INVISIBLE VILLAGERS

Changing residential patterns and relationships in a rural village.

HELEN ROBINSON

1986

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ABSTRACT.

This study centres on the village of Greyton, near Caledon in the Western Cape. It investigates the contemporary and historic changes in its population, residence patterns, relationships and economic activity. It focusses particularly on the effects of the implementation of the Group Areas Act in the village in 1969 and the change from an apparently integrated agricultural settlement to a highly differentiated holiday and retirement resort.

This thesis questions the validity of the term "community" within the constraints and contradictions imposed by the establishment of Group Areas. It examines the idea of visible and invisible villagers in the context of separate development and, in the light of the changes which have taken place, it considers the relative importance of a progressive attitude in social and economic planning as opposed to a policy of preservation of the original character of a rural village.

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CHRONOLOGY.

1846	Herbert Vigne purchases Weltevreden farm.
1854	First auction of allotments at Greyton.
1860	Poundmaster appointed for Greyton: W.Digne.
1863	First tender from H.Vigne for a foot-path from Greyton to Lady Grey (now called McGregor).
1865	Three Commissioners appointed to a Management Board: Mnr. Mays, Dreyer and Schultz.
1866	The Anglican ("English") Church school established.
1876	English Church Mission School formally established.
1879	First Post Office. Postmaster: G.W. Treadway. Sited in the present Post House Inn.
1880	School (for white children only) established in the de Villiers home. Teacher: C.Mays.
1888	Mev. von Solms took over as Principal of the newly built school for white children, and continued until 1905.
1895	Deaths of Herbert and Elizabeth Vigne.
1899	Moravian School established. Teacher: F. Pheiffer.
1900	New Post Office. (Site of Miss Babst's shop)
1904	Anglican Church built.
1909	Dutch Reformed Church built.
1910	Greyton proclaimed a Municipality. Mayor: Mr J.Mays. Town Clerk: Mr von Solms.
1910	The tennis court laid out near the home of Mr Mays.
1914	Unsuccessful appeal for a rail link with Caledon.
1918	Death of Herbert Vigne, Jnr.
1923	Greyton Football Club established.
1927	The Boschmanskloof Pass between Greyton and McGregor was begun following a survey by Mr J.de Villiers.
1927	Typhoid outbreak in the village.
1928	Post Office moved to new premises in the old school building in Botha Street.
1929	The first Government School established in Greyton for Primary and Junior Secondary pupils.

1931	Mr H. West becomes Mayor of Greyton.
1933	First piped water scheme completed.
1934	Bridge built over the Zonderend River, replacing the ferry-boat.
1939	New school building for the Government school opened.
1941	Boschmanskloof Pass abandoned due to lack of funds.
1942	First local school bus service.
1947	First school hostel.
1951	Mr Weder elected Mayor.
1951	First tarred road in Greyton.
1952	The Clinic established at Market Square: Sister Coxon.
1961	New school hostel. 117 children at the school.
1962	Mr B van der Merwe elected Mayor.
1962	The Railway bus calls once a week to collect produce.
1963	Mr Weder again becomes Mayor.
1964/65	Group Areas Board visits Greyton.
1969	Greyton village proclaimed a White Group Area.
1970	Building at uitbreiding commences.
1973	The first extension of white group area.
1976	The second extension of the white group area.
1977	Proclamation of Nature Reserve and Platkloof Trail.
1980	School for children classified coloured built at Heuwelkroon.
1984	Town Planning scheme for Greyton submitted and passed.
1985	Revaluation of plots in Greyton for rating purposes.

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MARKT

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VLEISTRAAT

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VON SOLMSSTRAAT

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HAYSSTRAAT PAD

CALEDONSTRAAT

BUITEKANTSTRAAT

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Chapter 1.

Introduction.

This study centres on the village of Greyton, near Caledon in the Western Cape. It investigates the historic and contemporary changes in its population, economic activity, residence patterns and relationships. Political, social and economic pressures have all played a part in bringing changes to the village; however, it was the implementation of the Group Areas Act in Greyton in 1969 which drastically altered residential patterns and the relationships between people who live there. and to a lesser extent perhaps, influenced local employment patterns.

The village was established in 1854 and the land was sold or rented to people who were engaged in small farming activities or allied trades. Although the emphasis of the study is on contemporary issues within Greyton, there is much evidence to suggest that these are influenced by on-going historical processes within the village and outside it.

The choice of Greyton for this research provides an opportunity to study the transition from an apparently integrated agricultural village to its present status as a highly differentiated holiday and retirement resort.

The aims of my research in the village may be summarised as follows :

I trace the elements of continuity and the elements of change in residential patterns in Greyton and the rural area immediately surrounding it.

I consider the important economic and political influences which have contributed to social change in the area and how they are part of a broader social pattern.

I examine the relationships between land and status in this rural village and whether class relationships were, and still are, perceived in these terms.

I also examine the idea of the village as a "closed" community and observe in what sense relationships have changed in response to the advent of outsiders. I ask to what extent Greyton can be viewed over time as an "integrated" community, both residentially and at the interface of social relationships.

The research is conducted within the context of the general demographic shift which has resulted in the depopulation of the rural areas. This has occurred in response to social and economic pressures and incentives of various kinds and I take account of the changing uses of land. There have been social and technological changes which affect the population as a whole as as well as the mechanisation of agriculture and the resultant reduction of the farm labour force. The disappearance of people who are involved in this sector of the economy is marked and can be attributed to a number of factors which will be discussed in succeeding chapters. The absence or "invisibility" in the village itself of members of the population is crucial to this thesis.

I am particularly concerned with the extent to which ideological intervention has changed residential patterns and development in the village. Important questions would seem to be - what factors have been the main agents of change ? And which of these factors

may be seen as "organic" because they have evolved within Greyton itself and its immediate environment and which have been "imposed" on it ?

It is also important to identify the ways in which these changes have affected the social character of the community; the status and social integration of the inhabitants of the village; their interaction at all levels of daily life and particularly in their working lives, and their security - both at the financial and the emotional level.

These changes involve the separation of people from the land and, in the process, the separation of people from each other.

The Group Areas Act and its provisions.

In South Africa in the past thirty years, a determined attempt has been made to create specific group areas for the so-called different population groups, and the authorities have chosen to ignore the tendency of social boundaries to overlap.

The Group Areas Act (No. 41) was passed in 1950 and has been extended from time to time in order to facilitate the removal of large numbers of people from one area to another (Consolidation Acts No. 77 of 1957 and No. 36 of 1966). These acts imposed control over inter-racial property transactions throughout South Africa and of all the pieces of legislation which have been enacted to support and entrench the policy of apartheid, these may be among the most damaging and divisive. The effects have been felt by those classified black, coloured, Indian, and even occasionally by whites, at the heart of the family - the home. In her foreword to the book, "Outcast Cape Town", by John Western,

Erika Theron refers to the Group Areas Act as "the apartheid legislation which has caused the most embitterment and estrangement. Many people were uprooted from communities where they and their people had lived for generations. Some other discriminating laws we might accept, but the Group - never!" (1981: x/xi)

The Group Areas Board was formed to consider and implement the provisions of the Act. The Board was empowered to report to the responsible Minister on the demarcation of full group areas in towns and villages and to issue permits to owners who were allowed to retain temporary occupation of their properties. Western comments on the Group Areas Act :

> "Its aim being to achieve total racial homogeneity in each residential zone and a "satisfactory" disposition of such zones in any given settlement....."
>
> (1981: 70)

The Act is, therefore, a powerful instrument of change in established residential patterns.

On the proclamation of a given group area, all people not classified according to the designated group for that area, are given three months' notice to leave their properties, following a period of one year's grace from the date of the proclamation, which is determined by the Minister acting through the Group Areas Board. Owners of businesses are given an additional twelve months' notice to vacate their premises and may, in fact, continue to own the businesses until they die. However should they bequeathe their properties or business interests in the area to family members, their heirs may not make use of their inheritance but must sell to people qualified to be in that area within a year of the original owner's death.

The hardship and frustration caused by these provisions is felt as keenly in a small farming community like Greyton as it is in urban residential areas. In fact where agricultural land provides the main source of subsistence, it is clear that removal from that land separates the owners from their means of production as well as their homes and results in additional financial loss. Under the Act all existing contracts and all established liens and privileges attached to the owning or renting of property in the group area can be declared null and void. New conditions of ownership can be introduced in the area, should that be favourable to those empowered to make these changes (Section 23: para 4). In a rural area this could imply not only a change in ownership but also changes in land usage and agricultural practices. This is particularly significant in the case of Greyton where such changes were made by the Province in order to use commonage land to establish a relocation site for those members of the village population who had been classified coloured.

There is provision in the Act for exceptions to be made in the case of "extreme hardship" and the Minister of the Interior may grant individuals the right to remain in their properties during their life time. However these exceptions are rare. No one had the right to appear before the Group Areas Committee to argue his or her case; the committee could exercise its discretion as to whom it would hear.

Similarly, although the Act applies to the white group as well as to other groups, statistics reveal that relatively few of those classified white, have been removed. while the lives of thousands of those classified black, coloured or Indian have been affected.

Table 1.

The removal of families under the Group Areas Act.

1966 - 1983	Coloured	Indian	White
Cape Province	65,169	3004	826
South Africa.	82,859	39,892	2331

(S.A.I.R.R.,1984)

In spite of recent recommendations for "reform" and "negotiation" in some National Party circles, which are reflected in the proposals of the President's Council Committee on Influx Control (1985), and include the scrapping of some of the measures associated with this legislation, the Group Areas Act itself remains a corner-stone of National Party policy. Any talk of its removal would seem to threaten the entire structure and has been rejected in speeches by the Party leader. P.W. Botha, speaking in the House of Delegates after that House and the House of Representatives had requested the total abolition of Group Areas, stated : "I am not prepared to undertake anything more in connection with the Act" (Hansard, House of Delegates: 23.4.85).

The essential "separateness" of the so-called different population groups, as perceived in terms of the Group Areas Act, is non-negotiable.

A crucial issue would seem to be what advantages and, more importantly, what disadvantages accrue to people who are classified according to the various population groups and are removed to their own group areas ? Can this manipulation of personal space be justified ? I would agree with Pahl that "any attempts to tie the patterns of social relationships to specific geographic milieux, are singularly fruitless" (1968: 293).

On the other hand, the sense of shared territory is a powerful link between people and can be one of the main foundations of what is known as "community". Therefore the specific residential patterns of group areas do have significant implications for the growth and the maintenance of relationships within a particular " community" and also within society as a whole.

Apartheid space.

Group areas provide a thought-provoking example of the way in which a change in spatial relations between people can be made with the intention of creating, or increasing, the social distance between them. Western suggests that the Group Areas Act attempts to bring social organisation and spatial organisation into congruence so that they may better reinforce each other in maintaining the present pattern of white minority hegemony (Western, 1981: 7).

Hegemony is established by ownership of property and it seems that the property relationships which are integral to the process of agricultural production are particularly sensitive in this regard and are shaped by the historic processes of the societies in which they are located.

Therefore changes in land ownership and land usage are significant indicators of change in the balance of power in rural areas. It follows that the question of who owns the land in Greyton and its immediate environment is crucial in determining spheres of influence in the village and the district. The institution of property is, after all, an integral part of stratification in any society and particularly in rural areas where possession and control over land is an important factor of production in agriculture.

Newby and others (1987: 26) conclude that the significance of agriculture in rural society, make property a far more important feature of the rural stratification system than either occupation or income per se (cf. Stinchcombe, 1962). Here the question arises whether we must differentiate between economic classes which are defined by their relationship to the means of production and the status groups by which people are ranked socially.

The rural exodus.

Changing economic forces have also influenced the movement of people in rural areas. The process of depopulation of rural villages as the result of migration to urban areas is a familiar theme and can be observed in many parts of the world other than Southern Africa.

The push/pull factors of growing agricultural mechanisation and the lure of urban job opportunities throughout the twentieth century has sparked off an exodus of younger workers from the rural areas. This has produced a change in focus in the employment sector for many of the people domiciled in the country districts. The relationship of people to the land has altered and with this has come a change in the nature of the rural community.

While the causes of this migration may vary, the effects of a loss of vitality in the rural areas are similar. Local labour opportunities tend to diminish, too, as the area becomes depopulated. In Greyton and other small villages, a response to this phenomenon of depopulation has occurred. One might term it a systematic repopulation process as more and more people are drawn into the countryside to fill the gaps left by those who have gone away.

Repopulation.

This shift to the rural areas is motivated by considerations other than those associated with working in the area and it follows, then, that the newcomers have some means of subsistence not connected with the locality. They may belong either to a self-sufficient class, which may or may not be fairly affluent, or spend a large proportion of their time working in some other environment, usually in an urban area. In the case of Greyton and its repopulation, these categories correspond more or less to the retired people and holiday home owners.

It would appear that a productive rural working class population is being supplanted by people who are non-productive, at least as far as local conditions are concerned. They are, nevertheless, consumers and some do not necessarily remain unproductive while living in the village. To what extent these newcomers are agents of change is explored in Chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis. An important area of concern for this research must be the impact of the arrival and presence of these newcomers on the social and economic relationships in the village, the processes by which they join the life of the community and the degree to which they actually participate in village life.

Within the broad focus of this rural/urban exchange, the boundaries are blurred rather than distinct and suggest a growing and organised articulation between town and country; the idea of a rural/urban dichotomy becomes less and less acceptable. The gap between the rural and urban areas is closing rapidly with improved communication and the accessibility of both by modern transportation. It is ironic that it is within this context that a process of separation is taking place in South Africa.

Tracing change in rural areas in relevant literature.

Residential change in rural areas has been explored by social scientists in many parts of Europe and particularly in Britain (Newby,1980, Strathern,1981, Robin,1980, McFarlane,1978, and others). An analysis of the social history of rural areas has provided the impetus for many theorists from Marx to E.P.Thompson. Just as there are significant demographic and social changes for the rural population as the result of industrialisation and modernisation, there are also political implications in the rural exodus and the repopulation process.

Changes in the demography of rural areas have produced shifts in the balance of power and have created new spheres of influence among those who live there. The power base of the local farmers who, as the principal land-owners of the area, wielded considerable influence, has been weakened by the influx of people from urban environments. Newby (1978) has shown that active and articulate newcomers to village society in Britain have been able to bring pressure to bear on both local and central government in order to achieve improvements in amenities. Better roads, street-lighting and drainage have been demanded and obtained by new residents. The needs of newcomers differ from those of long-standing village residents and the rural lobby is no longer dominated by agricultural interests.

Conversely, party politics and party members must take cognizance of the changing attitudes and requirements in rural areas in order to maintain and extend their political presence there. Votes may depend on satisfying new needs and providing for different contingencies. In fact one might say that, in many English villages, a new rural class differentiation is taking place as classes are defined by their needs.

As Oxford points out : "Village life is evolving rapidly and new forms are being created as the structure of the village is being transformed." (in Strathern, 1981: 209) The South African situation provides several characteristic variations on this theme, however, and these can be attributed to the particular political and economic orientation in South Africa. The farmers in the areas adjacent to Greyton in the Overberg district, are important producers of grain, fruit and vegetables and retain considerable influence in the economic and political spheres of the district. More significant transformations are occurring in South African villages as the result of policies which are intended to direct the movement of people and to consolidate certain residential areas while changing other residential patterns. Within this framework there have been, and still are, unscheduled shifts by sections of the population but these are relatively insignificant when seen in the perspective of mass relocation provided by the Group Areas Act.

In short, choice of residence is limited for some while open to others; free movement is circumscribed for some while it is possible for others. Needs do not necessarily determine where people in South Africa are able to live or even how they live.

In his study of a "divided community" in Port Nolloth, West (1971) stresses the significance of a structure of domination in which, by segregating and discriminating, whites maintain their supremacy. He also notes the difficulty of bridging these created gaps and the further divisions resulting from variation in the stereotyped attitudes of groups to one another. In my opinion a study of cleavages within the community and the changing nature of those cleavages, is more useful in the South African situation

than acceptance of a village as a "closed community", closed that is against the outside world as some theorists have posited.

The historic perspective.

The question of who has rights to land and what these rights are, is central to this study because it conditions the response of local residents towards incomers, attitudes towards removal and decisions made to move to other areas. Because issues relating to land ownership are an important aspect of citizenship and status in South Africa, they form an appropriate framework in which to locate the development of Greyton.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century the village population included small farmers, tradesmen and labourers, some of whom were employed by owners of large farms in the area surrounding the village which falls into the Caledon magisterial district. Later the village became a haven for bywoners who left or were discharged from farms in the area. Most of the residents of the village seem to have been of Dutch, English and so-called Cape Coloured origin and residential patterns showed an apparently integrated community who worked together and contributed to the social organisation of the village.

Ordinance 50 of 1828 had made "all free people of colour equal before the law with Europeans" and gave them rights to own property, to bequeathe it as they pleased and to testify in court on the same basis as all free men. Patterson (1975:118) comments: "How they fared in courts dominated by white burghers and company officials is a matter which requires further research." They undoubtedly incurred the same responsibilities as other burghers with regard to taxation and military service. Patterson refers to the "colour-blind, property-based municipal franchise for males"

which came into being in the late 1830's and was followed in 1835 by representative government on a property- based franchise. Marais quotes draft legislation which provided for the placing of suffrage "within reach of the more intelligent and industrious men of colour" (1957: 212). Although there was no discriminatory legislation passed against them till 1910, the role of the "coloured burghers", in general, was a passive and uneasy one which never allowed them to acquire sufficient economic or political power to transform their theoretical equality into real equality.

Did " coloured" property owners and occupiers in Greyton conform to this description? Was the Group Areas Act merely a legitimation of a well-established social distance and did the removal of those classified coloured simply constitute a definition of existing boundaries? Or did their removal occasion disruption in the local community and the breakdown of existing relationships?

The introduction of Group Areas was purported to be in the interests of improved race relations and that by "distancing" the various population groups, the potential for racial friction would be reduced. However, Western observes that the S.A. Institute for Race Relations, in addressing the Cillie Commission on the causes for the 1976/77 civil unrest, declared that "no single government measure created greater coloured resentment, sacrifice and sense of injustice" (1978b: 111). Interviews with Greyton residents indicate that the village is no exception to this response and it is certain that the implementation of the Group Areas Act has caused widespread humiliation and distress among the people affected by it. It would seem, too, that in

separating those who were classified coloured from their properties in the village, an important element in its social and economic organisation was lost and this remains an emotive issue among the population of the coloured group area in Greyton.

Both West (1971) and Whisson (1969; 1972) explore the way in which people classified coloured in the Western Cape have been affected by relocation and present convincing evidence that the arbitrary removal of part of a community engenders a sense of rejection and alienation in that part of the community. Whisson comments :

> "That the law created separation where there was none before is clearly false, yet the laws relating to the rights of "races" have certainly eliminated areas of flexibility in group relations and group identity....engendering polarised attitudes instead of the earlier mutual tolerance of white paternalism."
>
> (Whisson: 1972: 15)

Changes in social relationships have occurred across the whole population affected by removals and "law has intensified and under-pinned custom in the present century until it is becoming possible to speak of the Coloured people as a separate community by virtue of their common experience of rejection and impoverishment at the hands of the dominant group" (Whisson, 1972: 34).

The newcomer's perspective.

Some of the residents to whom I have spoken in the white group area prefer to turn a blind eye to this aspect of their beautiful and apparently peaceful little village. It is now more than fifteen years since most of the removals took place and many of those people who have arrived recently in Greyton are, or were, completely unaware of what has happened to the former owners of

the properties which they have purchased. It is, for example, not something which is stressed by estate agents who are promoting the sale of property in the village. For them and their prospective clients, Greyton has all the qualities associated with a Utopian picture of village life. A superb mountain setting for a variety of charming cottages, surrounded by gardens and foliage. Little streams make their way from the larger river flowing near the mountains, which formed the basis for the ingenious irrigation scheme for the allotments and small farms of earlier days.

It fulfils the requirements of those who desire "a return to nature" and values which they perceive as associated with a rural way of life. The urge on the part of urban residents "to get away from it all", when they can, is part of a growing ecological consciousness and a disenchantment with the congestion and pollution of cities. Newby points out that there is a certain symbolic significance in owning agricultural land.

> "Urbanisation, for example, has strengthened rather than dissipated the prestige of rural life; a move to the country is still a move up the social ladder....especially for the urban middle class." (1978: 38)

Therefore the availability of property in rural areas provides a tempting investment whether it is in commuter distance of towns or further afield, but is accessible for holiday or retirement purposes.

Greyton falls into the latter category. Although there is no rail link, there is an excellent road, already tarred to within 6km of the village and there is a fairly regular bus service. There is now continuous movement on these routes in and out of

the village. In the repopulation process old cottages have been renovated, re-thatched and re-painted. Carefully authentic cottages are being built on empty plots. Only the box-like sub-economic houses of Heuwelkroon, the relocation site on an adjacent hillside, stand out in stark contrast to the original village homes; they present a silent contradiction to all this restoration and preservation of rural values.

Can Heuwelkroon be said to represent progress for the coloured community ? Has not Group Areas removed the one visible claim to participation in village affairs by the coloured community of Greyton - their possession and ownership of property in the village ? Or is there, in fact, a continuity in the historic processes which have affected the village since its inception ? Have those now classified coloured always lacked the power to influence events in Greyton or was their property ownership seen as a threat to the maintenance of authority by the "white" group and a challenge to their hegemony ? Karl Marx perceived property ownership as a manifestation of power and stressed the significance of a property based system of social stratification.

> "Upon the different forms of property, upon the social conditions of existence, rises an entire superstructure of distinct and peculiarly formed sentiments, illusions, modes of thought and views of life."
>
> (Marx in Jordan, (ed.) 1972: 272)

In Greyton the network of relationships which supports this "superstructure", overarches the basic residential pattern, spanning some 130 years. The institution of property remains an integral part of the structure of rural society but there have been changes in the implications of ownership - or loss of ownership - in the case of Greyton. Therefore if I am to suggest that this was both a socially integrated as well as a

residentially integrated community on which the implementation of the Group Areas Act made a considerable impact, it seems important

(i) to establish the residential patterns over time and to identify the relationships to land and land usage in Greyton,

(ii) to investigate the extent to which social boundaries existed and how they operated across the population as a whole.

In addition it is important to discover the extent to which changes in the village are sensitive to and reflect changes in the social organisation of society at large. Is there a continuity in these changes which are affecting the village ? And will what now appears to be change, later come to be seen as continuity ?

Methodology.

This outline of my methodology is intended to illuminate the elements of continuity and the elements of change which I have endeavoured to trace in my thesis. The significance of history in this process has necessitated intensive archival research, the results of which are laid out in Chapter 2.

For data relating to the earlier period of tbe village (1850 - 1910), I have examined original records of property transactions and early maps of the village in the Cape Town Deeds Office and the Cape Town Archives. I have also consulted various accounts of life at that time; management records, diaries, letters and other personal documents and photographs of former residents. In addition, for the period from about 1910, I have been able to obtain oral accounts and childhood memories of aged people who have lived, or still live, in Greyton and the surrounding area. Land usage and agricultural output has been traced through

account and farm management books, bills of sale and trading records. Additional information is derived from published material, the media and from official documents and village records, while extensive fieldwork in the area has produced contemporary case studies and tales of origin.

It is interesting to note that the original plan of the village did not alter between 1854 and 1970 - there was a pre-determined design (see Diagram 1) which has been fulfilled over time. However, in the past fifteen years, there have been some important changes for particular purposes: Group Areas, for example, broke the pattern of commonage rights which contained and limited the size and extent of the village (see Diagram 2).Expansion to the boundaries of the original farm property is now theoretically possible and is, in fact, a subject of contention in the village. The significance of old liens and servitudes is now being re-examined by residents.

My intention was to set up a data bank from which trends which have influenced or constrained local change can be exemplified. The material is, of necessity, highly selective and relates to changes in this small community but, hopefully, it will be relevant when discussing and emphasising the relationship between local and national trends. History provides the researcher with significant insights into the residential patterns and relationships which have prevailed over time in particular areas.

Deeds Office records indicate the processes by which land was acquired. The subsequent classification of property owners into various population groups does not affect their residential history as a family. In Greyton clear indications of ownership can be traced from the inception of the village in 1854 to the

present time. Historical records enable us to establish the way in which property changed hands within a family or the way it was transferred to others who came from inside or outside the district. More recently transactions under the Group Areas Act are clearly indicated by official stamps, and affidavits which confirm the population group of the transferee. Earlier transfer documents only occasionally indicate that one or other or both of the transferring parties were "coloured".

These problems of definition are of considerable importance to the researcher when considering who were the "coloured" property owners of Greyton - according to the Act. It was the registration of persons under the Population Registration Act which paved the way for their removal under the Group Areas Act at a later date.

With regard to the actual population of Greyton at the time when the Group Areas Act was implemented there, the census records provide some indication of the distribution of those classified White, Coloured, Indian and Black, male and female. For reasons which I shall examine during the course of this thesis, these records do not necessarily represent the entire population of Greyton. However, my own research has shown that there was a fairly even distribution of households classified White and Coloured in the village. Although there was a tendency for more land to be owned by the "white" property owners, the people classified coloured were also substantial land-owners.

For the purposes of establishing ownership or loss of ownership of property in Greyton, I have accepted the definition of people under the Population Registration Act, while at the same time acknowledging the inconsistencies of the definition and rejecting its validity as a means of isolating a section of the

population. This is one of the many ethical problems which the researcher must confront when working within the framework of apartheid.

An additional problem for the researcher when examining Deeds Office records is that one must take at face value, the classification attributed to those from whom property was being transferred. At times Group Areas cut across families where intermarriage had taken place across the "colour line", and it was not uncommon for some members of the same family to be classified white while others were classified coloured, due to the arbitrary definition of "race" in the Population Registration Act.

In the course of my research several cases emerged of people who had successfully crossed the "colour line" prior to the implementation of Group Areas. Whatever the personal perspective of the researcher, discretion must be exercised in examining these records and making assumptions about the origins of people. I have, therefore, accepted only that property which is designated as "affected property" as that which is owned by people classified coloured and I have disregarded any inconsistent cases.

From case study material provided by elderly residents, it seems probable that there was a tacit acceptance by the people of Greyton that not all the residents were "white", but it was not until the advent of the Population Registration Act that this division on the grounds of colour was made explicit.

However, as Western (1981) observes, it is possible to be "white" in terms of the Population Registration Act and to fulfill all

its requirements for acceptance into the "white group", but at the same time to refuse to do so for personal reasons. He quotes the following example :

> An old woman in Kew Town, who had close relatives who are classified as white, told me, "When we had to leave they said "Why don't you reclassify as white ?" Many did, but its only for the money and I don't want to split up from my children." (211)

There are many who did "pass for white" successfully but this usually necessitates moving out of the district to another where they are unknown. This may well have happened in Greyton but, for those who remained in the small village, this kind of deception was impossible. As one inhabitant of long standing remarked with a chuckle, "Hier is die wit rose en die swart rose, you can maar take your pick."

Social realities of this kind emphasise the inconsistencies in the legislation which the proposed removal of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and part of the Immorality Act, can only intensify unless the provisions of the Group Areas Act are also removed.

When operationalising a study of this kind the researcher must also give serious thought to the identification of informants and the extent to which they are consulted with regard to the confidentiality of the material they provide; this is particularly important where informants have already identified themselves by participating in media coverage of events in Greyton which are referred to in this thesis. For this reason, in all case material derived from interviews, names have been changed to preserve anonymity but published material is quoted as it appeared in the press and historical documents are reproduced as they appear in the archives.

In this regard I am very fortunate in having had access to the personal papers of Dr O. Wollheim, relating to the implementation of the Group Areas Act in Greyton. These are now lodged in the Archives of the University of Cape Town and have provided direct contact with correspondence relating to these events and their coverage by the media.

The method of participant observation employed by anthropologists in general, and by this anthropologist in particular, also places certain constraints on the use of material acquired while acting as part of the population being studied. The necessity for frankness and trust between researcher and informant is obvious. There have been cases where a breakdown appears to have occurred in this kind of communication and material provided by informants is manipulated in such a way that they are alienated. The book by Crapanzano, "Waiting: the whites of South Africa" (1984), comes to mind where a breach of trust seems to have occurred for reasons of expediency. In a small village population where identification is easy, there may be repercussions of an unfortunate nature when hitherto private information is published without proper clearance.

My approach to the fieldwork was governed by the particular circumstances prevailing in the village. I spent several extended periods in Greyton in June/July, 1984, October to January, 1984/5 and June/July, 1985. It has also been expedient to visit the village frequently at week-ends in order to make contact with many of the people who do not live in the village permanently or who work elsewhere and only return to the village at week-ends.

I drew a sample of 80 households from the total number of those who own or rent property in the village; this sample included

those who live in Heuwelkroon. I based this sample on the official census figures for the population in 1980, which were given as 800, later corrected to 707. A breakdown of these figures follows :

Table 2.

Census figures for the Greyton population : 1980.

	Total.	White.	Coloured.	Asian.	Black.
Total.	707	261	438	7	1
Male.	367	126	238	2	1
Female.	340	135	200	5	0

However, on closer acquaintance with the village, it became clear to me that a larger number of people owned or rented property in Greyton and Heuwelkroon than was implied by the census figures, which were recorded at mid-week when many people were absent from Greyton. I then increased my sample size to 150. In the course of my fieldwork I have also received information from others who are not included in my sample.

There are both English and Afrikaans speaking residents in Greyton and both languages were used for the interviews which followed the simple schedule in Appendix A.

Defining problems.

Among the residents of long-standing, there was a degree of caution in the interview situation and an awareness of change in the village and all its implications. Many of the new-comers to Greyton were unaware of, and in some cases, curious about the history of the village and what had led up to its comparatively

sudden development. A few were quite uninterested in the past and many of the so-called "week-enders" are unable, and indeed, are not prepared to take a practical interest in local affairs. As a participant observer it has been possible to identify several interest groups which have emerged among the local residents and to record the attitudes of those who are involved, or remain uninvolved, in them. In collecting information from those who are classified white and those who are classified coloured, it is essential that the researcher should be aware of the events and alignments which have conditioned relationships between those now living in the two group areas. In drawing together these themes of rural removal and repopulation, I have endeavoured to present a balanced view of what has been, and still is, an emotive situation.

Previous anthropological studies have shown that small societies are very often a combination of opposing view-points and the perspective adopted by the researcher is, therefore, significant. The separate studies by Redfield (1930) and Lewis (1951) in the same small Mexican village, provide a graphic illustration of how two people who are seeking answers to different questions can gain very different impressions of the same community and make observations which seem contradictory. Whether one asks what it is that people enjoy or what it is that people suffer from, these questions may explore significantly different areas of human experience. What becomes important is the moral dialectic which may exist between the answers to these questions. In addition one must attempt to discover the extent to which the changes in the village are sensitive to and reflect changes in the social organisation of society at large.

In Chapter 1 , the situation in Greyton is contextualised within the framework of the wider world, both that of the legislation which governs Group Areas in South Africa and also that provided by relevant literature. I also explore the findings of social scientists in other areas relating to the themes of rural exodus and rural repopulation.

Chapter 2 comprises a brief history of the Greyton area in which the emphasis rests on the relationship between the local farmers, their labour resources and the influence of the Genadendal Mission in the district. I also trace the events which led up to the establishment of Greyton by Herbert Vigne and the significance of the agricultural activities which shaped the development of the village.

Chapter 3 describes the implementation of the Group Areas Act in Greyton between 1965 and 1970 and the consequences of this for the people who lived there, and particularly for those classified coloured.

In Chapters 4 and 5 the implications of Group Areas are discussed in the light of the change and development which is taking place in the area. The extensive repopulation of the village has emphasised conflicting interests among the residents and Chapter 4 explores the white group area and introduces the theme of visible and invisible villagers. Chapter 5 examines the relative importance of initiating and inplementing a progressive attitude towards social and economic development and planning, or preserving the original character of a rural village. Both these alternatives are seen in the light of the contradiction implicit in the separate development which is taking place in Greyton, and the constraints and problems arising from the different

perspectives of the property owners and their varying needs. Chapter 5 also explores the question of what exactly is being preserved in Greyton and pursues a theme raised in Chapter 4 of who has the power to make decisions of this kind in Greyton.

Chapter 6 attempts to draw together these themes of change in residential patterns and relationships by examining the concept of community. While I question its validity as a means of description and analysis in this case, it forms part of the Utopian ideal which is marketed in Greyton. Whether they are myth or material, these perceptions of community, and more importantly for some, lack of community, are both alive and well in Greyton.

In my study of Greyton, these would seem to be important issues which draw together the various social, economic and political themes which are expressed in village relationships; they also emcompass the changes which affect the practical considerations of where and how people live, the freedom of choice that exists for some people in this respect, and not for others, and what that, in turn, represents.

THE NEW VILLAGE OF

GREYTON G8.

SITUATE IN THE IMMEDIATE VICINITY OF

GENADEDAL

DIVISION OF CALEDON

FOR LIST OF DEDUCTIONS SEE TRIPLICATE NO. 1513/1856.

2275

COMMONAGE

COMMONAGE

COMMONAGE

PARK STREET

CRESCENT

VLEI STREET

MARKET STREET

CHURCH ST

JONES ST

BRAAM ST

PLACE

MAIN STREET

BUITEPLAAS STREET

CALEDON STREET

QUEEN STREET

VAN SCHALKWYK STREET

VON SOLMS STREET

JUSTICE STREET

OAK STREET

BLOCK A

BLOCK B

BLOCK C

BLOCK D

BLOCK E

BLOCK F

BLOCK G

BLOCK H

BLOCK J

BLOCK K

BLOCK L

BLOCK M

BLOCK N

BLOCK O

BLOCK P

BLOCK Q

BLOCK T

BLOCK U

BLOCK V

BLOCK W

BLOCK X

GROUND RESERVED FOR PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

① THE figure 324 over portion of Market Place has been closed. Vide Admins. Cert. filed as page RS7768 dd. 26.9.1951. Dgm. No. 5481/1951.

② Erf 324 added.

Street Names added S/7768/11 p 99.

GREYTON ALLOTMENT AREA

Numbered under the Provisions of the Deeds Registries Act No. 47/1937. Vide Notice Plan > 338-1-0 A1-2-14 A1-22A 77 (Grys)

for Surv. Gen. 13.11.81

REVISED

for Surv. Gen. 28.7.1984.

MICROBOX



Foreground: The Bo-dorp on the Crescent - Park Road above.
Middle distance: The Village centre and the Onder-dorp.
Far distance: Heuwelkroon.



Main Street: looking back in time and up towards the mountains.

Chapter 2

"There was a field here once....."

The village of Greyton is now about 130 years old and its early history reveals a stable, if somewhat slow, growth rate. While it has been affected by events beyond it throughout its existence, improved communications during the past forty years have undoubtedly given impetus to the pace of change.

Although people lived in the area for many years before the establishment of the village, an organised settlement at Greyton can be traced to one man, Herbert Vigne. He set in motion a property marketing cycle which seems to have come full circle.

What he did and the way in which he planned his actions, provided the shaping mechanism for the development of the village. Some of the events which have moulded further growth, might be referred to as "organic" in that they have originated within the village population while others have been "imposed" by forces operating beyond the village. In both cases the responses to these events are part of the process of history.

My analysis of the 130 years of change in the village of Greyton falls into four phases. I have been highly selective in choosing to focus on :

(1) the initial period of development (1854 - 1870), the events which took place prior to the proclamation of village and the situation which pertained in the district at the time.

(2) the turn of the century (1895 - 1910), when the influence of the Vigne family on the village declined;

(3) the period before and over-lapping the second World War, (1935 - 1950);

(4) the period immediately prior to, and since the implementation of the Group Areas Act in Greyton (1965 - 1985).

