a stranger in: Dr. Nadia Kamies, for helping me solidify some early thoughts about this project and for inspiring me with her unashamedly personal yet concise writings and reflections; Mr Stanley Amos, for taking the time to speak with me and for fighting tirelessly to have the heritage of Stellenbosch's coloured community recognised; Mrs Yasmine Raziet, for welcoming me into her family's home and acting as my entry point into the community, as well as for always being genuinely kind and encouraging. Your support meant more than you realised. Mr Faizel Biscombe, for accepting and encouraging my interest in the community's history, for tolerating me hanging out in his shop, and for generally being a stellar man and pillar of the community; Mr Caushiem Ahmed, for sharing his family images and anecdotes with me; Aunty Doraya Abrahams, for speaking with me for hours and accepting me into your home; Mr Moosa Patel and Ebrahim Sawant, for answering my questions and for inspiring me to develop this project beyond just a Masters' thesis; and of course, the lovely Lamees Peterson at the Stellenbosch Village Museum, for providing me with the enthusiasm and sense of camaraderie I needed to overcome my anxieties, as well as for making me excited to work together more in the future!

More generally, I would also like to thank my wonderful supervisor, Dr Joana Paulino Vieira, for always treating me like an equal and for providing me with a sounding board when I needed one, as well as the space to do my own thing without ever feeling micromanaged. Your calm presence and constructive feedback always reassured me and gave me a renewed sense of direction, a welcome gift when working alone on the same project for many months! My profound thanks to the Erasmus+ funding program, without which I would never have been able to partake in the Master's degree, for the travel and learning opportunities which have shaped me into the academic and individual I am today. Thank you to my colleagues and best friends, Dasja, Evva, and Mariame. Without your constant feedback and support, this project and thesis would have turned out very differently, and I feel so honoured to be friends with three women who inspire me in so many ways. Thank you to my parents back in South Africa; without whom's support, I would not be writing this today. You inspire me to do the work I do. And lastly, thank you to my partner, Jannis, for being someone I could think aloud to and for occasionally reminding me (when I needed to be reminded) that life is bigger than any thesis.

At the time of writing this in a café in Lisbon, the 2024 South African election results are being counted, and new political battle lines are being drawn in the most divisive national elections since 1994. Clearly, 30 years after the advent of democracy in South Africa, work remains to be done. As a South African in the 21st century I am unashamed of my Afrikaner heritage, as I believe it is an inextricable part of South Africa's cultural identity. However, with this belief comes a sense of responsibility which cannot be taken lightly. A responsibility to become aware of how my privilege has been entailed by the oppression of thousands today and in the past; a responsibility to focus on how much still remains to be gained through the creation of a more inclusive and egalitarian South African society.

Author's Note: A Clarification on Capitalisation and Racial Labels

As a white woman of Afrikaner descent researching people of colour, especially in the context of South Africa's extensive history of racial violence and oppression, it was inconceivable for me to carry out this research without examining my own prejudices and biases. Academics in feminist, race, and gender studies increasingly acknowledge that a deeper examination of the relationship between the researcher and the subject is crucial to combating the epistemic violence that occurs when researchers do not consider their positionality in their findings, thus perpetuating an invisible voice of white supremacy (Dozono, 2020; Hardy, 2021). By reading relevant theory to become more aware of how my biases reflected in my writing, I could better decentre Eurocentricity in my research and understand how the current dominant historical narrative silences alternative coloured histories in the region. This was crucial when attempting to see the urban spaces of Stellenbosch, where I'd grown up, with 'newer' eyes and better listen to coloured community members I worked with during the research. However, using racial labels remained a difficult aspect of the research for me to justify.

In the introduction to his book on the topic of German colonialism, Jürgen Zimmerer asks, "How can one write about sources that are full of racist language without perpetuating that racism, but also without ignoring the violence inherent in them?" (2021, p. xiii). Racial categories developed under Apartheid and colonialism in South Africa were used to socially engineer a fundamentally unequal society. These same racial labels remain the most commonly used racial and cultural identifiers in contemporary South Africa. Thus, despite their blatant scientific inaccuracies and historically violent associations, it is impossible to move beyond them in a thesis of this length and depth. During Apartheid, racial categories were capitalised, but I have made the express decision not to capitalise them as they are not biological or ethnic identities and, as such, are not proper nouns but rather the lingering effects of apartheid-era pseudo-science classifications. This is how the labels are most commonly used in a South African context.

I know that the race markers of black and coloured have different associations in other parts of the world, but my use of them is strictly confined to the South African context. I have chosen to capitalise the word 'apartheid' when it is used as a proper noun (as in 'Apartheid South Africa') but otherwise use lower-case letters when referring to more general ideologies of racial separation. Most of the coloured community members I spoke with in Stellenbosch preferred the

label of ‘coloured’ over, for example, brown or camissa. This label is thus used in this thesis to refer to individuals self-identifying as part of this racial and cultural group, although I acknowledge that this may not represent all those belonging to this group in South Africa.

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List of Abbreviations

ANC: African National Congress

CME: Camissa Movement for Equality

DRC: Dutch Reformed Church

GIS: Geographic Information System

NCC: National Coloured Congress

NP: National Party

SMG: Stellenbosch Medewerkende Genootschap (Stellenbosch Cooperative Society)

SZG: Stellenbosch Zendelings Genootschap (Stellenbosch Missionary Society)

Final Project Outcomes

StoryMap: https://arcg.is/abGaS0

Google Map:

https://www.google.com/maps/d/u/0/edit?mid=1kXs-r8ApoB4_uyEAdEwwK_ZDDtB4Jlc&usp=sharing

Submission Form: https://form.jotform.com/241543392554357

"Acknowledgement involves an acceptance not only of the existence of a phenomenon, but of its emotional and social significance. It presupposes a sense of responsibility for the occurrence, an understanding of the meaning that it has for the persons involved and for society as a whole."

– Justice Albie Sachs, 2009, p. 79

"Who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past."

– George Orwell, 1949, p. 162

Introduction

In recent decades, the fields of public history and the digital humanities have pushed back against the locating of historiography in solely official, often academic settings. Instead, public history practitioners have embraced more community-focused approaches, which usually aim to make more knowable previously silenced or marginalised historical perspectives (Brennan, 2016; Demantowsky, 2018). This allows for increased recognition of minority group rights and histories, since according to modern nation-building methods, minority historical narratives are often passed over in favour of larger macrohistories which centre narratives of social cohesion and minimise socially dissonant historiographies (Anderson, 1991). This process of historical community construction[1] thus results in specific communities and groups being 'silenced' and their histories displaced in the region's overarching historical canon.

In South Africa, a nation with a dearth of cultural and ethnic minorities, commendable progress has been made in diversifying the national historical canon since the first democratic elections after Apartheid in 1994, making it more representative of the country's diverse ethnic groupings (Kallaway, 1995; Kamies, 2018; Verbuyst, 2021; Worden, 1982; etc.). However, twenty-first century South African historiographies have also been criticised for focusing solely on histories of black triumph and cohesion after the struggle against Apartheid, to the disadvantage of minority groups that continue to battle systematic racism and discrimination (Adhikari, 2005; Sall, 2018; Worden, 2009). As an African nation that continues to struggle to define its historical identity among a variety of cultures and alongside a history of recent racial

[1] For more information on the concept of nations as socially-engineered communities and the importance of history therein, see Anderson, B. R. O. (1991). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso.

violence and discrimination, South Africa is thus a meaningful location to study the dynamics of memory, identity politics, and space in contemporary settler society.

In the South African context, the town of Stellenbosch in the country's Western Cape province can be viewed as a microcosm of how these tensions interact. As the country's second-oldest colonial town, it was founded in 1679 by Dutch settlers on the land of Khoi and San indigenous semi-nomadic peoples (Giliomee, 2007). These European settlers and their descendants subsequently enforced patterns of racial oppression and segregation on both indigenous and enslaved people, which they imported from Dutch colonies in the Indian Ocean over time. This racist colonial policy culminated in the all-encompassing policies of Apartheid under the National Party (NP) government of the twentieth century. Today, Stellenbosch remains one of the most economically unequal geographic areas in the world (Du Toit et al., 2022), making it an interesting case study of how national historical representation is not always the same as local-level representation and how the intersections of power and history reflect in (un)official historiographies of the area.

Historical narratives of the District have traditionally focused on white settlers, their descendants, and their cultural and economic contributions.[2] Nonetheless, more detailed historiographical accounts of previously marginalised histories related to the area have been developed in recent decades. These have examined, for example, Indigenous people in the area (Verbuyst, 2021), slavery (Worden, 2009), and the forced removals of circa 3500 coloured people from the town under Apartheid (Biscombe, 2009; Giliomee, 2007). However, these more inclusive historiographies still need to be made visible in official public history spaces such as

[2] See, for example, Smuts, F. (Ed.). (1979). *Stellenbosch: Drie Eeue by Francois Smuts (Editor)*. Stellenbosch Town Council. https://www.abebooks.com/first-edition/Stellenbosch-Drie-Eeue-Francois-Smuts-Editor/30247947228/bd. This volume was commissioned by the town council on the 300th anniversary of the founding of the town. An example of the racial bias of the tome is that although 16 pages are devoted to the histories of the town's white schools, barely one is given to descriptions of schools that served the area's inhabitants of colour.

the archives and local history museum, with most of it remaining confined to academic work and factually dense books. In addition, racial and cost barriers present in archives may prevent people of colour from accessing archival spaces and their information (Farmer, 2018). There is an almost total absence of this heritage in the digital public sphere. The result is the effective continued silencing of the history of coloured people in the Stellenbosch District, a form of epistemological violence which results in the continued marginalisation of this cultural identity and history in the town's public sphere and urban landscape. This is problematic as coloured people, on whom this research paper will focus, make up 52% of the town's population (Statistics South Africa, 2023).

Today, the term 'coloured' is an identity marker used to refer to people of mixed racial and cultural descent in South Africa. Within the South African cultural and political landscape, coloured people have long been somewhat 'invisible' (Taylor et al., 2011) since national political power struggles have traditionally focused on white-black relations. Nationally, coloured people consist of only 8.2% of the population (Statistics South Africa, 2023), but as this percentage is concentrated in the Western Cape,[3] the issue of 'invisibility' becomes more pressing on a regional level. Coloureds, who were first positioned 'in-between' white and black South Africans under colonialism, then under Apartheid, have alternatively experienced racial privilege and discrimination (Adhikari, 2005; Kamies, 2023; Taylor et al., 2011). A lack of adequate (historical) representation remains an issue, as demonstrated by coloured nationalist movements in contemporary national politics.

[3] In 2016, Statistics South Africa reported that 47.5% of the Western Cape's residents identified as coloured, making it the national province where the highest proportion of the country's coloured population lives. The remaining provincial population is made of 35.7% black Africans and 16.0% whites.
https://cs2016.statssa.gov.za/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/WesternCape.pdf

After two months of field research in Stellenbosch in early 2024, it became evident that the town's coloured community members are aware of their officially invisible history. However, there was a pressing lack of *representation* of this history in both official and unofficial or citizen-led sources. This continued epistemological violence[4] is what this project addresses, taking as its guide the following research question: how can community photo mapping as a method of public history be used to centre marginalised history? To answer this, the *Colouring In the Map* project takes the form of a community photo map consisting of archival (colonial) and family photographs depicting coloured people in the Stellenbosch District. In a South African environment, where many towns and cities still bear the mark of decades of racial discrimination and marginalisation, combining digital maps with metadata and visual sources can be helpful to increase awareness of certain historical landscapes which today no longer exist.

This thesis reflects on this in relation to the *Colouring In the Map* project by first contextualising the relevant information regarding the links between photos, archives, and power, the state of public history in South Africa, the cultural minority of coloured people, and the case study of Stellenbosch. Next, theoretical frameworks related to the links between power, history, and physical space will be discussed. Section three will clarify the project's methodology as it relates to digital humanities, archival research, image analysis, and community mapping. In analysis section four, the project's findings will be discussed in order to answer the following sub-research questions: firstly, how can vernacular photography be used to counter biases inherent in colonial photo archives? Secondly, how is a Eurocentric perspective on the area's history perpetuated by the town's archives and official centres of history, and how does the coloured community view this normative historiography? And lastly, how can community photo

[4] Coined by the Indian scholar, literary theorist, and feminist critic, Gayatri C. Spivak in her 2009 book 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', 'epistemic violence' refers to the deliberate silencing of marginalised groups. For more information, see Dotson's "Tracking Epistemic Violence, Tracking Practices of Silencing" (2011).

mapping contribute to a new conceptualization of historical urban space in Stellenbosch? These observations will then be contextualised within a larger South African and global context in section five to answer the main research question before summarising the paper's findings, relevance, and opportunities for future research are given in the paper's conclusion.

Answering these questions will illustrate how the project met its primary objective of increasing the visual representation of coloured people in the District, thus creating a digital representation of Stellenbosch's coloured history which renders it visible to the community itself and outsiders. The project is highly significant for two reasons: it meets an urgent need for the increased representation of, as well as access to, coloured history in the District, and its reception holds potential for increasing cultural awareness of coloured history. *Colouring In the Map* can thus contribute to discussions in the public history and memory activism around the role of community-led heritage projects in addressing contemporary racism in settler societies. This is important in the Stellenbosch context and elsewhere,[5] as only by coming to terms with the racial violence and oppression of the past can the inhabitants of all races and cultures in the region face up to the continued segregation and inequality of the present and move forward towards building a more inclusive future, together.

[5] Examples of similar cultural minority groups who also have histories related to colonization and face contemporary socio-political identity-related challenges in their respective nations include: the Métis of Canada, who are descendants of Indigenous peoples and European settlers; Afro-Brazilians in Brazil, the descendants of enslaved Africans brought to Brazil during the transatlantic slave trade; Creoles in the Caribbean (Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago), who are of mixed African, European, and sometimes Indigenous descent; and coloureds in Namibia, who have a similar mixed historical background to coloureds in South Africa.

1. Literature Review

1.1 Photos, Archives, and Power

The decision of what a society considers as heritage and deems worth preserving is inherently political. Within this system, archives play an undeniable role in creating and perpetuating historical narratives and the political systems justified by them. In *Archive Fever*, the Algerian-French philosopher Derrida argued that the archive is not merely a passive repository of records but an active site of power, authority and interpretation (1995), which reflects the dominant worldview of a society at any given time. According to Derrida, the human desire to archive is intertwined with the desire to control and stabilise meaning, often leading to the exclusion or marginalisation of certain voices and narratives.[6] "There is no political power", he writes, "without control of the archive, if not of memory" (1995, p. 4). Jimerson similarly described the structures which enshrined the past in the present, such as monuments and archival records, as 'weapons' governments use to secure their authority (2007, p. 259). Political power and archival records are thus inextricably linked.

When different cultural groups compete for dominance in a society, the dominant group consciously or unconsciously maintains an archival record confirming their world view, excluding perspectives of less-powerful groups. Thus, 'archival silences', like the one surrounding the coloured community of Stellenbosch, are created where one or more societal groups are underrepresented in official historical repositories in relation to other groups. In light of this, various scholars have questioned the authority of traditional archives in recent decades by drawing attention to the biases inherent in archival structures and how they work to obscure

[6] Derrida claimed that the 'fever' which drives modern society to create archives is fueled by a fear of forgetting and a desire for immortality, reflecting deeper psychological and cultural anxieties about loss, mortality, and identity (1995).

multiple voices (Farmer, 2018; Jimerson, 2007; Msimango, 2020).[7] Academics and archivists have proposed alternatives in the form of counter-archives or 'parallel archives' (Breckenridge, 2014), the digital humanities (Isaacman et al., 2005; Marschall, 2013; Tanaka et al., 2013), and increased reflexivity and social responsibility on the part of archivists (Jimerson, 2007).[8] Modern archivists thus have a responsibility towards all groups of the society which they serve in ensuring fair representation. However, in this equation, the power of representation often remains outside of the control of those depicted.

Self-representation is another central aspect of the literature concerning the inherent subjectivity of official archives. The transdisciplinary South African scholar and curator Msimango, writing about the democratic and self-affirming process of reconstructing the colonial archive through using colonial-era photographs of indigenous people, writes that reconstructing the archive allows for new conceptions of the cultural Self "outside of the confines a repressive historical gaze" (2020, n.p.). According to Msimango, photographic archives are not innocuous records but should be viewed as cultural artefacts operating and existing within personal, social, and political networks (2020). When it is understood that archival photographs operate within socio-political frameworks, it becomes possible to understand how colonisers have, across different times, spaces, and political spectres, have

[7] Several initiatives worldwide have aimed to remedy archival holes, thus showing how a critical approach is crucial when studying archival sources related to (previously) underprivileged groups in society. Examples of such initiatives are Mapping Black London https://mappingblacklondon.org/; Mapping Blackness https://devpost.com/software/mapping-blackness-ezdhy8; The Black Archives, Amsterdam https://www.theblackarchives.nl/home.html; Mapping Black Imaginaries and Geographies (MAPPING BIG) http://mirrorofrace.org/container.php.

[8] Jimerson writes, "Archivists should use their power - in determining what records will be preserved for future generations and in interpreting this documentation for researchers – for the benefit of all members of society. By adopting a social conscience for the profession, they can commit themselves to active engagement in the public arena. Archivists can use the power of archives to promote accountability, open government, diversity, and social justice" (2007, p. 252).

> Chosen to engage, make visible, control or erase the colonised subjects' claims for recognition, reminding us that in many instances the political space of progress is nearly always framed as a modern space and that 'modern space is, as it were, space wiped clean' (Connerton 2009, p.121)(in Sealy, 2016, p.99).

This understanding of contemporary space as always appearing unbiased or 'wiped clean', when in reality it is a direct product of the past, is crucial when analysing archival images from South Africa, which not only endured colonial rule for several centuries but also the racial violence of Apartheid and white minority rule until 1994.

Another proposed alternative to official (photographic) archival sources that centres the concept of self-representation is that of private family photographs as repositories of memory. On top of being highly affective sources and thus useful for emotionally centring previously marginalised histories (Kuhn, 2007; Larsson, 2018), researchers have shown how in racially segregated societies, family photographs can be read as sites of resistance to imposed colonial norms and racialised hierarchies (Cadiz & Trinidad, 2020; Kamies, 2018). Nadia Kamies' foundational work on experiences of shame and respectability growing up coloured under Apartheid, through the prism of analysing family photographs, was a significant influence on this research project. Her research (2018; 2023) shows how, through the performance and creation of family photographs, coloured individuals could reject and overcome the stereotypes and limitations enforced on them by racist Apartheid legislation.[9] Kamies' work on family photographs has been invaluable to this project for its explorations of the affective qualities of

[9] By historically contextualizing coloured cultural norms around clothing, religion, and education, Kamies draws a direct line from slavery and Apartheid to today in how racial trauma forms and influences culture (2018; 2023). Family photographs are positioned by her as records of silent yet active resistance against societal structures which aimed to contain any ambitions of social, material, or professional equality with the dominant societal group at that time, whites.

such private images and how they can effectively read as a historical alternative to the dominant narratives of subjugation and racism in Apartheid-era South Africa.

The literature discussed above shows how official archives can be viewed as constitutive of societal power structures, while recognising archival interventions as a step towards healing historical trauma. Key aspects of such interventions include deconstructing the colonial, white gaze and reading agency in the construction of cultural-historical identity. In a South African context, family photographs belonging to black and coloured individuals can be read as sites of self-representation and resistance against the repressive colonial and Apartheid regimes and offer a veritable alternative to official archival photographs of people of colour. Sub-section 1.2 will elaborate on this in the context of public history in South Africa.

1.2 Public History in South Africa

Public history refers to the practice of history by and for the public, often involving collaboration with a community outside traditional academic settings. It approaches history as an interdisciplinary, democratic project in a transparent and public manner, aiming to serve specific communities or groups and make history accessible and engaging to a broad audience (Brennan, 2016; Demantowsky, 2018). Although any intervention which presents history to a general audience can be described as public history, explicit public history projects often assume a bottom-up approach (Meringolo et al., 2022), aiming to foster community engagement or empowerment, emphasise the relevance of the past to contemporary issues and participate in identity-related discourse (Bühl-Gramer, 2018; Demantowsky, 2018).

National historiographies of South Africa, from the first publications in the nineteenth century until the mid-twentieth century, were primarily focused on European colonial history and the creation of the state (Corsane, 2004; Rassool, 2000). History related to people of colour was

thus ignored by the academic establishment for a long time. Since the transition to universal suffrage in 1994, public history projects have multiplied as the new government attempted to craft a new national historiography and increase public awareness of this more representative past (Rassool, 2000; Strydom, 2017), which was silenced under Apartheid (Rassool, 2000). Nonetheless, history in South Africa remains highly contested (Du Toit, 2011; Gibson, 2004; Rassool, 2000; Strydom, 2017), and today, legacies of disadvantage and oppression continue to affect the descendants of groups that were racially discriminated against under colonial and Apartheid policy despite racism being illegal according to the country's constitution.[10]

National historiographies with multiracial and postcolonial perspectives have struggled to break into the mainstream, and many South Africans' sense of historical awareness is still based on myths and falsehoods perpetuated by the Apartheid government (Du Toit, 2011; Gibson, 2004; Kamies, 2023). Large-scale efforts to address this lack of public awareness of the histories of people of colour have been carried out by, for example, changing history curricula in school textbooks (Kallaway, 1995), removing racist exhibits from museums and transforming them to be more inclusive of the nation's diverse ethnic groupings (Corsane, 2004; Worden, 2009), and by developing policies and legislation to safeguard previously disregarded historical heritage, such as sites related to slavery and indigenous peoples (Corsane, 2004). National historiographies, however, continue to favour a particular ethnic group in South Africa. Under Apartheid, the history of the white minority was highlighted, and since 1994, the black African majority's history has been centred (Rassool, 2000). This is justified, but it nonetheless means that the history of coloured people remains underrepresented in national historiographies (Kamies, 2018; Taylor et al., 2011). When understood that most of this minority resides in the Western Cape province, whose population consisted of 48.8% coloured citizens in 2011

[10] Bill of Rights, Chapter 2: Section 9 (3-4). *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 1996.

(Statistics South Africa), it becomes more concerning. Coloured peoples' heritage within national historiographies is perhaps proportional, but on the lower provincial and regional level, it often remains underrepresented and under-researched.

1.3 The Coloured Minority

The term 'coloured' came into use in the second half of the nineteenth century as a catch-all grouping and self-identificatory term for those of mixed, South-Asian, or unknown ancestry (Verbuyst, 2021). Coloured people mostly live(d) in and around the Cape Colony, which today is the Western Cape (Kamies, 2018). Descendants of enslaved people self-identified as coloured from the late nineteenth century as a way of culturally and religiously distancing themselves from the indigenous African majority, which could be found further north in the country (Worden, 2009). With the passing of the Population Registration Act in 1950,[11] the 'Coloured' racial label became official, as under the Act, all South Africans were officially classified as either 'White', 'Black', or 'Coloured' (Worden, 2009). Within this system, racial oppression was layered, with those deemed Coloured occupying a lower position in the social and economic hierarchy than those deemed White, but still enjoying many more privileges than those deemed Black (Kamies, 2018; Taylor et al., 2011). The category of Coloured was initially used as a hold-all category for those not fitting into the Black or White categories (Kamies, 2018). However, it was later sub-divided into seven groups: Cape Coloured, Cape Malay, Griqua, Chinese, Indian, Other Asian, and Other Coloured. This wide variety of cultures and ethnic groups shows just how ineffectual such a label was; it nonetheless determined an individual's station in life and what they could aspire to.

[11] The Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950 mandated that every South African had to be classified and registered according to their racial characteristics. This system of classification would form the base of much of the later Apartheid legislation, which accorded social and political rights, educational and professional opportunities and privileges to individuals along a sliding scale depending on their 'race'.

In contemporary South Africa, it remains challenging to define the borders and origins of coloured culture and ethnicity.[12] Especially around election time, tensions come to the fore surrounding this culturally diverse national minority and coloured nationalist movements continue to gain traction (Kamies, 2023). The Camissa Movement for Equality (CME)[13] is a non-profit, non-political organisation which aims to represent the needs of the coloured, Khoi San, and mixed-race people of South Africa, and the National Coloured Congress (NCC)[14], a political party, aims to protect coloured rights in South Africa's political landscape. Within these movements, refrains like 'first we were not white enough, now we are not black enough' (Adhikari, 2005) and a desire to provide a 'voice for the voiceless' (NCC, 2024) indicate a continued desire for self-representation and increased visibility of coloured rights. Although these movements remain somewhat relegated to the fringes of coloured society, they indicate a political awareness and desire for more official recognition of coloured identity and heritage.

1.4 The Stellenbosch District

Coloured people have prehistoric ancestors in the area of Stellenbosch in the Western Cape, which has been inhabited since the Early Stone Age, 900,000 to 700,000 years ago (Malan, 2018). An estimated quarter of a million Indigenous Khoi and San people inhabited the area today known as the Western Cape in 1652 when the Cape Colony was established by the Dutch East India Company (VOC)(Giliomee, 2007). They were primarily nomadic

[12] See, for example, Robins' 2000 paper on the difficulty of representing indigenous peoples' rights and an outline of the debate on whether or not they can be grouped under the 'coloured' label: https://www.jstor.org/stable/41056410

[13] In 2017 the Camissa Movement for Equality partnered with the Advocates for Human Rights to submit a report to the national Committe on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights detailing the perceived discrimination against coloured people in contemporary South Africa. It is unclear if the report induced any legislative changes. https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&source=web&rct=j&opi=89978449&url=https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/TreatyBodyExternal/DownloadDraft.aspx%3Fkey%3D/PFq4jSdIOse05xV8qLnyukx9n6khnFjIUiNIYQQEgQ2wCLge3Hy9fzP7GFdsivl805c8h4tSxX9kF77Sbihow%3D%3D&ved=2ahUKEwiJ2tON7YqGAxVXSKQEHb-eA0EQFnoECC8QAQ&usg=AOvVaw3rNK6PT2fN14goD-K4PXV_

[14] NCC, retrieved 2024 http://nationalcolouredcongress.org.za/

hunter-gatherers (Verbuyst, 2021), and modern coloured people in South Africa can trace a significant part of their genome to these indigenous peoples (Murci et al., 2010). From 1653 onwards, the Dutch forcibly brought thousands of enslaved people from different parts of Asia and Western Africa to the Cape to work on European-owned farms alongside indigenous people, who suffered severely under colonial expansion (Giliomee, 2007; Worden, 2009). With this expansion, the Dutch introduced their methods of land registration and planning, (falsely) viewing the land inhabited by indigenous people as empty (Strauss, 2019).

Simon van der Stel officially established Stellenbosch between 1679 and 1682 as the first colonial expansion of the Dutch Cape Colony (Fransch, 2009)(see Figure 1). From the beginning, the population living in the town and its surroundings was highly mixed, consisting of European (Dutch, French, German) burghers, enslaved people,[15] individual free-blacks,[16] and indigenous Khoi and San people (Du Toit, 2011; Fransch, 2009; Giliomee, 2007). A minority of these free-blacks were able to amass significant wealth, even owning farms (see Figure 2) and enslaved people and employing white servants (Malan, 2018). The indigenous Khoisan were never officially enslaved, but due to several factors, including colonial encroachment on their hunting and grazing lands, illness, and extermination by European hunting parties, they were gradually forced to submit to colonial rule despite widespread resistance (Verbuyst, 2021). Many became labourers on farms, domestic workers, or wagon drivers (Verbuyst, 2021).

[15] Enslaved people in Stellenbosch came from Africa (Angola, Dahomey, Mozambique, Madagascar, eastern African islands) and Asia (Batavia, Ceylon, Macassar, Bali, west coast of India) (Fransch, 2009; Giliomee, 2007).
[16] If enslaved individuals were manumitted or freed, they became known as ‘free-blacks’ in the VOC records, regardless of their cultural grouping or origin (Giliomee, 2007).