I have taken account of the economic conditions which are specifically but not exclusively relevant to this small rural village and I have tried to concentrate on trends which have constrained and influenced social change in a real and observable way.

In choosing these periods my aim is to set out events which are not chronologically continuous but which seem to have produced significant change in residential patterns, property ownership and population figures. For the practical purposes of this thesis, I concentrate on periods (1) and (2) in this chapter and merely outline development from 1910 to the present time. I present more substantiative data on periods (3) and (4) in chapters 4 and 3 respectively where its significance is seen in relation to particular changes in both residential patterns and working relationships.

The appearance of the village.

A dusty gravel road still provides the immediate approach to Greyton as it has done for many years. Mountains tower above the village on the western and southern side and though they drop away to rolling hills in the north-east. Newcomers experience a sensation of being enclosed and cut off from the surrounding district. In one sense this is true for the road does not run on through Greyton and over the mountains but loops back more or less in the direction it has come. This road follows the curve of the hills eastward to Riviersonderend and passes the farms

surrounding the village as it did when it served as the main post road to Swellendam, which was established in 1745.

At that time the countryside was well-wooded and the indigenous blackwood and yellow-wood trees provided a source of timber for the waggon and cask makers of the area, which is now referred to as the Overberg.

There was a plentiful water- supply which flowed from the mountains and joined the larger rivers. Heavy snow blanketed these mountains in winter but summers were very hot. The soil was fertile in the broad open area between the high ground.

Before Greyton.

The first Moravian missionary, Georg Schmidt, chose a site in this valley to establish a settlement in the early part of the eighteenth century. It was known as Baviaanskloof at that time and later became the mission station of Genadendal with its dominant church on the central square which exists to this day.

The missionaries preached the gospel of Christianity to the local population and instructed them in the values and goals of the German evangelist movement of that time. The first small beginning was followed by a larger and better supported group and the mission was eventually laid out as a small farming settlement. The land which the church acquired was worked by the small-holders and tuition in the various trades connected with farming was given. Their conversion to the Moravian community usually followed and education towards literacy and understanding of the Scriptures was provided.

The mission lands bordered on the loan-place, Weltevreden, on which the village of Greyton was to be established, only four kilometres away from Baviaanskloof. On the slopes of the mountain, not far from the mission, there was a settlement named Boschmanskloof, where, as the name implies, woodsmen and other labourers lived. Boschmanskloof survives today as an adjacent settlement to Greyton, although the forests which gave employment to its original inhabitants have been decimated.

Weltevreden was one of the several grazing farms in the area and it occupied the entire top end of the valley. It amounted to some 1866 morgen and dates from the time of the Dutch East India Company. In the final decades of the eighteenth century, and coinciding with the arrival of the second group of Moravian missionaries, farmers were beginning to acquire land along the Zonderend River - de Oude Bakoven in 1788 and Morkel's farm in 1793 (copies of these leases are to be found in the letter files of the Genadendal Mission : Vol. 1).

Weltevreden was given out in 1791 to the son of Marthinus Theunissen who was the local representative of the Company at the old Company's post, Zoetmelkvlei. He was a farmer who held the office of Sergeant in the service of the Company, having a few soldiers under his command. He supplied the Cape with cattle and controlled the Hottentots in the area, many of whom still lived on land belonging to the Company (Kruger, 1966:51/52).

He was also made responsible for the care of the three Moravian missionaries when they arrived at Baviaanskloof on Christmas Eve, 1792 to re-establish the Mission founded by Georg Schmidt and at this stage he gave them the support which they needed to overcome the many difficulties which faced them.

"The country round the mission was still uncultivated veld. Useful firewood grew mear the Zonderend river. Back in the kloof stood many more trees but it was impossible to bring the trunks out. There were no more Bushmen in the mountains but escaped slaves made an occasional appearance. The Zonderend was still unbridged, crossing was dangerous and sometimes impossible. The veld abounded in game: bontebok, ostriches, elands and quagga."

(Kruger, 1966:53)

At this stage Theunissen encouraged the Khoi people to go to the Mission and offered them official protection if they did so. The Mission station prospered, crops were planted and instruction given. From the nucleus of a few who had followed Georg Schmidt - (including old Magadelena who was one of his first converts) - the numbers of people drawn to it increased. But the success of the Mission provoked opposition from the neighbouring farmers, many of whom were not prosperous. They hired labour in the district and payment was supplemented by rations of food, and wine, which was given four times a day. Labourers were induced to return for the next harvest by generous gifts of wine and brandy and the Moravian brethren expressed open disapproval of this custom. The local farmers, including Theunissen, now began to oppose the work of the missionaries and in 1794, Theunissen used the authority vested in him by the Company to limit the numbers of people at Baviaanskloof.

By now Theunissen also had a personal interest in halting the migration to the Mission because his son had married and built himself a home at Weltevreden. Relations between Theunissen and the Mission were strained as the brethren were forced to comply with his wishes.

Salvation came from an unexpected quarter. Hendrik Cloete from Groote Constantia and Heemraden of Stellenbosch (who had been a

pupil of Georg Schmidt), appeared with two other burghers. When the difficulties were explained to him he made a careful investigation and left for Weltevreden. A few weeks later the brethren heard that he had bought the farm, Weltevreden, from Theunissens's son (Kruger, 1966: 67).

On the 1 April, 1795, the following document, now in the Cape Town Archives, was signed at the Castle of Good Hope.

Letter of A.J. Sluisken to R.N.V. van der Riet.

Re Weltevreden.

> It is granted by this to the late Heemraad of Stellenbosch Hendrik Cloete for the space of one year in loan the farm called Weltevreden situated near the mountains of the River Zonder Einde in the district of Stellenbosch, lately inhabited and now evacuated by Marthinus Theunissen , on condition that the said H. Cloete, shall not take that estate in possession before it has been registered to the office of the Landsrevenue and paid to the Company cash the sum of Sixteen Dukatons of Twenty four Rixdalers, and to renew one month before the separation of every year this permission or loan, otherwise failing herein he shall become answerable for any of the remaining arrears, (unpaid interests) and taxes, the permission annihilated, and shall be proceeded against him agreeable to the publications. And that further, the said H.Cloete shall not be permitted to drive his cattle through the River Zonder Eind, and not thereby cause the least disadvantage to the adjunct habitation of Hottentots.

(Misc. Doc.,Vol 11, 1795/1805, No. 211)

Cloete had said that the cattle of the Hottentots could be brought back and that their rights must be respected. The difficulties seemed to have been solved for the time being and relations between the Mission and Theunissen improved. The loan place remained in the hands of Hendrik Cloete and after the British occupation of the Cape it became a freehold farm while in his possession.

Confusion reigned in the district for some time as the people of

the Overberg district reacted in various ways to the arrival of the British but eventually peace and order was restored and the Mission was able to continue its work. Baviaanskloof became, after Cape Town, the largest settlement in the colony at this period.

When the brethren made a survey of the settlement in 1799, they found 1,234 people in 228 dwellings within an hour's distance around the institution." (Kruger, 1966: 76)

From this information it is clear that the district was well-developed and populated before the establishment of Greyton village and that, by the turn of the century, a necessary , if somewhat uneasy economic relationship existed between the Khoi people, the missionaries and the local farmers.

The Mission expanded further under Superintendent Hallbeck and was given the name of Genadendal. In the early part of the nineteenth century the mission community built a sturdy bridge across the Zonderend in order to link the Mission with their corn lands across the river (Day-book, Genadendal; Vol.8:16). Today a plaque on the bridge commemorates its completion in 1821 and it has been proclaimed a national monument.

The Mission wanted to extend its lands as the number of inhabitants increased and in 1836 and 1838 Weltevreden was offered for sale to the brethren but the Mission council could not afford to purchase at that time. The farm again was put on the market and on February 5, 1839, it was sold to John Malcolm Stewart who retained ownership until his death. After lengthy negotiation, transfer was passed to Herbert Vigne on December 21, 1846 and he took up residence on his property.

The site of the original farmstead, built by Theunissen's son, seems to have been on the slopes of the mountain in a narrow ravine overlooking the valley below. From this point the young Herbert Vigne would have been able to survey his lands and the contours of the sloping hills to which the village has been neatly moulded. During the next fifty years he changed the character of this grazing farm and planned the small village of Greyton, more or less as it exists today.

Who was Herbert Vigne ?

Herbert Vigné, born in 1821, was the sixth of the nine surviving children of Henry and Mary-Anne Vigne. Henry Vigne was the eldest son of Rev. Robert Vigne, who was born about 1730 and held a living in the Hertfordshire parish of Woodford. The name, Vigne, was originally de la Vigne, a Norman French family who emigrated via Holland to England after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1693. Rev. Vigne married Margaret d'Olier who was probably also a descendent of a French Protestant fugitive. Henry Vigne was born in 1752 and married the daughter of another clergyman, Rev. Thomas Roberts, the Vicar of Tenterden. This lady was heir to Sir Robert Austin and the couple must have been both socially well-connected and financially secure.

In later life Henry Vigne bought Church Hill House, Walthamstowe, an estate of some 30 acres, and he was portrayed in "The Graphic" as the oldest Master of Hounds at the time. On his eighty-sixth birthday he rode to hounds from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m.!

His second son, George Vigne, married Anna Grey, sister of Sir George Grey, who became Governor of the Cape. This family connection was to be of significance to his sons, Henry Thomas

and Herbert who decided to emigrate to the Cape together in 1842.

Henry Thomas Vigne, the eldest son, was married in 1830 to Anna-Maria Peter (born Tandy), who was of Irish descent. It is interesting to note that she had spent most of her childhood with her elder cousin, Lady Anne Barnard who had returned from the Cape in 1802. It is probable that, as Lady Anne had visited Genadendal while at the Cape, she may have spoken of her travels to her young cousin.

When Herbert accompanied Henry Thomas and Anna-Maria Vigne and their four children to the Cape in 1842, he was unmarried and twenty one years of age. His elder brother bought the farm, Tygerhoek, at Rivierzonderend and settled there. He became an extremely versatile and efficient farmer, breeding the bloodstock horses of which he was passionately fond. He was also a talented painter and has left a number of paintings which are now housed with other family heirlooms at the home of his great-great grand daughter, Olive Grant McIntyre in Kimberley.

Henry Thomas Vigne became the member of Parliament for Caledon district in 1854 , and regularly travelled to Cape Town for the Parliamentary session, sometimes staying with Sir George Grey at Government House.

Herbert Vigne remained for several years with his brother and family on the farm Tygerhoek but family records indicate that they did not agree entirely on matters connected with farming. It is not surprising, therefore, that Herbert decided to strike out on his own and that by 1847 he had moved to his own property - Weltevreden, in the vicinity of Genadendal.

Elements of conflict in the farming community.

During the 1840's and the early 1850's, disagreements between the Genadendal Mission and government officials, following pressure from local farmers came to a head. These were the result of the long-standing grievances articulated by farmers in the vicinity of Genadendal and the other Missions , which centred on the control exercised by the missionaries over the farm labourers and freed slaves who lived at the Missions.

The farmers complained that these labourers were now unreliable and "cheeky" and the farmers openly or covertly opposed the influence of the missionaries. Because the farmers were dependent on these workers for casual labour recruitment, they submitted a petition in 1849, drawing attention to "the withdrawal of so many thousands of farm labourers from permanent service on farms to reside in idleness and unproductive habits at the numerous missionary institutions throughout the Colony, and to the mischievious effect of missionary interference with temporal affairs, affecting not only the interests of the large bodies of people monopolised by them, but the agricultural interests especially....."(Kruger, 1966: 242).

Investigations of these allegations by the Magistrates of the time, tended to underplay the "evils" which the farmers stressed and emphasised the good works and upliftment provided by the missionaries. Many years later, J.S.Marais in his book about the Cape Coloured people, came to the conclusion that although the farmers' complaints were exaggerated, they were not unfounded. However, the missions did provide a labour pool on which the farmers could draw, which weakened the farmers' case rather than

strengthened it (Marais, 1939:190-199). Another complaint was that the missions sheltered law-breakers and the authorities decided to provide a policeman at Genadendal, Johannes Ruiter, a local man. He was replaced after a few months by a white policeman under the supervision of Herbert Vigne, who had now become the local field-cornet. This did not please the missionaries and did, in fact, cause offence to the people of Genadendal who perceived this as a slight to Ruiter.

Vigne was, thus, well aware of local problems relating to farm labour recruitment and the farmers' animosity to the Mission at this time.

Genadendal was also an important centre for voters in the local parliamentary elections and had about 500 registered voters. When H.T.Vigne, brother of Herbert Vigne, stood for election he promised to advocate the cause of the inhabitants of the Mission, which must have set him in opposition to many of his farming neighbours. In the then current electoral system every voter had eight votes which he could spread over eight different candidates or give to one of his choice. The voters of Genadendal chose to do the latter and as the result Vigne received 3913 votes from them. Another candidate who tried to gain their support by offering brandy received only one vote.

One unfortunate consequence of the election, however, was the expulsion by Jacobus Linde from his farm, Twistwyk, of eight families who had given their support to Vigne.

H.T. Vigne was elected and, in spite of opposition, he did support the interests of the Mission.

It is significant, too, that in 1848, shortly after Herbert Vigne settled at Weltevreden, Dr Robert Gray, the first Bishop of the Anglican Church in South Africa, visited the Genadendal district. Although he approved the work done by the Moravian Missions, he disagreed with their policy on the control of land. Gray believed that the inhabitants should have their own property and that the establishments should be seen as villages rather than as mission stations. When the Anglican mission at Abbotsdale was founded in the Western Cape in 1858, these principles operated.

When Herbert Vigne, himself an Anglican, marketed his land in 1854, he was also conforming to this pattern which was in line with the liberal models of British Reformist politics of the time.

Although, ironically, this pattern also reflects the colonial capitalism of the day and it is possible that both Herbert and H.T.Vigne manipulated the prevailing economic and political trends to their advantage, the kind of paternalism which informed their actions was somewhat at odds with the accepted attitudes and relationships between the local farmers and the other inhabitants of the area. The idea that the indigenous population had some rights to ownership of the land on which they had lived for many years, was not acceptable to many of the local farmers, who were expanding their properties and acquiring as much land as possible at this time. It did, however, coincide with the ideas which were expressed in 1850 by a resident of Genadendal who had been questioned privately by Sir Harry Smith and Lord Montague about the affairs of the Mission. The Governor wanted to know, among other things, "whether the people of Genadendal had a responsible leader among them". Subsequently the man did some research in the Cape Archives and he came to the conclusion

that the land belonged by rights to the Khoi people and he wrote to one of his friends to claim a Captaincy over the settlement. However, after long negotiations, an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants declared that they wanted the missionaries to remain in control (Genadendal, Gen Doc.:26/9/1850)

Superintendent Teutsch reminded the Government of promises which had been made to the brethren from time to time since 1792, and asked that Genadendal and Groenkloof should now be formally granted in freehold to the Superintendent and his successors and that, in any case, the settlements should not be opened to whites (Kruger,1966: 245). Eventually a compromise was reached. The estate should be given to the Mission but the land was to be held in trust until such time as it could be declared a Municipality. It was thought that at that stage it would be impractical to sub-divide the land and grant plots to the residents and that the cost of the survey would be too expensive. Thus after much argument the Mission land was secured by the grant signed by the Governor, Sir George Grey, but the granting of freehold rights to individual residents was postponed (Genadendal,General documents: 26/9/1851).

It is interesting to note the exposure of the Vigne family to the latter stages of this debate with all its implications for ownership and residential rights. Their presence in the district, together with the official position held by Herbert as the local field cornet, must have provided them with some insight into the relative viewpoints of the participants. It is not a coincidence, perhaps that it was at this time that Herbert Vigne was setting in motion his plans for the freehold village of Greyton.

The foundation of Greyton village.

The availability of freehold land on the farm, Weltevreden, adjacent to Genadendal, must have fulfilled the requirements of at least some of the mission residents and it is, therefore, hardly surprising that some who were able to do so, purchased or rented land from Herbert Vigne. He was in one sense exploiting an existing need when he marketed his land and made another kind of capital gain on his investment than he might have derived from farming alone. On the other hand, in establishing this little village, he may also have been satisfying some personal goal and even indulging in what today is called "social engineering."

At the same time he changed his own life style by replacing his large estate with a much smaller farm in the centre of the settlement of small farmers to whom he had sold land. Perhaps he felt the need to be part of a small society. At twenty five he was still unmarried and he remained a bachelor until he was over forty. When he did get married it was to the daughter of one of the purchasers of his land, Mr James Belshaw. Vigne and his wife, Elizabeth, had a family of five children and his descendents are still living in Greyton.

What ever his motivation in establishing the village, Vigne went about the project in a business- like manner. Shortly after purchasing the farm in 1846, Vigne had his farm measured out in erven (lots) by a Senior Surveyor, Mr J.G. Reitz, who was responsible for laying out the village. It seems likely that Vigne had a hand in the planning and design of Greyton and he was undoubtedly responsible for the marketing and sale of the erven.

The sale was advertised in the news-sheets of the day (see Cape Advertiser- October,1854) and must have attracted buyers from beyond the immediate district and nearby Genadendal.

The day-book at Genadendal reads:

1854: On 27 Nov. 165 erwe of the farm Boschmanskloof - (the former name of Weltevreden)- were sold. The farm will receive the name Greyton. 400 erwe have been marked out. Various inhabitants of Genadendal also purchased erwe. On the 5 Dec. the new Governor, Sir George Grey arrives. A God-fearing man who supports the Mission.

An examination of the deeds of sale for 1854 confirms that at least 120 plots were sold outright to purchasers from all over the Cape at prices ranging from five pounds to eleven pounds ten shillings each. Mr William Smith of Caledon acted as conveyancer for the properties in 1854 and it is interesting to examine the particular terms of the transfer documents which give some indication of the light in which Vigne viewed the project as a whole and, perhaps, of his intentions in establishing the settlement.

Extract from the conditions of sale of erven in the projected village of Greyton situated on the estate Weltevreden in the Division of Caledon held on the 27th and 28th days of December, 1854.

1) The seller shall have the right and restricts himself to sell or otherwise dispose of lots of ground or erven in the said village in the manner and at such times as he shall deem fit up to the extent of Morgen, according to the plan produced at the sale, exclusive of 10 morgen, situated in the Magermanskloof on the opposite side of the River Zonder End near the cottage and no more, streets and squares included to form the constituted village of Greyton as laid down, shown and specified on the plan thereof, constructed by the said Surveyor, MJ.G.Reitz: and every erf marked in the said plan whether now sold or reserved shall be entitled equally to the rights conceded to the erven generally; the water , or right to the water for irrigation, excepted which shall be a specific concession.

2) To the said extent of morgen as hereinbefore mentioned so set apart to form and constitute the said village, the Seller attaches and cede as Town Commonage, the remainder of the land of his estate Bosjesmanskloof which estate is in its whole extent 1886 morgen or 3733 acres, as will be shown by the original diagram thereof dated 5th February, 1839 which shall remain forever inalienably apportioned to such Town Commonage exclusively, subject to the hereinafter mentioned stipulations and restrictions.

3) The pasturage on the said commonage shall be apportioned exclusively for the use of the proprietors of erven and the occupants of erven under the authority of the proprietors, and to the use of bona fide travellers to and from the village, subject to the hereinafter named regulations and restrictions.

4) All the inhabitants of the village shall for culinary and other domestic purposes, have free access to the water of the village, along its course from where it enters the village downwards to the South west extreminty of the Town Common; without trespass on private property, however; and subject to the Municipal or village regulations; but only the erven marked Block A, being the present residence of the Seller, (here follow all block numbers marked on the plan) all exclusive, on the plan of the village, framed by the Surveyor, shall be entitled to the use of the water arising from Naauwkloof and Bosjesmanskloof, for irrigation in fair and equal proportions, according to the extent of each; and as the supply must here, and elsewhere, vary with the seasons and from natural causes, the Seller was not in any way to be held responsible for the same.

True Extract.

(sgd.) William Smith,
Conveyancer.

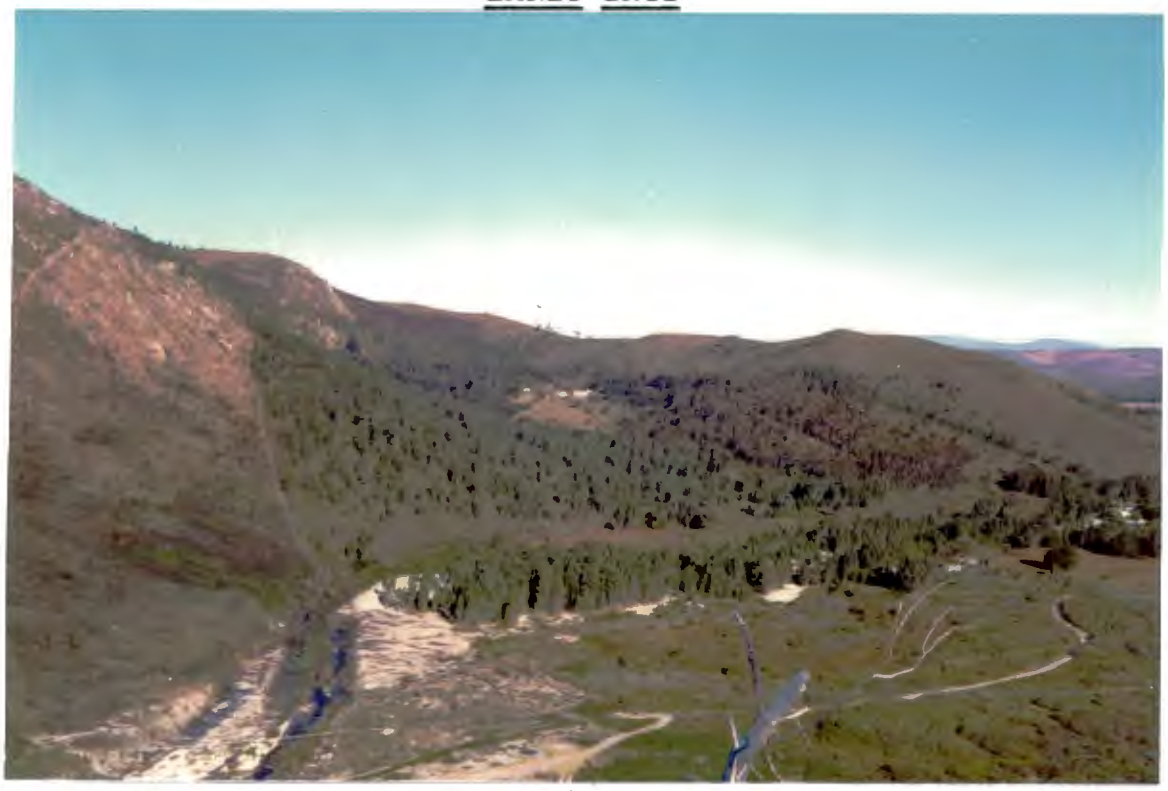
The design of the village.

These provisions, seen in conjunction with the plan of the village, indicate a very clear design for the settlement and pre-suppose the need for larger plots than were required for a dwelling-house. The limitation of growth implicit in the preservation of the surrounding commonage suggests an ecological awareness and an intention to provide for a self-supporting agricultural community at Greyton. Over the years, however, there have been sub-divisions which have changed the size and shape of the erven within the basic design, as the requirements of the

village inhabitants have changed or have responded to pressure of various kinds. It is clear that the sales of erven provided Herbert Vigne with a continuing income other than from farming, and in return he provided water for the village and commonage, for which he ceded almost all the land he owned beyond the village limits. It is interesting to note that he retained the 10 morgen in Magermanskloof for his own use. This was probably the site of the original farmstead built by the younger Theunissen, and the remains of an old dwelling can still be seen today near the more modern house which was constructed about fifty years ago. This now belongs to descendents of the Vigne family although it passed out of their hands for a good many years.

Herbert Vigne's own residence was situated at the end of the village nearest to Genadendal on a substantial piece of land and was named "The Bush". The house was partly destroyed by fire early in this century but remains today as the central part of the more modern home of the present owner. The thick walls of an earlier time are easily identifiable. An old barn still survives unchanged from the original farmstead.

The erven were arranged around "The Bush" rather in the manner of a feudal estate with smaller plots abutting directly onto the home farm, while the larger agricultural erven fanned out along the hillside and on either side of the curving road, originally known as the Crescent. These plots gave the village a characteristic formation and were irrigated by an ingenious lei-water system which ran along the upper end of the sloping plots of the Crescent and then wandered down to the home farm and the other end of the village. It is clearly marked on the original map of Greyton village and is still used today by the residents.



Weltevreden? The possible site of the original farmstead. It overlooks the valley and is surrounded by the remains of a beautiful garden, ancient trees and an over-grown vinyard.



The site of Herbert Vigne's residence in the village, showing the original old barn and the rebuilt farmstead on the left.

The disposal of the plots seems to have proceeded in a somewhat haphazard manner but a map belonging to the Greyton Municipality shows clearly on what dates the various blocks were marketed. The ones round the home farm and a portion of the Crescent were the first to be sold. The geographic situation of these plots must have laid the foundation for references to the Crescent plots on rising ground as the Bo-dorp - while the other end of the little village became the Onder-dorp.

Herbert Vigne must have been satisfied with his plan because he continued to dispose of the plots in batches of twenty or thirty over the next forty years, until he died in 1895 aged 73. After his death his heirs carried on the process of disposing of the land until about 1910. Throughout this time the land was sold and rented to people without regard for colour and an examination of Deeds Office records suggests that this process continued uninterrupted until the implementation of the Group Areas Act in Greyton in 1969.

In recent years some research in Greyton was conducted by a retired Moravian missionary, Pastor L.R. Schmidt, who settled in Greyton in 1948 when he left Genadendal. He wrote several books in German about the Mission and its work and prepared a substantial historical sketch for a commemorative brochure published by the Dutch Reformed Church in 1956. Extracts from this brochure were lodged with the Cape Town Archives. His account corroborates some, but not all of the data included in this chapter.

Schmidt had been a well-known figure in the district for many years and much of his information comes from people who were born towards the end of the nineteenth century. He ministered to both

the spiritual and physical needs of all sections of the local population, irrespective of whether they were Moravian Church members. He had had some medical training and provided care which ranged from drawing teeth to setting broken limbs. He was highly respected and his help was often sought in preference to more conventional medical treatment because he was a pot-clay healer and a herbalist. His presence in the district had assumed an almost mythical significance and stories about his healing powers take their place beside the tales of origin for the village which are related by many of the local residents, particularly, but not exclusively, by those classified coloured. I shall discuss certain aspects of these tales at a later stage in this chapter in relation to the factual historical material which is available.

Schmidt suggests that the village was named Greyton in order to honour the name of the new Governor who arrived in the same year that the first erven were sold (1956: 6). The daybook at Genadendal records that Sir George Grey visited the Mission and the district in 1855 and it is likely that he made contact with his relations by marriage at Tygerhoek and Greyton.

It is also likely that he would have approved Herbert Vigne's plan to set up a small farming community of this kind because he had advocated the establishment of similar small settlements during his term of office in New Zealand. This was part of Grey's plan for the provision of land for those who had few financial resources. It was enacted as the Hundred's Ordinance and was intended "to promote small settlements of moderate allotments with rights to commonage" (W.L. & L. Rees, 1892: 153). By this ordinance, Grey hoped to remove "those difficulties in the way of the poor in their efforts to secure lands for themselves and for their families" (W.L. & L. Rees, 1892: 154). It is possible that

he may have been able to offer advice on the subject to young Herbert Vigne.

Shortly after Greyton was marketed, a similar village was set up to the north-east, beyond the Zonderend Mountains and was named Lady Grey after the Governor's wife. This village received a number of British ex-servicemen who had returned home after the Crimean War (1854-1856), were unable to find employment in Britain and were assisted to emigrate. These two villages were linked by a path over the mountains and there have always been close connections between the inhabitants which have produced marriage and family ties.

An elderly resident of Greyton asked me whether I knew how Greyton started and he described it to me in this way.

> And this was how Greyton started. There was this English Lady Grey who walked here from Cape Town and she saw that this place was good; and then she walked from here across the mountain to McGregor, which used to be called Lady Grey. Both these villages were named for her. Why the name was changed to McGregor I do not know. Two men then came to Greyton and they had a farm here. And they cut it up into erwe and they sold it to people. These were the first people to live in Greyton.
>
> It was the same at Genadendal. The minister - Schmidt - they call him a sendeling but he was also a minister - he came walking from Cape Town to the place called Baviaanskloof at that time. And he met a woman called oude Lena who became his friend. She learnt about the Bible. You have heard of the Hottentots? This woman was a Hottentot because they lived here. And when she had learnt about the Bible, she taught all the children. And they called the place Genadedal, which means a place of peace. They held services there and some years ago they put a Bible in the tree behind the church because that is where the first services were held. It was a memorial like the church (Anglican) at Greyton. Some of the people who live here came from Genadendal at that time because they wanted their own land. Their children's children are still here but they do not own their land any more.

This tale was repeated to me by several of the older residents who are classified coloured.

There is an interesting historical connection in this account between the historical facts surrounding the origins of Genadendal, Greyton and McGregor. The villages are clearly perceived as linked to one another and being part of a similar development pattern. Tales of origin usually reflect an attempt by people to explain an existing situation and to interpret events. This tale expresses a clear belief, too, in the long-standing rights to residence and land-ownership by people living in the district. The question arises as to whether the local people perceive the encroachment of outsiders as an infringement of their rights ?

Sharp (1977) explores the significance of tales of origin. He asks why they exist and whether there is any special meaning in the emphasis which people place on events and trends in local affairs. He suggests they are " an instrument in the conduct of public affairs - a concrete form of abstract ideas" (1977: 72). He adds :

> It is probable that as living beings explore contemporary problems through the evidence of their traditions, they generate new emphases and versions to accord with contemporary circumstances.
>
> (Sharp, 1977:72)

The present separation of "white" and "coloured" villagers in Greyton is being examined in this way. In their reminiscences during interviews, these people now classified coloured often invoke the past and the joys and sorrows which they shared with the "whites", while at the same time stressing that today they have, as they put it, "their own problems".

They look back with mixed emotions to a "golden age" when people liked and respected each other as neighbours and friends.

If we take into account the varied origins of the people who purchased land in Greyton, I would agree with Sharp that here, as in the part of the Northern Cape to which he refers, people had "managed to incorporate considerable individual diversity within the common identity which the inhabitants called 'our village' and 'our community'. Clearly these were not communities around which the inhabitants themselves ever imposed "racial" boundaries of exclusion" (Sharp, 1972:3/4).

At this level the sense of community is based on loyalty and an attachment to a particular area, its people and a particular shared way of life.

Therefore the present separation in Greyton evokes an emphasis on incorporation and the shared experiences of the past although it may be that these memories are viewed through proverbially rose-tinted spectacles.

In his discussion of the problems of the people of Simonstown, following the implementation of Group Areas there, Whisson suggests that events in this "Golden Age" of the coloured people (Leeuwenberg, 1970; West, 1971; Whisson, 1972) are culled from a selective memory and presented as if they occurred fairly close together, either in the first decade of the present century or "before the war" without great clarity being attached to whether the response is pre-1914 or pre-1939 (Whisson, 1972:15). This age is associated with a time when there was no apartheid. Although there were hardships, these were associated with an heroic past and not with a sense of oppression. "We did not have the things that the youngsters have today but we did not go hungry and I'm sure we were happier then" (Whisson, 1972: 16).

There is a similarity in the message which comes through in these stories of the "Golden Age" of Simonstown and those of Greyton, although the occupational emphasis of the former is on the sea and fishermen, while in Greyton it is on the land and farmers.

This myth of a Golden Age offers "the possibility of all groups being at peace together without strict laws regulating relations between them (Whisson,1972:17). This selective memory of events tends to gloss over the existence of a perceivable class structure in which a paternalistic attitude on the part of the 'whites' contributed towards a sense of security and a belief in the possibility of upward mobility for all people.

In a village like Greyton, residential and economic integration produced a degree of social relationship and mutual respect that under-pinned this class structure, which did not have a racial foundation and was not entrenched in law. It is not surprising that the loss of personal rights under the apartheid system caused many of the inhabitants to look back longingly towards a "Golden Age"; it is equally understandable that the younger generation at first regarded this escapism with a degree of tolerance and more recently with a marked sense of incredulity as their own awareness of certain historic realities increased.

The nature of the village population.

The majority of house-holders in Greyton were working-people - small farmers and artisans who formed a reasonably self-sufficient unit. Their methods were simple but served their purposes. Although mechanisation was introduced on the larger farms surrounding Greyton by the end of the nineteenth century, it could not be considered necessary for the small-holders who

continued to cultivate with animal-drawn ploughs and by hand. This did not mean that they were unfamiliar with machinery and the labour-saving devices employed by the larger producers. The working relationship which existed between the farmers and the Greyton inhabitants brought them into contact on a regular basis. A man of 82 who had lived in Greyton all his life spoke of his father's status as a worker in this way:

> "My father worked mostly for the farmers. He was well-known as a sower on the farms, and he also went out with the big threshing machine they used in those times. They did not use these combiners and things, but a huge threshing machine with a huge engine, a train-engine. My father was the foreman of this machine, the stoker.
>
> Also then at sowing time the farmers came in from around to fetch him, because it was not for all the year but at sowing-time. Ja, in that time they sowed by hand."

In the tales of the past told by the older people, the emphasis is upon social and economic inter-dependence. It was probable that there was a good deal of interaction which varied from the local marketing of goods, produce and services to social contracts of different kinds. There was undoubtedly a tendency for young people to marry locally and the names of the core families of the three villages and the district are inter-linked by marriage as well as by less formal ties.

The old man quoted above went on to describe his mother and his wife in this way :

> My mother was born here. Her parents were both overseas people. her father I think came after the Settlers, with the MacFarlanes. He rode for them. My father was coloured from my Oupa's wife. He was a man who worked around, sien. He was renowned for sheep-shearing and such things. In this way they met.

> My wife was born here. Her father was a white man on the road to Caledon. She was not his legitimate child. Her mother lived in the town here. She worked for him. My wife was very pretty, the prettiest girl in the town for me.

Two of the elderly women to whom I spoke mentioned that their mothers were also the children of farmers of the district and both cohabitation and marriage between "whites" and the so-called "people of colour" was taken for granted. In the early days many of the settlers chose wives from among the local people who were of Khoi descent. In addition the emphasis on the strong ties between the people of Greyton and those of the district is substantiated by the working relationship which has existed between local farmers in the area and the village residents over a period of more than 130 years.

Casual labour was, and still is, recruited in the village, and Greyton also became a haven for elderly bywoners who left, or were asked to leave, the local farms. They settled on small-holdings in the village, where they were able to continue small-scale farming activities.

The historic picture of the village is one of a peasant community in many ways; self-sufficient to a large extent and, as it developed, able to market surplus produce in the district and later in markets further afield. Most of the villagers owned the land they farmed in freehold but they could, and did, sell their labour on the larger farms in the area when it was needed.

Using a mixture of English and Afrikaans which is quite customary among the older people of the village, the son of one of the early villagers described conditions in Greyton in the latter part of the nineteenth century in this way.

"My grandfather came from England with the 1820 settlers, but I can't say what place. It was my parents who said so, they told me. He was only 11 years old. He came to Stellenbosch and worked there carrying milk in dairies. His legs were bent from the weight. I was only five or six when he died but I remember his skeef legs. He said he had it a bit heavy there. So he chose a direction and came to a place they call Bloulelietjieskloof.

There he lived amongst a klomp kleurlingmense who farmed cattle and sheep and such things. They lived in pondokkies such as the people of earlier times built. There they lived until the white people began to root them out. It was not war but a slow process. Die wit man het maar ergekom en ergekom en die bruin man maak die pad,sien - so het dit maar aangegaan.