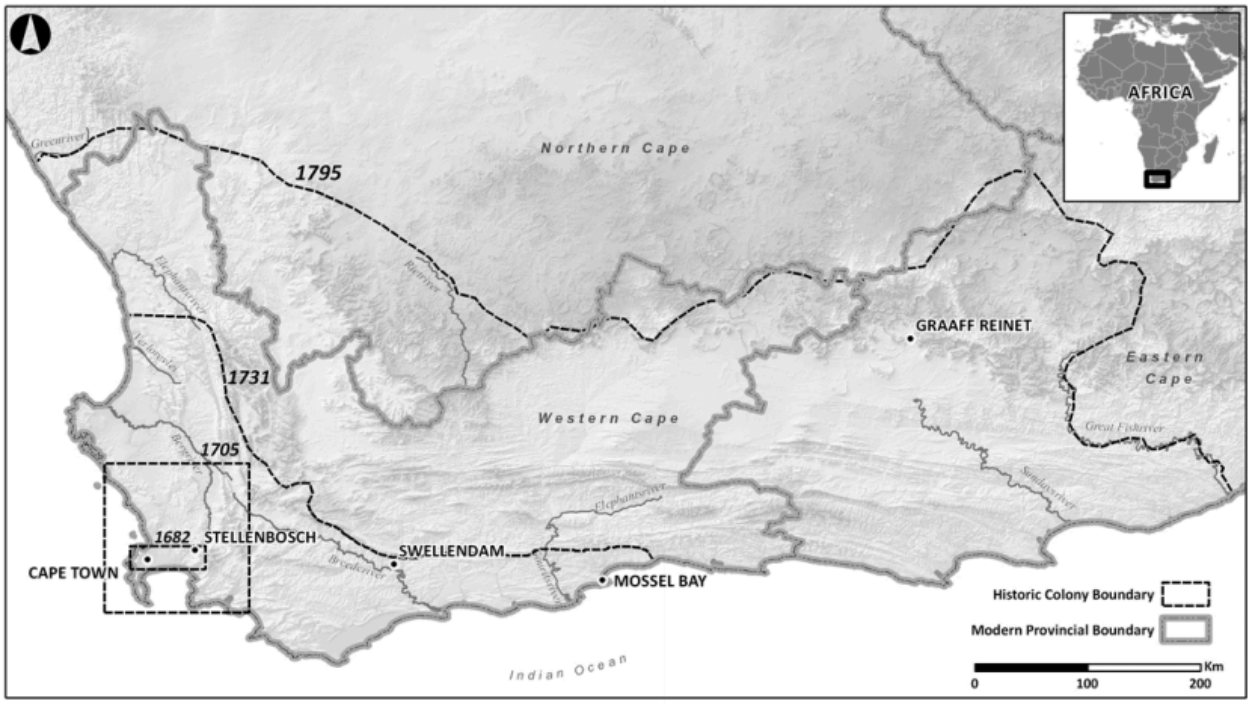

Figure 1: Expansion of the Cape Colony over time. See the first expansion from Cape Town to Stellenbosch, which was made official in 1682. Source: Guelke (1989a) with frontier projections added by Fourie (2013a).

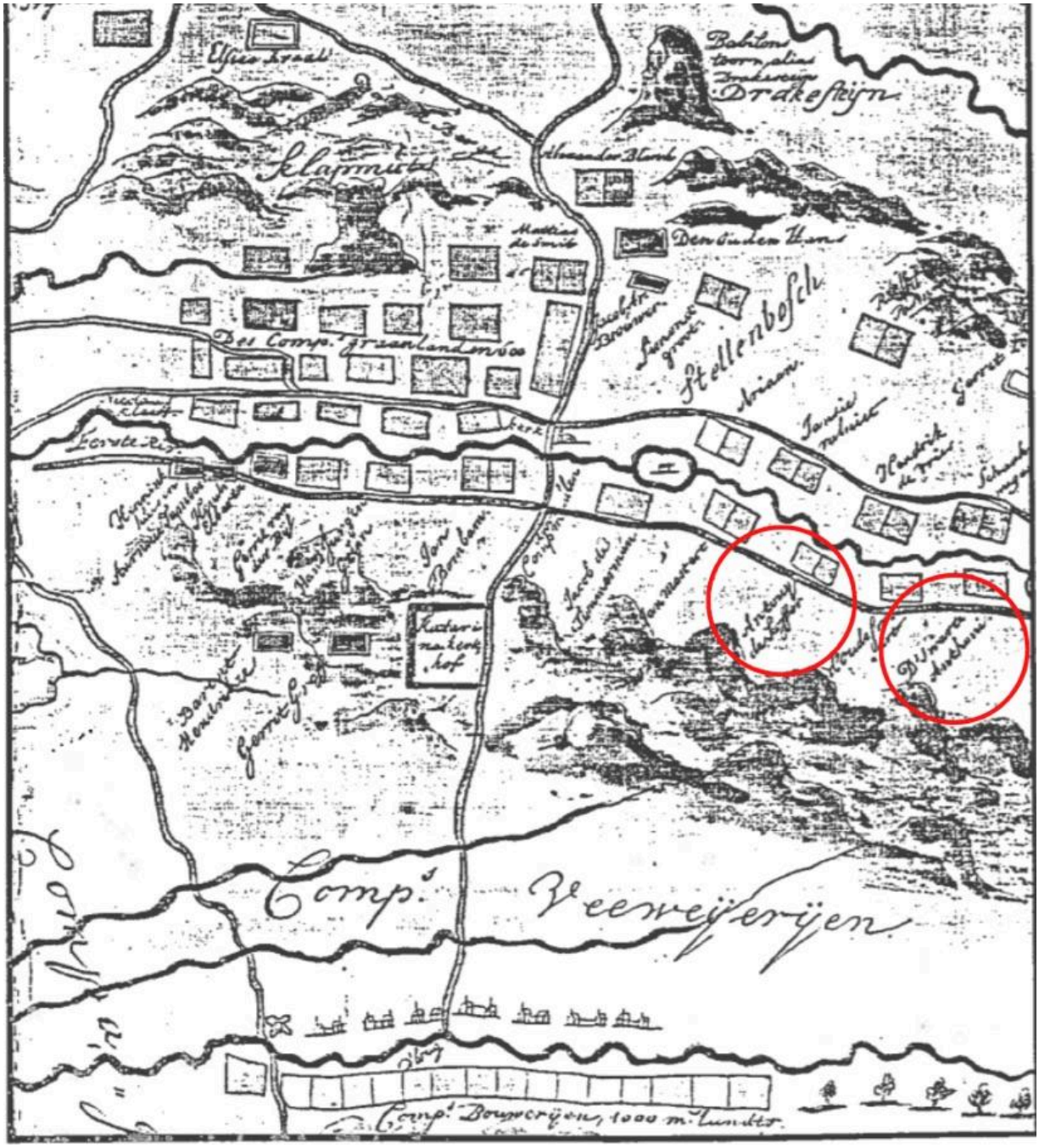

Figure 2: A map of the Stellenbosch District circa 1688-1690, with farms in the Jonkershoek Valley labelled as belonging to "Anthony de *affir"[censored by author](Anthony the black man)[17] and "D'swarte Anthony" (black Anthony) circled in red. Source: Cape Town Archives repository, M/273, REF 149.

[17] This racist slur has etymological roots in the Arabic word *kāfir* (كافر), usually translated as "disbeliever" or "non-believer" (Online Etymology Dictionary, 2017), but has been used as a term of abuse since at least 1934 in South Africa to refer to black South Africans. Today, it is considered an extremely offensive term of hate speech.

Life in early Stellenbosch society for the Khoi, San, and enslaved people was extremely cruel and characterised by violence, hard work, and strict discipline (Worden, 1982). Farming was the dominant industry of the town, and due to the massive size of the early land grants, European farmers depended on enslaved and Indigenous labour (Malan, 2018). The isolated nature of these farms, where most enslaved and Indigenous people lived and worked, meant that unified resistance action was difficult (Worden, 1982). In the early days of the town's settlement, racial mixing between Indigenous and enslaved people, as well as between white and black or Asian people, was common, and it is to this early genetic mixing that modern coloured people owe much of their mixed ethnicity (Quintana-Murci et al., 2010).[18]

Great Britain seized the colony from the Dutch in 1795, abolished slavery in 1834, and ruled until the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910 (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007). With the manumission of enslaved people in 1838, the population of Stellenbosch's town centre increased as formerly enslaved people moved there, away from the isolated farmsteads (Du Toit, 2011). This small exodus formed the basis of the District's coloured community, and by 1850, they had established a neighbourhood and community which became known as 'Die Vlakte'[19] (Giliomee, 2007). In 1865, coloured people were numerically the town's dominant racial group[20], but colonial policy meant they usually remained economically dependent on their white former masters.

In the early twentieth century, the fallout after the South African War saw British and Afrikaner political parties battle each other for political control (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007).

[18] For example, archival records show that in 1700, two Dutchmen were noted down as living in Stellenbosch with their free-black wives (Malan, 2018). However, the use of European names and patrilineal descent, as well as concerted efforts by Apartheid-era administration to erase all traces of cohabitation and mixing between white settlers and enslaved people or indigenous people (Kamies, 2018), has made it incredibly difficult to trace mixed ancestry through archival methods.

[19] Afrikaans for 'the barren or wide-open space' (translation by author).

[20] In 1865, the town had a total population of 3 978, with 1 223 whites, 2686 "mixed" or coloured people and 69 Africans (Du Toit, 2011, p. 40).

British authorities curried favour with coloured people by promising them the vote and increased rights. In contrast, the Afrikaners would have them disenfranchised and relegated to the status of inferior citizens and cheap labour (Giliomee, 2007). Coloured people tended to side with the British politically, which brought them into conflict with the Afrikaner population of Stellenbosch.[21] It was also during these years that the British authorities laid the groundwork for the spatial segregation policies which would be enforced during the subsequent Apartheid years (Strauss, 2019). Until the early twentieth century, coloured people, although discriminated against, could nonetheless vote in elections. This right was gradually curtailed until it was removed completely under Apartheid (Giliomee, 2007).

In 1934, Britain declared South Africa a sovereign independent state, and in 1948, the country's white minority elected the NP.[22] The policy of Apartheid and white minority rule was swiftly codified into the country's constitution as the white-ruled government "developed extensive legal mechanisms to implement racially based spatial segregation in urban areas… constructing the legacy of spatial injustice into South Africa's contemporary towns and cities by either demarcating or controlling black urban settlement" (Strauss, 2019, p. 154). The parliament also passed laws that accorded privileges to individuals based on their racial grouping, encoding white supremacy within every sphere of life. Identifying as coloured began to be legally

[21] The 1940 'Battle of Andringa Street', where white Afrikaans students attacked coloured persons and homes, is illustrative of the violence between the town's racial groups against this political backdrop (Giliomee, 2007). Malan writes, "The permanence of unequal relations between Afrikaans-speaking groups is exemplified by the story of the 'Battle of Andringa Street'. A group of Stellenbosch students came to blows with Coloured residents in 1940, assaulting people and ransacking their houses. It started when two Stellenbosch students had provoked a fight during the enforced midday pause for prayer in Cape Town, and late on Saturday night a long queue formed at Senitzsky's café in Andringa Street to read the subsequent report in the Cape Argus. A white student slapped an older Coloured man, and children in the queue were beaten up. A large number of students went on the rampage and invaded Die Vlakte and caused extensive damage to property and homes over the weekend. According to Giliomee (2016), the context of the White youth anger was the post-1938 centenary celebrations of the Great Trek, radical political attitudes towards Nazi Germany vs the Allies in WWII, and 'uppity' Coloured leaders. It was not condemned as a serious case of racial violence by the authorities, but seen as 'student fun' that got out of hand" (2018, p.44-45).

[22] This was only made possible due to racist legislature which had removed voting rights for people of colour in the preceding years (Giliomee, 2007).

stigmatised following the Population Registration Act of 1950 (Worden, 2009). The Group Areas Act[23] of the same year exacerbated this discrimination further by legally enforcing racially homogenous residential areas[24] (Kamies, 2018; Strauss, 2019). 'Die Vlakte' in Stellenbosch was proclaimed a White Group Area in 1964, and the government forcibly removed 3,700 coloured people in the years that followed (Giliomee, 2007).

By proclaiming all urban centres as whites-only areas, the government "clearly designated urban spaces for the exclusive ownership and occupation of a particular group" (Strauss, 2019, p. 156). The effects of this legislation can still be seen in central Stellenbosch today, as it remains inhabited by almost exclusively white people. The coloured inhabitants of the town were mainly relocated to Idas Valley and Cloetesville, on the urban periphery (see Figure 3). There, they had to begin rebuilding their formerly thriving community from scratch. Their original homes, businesses, and schools in Central Stellenbosch were almost all bulldozed and promptly faded into obscurity in the town's (white) collective memory (Giliomee, 2007). Despite widespread resistance, Apartheid's discriminatory legislation would last until 1994, when the African National Congress (ANC) won the country's first democratic elections (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007). In post-Apartheid Stellenbosch and its surrounds, however, residential areas are still notably segregated: although Group Areas Act was abolished in 1991, the economic and residential patterns it enforced have proven difficult to overcome (Bowers Du Toit et al., 2021; Malan, 2018). The continued residential segregation visible in Figures 4 to 6 below, soaring wealth inequality (Yang, 2015), the reputation of Stellenbosch as the 'cradle of apartheid' (Giliomee, 2007), and several racial discrimination scandals related to the university

[23] An Apartheid law passed in 1950 which allowed the government to designate certain areas for habitation by certain races only (Newton & Schuermans, 2013). Under this law, urban centres and the most arable land was almost always reserved for those designated 'white'. The law was designed to prevent racial mixing, and under it, hundreds of thousands of people were forcibly displaced (Kamies, 2018).