My grandfather took a wife there. After a period of time he had cattle and things and he moved here with his goods and bought a place. (This took place in 1880, according to Deeds Office records) He had a good couple of plots. His first house that he built was a tiny one. There he lived a long time and a couple of children were born.

Each of oupa's sons got a plot. They had a garden that they planted full every year and this gave them their food for the home and saw them through the year. Further than that they worked out on the farms for the farmers. They could not make their living here.

And then on Saturday or Friday they returned and then on Sunday they went out again, with their bags on their backs. So they made their living. But every year they planted their gardens.

Mostly they planted beans and mielies at that time, and pampoen and such things. They did not sell this, there was no market. But then later the farming was continuously getting bigger, each generation expanding. Because I made my living from out of the earth."

(von Holdt,1979:2)

Unlike many of the internalised images of a "Golden Age" which have come down to us as part of village mythology, this informant does not overlook the problems of the time but there is a strong sense of hardships overcome with dignity.

There must undoubtedly have been some disharmonious elements - some serpents in this rural Eden.

One source of disharmony between Greyton and Genadendal, for instance, was the availability of liquor at canteens in Greyton. There had been a continuing controversy about the free consumption of liquor by mission residents which Superintendent Hallbeck had attempted to regulate in 1827. The tot system had been abused by farmers and kegs of wine and brandy were given to the labourers on some farms in the 1830's (Raum, 1953: 129).

Shops were introduced at missions where the brethren were allowed to sell wine in limited quantities at specific times to their mission residents but no liquor might be brought in from outside. These regulations were intended to curb the drunkenness which was prevalent on the farms where liquor was part of the wages. By 1843 the problem had increased. When a mission resident refused to surrender a cask of wine which he had bought from a farmer and "the brethren bought it from him in order to get it out of the way" (Daybook, Genadendal:X1,19-5-1843).

A significant aspect of this incident is that " it showed that a group of inhabitants, supported by the local farmers, were inclined to rebel against the regulations." (Kruger, 1966: 217).It was followed by a dispute relating to the reluctance of some of the mission residents to contribute towards the wages of a jointly appointed herdsman to guard cattle.

The latter dispute came before a magistrate. It was decided in favour of the brethren, and the residents appeared to accept the decision. The magistrate suggested to them, in fact, that if fact, that if they did not agree with the magistrates, "they should choose another place of residence" (Kruger, 1966:217).

This then was the climate in which an alternative place of residence came into being for the people of the district and when the allotments at Greyton were offered for sale in 1854, some Genadendal residents bought land there and avoided the constraints placed upon them by the mission regulations.

In 1850 an article appeared in the Cape Town Mail in which the missionaries were accused of "maintaining a commercial monopoly at the stations for their own benefit" and the article demanded that the missions be turned into "open villages"(12-1-1850). A trader from Caledon opened a liquor outlet near the mission when he was refused permission to open one in Genadendal itself. Later the outlet was closed down when the liquor laws were amended but not before many of the Genadendal men, who had been recruited for military service on the Eastern frontier, had returned and "spent all their pay in the bottle-store" (Kruger,1966:244; Marais,1939 :197; Raum,1953:129).

Raum also refers to entries made in the day-book at Genadendal.

> "In 1860 this law (the liquor law) was altered again giving the Divisional Council and the magistrates the power to grant licences. As a result a petition of the missionaries and 500 residents failed to avert the granting of a licence for a "canteen" in Greyton only two miles from Genadendal. Soon many, especially excluded persons, fetched wine from Greyton.Colonists who looked askance at the mission were at the bottom of the movement to grant liquor licences to inhabitants at Greyton. The aim was to make the stationing of a magistrate there necessary as it was felt that the magistrate at Caledon was too sympathetic towards the coloureds " (Raum,1953:80:131).

Whatever the underlying motivation for the establishment of the "canteens", liquor undoubtedly became available in nearby Greyton and a pattern of people visiting the village to obtain liquor was

established. To this day the bottle store at Greyton is crowded with purchasers from Genadendal on a Saturday morning. As the village developed, other trading establishments were set up which must also have provided competition for the mission shops.

Although there were a number of Genadendal residents who moved to Greyton, the brethren did not abandon those members of their flock who had strayed. By 1870 they had established a presence in the village and from 1893 the Moravians provided religious instruction and education for their members in Greyton. As the village grew, a cordial relationship appears to have existed between the brethren and the Vigne family.

Religion and education.

There must have been some rivalry, in those early days for the spiritual care of the people of Greyton because the most clear-cut division which existed in the social structure of the village, prior to the implementation of the Group Areas Act, was on religious lines. The most clearly defined religious groups were those of the Anglican Church, The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk and the Moravian Mission Church, all of which had established places of worship in Greyton.

The Anglican community.

Early in the development of the village in 1864, the Rev. Middleton of the Anglican Church in Caledon, was approached by a Mr Wilscher, to serve the community of Greyton. Both men used to make the tedious journey by horse and cart to take services there every Sunday. About 1866/67 Wilscher established the first school in Greyton which was open to all children living in the area. Mr Searll was the first teacher and it became known as the "Engelse

skool" among people who were at that time not predominantly English speakers. However, people of British origin were now settling in the district, as the Vigne family had done, and farm names like "The Oaks" and "Nethercourt" began to appear. The "English" character of the village of Greyton was apparent in family names like Smith, Bayley, Rowse, Metcalf, Belshaw, Cookson, Mays and others which were well represented on the first deeds of sale, but there were also many which were not of British origin. Names like Jas, Julies, Adries, Scholtz, Buys, Blom and Damons feature in 1856 and in the next sale of plots by Vigne in the early 1860's.

The Anglican community grew as many of the Khoi and the so-called people of colour joined the congregation. Although Herbert Vigne had set aside a plot for the Anglican church, it was not built until 1904, after his death, largely by the efforts of local church members to honour his memory, as some of the older villagers recall.

Elderly residents, now classified coloured, speak with great affection of the small school with its thatched roof beside the church at which so many of them received their education together with the "white" children. By 1900 there were at least 100 children at the school. They remember the row of oak trees (cut down to make way for the new school building in 1939) under which the young people stood awaiting confirmation in the tiny church. They also remember with pleasure the many social events which took place there. The Anglican congregation has remained without segregation on the grounds of colour although for many years the men and women of the congregation sat separately as was the custom in the Moravian church.

EDUCATION FOR LIFE.



The Anglican Church School lost its thatched roof when it was rebuilt.



One of the oldest houses in the village, probably circa 1861. The first school for white children only, was held in the front room of this house in the 1880's.

The Dutch Reformed Church and the Moravian communities.

The Dutch- speaking people of the district were used to travelling fairly long distances to attend church services, particularly at the time of nachtmaal, but the village of Greyton slowly became a focal point for these gatherings.

There was, at this time, no D.R.C. church building or school in Greyton and services were held in private homes or out of doors. They were served by a leraar from Caledon. This was a "white" congregation and there is no branch of the Sendingkerk in Greyton.

In 1864 at the invitation of Mr Vigne, the "leraars" at Genadendal were invited to hold services in the "Engelse skool" run by Mr Wilscher for white and coloured members of the Moravian church in Greyton and Boschmanskloof. By 1893 the Moravian brethren had taken over the small school building, which still stands today, and provided religious instruction and education for their congregation. By 1900 there were about 80 children at the school. As Pastor Schmidt expresses it:

> "Daar was die begin van 'n lieflike samewerking tussen Greyton N.G. Kerk en die Broeder kerk en 'n vriendelike verhouding tot die Engelse Kerk." (1956:6)

A pattern had been set in that the N.G. Kerk served the white community, the Moravian church was attended largely by coloured people, while the Anglican congregation had both white and coloured members in its church and school.

However, with the arrival in 1879 of the de Villiers family who settled in the village, a new school for white children only was

established in the front room of the de Villiers home and a young teacher, Miss Caterina Mays, was engaged to teach the three children of the de Villiers family and others, at a salary of two pounds per month and one shilling per child. The tuition was given in English.

The school had grown and was re-housed twice before a large school building was built by Mr Mays. This has now become the Greyton village hall, library and Post Office.

In 1888 there were 19 children in the school under the tuition of Miss U. von Solms who was head of the school until 1905 by which time the number of pupils had increased to 103. Excellent results were obtained and teacher training was given at the school by Miss von Solms.

The Development of the Village.

The increasing number of children at the three schools gives some indication of the growth of the village population since the first plots were sold in 1854. Before his death in 1895, Herbert Vigne had disposed of more than 300 erven and, according to census figures in 1891, there were 1186 people in the Greyton area. These figures cannot be said to include only village residents, however, as Greyton was not enumerated as a separate municipality until 1910.

According to Schmidt, who derived his information from documents produced by Mrs Kitty Vigne (the wife of Herbert Vigne's eldest son), the village and its immediate environs initially had a form of local government consisting of three Commissioners who were responsible to the central government at Cape Town.

Proclamation of the Municipality of Greyton.

> Under the provision of Ord. (9) of 1838 certain regulations adopted by resident householders were approved by Governor P.W. Wodehouse. (13 Feb. 1865)
>
> The Commissioners must be persons proprietorising property of value not less than three hundred pounds and residing in the village. Regulations proclaimed 3/10/1862 and 13/2/1865.
>
> The names of the three Commissioners were Mnr. Dreyer, Mays and Schultz.
>
> (Schmidt, 1952:3)

Herbert Vigne is not listed as one of the Commissioners. Unlike his brother, H.T. Vigne, he did not pursue a political career, although he did hold the post of Field Cornet in the district for some years. However, the Vigne family maintained a substantial presence in Greyton during the sixty year period from 1855 to 1915 and must have exerted considerable influence in the development of the village. H.T.Vigne and his wife's brother, Edward Peter, had purchased plots in the 1856 auction. There were also the extensive land holdings of Herbert Vigne's in-laws,the Belshaw family, and the Vignes' own home farm. The five children of Herbert Vigne were given plots by their father and at the time of his death, at least eight Vigne- related properties were established in Greyton. With the exception of Herbert Vigne's eldest son, also Herbert, who married a local girl, Kitty Kroukamp, and continued to live in Greyton, the other members of the Vigne family left the village or died shortly after the turn of the century.

Mrs Vigne Sen., died intestate aged 47 years, only four months after her husband in 1895. The home farm was sub-divided and sold by the heirs. Herbert Vigne Jnr. moved to the Crescent near the

home of his grandfather Belshaw and the land belonging to his father-in-law, Kroukamp, who was a shopkeeper in Greyton.

Joseph Mays, who did become one of the Commissioners, also owned a substantial amount of land and, in addition to his home and gardens on Main Road, carried on his business as blacksmith, carpenter, coffin-maker and butcher at his other properties. His contribution, and that of his family, to the village, was considerable and it is interesting to note that, like the Vignes, they became incorporated by marriage into the Afrikaans-speaking community as Anglo-Afrikaners. In the words of a descendent:

> It was people like Mr Mays who made the village. He worked hard in a lot of ways. He ran his businesses and he was also the mayor. He carved all the woodwork in the old Dutch Reformd Church himself. He made all the coffins and kept his own upstairs in this house so that it would be ready. Caterina Mays, my father's sister was the first teacher at the school of Mr de Villiers.

She added that her grandfather was a friend of the elder Mr Vigne and was one of the earliest settlers in the village. His house is the only building in Greyton to have been declared a National Monument. It would seem that Mays and his son were practical men who were able to serve the needs of the people of Greyton, both in their private business and in their public life.

The Mays family could be said to exemplify the Afrikaans- speaking villagers of the early twentieth century and my informant remarked, "Greyton was very Afrikaans when I was young." (Although this would have been later in the 1920's and 1930's.) She mentioned that many bywoners had come to Greyton in her father's time and that it was from then (after 1900), that the Afrikaans language was spoken by most people. It is interesting to note that Miss Mays taught in English at the Reformed Church

school in the 1880's but that by the 1920's, the medium of instruction was Afrikaans.

Population growth.

In 1911 Greyton village was inhabited by at least 753 people, (1911 Census figures), of whom 257 were designated as "white" and 496 as "coloured." A number of them owned several erven, making up small farms, which they worked in addition to selling their labour in various ways in the district and further afield. At that time females outnumbered males in Greyton as the table below indicates.

Table 3.

	Male	Female	Total
White	122	135	257
Coloured	217	279	496
Total	339	414	753

(All figures from 1910 - 1980: Appendix A.)

Census figures show a steady population increase to 961 in the 1921 census and 1023 in 1936. The highest population total of the past 75 years was reached in 1946 with the number of residents listed as 1094. Thereafter a steady decline in resident population is shown and this phenomenon is discussed in Chapter 4 in relation to the general population shift taking place throughout the area and the possible reasons for this.

However, in 1910, the population of Greyton supported three churches, three schools and one boarding establishmnt for scholars, two village halls, a post office, a police station with

several cells for offenders, a waggon-making business and transport driver and five or six shops at different points in the village. It was not easy to make a living but people appear to have done so.

One of the most successful of them described it in this way :

> I had a whole lot of ground of my own that I bought. And the other farmers couldn't farm like me. They all had to give way and give way. Ja, these white boertjies that came and farmed later had to give over and go and seek work.
>
> But I worked it out and I had it hard, but I held out and I worked myself hard. I worked till I was 70 years old. I worked hard in the soil. I have a big family, twelve children who grew up in this house. Ek meen ek het hulle grootgemaak van die grond uit.
>
> (von Holdt, 1979:3)

By this time the village had become a mixed community of English and Afrikaans speakers and as one old resident told me, pictures of the English royal family hung on the walls of the cottages, side by side with those of the old Boer heroes like Louis Botha and Hertzog. They still do today in several homes I visited. Some are no longer in the village but hang in homes in Heuwelkroon alongside those of "English" and "Dutch" grandparents and great-grandparents. The roots of many of the old Greyton families are firmly entwined.

Some of the old stamme remain in the village and the process of grafting on "newcomer" stock continues as it did in the past. However today only a few of the newcomers seem to settle down and flourish while many disappear after a short time. In the early days of the village, the movement of people proceeded at the more leisurely pace of the time, although the deeds of sale indicate that even then there was some speculative buying of property followed by re-sale and profit-taking.

In 1854 the conveyancer of the land, William Smith, bought 10 well- placed erven which he sold shortly afterwards at a profit. Over time the market value of the properties held by the Vigne family increased substantially but, because they were put on the market in comparatively small blocks, the growth of the village proceeded slowly.

There is no evidence to suggest that residential areas of the village were racially segregated or that there was any discrimination on the grounds of colour in property transactions. However, questions arise which seem at variance with this residential integration. Why was the school for white children only set up by the de Villiers family? Did the segregated services of the Dutch Reformed Church also reflect this need for separate facilities for residents who considered themselves to be "white" rather than "coloured" ? The way in which the census tables of the day are set out suggest that this differentiation was officially recognised. (See Table 2)

The implementation of Group Areas in Greyton could be seen as the legitimation of a well-established social distance which has existed over time. That there was "colour consciousness", especially from the 1930's, is apparent from the interview data I obtained, both from those now classified white and those classified coloured; but it would seem too that , in many cases, social and working relationships transcended any perceived differences until after the Second World War. These impressions are explored more fully in Chapter 5. The process of change which had accelerated by the 1950's is described more fully in Chapters 3 and 4 of this thesis.

A walk through the grave-yard at Greyton reflects one of the most important aspects of this change. In the early days of the village, the white and coloured residents were buried in close proximity to one another. As time went by, a noticeable separation developed between the areas where they lie buried.

Heavy flooding of the sloping lower ground in the grave-yard where most of the early graves were situated, may have necessitated a general shift towards the higher ground; but, at the same time, it was accompanied by a gradual drift apart from one another so that now the graves of the whites and the graves of those classified coloured, constitute two separate areas. The latter still occupy the older, lower section while the whites are buried in the newer section, further up the hillside. Ironically, exactly the opposite change has taken place in the residential areas for the living in Greyton.

Certainly for the past 20 years it has been true to say that, both in life and in death, the people of Greyton are divided.

THEN AND NOW.



The old Post House, used as a private dwelling, after the turn of the century.



The Post House Inn, after renovation in 1984. A change for the better?

Chapter 3

The process of separation

This chapter takes as its starting point the historic pattern of residential integration which under-pinned the working relationships of the people of Greyton. This was described in Chapter 2 to provide some insight into the relationships which have prevailed over time and the nature and extent of integration in the village. With this background, we can now discuss the significance of the present process of separation.

I have gained considerable insight into the way the Group Areas Act was implemented in urban areas from Western (1981). There are, however, certain additional factors about Group Areas which are important in a rural context. To a population who derive their subsistence from the land, residential property represents something more than a place to build a house. At the same time the possession of property confers a certain status on the owner. In a rural village like Greyton, the implementation of Group Areas deprives the land-owner who is classified coloured, of both subsistence and status and can change the position of a person in the village society. Even to those who worked in cities as well as maintaining their small-holdings, the property represented security and a home base to which they could return when necessary. Some of those who were removed, received enough money for the properties which they left to be able to buy or build in areas other than Heuwelkroon, but many were forced by escalating costs to accept the rented accommodation there. Those who had occupied rented property in Greyton were also compelled to move

to Heuwelkroon or leave Greyton.

Some who were able to do so purchased land on Genadendal ground at Boschmanskloof, near Heuwelkroon, and they are relatively better off because these plots are supplied with electricity and sanitation by the Genadendal Management Board. A few families moved to Genadendal itself and some others to Cape Town or other towns in the Western Cape.

It is clear that there has been a scattering and disintegration of the once stable community and this brings its own problems of disorientation and financial hardship, particularly to older people who cannot envisage " starting again". As Western remarks: "Every time there was a choice as to who would be out where, the Whites would get first choice" (1981:87). However the tendency he notes in urban areas for the increase in social distance to be reflected in actual distance, is not so marked in Greyton. Heuwelkroon really is adjacent to the inhabitants' former homes and "that place on the hill", as an elderly woman referred to it, has the added hardship of a clear view of the developing white group area.

In my interviews with village residents who were classified coloured, I attempted to ascertain their views on the changes and the extent to which these have affected their relationship with the "white" residents of the village. This involved taking account of the dwindling number of those who remember "the good old days", and the preponderance of residents whose experience extends only as far as the accepted fact of Heuwelkroon. These memories of "a golden age", which were discussed in Chapter 2, have faded and with them the sense of common ground which helped

to unite the small community. Those surviving older people now classified coloured, who were born in Greyton, still speak nostalgically of the happy, friendly atmosphere of the village when "we all lived side by side and if there were troubles, we shared them. Now there are different troubles for us." There is an awareness of changed circumstances and as Mr C said :

> We were all living very nicely here in Greyton. The white people did not want the coloured people moved out. We worked together at farming. If we needed a man to help on the land, we just asked one another. There was plenty of water and a lot of vegetables. There were fruit trees and people dried the fruit. It made people very sad when they had to leave their land.

Mr C can speak with some objectivity about the problems of his friends because, as he put it, he was a "lucky one." The property he inherited from his father is situated in the strip of land which connects Heuwelkroon to the rest of the village and because it is in the coloured group area, may remain in his possession. Mr M.C. continues to farm the land which has belonged to his family for about 100 years. His immediate neighbours were "white" residents of long-standing in the village but their property was bought recently by newcomers to the community.

Like Western I have some difficulty with the term "community" in the Greyton context, as he did in his examination of the "gentrification" of the suburb of Mowbray in Cape Town. In both areas there is the geographic reality of Bo- Dorp and Onder-Dorp with their more abstract social implications. There is a dialectic between people and place which relates to their experience and understanding of that place over time. There is also a dialectic relationship between person and person which relates to their experience and understanding of one another.

Western settles for the construct of community posited by Marris (1977), in which he perceives two salient qualities:

(i) the notion of community as acknowledgement - living in an area where people accept responsibility for one another, almost "a microcosm of human existence"; and

(ii) the notion of community as territory - appropriating the familiar places that have become comfortable. They can become a resident's stamping ground, his or her space where he or she can say, " I am known and can find my way about."

The length of time of residence would seem to have definite connotations for any definition of community. It is also apparent that the essential features of this construct of community are violated by forced removal and separation of people from each other on racial grounds.

On the other hand, communities can become "home" for different kinds of people and how people relate to the larger society may determine their relationships with the smaller society in which they find themselves. I would suggest, therefore, that we look beyond the area of the village itself to the network of social and economic relationships which the people living there maintain; these are not confined only to the local area but run beyond its boundaries. During the last half century the action space of people has increased in proportion to the improved system of communication and as Gans (1968) remarks, ways of life do not necessarily coincide with settlement patterns.

It is clear that, over time, social relations in an area change, and are changed, by pressures from without.

HEUWELKROON



View from the road leading up the hill to Heuwelkroon, showing the size of the plots and the rough terrain.

GREYTON



View from a road in Greyton showing a cottage, formerly owned by a person now classified coloured and removed from the village.

The implementation of the Group Areas Act in Greyton.

Press reports of the proposed removal recount the events which accompanied the meeting of the Group Areas Board, early in 1965, with representatives of the people classified coloured in Greyton.

Considerable opposition to the plan was expressed by these rate-payers and a report published in the Cape Argus concludes with a statement by Dr Oscar Wollheim, the Coloured Persons' Representative on the Provincial Council, on their behalf.

> "If any group had the right to remain in the town, history showed that this was the coloured group."
>
> (Cape Argus, 26 Jan.1961)

However, some three years later on 10th August, 1968, a brief newspaper report states:

> "The main part of Greyton in the Western Cape has been declared a white group area in terms of a notice in yesterday's Government Gazette.....alternative accommodation will be provided for people who become disqualified to live in certain areas. "
>
> (Cape Argus, 26 Jan. 1968)

This "disqualification" has now been in force for fifteen years and I shall endeavour to indicate some of the effects to date. It is perhaps not coincidental that the implementation of the Group Areas Act in Greyton was initiated at the same time that a new parliamentary constituency, into which the Greyton area fell, was demarcated at Caledon and an active electoral campaign was being conducted in the area by the National Party. Mr Frank Waring was returned as the successful Nationalist Party candidate in August, 1966 and the constituency has remained a Nationalist one.

Nel, a sociologist broadly in support of Group Areas, commented that " the Group Areas Act was adopted rather to consolidate the existing traditional pattern of rural separation and to ensure that it can be maintained in the future, than to enforce something new" (1962: 207). While this was supportive of Government policy, the significance of the second part of this statement lies in the tacit acknowledgement of a possible change in the "traditional pattern." The policy is designed to prevent this change or to halt its progress.

In Chapter 2, I indicated that settlement patterns in Greyton were established without regard for racial barriers and that over time some degree of intimacy had developed between neighbours, particularly at the level of mutual interests. The separation of people from one another by the implementation of Group Areas was intended to remove this intimacy and the enforced segregation reduced, and in most cases, destroyed the interaction between people. Reports of reaction to this separation which I have received, show considerable resistance by residents to this restrictive measure.

In the first instance in 1964/65 when a committee of the Group Areas Board sat in the district to examine the situation and receive representations, those classified coloured made vehement protests to the Board and indicated that they wished to remain on their lands. (See Appendix B for copy of the petition which was organised and signed by local rate-payers.)

They made it clear that for many of them the loss of their land would result in the loss of their means of subsistence and that few of them were skilled in any labour other than agriculture and allied trades.

At that time there was no overt support for them from the "white" residents of Greyton but nor did there appear to be any direct opposition to them remaining on their lands. However the Municipal Council, who presumably acted on behalf of their rate-payers, co-operated with the removal scheme to the extent that they provided alternative accommodation for those classified coloured on the outskirts of the village.

There were no further public developments until 1967 when an advertisement was placed in the Caledon "Venster" on 17 March, to the effect that land was being allocated by the Greyton Municipality for the purpose of relocation. The only official protest against the proclamation of Group Areas seems to have come from Dr Oscar Wollheim, who responded to it. He asked for an explanation from the Director of Local Government and stated in his letter :

> "I can assure you that all my constituents in the area are agog with this advert, because none of them feels he has any cause at all to trust the Greyton Municipality as far as race relations are concerned and they all suspect (probably with good cause), that something is in the wind."
>
> (Wollheim, 1967. See Appendix B)

The response from the Director made it clear that :

> "The application stems from the local municipality and provides for sub-economic and economic erven as well as a number of erven of larger size for sale to persons who wish to erect their own homes."
>
> (Wollheim,1967. See Appendix B)

Diagram 3 shows a detailed representation of the proposed "township" for persons classified coloured. The provisions of this plan have not yet been realised.

The letter from the Director of Local Government also makes reference to the fact that representations were placed before the Board before the closing date by the Coloured Rate-payers Association. One of my informants told me that they were monitoring the position carefully and that the appropriate action had been instituted by a local school teacher who handled the correspondence for the Association.

After a meeting with the members of the Association, Dr Wollheim replied to the Director and stated that the area allocated to the coloured people was not suitable either for residential or small farming purposes. He also pointed out that, at the same time, homes were standing empty in Greyton; that there was no demand for property at that time is confirmed by Deeds Office records and interviews with local residents of long standing.

The letter sent by Dr Wollheim to the appropriate officials was acknowledged and put forward for "consideration" together with that of the rate-payers themselves. No further action appears to have been taken until 1969 when an official announcement was gazetted confirming the decision to make Greyton village into a White Group area.

Shortly after this government and municipal officials began to serve notice to leave on those residents classified coloured. The first to be removed were those who rented property, though it took some time before the township provided for them was ready for occupation. It was over this period - 1969 to 1971 - that the separation process took place. It was accompanied by considerable distress and both emotional and financial insecurity as people were removed from, or pressured to leave the village "of their own accord". Those who owned their land or who

inherited land from their family members during this period, were able to negotiate a sale before leaving and it was at this time that property speculators appeared in Greyton, acting either directly or through agents.

Pressure to leave their properties was applied to those classified coloured in various ways. One of my informants told me that her widowed sister-in-law, who had four school-going children at that time, was approached by a "government person" and told that she must leave her late husband's property in the Bo-dorp and move to Heuwelkroon. "Why don't you go to the house you can get there ?" she was asked. She did not move immediately because she was negotiating the sale of the house and she also wanted to dispose of her husband's farm equipment. Before the estate could be finalised and the deed of sale signed, the man came back. This time he said : "It's time for you to move. Take your key to the police station." She was intimidated by this demand and moved to the small house in Heuwelkroon which she had been allocated. She was fortunate to have found co-operative purchasers for her property, which was in good condition in a prime position in the village, and the sale went through without any problems. She received R1250 for the house and allotment.

Newspaper reports of the day give the impression that a comparatively small number of people actually owned the land which they farmed. Presumably these journalists had relied on official sources for this information but it would appear from examination of Deeds Office records that the number of people who were "disqualified" from residence in the village was considerably larger than the number publicised at the time.

This misconception may have occurred because only 22 residents

signed the petition organised by the Coloured Rate-payers Association and that these people were regarded as the total number of property owners in Greyton who were affected by the implementation of Group Areas. However it is obvious from the records of ownership that many of those classified coloured, who owned property in Greyton, did not sign the petition. The reasons why they were not represented may be relevant to the situation. I have already noted that not all property owners lived and worked in Greyton continuously and a number of the heads of households may have been away from the village when the petition was presented; others may have been too confused or too disturbed and nervous to associate themselves with the petition. There were certainly more property owners than these 22 rate-payers who signed the petition in Greyton in 1969 and the figure of 30 cited by the papers, and which is noted in Dr Wollheim's documents before the Commission, falls short of those registered as property owners. I have documentation for some 55 families classified coloured who owned property in Greyton in 1969/70 and their land-holding comprises more than 80 erven. (See Appendix B for list of names and erf numbers.) This represents almost half the total number of property owners in Greyton at that time. During the years 1969 to 1974, at least 50 sales of property took place under the provisions of the Act and are so designated on the deeds of sale which were passed (See Appendix B). I have traced 66 properties which were transferred to white ownership under the provisions of the Group Areas Act during the period, 1969 to 1986. Some of these were re-sold, unimproved, almost immediately, others at a later date. I have traced the course of several of these speculative purchases which, coupled with the effects of inflation, indicate the dramatic increase in property values in Greyton since 1970.

These figures do not allow, of course, for people classified coloured who leased or hired land who were, therefore, residents of the village. There were at least fifteen of these families and it has been possible to trace some of those members who were among the first to be given notice to leave. Mr J described the experience in this way :

> My parents had a home on some land on the end of the village. It was very wet land but my father grew lots of things there. There was enough for us to send to the market sometimes. The house was not very strong and my father did not want to put money into it as it was not his own place. The people from the government (municipality?) came to tell us that we must move and the man we had the house from, told us we would get another house - perhaps a better house in the "uitbreiding". This was in 1970 and we did move. We got the same house we are living in now but there was no land and it was no use to grow things. For two years my father and my brother used to go down to the land we had in the village and plant it. Then it was sold and the new people did not want us to go there. They have built a big house there now and they do not grow anything like we did.

This is a reasonable account of what happened in a number of cases of dispossession and resale in the village. In some cases the new owners did continue to work the land and either engaged the former tenants or owners on a share-cropping basis, or employed someone else to farm. However, in many cases, when coloured people were removed from the land, it lay fallow until such time as resale or development took place.

"There were so many empty plots and houses at that time", I was told by one of the local shop-keepers that "it was like a ghost-town." A young constable stationed in Greyton from 1971 to 1974 described the village then as "a corpse of a town." A former resident who moved away and now lives in Cape Town also described the change in Greyton in terms of the death of a community.

> "The place was quiet like a graveyard. People did not come out in the streets and walk about like we used to. When we did, little groups would form and we would talk about what we should do in quiet voices as if we were at a funeral. 1971 and 1972 was a terrible time - when they were building the houses on the hill."

One of the half-dozen elderly widows who now live in Heuwelkroon recalled the time of "waiting and uncertainty after my husband died." She knew that she would be told to leave their former home and "when they came it was almost a relief." She was offered a small house in Heuwelkroon where she still lives with her disabled daughter. She received R1000 for their property which she has put in a savings account: "It is for my daughter when I die."

Repopulation : how the residential gaps were filled.

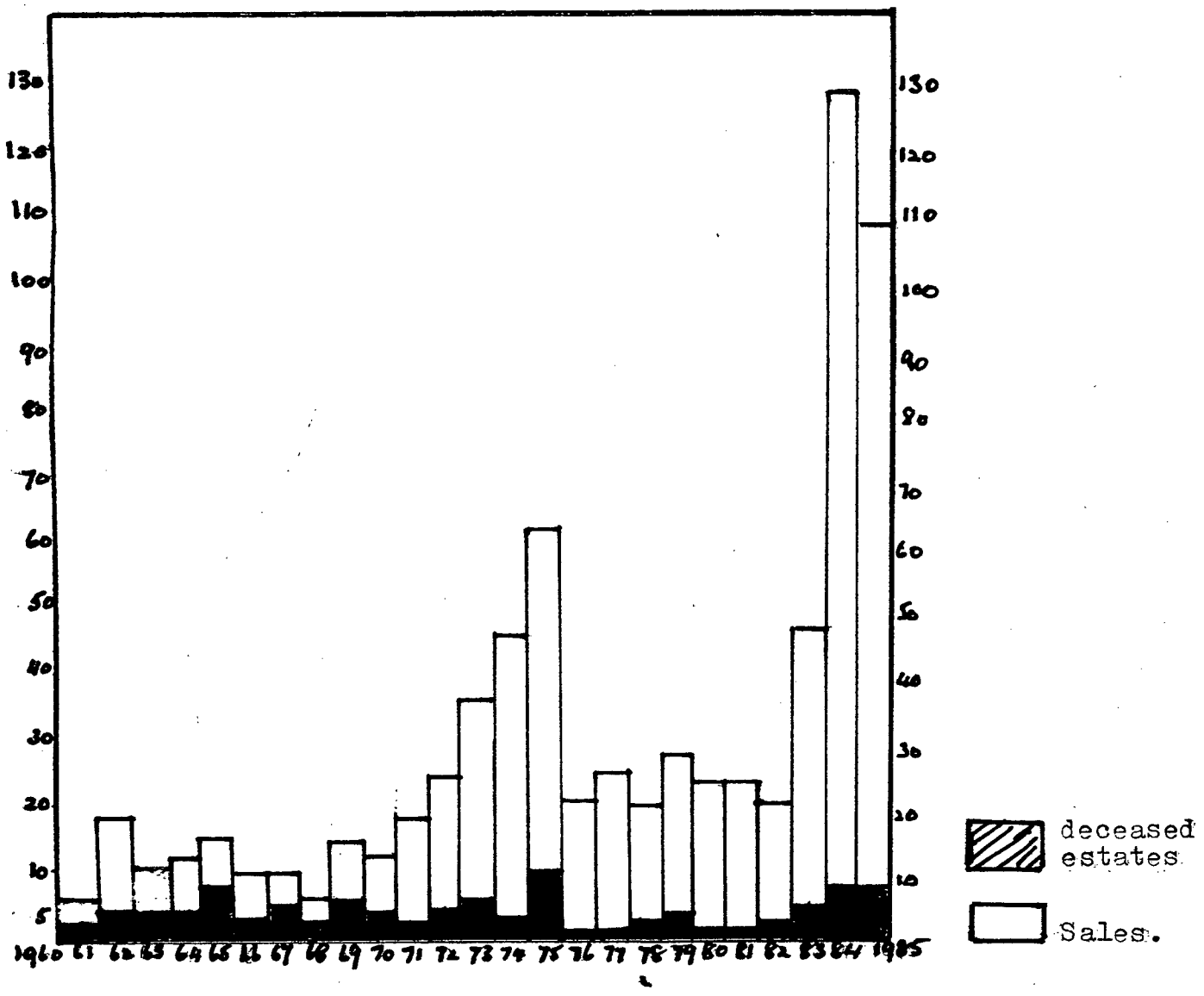
When Group Areas was implemented in Greyton in 1969/70, property values were not high. Records of local property sales show that land belonging to both white and coloured property owners changed hands at prices which were not inflated by local standards.

Relatively few property transactions took place in one year. Most of these changed ownership in deceased estates and only a few were the result of local people extending or giving up land. A study of property records for the ten years preceding the implementation of Group Areas suggest that there were only a few newcomers to Greyton and that some of these already had family connections with Greyton residents or the area in general.

The following table shows that after 1969 the volume of sales over the number of properties inherited, increased substantially.

Diagram 4.

Histogram showing property transfers in Greyton from 1960 - 1985



Deeds Office Records show that properties in Greyton were purchased by many people from outside the village and particularly those properties which came on the market as the result of the proclamation of the village as a white group area.

Speculators, both large and small investors, moved into the market during this period. Some coloured property owners were persuaded to sell their properties for " a good price ".

When the provisions of the Group Areas Act (See Chapter 1) became known to the local people, the temptation to sell in response to what appeared to them to be reasonable offers at that time, must

have been considerable. The insecurity which many people experienced when they realised that their property might be expropriated and that, in any case, it could not be occupied by their heirs, contributed to the destabilisation process.

A few people who had the most to lose in terms of the extent of their property ownership, hung onto their lands, but many reacted to the suggestions of property brokers and speculators. The coercive factor of taking what money they could get when it was offered, was powerful and it was pointed out to them that the prices offered might drop as more property came on the market.

Offers were made by investors and agents as soon as land came on the market in deceased estates and heirs often had to be satisfied with meagre amounts, depending on the condition of the property and their bargaining ability. In some cases the heirs were widows who needed support or younger people who had already left Greyton in response to outside influences and were working elsewhere. Many of them were not well-informed about what was happening in the village and few of them had the inclination or the experience to get the best they could for themselves. Transfers took place from heirs to white purchasers, often at prices which were low even for Greyton at that time.

The process of appropriation of property by whites took place from 1970 to 1975, by which time the 100 houses provided in Heuwelkroon, were all occupied. Only eight families which were classified coloured remained on their properties in the village. All were respected local residents who participated actively in the social, economic and religious life of the community and who had ignored the earlier attempts to enforce Group Areas.

However their resistence to removal was to be tested once more and in 1977 there was one further attempt to remove these remaining families. They were notified by letter from the Town Clerk of Greyton that "it had come to the notice of the Group Areas Board that coloured people were still living in Greyton in an area which had been proclaimed for whites only". The letter included a questionaire relating to whether they would be prepared to leave their present accommodation and move to the houses provided in Heuwelkroon. Several of the people involved had signed the original petition against the implementation of Group Areas ten years previously and three of them were were substantial property owners. In spite of the fact that property values had now risen considerably, they were not prepared to be ousted from the land which they and their families had worked for several generations.

On this occasion there was also support for them from some white residents, who agreed that those classified coloured should not be forced to leave their homes. The matter was brought to the notice of the press and widespread publicity followed as reporters interviewed residents and local officials and presented their views. Mr J (96 years of age at that time), said :

> "How can they come and tell us that we cannot live here ?"

When asked about how he and his son felt about moving, he replied:

> "Move ? This is my son and I am his father. Here we were born and here we will die. Who is going to make us move ? Only God can make us move from here. He gave us this land and He will take it away. No man will do it, not so long as I live, or as long as my son lives."
>
> (Sunday Times, 14/8/77)

Mrs S . inherited her property from her late father, a highly regarded member of the community. She said:

> "This is my home. I was born here and here I will die. If they come to move me, they will have to kill me."
>
> (Sunday Times, 14/8/77.)

Mr R. is a farmer who has no income without his small-holding. He is quoted in the newspaper reports as saying :

> "I don't want to leave here - this is where I was born. I would not want to farm any more if I had to leave. And things are so expensive, one could not build up another place like this."

On a more emotional level he added:

> I have worked this land since childhood. I have kept the soil alive with sweat and tears and even blood. How can they expect me to give it up ? Why should they want to take it away from me ?
>
> We have lived here with white people for more than 100 years and we have never had any race problems. Why do they want to break up this community instead of learning from us how we can live together in peace and harmony?

His cousin, Mr Y., bought his potato and onion farm from his father, before the Group Areas Act was implemented. His father had farmed the land since 1919 when he returned from the 1914/1918 War where he had served in the S.A. Regiment and had spent nine months as a P.O.W. in Germany.

His grandfather had farmed the land since the 1880's when he came to Greyton from the Eastern Cape, his great grandfather having been one of the 1820 settlers. This family had one of the largest land-holding in Greyton for many years. They are one of the core families of the village and over the years descendents of Mr Y's father and his two brothers married into a number of the other

families in the village, extending and developing their farm lands and their influence in village life.

By 1977 the people classified coloured had a good idea of what their land was worth. Mr R assessed his land at R50,000 and his cousin at R70,000 at that time. Today, of course, they would be worth considerably more than that.

Mr Y is quoted as saying:

> But even if they pay us this to move, moving would be like a death in the family because as every Afrikaner in South Africa must know to lose a farm which you have built up with sweat and tears and blood and hardship from morning till night over many years- is like death.
>
> (Sunday Times:14/8/77)

From the official point of view, the Greyton Town Clerk was quoted as saying that, following the representations which were made by various white residents and himself to the Department of Community Development, he had been notified by the Department that application forms for permits to remain in their the houses had been sent to each of the families.

> "The matter is no longer in my hands," he said. "The Department must now decide what to do."
>
> (Cape Argus, 25/9/77)

However, these landowners were not prepared to "beg" for permits to remain on land which they believed to be rightfully theirs and after six months when there had been no decision from the Department of Community Development, there was a further announcement in the press. The Town Clerk of Greyton was quoted as saying :

> "At the time we sent out letters to the families pleading with them in their own interests to apply for permits. The date on which the application had to be in was Nov. 14th, 1977."

> Because he had not heard anything, he had assumed that the families had applied. The Department had the final say in the matter and the families' case would probably be considered by the Minister concerned, he said. The regional representative of the Department was not prepared to comment today.
>
> (Cape Times:20/1/78)

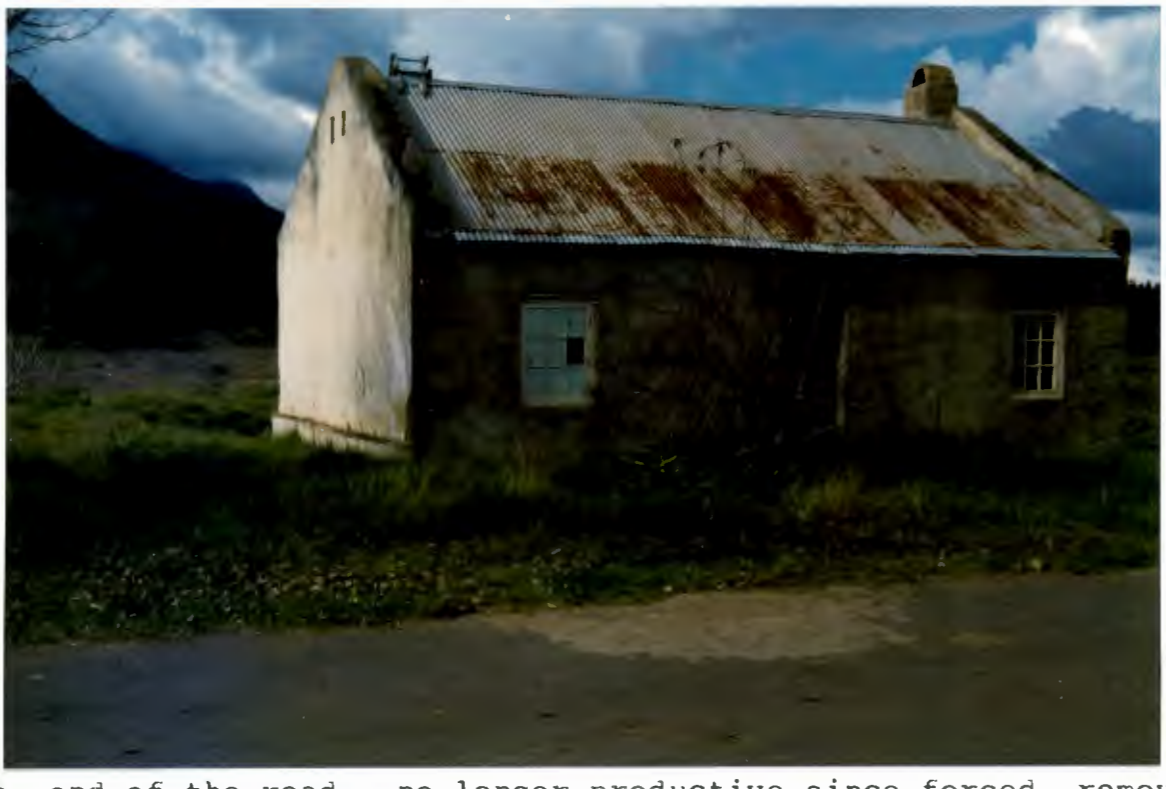
It was now more than ten years since the first visit of the Group Areas Commission to the village and the eight families, numbering perhaps 30 people, constituted a minority group among the slowly growing population of "white" newcomers to the village. During the period of uncertainty which followed certain of the newcomers became uneasy about the possible expulsion of the people, whom they regarded as "neighbours and friends", from their properties. From the follow-up interviews I have conducted with various property-owners I have ascertained that representations were made by several "concerned white residents". Not long after that, officials from the Group Areas Board and the Department of Community Development arrived in Greyton to assess the situation. One of the white residents involved at that time described the visit in this way.

> "They stood in the road and looked at the property. My neighbour was ploughing one of his fields and I remember there was a good crop of mielies on the land and a fine crop of onions on a field that belonged to his father. One of the officials said: "Do these people own all this land ?" When I said that they did, he replied, "But, man, this is a farm, it's not just one erf." I agreed that they were farmers; that was how they lived. Then Mr R. came out of his house and when he came up to me I said, "Excuse me!" to him and I took off his hat. We have both lost quite a lot of hair and I said to the man from the Board. "Look at his head and look at mine. Do you see any different colour of skin ? If anything his bald patch is lighter than my bald patch." The man shook his head and laughed. Then he said, "Don't worry, they won't have to move. This is a real farm, man."

PRODUCTIVE FARMLAND



Lands ploughed and prepared for planting by the owner of the house on the right. He is classified coloured but retains ownership during his life-time. House on the left is newly-built.



The end of the road - no longer productive since forced removal of the tenant - and awaiting renovation.

Shortly after this the families were notified by letter that they could remain in their homes and farm their lands.

However this is only during the life-time of the property owner and should that person die, the laws relating to Group Areas will once again apply. In spite of the apparent reprieve, the process of separation of the people classified coloured from their land continues relentlessly. In 1979/80 three of the property owners died. The wives and sons of all three were "disqualified" from inheritance by the Group Areas Act and their properties were sold to white purchasers. Fortunately at this time they were able to obtain a better price for their properties.

A son of Mr J. (quoted Sunday Times, 14/8/77) inherited from his father in 1980 , sold the property and built himself a house in Boschmanskloof where he now cultivates his fields and oversees those of his former home for the new owner. Two other families have also sold the properties they inherited and their small cottages have already been "gentrified" and sold.

Case 1. Mrs S.

> Mrs S (quoted in the Sunday Times, 14/8/77), is now 85 years of age and continued to live in her little cottage for some years. She was, in fact, persuaded to sell the property in 1984 for R5000 to a local white resident. (Deed of Transfer No. 42501, 23/8/84). This was on the understanding that she would have tenure of the property during her life-time.
>
> Another small house was built on the property where the local resident, who has just been elected to the Municipal Council of Greyton, lived. Recently the whole property was put on the market priced at R66,500. There was no guarantee that the new owner of the property would allow Mrs S to remain in her cottage and, by arrangement, she was moved to Heuwelkroon to stay with relatives.

Another property owner, also classified coloured, a school principal, whose wife was the district nurse and mid-wife for a

number of years, moved to a Cape Town school but still retains ownership of his house in Greyton, although he does not live there. As of 1985, only three of the eight families who refused to move from the village, continue to work as full-time farmers on their lands in the village and they are all uncertain what to do for the best.

Case 2. Mr R.

> Mr R. has sold several of his plots, including one which he intended as a wedding present for his only child when she married. She is a school teacher who lives with her husband in their own home which they have built on two of the residential erven in Heuwelkroon, near the Main Road and adjacent to the Primary School where she works. Her husband is employed in Caledon but also runs a brick-making business in Greyton and employs a staff of local men. They are one of the few families, classified coloured , who have a sufficiently secure financial base to re-deploy their resources in the area. However, Mr R, now 60 years of age, is worried about what will happen to his wife should he die before her. Will she be allowed to stay on in her home ?
> Mr R can look with satisfaction on his life's work in building up his small farm into a productive unit, but he has, as he says, "lost his peace of mind."
>
> Mr R. and his wife do not regret their decision to remain in their home but they grieve for relations and friends for whom the permission to remain came too late. They realise that they are, nevertheless on the losing end of the arrangement and they acknowledge the vulnerability of their situation.

A similar sense of insecurity is troubling the other two coloured property owners who farm their lands "on borrowed time". As property values escalate around them, the temptation to sell out is considerable. The hard-won permission to remain on their lands as working farmers is being de-valued in proportion to the inflated prices now being paid for land which is no longer productive. As one of the property owners remarked bitterly:

> "We all have to die some day - and on that day Group Areas has the last laugh ! "

The residents of long-standing in the village, who have been classified coloured, have owned land in Greyton since its inception and the descendents of these early settlers regard the possession of this land as their birth-right. They perceive the loss of this land as an infringement of their historic rights over land usage in the area. I quote an verbatim from an interview recorded in 1978 with one of the oldest inhabitants of the village in which he expresses very clearly the sense of loss experienced by those who had been "disqualified" from living in the newly proclaimed white group area.

> "In the beginning coloured and white lived all mixed up. Ja, ons het lekker gelewe, we helped one another. There was no difference in those days. There was a man, ou van Wyk, he lived opposite me, and we were fast friends. If the ou had mosbolletjies baked on the other side then she came over with with the apron full of mosbolletjies and we sat there, lekker gesels en koffee drink.
>
> It was around the war that you could see the white people took no notice of you. Before everyone was friendly, but later on they did not recognise a Coloured. I don't know what we did to them that we must be treated so. There must be love amongst the people. It cannot be like this.
>
> Man, hierdie buiteklas blanke mense, 'hulle is te erg. These plattelandse whites are much more severe than the city whites. It will be uphill to make them come right. Because they are used to making slaves of the.....The coloured people are bitter.
>
> The coloured people who lived here before, the most of them are dead, or trekked into the cities looking for work. They are better off there than here. Because my children will not remain here. Op die ou end, when I am dead it will be finished, here in Greyton. They are all gone. Ja, the one son is farming here. I don't know what is to become of him, whether he will live here - if he is allowed to, we don't know ourselves.
>
> Ja, when I die then all is finished, alles kaput. Want hoe se hulle.....'Die erwe van die vader bly vir die kinders.'.....Maar wat nou van ons ? Onse erwe ? Dink hulle nou dis reg ? Daar is veel bitterheid daaroor....."
>
> (von Holdt,1978:6/7)

This man died in his own home like his father and his grandfather before him, but for others death did not come in familiar surroundings.

Case 3. Mrs A.

> Mrs A, a woman of 78, could trace six generations of the Delport and Buys families who lived in their cottages in Greyton for more than a hundred years. They were, in fact among the first purchasers; Conrad Buys having come to purchase land in Greyton in 1862. He married a local woman from Boschmanskloof in 1868, the grandmother of Mrs A, who died aged 84 in 1935, a few years after her grand-daughter's marriage. The family lived in their home until the death in 1973 of Mrs A's uncle, in whose name the property was registered. In accordance with the Group Areas Act their house and two plots were sold by an order of court for R2750 to a white purchaser. When the time came for Mrs A's aged and widowed aunt to move from her home, she refused to go and retired to her bed, saying, "I was born here and I will die here." She was moved in her bed to Heuwelkroon where she died a few weeks later.

Many of the old people who were moved from their homes in the village did not survive long in their new environment. They responded like plants which have been uprooted too roughly from their native soil.

In examining at a personal level, the raw and often emotive experiences of removal and relocation, the need for some consideration of the broader issues surrounding the events in the village, is apparent. It is likely that there were factors which made some of the people who lived in the village particularly vulnerable to this kind of intervention.

The case study which follows may throw some light on the circumstances which prevailed in Greyton, as interpreted by one of the people, classified coloured, who still retains control of his property in the village.

Case 4.

Mr Y was born in Greyton, grew up and was educated there during the years 1930-1948. He married a woman from the Caledon district and they have seven children, some of whom have left Greyton and are living and working elsewhere. He has a substantial property which is well-developed and he is a capable and knowledgeable farmer. He emphasised certain significant stages in the growth of the village which he had observed or heard about while he worked the family farm.

"First there were the great-grand-fathers and the grand-fathers who came to Greyton. They owned or rented erven here and they worked for the local farmers. There were close links between them and the district. Their sons were their own masters and farmed successfully themselves. They developed positive farming techniques - there were some who did not do so well but there was co-operation between them and they survived.

Problems arose when a number of by-woners left the larger farms and came to the village in the 1920's and 1930's - they got onto the Municipality. At the same time there was growing competition between the smaller local farmers, who were doing well, and the big farmers in the district who had mechanised their operations.

"There was a feeling of jealousy - you could see it by the way they looked at you - the big operatives resented the loss of a section of their market to the small farmers."

"In 1948 - after the war - things changed. My father warned me to buy land for myself and be independent. He said, "If you are your own man, you have something. If you have nothing, you don't care." He was right. When a man has something, he has confidence- pride in it. He has something to work for - to pass on."

This provides a perspective which takes account of land value in terms of human resources rather than in financial terms. The implementation of group areas pulled the land out from under those who did not own it or were dependent on inheritance from elderly parents. It destabilised some and coerced others into giving up their independence.

What is the present pattern of social and economic organisation among the people classified coloured in Greyton and to what extent can this be seen as a response to the implementation of Group Areas in Greyton ?

It is relevant at this point to summarise some of the data collected during interviews with residents who are classified coloured; all but three of these households live in the coloured group area. The following table serves to quantify the data and provides some specific information about these residents.

Table 4.

Distribution and occupation of household heads classified coloured, in the sample.

Female household heads		Male household heads			Total
Working	Retired	Working	Retired	Unemployed	
4	4	31	6	5	50

Occupation of head of household	Work in Greyton	Work outside Greyton	
Farmers	4	-	4
Farm labourers	-	4	4
Public service	3	5	8
Building trade	3	1	4
Factory workers	-	7	7
Clerks	-	3	3
Domestic service	3	-	3
Dental mechanic	-	1	1
Boiler-maker	-	1	1
Total	13	22	
Unemployed	5	-	5
Retired	10	-	10
Total	28	22	50

From the table one can conclude that 26% of these household heads are employed in Greyton, 44% outside Greyton, 10% are unemployed and 20% are retired people. In the absence of comparative data, it is impossible to make any general statements about change in occupation but it is possible to make some observations about the present situation in order to identify some social and economic trends.

These 50 sample households comprise some 211 people of whom 68 were children who attended the local primary school and 6 were high school pupils at Genadendal. There were only 14 retired people living in the 10 households headed by retired men and women but there were usually other family members co-resident with them in these households. There did not appear to be gross over-crowding in any of the homes I visited although all but three houses were fully occupied. In several homes the co-residents were children from other households where there would have been difficulty in accommodating them, and they had been given the space available in the homes of grand-parents or other relatives.

It is evident that family ties are used to ease accommodation problems in the small rented houses and, at the same time, to provide assistance and support for elderly people. Many of the aged have needed help in carrying water from the taps in the street to their homes and young children often run errands for them when items are needed from shops in the village. The gravel track down to the main road is difficult for elderly people to negotiate. Two women and one man in the sample, who were alone, had younger sisters living with them who had come back to Greyton from places where they had been working previously. Most of these

people are subsisting on their small pensions and provide mutual support.

In five of the households where the heads were not employed when I visited them, three had other family members who were working and the other two were living from hand to mouth on odd jobs which they found from time to time in the village. There are several households where family members also do part-time jobs, for example at the hotels at week-ends when extra staff are needed; but relatively few are involved in part-time agricultural or gardening work, except as seasonal labourers on surrounding farms when the opportunity offers. A few are engaged in informal sector activities and one enterprising employed man has a number of side-lines such as running a battery-charging service for people who use batteries to power their television sets because the electricity supply is available only to the few home-owners in the coloured group area. He also makes bricks and employs a few local people to assist him in this.

This man was prepared to articulate the economic problems experienced by Heuwelkroon residents and the urgent need for more local employment in order to keep families together. He stressed the need for more constructive activity for scholars in order to keep them occupied and out of trouble and he said that he would be prepared to organise the building of a community centre, on the site provided for it in Heuwelkroon, if money could be found for it. Unfortunately no one in the village or the municipality seems to view this as a priority.

This same informant, and others, commented on the petty thefts which have taken place on a fairly regular basis during the past couple of years, particularly from week-enders' homes, and the

danger of gangs forming among young people. There is little regular entertainment provided for the young people who form a high proportion of the resident population of the coloured group area. They roam the streets of Heuwelkroon and the village, unnoticed by the white residents, except as a hazard for traffic.

The open mountain-side, too, is now a conservation area and the young people tend to avoid it and seek other amusement. An elderly man who is well-known to those who walk the mountain paths, but who does not live in Heuwelkroon, described his life in Greyton as a child in the 1920's as we scrambled up a little known route to a mountain spring.

> "We ran all over these mountains as children. We knew all the paths. We picked fruits and we caught hares - sometimes small buck - for the pot. And there were good fish in the river, if you knew where to look - " he winked as he spoke - "they still ask me when they want to know where the places are. I know them - this is my home. See here!"

We had arrived at a ledge, high on the hillside above the village and he pulled aside a large stone cover to show the water gushing out between two rocks.

> "That's where the Greyton water comes from - out of the earth - not from those pipes. Those are very old trees above us. They've been here a long time, like the coloured people of this place.
>
> I can't live in that place over there. It's not a real place."

As he spoke, he pointed towards Heuwelkroon, which appeared like a mirage beyond the village below us.

> "The one is just a reflection of the other," he said. "Not clear, not good, but like when the wind blows on the water."

It did appear distanced and out of focus in comparison with the scene immediately below us. As we climbed down again to the village, Heuwelkroon disappeared from view altogether behind the trees.

For some of those who are now out of sight in Heuwelkroon, the houses and property in Greyton have become symbols of change, while for others they continue to represent stability and security. With increased urbanisation and industrialisation and their attendant pressures, many societies have experienced a marked resurgence of interest in rural values and the benefits to be derived from being part of a "small society". The outcry has been increasing against environmental pollution, there has been a growth in ecology movements and an awareness of the limitations of growth: "Small is beautiful".

One of those people who purchased in 1974/75 put it in this way : "I thought we were on to something good here."

This view is shared by many who have chosen to retire to Greyton as he has done. As the village increases in size and sophistication, however, some of these earlier ideal values are being revised and in many of the new-comers who purchased properties in Greyton there is a growing sense of disillusionment. The village still fulfills many of the requirements of those who experienced a disenchantment with the congestion and pollution of cities and who desire a return to nature, but many changes have taken place in the village in the past fifteen years.

Land as capital.

Land has assumed a capital value which is not associated with its cultivation use so much as its potential for investment as

residential property. There has been a sharp rise in property values. In 1970 there were many homes standing empty in Greyton, including those which had been vacant prior to the implementation of the Group Areas Act. However, from about 1972 there was a steady upward movement in the marketing of property which peaked in 1975. (See Diagram 4)

During the early 1970's investors who had acquired property in Greyton, some of them on quite a large scale, were occupied in developing their land and marketing it. Some investors renovated old properties and re-sold them at a profit; others built new homes on open fields and marketed them; while some did not develop the land at all but merely retained ownership until such time as land was in demand and then sold at a profit on their original purchase price. This process did not occur by chance but corresponded with a well-planned campaign conducted by property brokers and estate agents. These themes of property speculation and investment are developed in succeeding chapters in relation to the socio-economic growth of the village.

An examination of commercial advertising and general media coverage over the past fifteen years reveals the way in which a determined effort to market the area was made by interested parties. The response by numerous purchasers indicates that this has met the needs of some who want to "get away from it all", but not too far away, for at least part of their lives. Clearly this is an over-simplification of the sometimes complex social and economic reasons why so many people should decide to invest in rural property.

I have conducted interviews with a wide range of people who have purchased property in Greyton during the past ten years and this

data is explored in suceeding chapters. While many purchasers have responded to advertising and promotion in the media and by word of mouth, others have "found" Greyton in the course of a deliberate search for this kind of rural retreat. They are now filling the gaps left by the rural exodus and the removal of people classified coloured from Greyton, although for many it is only on a semi-permanent or even less regular basis.

Outwardly the village has retained all its rural peace and its old world charm. The magnificent setting provides an ideal area for speculation and repopulation. The process which began when Herbert Vigne sold the first plots in Greyton is continuing today but the context in which it is occurring has changed and the lives of the people who reside in the area are changing in response to events and needs within Greyton and outside it.



Which is the authentic Greyton cottage? The house on the left is the new house. The house on the right is about 100 years old.



Restoration in perfect taste. The family of the former owners have lived in Greyton since the 1860's and are now resident in Heuwelkroon.

Chapter 4.

The White Group Area.

"Every day feels like Sunday."

Up to now the emphasis in this study has been upon the effects of change on the people classified coloured and their "disappearance" from the village.

Since 1854 there has been a continual movement of people in and out of Greyton in response to various pressures, but in the past 15 years the number of newcomers who have purchased property in the village has increased substantially. Yet, as noted in Chapter 2, population figures for Greyton, enumerated in the census returns since the beginning of the century, have shown a steady decline in numbers, particularly during the past 30 years.

I have calculated that, at present, there are not more than 120 households permanently domiciled in the white group area of Greyton but in June, 1986 there were 238 houses owned by whites in that area. It would appear that 118 of these houses are occupied only at week-ends or irregularly during the year by the owners or temporary visitors. This suggests that only 50% of the houses in the village are occupied by permanent residents.

Visible villagers.

It is relevant at this point to examine some of the data collected during interviews with 56 households who regard themselves as permanently domiciled in Greyton.

Table 5

Period of residence of sample households in the white group area.

	More than 20 years.	More than 10 years.	Less than 10 years.	Total.
Permanent households.	13	10	33	56
Length of ownership of part-time households.	-	13	31	44

The 56 households included in the first category of the sample make up a substantial part of the total number of 120 households who are permanently domiciled in the white group area of Greyton.

Thirteen of these households are headed by people who regard themselves as "old residents" of the village. They were born in Greyton or the district and have lived in Greyton for at least 20 years. An Afrikaans-speaking social scientist who has family connections in the district and who owns property in Greyton, although he does not live there, remarked: "To belong to Greyton, you must have been born there. You can be born in a ditch, but it must be one of their ditches." This comment suggests a belief in a closed or bounded social system which may have been true of the village in its early days before its boundaries were blurred by continuous movement in and out of the village. Today the concept of "belonging to Greyton" may be seen as an ideal rather than a reality.

Ten of the households in the sample have lived in Greyton for more than 10 years but did not arrive before the implementation of the Group Areas Act in Greyton in 1969. This category is the smallest and includes the sample households who purchased properties between 1970 and 1976 and who have remained in the

village. It does not reflect all the speculators who bought in the early 1970's and then re-sold at a profit in the property boom of 1975/76. In fact only a small proportion of those who speculated in property on a large scale actually lived in the village on a permanent basis, with the exception of one person included in this category who has renovated or built more than 30 houses in Greyton.

Of the remaining 33 households in the category of comparative newcomers to Greyton, 17 have only become permanently resident within the past three years, although some of them had been week-enders prior to settling in Greyton. The more recent arrivals predominate and give some indication of the increasing turn-over of properties since 1982. The same escalation in property sales to households who only visit Greyton on a part-time basis is apparent in the figures given in Table 5. The peak of sales in 1983/84 was illustrated in Chapter 3 and sales figures substantiate this influx.

About 50% of these sample households who are domiciled permanently in the white group area of Greyton are made up of retired people while the remainder comprise working people who are employed in the village and the district. It would seem then that the ratio of productive people to those who are not employed in some way is about equal and this will be examined in more detail later in this chapter.

On the other hand a number of the retired people do contribute to the social organisation of the village in a constructive way because many of them are involved in charitable services of one kind or another, e.g. the local branch of the Red Cross, the S.P.C.A., church social services and the Conservation Society.

The following case material puts into perspective the attitudes of three of the retired permanent residents to "their village".

Case 1.

Miss P. is a retired business woman of British origin, one of several in the village. In 1974 she purchased and improved her property which had been rebuilt by the former owner.

She "discovered" Greyton through friends and the village atmosphere appealed to her. Her cottage might be situated in an English country lane. She walks her dog vigorously and deplores the increasing intrusion of noise and the over-crowding of the foot-paths at week-ends.

She bought before the property boom and is well-satisfied with her investment. It suits her life style and her pocket to live in Greyton. She takes a lively and practical interest in village activities. She is involved in church work, visits Heuwelkroon regularly, and has become a useful member of village society,

Case 2.

Mr and Mrs G are a lively couple who have renovated their charming cottage tastefully. They have laid out a promising vegetable garden and keep geese.

They are in search of the simple life and they "found" Greyton through media advertising. When they visited it, they were captivated by its scenic beauty and peace. Although they, too, would not wish to see it over-developed, they are cautious about becoming involved in preservation issues.

Like a number of other property-owners, they are conscious of the trend to popularise Greyton and hope this will not "get out of hand". They travel abroad but regard their Greyton cottage as "home".

Case 3.

Mr and Mrs H bought their cottage in 1974 and renovated it themselves. They, too, have anglicized it to a marked extent which is not surprising as both are of British origin and came to Cape Town in the early 1950's. They put down roots and their married children also live in South Africa.

> Both were successful professional people and when they retired they decided to settle in a country town. They, too, heard about the village through the media, explored it and were charmed by its tranquillity and clean air. They grow their own vegetables in their beautiful garden and take an active part in local welfare projects and church affairs. Both affirm they are "delighted to be away from the noise and air pollution of the city". They are deeply disturbed by the intrusion of people who do not "belong" in the countryside. They feel that they have been in Greyton long enough to make decisions about matters which concern the village.

All three cottages which these people occupy formerly belonged to people who were classified coloured who were removed from their properties, but none of the present owners were " aware " of this because all of them purchased from "white" owners.

For all these disparate newcomers, Greyton fulfilled their requirements for a retirement home. They have joined the local scene to a lesser or greater extent and they now regard themselves as "belonging to Greyton".

Although more than half of the recent newcomers interviewed participate actively in business and social life , not all are accepted by residents of longer standing some of whom are critical of the changes which are being brought about in the village by the newcomers and the pace of these changes. Most of these criticisms were voiced by people who had bought before the property boom of 1983/84. Older inhabitants view the changes more philosphically, perhaps because they and the village have weathered other changes, but the general opinion of many of those who have been in the village for some time, is that there is a very real threat to the quality of life which they value. Most of the criticism is levelled at the escalation of noise and the intrusion into their privacy, but not all the residents are as concerned about the ecological implications as the following sample member.

Case 4.

Mr Z. is a single man who lives with his mother in an old house which was renovated by the previous owner. He is from a country district in Natal and he said that he had spent years looking for a place like Greyton.

As a sales representative he had travelled widely in South Africa and he "knew this was it" when he drove into Greyton. "It was like going back in time to a place where time had stood still." He does not want to see the place over-developed and he has taken an active stand against this by participating actively in the Conservation Society and village affairs. He says he is a "stirrer" and he has made a conscious decision to protest against certain issues like the sub-division of the commonage for new plots and the many prominent street-lighting standards.

He expressed the view that "people want to escape from cities " and he is not against the presence of week-enders. He feels, however, that they should be made aware of issues of importance to the village.

He has lived in the village for six years. He began by growing flowers commercially and then supplemented his income by "looking after" gardens for absentee owners. He also does odd jobs and he employs local labour. He has little competition.

He commented on the need for a return to subsistence farming to produce more food and increase ecological consciousness in the public at large. Recent droughts in South Africa had shown how necessary it was "to produce as much food as possible".

Changing relationships between people and their land.

For many of the retired people who have settled in the village, a country home provides the peace and seclusion for which they have saved and planned. They also have the financial resources and the time to turn their dream into reality. For a large proportion of the new residents, however, the rural dream does not include working the land and the productive "gardens" of earlier times are being transformed into decorative but agriculturally unproductive landscaping. Only seven of the of the 33 newcomers grow any kind of crop on their land and none of them market their produce seriously.

A few of the permanent residents do work their land, often with the assistance of those people from Heuwelkroon and Boschmanskloof who are still involved in agriculture on a seasonal basis. Almost all these property -owners fall into the category of "old inhabitants" or have lived in the village for more than 10 years. One new arrival provides an exception.

Case 5.

> Mr S is a very recent arrival who came to Greyton for the week-end and decided to stay permanently. He is a young Cape Town man, aged 22, who has had some agricultural experience and hopes to farm commercially in Greyton. He plans to hire more land than his double plot, if he is able to do so, and to employ local labour.
>
> He combines an idealistic attitude to his farming and a belief in "community values" with some practical common sense. He is seeking information from Heuwelkroon residents concerning the best way to go about his project so that "the community" are involved. Like them he is having some difficulty in finding available arable land which is not already ear-marked for housing development.

He is also experiencing some difficulty in contacting people who are able, and willing, to give him advice on his project. In Chapter 3 the situation of those who had been removed, or were under threat of removal from their land, was examined. The following case histories may throw some light on the attitudes of the few farmers who have not experienced this kind of upheaval.

Case 5.

> Mr B. is classified white and he occupies what was the largest single property in the village; he has recently parted with some of his land for development as building plots and new homes are now going up on land which was previously under cultivation.
>
> He was born in the district and has lived in the village for more than 50 years. He completed his schooling in Greyton, has been twice married and has several children. He has recently retired from the business in Greyton which he started as a young man.

He spoke of "the special relationship" between a man and his customers in these circumstances. He has known some of them for more than 40 years. He has been mayor of the town on several occasions and for long periods of office. He is still on the Council. It is clear from what he said that , for many years, the village management has been in the hands of a comparatively small group of residents. He attends the Dutch Reformed Church and takes an active part in the affairs of the village.

He has close social and economic links with the local farming community. He also farms the substantial piece of ground that he owns and keeps a few animals, but he commented that today he could not make farming pay.

At one time he acted as agent for the local Railway Transport Service and he saw two heavily-loaded waggons and a trailer leave the village per week. This was "before the coloured people sold their houses and moved to Heuwelkroon."

He mentioned that "the coloured people were the gardeners and seasonal labourers but that the building and renovation boom in Greyton drew all the able-bodied men away from farm labour because they could make more money. Now there are fewer jobs and there is a lot of unemployment among them."

He is of the opinion that the village must develop if it is to survive as a working community, although hitherto he has not been involved in property speculation.

Although the next case is that of a farmer classified coloured, it is important to see it in the context of what is now the white group area. This man is not faced with the threat of removal because of the particular situation of his farm and he continues to operate on the same basis as before group areas. To all intents and purposes nothing has changed for him, except his relationship to his neighbours, classified white on one side of his farm and classified coloured on the other side.

He knows where he stands and walks warily but with dignity, like the cat who walked by himself in the Kipling story. Unlike the cat, he is prepared to share his expertise and is one of those who has given advice to young Mr S.

Case 6.

Mr J. was born in Greyton in 1913. He farms the five plots which his father, a local man, bought for five pounds each in the early part of this century.

Fortunately this land is situated in that part of the coloured group area which links the original section of the village with the new extension. This property has well-established fields and is close to the main road. This man bought out his two brothers' share of the land when his father died and continues to farm the land.

Mr J was educated at the Anglican school in Greyton and recalls that when he first went there, "whites and coloureds attended school together." He added that the area seemed to have greater extremes of climate at that time and remembers walking to school "with the snow-flakes flying like feathers in my face. We played in the snow on the hill at the end of the Crescent."

He went to work on a nearby farm in 1930 and was paid ninepence per day in winter and one shilling a day in summer. He later worked on a wheat-farm in the Caledon district as a tractor driver ("I liked the mechanical things") during the 1940's; he was paid 1/9 per day in the winter and 2/6 per day in the summer.

During this time he returned frequently to Greyton to help his father, riding on the motor-bike he bought out of money he had saved. He said he "travelled far on that bike - all the way to Port Elizabeth and back."

After the war he moved to the Villiersdorp district where he entered into an arrangement of share-cropping with a local farmer - "2 to 1 - in my favour." He farmed there for eight years and then moved to Cape Town where he obtained work in the docks. He later drove a railway truck delivering goods on the route from Woodstock to Simonstown. He then moved to Elsies River where he still has a house.

He has been married twice, his first wife having been killed in a car accident on her way back from visiting friends in Villiersdorp. His second wife is living with him in the Elsies River house with those children who are at home. He has six sons and a daughter "who is training to be a teacher."

He is now retired but is rarely without occupation. He divides his time between his two homes, working the land, his own and other peoples'. He is employed by several white residents on a regular basis to plough and clear and, occasionally now but more frequently some years back, to plant and harvest small crops. He speaks of the time when his father's waggon would undertake the two-day journey to Caledon with a load of vegetables for the market. He and his brother have also acted as market-brokers for other farmers who did not have transport in those early days.