[24] Under this act, city centres and the most fertile arable land were always reserved for white people, with less desirable land allocated to coloured people, and the least desirable land areas allocated to black Africans.

(Govender, 2024; Mail & Guardian Editorial, 2022; Metelerkamp, 2022; Tshangela, 2022) means Stellenbosch continues to be viewed by many as a bastion of white Afrikanerdom.

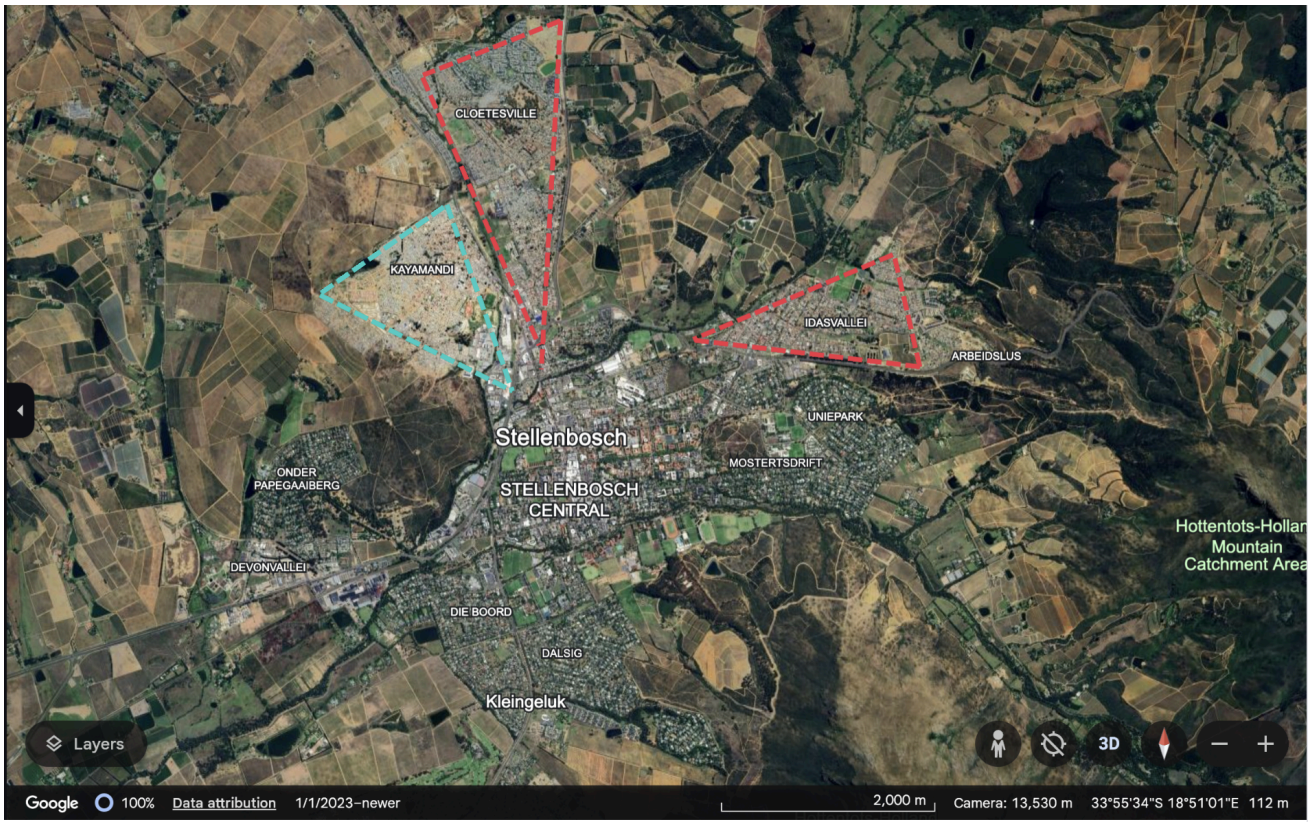

Figure 3: A Google Earth satellite image of the Stellenbosch District. Residential areas in the Stellenbosch District are still highly segregated, with the greenest areas of the town such as Central Stellenbosch, Die Boord, Dalsig, and Onder Papegaaiberg inhabited by mostly white people, more densely populated areas like Idasvallei and Cloetesville (circled in red above) being inhabited by mostly coloured people, and the arid and underdeveloped Kayamandi township (circled in blue above) being inhabited mostly by black people. These residential patterns are a direct of Apartheid urban planning, which designated separate areas for the different 'races' to live. Image source: Google Earth, 2024.

Figure 4: A satellite image of Die Boord, a residential area inhabited predominantly by white people adjacent to Central Stellenbosch. Image source: Google Earth, 2024.

Figure 5: A satellite image of Cloetesville, a residential area inhabited predominantly by coloured people. Image source: Google Earth, 2024.

Figure 6: A satellite image of Kayamandi Township, a residential area inhabited predominantly by black residents. Image source: Google Earth, 2024.

The town is a popular tourist destination today for its wine-making culture and wealth of colonial architecture and history,[25] which highlight the contributions of Europeans and white citizens at the expense of the town's coloured inhabitants and the history of slavery in the region.[26] The most important repository of local public history is the Stellenbosch Village Museum and its associated Archive, which likewise focuses on the legacies of European settlers as they relate to the town's development. Academic research conducted on the area's history of racial violence has, unfortunately, not reached the public sphere as it tends to "gather dust and not find its way into everyday discourse" (Worden, 2009, p. 33-34). There are several reasons for this: low funding, the government not wanting to distract from the nation-building effort by

[25] See the following blog posts as examples: https://www.wesgro.co.za/travel/blog/a-stellenbosch-historical-amble ; https://www.stellenboschheritage.co.za/stellenbosch-resources/stellenbosch-heritage/stellenbosch

[26] Worden, discussing the obfuscation of this history, states that "as was the case with US Southern plantation houses before the 1980s, many of these [wine farms] erased their histories of slavery in favour of a romanticized view of a bucolic past in which the vines seemed to grow and be harvested of their own accord" (2009, p. 31).

emphasising minority historical narratives, a general distrust of the 'official voice' of the government, even when trying to stimulate projects related to marginalised history (Worden, 2009), and a language barrier: much of the local historical research on coloured communities is only available in Afrikaans[27], making it largely inaccessible to non-Afrikaans speakers. This means that even if tourists in Stellenbosch are interested in learning about this history, a language barrier often prevents them from doing so. Thus, most historical information about the town of Stellenbosch as it relates to coloured people remains firmly out of sight and out of mind. Likewise, official acknowledgement of the violence enacted by the government upon the town's coloured residents in the more recent Apartheid years of especially the 1960s and 1970s remains limited to a map above the entrance to Stellenbosch University's Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (see Figure 7 below), which was built on land taken from coloured residents.

Figure 7: The entrance to Stellenbosch University's Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, above which a 1964 aerial photo of the area previously known as 'Die Vlakte' is visible. The university was built on land from which coloured town residents had been forcibly removed in the late 1960s. Source: image by author.

[27] Afrikaans is the home language of 63.8% of Stellenbosch's 155,733 inhabitants, according to the 2011 census (Statistics South Africa).

In short, histories of centuries of discrimination and marginalisation against the town's coloured people continue to be silenced, and their contributions to the development of the area officially unrecognised. The geographic history of coloured people in Stellenbosch is one of consistent social and economic marginalisation and racialized violence, which epistemologically continues today through the lack of acknowledgement of this history. Next, various theoretical frameworks for understanding the processes that construct dominant historical narratives will be discussed to better understand why and how this project went about building a community-focused public history project.

2. The Theory of Power, History, and Space

Recent decades have seen repeated calls from scholars and activists such as Fanon (2007), Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (1986), Trouillot (1995), etc., for academia to adopt new approaches to knowledge which decentre Western epistemologies and whiteness. By including a wider range of voices, new historical knowledge can be uncovered and a richer and more nuanced understanding of the past and its effects on the present can be acquired. One way of doing this is to prioritise the inclusion of diverse voices and perspectives that have often been marginalised or silenced in traditional historical narratives (Chapman & Ni Cassaithe, 2022). Advances in the field of critical history, which illustrate how power and conceptions of history are inextricably intertwined to show how certain 'voices' become marginalised to begin with, have been foundational to this research project.

For example, in *Silencing the Past* (1995), the Haitian anthropologist Trouillot showed not only how unequal power relations within societies reinforce and privilege specific versions of history over others but also how this 'historical privilege' manifests itself through policies created by the dominant, often white, group. As the North American archivist and professor Jimerson writes, "Historical understanding, particularly when embedded in social institutions and individuals, makes both history and archives dangerous to those seeking to maintain their political power" (2007, p. 260). This quote illustrates why modern settler societies such as the United States or Australia, for example, may be wary of critical historical approaches that challenge Eurocentric narratives of the vulnerable white Western subject by revealing that colonial histories are not merely remnants of the past but enduring structures and processes that persist in the present (Finden, 2023, p. 2), as it usually serves as a poor reflection on the ruling class. Colonial presents are notoriously hard to trace because they do not exist independently but

shape governance by creating racial distinctions and operating within the elusive realms of affect (Stoler, 2016, p. 4). These slippery structures continue to enact a colonial power imbalance in the present upon the colonial Other through not only symbolic but also economic and social violence.

One example where this is most visible is in the hegemony of a historical narrative favouring one population group. This phenomenon, where one perception of history is dominant to the disadvantage of another, has tangible effects on the well-being of the disadvantaged group and has been well-studied worldwide in countries struggling with histories of racial segregation, such as Israel and South Africa (Bindas, 2010; Gur-Ze'ev, 2003; Passey & Burns, 2023). Trouillot's work on historical silencing is crucial to understanding how one version of history can be privileged over another in a geographic area like Stellenbosch, where despite the town's population consisting of a majority of coloured people,[28] the town's official heritage landscape focuses almost entirely on the 'white' narrative of local history. This is visible in, for example, in the official support bestowed upon Cape Dutch architecture through foundations such as the Stellenbosch Heritage Foundation. Meanwhile, little attention or funding is given to the history of racial violence in the forms of forced displacement and community destruction by the government within the town just fifty years ago.[29]

The concept of polyphonic history is helpful to understand how several conceptions of history coexist within societies. Polyphonic history acknowledges that allowing different voices

[28] According to the 2011 national census of South Africa, Stellenbosch had a population of 155,733. This population consisted of 52.2% coloureds, 28.1% black Africans, 18.5% whites, 0.8% others, and 0.4% Indian/Asians. Statistics South Africa. (n.d.). *Local Municipality of Stellenbosch*. Stats SA. Retrieved April 28, 2024, from https://www.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=993.

[29] The only official initiatives with municipality support I am aware of are the University of Stellenbosch's Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences' past initiative to increase awareness among students about the area known as 'Die Vlakte', as well as the 2004 oral history project *In Ons Bloed* (Biscombe, H.), which gathered testimonies about coloured community life in Stellenbosch before the forced removals of the 1960s. However, at the time of writing in May 2024, the Stellenbosch Village Museum was in the process of creating an exhibition on the town's forced removals of the 1960s and 1970s.

and perspectives to coexist can enrich one's understanding of historical events (Burke, 2010, p. 479). The concept is useful in the South African context, where collective memories of historical events often differ along ethnic or cultural community lines (Marschall, 2013). Polyphonic history rejects one narrative becoming dominant over others, instead acknowledging the importance of recognizing a wide variety of viewpoints in reconstructing a version of the past which is as nuanced and complicated as the human experience. The concept aids understandings of how archival sources can be beneficial to gaining insights into coloured lives in the Stellenbosch District during the twentieth century, but nonetheless should never be used to negate the epistemic violence done by the continued non-acknowledgement of the town's history of racial violence. Instead, polyphonic history allows us to view archival sources as just one (white) perspective of the history of the area's coloured community, which this project illustrates using a critical spatial, public history approach.

Within the social sciences, a critical spatial awareness perspective involves understanding and analysing how space and place influence social dynamics, power relationships, and cultural practices. This perspective emphasises that spatial arrangements are not neutral but are shaped by and, in turn, shape social structures and processes (Newton & Schuermans, 2013). In the context of *Colouring in the Map*, Eyerman's theory of cultural trauma (2004) is helpful for understanding the links between experiences of racial trauma and specific physical spaces. Eyerman, a specialist in political sociology and social movements who has written extensively about slavery and the creation of an African-American identity, posits that the the way a town or city is laid out can embody the past by recalling certain aspects of the past to its inhabitants or individuals within those spaces.[30] By better understanding the base concepts of critical spatial

[30] His theory of cultural trauma explores how societies collectively remember and make sense of traumatic events, and how traumatic events related to race shape collective memory and are inscribed into physical environments (2004).

awareness theory outlined in Eyerman's work, such as the interconnectedness of memory, space, and identity in shaping responses to historical injustices (2004), it becomes possible to understand how a reconceptualization of urban space can be used to work towards collective healing and social change (Jazeel, 2012; Yang, 2015). The notion of a past 'embodied' in the physical layout of residential spaces (Eyerman, 2004) is highly relevant to South African environments, which have essentially retained residential patterns created under Apartheid urban planning (United Nations, 2024)(see Figures 3-6).

Similarly, a critical spatial awareness perspective posits that physical landscapes effectively create how collective memories about those spaces are retold, understood, and passed on for posterity (Du Toit, 2011). As visual depictions of these physical landscapes, maps can be understood to actively construct knowledge and exercise power (Krupar, 2015). In a South African environment, creating digital maps with metadata and visual sources in tandem with historically traumatised communities can thus be useful to increase awareness of certain historical landscapes and how they continue to affect the present. This project will build on the concepts discussed in this section, namely historical silencing, polyphonic history, cultural trauma, and critical spatial awareness to address a digital representation gap in the town's historiographical public sphere. The importance of community participation in this process will be discussed next, within the larger methodology of this project.