> He recalled trudging at the head of the team, as a small boy, along the difficult tracks and the camp fires at night "to keep the baboons away" as they slept on the trail. He is conscious that he is a survivor of "the old days".
>
> "My father brought up six children from that land," he says, "and his father before him. It is still looking after me and my son." When I asked him whether it had been enough for all his children, he smiled. "It costs more to bring up children these days than you can get from that piece of land."
>
> He shakes his head as he looks at his fields of potatoes, peas and huge squashes, like prizes at some agricultural show. "Its good land." he says," They did not get paid enough for it and there are people who are making money out of this."

The feeling of attachment to the land, described by many of these former owners, has been weakened by the passage of time because for most of them, there is no longer a sense of shared involvement in the economic life of the village.

For those who have been deprived of their land, agricultural labour has become a strategy for survival, without the rewards of ownership. Some of the employers of local labourers complain that they are not reliable workers," doing only as much work as they need to do, and then disappearing".

The words of Mr Y, quoted in Chapter 3, come to mind. "If you are your own man, you have something. If you have nothing, you don't care."

There is little doubt that when people who were classfied coloured were separated from their land, they lost both subsistence and status in the village and became more dependent on outside support systems. When the pattern of residential integration was broken, they were separated from the rest of the village residents. The agricultural activities and objectives which almost all the villagers shared were lost by the majority

of those who enjoyed them. The immediate effect of the implementation of the Group Areas Act was, therefore, to reduce the productivity of the land in Greyton and with it the gross income of a large section of the local population.

The fact that many residents in the coloured group area are wage-earners in areas other than the agricultural sector, has had the effect of changing the emphasis of labour in relation to income. The other activities have increased in importance as a means of support and the demand for work outside the agricultural sphere has grown. Because the work situation in Greyton itself has not developed to any appreciable extent, it means that more and more of the able-bodied residents of Heuwelkroon have had to travel further afield to seek employment. Today Heuwelkroon resembles many other areas which are home to commuter labourers. The separation of people from one another has extended itself beyond the distancing of those classified white and coloured from one another to the breaking of family ties.

More and more people who are classified coloured are forced by circumstances to spend more and more of their time away from their rural homes. For them, the exodus from the rural areas, where their homes are situated, is not a matter of choice but one of neccessity.

In contrast to this, many urban residents who are able to do so, choose to leave town as often as possible and make for the countryside. This is not a new idea but it is now a familiar pattern in the industrialised western world, where urban areas are associated with the working environment and the rural areas with holidays and recreation.

THE RURAL IDYLL



The week-ender's dream of the countryside. A field in the middle of Greyton village - now sold for development.



Sheep in a field - and all's right with the world. yet this field, too, has been sold for future development.

The village of the mind.

In addition visitors and newcomers to the countryside have expectations of rural life which are dominated by what Pahl (1968) has called "the village of the mind". Newby, Bell and others also refer to "this aesthetic notion of the countryside which stresses its visual aspects and which largely ignores the economic functions concerned with the production of food. For many ex-urbanites the countryside is, indeed, an idyllic retreat from the world of work." (1978 :215)

Newby and others are considering this attitude in relation to farmers who must earn their living from the soil and are, therefore, antagonised by this emphasis. It is even more ironic when one considers the paradox of the land of the dispossessed farmers, transformed into a play-ground for those who are escaping from "the world of work".

Since the forced removal of residents from the village to Heuwelkroon, the residential pattern of the white group area is being preserved artificially. The settlement pattern does not now relate directly to the use of land and its relative value. If land has value (and it certainly does in Greyton now), it has value as capital rather than as part of the means of production in a small agricultural social system.

Not only is the relationship between people and their land changing but also the relationship between various sections of the population of Greyton. This change in relationships has accompanied the change in emphasis from agricultural activity to property speculation and investment for holiday and retirement purposes.

Adapt - or leave Greyton ?

Changed patterns of interaction, or more often absence of interaction between residents, are emerging. Economic relationships still exist at the level of supply and demand but, of necessity, there has been an adjustment in response to the needs of the present population of Greyton. In the following case there has been a change in economic focus by a farmer who feels he must move with the times.

Case 7.

> A farmer, classified coloured but one of those still living on his property in the village told me that it no longer pays him to work his lands.
>
> Although he has several plots making up a substantial farm, both he and his cousin , who has property near by, are feeling the effects of inflation in farming costs. For the small producer it is difficult to cover the cost of seed, fertiliser, maintenance of farm machinery and transport to the market and one crop failure can be a disaster.
>
> There are so few working farms that the customary pooling of resources no longer operates. The small farmer finds himself edged out by the large scale operations of agribusiness in the same way that the small tradesman found himself overtaken by the large stores.
>
> "The output is just not equal to the overheads, You can play at farming on this scale but you cannot make a living," he declared. "That's why I have become a brick-maker. I'm using the big shed and there is a demand for bricks with all the building that's going on here."
>
> He carts bricks on his truck now instead of potatoes and onions, but he continues to plough his lands. There may be money in bricks but he is first and last a farmer, guiding his tractor expertly across the furrowed fields. "Perhaps I should cut this land up into building plots, and use my bricks to build some houses," he remarked one sunny morning, as chickens scuttled back and forth around our feet and I wondered how serious he was. His property is now worth twenty times what it was it 1970 when he decided to try and hold onto it.

This man is faced with a contradiction which he must rationalise and although he may have changed his attitude towards his

production, his relationship to the land has not changed. He is still very much part of the original pattern of settlement and he is reluctant to give up too much of a way of life which he finds satisfying if not financially rewarding.

As already indicated in this study, the cohesive factors which operate to hold an agricultural community together are their mutual interest in the welfare of their lands and their interaction at the socio-economic level. There are now too few people engaged in active farming operations in the village to perpetuate these ideas. Although those who have managed to continue would appear to have a monopoly in regard to land and markets, competition from larger concerns has severely hampered the small farmer.

In any case, this only applies to the white group area because land cultivation is severely restricted in the coloured group area by the nature of the ground and the size of the plots. It is possible to hire land on the "commonage" from the Municipality, who now lease it to tenants, but few take advantage of this because the pattern of agricultural activity has been broken.

In former times the commonage was an <u>additional</u> benefit providing extra grazing on open space, over and above the land owned by small farmers in Greyton. Only one "white" farmer continues to use the commonage on this basis and he leases a large piece of land for pasturage and storage purposes. His dairy farm continues to operate successfully as there is little competition in the village. Few of the people of Heuwelkroon can afford to lease land and, as already mentioned, many of the younger generation have lost interest in farming during the past fifteen years.

Changes in business interests.

Yet from another perspective, this land value can be seen as part of a support system of a different kind. Although there are few people who actually use their land productively, there are a number of land-owners in the white group area for whom the way of life in a village is supportive.There are those retired people, (and today not all of them are elderly), who have reinvested their capital more realistically than was possible for them elsewhere. They encompasses a wide range of financial self-sufficiency and include a few bywoners from the district and beyond; some people who were formerly urban or small town residents; and a small but significant number of white ex-Zimbabwe citizens, some of whom are younger than the usual retirement age.

There are also some young to middle-aged people who have transferred their business interests and skills to Greyton for various reasons. Like the retired people, some of the latter hope, in this way, to maintain a good standard of living on a small income and reduce overhead costs while others, who may be fairly affluent, intend to supply services of one kind or another to residents and visitors.

Among both the employed and the unemployed people in Greyton, there are some who have lived in Greyton or the district for all, or part of their lives as well as others, who are comparative newcomers. The former comprise perhaps 25% of the total permanent population of the white group area, while the remaining 75% is made up of the newcomers. In order to sum up certain aspects of the interview data the following tables are offered by way of an introduction to this section of the village population.

Table 6.

Distribution of permanent residents in households in the white group area.

Households of people in employment.	Total no.of people in the households.	No.of house-holds of retired people.	Total no. of people in the households.
27	45	30	46
	Male Female		Male Female
	23 22		21 25
	Married Single		Married Single
	34 11		32 14

For the purpose of this categorisation only adults (people over the age of 18 years) are included in the sample.

Table 7.

Employment and occupation among sample residents in the white group area.

Occupation.	Male	Female	Total
Hotels.	3	3	6
Garages.	3	-	3
Shops.	3	2	5
Estate agents.	-	2	2
Public service.	1	4	5
Farmers.	2	-	2
Professions & small business.	8	-	8
Speculators & renovators.	3	3	6
Total.	23	14	37
Home managers.	-	8	
Totals.	23	22	45

In addition to these white residents and the four families classified coloured who have retained their properties, there is one family classified Indian who are resident in the white group area in Greyton. It is , perhaps , relevant to comment on the latter family at this point. They have a permit to live in the village and carry on their family business which has just celebrated its fiftieth year in Greyton. Their shop is centrally situated and their comfortable family home is adjacent to it. The present owner is an active middle-aged man who inherited his shop from his father just before the Group Areas Act was implemented in the village. However, their conditions of tenure are in accordance with the ruling of the Act on business premises and there is no certainty that his son will succeed him. The shop carries a wide variety of stock from groceries to hardware and soft goods; from firewood to jewellery, watches and novelties. It is patronised by purchasers from both group areas who gather inside and outside to chat and pass the time of day. When I questioned him the owner said firmly: "Greyton is my home. I have no ideas about leaving." With a smile he handed me a T-shirt which celebrated 50 years of permanence and moved on to chat to his next customer.

Part-time residents.

The categorisation in Tables 6 and 7 does not include the week-enders who provide important variations on the theme of the permanent residents and make up 44% of the sample households: 90% of them are business and professional people, most of whom are permanently domiciled in Cape Town or the Western Cape, although there are a few who are from the Transvaal, the Eastern Cape and even further afield.

Among them are at least nine property owners, each of whom has

owned several properties and has been speculating in Greyton for more than 10 years. All these owners purchased their first properties before 1974 and some have bought and sold as many as 8 to 15 properties since that time. Of the 31 part-timers who have purchased in the last 10 years, 20 have owned their properties for three years or less.

While Group Areas has physically separated one section of the community from another, the property-owners in the white group area are also separated from one another to some extent on the basis of the time they spend in the village. As already observed, the permanent residents are in the minority now and the absentee property-owners drift in and out of village life as they please. There may be long gaps between visits or they may be "regulars". These part-time residents, and especially recent newcomers, may blend harmoniously with the overall tone of the village or have little effect on it because they do not participate in village activities. Occasionally these newcomers provide some particularly discordant notes. I shall endeavour in this chapter and the next to provide some idea of the cross- currents, past and present, within the village and to high-light, in particular, the way in which differing perceptions of life in the village, have become internal agents of change.

Newcomers and change.

The hotel-keepers, the owners of commercial outlets of various kinds and the ever-present estate-agents now provide the most urgent impetus for change in their responses to "what the public wants", as they see it. They have replaced the speculators and renovators as the main agents of change within the village. Both hotels in the village have changed hands within the past two years and a third has opened its doors. These are now very

different establishments from the homely "Central Hotel", opened in the early part of this century and owned by one family until 1985.

It provided accommodation for local school teachers and other people who worked in the district, including the magistrate who visited the village periodically. Members of the local farming community would arrive on Saturday and Sunday for the substantial dinners, served in the unpretentious dining-room. Before and after dinner people would sit on the broad stoep and exchange local gossip. As a local teacher, who had stayed there as a young woman, commented: "It was a family atmosphere - home from home. Nothing fancy but really good food and good company. Real value for your money."

Now the old hotel is getting in tune with the present mood and, conscious of competition down the road in either direction from it, its new owner is modernising the fittings and putting in a swimming-pool. Prices have increased in response to these demands and inflation, but there are fewer local cars at week-ends and urban visitors make favourable comparisons with town prices. The old facade remains the same although the bar is quieter without the local rugby team on Saturdays. The hotel still has the only off-sales outlet in Greyton and the usual crowds gather at the corner to replenish supplies.

The other two hotels have made a conscious effort to cater for the week-end public and the holiday-makers who visit Greyton. They have provided tasteful period decor which fulfills all the expectations of people who are "getting away from it all" into the countryside of "yesteryear".

Extensive re-building has provided plumbing and other conveniences

of the highest order and the food is advertised as "cordon bleu". The vogue for recapturing the past is fully realised in luxurious style where all the comforts of "urbs" are to be found in "rus".

These hotels are well-patronised by visitors who arrive in expensive cars and also by local property-owners who "want a meal out" in attractive surroundings which remind them of life in town without the inconvenience of getting there. The urban emigrants are bringing change to Greyton simply by their presence and their needs.

Outdoor life and fresh country air, ecological awareness and healthy exercise - these factors are important to the urban middle class and have been marketed in many packages to counteract the tension and stress-producing conditions which exist in city life. An interest in health is a fashionable trend and off-sets the necessity of living in unhealthy conditions.

It is appropriate at this point to mention that a local poet wrote of "The Music of Greyton" in terms of the natural sounds of bird-song and running water and these still counterpoint the human contributions. The bird cries are varied and clear in the quiet of the countryside and the soft rush of water in streams and lei-water channels forms a background to them.

These sounds provide a constant reminder, too, of the essential elements of the village which will be lost in noise and over-crowding. Water is both a life-giving and a self-limiting factor in the village and much of its marketable charm depends on its free flow. The growing demands on the water- supply in the white group area will have to be matched by appropriate development, and expenditure, if these "traditional sounds" are not to be lost. The bird-song, too, is endangered as housing development

replaces the natural vegetation which provides cover for the birds and the alien noise of powerful cars accelerating down the quiet streets causes the birds to migrate.

Recently a helicopter brought a party of "V.I.P.'s" to one of the local guest-houses and landed on a field adjacent to it. This provoked strong reaction from residents, particularly from those who lived nearby, and further requests to the Municipality to use this kind of transport, door to door, have been rejected. It is a sign of the times, however, that in future arrangements have been made to land helicopters on the rugby-field !

One wonders how long it will be before this kind of travel is common-place; just as the motor-car replaced the ox-waggons and donkey-carts of earlier times. It may seem fanciful to suggest that "the music of Greyton" will change from bird-song to the whirr of helicopter blades but it is in keeping with the escalating pace of change.

Newcomers : the balance of benefits.

The creation of separate coloured and white group areas changed the demography of the village physically and produced gaps in established residential patterns. For most of those classified coloured, the loss of land has reduced their material resources as well as removing them from the centre of the village to a peripheral position. The newcomers who have filled the gaps have, for the most part, improved their material resources and they have gained property which has appreciated steadily in desirability and value. In addition as Newby (1971) noted: "A move to the country is still a move up the social ladder- especially for the urban middle class." (38) One of my informants said : "To have a place in the country has always been my

objective - an acknowledgement that I've made it. My friends have boats and cars - I've got this place. I like bringing my friends here to enjoy it with me. They love it too."

On the other hand, those who were removed from the village have lost status as well as economic advantages, and the class differences between those classified white and those classified coloured, are emphasised. As the village increases in popularity and land values stabilise at higher levels in the present white group area, the social distance between the two group areas widens proportionately. The "community" is now shaped by the social order which the Group Areas Act legitimates. It is necessary to look back to the period before Group Areas was implemented in the village, in order to appreciate what is happening to the way interaction takes place between people in Greyton and to assess the difference between "then" and now. It also provides some perspective on the relationship between the white group area and Heuwelkroon.

The years between the wars (1919 - 1939).

In spite of the years of economic depression in the 1920's and the 1930's and to some extent because of it, the slow growth of the village continued.

Like many other small towns and villages in the Boland and other parts of the Western Cape, Greyton was influenced by the general demographic shift towards urban areas which took place in the early part of the twentieth century.

An informant who now lives in Cape Town told me that she had left Greyton in 1925 at the age of seventeen to seek work. She found a job as a nurse-maid to a small child in Sea Point because she was

already experienced in this work. She had been employed as a nurse-maid to two young children in Greyton from the time she was fourteen. She said that her employers, an Afrikaans-speaking family who ran one of the village shops, gave her an excellent reference and she found the work immediately. Because she had been taught English at the Anglican Church School, where she passed Std 6, she found it easy to adjust to life in Cape Town.

She met her husband at a church social in Sea Point where they later lived in Tramway Road. When "the Group came" they moved to Epping Garden Village and thence to Kewtown. Although she is now in her late seventies, she is a lively and well-groomed woman who takes a keen interest in church work and visits her old "home-town" whenever she can.

She put me in touch with several other elderly women who had left Greyton as young women and come to Cape Town. Some remained there as wives and mothers, while others returned to Greyton later in life with their husbands or as widows. They range in occupation from domestic workers to nurses, teachers and factory hands. Most of those who returned now stay with relatives in Heuwelkroon or Boschmanskloof and are very willing to speak of "the old days" when they were part of the village community.

It is clear that many of the young people, and particularly those classified coloured who lived in the village, joined the exodus to the larger centres in search of employment and improved prospects. They do not seem to have severed ties with Greyton, however, and the interview data suggests that many of those who settled in town sent money home to support their families and elderly relatives who were in need at that time. Some have continued to do this and many make the sentimental journey "home"

at regular intervals to visit relatives. This often occurs at times of religious festivals. There is a similarity in their stories to those of the reunion of families and friends at St Peter's Church in Mowbray, which are recounted by Western (1982:204). The urban experience of removal seems to have engendered a similar "community" response and a desire to return to the "familiar places" that brings the people of Greyton home to the places from which they have been "disqualified".

At Easter, in particular, there was, and still is, an influx of people who regard themselves as "belonging to Greyton", and it is significant that the Anglican Church bazaar takes place at this time. There are happy scenes as old ties are renewed both there and at the sports fixtures which are played, as they have been for years, at fields on the commonage.

Today extra buses bring the visitors and some arrive in private cars; a far cry from the transport available in the early part of the century. Then visitors travelled by train to Caledon and waggons would come from Greyton to pick them up.

> "That was a time to remember. We would all climb on the waggons - and Mr Y and Mr C would drive them. We would all be talking and singing and laughing for the whole journey. It was a long way to travel at that time and sometimes it rained but we didn't mind because it was good to see our friends and we knew we were going to our homes where we grew up."

That was how a woman of eighty-five described the journey as it was in 1931. She also makes the journey every year. Today, as then, the people of Greyton mingle in the streets and on the open spaces round the village, as if there were no group areas, but at the end of the day most of those classified coloured must climb the hill to Heuwelkroon where the festivities continue.

At New Year there is no longer one large gathering down at the river where all village residents can meet togther to sing nd dance in the open air. This seems to have been a long-standing custom from the early days of the village as many residents recall in stories told them by parents and grand-parents.

"What a jol that was! We used to dance all night." As he said this, the eyes of my old informant lit up remininiscently. He recalled the sound of the "orkes" from Genadendal who would play for hours. An older woman remembered the days when waggons were used to transport everyone down to the place and "all the people danced and ate as much as they could. Ouma Delport made such pies and often there was an ox-braai."

It was on this same open space in the 1950's, when the river came down in spate and enormous damage was done to property, that all the residents came together in different circumstances to mount a rescue operation to help those who were cut off by the flood waters. Residents remembered the soup-kitchens which were organised by the local mid-wife and district nurse with the help of church-workers of all denominations. There were many elderly folk living in Greyton at the time and a number of families were hard hit by the disasters.

A retired dominee, who played an active part in the rescue operations at that time, compared the village as it was then to a "hot-house where the elderly, the poor-whites and those who would not have survived in a less sympathetic environment, were able to live out their time." He scrambled along a fallen tree trunk which acted as a bridge across the swollen river and brought back several children from the flooded houses on the other side. He recalled that "there were many coloured people who were amazed

that I should have troubled to bring over their children." He added, in response to my queries, that by the 1950's there was an appreciable perception of social distance among the coloured people and the whites. In his congregation there were only whites and all but one white family in the village belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church.

By its very nature, the village provides a microcosm of the growth of legitimated discrimination which followed the passing of the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act. Very often, however, there is a contradiction between what people say and what they do and events in the small social system of Greyton in the early part of this century cast shadows before them. There are half- acknowledged overtones of discrimination and paternalism towards the "coloured people" which cannot be ignored. There is a contradiction , too, in the rural nature of the village population of this time and degree of urbanisation which was taking place in many families.

Similarly there is a contradiction in the historic image of an "English village", which has been promoted by later property developers and the reality of this South African settlement.

Village society - then and now.

The depopulation of the platteland turned many small villages into refuges for the aged. When numbers of bywoners who had leased small farms from wealthier farmers in the district were made redundant by improved techniques of farming, they made their way to small villages like Greyton. There they were able to carry on their small- scale farming operations and make some kind of living for themselves.

There are still many elderly people in Greyton but, ironically, for many of them the security which the small commmunity afforded, has been eroded. This is particularly true for the aged who are classified coloured, many of whom had to leave their homes in the village at a time in their lives when they most needed their subsistence allotments to supplement small pensions. Some of the elderly people classified white, who owned houses in the proclaimed white group area, were also encouraged to sell their properties in response to what seemed to them tempting offers, only to find that no alternative accommodation existed in the Greyton area within a price range which they could afford. They have had to leave the village and go to old age homes in the Strand and Caledon, where they regret the loss of friends in the community they knew so well.

Some of the properties have been purchased by elderly people who have retired in affluent circumstances. In this way the age balance is maintained while, at the same time, there is a change in the income level in an upward direction. The income level of white land-owners has risen appreciably on average.

Although the population of Greyton village, on average, could not have been described as prosperous in those years between the two World Wars, they have been surrounded by a successful farming community for some time and this did contribute to the growth of the village. The Dutch Reformed Church and the school for white children (particularly the high school built in 1928 and attended by many children from the surrounding farms), provided points of contact between the farming community and the white village residents. On the other hand, most of the contact between the farmers and the "coloured" villagers seems to have taken place at

the level of labour or, in some cases, in the market-place. Their children did not meet in school.

Changes in the child population in Greyton.

There has been a significant change in the number of white children who live permanently in Greyton. Among the 56 sample households domiciled in Greyton (see Table 7), only seven of them included young children (14 children in all), who attend the local school.

Once the village and district supported a primary and a junior secondary school but the latter has been closed due to lack of support and the primary school continues to function with very reduced numbers. In the 1930's more than 200 children attended the school; now only 62 children attend from Sub A to Std 5. I was also told that it has been the establishment of a hostel for boarders, drawn mainly from welfare organisations in urban areas which has saved the school from closure. It is understandable when one realises how few of the parents of school-going children are permanently resident in Greyton; their children attend school in the urban areas where they reside for most of the year. The farmers also send their children to boarding schools in urban areas.

For those classified coloured, the position is different. Because as we noted earlier in this chapter, the breadwinners must migrate to towns where work can be obtained, their children usually remain in Greyton with their mothers and/or grand-parents and other relatives. The new school in Heuwelkroon has over 200 pupils and their family relationships are similar to those which are repeated all over Southern Africa among the families of migrant workers. The residents of Heuwelkroon are also

experiencing the problems of divided families and the breakdown of family ties that result from this.

Greyton, like many other rural villages, had its quota of "poor white" families and the less privileged classes in the community were not always defined by colour. In fact there were people, who are now classified coloured, among the more affluent class in the village prior to the Second World War. Some families, now removed, were considerable land-owners but, as already shown in previous chapters, only a few still cling doggedly to their properties in the village.

If land represents wealth in one form or another to the people of Greyton, then the unequal process of land redistribution has disadvantaged those classified coloured and resulted in a greater differentiation in the total population of the Greyton district. Class cleaveages are now apparent in the community.

Invisible villagers.

It is relevant at this point to look at the concept of a "local social system", as developed by Stacey (1969), rather than at a community, and to mention that, in the propositions which she presents, the following are particularly applicable to Greyton.

> 21. Some structural and cultural features of a local social system will render some individuals socially invisible to each other.
>
> 23. Physical proximity does not always lead to the establishment of social relations.
>
> (Stacey, 1969:144)

In the case of Greyton, political pressures have played a particular role in promoting the "invisibility" of some residents but events have shown that there has been resistance to such

influences: eg. for some years after their removal from the village, people living in Heuwelkroon would come down to their former homes in the white group area and ask the new owners for "some of their water". A resident described the experience in this way:

> One Saturday morning a donkey-cart, loaded with two drums, was driven to the gate of our house and a coloured man got down and came to the front door. He spoke very politely. "This is where I used to live," he said, "and my father and my grand-father too. I have come to fetch some of our water." I asked him if he did not have water where he lived and he repeated, "Yes, but I want some of our water." At first I did not know exactly what to say but then I decided to let him have what he wanted. He filled the two drums with water and I helped him to put them on the cart. Then he thanked me and he said, "This is very good water." He looked around a bit more and told me I should cut back the peach tree. Then he climbed into his cart and drove off. He came back twice more during the next year, just as if he was checking up on the place. He said he thought I had pruned the peach tree very well. I did not see him again after that.

Many of the recent newcomers to the village are unaware of the existence of these former Greyton residents and they know little of the circumstances which accompanied their removal. Many homes have changed hands several times since the early 1970's and the present owners have had no contact with the earlier occupants. All trace of them has disappeared from their homes.

Ironically, the "invisible" villagers who live at Heuwelkroon, are still dependent on the facilities which are available only at the village centre. There are no shops, or churches in the coloured group area other than the Moravian church, which is on the border of the white group area. In addition, the Municipal offices and the new clinic which serve both areas are also

centrally situated and Heuwelkroon residents must visit the village regularly to obtain supplies, pay their rent, receive medical attention and attend church. This gives rise to a situation in which theoretical separation cannot be implemented fully and is one which characterises the contradictory implications of Group Areas.

A situation has been created in which the "coloured actors" in the rural scene appear almost as part of the scenery for many of the newcomers to Greyton and certainly for many week-enders. Although they move to and fro and perform certain tasks or use certain facilities, their appearance in the village or their disappearance to Heuwelkroon or Boschmanskloof is taken for granted. They are seen in the village but are not "of the village". In fact many of the visitors to Greyton regard them as "visitors" like themselves rather than people who were once central actors in the events of the village. Others are quite incurious as to their origin.

"I suppose they live somewhere up there...." one holiday-maker remarked, in response to my question to this effect and waved a hand in the general direction of the mountain. Her companion added thoughtfully, "Many of these people are probably local farm-workers who have come here to shop and see the sights." He was referring to the crowd of Saturday morning shoppers who had come down to the village from Heuwelkroon as usual. His assumption that "these people" must be workers employed on farms in the district indicates the subordinate role of "rural coloured people" as perceived and accepted by "whites". That many of them were once land-owners and farmers is not even considered.

Property and paternalism.

The few families, who are classified coloured and remain in the village, are perceived by most new-comers as "white", or accepted as the exceptions which prove the rule in white areas - another of the contradictions of the apartheid system. As mentioned earlier, there was genuine support for these families from their white neighbours when attempts were made to remove them in 1977, but others who were not able to retain ownership are accepted as domestic workers and labourers of low economic status. Looking back to an earlier time before group areas were implemented, an elderly Greyton resident spoke of the relationship between "coloureds" and "whites" in this way.

> "People knew their places. They never made trouble or took advantage of it. There were real friendships between people who lived here. We needed each other, you see."

A middle-aged Heuwelkroon woman expressed this view:

> "There were some whites who were ashamed of living next door to coloured neighbours and it was worse when they had visitors who came from other places. Then we used to stay indoors so that the strangers would not know that we lived there. When the visitors left we all went on as usual."

This is one of the few expressions of village solidarity as a "closed community" against others - "strangers" - who came from elsewhere. Those who were regarded as "coloured people" were prepared to participate in this significant charade in order to accommodate their neighbours' feelings in this matter and preserve the status quo.

The attitudes of paternalism and deference which are implicit in these statements, are reflected in much of the information which I have collected from the older generation who live in Greyton

and Heuwelkroon. They indicate clearly the social codes of behaviour which operated in the village when it was residentially integrated and the recognition of the social distance which existed among many, but not all, of the people who lived there.

An important question arises in this context. Which are stronger? The forces pulling people together or the forces pulling them apart ?

Chapter 5.

Power, preservation and progress.

Two issues recurred in the interviews which I have conducted in the white group area at Greyton: the preservation of certain values and their outward expression in things and institutions, and the pressure of new events which demand changes of various kinds with all their implications.

People differed in the context of these issues as to what constituted progress and what was "good" for residents and especially for rate-payers. Their point of departure from each other is the importance which each attaches to the relative value of these old and new elements in the domestic and economic spheres.

It is understandable that local business- men and hotel-keepers welcome amenities like electricity and the up-grading of drainage and roads, which improve their efficiency and enhance their prospects, while the week-enders see these same amenities as an intrusion on the "unspoiled and simple rural life" which seems so desirable to them. However, the latter return to their fully-equipped homes in well-ordered neighbourhoods where they take these amenities for granted, forgetting that others must remain in what they perceive as undeveloped rural areas.

Where possible I explored the extent to which the residential history and the present circumstances of the local inhabitants influences their alignment with particular interest groups and

for what reasons certain white residents support either the "preservation" or "progress" lobby.

In doing this, however, it was possible to lose sight of the silent majority of residents whose removal from the village has expedited this "preservation" of the village by newcomers; and for whom "progress" can be, and has been, a very mixed blessing.

Progress and development do not necessarily coincide in the minds of people, and as far as "separate development" is concerned there appears to have been very little development during the past fifteen years for those in Greyton who are classified coloured.

Progress for them has been slow and limited, while separation has resulted in a deterioration in relationships and a hardening of attitudes towards the "whites". Many express ambivalent feelings towards the white newcomers, particularly towards those whites who have attempted to bridge the gap between Heuwelkroon and the village itself, but there is also a strong sense of betrayal directed towards whites in general.

The people who live in Heuwelkroon are openly dissatisfied with their situation. There is deep resentment, quietly but bitterly expressed, about the removals.

Only a handful of people now remain who took part in the active agricultural life of the village before the removals and who talk nostalgically about "the good old days". The younger residents are more resentful about the profits being made in the property market, as they see it, often at their parents' expense, than the actual loss of the land as a means of subsistence. A new

generation is growing up in Heuwelkroon whose demands are centred on more and better employment opportunities and a higher standard of living rather than on a return to the old way of life.

The people who live in Heuwelkroon are concerned about a more convenient water-supply and sanitary arrangements, better roads, street-lighting and services. They are aware that they do not enjoy the same amenities that have been provided for Greyton village. The resentment engendered by their separation from their homes has been increased by this neglect. Their relationship to the village itself is an uneasy one. The words of Marris, quoted in Chapter 3, no longer apply. "The familiar places" have become uncomfortable.

The case of Mrs X and her husband is indicative of the contradictory emotions experienced by many who decided to leave their homes in the village. The choice they made was determined by their circumstances and , in that sense, for them there was no choice at all.

Case 1.

Mrs X. has been living in Heuwelkroon since 1974. Her husband became seriously ill a couple of years before he sold his property in the Bo-dorp to white week-enders. Mrs X. explained that when he found out that, in the event of his death, his wife would have to leave their home, he decided to make provision for her before that happened. They had no children. Their home was one of a group of three cottages, each on its own allotment.

The couple lived in the cottage which had belonged to the parents of Mr X., while the other two had belonged to Mrs X.'s parents and grand-parents, respectively. The latter was sold to a white purchaser for R350 on the death of the owners in 1970 and Mrs X.'s mother sold hers in 1972 when her husband became ill and died; she obtained a higher price (R1200) because "it was a better house".

Mr and Mrs X. considered themselves "fortunate" because they had "a good offer of R2000" for their home in 1973.

> The new owners permitted them to stay on the property as care-takers while Mr X. arranged to rent one of the larger houses in Heuwelkroon. Mrs X. speaks of the warm and friendly relationship which existed between them and the new owners of their property. She added that she was glad that "nice people " were living in her home.
>
> When her husband's condition worsened, he suggested that they move to their new quarters and he died eleven days after they did so. Mrs X. still lives in the house with her sister who is in poor health. Mrs X. now does domestic work in the houses where she and her late husband were brought up.
>
> "The houses look different now," she said," but they are still the same underneath. And I still remember my Pa, working in his garden."

Mrs X. was greatly disturbed when there were rumours that single women and widows might have to move from the larger houses in Heuwelkroon to smaller ones. It was suggested that larger families should be given the four-roomed houses. She feared the loss of the small amount of comfort and security which her husband had provided for her.

There seems to be little confidence amongst the people of Heuwelkroon that their interests will be protected by the authorities. There is great emotional insecurity, particularly among the older people who have lost their properties and have seen their rights eroded. They are fully conscious that the implementation of Group Areas has changed their status in the community as a whole. "Rejection is an experience shared by all who have moved, or will have to move, to a new township." (Whisson. 1972:29) This is as true for the people of Greyton as it is for any people who have experienced forced removal and relocation. They feel themselves to be powerless.

Those who hold office and control the allocation of financial resources, in both the public and the private sector, have the power to make decisions relating to the rest of the community. It

follows that whoever has the power to make decisions about preservation or progress can determine how much influence is extended in either direction and what form it will take.

Who has power in Greyton ?

There are various bodies in whom the power to act in village affairs is vested: the municipality, the rate-payers association, some church groups and the conservation society, all of which exist, of course, within the present framework of the political structure and with the exception of certain church groups, provide no real representation for the people of Heuwelkroon.

It is interesting to note that the seat of the local member of the new House of Representatives is at Genadendal and that he was one of those returned unopposed by the Labour Party. This may well emerge as a new interest group in the village and one which will express its views on progress and what should be preserved from the past.

In a small village like Greyton, little happens of which the local residents are not aware and it is possible that the week-enders are at a distinct disadvantage because they are not so efficiently locked into the local network. There are a few exceptions but most of the week-enders are quite uninvolved in village affairs and have little interest in matters which concern permanent residents. Yet most of these part-time residents have a considerable financial stake in the village and their decision to invest in Greyton has contributed to its development and the rapidly escalating property values in the area. Should they decide to exercise their collective voting power as rate-payers, which did, in fact, occur in 1978, they could play a substantial part in future developments in the village. An examination of the

municipal voters roll for 1985/86 shows, however, that very few of the week-enders have registered as voters.

The implementation of the Group Areas Act has resulted in the extension of the village beyond the boundaries of the original survey plan of erven. In addition to Heuwelkroon, new plots were, and continue to be opened up on the lower slopes of the mountain and in areas on the original village limits, where they encroach onto the surrounding commonage.

When the village boundaries were extended to include a coloured group area and proclaimed by the Municipality under whose authority the commonage now falls, certain traditional liens and servitudes regarding the use of commonage and water rights which were contained in the original deeds of transfer were cancelled. Thus pressure to enforce government policy on Group Areas opened the way for future development of the commonage. This occurred on 25 June, 1973 and on 25 June, 1976 when village boundaries were extended to include two additions to the white group area (See Diagram 2).

By 1986 the Municipality had sold 60 plots in these two extensions at R1000 per plot. In the Park Road area more than twelve houses have been built on them, including the new pastorie for the local Dutch Reformed Church. This was the first dwelling to be erected in the new extension. The other extension, which is adjacent to Buitekant Street in the Onder-dorp, has not yet been developed.

These extensions beyond the historic boundaries of the village were made without consultation with the rate-payers. They have become the subject of controversy between the present Municipality and the Rate-payers Association and the Conservation

Municipality and the Rate-payers Association and the Conservation Society, who have expressed strong reservations about the unlimited expansion of the village. A member of the Association commented that "the village could outgrow its strength" and took as an example its water resources, which are under considerable strain at present. These issues will be explored further laterin this chapter.

It is clear that, with the changing residential patterns in the village, the nature of the demands made on the available resources of land and water have changed considerably.

Visible changes in the village.

Mrs B , a permanent Greyton resident, told me that even in the ten years since she and her husband had retired to Greyton, she had perceived changes in the character of the village.

> " More and more renovations of old properties are taking place and new houses are being built on land which previously was planted.Many of these small properties were owned by small farmers. Some of them were white and some of them were coloured people who were evicted."