3. Methodology

3.1 Digital Humanities and Cultural Mapping

Building on the implicit understanding that historical representation is crucial to building equal and healthy democratic societies (Corsane, 2004; Trouillot, 1995), this project adopted the methodology of cultural mapping to improve the historical representation of coloured people in the Stellenbosch district. Duxbury et al. (2015) theorise cultural mapping as a method for studying and representing cultural landscapes by fostering of dialogue, collaboration, and deeper understanding of cultural phenomena. A digital format for this project was chosen due to the increasing importance of online historical information and representation, evidenced by the rise of the digital humanities in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century has seen a parallel increase in the digitization of the historical tradition (Gautschi & Bunnenberg, 2020; Gold & Klein, 2016; Noiret, 2018; Tanaka, 2013). Like public history, digital humanities are often concerned with engaging communities outside of academia (Brennan, 2016) through digital formats, tools and methods.

Inspiration for *Colouring in the Map* came from several such digital sources. The *Mapping Black London*[31] project by Northeastern University is an example of how mapping can be used to make marginalised history and lives more visibly linked to a geographic area, visualising the connection between the past and present. The *Whately Hidden History*[32] map was an illustrative example of a simple community history map that fully used the functions offered by the Google Maps interface. The *Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America*[33]

[31] *Mapping Black London* maps: http://mappingblacklondon.org/maps/
[32] *Whately Hidden History* map: https://www.google.com/maps/d/u/0/viewer?mid=1nuieRjHn4iZRqWJAfL91bOAT2UgykdKi&ll=42.437680303777285%2C-72.64619490241441&z=13
[33] *Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America* project: https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining

project provided an example of contextualising a map with historical information, which I would do in the form of a StoryMap. Lastly, the *Cape Town Mapping Project*[34] has recently been started as a digital space for Capetonians to document their life histories and experiences relating to the landscape. It provided me with a South African mapping example which individuals can contribute to and grow. This participatory aspect inspired me to include a similar participatory possibility in the *Colouring In the Map* project as a submission link, through which users can submit entries or visual material to be included in the map. Similar forms of digital memorialisation, such as those discussed, above continue to increase in significance in South Africa (Marschall, 2013), but the town of Stellenbosch has yet to jump on this trend, making it an timely case study for this thesis.

3.2 Photographs and Archival Research

As mentioned in the introduction of this paper, several books and academic studies have examined the town's less-represented cultural groups (Biscombe, 2004; Fransch, 2009; Giliomee, 2007; Worden, 1982; etc.). However, upon visiting local heritage sites, libraries, and archives, I found the visual representation of this heritage to be almost absent[35] and minuscule compared to representations of white settler history. Additionally, the small amount of visual representation of coloured people in the archives can be seen as inaccessible to the descendants of the coloured people depicted.[36] This lack of accessibility to visual representation explains the

[34] Cape Town Mapping Project: https://www.capetownmuseum.org.za/mapping-capetown

[35] One exception would be the recent addition of a one room exhibition in the local museum about the lives of enslaved people during the town's colonial period. The Stellenbosch Village Museum has also acquired a new building in Dorp Street in which it plans to house the town's first permanent exhibition on the forced removals of the late 1960s.

[36] The archives are inaccessible for a number of reasons: firstly, the majority of the town's historical records are kept in the Archives of the Western Cape, housed in Cape Town, which is an hour and a half's drive by car away. There are no public transport options, meaning citizens wanting to visit this archive would need to arrange private transport. Secondly, the cost to obtain copies of any documents from the archives is high (R10 or about €0.50 per image), and even higher if citizens wish to reproduce the documents in any form (R1500 or about €75 per image).

choice of focus on photographs for the map due to their proven affective and accessibility potential (Harper, 2002; Kuhn, 2007).As Duxbury et al.'s research (2015) showed, the more people feel an emotional connection to a certain environment, the more connected they will feel to its heritage and the more they will feel compelled to contribute to and share in the project. Visual links to the urban landscape were thus deemed conducive to the successful diffusion of this project.

Preparation for archival research began by drawing up a list of places to serve as starting points for hunting down visual material related to the history of coloured people in the town.[37] I then began visiting archives identified as potentially containing relevant primary sources associated with the geographic region: the Stellenbosch Village Museum Archive, the University of Stellenbosch Archive, the Stellenbosch Library Special Collections Department, the National Library of South Africa's Archive, and the Archives of the Western Cape. Unfortunately, most South African archives are chronically underfunded, unorganised, and undigitised (University of Cape Town, 2014). To do any sort of archival research, one's physical presence on the ground, preferably with plenty of time to spare, is thus imperative. After spending many days commuting to Cape Town and sifting through materials which I would not be able to use due to the high costs involved in their reproduction, of which I was only alerted to after spending many hours collecting the relevant material, it became apparent that the most valuable archives for my research would be those of the Stellenbosch Village Museum and the Archive of the Western Cape.[38]

[37] This list drew on all the literature available related to the town's coloured community, including academic and popular sources. Examples of such locations included mission churches, schools, rural farms dating from the colonial period which would have been home to enslaved people, and the area known as the Vlakte in the twentieth century.

[38] These archives became my main sources of primary sources for two reasons: firstly, because of the relatively low cost of reproduction of sources compared to some of the other archives visited, and secondly, because of the Arthur Elliott collection, images of which were to be found in both the Village Museum Archive and Archive of the Western Cape. This collection by the early twentieth century photographer Arthur Elliott is the best remaining photo

Drawing on the list of locations related to coloured history in the region, I began to search through archival photographs depicting coloured people taken anywhere in Stellenbosch and the surrounding areas from the late nineteenth century to roughly the mid-twentieth century.[39] In the Village Museum Archive, which only housed a few filing cabinets, I went through every photograph in the collection. In the Western Cape Archives, I consulted the Arthur Elliott collection and examined every photograph tagged with 'Stellenbosch' or areas in the surrounding farmland.[40] I also searched images tagged with 'Malay', 'Coloured', and 'Slavery', although this search was less fruitful. Once I had collected the images that could be included in the digital map, I requested scans.[41]

When these were obtained, I digitally renamed each source according to the location it pertained to and saved the file in a Google Drive folder organised into sub-folders according to location and in the Tropy software.[42] This management, although time-intensive, proved vital to keeping track of notes relating to visual material such as locations and occupations depicted, especially when there was not much information attached to the image at its archival source. I enriched every photograph stored in Tropy with metadata, such as the source, location, creator, date of creation, and description of the source subject according to the Dublin Core metadata

record of the region in this period, and contains more than 10,000 photographs (Fransen, 1993), organised geographically and thematically.

[39] One weakness of this method is the difficulty identifying skin tones accurately in black and white photos. As a result, some bias is inevitable. For example, it was sometimes difficult to identify if an individual in a photograph was black or coloured. I drew on contextual clues in the images and captions to inform my assumptions when unsure.

[40] My geographic knowledge of the region and its farms comes largely from growing up in the area. I have no doubt that some useful images may have escaped my search, but nonetheless it is unlikely whether a researcher with less knowledge of the Stellenbosch District and its farmlands would have been able to conduct a more fruitful search, at least until the collection is one day digitised and can be mined with the help of digital technologies.

[41] Again, this was not a straightforward process as after waiting two weeks, I was told that the scanning equipment at the Village Museum was defunct. I then negotiated with the relevant authority until I received permission to take the images to a private company to scan them. This frustrating experience showed how time-intensive archival research can be when collections are not digitised and the archival infrastructure is not in working order.

[42] Tropy is an open-source software developed by the Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media From the George Mason University which allows one to organize and describe photographs related to research relying on data structure and metadata schemes.

scheme.[43] Tropy's tagging function also proved useful for grouping, querying and retrieving images relating to certain themes,[44] which was necessary for the organisation of the final photo map and preparation for the community outreach stage.

3.3 Community Outreach and the Photo Elicitation Method

After gathering a preliminary collection of images from the relevant archives, I contacted Professor Chet Fransch at Stellenbosch University[45] about my project as a first step in accessing the coloured community of Stellenbosch. Thanks to his community connections, I was able to arrange several informal semi-structured qualitative interviews (Weiss, 2004) with people who had grown up in the Vlakte, and who remembered their families being forcibly removed and had a good knowledge of the coloured community's members and history. These interviewees included prominent community members such as the Idas Valley barber, the Imam of Stellenbosch, the son of a formerly-wealthy coloured merchant family from Stellenbosch now working as a local politician, and several older women. During these interviews, I used the photo-elicitation method (Harper, 2002), which uses photographs as prompts for interviewees to share relevant information. This allowed me to fill in more metadata of the archival images I'd found, as community members sometimes recognised previously anonymous people in archival photographs or could share anecdotes about the people or places depicted.

I also digitised any images interviewees were willing to share with me, although this

[43] The Dublin Core Metadata Element Set is the most widely used metadata schema which was developed to describe web sources. Dublin Core consists of 15 "core" metadata elements: title, subject, description, creator, publisher, contributor, date, type, format, identifier, source, language, relation, coverage, and rights.
[44] I created both thematic and geographic tags. The geographic tags separated images into rural or urban settings, while thematic tags helped me sort the images by topic: work; religion; education; leisure; family; violence.
[45] Dr. Fransch wrote his Master's thesis about the history of the town's coloured Muslim community, and could introduced me to coloured community members who I could interview and and who provided me with visual material from their private family collections.

proved rarer than I'd expected.[46] Collecting images from private family collections is an intensely personal, emotional process: building on Peffer's (2020) experiences of conducting research in South Africa through the medium of family photographs, I tried to be extra-sensitive about anxieties related to the repackaging of these private memories for a new context and not to become discouraged if community members expressed reservations about sharing their private photographs to be reproduced in the context of this project. Finally, much of the information I collected was obtained informally. By spending time sitting, for example, in the Arts Barbershop on a Saturday morning, local men coming to get their haircut would chat with me about the project and share stories. I noted these down, as well as any questions that arose, to be included in the descriptions of images on the digital map.

3.4 Digital Image Mapping and Storytelling

At the end of two months of fieldwork in South Africa, approximately 140 images from official archives and private sources were collected. I supplemented these with an additional 50 images in the final map to better compare past and present urban landscapes. Every image and its accompanying information[47] was then georeferenced on Google Maps according to Duxbury et al.'s community mapping method (2015). This emerging interdisciplinary method uses mapping technologies such as Geographic Information System (GIS)[48] to visualise memories and stories linked to physical locations. It has often been used to make previously underprivileged historical narratives more visible in the public sphere. Through constructing a historical community photo map of the town, map users can interact with the historical stories related to the space

[46] Several interviewees explained apologetically that since their families had been relatively poor, they could not afford cameras and simply did not have any photographs from the time in which they used to live in the town center.
[47] See footnote 31.
[48] Geographic Information System: a computer system which allows for the analysis and display of geographically referenced information. Google Maps is a simple example.

represented by the digital map. This novel perspective allows for an original conceptualisation of the landscape in question, prompting viewers to question how the environment came to be the way it is today (Kee et al., 2019). By drawing on a combination of digital humanities, public history, critical spatial awareness, and community photo mapping to digitally augment the physical space of Stellenbosch with visual and textual information about the coloured community, it becomes possible to explore new ways of connecting and understanding the history of that community in Stellenbosch's present and past.

Building on research illustrating the pedagogical potential of smart devices to engage consumers of historical information (Kee et al, 2019; Roth and Fisher, 2019) as well as work in the field of critical cartography, which emphasises the community-building potential of social cartography (Moore & Garzón, 2010), I decided to build my map using a Google Maps interface due its user-friendliness and intuitivity – both critical factors in the successful dissemination of a successful public history project (Brennan et al., 2016; Noiret, 2018). The GoogleMaps interface is familiar to many people, unlike other GIS software interfaces which are more data-driven, such as QGIS or ArcMap (DeBats & Gregory, 2011), making it a good choice for a project aiming to reach as broad an audience as possible. While the medium allows for several images and their descriptions/explanations and metadata to be displayed under every geographic point (see Figure 8), the interface is not overwhelming for inexperienced tech users and not as intimidating as other mapping software. It is easy to adjust and add more information to existing points on the map(s): this means the project can grow as people continue to submit images for inclusion through the submission form[49] included in the map description. It is easy to learn how to modify a custom Google Map, which is useful as I hope a community member will eventually take over the project to aid its growth and reach audiences beyond my capacities.

[49] This submission form can be accessed at the following link: https://form.jotform.com/241543392554357

It is likewise easy to embed a GoogleMap in the StoryMaps[50] interface, where I inserted more detailed contextual information to guide users through the map locations and topics with a storytelling approach. This was necessary since the Google Map lacked a cohesive and engaging narrative, appearing as just a mass of points on a map. StoryMap thus served as a flexible base to embed the GoogleMap in a curated narrative of the Stellenbosch coloured community's history and better convey the history of the town's coloured community as tied to the urban landscape. In sum, GoogleMaps and StoryMap were chosen as the most accessible mediums to disseminate the *Colouring In the Map* community photo map. These interfaces also generated clear findings regarding the historical visual representations of the coloured community of Stellenbosch, which will be discussed next.

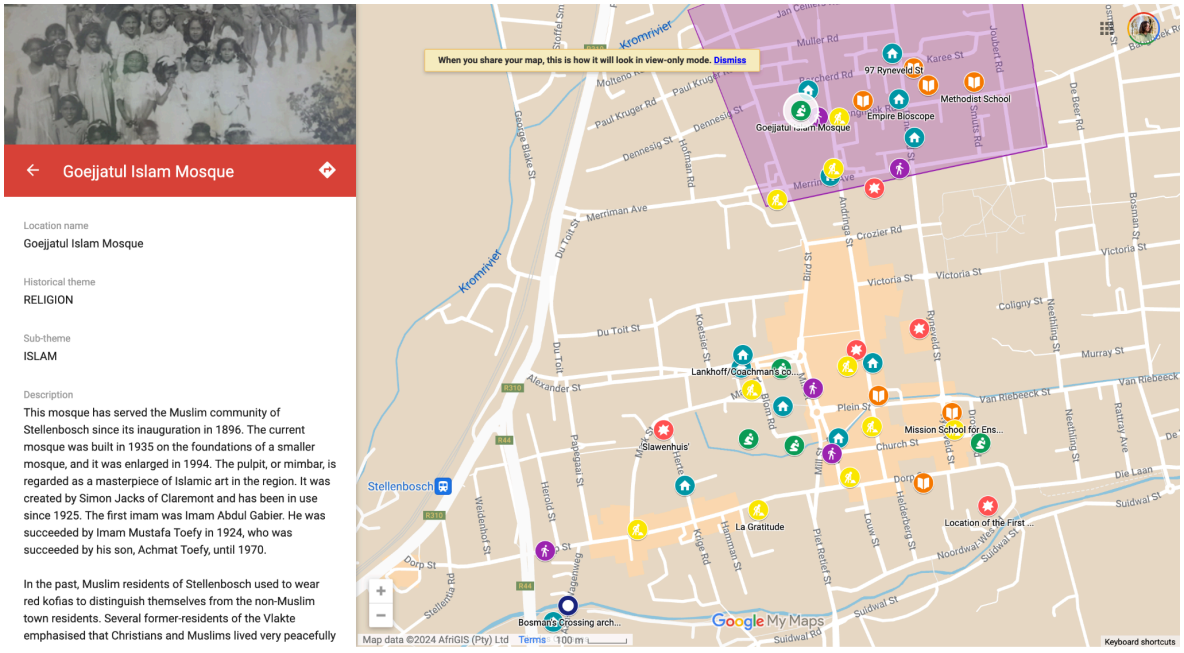

Figure 8: A screenshot illustrating the view of the *Colouring in the Map* Google Map after clicking on a point. Source: screenshot by author (2024).

[50] An ESRI software.

4. Findings

This section presents the project's findings by addressing the sub- research questions directly: (1) How can vernacular photography be used to counter biases inherent in colonial photo archives? (2) How does the coloured community perceive and respond to the Eurocentric normative historiography of the area perpetuated by the town's archives and official centres of history? (3) How can community photo mapping contribute to a new conceptualisation of historical urban space in Stellenbosch? Section five will then summarise these in relation to the main research question of how community photo mapping can be used to centre marginalised history.

4.1 The Images: Becoming Aware Of and Countering Archival Bias

The archival images of coloured people in Stellenbosch are incredibly sparse compared to the extensive visual records of white inhabitants, constituting what Trouillot termed an 'archival silence' (1995). Most archival photographs depict coloured individuals in laborious roles, reflecting the racial biases of colonial and apartheid-era archivists who deemed such representations worth preserving. This bias suggests that coloured people were (and, in the archival record, continue to be historically) perceived predominantly through their roles as labourers, overshadowing their personal and communal lives, affirming Derrida's theory which posits archives as active sites of power which manifest a dominant worldview (1995).

After broadly analysing all the images collected, eight main themes in subject matter were identified from a personal categorisation: work, leisure, education, religion, family, violence, Indigenous people, and other/miscellaneous. The images which did not fit clearly into a thematic category, such as images of important roads or buildings, were grouped under the last

category. Several findings became apparent from this image subject analysis.[51] The first key finding relates to themes and biases. Archival images predominantly show coloured people at work, while private family photographs, often from later decades, depict themes of education, religion, and leisure. This contrast highlights the archival bias that favoured white-centric narratives and relegated coloured people to subservient roles.[52] When coloured people appear in archival images of the district in the early twentieth century, it is usually in two contexts: as children (see Figures 9 and 10)[53] or as rural or domestic labourers.

Figure 9: Boys standing in Church Street, viewed from Bird Street, circa 1900(?). Source: image provided courtesy of the Stellenbosch Village Museum Archive. REF: 62.

[51] The analysis method of Zinkham et al. (2006) was followed.
[52] Most of the archival images from across the twentieth century depict coloured people at work, while most of the images from private collections in the same period can be grouped under the themes of education, religion, and leisure time.
[53] During that period, children were not required by law to attend school, and many children were often left to roam relatively freely during the day (Giliomee, 2007), which is evidenced in the photographic archival record. Small groups of boys are often visible in photographs depicting street scenes (see Figure 9), while it is more common to see groups of young girls near homes, looking after younger children (see Figure 10).# The children's clothing is often ragged and they are usually barefoot. Out of a total of thirteen images collected from the Stellenbosch Village Museum Archive and the Western Cape Archive which depict coloured children without an adult visible, four depicted boys in a street setting, while in six images small groups of girls, often looking after at least one younger child, are visible. An additional thirteen archival images show coloured children in the presence of adults.

Figure 10: A group of girls play and look after younger children next to the Mill Stream in Stellenbosch, ca. 1910(?). Source: image provided courtesy of the Western Cape Archives (E7718). REF: 11.

This finding highlights the Eurocentric bias of both the Stellenbosch Village Archives and the Western Cape Archives when it comes to visual depictions of coloured people in the Stellenbosch District, as it shows how white archivists during the twentieth century thought it necessary to preserve materials depicting only the professional lives of coloured people, which

were almost always in subservient positions to white people (see, for example, Figure 11). This corresponds with first the late-colonial policies of the British authorities, then with the all-encompassing racist policies of the Apartheid government. As a result, coloured people in the archival visual record of the area come down to us exclusively through a white gaze, implying, in accordance with the dominant white view of the early twentieth century, that coloured people are fit for labour only. No further thought is given to the private lives or wider communities of coloured subjects beyond their interactions with white society.

Figure 11: Two grooms hold the horses pulling a carriage on the Braak during the celebrations of the Simon Van Der Stel Festival in 1979, held to commemorate the 300th anniversary of the town's founding by Dutch settlers. Source: image provided courtesy of the Stellenbosch Village Museum Archive, REF: 57.

The second key finding is a surprising amount of posed and staged archival images. This positioning can be read as part of a colonial photography trope which formed part of the colonial civilising mission. Most early archival photos from the district were taken by the prolific Arthur Elliott, who had a marked interest in the architectural heritage of the region.[54] His images often

[54] Alongside the running of his Cape Town photographic studio, Arthur Elliott travelled around the area which is today the Western Cape province extensively while documenting mainly the built heritage of various farms and

depict historic farmhouses and buildings, and coloured men show up in these images most often as farm labourers, while coloured women appear most often as domestic workers. These images create an impression of quiet, romantic farm life, which is more reflective of the photographer's gaze than of the lived realities of the individuals depicted.[55] For example, in Figure 12, a coloured woman sits alone in the sunshine while chickens peck around her feet. She is presumably a domestic worker and seems unaware that the photographer is taking her picture, peacefully content in her work. Photographs of this genre would have played into colonial mindsets of the time, which positioned coloured people as good labourers, superior to the indigenous African blacks from further north in South Africa but still below whites, who had, according to colonial racist ideology, a paternal responsibility to educate and uplift coloured people (Kamies, 2018). The woman in the image's hair is immaculate, her dress and starched pinafore cheerful and neat while she labours on land which is not her own, most likely preparing food she will not eat. She is, quite literally, the image of domestic servility, of coloured people contented and 'in their place', labouring placatedly for their white bosses.

towns in over 10,000 images (Fransen, 1993). This collection is today owned and housed by the Archives of the Western Cape.

[55] During this period, racial oppression and discrimination was instrumentalized by white employers for economic gain through, among other methods, pseudo-paternal labour relations (which positioned black and coloured citizens as infantile and in need of guidance and education) and the creation of alcohol dependency, especially in rural areas, to ensure a steady supply of cheap labour (Giliomee, 2007; Heindrich, 2006).

Figure 12: A coloured woman sits shelling peas or peeling potatoes behind the Spier homestead. Stellenbosch, circa 1910(?). By Arthur Elliott. Source: image provided courtesy of the Western Cape Archives (E2493), REF: 101.

Figures 13 and 14 are similar examples of seemingly staged images. Both depict coloured men at leisure: it is, however, unlikely that coloured men would have smoked their pipes beneath the old slave bell of a rural farm, as this would have gone against social etiquette norms of where a person of colour was traditionally allowed to relax on a white-owned farm. It is also doubtful whether a coloured man, a descendant of enslaved people, would have chosen this metaphorically-loaded location to enjoy a smoke. Showing a coloured man at leisure below the slave bell effectively erases the violent history of slavery associated with that bell, since the image seems to show that the coloured man is so comfortable in that environment that he is smoking his pipe while watching the photographer. The creation of such an image plays into the white colonial mindset of farms in the District as places of both hard work and ease, where

coloured people would happily choose to labour. The violence inherent in these racialised rural labour systems is rendered invisible.

Figure 13: A man sits below Elsenburg Farm's old slave bell, smoking a pipe and holding a broom, circa. 1900(?). Source: image provided courtesy of the Stellenbosch Village Museum, REF: 68.

Figure 14: A coloured man sitting at the base of the old slave bell on Vergenoegt Farm, circa 1900. Source: image provided courtesy of the Stellenbosch Village Museum, REF: 77.

The third key finding is that coloured people in archival images often appear on the margins, not as the primary subjects, but as incidental figures (see, for example, Figure 15 below, which may have been taken to memorialise the white woman and baby in the central foreground). Whether the young coloured girl on the right of the image, probably the baby's nursemaid, was meant to appear is unclear, but her mere presence is analytically interesting. Her youth, colour, and proximity to the central white subjects of the image position her as a

nursemaid, a fact which can be extrapolated due to the prevalence of employing young coloured or black girls as nursemaids for white babies in later twentieth-century South Africa (Goldman, 2003). The presence of coloured people in the margins of Stellenbosch's archival photographs is a direct reflection of their historically marginalised position in Stellenbosch's society and urban landscape. The archival images can thus yield some insights into the lives of early twentieth-century coloured people in the district. However, these would be limited to the conditions of their marginalisation. It would be more accurate to view the early twentieth-century archival images as insights into the perceptions held by the white photographers and settler society in general on the 'place' of coloured people in the Stellenbosch District.

Figure 15: 17 Andringa Street, 1891. Source: image provided courtesy of the Stellenbosch Village Museum, REF 58.

These images, of which the Stellenbosch District's archives are full, work to obscure the racial violence and oppression necessary to construct such a society of white rulers and coloured servants while at the same time silencing the individual experience and agency of those depicted. The created colonial imaginary alluded to by common photographic tropes of rural farms and white domestic settings as spaces where coloured people chose to live and enjoyed a good quality of life goes against what we today know of labour conditions in the District in the early twentieth century. The recurring archival motif of a coloured individual relaxing in a rural setting, which would have been inappropriate or highly unlikely at that time, indicates that photographers purposefully posed subjects outdoors, as well as how a colonial photo archive such as that of Arthur Elliott in the Western Cape Archives can continue to echo the Eurocentric, racist world views of its creator(s).

When one considers the images collected originating in private collections, a wholly different picture emerges: this forms the fourth key finding of the image-content analysis. By the 1950s the medium of photography had become more accessible to working class families, but even so, photographs were expensive and thus often only taken on occasions seen as 'worth memorialising' (Kamies, 2018). Many of the images of this genre are related to school, church, and sport, among other occasions. Subjects depicted are often dressed in their 'Sunday best' clothes or at leisure; for example, school concert pictures show children and adults dressed formally and in extravagant costumes (see Figure 16). The overall impression of these private family images is one of pride: the subjects depict themselves on their own terms. Images of sentimental value to the community were thus included in the final version of *Colouring In the Map* even if no individuals were present in the image or recognisable by name, as through the very taking of an image the photographer was denoting the subject of the image as worthy of

memorialising and thus important to them and their memory. For example, the sun-faded 1930 image of the Goejjatul Mosque (see Figure 17), which currently hangs in the Idas Valley Madrassa[56], can be viewed as emotionally necessary to the embodied memory of Stellenbosch's coloured Muslim community since it provides the children who study Islam at the school with a visual time marker of their space of worship, positioning them within a time-space continuum and connecting them to the historical urban landscape.

Figure 16: Three girls dressed in costumes for their performance in a school concert in the town hall, circa 1960(?). Source: image provided courtesy of the old Lückhoff School, REF 47.

[56] Islamic School.

Figure 17: The Goejjatul Mosque, circa 1930. Source: Imam Tahier Cornelson, REF 27.

In sum, theory such as that of Derrida (1995) and Trouillot (1995) shows how the archival photographic record of the Stellenbosch District reflects a Eurocentric, colonial worldview, perpetuating an image of coloured people as labourers. Private family photographs provide a counter-narrative, showcasing the rich, multifaceted lives of coloured individuals. This project's inclusion of both archival and private images aims to balance these perspectives, offering a more comprehensive view of the community's history. The development of more affordable photography methods allowed coloured people a newfound capacity to actually represent themselves, as evidenced in the private family photos collected for this project, but the

total absence of photographs of this self-representative genre in official archives to this day is indicative of how completely the town's white population controlled all official representation of coloured people throughout most of the twentieth century due to the privileged position it violently held within that society. It is also indicative of how, in post-Apartheid South Africa, minority representation in official sources still comes down to us through a white colonial and Apartheid worldview. Through the addition of images from private family collections, this project aims to, at least partly, counter this racist worldview perpetuated through official archives, providing an interesting contrast and a timely exercise in decolonial archive creation. The interaction of the coloured community with this project and by extension with the dominant Eurocentric historical narrative of Stellenbosch can yield further insights into the results of such a community mapping project, which will be examined next.