This informant also described how, in the process of building and renovation, mango, avocado, banana and paw-paw trees were pulled out as well as deciduous trees, resulting in a "bare look". She remarked that there is now a shortage of fresh fruit and vegetables in Greyton whereas at one time people grew and exchanged produce. She observed that many people who come to Greyton for the week-end or on short holidays, do not cultivate. There is now no consistent utilisation of land and consequently most of the informal traffic has ceased. This is a fairly accurate representation of the situation although there are exceptions, and some of the newcomers who have come to Greyton on a permanent basis do have vegetable gardens for their own use. A

few of the older residents continue to cultivate their lands and keep some stock on the commonage but they are very much in the minority.

The same informant referred to these changes as "spoiling the village" in her estimation, and she added that many of the recent newcomers "do not care about the village. It means nothing to them." On the other hand she also criticised the rather self-conscious labelling of the village as "historic" in its promotion in the media. "What history?" she asked and added that she did not think it was a very old village. She also stressed that many people were unable to differentiate between skilful reproduction and authentic restoration.

The historic aspect of the village has undoubtedly been emphasised as a marketing ploy when promoting the sale of property in the village and has become a determining factor in building development and policy. In fact there are a number of small suburban houses, dating from the 1920's and 1930's thirties, which are just as much a part of the historic heritage of the village as the more picturesque thatched cottages. Some of the former are now being "made over" and given "an old look" to harmonise with their neighbours. A good example of this is the "gentrification" of a simple but solidly built cottage which had belonged to the village smous. This has become " a cottage of character" since it was auctioned after his death, and the renovation includes many features which it did not possess in his lifetime. Greyton has acquired the label of "an old English village" in media advertising by estate agents and this encourages speculation as to why it should be so. There is undoubtedly a good deal of wishful thinking about "how the village ought to look".

The question then arises as to exactly what is being preserved in Greyton and why preservation is an issue.

The white newcomers' perception of what constitutes "character" and "atmosphere" in a rural village is crucial in determining their attitude towards improvements, just as it probably predisposed them to purchase property in the village in the first place. Many are selective about what they consider to be important. Some of them prefer to use the paraffin lamps and candle-light which have served the villagers for so long. A few have fitted gas-lighting at considerable expense. Others have wllingly accepted the convenience of electricity in spite of the expense entailed by installation.

Although it might be difficult to generalise about the needs of the village residents, municipalities have to do so. Personal choices made by residents are out-weighed by policy decisions made by the council. A member of this body explained that there was a need to provide facilities for modernisation and that, as it would benefit the village as a whole it was fair that the cost of installing electricity should be spread across the whole rate-paying community and motivated by them. There is, therefore, a general levy for electricity imposed on all property-owners in Greyton, whether their homes are connected to the supply or not. There is, as yet, no connection of the supply to the rented accommodation in Heuwelkroon, except for the school and the few privately owned houses in the area.

A councillor also stated that there were people "who wanted to hold the village back" and that progress was necessary because local businesses were in difficulties.

The benefits of progress, such as the convenience of amenities like street-lighting and the increased availability of electrical appliances in hotels and shops, were perceived as desirable by some, while others to whom I spoke, saw oil-lamps and gas-fired appliances as "more appropriate to the setting" and perfectly adequate for their needs. Most of the latter were week-enders. In fact, it was clear that they saw the advent of electricity as incongruous and too expensive and that extensive improvements to roads and drainage represented the threat of higher rates and taxes.

They were also critical of the appearance of the electricity pylons and lamp-standards which many people regard as unsightly and inappropriate to the setting.

There were others who were vehement in their support for the old style of building houses and stressed the value of retaining the riet-dak and the thatched roofs which provided the natural insulation needed during hot summers and cold winters. They also preferred house designs which would harmonise with the surroundings and preserve the village ethos which had first attracted them to Greyton.

In spite of rising house prices, some of the people who have invested in property in Greyton during the past 10 years have done so on a limited budget and have chosen this as a means of economic retirement or ownership of a second home. It may well be that their aesthetic considerations are rooted in financial expediency. Over the past three or four years, there has, in fact, been a substantial increase in the cost of providing services in the village.

Table 8.

Rising charges for amenities in Greyton from 1970 - 1981.

Amenities.	1970	1975	1980	1985
Rates.(per rand)	1.25c	1.75c	1.75c	2.00c
Refuse removal. (per annum)	R6.00	R10.00	R13.50	R22.00
Garden refuse.	R4.00	R5.50	R7.50	R12.50
Electricity. (basic charge)	N/A	N/A	R14.55(45 amp)	R18.00
			R16.00(60 amp)	R24.00
Per unit.			7.00c	8.00c
Availability. (on empty plots)			R8.00	R12.00
Water. (basic charge)	R2.50 per (per month) (10 kl free)			R3.00 (per month) (no free allowance)
Extra. (over 20kl)	1.25 per 5kl per quarter.		(under 20kl) .16c (over 20kl) .25c	(per kl)
Availability. (on empty plots)	N/A			R3.00
Lei-water.(per hour)	R2.00	R3.00	R4.80	R6.00
Furrow charge.				R6.00

(for additional charges see Appendix C.)

Analysis of amenities.

An examination of the table reveals a small but steady rise in the rates until early in 1986 a re-evaluation of sites resulted in a substantial rise in the rateable value of properties in Greyton and consequently in the rates accounts of property owners.

HEUWELKROON



Foreground: house for two families.



View from the road behind the Moravian Church, looking towards Heuwelkroon. The new primary school in the foreground.

The upward trend in the cost of services in the past 15 years has years has been due, in part, to the effects of inflation. However, it is also influenced by the development pattern in the white group area. The higher expectations of the people who repopulated the village and the consequent upgrading of amenities have resulted in increased costs, which the Council is recovering from the property owners.

The availability charge for electricity has been increased from R8.00 to R12.00 per month and has encouraged the installation of electricity on stands which are developed. It has also engendered resentment in the owners of ground on which they have not yet built. The basic electricity charges are related to quantity and the kind of demand, but there has only been a rise of one cent in the unit charge over the past five years.

There has been a determined attempt on the part of the Council to keep water rates down but there is also an indication in the higher cost of water for extra demand, that they wish to encourage residents to use less water.

The Heuwelkroon perspective.

In sharp contrast to the rest of the village, the only amenity provided for the 100 householders in Heuwelkroon, which did not exist in the village previously, is the new school. In 1980, ten years after the first removals, this large and fairly well-equipped building replaced the smaller premises of the Anglican church school and the local Moravian Mission school.

The small "historic" cottages in which people lived on have been replaced by sub-economic houses of poor quality. These houses are

rented from the Municipality at a figure which varies from R10 to R20 according to the income of the householder who hires the premises. There are also about 35 plots on the main road which have been made available for purchase. Only five have houses on them but most of these plots have already been sold to people who do not live in Greyton. This would seem to indicate that, among those classified coloured, there are also speculators and/or investors who are providing for retirement or "week-ending" in the village.

The amenities indicated on the original plan of Heuwelkroon have never materialised and the land between the houses and the main road remains a rough and stony open space. The rhetoric of apartheid planners is unrealised in Greyton as it is in so many other areas where insufficient finance has been allocated for its implementation.

Since 1970 water has been available only from taps in the street and there is still no water-borne sanitation. Mrs A.B. remarked that people were very unhappy about moving from the village. She complained about the distance water had to be carried from the taps. She added :

> "We cannot use a hose. We have lost our gardens. We may not keep our dogs here. The homes that we rent are cracking and we must maintain them. They (the authorities) do not care about us - we have been brushed aside."

More than ten years of this kind of dissatisfaction has, at last, has been followed by some relief. Recently the Council has negotiated with the Department of Community Development for a water-reticulation service to be installed in Heuwelkroon and work on the project commenced in 1986. This will provide a tap in

the yard of houses in Heuwelkroon but the sanitary arrangements are unchanged and there is no water inside the houses. The cost of this additional service is being felt by all Greyton residents in the increased costs of water (Refer Table 1).

The first piped water scheme in Greyton was completed in 1933. A local resident, who had been a municipal councillor at that time, recalled that the magistrate, Mr Rose Innes, spoke to the rate-payers about the need for laying water pipes in the village. Shortly after he spoke, there was an outbreak of typhoid fever in the village. This provided the necessary stimulus for action and this system served the village until 1961/62, when the pipes were renewed and meters to each house were introduced. This system was effective until the need to extend the scheme to provide sufficient water for Heuwelkroon. For this reason the new dam which is being built on the hillside above Park Road is being subsidised by the Department of Community Development, but residents in the white group area will also benefit from these additional water resources in the future. However the people who live in Heuwelkroon will have to pay for water in future because meters will be installed in their yards when the water connections are made. According to the Town Clerk of Greyton, they will also be responsible for any costs incurred by extending the water-supply into the houses.

Reaction to changes in the character of the village.

There were rumours in 1984/85 that application had been made for the erection of town houses in Greyton. The Council has now vetoed this type of development as being inappropriate to the village, which suggests that this possibility did exist. In the 1970's when the new plots were opened up on the commonage ground,

an area was also proclaimed for industrial development. This was situated adjacent to the main road and to the Heuwelkroon site. Application was made by a large commercial concern based in Cape Town but with interests in the district, to remove a vegetable processing and packaging plant to Greyton. It was suggested that this would provide employment for people living at Heuwelkroon and in the village. After consideration the project was rejected by the Council. Local residents who are employed at the plant, make the journey daily from Greyton in the transport provided for them.

The Municipal policy for the development of Greyton seems to incline towards some synthesis between preservation and progress. On the one hand there is a movement away from industrial development, while on the other there is a need to commercialise the village assets.

Although the rural character of Greyton is important in relation to the popularity of the village with retired people and as a holiday resort, several houses have been built in the white group area which do not conform to the "historic" pattern of the village. The Dutch Reformed Church pastorie is essentially a modern home. There is a large house in the Spanish style in Park Road and at other places in the village there are at least 10 more homes which would not look out of place in any modern housing estate in an urban area.

While it may not be possible to dictate exactly how the image of a country village should be preserved, certain regulations have been promulgated by the Council which are intended to maintain an outward semblance of this character.



The shell of a new house under construction in Greyton in 1984.



The finished house, in the "Swellendam" style, as advertised in the press, was marketed at R98,000.

There are also regulations relating to the placing of new houses on empty plots and a town surveyor and an engineer have been retained on a part-time basis to supervise the implementation of these specifications. When the allotments were used for agricultural production, whether at a subsistence level or for a market, the maximum use was made of the available land. This necessitated placing the house at one end of the erf in order to leave as much land for cultivation as possible. This resulted in a characteristic residential pattern in which houses were grouped in rows close to the street with a cultivated section behind the house. Less frequently the house was set back with a long garden in front of it.

Residence patterns and relationships.

In this way there was close contact between the houses even when people owned several plots and quite large pieces of land were cultivated.

A number of elderly residents commented on the free and easy contact which could exist between neighbours. If there was illness in a household or an elderly person to be cared for, this kind of help was available from neighbours and, in case of an emergency, could be obtained quickly.

House doors stood open and children ran to and fro readily. An elderly woman recalled the days when, as a small child, she lived at the far end of the Bo-dorp and would be sent on errands to the nearest village shop. On her way various elderly neighbours would often call to her from open doorways, as they saw her pass, and ask her to bring back items for them from the shop.

> "There would always be a warm koek or some dried fruit or a sweet when you returned and a nice smile and a thank-you from those old people. We helped each other in those days. But then we knew everyone and we did not question whether it was a white person or a coloured person who asked us. Now it is a long way from Heuwelkroon to the shops and the children still go down there for our old people but the whites don't know us any more and they don't often ask for help. Most of them drive in their motor cars down to the shop."

A walk through the village during the week reveals a large number of houses which are shuttered and closed in the absence of their owners. In the case of permanent residents, some doors do stand open and occasionally a cyclist or an energetic walker passes, but they are in the minority. Cars are parked outside almost every house now and more frequently they are used, as in urban areas, when the owners want "to run down to the shop".

The character of the community has changed from one in which agricultural interests predominated, to a less productive society who are, on average, more concerned with recreation and relaxation. A few artists and some craft-workers have lived in the village over the past fifteen years but there is, as yet, no established "artists' colony". There are, however, two gift shops which cater for a range of tastes from patch-work to antiques and from hand-made pottery to commercial bric-a-brac. These ventures are designed to attract the visitors who patronise the growing number of guest-houses in the village and provide an outlet for some of the craft-work produced by local residents and others.

The economic emphasis in Greyton is shifting from regular to passing trade and this, in turn, reflects the changing nature of the local population and their requirements.

"They come in their fancy cars and their casual clothes, when they feel like it, but as long as they pay their rates, that's okay !" one of the municipal councillors remarked. However, many people bring food and drink with them from super-markets in the towns from which they come. One shop-keeper said bitterly :"They don't spend their money with us!" Although this resentment is justified to some extent, another local business-man said that, in his opinion, there were too many shop-keepers in the village, chasing what custom there was.

Growth without job creation.

These commercial enterprises are not labour intensive and require only a small staff to maintain them in addition to the owners who usually play an active role themselves. The farming activities, which once formed the economic base of the village and involved a large number of the residents, have not been replaced to a significant extent with any substitute in the form of local industries. Those classified coloured have been particularly affected by this lack of local job opportunities.

For women there is some domestic work available in private homes and hotels but, apart from the seasonal labour requirements of farmers and co-operatives, the largest employers of local labour are the Municipality and the Provincial Roads Department.

The tarring of the road, which links Greyton and Genadendal with the national road near Caledon, is almost completed. During the past six years there has been considerable up-grading and re-surfacing of roads in the district which, together with the construction of a new bridge for heavy-duty traffic over the Zonderend River, some few hundred metres upstream from the old bridge, represents a considerable investment for the Province. It

is, perhaps an indication of the importance which they attach to the development of the area. Both Greyton itself, Genadendal and the local farming community derive considerable benefit from these amenities and it has been suggested by some informants that Greyton and district may be seen as "suburbs" of Caledon, should that become a future growth point in the Overberg. This is viewed with very mixed feelings by some permanent residents in the white group area of Greyton who see this as a further threat to their vanishing privacy.

In looking back to the early days of the village, its comparative isolation was an important factor in limiting its growth rate and its economic development. There is still no rail link closer than Krige, some 15 kilometres away and, apart from the two gravel roads which wind their way across country to Rivierzonderend and Villiersdorp, the newly- tarred road is the only approach from the national road which links Cape Town and the Southern Cape. However, the traffic on it now is considerable and the rural isolation which once characterised Greyton no longer exists.

There is still no road linking Greyton with McGregor and Robertson to the north although the path across the mountains has been developed. The first tender of eight hundred pounds for a foot-path through Boesmanskloof was allowed to Herbert Vigne in 1863. It was surveyed by the municipality in 1927 with a view to building a pass but it was not until 1938 that work on it began from the Robertson side. Twenty five thousand pounds was allocated for the road and at first convict labour was used for its construction. Later Italian prisioners of war from a nearby camp took over the job but the complexity of the task had been underestimated and the money ran out when the road reached the

spot known as "Die Galg". The project was abandoned but in 1977 the foot-path was proclaimed a hiking trail and has become very popular. More and more people are exploring the mountain paths which are so familiar to the people of the district. The waterfalls and the deep pools by which the water descends the slopes are very beautiful and some indigenous yellow wood and blackwood trees can still be seen, deep in the ravines. The springs and water courses which used to be vital source of irrigation for the agricultural economy of the village, now provide another kind of economic asset for Greyton in drawing the visitors who fill the hotels at weekends. The mountain slopes above Greyton have been declared a conservation area and the nature reserve at the eastern end of the village, with its waterfall in an over-hanging kloof, attracts the less serious walkers who do not attempt the trail. With all these natural advantages, it is not surprising that property is at a premium in Greyton.

Property and the profit motive.

Although a wide range of motivation exists for investing in property, whether urban or rural, a good deal also depends on opportunity as well as the availability and commercial promotion of suitable sites. The presence in so small a village as Greyton of several resident estate agents, and numerous others who have visited the area from time to time during this period, is significant.

Allowing for the effects of inflation, there has been a dramatic upward trend in the gross value of property sales in Greyton during the period 1959 - 1986. This is due not only to the higher prices being asked for property and paid by purchasers during the past ten years, but also to the increase in the number of sales

that have taken place. It is apparent that the market value of property has increased sharply in proportion to demand. The higher asking prices follow the rising property prices in urban areas, which have resulted from the decreased buying power of the rand, but they are also influenced by successful marketing techniques. As many of the more recent purchasers in Greyton are from the urban areas, their perception of value is conditioned by town prices. The acquisition of rural property at somewhat lower prices than those which currently prevail in town, is seen as a "bargain".

This is emphasised, sometimes subtly and often more overtly, by estate agents who promote sales in the village. because they stress the capital value as well as the aesthetic benefits attached to purchasing property in Greyton, it is difficult to generalise about the reasons for the property boom which has occurred in the village.

It is difficult, too, to assess how many of the early buyers were aware of the potential for future profit-taking because there was a certain amount of resistance from the people concerned to this kind of inquiry. These included conveyancers, estate agents and purchasers who had been involved in property sales and purchases between 1970 and 1975.

That there were some who appreciated this potential, is indicated by the multiple purchases made by some investors, sometimes over a comparatively short space of time. For example, it is not uncommon for investors to have owned more than three or four properties in the village at one time, while renovators might have control over more than a dozen properties. Some of these earlier speculators have properties which they have not yet sold,

although some are sections of properties which have been sub-divided. These large-scale investments by individuals and, in some cases, by companies (large-scale, that is, in so small a community), vary from overt purchases and subsequent development of properties by renovation and the building of new homes, to less obvious means of capital gain. Some purchasers have owned and occupied several properties during their time of residence in Greyton. Very few, if any, of these property-owners have not made a substantial profit with each successive sale. Many have doubled and trebled their original investment, frequently without making any improvement to the property.

For example, a property consisting of two plots and a cottage, formerly owned by a person classified coloured, was acquired by a renovator in 1973 for R300. After improvements had been made, it was sold for R6500 in 1976 and occupied by its new owner for some years. It was sold again in 1983 for R38,000 to a person who already owned a property in Greyton, who re-sold eleven months later to a retired couple without any further improvements being made. The price they paid was R57,000, which represented a capital gain in the region of R15,000 for the seller in less than a year.

Another case indicates that the up-swing in the property market, occasioned by the competitive marketing of properties made available by the implementation of the Group Areas Act, had an impact on other sales in the village. A commercial property, belonging to a person classified white, was purchased in 1983 for R48,000 and, after some cosmetic improvements had been made, was re-sold in 1984 for R137,000. However, the new owners found that they had over-extended themselves and therefore could not make

this venture into a profitable concern. After ten months they sold out for R130,000. They did not recover their costs but, on the other hand, nor did they suffer a substantial loss as they might have done at that time in another environment. The latest buyer appears to have faith in his investment because he has made extensive alterations and repairs to the building which was in poor condition. He has also acquired land adjacent to his stand and has built a large extension to his existing property. This capital investment suggests a confidence in the stability of the local market which is reflected in the elaborate renovations which are now being made to other properties in the village.

Although there was a general decline in the property market in the Cape during the 1984/86 period, in proportion to the shortage of ready money and bond allocations, there does not seem to have been a corresponding decline in property sales in Greyton. Prices dropped a little from the very high level of 1984/85 but business in 1985/86 remained brisk and although there were various changes in estate agency representation in this period, there are still several estate agents operating successfully in the area.

The property boom in Greyton has benefited estate agents and conveyancers from the initial stages when allotments were first offered to the public after the implementation of the Group Areas Act until the recent peak period. However, in the twelve months - June 1984 to June 1985 - property sales grossed just under R2,500,000 in Greyton and the commission on these sales was divided amongst three agents. It is important to assess what this injection of capital means to Greyton village in real terms and what changes have come about as the result. Has there been a corresponding upsurge in population in proportion to property

sales and has the economic development and social organisation of the village been affected by these newcomers ?

Planning for preservation or progress.

As it has grown, the village has developed a "centre" where shops and the public buildings are located. The Council made a successful application to the Cape Provincial Administration in 1985 to have the central area of Greyton declared a business district in order to prevent the random development of shops and businesses as in earlier days. The formal planning for this began in 1984 when a municipal newsletter stated :

TOWN PLANNING SCHEME.

> A start has been made in compiling a town planning scheme and in order to save on expenditure, the planning is being done in conjunction with and under the supervision of the Provincial Administration.
>
> (Municipal Newsletter. No. 2 of 1984)

The planning issue had been raised several years earlier by the residents and it is mentioned in the bi-monthly newsletter which was edited for some time by a local resident.

Petition to keep Greyton peaceful.

> A goodly number of residents have petitioned the Council to zone Greyton into industrial, business and residential zones so that everyone knows where they are and what they may do. We are all anxious to keep Greyton as peaceful and relaxed as possible.
>
> (From the Market-place: No. 12, May, 1980)

However, in the next issue of the newsletter, the following item appeared:

> Our petition to the Municipality, signed by nearly 60 rate-payers, urgently requesting the former to withhold the issuing of business rights and industrial licences until the municipal area has been zoned, was placed before the Council at its meeting on the 9th June, 1980. The following reply has been received.
>
> "I want to inform you that my Council has investigated the matter and decided not to zone the Municipal area for the

following reasons :

(x) All the erven in Greyton, except extensions 1 and 2, have business rights because the original conditions of sale don't make any provision for the contrary;

(y) keeping the above-mentioned in mind, it would not be adequate just to do the proposed zoning on the plan and then consider the municipal area as zoned, because every plot in "old" Greyton will still have business rights as far as the law is concerned;

(z) to do the proper zoning will inter alia include the appointment of a town planner as well as the amendment of the original conditions, etc. This will entail great expense for the Municipality and my Council cannot afford it at this stage.

Because my Council has an interest in the village of Greyton and its residents, I can assure you that the Municipality will see that businesses, etc., will not get out of hand in the village.

Signed by the Town Clerk.

There has obviously been a change of attitude in the Council about the question of planning which may have been associated with changes which took place after Council elections and which coincided with the appointment of a new Town Clerk, not long after the correspondence quoted in the newsletter. The new Council seems to have overcome the problem of cost by soliciting help from the Provincial Administration in this regard.

The 1980 newsletter expressed a need felt by the residents "to know where they are and what they may do" in order to co-exist peacefully. This brings to mind the concept of community space held by Marris and quoted in Chapter 3. He refers to "a resident's stamping-ground, where he or she can say, I am known and can find my way about. "Unlike residents of long-standing, newcomers in particular, lack that clear definition and understanding of their space which comes with time and prolonged occupation. They feel the need for landmarks and directives in order to determine relationships within that space. Established

residents know where they stand and some of the recent white purchasers, who have settled on a permanent basis, have begun to build up the networks which give familiarity and confidence. Some of the week-enders are part of this demarcation process but their participation, of neccessity, is peripheral. The displacement of those who were classified coloured, left gaps in the existing social order of the village and created the need for a re-assessment of interests.

In view of the limited nature of business development in the village, it is hardly surprising that in 1980 the Council should have given a negative reply to the residents' request for zoning in Greyton. The present demarcation of areas for various kinds of development in Greyton implies some more pressing inducement than the residents' need for orientation within their "space". Some kind of pressure seems to have built up which demands clarification of these issues and which has resulted in the proclamation of business and residential zoning.

What business district ?

This is a question one might well ask in Greyton. The old trades of blacksmith, carpenter and waggon-maker, which were essential to the smooth running of the village in earlier times, have disappeared as modernisation has taken place in all aspects of village life.In the early days of the village, small shops were established at various points in the village where they were needed and as one woman remarked :

> "You went to the shop where you always got your things - there was a shop quite near us in the Bo-dorp and all the people round us went there. If you wanted big things like a spade or some iron, you went down to the store opposite the old school. He had all those things for the garden and repairing. And if you wanted some wool or some stuff for a dress, you went to Miss Babst - she had all that. So you could get what you needed in Greyton.

The general dealers whose stock included, as a matter of course, farming implements, stock feed and building materials, have closed down. The railway transport trucks no longer visit the village twice weekly as they did in the 1950's to deliver goods and to pick up loads of potatoes, onions and other produce for the markets in town. The diesel pumps which fuelled them still stand on the corner opposite the Post House Inn but like the post-cart and the ox-waggons which preceded them, the trucks are gone. The wheel has come full circle and the villagers once again shop in Caledon , or even further afield; but now they use the bus service or their own cars and the trip to Caledon takes less than 30 minutes.

There is only one general dealer in Greyton now and he carries less hardware than in previous years and more soft goods and foodstuffs. There are three other shops which sell a variety of groceries and other goods, but the old style village shop where sacks of food and fodder stood side by side and the packed shelves carried an amazing range of items, half hidden in the gloom, are no more. Modern display refrigerators and super-market shelving have been installed to cope with the demands for frozen food and self-service.

The quest for community.

During the past fifteen years, in contrast to this modernisation process, the permanent residents have maintained the old market square as a centre of activity. It is adjacent to both the Anglican and the Dutch Reformed Churches and it became a focal point for village activities for some years as it had done in the past. Its popularity waned for a while when there was insufficient produce to keep it going.

The Conservation Society has now provided a stall there with funds they have raised locally and interest has been revived. It has once more become a community gathering point to pass the time pleasantly on a Saturday morning; a social rather than an "economic" activity. According to local residents, it also lends "character" to the village and attracts the week-end visitors to Greyton.

The market place in earlier times undoubtedly had a social significance as well as a commercial function but its usefulness as an outlet for small producers justified its existence. The position is reversed now with the consumer providing a motive to re-establish the market form but for a different type of commodity. The customer/dealer relationship has always overlapped to some extent but in the past, the members of the community were all well aware of their respective positions in the village hierarchy. Today the market-place seems to represent most clearly to newcomers the concept of community space. The growing popularity of the flea-market and car-boot sales in urban areas, reflects a need for this kind of useful economic contact at an informal level and the market-place at Greyton combines elements of the informal sector with the need for communication between residents.

It is interesting that the name chosen for the Greyton newsletter was "From the Market-place". This chatty monthly news- sheet unfortunately died with its editor in 1982 and has not been taken over by anyone else. It kept week-enders in touch with local events. It supplied information about arrivals and departures from the village and provided those tit-bits of gossip which are an essential feature of any small community where everyone knows

everyone else's business. It represented a significant attempt to preserve a facet of village life which must otherwise have been lost to many who spent only a small part of their lives in the village. Its demise is part of the depersonalisation process which seems to be taking place as the pace of change increases.

Changing attitudes or changing residential patterns ?

As this floating population increases, the village as a "closed community" of people who are all well-acquainted with each other, is disappearing. A contradiction exists between the newcomers' apparent desire for participation in the "rural way of life" and the temporary nature of this participation which most of them experience. This manifests itself in the preservation or progress debate and the conflicting interests which motivate it.

As the number of permanent residents has dwindled in proportion to the growing number of part-time residents during the past 10 years, it appears that fewer people are involved, or even concerned with village management. As already mentioned, relatively few of the recent purchasers of property have registered as voters. If they vote, they do so in the municipalities where they spend most of their time.

The number of registered municipal voters is under 130, less than one third of the total number of rate-payers. The majority of these voters are "old inhabitants" of the village, members of the families who "belong to Greyton" and whose ancestry can be traced in the village grave-yard.

Candidates are elected to the council with 50 votes and others lose with a total of 20 votes. Few can be said to represent the majority of the total number of 438 rate-payers. Power is still

in the hands of a few people and conflict rather than consensus would seem to be the order of the day. The disparate interests of the newcomers to this small society emerge in the disputed issues. A councillor complained:

> "There are people who don't want to hear cocks crowing. "I didn't come to the peace and quiet of the countryside to be woken up by bloody fowls." There are others who don't want cows and donkeys kept because they're a danger to cars! There are people who want pavements to walk on and others who don't.
>
> There are people who want the streets lighted at night and others who say they can't see the stars because the lights are too bright. There are people who want bowling-greens and people who play tennis on Sundays in short shorts just as church comes out. We've got people who come here to drink and braai and we've got joggers and health nuts and party people. We can't please them all."

But they do pay their rates and there are rate-payers who expect to be kept up to date with information in return for payment. They also expect that their opinions should be given due regard, particularly when these have been solicited by the municipality. During the past ten years signs of conflict are discernible and in 1984 the following item was tabled at a meeting of the Rate-payers Association, which has an even smaller representation of interested rate-payers than the voters' roll. Many of the members of this body are comparative newcomers to the village who feel that they need to express their views.

> Analysis of a questionnaire sent to rate-payers and voters.
>
> Residents and property owners of Greyton were given an opportunity to indicate the future direction of Greyton through the completion of a questionnaire sent to them. The results of the analysis of this questionnaire were sent to the council on 5 September, 1983. An extract from this letter reads: "Questionnaires were addressed to 230 rate-payers as per the list of addressees kept by the Municipality of Greyton. A total of 156 questionnaires were returned. (67.3%)

> In reply to the prime question - Should Greyton remain agricultural in its activities and rural in character, or should it move towards urbanisation ? - 148 were in favour of keeping Greyton agricultural and rural in character and 8 were not in favour. On the issues of street-lighting; sub-division of large erfs; sub-division of the commonage; creation of further erfs for township development; tarred streets and other trends towards urbanisation, the questionnaire reflected a clear rejection on an averaged ratio of 138 against urbanisation and 18 in support.

The rate-payers concern about the preservation of agricultural activity in Greyton would appear to be too little and too late, even for those farmers who remain in the village. Preservation of the agricultural and rural character is more than a cosmetic exercise and requires sound economic backing and motivation which at present it does not appear to have.

The other "trends towards urbanisation" raise issues which have recurred in interview data and some of these proposals appear to have been implemented by the council. The item which follows appeared in the minutes of a rate-payers meeting.

> Special General Meeting of 8 October, 1983.
>
> Two resolutions were proposed from the floor and carried unanimously. The first was a vote of NO CONFIDENCE in the council for the manner in which it handled the recent electricity extensions. Dissatisfaction was expressed at council's neglect to meet with rate-payers before committing the Municipality to large development schemes. The second resolution proposed that council should give notice of their intention to raise loans exceeding R5000 by calling a meeting of all rate-payers. Council was informed of these resolutions by letter but it is clear that as rate-payers were ignored in the past, so too will they be ignored in the future. This is borne out by the following advert which appeared in the fine print of the Cape Times of 28 December, 1983.
>
> MUNICIPALITY OF GREYTON - Raising of loan - Notice is hereby given in terms of the Provisions of the Cape Municipal Ordinance 20/1974 that the council has resolved to raise a loan not exceeding R38,000 being its share of the cost of a water supply scheme to Heuwelkroon Coloured Township.

Full details of the scheme including the details for the method of financing the scheme are available for inspection at the Municipal Offices, Greyton between the hours of 9.3. a.m. and 12 noon on Mondays to Fridays during the period 3 January, 1984 and 31 January, 1984.

Any objections to this proposal must be lodged with the Town Clerk, Greyton before Friday, 3 February, 1984.

This item reveals a militancy and preparedness on the part of the Association to engage the council. It is not surprising that they have now carried their battle into the legal arena and are disputing the loss of rights over the commonage with the Province. This attitude coincides with the findings of Newby and others (1978), in which they noted that "because newcomers are usually well-educated and articulate, they are not slow in making their feelings felt.." (215). The final item, also from the minutes, reveals a sting in the tail of the Association and an intention to use it.

Consulting Engineers' fees.

This Association has received a reply from Mr H.J. Kriel dated 16 November, 1983 concerning the Consulting Engineers' fees. The following was our reply:

This Association wishes to thank you for your department's investigation into the fees for the consulting engineers responsible for the electricity undertaking in our town. We accept the reassurance given that the fees are in accordance with those published in the Government Gazette.

Rare-payers are of course not in the position to assess these matters correctly as they do not possess all the necessary information. Our letters to Council were not successful in obtaining information and our only option was to address ourselves to your department to ensure that the interests of the rate-payers were being safe-guarded.

You have commented, sir, that this association should apprise itself of the factual position in every instance. Our file of correspondence to Council reveals that many letters were addressed to them, most of which were not replied to. It is our contention that a freer and more honest communication would also achieve that other goal you mention, namely that we maintain a healthy relationship with our Council.

This was not the first occasion within the past 10 years on which the rate-payers had expressed dissatisfaction with their Council. In 1977 they launched a full inquiry into the financial position of Council and queried a number of items of expenditure, especially in regard to the costs of proclaiming new plots.

It was clear that the rate-payers had decided that it was necessary to keep a watchful eye on the interests of property-owners and that they were not satisfied that their interests were being properly represented. After a lively election campaign in that year, during which substantial support was canvassed from some "week-enders" as well as permanent residents, three new councillors were elected to the council from the ranks of comparative newcomers, much to the surprise of the long-standing members of the Council who were displaced.

This is the stuff of which local politics are made and it is evident that in 1977 the newcomers to Greyton made their presence felt by this show of strength.

Ironically in the 1980's there is a growing feeling of alienation and powerlessness among many of the people who bought property in Greyton in the mid 1970's. This sensation is now not only confined to those who have been relocated. One of the residents, who came to Greyton about nine years ago, commented :

> "The village is not like it used to be. You walk down the street and you don't know half the people you see there. They are strangers. And the casuals. They come and picnic on your ground. When you tell them it's private property, they get mad.
>
> One day I went to open the window and there was this woman with her nose against the pane, looking in. She wasn't embarrassed. She just behaved as if I was part of the scenery. She stepped back and took a picture of the house with her camera. It's like being in a zoo. But where would I find another place like this at a price I could afford ?"

When I pointed out that perhaps the people who had lived in the village before 1974 had felt the same way about the influx of newcomers then, he looked thoughtful.

Perhaps an explantion lies in the comment made by another resident.

> "We came here because we wanted peace and quiet and the place had that. We tried to fit in with the local people and it wasn't all that easy. It took time. There was a lot of suspicion about "Engelsmanne" then. Now it's fashionable to come to Greyton and when you've had enough of it it, you pack up and go."

Some of those who bought in the 1970's have begun to do that too and by no means all of them had a profit motive in selling up. In the past three years I have documented at least seven of these sellers who have left the village because it has "changed".

This dissatisfaction with the development of the village has fuelled the preservation or progress debate although responses vary. There are many who stand aloof and hope the nuisance will go away and there are more active participants who voice their disquiet.

Up to now there has been a lot of talk about preservation and some action, but most of the action has been expedient from an economic point of view. "Old is beautiful" in Greyton and it is marketable. However, the conservation cause is being strengthened by the practical consideration that the village is being over-capitalised and the land values exploited in the name of "progress". There is now a small but active lobby by people who are disturbed by the loss of natural resources in the process of material development. In spite of soaring property prices and sales, there is a growing realisation that the economy of Greyton

is not a particularly healthy or stable one and the question arises as to whether the village is "evolving" or devolving.

Progress is being shaped by forces outside, as well as inside the Greyton community. Development is also being marketed and more complex market forces operate in this sphere.

The schism which has been created between those classified coloured and those classified white has, in turn, created problems which extend beyond the act of removal. An important question would seem to be whether the changes which are occurring in attitudes and relationships are now more significant than the actual changes in residential patterns which have taken place ?

Perceptions of apartheid.

In this regard Greyton is, after all, only a microcosm of greater South Africa. There are whites who reacted strongly when questioned about Group Areas and the removal of people classified coloured from the village.

"It was wrong. They should never have been moved from their homes to that place. It was so unnecessary."

"For years these people have worked hard for the benefit of the village. The council got a lot of money from them in rates and taxes during that time. They should have supported them - not helped to kick them out."

And there were other responses:

"There is so little one can do. The council had to do what the law wanted. Its the same with all laws. You may not agree with it but you have to do what it says until its changed one day."

"I'm very unhappy about what's happened. But I didn't know anything about it till I met one of the people who knew the

owners of this house at the time when they were moved. I hadn't a clue it had belonged to coloured people when I bought it. After all, it's nearly 20 years ago."