4.2 The Community: Informal Interviews and Increasing Public Awareness of Coloured History

Discussing the traumatic history of apartheid and its effects on urban spaces remains challenging in contemporary South Africa (Du Toit, 2011; Kamies, 2018). However, the responses from Stellenbosch's coloured community to the critical-spatial approach to this history were overwhelmingly positive. Upon speaking of my project concept as a way of addressing the archival silence around their community's history, many people were quick to point me towards one Arts Barber Shop, a third-generation community barber run by Faizel Biscombe, which functions as an informal community memory centre.[57] By speaking at length with both Faizel

[57] Faizel's late father started a tradition of collecting old photographs depicting the town's coloured community, especially old sports photos, and sticking them up in his shop. Customers then caught on and began bringing him any photos they thought might interest him, which he added to his informal collection on the barber shop's walls. Nowadays, elderly community members bring their grandchildren to the shop to show them the rare photos of their recent ancestors and relate anecdotal stories about the people and places depicted.

and his customers over my two months of fieldwork, I came to view his shop as a veritable alternative to the official archive of the Village Museum, where instead of information being preserved through written documents and indexed photographs, stories are passed down orally in the informal community setting of a visit to the barber, and visually through both photographs and newspaper clippings stuck to the walls as a means of both entertaining and informing customers and pedestrians passing by. The local mosque and attached madrassa function as another informal community centre of memory, where worshippers and their children are taught both formally (through Islamic education classes) and informally (through for example, dialogue with community elders) about the history of their community in the region. Several coloured community members I approached with historical questions insisted that I speak to various community elders, who were all women in their 80s and 90s. The women were treated with the utmost respect by the rest of the community, and revered for their knowledge and life experiences.

The photo elicitation method provided a means of 'breaking the ice' during interviews with these individuals, as well as providing prompts for the stories which they related to me about the forced removals and racial violence of the twentieth century in Stellenbosch. The photo-elicitation method used in interviews helped fill in metadata for archival images, since community members often recognised people or places in the photographs, sharing stories and contextualising the images. This approach not only enriched the project's historical accuracy but also fostered a sense of ownership among participants. Interviewees made it very clear that they felt completely separate from the normative, Eurocentric historiography of the town, and were thrilled at the centering of 'their people' in the images collected from archival sources. Cumulatively, these interactions provided new social insights into the spatial history of the

community while also revealing a deep awareness of their officially invisible history and a strong desire for its increased official representation. Elderly interviewees were enthusiastic about the project's digital format, expressing hope that it would pique an interest in young community members about their history.

These informal interviews showed that information and stories about the coloured community's past are still at least partly-accessible to community members through informal sources, such as the community elders and Arts Barber Shop, when officially-sanctioned institutions, such as the Village Archive and Museum, fail to represent them historically. This shows how the town archives and museum continue to perpetuate a Eurocentric historical narrative by failing to preserve and showcase the history of all the town's citizen groups. The presence of this coloured history in oral records and community memory centres also exposes the idea of public history as a Western, Eurocentric notion, as it usually views only official locations of history such as archives or museums as real or valid, while more informal sources of history such that which is stored in places like the Arts Barber Shop in Idas Valley are labelled as 'invisible' or 'marginalised'. Nonetheless, the informal location of the stories and visual sources do make them liable to disappear over time if not properly documented – the Stellenbosch District's coloured community is very much aware of this in addition to the absence of general representation. The enthusiastic response to the project indicates that the community members I spoke with felt the need to be heard, and to have their stories told. Digital documentation of the community's history is vital for increasing public awareness of these stories, as in its current informal state, it is only available (to a certain degree) to the coloured community but not to other groups in society, such as white and black people, or the wider world, such as international tourists visiting the region.

Another unexpected finding was the snowball effect this research had on many community members. Several of the coloured as well as white Stellenboschers I spoke with in relation to the project became emotional and expressed heartfelt gratitude to me as a researcher for doing this, according to them, very necessary research. Many of my interviewees had never seen the photographs I had collected between the archives, town museum, and various other community members, and became emotional upon viewing images of their childhood neighbourhood and community which they had been forcibly removed from. During the interviewing and archival collection stages, I began to receive emails and WhatsApps from people who had moved away but heard about the project and wanted to contribute, as well as people who had some interest in the research topic and thought they might be able to help me in my search for visual materials and oral stories. In this way, the project catalysed many stakeholders with a mutual interest in the community's history.

These findings show that the coloured community members of Stellenbosch who I interacted with believe the time is right for this history to be brought to the fore and made more widely available, beyond the racial boundaries of their own community. Linked to this, coloured Stellenboschers seem to view the centering of their history (against the normative Eurocentric historical narrative) as subversive.[58] These reactions show how this project made the representation of the coloured community and their ancestors more accessible to the community itself, thus providing an alternative to the Eurocentric perspective on the area's history perpetuated by the town's archives and official centres of history. The project thus filled a veritable archival hole in the historical geography of the region, and served as a declaration of the fact that coloured community members are and always have been noteworthy actors in the

[58] I was, to my surprise, labeled an 'activist' more than once by interviewees for carrying out this research. This surprised me as I had never articulated it in this way myself.

Stellenbosch District, with a history and stories that are worthy of being centred.

Eyerman's theory of cultural trauma underscores the interconnectedness of memory, space, and identity in shaping responses to historical injustices and working towards collective healing and social change (2004): by contributing to and distributing the map among their circles, interviewees gain a sense of ownership in the project and express pride in their community's role and history in the development of the area, in defiance of the past physical violence and continued epistemic and economic violence committed against them. By *Colouring In the Map*, individuals in the wider region can now freely and easily access and contribute to information and visual representation about the coloured community in the area's history, and perhaps even more importantly, so can the community itself.

4.3 The Map: A New Conceptualization of Historical Urban Space in Stellenbosch

Colouring In the Map significantly enhances the visibility and representation of Stellenbosch's coloured history. By integrating archival and personal photographs, the project reveals the spatial and temporal dimensions of coloured life in Stellenbosch, emphasising patterns of displacement and segregation and celebrating resilience and cultural heritage. The earliest visual archival documents available, such as the sketches depicting enslaved people in the area, are fairly widespread over the district: this corresponds with enslaved labour patterns, which saw enslaved labour concentrated mostly on remote farmsteads (Worden, 1982). The earliest photographs depicting people of colour are all archival and date from perhaps two or three generations after the abolishment of slavery. They corroborate academic research which points to a migration of formerly-enslaved people and their descendants from outlying farms to the town centre during the second half of the nineteenth century (Giliomee, 2007). The images are not concentrated in any one area but spread relatively evenly over what is today central

Stellenbosch. The one area with a higher density of images depicting coloured people is the Braak, a location where white and coloured lives may often have overlapped in religious missionary settings.

Considering that photographers in the area were always white in the late nineteenth century, it should be noted that the high proportion of images depicting coloured people in this area may not be a true depiction of where coloured citizens of the town spent most of their time. It would be a more informed assumption to assume that the areas with a high proportion of images depicting coloured people are spaces where coloured and white people may frequently have interacted (such as in religious or religion-adjacent settings, for example, at mission stations). It is likely that there were urban spaces for rest or leisure reserved for coloured people where white photographers rarely ventured and of which no photographs exist since residential areas in the late nineteenth century were already highly segregated (Strauss, 2019).

During the early twentieth century, more images depicting coloured people began to appear in the area later known as the Vlakte, which became the residential and commercial hub of the town's coloured community. It is interesting to note that this intra-local migration of coloured people corresponded with Stellenbosch's rise from a sleepy rural village to an affluent university town during the twentieth century. This suggests that the increase in geographic wealth (from which predominantly white people benefitted) directly correlated with the increased marginalisation of coloured people. Stellenbosch would not be unique in this, as this was a tangible goal of Apartheid legislation such as the Group Areas Act (Kamies, 2018; Strauss, 2019).[59] As explained in Section 4.1, the Vlakte is also where almost all of the private family photographs dating from later in the twentieth century can be located. By the late 1950s and

[59] This pattern continues to be visible in the Stellenbosch District in the twenty-first century as well: this gentrification will be discussed further in the discussion section 5 below.

1960s, almost no archival images depicting coloured people in central Stellenbosch could be found, except some depicting them in professional roles (see Figure 11). During the same period, however, the number of family or private photographs increases, corresponding with the decreasing costs of photography. These family photographs are a testament to the vibrant cooured community which existed in Central Stellenbosch until the forced removals of the late 1960s.

By gathering all these archival and private images in one place, *Colouring In the Map* addresses the lack of coloured representation in official archives by including personal photographs that depict everyday life, pride, and community achievements. This historical-spatial perspective challenges the dominant Eurocentric narrative. It promotes a more inclusive historical account of the area by allowing for an alternative visualisation of the history of Stellenbosch, which centres the town's coloured community (see, for example, the illustration of a 'then and now' perspective in Figure 18 which is included in the Storymap). This allows for a new conceptualisation of racial distribution and Apartheid-era urban planning, especially in the downtown area, which used to be the Vlakte but is today generally viewed as the rundown, less touristic part of town. By incorporating present-day images alongside historical images in the final map, viewers of all social and ethnic groups can digitally interact with both current and historical visual material of locations which will be familiar to inhabitants of the area, thus illustrating the epistemic violence perpetuated by official sources in the continued obfuscation of this history. The final photo map thus allows for a different conceptualization of the historical urban space of Stellenbosch by placing it in a context of coloured, instead of white colonial,

history.

Figure 18: images of the same view of the Mill Stream, taken roughly 110 years apart. In circa 1910 (left), these houses were inhabited by coloured community members. In 2024, the buildings house upmarket boutiques and eateries catering to wealthy locals and tourists. Sources: left – image provided courtesy of the Western Cape Archives (E7718) REF: 11; right – image by author REF 132.

It also allows for a new spatio-historical understanding of the urban space of Stellenbosch as the location and backdrop of the development of the town's coloured community. This

contrasts with contemporary normative views of Stellenbosch, which today often appears as a place where only white people can afford to live and where only European/colonial history is proudly shared and flaunted (Du Toit et al., 2022; Du Toit, 2011). These findings apply to wider global patterns of spatial injustice and urban settlement with their roots in colonialism (Brant, 2020; Strauss, 2019), especially in the context of ongoing efforts to combat systemic racism in those societies (Hadden Loh et al., 2020; Metelerkamp, 2022; Tshangela, 2022). The map answers the sub-research question of how community photo mapping can contribute to a new conceptualization of historical urban space in Stellenbosch by illustrating, through the use of georeferenced historical images, that since the town's conception, coloured people partook in central Stellenbosch's community and urban life, living in different areas of what is today the centre of town until the government forcibly removed them and declared Central Stellenbosch being a 'whites-only' area. The map's visualisation helps better understand Stellenbosch's contemporary residential patterns, visible in Figures 3-6, in relation to its various cultural groups and the ongoing impact of historical events on its urban spaces.

5. Discussion

The findings above demonstrate how a public history community mapping project can effectively (digitally) centre marginalised history. The response to the project discussed in sub-section 4.2 demonstrates the need for such interventions in the historical public sphere of the Stellenbosch District but also in the larger Western Cape region and in colonial settler societies such as those in Canada, Brazil, and the Caribbean, which continue to battle with racism and segregation in general. In the South African context, the problem of historical underrepresentation is exacerbated by the systematic underfunding of the heritage sphere, which extends to its archives. A lack of financial support means that archivists need help to preserve the collections they already have, never mind conducting community-outreach based projects such as this one to try to remedy archival holes. A markedly low will towards digitisation and modernisation efforts by archivists, a geographic barrier (with most of the historical sources on the Stellenbosch District stored in the Western Cape Archives in Cape Town), as well as a significant financial barrier[60], means marginalised groups in South Africa are still being prevented access to representations of their ancestors and culture. This constitutes the continuation of the epistemic violence processes initiated under Apartheid and colonialism.[61]

[60] At the time of research in January 2024, Western Cape Archive users must pay an amount of about €0.50 (R10) per image for digital scans, and a much higher, basically unaffordable amount (R1500, or about €75 per image) if they wish to reproduce the image in any context.

[61] The argument that the archives need this income in order to finance themselves is understandable, but I would argue that the costs of not allowing the general public access to their own heritage which is supposedly being safekept for them by the archives, is greater. The high cost barrier means that only those with disposable wealth (most often white people) can access the heritage stored in the archives: this effectively excludes socio-economically marginalised communities. In effect, this means that any attempts at making official archives more inclusive are restricted to those already working within the archival structure, while many less-affluent black and coloured South African citizens, whom the archives are also supposed to serve, are barred from reusing and repurposing the materials pertaining to their own heritage.

Thus are outdated colonial and Apartheid-era historiographies perpetuated by archival structures which continue to centre whiteness and a Eurocentric historical canon. In two months of fieldwork, I barely scratched the surface of what must exist in private family collections and in undiscovered archival collections because of the unorganised nature of the archives and the time-intensive process of building relationships with community members. This should not serve as a deterrent but rather as a motivator for future research, as it hints at how vast the potential for such a community project truly is. Such a community mapping project also demonstrates the mobilisation effect of paying attention to diverse historical narratives. My experience building this project showed that just in the Stellenbosch coloured community, there are several independent actors with a serious interest in creating a better knowledge base about the forced removals of the 1960s and the subsequent effects of them on those affected, but that as of yet there is no central organisation or cohesive strategy to these attempts.[62]

Beyond *Colouring In the Map*'s digital format, I am collaborating with Mrs Pietersen, the Head of Education at the Stellenbosch Village Museum, to adapt this project's community photo map for use in her pedagogy with local high schoolers. We are also investigating using the gathered photographs and mapping insights to develop a coloured history walking tour of the town for tourists and residents alike, which would be a physical outcome of this digital project that will work to further centre this formerly marginalised history. The overwhelmingly positive feedback from those who contributed towards the final map indicates that such a community-based project holds potential for fostering interracial and intercultural empathy and reconciliation, community upliftment, and citizen education related to equal representation and

[62] I have tried to put all the relevant individuals in contact with each other, but a concrete way to take this project further in the future would be to conduct workshops or events where stakeholders can network and brainstorm future projects, exhibitions, and research. I hope to carry out this activity in collaboration with Lamees Pieterson, the Head of Education at the Stellenbosch Village Museum, during my next visit to South Africa.

democracy. On a personal level, this project attuned me to the racial violence which the physical landscape of my hometown often perpetuates. For example, casual references to slavery, such as the artistically designed 'Slawenhuijs' signboard on a building which is known as an old slave lodge, with no contextual or historical information accompanying it, came to seem representative of the dismissive Eurocentric attitude towards the town's history of racial violence and oppression, which contributes to the often unspoken but very much implied white viewing of coloured and black people as subservient to, and less human than, Europeans and their descendants. The absence of more acknowledgement of the historical coloured community in the area which used to be known as the Vlakte and the violence which occurred there is another shocking example of how the contemporary municipality implies that this history is not worthy of commemoration. If I, an outsider to the coloured community, became this affected by the knowledge I acquired during this research, I cannot how painful it must still be for the people who used to live in Central Stellenbosch and who are still faced with these memories every day on their way to and from work in the town centre.

The mapping-related findings of this project additionally provide a timely spatial-historical perspective to an issue currently facing the coloured community of Stellenbosch: that of continued racial segregation and gentrification. During the early twentieth-century, coloured people were gradually pushed from the historical town centre into the dusty flatlands on the outskirts which became known as the Vlakte. After several decades, they were forcibly removed by the government from the community they had built there to the areas surrounding the town known as Idas Valley and Cloetesville, after the town grew to incorporate the Vlakte into its centre. Nowadays, barely sixty years later, waves of intra-South

African migration to the Western Cape means that new security villages[63] are springing up in the Stellenbosch District at an alarming rate. Once again, coloured communities are being broken up as their land is bought up by private investors for development.[64] Most coloured workers are not able to afford the high rental prices of security villages, and are forced to move yet further away from their places of employment in Central Stellenbosch.[65] For coloured Stellenboschers, history repeats; it remains to be seen if and how the local municipality will intervene in this process.

[63] Security villages in South Africa are economic enterprises which function as self-sufficient towns with their own infrastructure such as a reserve power supply, sanitation, and security guards. The purpose of such a community is supposedly to protect residents from crime and violence which could occur outside the walls of the compound. They are also sometimes known as 'gated communities'.

[64] See, for example, the website of Welgevonden Estate, a security village adjacent to Cloetesville: https://www.welgevonden.co.za/

[65] Again, this is not unique to Stellenbosch but can be seen all over South Africa. As one interviewee in a recent article by the Guardian reported, "Our cities were shaped so that the white minority would live in nice, sparsely populated areas close to jobs, schools and services, and the black, coloured and Indian majority would commute in and out every day to service them. And that structure remains tragically unchanged" (Bourdin, 2024).

Conclusion

In Stellenbosch, where official historical representations of coloured residents remain non-proportional, the *Colouring In the Map* project shows that the problem is one of representation rather than actual awareness of the marginalised history in question. However, knowledge of coloured heritage in the region was largely restricted within the boundaries of the coloured community and did not extend to the town's white and black residents and visitors to the region. This thesis set out to address this historical invisibility of the coloured community in Stellenbosch by employing community photo mapping as a public history method. The *Colouring In the Map* project aimed to provide a digital platform that centers the marginalized histories of coloured people, countering the colonial narratives prevalent in official archives. Through archival research, qualitative interviews, and photo-elicitation techniques, the project created a digital photo map that documents the rich history of the coloured community in Stellenbosch through roughly 160 images from approximately 1890 to 1980.

The project's findings highlight the stark contrast between archival images, which predominantly depict coloured individuals in subservient roles, and private family photographs, which emphasize personal pride and self-representation (see section 4.1). This contrast underscores the inherent biases in colonial archives and the importance of vernacular photography in offering alternative historical narratives. The digital photo map visualizes the coloured community's history and its spatial relationship with Stellenbosch's urban landscape, providing a new perspective that challenges the town's hegemonic historical narrative (see section 4.3).

The *Colouring In the Map* project demonstrates that community photo mapping can effectively center marginalized histories, offering a model for similar initiatives in communities with similar historical backgrounds worldwide. By creating a platform for self-

representation, the project empowers the coloured community to reclaim their history and challenge the dominant Eurocentric perspective perpetuated by official archives. This is particularly significant in the South African context, where the legacy of Apartheid continues to affect the representation and perception of minority histories. The project's methodology, combining digital humanities tools with traditional archival research and community outreach, proves to be a powerful approach in public history. Digital humanities offer new possibilities for historical representation, making it more inclusive and accessible to diverse audiences. The interactive nature of the digital photo map encourages community participation and engagement, fostering a sense of ownership and pride in the coloured community's heritage.

The findings of this project have broader implications for public history and digital humanities. They highlight the importance of inclusive historical representation in addressing contemporary issues of racism and marginalization in settler societies. By making marginalized histories visible, projects like *Colouring In the Map* can contribute to creating a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the past, which is essential for building a more inclusive future. The project also underscores the potential of digital tools in transforming public history. The use of digital photo mapping not only provides a visual representation of the coloured community's history but also allows for the integration of personal narratives and memories and space for growth at a low cost, making the medium accessible to historical activists. This digital yet personal approach enhances the emotional and social significance of the historical content, making it more relatable and impactful for contemporary audiences.

One of the key contributions of this project is its emphasis on the role of community participation in historical representation (see section 4.2). By involving the coloured community in the research and mapping process, the project ensures that their voices and

perspectives are central to the narrative. This participatory approach not only enhances the accuracy and richness of the historical content but also fosters a sense of agency and empowerment among community members. The success of the *Colouring In the Map* project suggests that similar initiatives could be applied in other contexts to address the historical invisibility of marginalized groups. Examples could include communities in Brazil, Australia, or Finland, all of which contain significant minority groups in addition to populations descended from European settlers, and in which these minority groups often continue to face racial discrimination and oppression. By leveraging digital tools and community engagement, public history practitioners can create platforms that highlight diverse histories and challenge dominant narratives. This approach is particularly relevant in post-colonial and settler societies, where historical representation often remains skewed towards the perspectives of the colonizers.

The project's findings also have implications for the broader field of digital humanities. They demonstrate the potential of digital tools to enhance historical representation and engagement. By creating interactive and visually rich digital maps, historians can make complex historical narratives more accessible and engaging for diverse audiences. This approach can also facilitate the integration of personal and community narratives into broader historical contexts, enriching the overall understanding of the past. Future research could build on the *Colouring In the Map* project by exploring the application of community photo mapping in other regions and contexts. Comparative studies could examine how different communities use digital tools to represent their histories and how these initiatives impact their sense of identity and agency. Additionally, further research could investigate the long-term effects of such projects on public awareness and understanding of marginalized histories.

In conclusion, the *Colouring In the Map* project illustrates the transformative potential of community photo mapping as a method of public history. By centering marginalized histories and providing a platform for self-representation, the project challenges dominant historical narratives and contributes to a more inclusive and representative historiography. The use of digital humanities tools enhances the accessibility and impact of historical content, making it more engaging and relevant for contemporary audiences. The project's emphasis on community participation ensures that the voices and perspectives of the coloured community are central to the narrative, fostering a sense of ownership and empowerment. Overall, *Colouring In the Map* offers a valuable model for public history initiatives aimed at addressing historical invisibility and promoting inclusive historical representation. By acknowledging and addressing the historical marginalization of coloured people in Stellenbosch, the project contributes to broader efforts to redress historical injustices and build a more inclusive and equitable society. It underscores the importance of historical representation in shaping contemporary social dynamics and highlights the role of public history in fostering a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the past. As the field of digital humanities continues to evolve in South Africa and elsewhere, projects like *Colouring In the Map* will play a crucial role in ensuring that diverse histories are recognized, preserved, and celebrated; a meaningful step in creating more truly inclusive societies.

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Appendix

List of images collected:

REF NUMBER	IMAGE DESCRIPTION	ATTRIBUTION
1	The Anglican Church on the Braak, Stellenbosch, ca. 1960. Photograph by J. Walton.	Stellenbosch University Archive
2	97 Ryneveld Street, built in 1927 and owned by the Cupido family. Back: Simon and Aletta Cupido with their three grandchildren, Putty, Joan and Edgar	Stellenbosch University Archive
3	The Braak, central Stellenbosch, in 1934.	Stellenbosch University Archive
4	The Braak, central Stellenbosch, in July 1967.	Stellenbosch University Archive
5	Herte Street, central Stellenbosch, 1987.	Stellenbosch University Archive
6	The Cape Dutch homestead of Old Nectar farm. Jonkershoek, ca. 1910.	Stellenbosch University Archive
7	Eucalyptus trees at the bottom of Merriman Avenue, 1988. This was the location of the Bergzicht Market, and is today the town's taxi rank.	Stellenbosch University Archive
8	The Volkskerk (left) and Volkskool (right), Banghoek Road, ca. 1960(?).	Stellenbosch University Archive
9	Lückhoff School in Banghoek Road, ca. 1960(?).	Stellenbosch University Archive
10	Lückhoff School in Banghoek Road, 1968.	Stellenbosch University Archive
11	A thatcher working on the roof of Schreuder House during its restoration in 1974-75.	Stellenbosch University Archive
12	Panorama of Stellenbosch, 1938. The area known as 'Die Vlakte' outlined in white.	Stellenbosch Village Museum Archive
13	Imam Achmat Toefy (left) and his family, ca. 1940s.	Caushiem Toefy
14	Imam Achmat Toefy holding his grandson, Caushiem, in front of his shop and home on the corner of Banghoek and Andringa Streets, opposite the mosque, ca. 1940s	Caushiem Toefy

15	Imam Mustapha Toefy, ca. 1920. He passed away in 1937, and was succeeded by his son, Imam Agmat Toefy.	Caushiem Toefy
16	Imam Nawawie Toefy (in the white headscarf) returns from Hajj ca. 1930(?). Banghoek Road, with Papegaaiberg in the background	Caushiem Toefy
17	The Toefy children and their cousins.	Caushiem Toefy
18	The Muslim youth of Stellenbosch, ca. 1946. This photograph was taken on the occasion of Eid, outside the mosque in Banghoek Road.	Caushiem Toefy
19	Front page article of the Eikestadnuus newspaper on 27 July 1973, announcing the impending demolition of the Sawant building.	Ebrahim Sawant
20	The Sawant building, ca. 1960(?).	Stellenbosch Village Museum
21	The well-known smugglers, 'Dorsie' and Mr Bailey, ca. 1940.	Faizel Biscombe
22	Men at 'the point' in Cloetesville, ca. 1940. Mr Bailey in the centre.	Faizel Biscombe
23	An article in the Cape Herald newspaper on 4 August 1973, detailing the plea to reopen the Gaiety Bioscope.	Faizel Biscombe
24	The Idas Valley soccer team, ca. 1960(?).	Faizel Biscombe
25	The Goejjatul Mosque, ca. 1930.	Faizel Biscombe
26	Sunday school at the Volkskerk, 1937.	'In Ons Bloed' by Hilton Biscombe
27	The Goejjatul Mosque, ca. 1930.	Imam Tahier Cornelson
28	An enslaved labourer overseen by his European master, ca. 1700s.	Parliament of South Africa
29	Augustus van Bengalen, the enslaved servant of the slaveholder Hendrik Cloete, holding his pipe.	Rijksmuseum
30	'A Boer's wife taking her coffee' while being fanned by an enslaved boy, 1806.	Parliament of South Africa
31	The Lückhoff school production of 'Desert Song', performed at the town hall ca. 1960(?).	Old Lückhoff school

32	Art class at the Methodist Primary school, ca. 1960.	Old Lückhoff school
33	A choir performance, ca. 1960. Carrie Poole in the centre.	Old Lückhoff school
34	An unknown woman at a formal dance at the town hall, ca. 1950.	Old Lückhoff school
35	A newspaper advert for the Gaiety Bioscope, ca. 1960.	Old Lückhoff school
36	The manager of the Gaiety Bioscope, Mr Victor Bergstedt, ca. 1960.	Old Lückhoff school
37	The program of the Gaiety Bioscope, ca. 1960(?).	Old Lückhoff school
38	Gym class at Lückhoff school, ca. 1960(?).	Old Lückhoff school
39	Lückhoff schoolgirls in their uniforms, ca. 1960(?).	Old Lückhoff school
40	Lückhoff schoolgirls in their uniforms, ca. 1960(?).	Old Lückhoff school
41	Carnival parade on Merriman Avenue, ca. 1960(?).	Old Lückhoff school
42	The Methodist Church on Plein Street, ca. 1970(?).	Old Lückhoff school
43	A school concert at the town hall, ca. 1960(?).	Old Lückhoff school
44	A school concert at the town hall, ca. 1960(?).	Old Lückhoff school
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49	Lückhoff Standard 8 schoolgirls in 1968.	Old Lückhoff school
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55	A wedding at the Volkskerk, ca. 1960.	Old Lückhoff school

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59	The Bethlehem Stars band, 1983.	Stellenbosch Village Museum Archive
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68	(Slave) bell on Elsenburg farm, ca. 1890(?).	Stellenbosch Village Museum Archive
69	Fleurbaai farm, Stellenbosch, ca. 1890(?).	Stellenbosch Village Museum Archive
70	Cellar on Ida's Valley farm, ca. 1900(?).	Stellenbosch Village Museum Archive
71	Klein Welmoed farm, Stellenbosch, ca. 1900(?).	Stellenbosch Village Museum Archive
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73	A brandy still on Libertas farm, Stellenbosch, ca. 1900(?).	Stellenbosch Village Museum Archive
74	Meerlust farm outside Stellenbosch, ca. 1900(?).	Stellenbosch Village Museum Archive
75	A well on Muldersvlei farm, Klapmuts, ca. 1900(?).	Stellenbosch Village Museum Archive
76	Stellenburg farm, Stellenbosch, ca. 1900(?).	Stellenbosch Village Museum Archive
77	Bell on Vergenoegt farm, Faure, ca. 1900(?).	Stellenbosch Village Museum Archive
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79	Corner of Drostdy and Van Riebeeck Streets, ca. 1940(?).	Stellenbosch Village Museum Archive
80	A kitchen in Klapmuts, ca. 1900(?).	Stellenbosch Village Museum Archive

81	The Kruithuis Market, ca. 1940(?).	Stellenbosch Village Museum Archive
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87	The 'Rhodes Cottages' on the 'Strandpad', ca. 1920(?). This part of town used to be known as Kreefgat. Today this building houses the Volkskombuis restaurant.	Stellenbosch Village Museum Archive
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