Old inhabitants also contributed:

"They never caused any trouble. They should have stayed. If that man goes" (she indicated the house of one of those classified coloured who has retained his home in the village), "I don't know how I should manage. We have known each other all our lives. If anything is wrong, he is the one who comes along and helps me. I don't know these new people. He cultivates my garden for me now I'm getting old. I need my vegetables to come out on my old age pension."

"This town would have died if it hadn't been for the coloured people.Something has died in it now that most of them have gone."

A retired woman who has helped elderly people to get to and from the clinic in the village, said:

"It was a pity they were moved. I'm sure the Afrikaans-speaking people didn't want them to go. They were useful to them. They looked after one another - especially the old people. They didn't really mix socially - well, I don't think so, but they were linked by their needs. And it's worse now that there is no resident doctor or nurse here."

Among the recent newcomers opinions were more academic than emotional.

"The removal of the coloured people was an error of judgement. You see the Government can just take the land for their purposes. It's all wrong. And now they're opening up the place too much."

"The Group Areas were a pity. It has spoiled things for so many people. In more ways than most of us know. And the coloured

people don't really talk to you about it - not unless you ask them and one feels embarrassed about doing that. It's better just to leave it alone, I think."

"They're quite comfortable up there, you know. They have little houses and it's not far from the village. I mean compared to those places the coloured people were moved to from parts of Cape Town. This is much better. They've still got all this marvellous fresh air and it must be healthier for the children. And I believe there are some better places of their own, further up the hill."

A retired man who had spent most of his life in the district, said:

"There were all sorts of coloured people here, you know. Some of them were well-educated and superior, but others were very simple and lived in very run-down little houses. Many of them didn't have money to cultivate their land. The beds had to stand on bricks in some houses, there was so much water on the ground. There was a lot of drinking and a lot of sickness. The people here now have money to look after their properties. I think the place looks much better."

And indeed in the green and gold of summer or winter, it is difficult to find an unkempt property in the sleek and well-groomed little village. The "blood and sweat" of those earlier farmers, working on their land, no longer characterises Greyton. The hikers and the tennis players sweat as they engage in their favourite pastimes but the rural work-place has become an urban play-ground.

The white group area now serves the needs of those who live there. A re-structuring process has taken place over the past 15

years which which is not limited to outward change in houses and gardens. A woman who was born in Greyton said:
"The big change here is in the character of the place. In the people."

The old man who bites the stem of his pipe and smiles as he recalls the snowflakes of his childhood, flying like feathers in his face, no longer exemplifies the villagers. The manipulation of people and place under the Group Areas Act has had far-reaching and indelible effects.

A young resident of Heuwelkroon put the preservation or progress debate into perspective.
"We couldn't afford to move back down the hill now even if they let us do it. We'll never get back what we have lost. The best we can hope for is something new."

Chapter 6

The village "community".

"Community, like sex, is a state of desire, not a state of affairs."

(Thornton, 1986:20)

The individual's desire for a sense of community with others has stimulated much debate among social scientists who have tried to define it in terms of mutual needs, common territory, shared resources and unity of intention and goals.

It has been associated with the human search for identity as part of such a community, with the protection and security experienced as the result of this common ground, both real and ideal.

The paradoxical nature of community presents a problem for definition, however, because as needs, resources, purposes and even territorial claims change and overlap, or are manipulated by those in power, "the community" shifts and moves in response to these new conditions. Only in very compelling circumstances does this not occur and usually the most constant feature of community is its capacity to transform itself, or to be transformed into something other than it was. Thornton comments :

> "Communities seem natural enough, even compellingly real, but when we look hard for them, they are always in the process of dissolving before our very eyes."
>
> (1986:5)

Greyton village provides a case in point of the process by which a perception of community on the part of the villagers is

fostered by shared territory, shaped by mutual economic needs, and finally disintegrates in the presence of legal and political pressure.

To the observer, taking a long view of Greyton, over time, there is a continuity in the re-structuring process within its social and economic framework, which may bend where necessary to absorb these adjustments but does not break down completely without some crisis. A village may be, to some extent, "closed" to strangers but newcomers do enter and are incorporated and, although their presence is in itself change, the village "community" is usually able to accommodate this and to transform itself in response to friction or internal pressures.

"The rhetoric of "community" often serves to obscure as much as clarify the changes that have occurred. The word community means so many different things to different people that its use frequently adds to the confusion" (Newby, 1979:154).

As I have indicated, village community can mean a settlement - people living together. This is a geographical expression, not concerned with people. It can also mean the pattern of social relationships between people within that geographical area. There is familiarity as they all know each other and it is close-knit rather than disparate. Then there is community used to identify a particular quality of human relationship - a shared sense of identity - and this is often referred to as "communion".

Newby observes that this "meaningful social intimacy" is believed to occur more frequently in a small society like a village. The "decline in communion" has motivated many of the references in research and literature which looks back to a "Golden Age". It is

the quest for communion which has idealised the agricultural village - "the sweet Auburn" whose passing is mourned by Oliver Goldsmith in "The Deserted Village". On the other hand there is a danger inherent in this perspective which ignores the real need which villagers had for "community". "They were imprisoned by constraints of various kinds, including poverty, so that reciprocal aid became a necessity" (Newby,1979:154). Raymond Williams also refers to this "active community which is at times a mutuality of the oppressed" (1973: 104).

The ideology which is created, ignores in retrospect the conflict, the deprivation, the family feuds, the gossip and the mischief-making; it places the village outside time scales and avoids the covert rebellion against authority at local and national level which expresses itself in poaching, arson and subversive talk in public houses and sometimes breaks out into overt resistance, as it did in England in the 1830's in the Captain Swing riots and in Pondoland in the Eastern Cape earlier this century. In fact, if we look at the wealth of literature about the small rural "community", we find evidence of internal conflict and its outward expression, should we choose to do so.

An old Greyton resident said with a chuckle: "The pot is always on the fire and it's always close to boiling."

The idealised image of Greyton, which is presented to the general public in the media for advertising purposes, emphasises only the peace, the view and "nature on your doorstep". Photographs show the cosy cottage and the implied cosy community. The expectation is that here the natives will be friendly and that newcomers will be accepted, if not welcomed, into this community.

The preservation of power and privilege.

It is in the interests of those who have power in a village to foster a sense of member solidarity, which can be mobilised by them to serve their interests. The concept of "community" becomes, in itself, an instrument of control in that people consciously preserve it and identify with it.

Herbert Vigne shaped the initial form of the Greyton "community" and set up the protective "laager" of commonage around it for the use of villagers and "bone fide travellers." Although the ideal may have been an egalitarian society in which discrimination played no part, the acceptance of privilege was an integral part of life at that time in the Cape Colony. Newby and others have suggested that in the rural areas in Britain (from which Vigne had emigrated), there was a concept, among land-owners, of an "ideal village".

> Ideally they worked to create an harmonious and self-contained "organic community" within which the identification of the "lower orders" could be ensured. How many of these villages actually corresponded to this vision must remain in doubt."
>
> (1978:190)

Perceptions of patronage and obligation are, perhaps, the penalty of involvement in community. The attachment to territory, shared resources, moral belief and purpose imply nailing one's colours to a particular mast and the power rests, not with the individuals who make up the "community" but with those who determine what form it will take.

Often this is the reality of while the ideal of community is represented as the organic changes which transform from within and the growth which is initiated by its members.

The map of Greyton village suggests a structure of dependence. The design of the village is not symmetrical and flows along the hillside, spreading out across the open space between the river and the mountains which provide a natural containment for the settlement. The lei-water channel leads from the hillside to the hub of the settlement - Mr Vigne's residence - which was the largest property in the village. The land of the allotment-owners surrounds it and encloses it as the commonage encloses their properties.

Herbert Vigne seems to have created a settlement which does not conform to the picture of an "ideal village" but is more like the type described by Hobsbawm and Rudè "in which a strongly established landlord or occupier co-exists with a fairly small number of owner-occupiers" (1971: 183). They suggest that, in Britain, this genuinely "open parish" where all the land was in the hands of small owners was rare. It is observable that in the early days of Greyton village, until about 1910 when the village became a Municipality, a large amount of land remained in the hands of the Vigne family and a few others who had bought into the settlement to a substantial extent.

Although the Vigne family undoubtedly retained a position of patronage and privilege as the "first family" of the village, there was a kind of oligarchy made up of small farmers, artisans, shop-keepers and others who, as a Village Management Board, or later as a Municipality, maintained some degree of control over the affairs of the village.

> "....the rhythm and routine of village life, the comforting pace of the agricultural year - immutable, irreversible and solid - were also safe and supportive."
>
> (Newby et al, 1978: 192)

The village was organised as an "occupational community" of farmers which was not unlike those in urban areas, centred on a particular industry (e.g. the mining towns on the Witwatersrand).

> "During the twentieth century the decline of rural employment opportunities, the drift from the land, and the influx of urban commuters, week-end cottagers and holiday home dwellers to many rural areas has undermined both the village as an occupational community and the rural working class sub-culture which it formerly contained."
>
> (Newby et al, 1978: 193)

In Greyton this process has been complicated by the ideological intervention of Group Areas which has forcibly removed those classified coloured to Heuwelkroon, while only a small enclave of white "old inhabitants" remain in the village centre.

It would be an exaggeration to say that Group Areas proletarianised the marginal small farmers, because many of them were already working as wage-labourers on a part-time basis, but it undoubtedly speeded up the process just as their removal from the village facilitated its repopulation by newcomers.

How do the people who now live in Greyton and Heuwelkroon perceive "their village"? Who are the "outsiders" today and to what extent have the newcomers been incorporated into the social and economic organisation of the village ? How can the contribution of these newcomers to the village be evaluated ? These are some of the questions which are raised by the changes which have occurred in the village "community", if it is possible to describe the population of Greyton as such today.

Ambrose (1974) is one of those who reflects on the advisability of using the term "community" which, "by over-use and over-

definition", in his opinion has lost its relevance for serious analytic purposes (165). He examines instead the usefulness of the term, "local social systems", as discussed by Stacey (1969), which has a good deal in common with the views of Pahl (1970), Bell and Newby (1971) and Marris (1977) on this issue. It attempts to draw together and resolve some of the problems of "community".

Stacey refers to social systems as "a set of inter-related social institutions, concerning all aspects of social life, familial, religious, judicial, etc. and to the associated belief systems of each" (134).

Following from this, "a local social system occurs when such a set of inter-relations occurs in a geographically defined locality" (138). This opens the way for "localism" as a less value-laden term than "community".

Although the emphasis in Stacey's approach would seem to be on the relationship between people and the social structures in which they are involved, the inter-personal relationships which "community" involves are not overlooked. Social change must be seen both in the context of those who initiate it and of the human lives which are affected by it.

Stacey also comments on the significance of power relations and time in the discussion of any social system. She suggests that not only the institutions in which power is vested are important but also "the processes of their operations...Processes take time and the dimension of time is, therefore, essential to the conceptualisation of any social system" (141). Sudden intervention in the way in which these processes operate, will produce radical changes and even break-down of the social system

and, in Greyton, a dislocation of the local socio-economic process has resulted from such intervention.

For the people classified coloured, the loss of agricultural land under Group Areas, resulted in a significant modification in their local social system. At the same time it was coupled with the pull of the urban areas towards more lucrative employment opportunities than the rural areas had to offer.

As I have noted in earlier chapters, there are still a few large farms in the surrounding district but some of them have passed out of private hands into company ownership. As agribusiness becomes a reality among local farmers, they have stream-lined their labour practices and cut down on their work force. Greyton continues to provide a pool of farm workers which is drawn upon seasonally by farmers, but from a much wider area than in previous years. As more and more rural labourers are being drawn towards the towns in search of regular work, farmers are forced to travel further afield to recruit labour. This local dependence on wage labour, usually far from home, together with the repopulation by newcomers, usually from urban areas, are the factors which have combined to modify the local social system and make Greyton no longer very isolated or even very rural.

> "In any locality study some of the social processes we shall want to consider, will take us outside the locality. In any case it is certain that locality studies cannot stand on their own."
>
> (Stacey, 1969:145)

It is essential to relate the local data which is gathered to the national pattern. In this sense the in-migrants to Greyton provide a link with the framework in which the village is located just as the out-migrants extend local networks beyond the

village. The dialectic which is set up between rural and urban areas by this oscillating population produces some contradictions. The village may vary considerably as a centre of social activity for them and may represent only one point in their complex social network.

A large proportion of the Greyton population appear to be taking part in some rural conjuring trick - "Now you see them, now you don't !" At week-ends the village is transformed. House doors stand open and people walk to and fro in both the coloured and the white group areas. Cars cruise up and down the village streets. Week-enders arrive in the village to enjoy a break from routine. Men and women who work in town are at home with their families in Heuwelkroon and vitality is restored to the village. But it is only a week-end warmth and on Sunday evening, long queues form at the bus-stop and the week-enders pack up and return to their week-day homes.

"Action space" - that area which we know well because we move about in it regularly - has enlarged enormously during this century and continues to do so. It makes a paradox of the term Group Areas, and the implicit boundaries which must be crossed and re-crossed repeatedly by those whose "action space" extends beyond those boundaries. Ambrose explores this increase in "locational mobility":

> "The advancements of technology which have enabled us to transmit information quickly and on a large scale have been matched by those which have enormously facilitated the movement of people. The ability of almost everyone to buy movement, either in private or public transport, has fundamentally affected the distribution of jobs, and of people in relation to them."
>
> (1974:17)

Social networks are becoming less locality bound and less close knit. The criteria for membership of the local social system which is Greyton, are becoming more and more ambiguous as the floating population increases and the cleaveages become more apparent. Stacey also has this to say :

> "When the number of migrants into a locality increases there must be a critical point at which the increase will place such a strain on the system as to prevent its previous operation. In this case, if the system continues, it will be in an altered state.
>
> There must be a further critical point where such an influx would destroy the system altogether.

It is pertinent in view of the recent influx of new purchasers to consider these propositions very seriously. The newcomers bring with them their perceived ideas about their "village in the mind" and in many there is the realisation that by their presence, they they are destroying the "real" village. As Oxford (1981) says:

> "The village life which they find and participate in, is largely one which they create themselves. The real village may or may not exist. As long as there is enough of it left to maintain the image, it does not really matter." (222)

Questions of preservation or progress are irrelevant when they are viewed in this light but they remain a talking point in Greyton. The permanent newcomers often find the committee table is a more powerful means of assimilation into village life than the more personal bonds which take longer to establish.

What has been lost in Greyton ?

Some losses are quantifiable in terms of the appropriation of assets such as property by one section of the population at the expense of another. This loss is magnified by subsequent re-sale and profit-taking by the new owners.

Other losses are not so easily assessed. A loss of "community", for instance, can only be evaluated in terms of somewhat less tangible evidence, particularly if there is some doubt as to its existence in the first place. I quote again from Williams (1973) in this context:

> "In some places an effective community, of a local kind, can survive in older terms, where small free-holders, tenants, craftsmen and labourers can succeed in being neighbours first and social classes only second. This must never be idealised for at the points of decision, now or then, the class realities usually show through. But in many intervals, many periods of settlement, there is a kindness, a mutuality that still manages to flow" (106).

I think that, in Greyton before the implementation of the Group Areas Act, there was a perception of this kind of "community" among the villagers, who exercised their right to make decisions in the matter of class, whether it was based in status or economic standing, while taking account of the varied origins and affilliations of the local population.

Before race classification was rigidified by legal and political means such as the Population Registration Act, the people of Greyton made their own decisions about social distance; about who was "family" and who was not; about whether this should be legally recognised or unofficial.

In another context, but nevertheless appropriate here, Strathern says:

> "To understand kinship relations one must look, not only at the tracing of links but also at how they are shed, not only at networks being activated but also at cut-off points" (1981: 146).

In a small village it was common knowledge where kinship ties lay and if they chose to ignore certain links and recognise others, these were optional choices and not imposed by outside forces. In earlier days when boundaries were not as distinct, many families had marriage links with people now classified as belonging to "another group" and their descendents are now divided by this racial classification.

In fact there are cases in the village where members of one family were classified differently and the "white" members of such a family were able to purchase property from people who had been classified coloured. Such cases exist in the list of property sales between 1970 and 1975 (Appendix B). They were able to benefit by the arbitrary nature of the race classification where to "be accepted as a white person" could be a determining factor.

An aged man, classified white, who had lived in the village for most of his life, commented:

> "Man, these people want too much, too soon. When you work on the land, you have to let things take their course. This is a land reaching out for labour but there is no one to put their hand to it. The old Greyton is finished now and they cannot make it come again.
>
> Those old people are all gone like Oupa - only his horse walks around the village looking for him - but she will not find him."

That old man has also died and when he was buried, his relatives, those classified white and those classified coloured, some of whom live in Greyton and some of whom have moved elsewhere, stood together at the grave-side. The problem of the "in-betweenness" of the "coloured people" is revealed on occasions like this.

Western refers to this "in-betweenness "which Whites have always

realised they can exploit to their advantage" (1981:311), until the question arises: will they (the Coloureds) be with us (the Whites) and against them (the Blacks) ?

Heuwelkroon does not provide a persuasive argument in favour of an affirmative answer to this question. There is no enhanced sense of "Coloured solidarity" among Heuwelkroon residents.

> "We're trapped in this place. Most of us are too occupied working out a way to survive as individuals that we don't have time for group solidarity. And anyway the "Group" has bad vibes for us, you know."

They are trapped between blackness and whiteness, dependence and self-sufficiency, visibility and invisibility.

Nor is there any positive identification with the "White group". No more, that is, than the blood ties which link them to local families, who are classified white. As Whisson expressed it:

> "The policy of apartheid has been successful in creating self-sustaining barriers which make group attitudes of suspicion more likely and individual non-racist attitudes less likely."
>
> (1975:75)

Two questions emerge as central issues in assessing the implications of the removal of the people classified coloured from the village.

To what extent have there been changes in the balance of benefits accruing to anyone as the result of the relocation process ? And to what extent has this ideological intervention changed relationships as well as residential patterns in Greyton ?

In his "uncertain conclusion" to his study of Group Areas in Greater Cape Town, Western states:

> "Group Areas were introduced by the Whites for the Whites. It is clear from all that has gone before that the Whites have benefited in various ways, as in business and real estate. They have also gained a measure of perceived security in the sense that the Nonwhites and their problems have been put at a distance."
>
> (1981: 309)

This distancing has been extraordinarily successful in that a large section of the population of South Africa have become invisible to other sections of the population. As one of the regular visitors to Greyton remarked on a sunny Saturday afternoon - "Where exactly is Heuwelkroon ?"

There are some questions which are unanswerable but this is a question which can be answered. I have been there - I have climbed the hill to Heuwelkroon and walked along the stony streets. Heuwelkroon is not a village in the mind. It does exist, like many other marginal settlements at the edges of country towns all over South Africa. The people who live there experience the mutuality of those who live on the margins of society in Group Areas.

Not only those classified coloured but all those people who have come to Greyton in search of "community" have been disadvantaged by the Group Areas Act. This is expressed most completely in the words of those who were threatened with removal.

> "At this moment there is no place where the Coloureds can live and make their living in the same way that they do now.
>
> In all the years a spirit of good neighbourliness has existed here and still continues.
>
> (Extract from the petition from Greyton Coloured Rate-payers to the Department of Planning: 1/12/64)

The loss of land and livelihood is felt by those people who have been deprived of it, although it may benefit those who now possess it.

However, the loss of that spirit of good-neighbourliness is felt by all those who live in Greyton without the right to live within one local social system.

There are now two geographically defined areas in Greyton and therefore, from this perspective, two local social systems, each with its "own affairs". This, presents problems for the social scientist. As Thornton observes: "In attempting to define the parameters of society, and by reporting as accurately as possible what he sees, he paves the way for those who would use this knowledge to control and destroy" (1986:6)

Attempts are made by individuals in both Group Areas to keep in contact with one another but that contact must transcend an essential separation - an invisible but very tangible boundary. This boundary line is defined, too, by disadvantage and the bitterness of loss and paternalism has little to do with the social distance which now exists betweem those classified white and those classified coloured in Greyton.

The social scientist who uses these terms in good faith to interpret human relationships, however accurately they are defined and motivated, places an instrument of justification in the hands of those to whom it is expedient to emphasise differences rather than similarities between people.

The changes in residential patterns which have occurred since 1969 represent a legal entrenchment of what had been a matter of personal decision.

The changes in relationships which have grown out of "separate development" over a period of more than 15 years are, to a large extent, irreversible.

"The old Greyton will not come again" but the new Heuwelkroon is a figment of the rhetoric of apartheid. It is a camp for displaced persons who are conscious of having been "pushed aside" with a consequent sense of frustration and distress.

The plea of many invisible villagers remains unanswerable.
"Laat die erwe van ons vaders die erwe van ons kinders bly."
"Let the lands of our fathers remain the lands of our children."

APPENDIX A

QUESTION SCHEDULE.

1. Birth place.
2. If not Greyton, when did you come to Greyton?
3. Why did you settle/ why are you living in Greyton?
   For what periods of time are you away from Greyton?
4. Marital status?
5. Children?
6. Schooling?
7. Residential history in Greyton.
8. Relatives: in Greyton?
   Elsewhere?
9. Employment history: Current?
   Previous?
10. Significant changes in the village?
11. Impact of Group Areas?

CENSUS FIGURES FOR GREYTON FROM 1910 - 1980

Year	Race	Males	Females	Total	Total population Males	Females	Total
1910	(W)	122	135	257	339	414	753
	(Col.)	217	279	496			
1921	(W)	202	256	458			
	(Col.)	219	279	498	425	536	961
	(Bl.)	4	1	5			
1936	(W)	241	245	486	491	532	1023
	(Col.)	250	287	587			
1946	(W)	223	259	482			
	(Col.)	291	315	606	518	576	1094
	(As)	3	2	5			
	(Bl.)	1	-	1			
1951	(W)	201	250	451			
	(Col.)	237	274	511	441	527	968
	(As.)	3	3	6			
1960	(W)	190	206	396			
	(Col.)	259	249	508	452	468	920
	(As.)	3	3	6			
1970	(W)	168	179	347			
	(Col.)	249	241	490	428	431	859
	(As.)	4	10	14			
	(Bl.)	7	1	8			
1980	(W.)	126	135	261			
	(Col.)	238	200	438	367	340	707
	(As.)	2	5	7			
	(Bl.)	1	-	1			

APPENDIX B

Erf numbers	Name of owner	Year of sale	Purchaser	Price
10	Arnold	1974	du Vin	R2200
13	van Neel	1971	Gawronsky	R300
14	van Graan	1974	A.Acker	R1700
16	Banton	1971	New Apostolic Church	R565
17	Carelse	1973	Schneeburger	R350
18	Duminy	1973	van Schalkwyk	R1200
19	Duminy	1973	van Schalkwyk	R250
20	A.Goodall	1975	K.Schneeburger	R1260
22	Benjamin	1974	K.B.R.	R1500
23	Saville	1984	K.Erasmus	R5000
24	Giddion (Comm.Dev)	1979	Hadden	R1500
25	M.Constable	1975	M.Jennings.	R3500
26	M.Constable			
39	J.Hendricks	(not affected property)		
42	M.Carelse	(not affected property)		
45	M.Carelse			
52	Cookson	1976	K.B.R.	R200
53	Cookson	1975	D.Welsh	R1500
54	H.Goodall	1973	P.Pickworth	R90
55	H.Goodall	1973	P.Pickworth	R300
56	H.Goodall			
57	W.J.Fourie	1975	de Villiers	R50
59	L.J.Coxon	1973	de Villiers	R500
63	J.Williams	1972	de Villiers	R250
163	Moravian Church	1977	(affected property)	
208	A.Juries	1982	Dyssel	R4000

Erf number	Name of owner	Date of sale	Purchaser	Price
211	H.C.Goodall	1977	Courtney-Clarke	R4000
212	J.Juries	1975	Hadden	R2200
213	J.Juries	1975	K.B.R.	R2200
216	E.Abrahams	1978	K.B.R.	R2000
217	J.S.Coxon	(owner in possession)		
219	J.Hendricks (Est. Morgan Diedericks)	1983	Ress	R750
273	D.Juries (Est.J.Cloete)	1973	Beukes	R600
277	H.C.Goodall (Est.Januari)	1975	Mellor	R1400
278	J.Juries	1974	Mellor	R4000
296	Osman	(owner in possession)		
362	J.G.Erasmus (deceased)	(no cross writing) (affected property) (case 33)		
414	W.Koux	1972	Pretorius	R1000
438	W.J.Fourie	1977	Bowen-Jones	R3100
462	J.E.Dumas	1975	Foster	R2300
465 468	Delport (Court order)	1974	Chase	R2750
467	Fick (Est Vlught)	1970	Comm. Dev.	
486	F.Koux (Buys)	1973	Hadden	R2000
487	W.Roux	(Owner in possession)		
490	H.S.Solomon	1975	Rutter	R1200
491	T.Driver	(affected property)		
492	Derelict (Comm.Devp)	1980	Oakes	R3000
494	F.Driver	(owner in possession)		

Erf Number	Name of owner	Date of sale	Purchaser	Price
495	S.J.Damons	1972	Vermeulen	R1700
497	J.Hendricks	1972	Pretorius	R1000
498	W.Roux (Est G.Driver)	1972	Vermeulen	R1200
503	M.Gapad	(owner in possession)		
504	F.Driver (Est T.Driver)	1984	H.Noy	R7000
505	M.Gapad.	(owner in possession)		
506	A.W.le Tier	1970	L.Patterson	R500
516	F.Driver	(owner in possession)		
518	A.W.le Tier	1975	C.Chase	R6000
519	F.Driver	(owner in possession)		
520	F.Driver	(owner in possession)		
523	T.Driver	1970	Batt	
524	T.Driver	1970	Batt	R1800
527	T.Driver	1970	Batt	
528	J.D.Fourie (Est.F.Roux)	1969	G.Uys	R360
562	C.Driver	1971	L.Patterson	R750
571	J.D.Fourie (Est.F.Roux)	1969	G.Uys	R300
572	du Biel (Est Fourie)	1972	Comm Dev.	R1000
575	W.J.Fourie	1972	Coetzee	R1000
576	R.Oktober	1973	Fish	R1200
579	P.Juries	1973	Garb	R2000
580	Daniels	1975	Foster	R1750
583	W.Roux	1972	Sepp	R600
584	R.Oktober	1971	Hamond	R350
587	Mohlamme	1970	G.Uys	R320
589	R.Oktober	1972	Kotsakis	R350

Names of heads of households who owned property in Greyton: 1969.

	Erf Numbers.
A.E. Abrahams	216, 580.
C. Abrahams	216, 580. (inherited 1969)
J.P.Arnold	10.
F.Banton	16.
J.Benjamin	22.
L.M. Buys	486.
M.Carelse.	17, 42, 43.
F. Cloete	273.
M. Constable	25, 26.
L.J. Cookson	52, 53.
J.S. Coxon	59, 217.
S.J. Damons	495.
J. Daniels	580.
G. Delport	465, 468.
C. Driver	562.
E. Driver	528.
F. Driver	494, 519, 520.
G. Driver	498.
T. Driver	491, 504, 523, 524.
J. du Biel	572.
S.J. Dumas	462.
J. Duminy	18, 19.
G. Erasmus	362.
R. Europa	no cross writing.
A.S. Fick	467.
J.D. Fourie	528, 571.
W.J. Fourie	57, 438, 575.
M. Gapad	503, 505.

Erf Numbers.

P. Giadion	24.
A. Goodall	20.
H.C. Goodall	211.
J.A. Hendricks	497.
J. Hendricks	39.
L. Januari	55.
A. Juries	208.
D. Juries	273.
James Juries	212.
Japhta Juries	213, 278.
P. Juries	579.
A. Le Tier	506, 518.
R. Mohlamme	587.
D. Oktober	589.
R. Oktober	576, 584.
G. Odendaal	489 (no cross writing).
A. Osman	296.
F. Roux	486 (died 1969).
W. Roux	414, 483.
A. Saville	23.
J. Schultz	50.
J. Seconna	492 (no cross writing).
H.J. Solomon	490.
S.T. van Graan	14.
C.V. van Neel	13.
J. Williams	63.

Crescentstraat

GREYTON.

21 Desember 1964.

Die Streeksondersekretaris,
Departement van Beplanning,
Privaatsak 9006,
KAAPSTAD.

Waarde Heer,

i.s. Besware teen proklamering van die woongebied van Greyton.

Na aanleiding van die voorlopige proklamering van die dorpsgebied van Greyton, is daar vasgestel dat tweederdes van die Kleurlinggrondeienaars deur die voorlopige proklamering benadeel gaan word; omdat feitlik al die grondeienaars van genoemde gebied hulle bestaan uit die inkomste (deur boerdery) op die erwe maak, maak ons beswaar teen die proklamasie om die volgende redes:

1. Ons het geen ander inkomste as die uit die eiendomme nie.
2. Die eiendomme is al meer as vyftig jaar in besit van die Kleurlinge.
3. Alle Kleurlinge in die gebied het huise wat aan die munisipale vereistes voldoen.
4. Op die oomblik is daar geen plek waar die Kleurlinge kan gaan woon, waar hulle op dieselfde manier as nou 'n bestaan sal kan maak nie.
5. Al die jare het hier 'n geen van goeie buurmanskap geheers en dit duur steeds voort.

Ons wil dus aansoek doen dat die dorpsgebied van Greyton as 'n ongeproklameerde gebied moet bly.

"Laat die erwe van ons vaders die erwe van ons kinders bly."

Die uwe,

Die ondergetekende belastingsbetalers.

NAME VAN GRONDEIENAARS:

[illegible]
[illegible] (onleesbaar)
J. A. Smit
[illegible]
C. J. Damons
W. J. Rouse
F. Jacobs
A. Van Rhyn
J. S. Coxson
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

J Dumay
S. van Graan
J. Seconna
A Goodall
Witness His
[illegible] mark
G. Adonis
M. O. Hendricks
[illegible]
[illegible]
Witness His
[illegible] mark
P Jurie
C Abrahams
[illegible]

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Bc 627. D7,118.

Ordonnansie op Dorpe

AANSOEKE OM NUWE DORPE

Hierby word ooreenkomstig artikel 11(5) van die Ordonnansie op Dorpe, no. 33 van 1934, bekend gemaak dat 'n aansoek om goedkeuring vir die stigting van 'n dorp op die eiendom soos hieronder uiteengesit, ontvang is en ter insae lê op die kantoor van die betrokke plaaslike owerheid en van die Provinsiale Sekretaris, kamer 159, Provinsiale-geboue, Waalstraat, Kaapstad, waar besware ingedien kan word nie later nie as Maandag, 17 April 1967.

Beskrywing van Eiendom: Greyton Meent, voorheen Weltevreden.

Ligging: Greyton.

Voorgestelde Naam: Dorp Greyton.

Aansoeker: Munisipaliteit Greyton.

17,24,31

P.S.

Attached is cutting from Greyton (brought in by Bertie.) The chaps at Greyton do not know how to react but are suspicious of the whole business Please advise.

Ogies

REPRODUCED FROM A DOCUMENT IN THE POSSESSION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN LIBRARIES FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES.

P. O. Box 8825,
Johannesburg.

17th. April, 1867

Director of Local Government,
Cape Provincial Administration,
Vale St.,
Cape Town.

Dear Mr. Tindale,

My attention has been drawn to an advertisement placed in the Caledon Venster of March 17th. giving particulars about a proposed sub-division at Greyton.

It is described as Greyton Meent, voorheen Weltevreden and the applicant is the Municipality of Greyton.

Can you please explain what all this means? Surely the Greyton sub-division has been done years ago? Or is this an application for the sub-division of that bit of stony hillside which the Municipality suggested as a "desirable" group area for its Coloured people when the inquiry took place?

I can assure you that all my constituents in the area are agog with this advert because none of them feels he has any cause at all to trust the Greyton Municipality as far as race relations are concenned and they all suspect (probably with good cause) that something is in the wind.

Please let me have the dope on this, so that I can advise my people accordingly.

Yours sincerely,

O. D. Wollheim M P C

P.S. Please note temporary address. I shall be here till 10th. May.

REPRODUCED FROM A DOCUMENT IN THE POSSESSION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN LIBRARIES FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES.

PROVINSIALE ADMINISTRASIE
AN DIÈ KAAP DIE GOEIE HOOP
PROVINSIALE GEBOU, WAALSTRAAT, KAAPSTAD
POSADRES: POSBUS 659, KAAPSTAD

TELEGRAMADRES:
TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS:
"PROVADMIN"

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION
OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
PROVINCIAL BUILDING, WALE STREET, CAPE TOWN
POSTAL ADDRESS: P.O. BOX 659, CAPE TOWN

Airmail

Colonel O.D. Wolheim, M.P.C.,
c/o P.O. Box 8825,
JOHANNESBURG.

TELEFOON / TELEPHONE 41-3151 BYLYN / EXTEN. 753.

Verwys na / In Reply Quote AF.17/1/88.

5-5-1967

Dear Colonel Wolheim,

PROPOSED GREYTON TOWNSHIP.

In reply to your enquiry of 17th April, 1967, I attach copies of Plans Nos. AF.17/1/88A and B which clearly depict the proposed new Coloured township at Greyton.

The application stems from the local Municipality and, as you will note from the plans, provides for sub-economic and economic erven as well as a number of erven of larger size for sale to persons who wish to erect their own houses. The layout plans have been referred to interested Government Departments for comment and on receipt of their replies will be submitted to the Townships Board for consideration.

I might mention that the period for the lodging of objections against the township terminated on the 17th April, 1967. Before this date representations were lodged with my office by the "Kleurling Belastingbetalers", c/o Mr. Frank Driver, Crescent Street, Greyton. These representations will also, of course, be laid before the Townships Board in due course.

Yours faithfully,

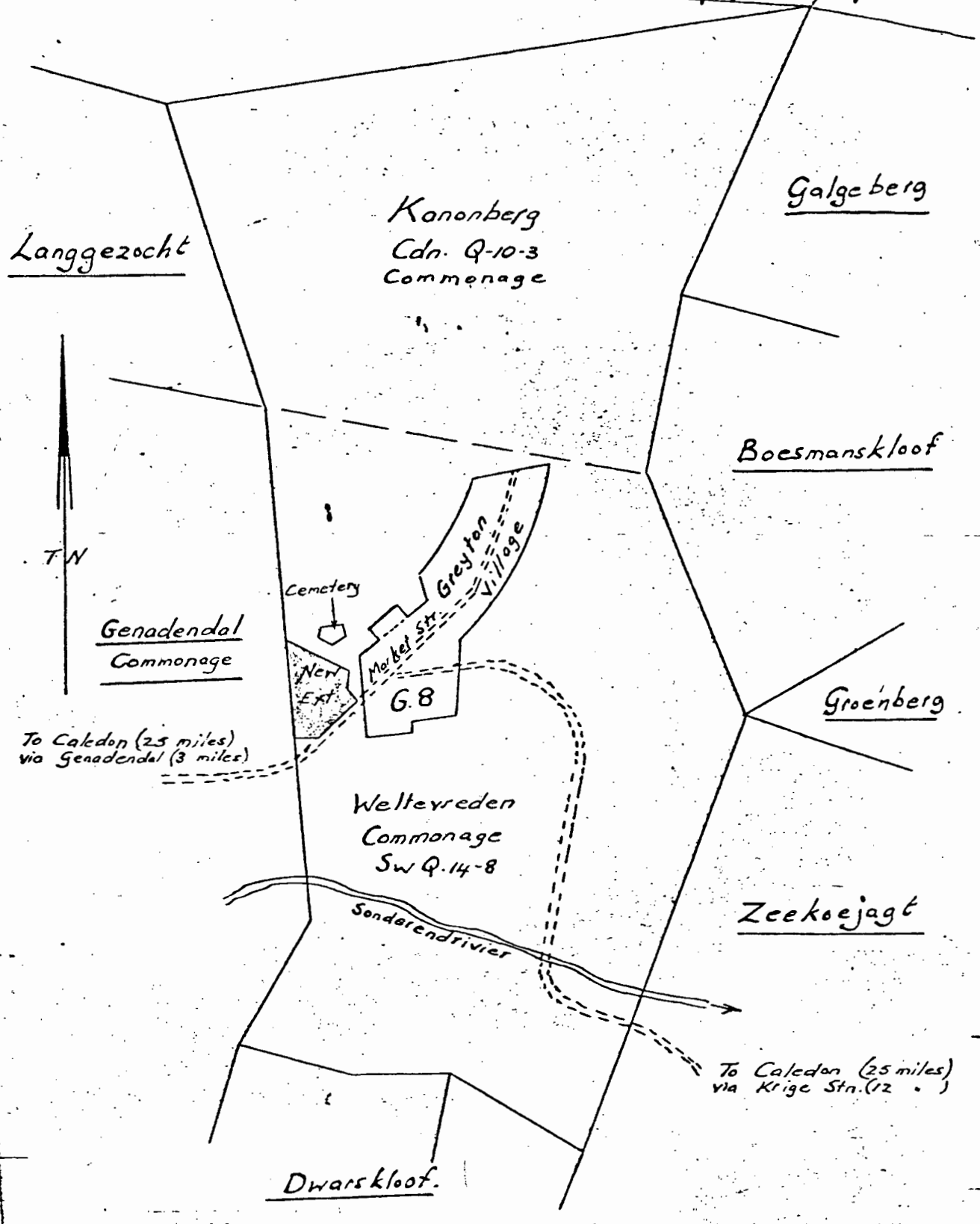
HRS/PK. DIRECTOR OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

University Library Cape Town

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Barch Kloof

AF 17/1/88 + B



SKETCH OF GREYTON COMMONAGE - VILLAGE AND SURROUNDINGS, SHOWING POSITION OF NEW EXTENSION FOR COLOURED GROUP.

NOT TO SCALE

L.I. Toerien
Caledon
Feb. 1967

TO BE FILED

C.C. to Tindale, Divisional Council Engineer, Paarl

P.O. Box 1475,
Cape Town.
15th May, 1967.

Sec.
Township Bd.
Box 659
C.T.

Dear Sir,

re: Proposed Coloured Township - Greyton.

Mr. Tindale has been good enough to give me particulars of a proposed sub-division for the coloured group immediately to the west of the township of Greyton. His reference is P.O. 17/1/88.

Unfortunately the final date for objections terminated on the 17th of April, 1967. My attention has only recently been drawn to this matter, and it was not possible to submit representations within that time.

It would appear from the map that the area proposed for the coloured group corresponded with the area proposed some time back for proclamation as a Coloured Group Area and which formed a subject of an investigation by the committee of the Department of Planning under the chairmanship (I believe) of Mr. Torlage.

Very strong recommendations against such proclamation were made by the local representatives and myself on the grounds that:-

(a) The area considered is very high lying

(b) There is no top soil whatsoever.

(c) The area is so stony that it is impossible to put even a fork into the ground.

(d) The area is so high above Riviersonderend as to make it impossible to gravitate water to the area either for drinking or for irrigation purposes.

I wish also to draw attention to the fact that there is no need whatsoever for a housing scheme in Greyton. A good many houses in the existing village are standing empty and unoccupied. In any case the coloured people were settled in the township of Greyton long before a single white person appeared on the scene and the whites are the infiltraters in this instance.

If/...

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30627 27.123

If there is to be a sub-division for the coloured group and the need for it can be proved then I consider that first claim which the local coloured residents have would be the sub-division within the borders of the township where there is fertile soil and where water can be brought without any difficulty.

I trust that your board, in considering this application, will bear the above points in mind.

Yours faithfully,

O.D. WOLLHEIM. M.P.C.

Copies sent to:

The Secretary, Township Board, P.O. Box 659, Cape Town.
The Director of Local Government, P.O. Box 659, Cape Town.
Mr. Frank Driver, Crescent Street, Greyton.
Mr. Bertie Meyer, Constitution Street, Caledon.

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University Library Cape Town

U verwysing Your reference No.	My verwysing My reference No. BF 17/4/89
	17-5-1967 19
Aan To COL. OD WOLLHEIM - MPC. 6th FLOOR PROVINCIAL BUILDING WALE STREET CAPE TOWN.	Van From DIRECTOR OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT P.O. BOX 659 CAPE TOWN.

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA—REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

MEMORANDUM

81/142350.
(Z. 36).

Insake:

Re: GREYTON - COLOURED TOWNSHIP (PROPOSED)

I ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIPT OF YOUR OBJECTION DATED 15th MAY 1967 AND HAVE TO INFORM YOU THAT YOUR REPRESENTATIONS HAVE BEEN NOTED.

FOR DIRECTOR OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

REPRODUCED FROM A DOCUMENT IN THE POSSESSION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN LIBRARIES FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES.

G.P.-S.352174—1964-65—35,000-200. S.

Crescent Street,

GREYTON.

22 nd May,1967.

Dr O. Wollheim,

P.O.Box 1475,

CAPE TOWN.

Dear Sir,

I want to thank you heartily, on behalf of the people concerned, for the keen interest you have taken in our welfare.

We thank you too for the recommendations you have made against the proclamation. We did have you in mind as the one to support us in this case.

Thanking you again,

With kind regards,

Yours truly,

F.Driver.

REPRODUCED FROM A DOCUMENT IN THE POSSESSION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN LIBRARIES FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES.

DEED OF TRANSFER,

BY VIRTUE OF A POWER OF ATTORNEY.

Drawn by
Edward Hull,
Conveyancer.

Know all Men whom it may concern,

AT EDWARD HULL appeared before me, Acting Registrar of Deeds, he, the EDWARD HULL, being duly authorized thereto by a Power of Attorney, granted m by

Herbert Digne

d the 20th day of Dme 186 /, and drawn up at
Caledon in the presence of, and certified by competent esses, which Power of Attorney was exhibited to me on this day;—and the said WARD HULL, declared that his Principal, the said

Herbert Digne

truly and legally sold, and that he, the said EDWARD HULL, in his capacity Attorney aforesid, did, by these presents, Cede and Transfer, in full and free Property, and on behalf of

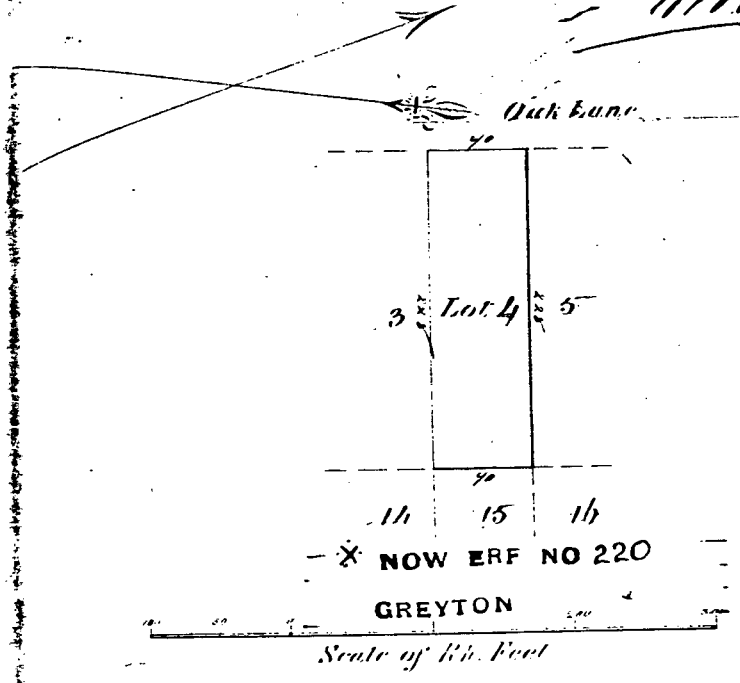
Michiel Daniel Otto

Heirs, Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, certain Erfpacht Lot of freehold land, being Lot N° 14 in Block C, in the village of Greyton, situated in the Division of Caledon, Field-Cornetcy of Zwart River on the farm Welteverden transferred in favor of the Appearer, Constituent on the twentyfirst day of December 1846 — Bounded on the North by West by Lot 5; — East by North by Lot N° 15 S by East by Lot N° 3, and West by South by Oak Lane as will more fully appear by the annexed Diagram framed by the Surveyor, — subject however to such Conditions as are mentioned in the aforesaid Deed of transfer dated 21st December 1846

Wherefore

S. G. [illegible] 2371/1865

Dedended before 1861



The above Diagram represents 110 — *Square roods,* 120 — *Square feet of Land, being Lot No.* 4 — *Block* C — *of the village of Greyton, situate in the Division of Caledon, Fieldcornetcy of Zwart River, on the Farm Weltevreden, transferred in favor of Herbert Vigne, on the* 21*st day of December,* 1846.

Laid down from actual Survey
January 1855
J. E. Rietz

COPIED.

...rm 46½ (A)

B. SAWYER

...DIEN

...1970

...BER

2,5...

...RIGINAL
...ONKLIKE
...AMPED
...SEEL
56-50
R2-50
R76-50

-2

15072

GETRANSPORTEER 18-07-1974 Aan KBR Development
TRANSFERRED To
No. T2234/74 Restant Remainder Trust (Pty) Ltd
J. L. LAUBSCHER
Asst.-registrateur/Asst. Registrar

...P. BODDINGTON

...allums,
...teurs,
...klase en
...portbesorgers,
...rgestraat 85,
...ND.

15072

1970

TRANSPORTAKTE

KRAGTENS 'N PROKURASIE

52, 53, 54

Opgetrek deur my,

Transportbesorger.

Sy dit kennelik aan almal wie dit mag aangaan

GEOFFREY HART-DAVIES,

...het voor my, Registrateur van Aktes, Hy die gesegde Komparant synde behoorlik gemagtig deur 'n volmag uitgevoer te CALEDON,

24ste dag van OKTOBER 19 69, deur

THOMAS ARTHUR DRIVER,

gebore 11 Junie 1896,

Gekleurde Groep,

...ng, geteken in die teenwoordigheid van getuie ooreenkomstig die Wet, ...oon is;

EN...../

En die Komparant het verklaar dat sy voorsegde Prinsipaal

werklik en wettiglik verkoop het op 24ste Oktober, 1969, en in sy hoedanigheid as voorsegde Prokureur, deur hierdie Akte, gecessie getransporteer het in volle en vrye eiendom aan en ten behoewe van

SYDNEY HERALD BATT

gebore op 30ste Desember, 1915,

- Blanke Groep -

sy Erfgename, Eksekuteure Administrateure of Gemagtigdes

WHITE GROUP
BLANKE GROEP

1. SEKER stuk grond geleë in die Munisipaliteit van Greyton, Afdeling van Caledon, synde Erf 527, GREYTON,

GROOT: Drieduisend, Seshonderd Ses-en- (3,666) Vierkante Meter;

UITSTREKKENDE soos meer volledig sal blyk uit die Akte van Transport met 'n Kaart No. 3164/1899 aangeheg gemaak ten gunste G. Driver op 21 November 1899, No. 9363, en twee latere Aktes van Transport, die laaste waarvan gemaak ten gunste van Komparant se Prinsipaal op 1 Oktober 1962, Nr. 14141;

ONDERHEWIG aan die voorwaardes waarna verwys word in gesegde Akte van Transport gedateer 21 November 1899, No. 9363;

2 SEKER.....

2. SEKER stuk grond geleë soos hierbo,
synde Erf Nr. 524, GREYTON,

GROOT: Drieduisend, Seshonderd
Ses-en-sestig (3,666) Vierkante
Meter;

WHITE GROUP BLANKE GROEP

...KENDE soos meer volledig sal blyk uit die Akte van Transport
... Kaart aangeheg gemaak ten gunste van D. J. Tesselaar op 22 Mei
...o. 222 en latere Aktes van Transport, die laaste waarvan gemaak
...ste van Komparant se Prinsipaal op 1 Oktober 1962, Nr. 14141;

ONDERHEWIG aan die voorwaardes waarna verwys word in
...n Transport gedateer 10 Desember 1909, No. 8541.

3. SEKER stuk grond geleë soos hierbo
synde Erf No. 523 GREYTON,

GROOT: Drieduisend, seshonderd ag-en-sestig
(3,668) Vierkante Meter;

WHITE GROUP BLANKE GROEP

...KENDE soos meer volledig sal blyk uit die Akte van Transport
... Kaart aangeheg gemaak ten gunste van J. J. Tesselaar op 22
... 1964, No. 271 en latere Aktes van Transport, die laaste
... gemaak ten gunste van Komparant se Prinsipaal op 1 Oktober
... 14141;

ONDERHEWIG aan die voorwaardes waarna verwys word in
... Transport gedateer 10 Desember 1909, No. 8541.

WESHALWE...../

Weshalwe die Komparant, afstand doende van al die Reg en [illegible] reg wat sy Prinsipaal voorheen gehad het in gesegde eiendom ten b[illegible] voorsê, het hy ook tengevolge daarvan, sy voorsegde Prinsipaal erken [illegible] onteien van, en nie geregtig op dieselfde te wees nie; en dat, kragtens [illegible] Akte, die gesegde transportnemer sy Erfgename, Eksekuteure, Administrateure, of Gemagtigdes, [illegible] voortaan daarop geregtig sal wees, ooreenkomstig plaaslike gewoonte; [illegible] die Staat egter sy Reg behou; En eindelik erken sy Prinsipaal [illegible] Koopsom op bevredigende wyse ontvang of verseker te hê, ten bedrae [illegible] som van

EENDUISEND AGHONDERD RAND (R1800)

As getuie waarvan, het ek, die gesegde Registrateur, tesame[illegible] Komparant, hierdie Akte onderteken en met die Ampseël laat bekragti[illegible]

ALDUS GEDAAN EN UITGEVOER, aan die kantoor van die [illegible] teur van Aktes, in KAAPSTAD, op die 3 die maand June in die Jaar van Ons [illegible] duisend Negehonderd en Sewentig (1970)

q.q.

In my teenwoordigheid,

Registrateur v[illegible]

INTERDIKTE TAMELON
INTERDICTS CHELKED
DATUM
DATE

Geregistreer in die Erf Register

van Graaff Boek Kaa 1 folio 527
Kaa 2 " 524
Kaa 3 " 523

Klerk in Bevel

(Vir Verlande, kyk op die eerste bladsy hiervan.)

Rev./Inl. 650

TRANSFER DUTY
HEREREGTE

CALEDON

A356337

Office Date Stamp.
Kantoordatumstempel.

GC 164

Arthur Onions. ✓

Herald Batt. ✓

stuk grond gelee in die Municipaliteit van Caledon synde erf nr 523 Greyton ✓ 1/2 breedte, 129 lengte voet.
grond gelee soos hierbo synde erf nr 524 256 breedte, 110 lengte voet 1/2
grond gelee soos hierbo synde erf nr 527 Greyton 256 breedte, 111 lengte voet.

private conveyance.

Date 19 69 Consideration Vergoeding R 1800.

4-01-69.

being synde die redelike en billike

die eiendom.

Guthrie + Theron
Caledon

Ses en seventig ✓ Rand cents, sent,

TE
the Group
1966
4017
Group Area
f Property
Transferor
Transferee
Sale Price
iation con-
t due.
od of six

Duty on the above transaction calculated as follows:—
Reg op bogenoemde transaksie as volg bereken:—

Duty on Reg op R 2550	(a)	R 76	50
Duty on Reg op R	(b)	R	
	(c)	R 76	50
Rebate of duty (c) Rabat van hereregte (c)		R	
	(d)	R 76	50
years and jaar en	days on (d) dae op (d)	R	
years and jaar en	days on (d) dae op (d)	R	
Per cent on (c) Persent op (c)		R	
TOTAL/TOTAAL		R 76	50

Collector of Revenue.—Ontvanger van Inkomste.

NOTAS VAN ONDERSOEKERS.—EXAMINERS' NOTES.

Affected Property -
P1-3

Wits 216/91
P1-3 /68 -

Verbeter aktes te xx bladsy
2 soos aangetoon en paraaf.

Trek dwarslyn gemerk @ tussen
die bewoording nie -

Seël volmag gebrekkig - plus
rate in plaat seël kanselleer

Comp 2 Trst - Teen
plaatjepan.

Notes sale
re affected
property
by the Trustee

WET OP GROEPSGEBIEDE Nr. 36/1966.

BEëDIGDE VERKLARING.

(Deur ~~Transporteur~~ Transportnemer van vaste eiendom)

Ek/~~Ons~~ SYDNEY HERALD BATT, gebore 30 Desember 1915,

verklaar hiermee onder eed :

Ek/~~Ons~~ is 'n lid van die BLANKE groep soos omskryf in Wet Nr. 36/66, soos gewysig, of enige Proklamasie daarkragtens.

GETEKEN en BEëDIG te Durbanville hierdie 9de dag van Februarie 1970, deur die Verklaarder wie erken het dat hy/sy met die inhoud van hierdie verklaring vertroud is en dit verstaan.

VOOR MY,

KOMMISSARIS VAN EDE.
Prokureur/Kleyn.

#3

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA. REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA.

GC 164

DEPARTEMENT VAN GEMEENSKAPSBOU
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

SERINGSERTIFIKAAT **CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE**

Uitgereik ingevolge artikel ~~17~~ (3) van die Wet op die ~~Verdeling~~ van Groepsgebiede, ~~1955~~. 1966
Act No 3 of 1966

Issued in terms of Section ~~17~~ (3) of the ~~Group Areas~~ Development Act, ~~1955~~. 1966
Act No 3 of 1966

№ 014017

Lu687/59/1, Lu687/60/3, Lu687/61/1

Uitsigtoe 17 Local No's: ~~52~~ 53, ~~54~~ Group Area

Erf 527, Erf 524, Erf 523 Description of Property

(i) + (ii) 3446 sq. metre each, (iii) 3445 sq. metre. *

Thomas Arthur Drew Transferor

Sydney Harold Hart Transferee

£800-00 Sale Price

Ek sertifiseer dat die waardevermeerdering betaal is/gewaarborg is/ nie verskuldig is nie.

Hierdie sertifikaat is geldig vir 'n tydperk van ses maande vanaf die datum van uitreiking.

It is hereby certified that the appreciation contribution has been paid/guaranteed/is not due.

This certificate is valid for a period of six months from date of issue.

* 141141/1962

DEPT. OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
THE REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE
KAAPSTAD/CAPE TOWN
15 -5- 1962

Sekretaris van Gemeenskapsbou.
Secretary for Community Development.

Cape Town.

Printed by the London Printing Works (Pty.) Ltd., for Government Printer, Pretoria.

APPENDIX C.

DIENSTETARIEWE VIR 1985/1986

1. BIBLIOTEEK

1.1	Aanvraagboeke	:-	05c per boek sal verhoog na 10c per boek
1.2	Boetes	:-	is 10c per week of gedeelte van 'n week
1.3	Kennisgewingbord	:-	20c per kennisgewing vir 'n kennisgewing van 2 weke

2. EIENDOMSBELASTING

2.1	Vanaf 1/7/83	:-	1,75c in die rand op grond en geboue
2.2	Vanaf 1/7/85	:-	2,0c in die rand op grond en geboue

3. LISENSIES

3.1	Fietslisensies	:-	R1.00
3.2	Openbare Bestuurspmte	:-	R10.00
3.3	Hondelisensies		

Gekastreerde reunhonde en gesteriliseerde tewe	R5.00
Nie-gekastreerde reunhonde en tewe	R15.00
Meer as een teef	R30.00 per teef
Pensioenarisse en persone met 'n inkomste van minder as R3 000.00	.50c

4. MEENT

4.1	Hout stukkies (vanaf 1/7/85)	:-	R3.00 per 100 vir die eerste 500 daarna R2.50 per 100 dit wil sê, R27.50 per 1000 en AVB
4.2	Hout permitte vir persone buite Greyton se Munisipale gebied		- R1.00 p/vra
4.3	Huur van Kraal	:-	Vir 'n kraal van 30 meter x 30 meter = R12.00 p/
4.4	Huur van weiding van 24 Jan. 1983		
4.4.1	Beeste en perde	:-	R10.00 per jaar of gedeelte
4.4.2	Donkie	:-	R12.00 per jaar of gedeelte
4.4.3	Skape	:-	- .50 per jaar of gedeelte

Die maksimum getal diere wat met toestemming van die raad aangehou mag word = 6 beeste en of 2 perde of 2 donkies

4.5	Waterblomme	:-	R2.50 per sakkie

4.6 SANDTARIEWE

Ligte afleweringsvoertuig tot 3/4 ton	=	R1.50 per ton
afleweringsvoertuig bo 3/4 ton - 3 ton	=	R3.00 per ton

Vragmotors bo 6 ton R1.00 vir elke addisionele ton bo 6 ton

5. PARKE, ONTSPANNING EN KAMPEERTERREIN

5.1 Kampeergelde

1. Dagkampering	:- Opvoedkundige groepe	- 25c per persoon, per dag
	:- Ander	- R2.00 per voertuig per dag
2. Oornagkampering	:- Opvoedkundige groepe	- R3.50 per tent of karavaa per nag
	plus	- 25c per persoon per nag
	Ander, vir 2 persone	- R3.50 per tent of karavaa per nag
	Plus	- R1.00 per persoon, vir elke addisionele pers meer as 2 persone, per na
3. Vakansieganger (Kampering meer as 1 nag)	:-	- R3.50 per tent of karavaa per nag

6. REINIGING

6.1	Vullisverwydering	:-	Huishoudelik 1 x P.W.	R22.00 per jaar
6.2	Vullisverwydering	:-	Besighede 2 x P.W.	R44.00 per jaar
6.3	Vullisverwydering	:-	Tuinvullis op aanvraag	R12.50 per vrag

7. SANITASIE

7.1	Pomp van tenks	:-	R10.00 per vrag
7.2	Emmers in Uitbreiding	:-	R3.50 per maand
7.3	Emmers by bouers en elders in die dorp	:-	R15.00 per maand

8. SKUTGELD

8.1	Enige dier vir een dag in skut	:-	R5.00 per dag of gedeelte
8.2	Enige voer of aanja gelde is ekstra		

9. STADSAAL

9.1	Huur van saal - Belastingbetalers	:-	R 5.00
9.2	Ander aansoekers	:-	R10.00

10. STADSKLERK/TESOURIER

10.1 Rente op uitstaande gelde is betaalbaar teen die standaardrentekoers wat 26% beloop vanaf 1 Julie 1985 PN 394/1985 dateer 7/6/1985.

Dit is ook van toepassing op :- Hondebleasting
Eiendomsbelasting
Uitstaande balanse op grondverkope

10.2 Bouplangelde:

10.2.1	Administrasiegeld t.o.v. tydelike struktuur	= R10.00
10.2.2	Administrasiegeld t.o.v. klein veranderings - mure, swempoele, dameetjies, ens.	= R10.00
10.2.3	Administrasiegeld t.o.v. nuwe geboue en aanbouiings aan bestaande geboue	= R25.00
	(a) Plangelde vir eerste 10m² of gedeelte	= R10.00
	(b) Bo 10m² word bereken per m² of gedeelte daarvan @	R1.50 p/m²

10.2.4 Boetegelde vir bouwerk sonder planne - 2 x bogemelde tariewe

10.3 **Stamdaardverordening insake verstrekking van inligting aan die publiek - PK 371/1982 dateer 28/5/1982.**

(a) Ten opsigte van die nagaan van enige inhoudsopgawe van 'n rekening wat nie in 'n diensregister is nie = R2.00

(b) Ten opsigte van die nagaan van enige inhoudsopgawe van 'n rekening in 'n diensteregister (b.v) water, sanitasie, reiniging, diverse skulde, elektrisiteit ens.) = R1.00

(c) Vir insae in enige akte dokument of tekening of besonderhede in verband daarmee = R2.00

(d) Vir die verskaffing van enige sertifikate van skatting of van uitstaande gelde teen eiendom, met uitsondering van belastingsertifikate ingevolge artikel 96 = R2.00

(e) Ten opsigte van nasporing van inligting waar 'n geld vir sodanige nasporing nie by (a), (b), of (c) hierbo voorgeskryf word nie:- Vir elke uur of 'n gedeelte daarvan = R6.00

11. STRATE

11.1 Slootheffing = R1.00

12. ELEKTRISITEIT

12.1	Basies : Enkelfase	45 ampere	=	R16.00 p/m
		60 ampere	=	R22.00 p/m
12.2	Basies : Driefase	45 ampere	=	R43.65 p/m
		60 ampere	=	R58.20 p/m
12.3	Basies : Grootmaat		=	R3.80 p/m
12.4	Eenhede : Huishoudelik en besighede		=	8,0c per eenheid
12.5	Eenhede : Grootmaat		=	4,5c per eenheid
12.6	Aansluitings : Nuwe = werklike koste plus 10% administrasiefooi			
	Heraansluitings		=	R3.00

13. WATER

13.1 Huishoudelik
Basies R3.00 per maand
vanaf 0-20kl word bereken vir elke kl verbruik @ .16c per kl
bo 20 kl word bereken vir elke kl verbruik @ .25c per kl

13.2 Besproeiing
Basiese heffing vir alle watererwe wat 'n verbruik van 'n half-uur per week vir water insluit R6.00
Daarna vir elke uur R6.00 per uur

14. VOERTUIE

Huur van trekker met bossieslaner en bestuurder .. R35.00 per uur

D OPSOMMING VAN VOORGESTELDE ELEKTRISITEITSTARIEWE

Beskrywing	Tarief-kode	Aanvraag-perk	Vaste geld per maand (R)	kVA-geld (R/kVA/maand)	kWh-geld (c/kWh)
Skaal 1: Kleinmaat Huishoudelik (enkelfase)	1(A)	40 A-1F	18.00	-	8,0
	1(B)	60 A-1F	24-00	-	8,0
Skaal 2: Kleinmaat Besigheid (enkel en driefase) en driefase huishoudelik	2(A)	40 A-1F	28-00	-	8,0
	2(B)	60 A-1F	36-00	-	8,0
	2(C)	40 A-3F	56-00	-	8,0
	2(D)	60 A-3F	72-00	-	8,0
Skaal 3: Grootmaat	3	Groter as 40 kVA	-	12-10	4,5

Beskikbaarheidsgelde: R12.00 per 12 pm

Aansluitingsgelde: a) Tot 60 A enkelfase : R450-00
b) Tot 60 A driefase : R700-00

Diverse Gelde:

a) Tydelike afsluiting en heraansluiting: Besoekgeld van R15-00 plus heraansluitingsgeld van R5-00.

b) Diensoproepe: R15-00.

c) Inspeksie en toets: Eerste inspeksie en toets: Kosteloos
Verdere inspeksies en toetse: R30-00

d) Spesiale meteraflesings: R10-00

e) Deposito: Driekeer die bedrag van gemiddelde maandelikse rekening. (Besigheid)

R 50
R 20

B12/.....

FROM THE MARKET PLACE



No. 3 July '79

What a joy it is to be in Greyton at this time of year; crisp-cold mornings and nights and sunny-still days alive with the many sounds of winter chores. The 53.5 mm of rain we have had this month and the mediterranean skies of this final week of June must surely make for beautiful bulbs and a sturdy growth of all newly planted things. Here's hoping the Hamerkops recently seen aren't omens of much wetter weather to come - which they usually are.

Oh well, there's lots to think about even in the rain. Some people are coming forth with good ideas to keep us from fretting about skylabs and petrol price hikes. For instance, how about getting away from your worries by joining a CYCLING CLUB, and pedalling to freedom and fun? Mrs. Betty Fourie would like to form such a Club for trips to see the flowers and anything else of interest. So if this appeals to you, please address your enquiries to her at the hotel.

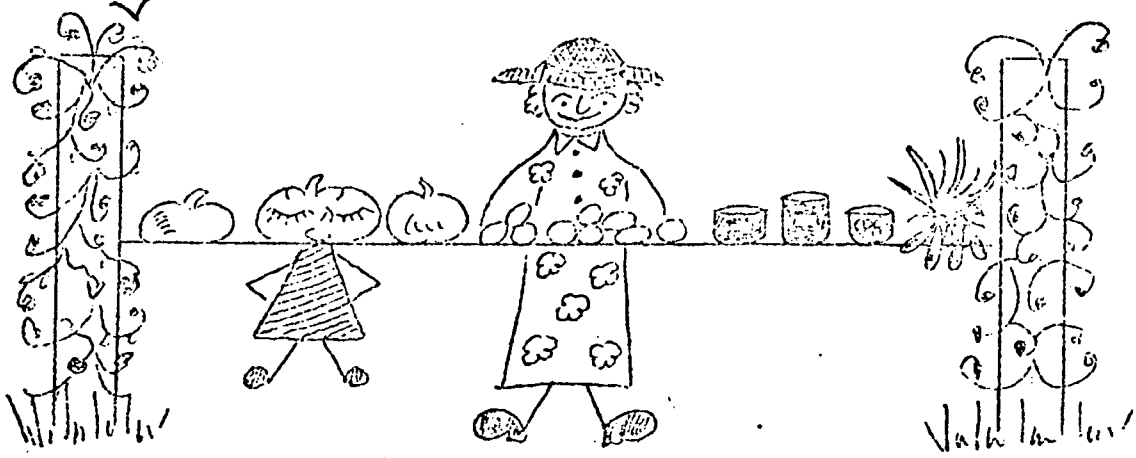
And what about PLANTING A TREE to beautify our village? This is an idea of Dave Steward's who is a fundi where trees and plants are concerned. He would love to see a street tree-planting project undertaken. He suggests that anyone who is willing to might donate a tree, plant it, then ask the Municipality to maintain and water it for a year. After that it would be up to the donor to watch over its welfare. He would start the ball rolling.

And speaking of the Municipality, did you know that it is organising a COMPETITION among the Coloured people for a name for their township, and already has a list of names submitted by the residents, some very poetic, some very funny. Anyone who has been up to the Uitbreiding will appreciate the sense of humour of the residents who submitted "STONE VIEW" and "WINDHEUVEL". The Mayor has donated R10 as a prize for the winner.

HANDY WITH A HAMMER

Mr. Arthur Gregory whom we welcomed to Greyton last month is willing to undertake carpentry work of any description. Stand back everyone and give the man air!

FROM THE MARKET PLACE



No. 4 August

Well, we're half way through what, up to now, has been the coldest winter for a long time - according to some, and maybe they're right if the anthracite bills are anything to go on. But it's still gorgeous. There is no "grey" about Greyton. It's a blue, golden/green place and perhaps if we're lucky in September we will be able to add 'white' as well.
Yes, for many of us it is easy to rejoice on good-weather days and to feel that indefinable thing called hope as we plan and plant and keep ourselves warm in the security of our homes. But it isn't so for some and while this is neither the time nor place to dwell on the greyer side of Greyton, we ask you to spare a thought for those whose planning, planting and peace have been disrupted by the "necessary" transferal from their homes to other accommodation because of space problems. For them 'hope' must seem like a fairy word with little substance. We can only ask that in future our neighbours in the uitbreiding be allowed to live their lives as peacefully as possible, without upheaval - and with hope. Which brings us to the next point.

COLOURED TOWNSHIP GETS ITS NEW NAME

The winner and the new name of the township, resulting from the competition we spoke of in our last newsletter have been announced. The Township will now be known as HEUWELKROON and the winner is PETER DAVIDS the Greyton postman and messenger. Perhaps if the Municipality placed a notice board in the shape of an arrow at the turnoff to the Township on which was painted or carved in bold letters - HEUWELKROON - the term Uitbreiding would gradually vanish and it would help to characterise the place.

PROCESSING PLANT IN OPERATION

Food-freezing operations are now being carried out at the "Oaks" Farm just outside Greyton bringing welcome employment to some of our Coloured women folk. There is a strong possibility that the plant will be moved to Greyton itself in the near future.

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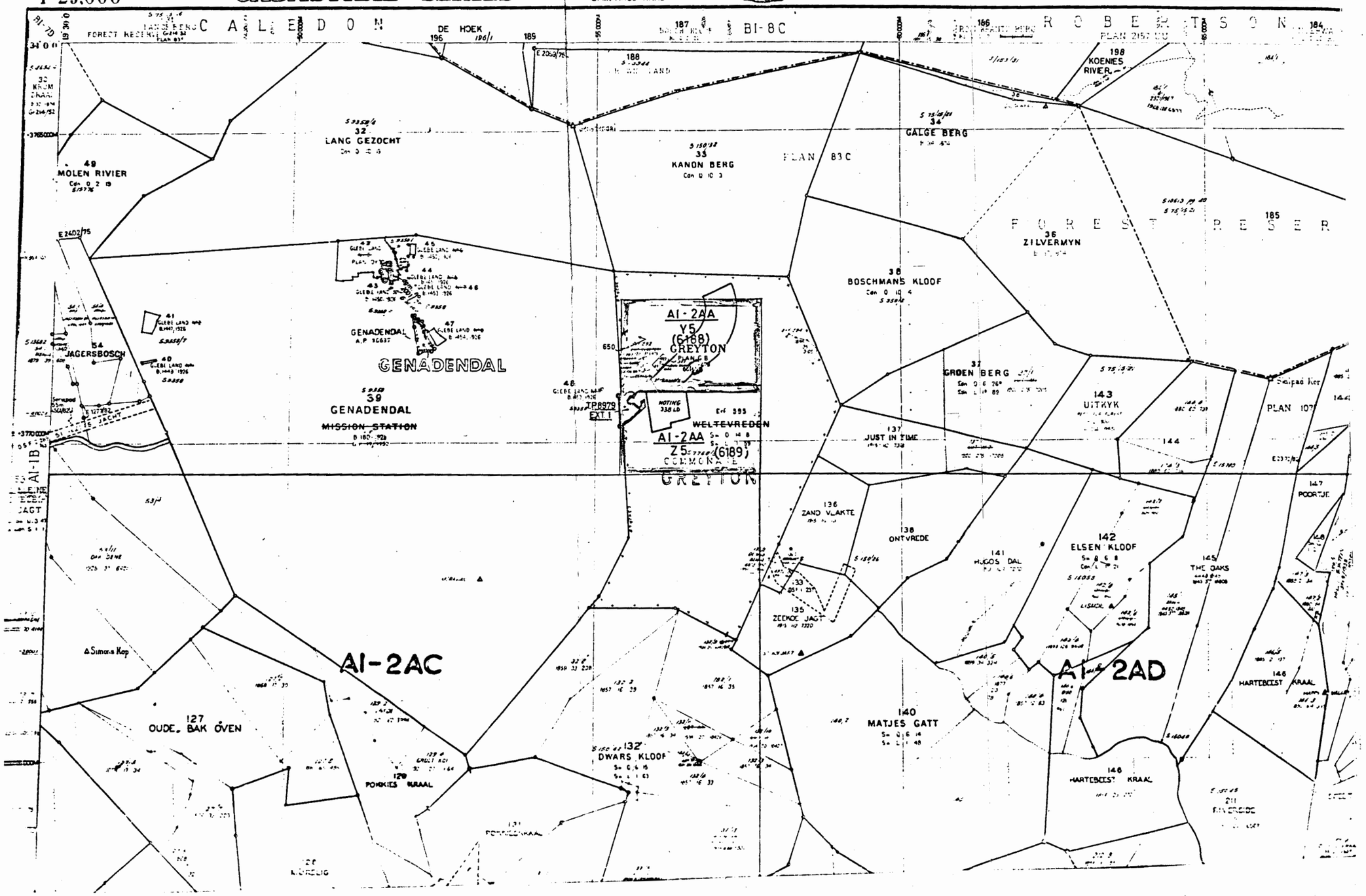
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