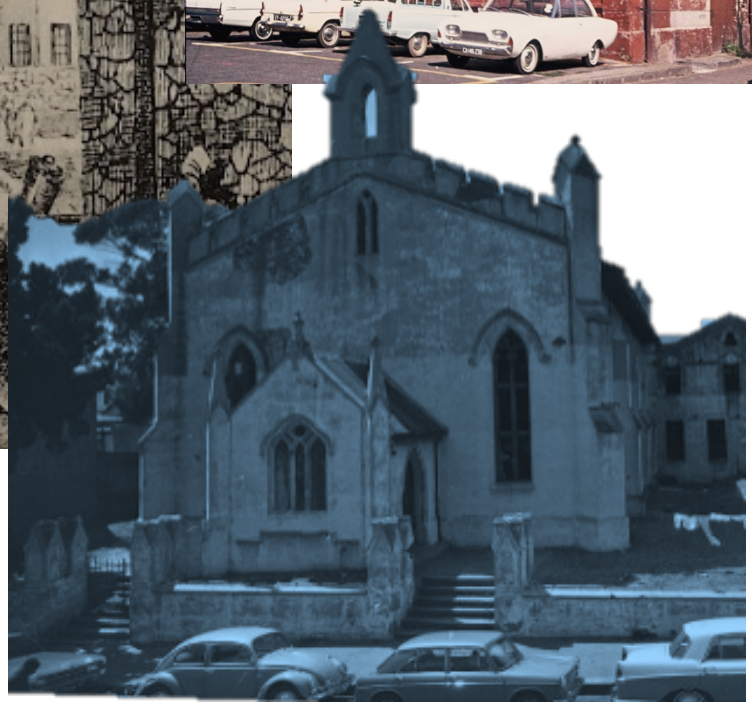
A SOCIAL HISTORY OF HARRINGTON SQUARE



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NOVEMBER 2024

CITY OF CAPE TOWN

SOCIAL HISTORY COMPONENT
for the
FEASIBILITY STUDY
OF HARRINGTON SQUARE

LEAD BY

jakupa
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INTRODUCTION

This report is intended to contribute towards a social history of Harrington Square as part of the input towards the Pre-Feasibility Study led by Jakupa Architects and Urban Designers. This study primarily focuses on the intangible social history of the historic Harrington Square precinct in relation to the surrounding landscape and built form, but the focus is decidedly on people in relation to place.

In the majority this study takes the form of secondary research which is compiled into a contextual social history report. In no way can it be an exhaustive representation of the full past of the site.

PROPERTY DESCRIPTION:

Above: Harrington Square outlined in red bounded by its surrounding streets. Katie Smuts.

The site under consideration comprises Harrington Square, currently utilised as an open parking lot. The lot constitutes an entire city block, bounded to northeast by Caledon Street, northwest by Harrington Street, southwest by Constitution Street and southeast by Canterbury Street. Structures occupy the south-eastern third of the site. This report is not purely confined to its boundaries, however, which are the most modern configuration of the space. A broader study of the wider area 'Behind the Castle' and various connections to surrounding spaces and streets has been key to understanding this site through time.

BUILT FORM AND MEMORY

The City of Cape Town's Cultural Heritage Strategy (Attwell et al 2018) argues that it is important to acknowledge the achievements of individuals and groups during the City's history and seeks to recognise and protect places, narratives and traditions associated with such people and events. While much of the built form of Harrington Square may have been destroyed, the narratives and associations of District Six have crucially remained through the memories of ex-residents. Many of the earlier layers of indigenous connection to the area, the layered history of slavery and the mixed early community of District Six and multi-layered religious history has not featured as overtly in the discourse around the site.

SHAPING URBAN DESIGN AND PLANNING

Preserving and integrating the remnants of built form and memory within future planning and design is crucial to the acknowledgement of the sense of loss, destruction, and devastation for the people of District Six who were forcibly removed. Planning and design should continue to incorporate the 'sense of place' that has been informed by these intangible memories and continued cultural practices on the site. Some of the main components for the 'sense of place' of Harrington Square are outlined in overview in this report.

How a site is ‘remembered’ or ‘memorialised’ needs to be community led, involving ongoing engagement through the design process. As outlined in the 2003 Heritage Impact Assessment of District Six by Lucien Le Grange, the employment and translation of memory is key to urban design development. It requires the:

- Conserving and celebrating previous and remaining institutions i.e. even if buildings have been destroyed their memory needs to be conserved and celebrated.
- Incorporating memory in street/place names
- Identifying and celebrating public places (Pg. 6)

TIMELINES

This report takes the form of various timelines of differing scales representing the deeper time precolonial history of the site and indigenous connections of place; the colonial era settlement of the site as a place ‘outside the town’ and later as part of the iconic District Six itself situated on the outskirts of the city. The considerable changes brought by modernity in the form of industrialisation of the area in the 1880s constructed an indelible part of the identity of this block as a mixed-use space into 1970s.

It is a site that narrates the story of religious freedom and how that expanded and later contracted in built form. Ultimately it was a story effaced by the destruction of an urban block with deep historical lines, no doubt as part of the processes of apartheid legislation and the influence of group areas. The car park that remains is not unused, nor uncontested, but it does effectively erase all the layers of built form that once shaped the very character of the origins of District Six. It has within it many origin points for the religiously and socially diverse mix that made up the earth bed of Cape Town – Catholic, slave, free black, Jew, wealthy, poor and almost everything in-between.

All of these deeper time ‘layers’ are part of the morphology of the social history of the Harrington Square site. This study takes the methodology that all of these layers have contributed to its character, built form and social sense of place for Harrington Square and even District Six on a wider level, even if unacknowledged or no longer remaining in the present day.

OVERVIEW

Some of the key themes in the social history for Harrington Square are summarised below:

1. WATER AS CONNECTOR TO PRE-COLONIAL AND INDIGENOUS HISTORY

The pre-colonial history of the area demonstrates how hunter-gatherers and pastoral groups utilised Table Bay and fresh mountain streams and their associated resources. The old shoreline that ran just at the bottom of Harrington Street reached inland to water sources such as river estuaries and mountain streams.

ǁkhamis sa, creolised as Camissa, meaning “sweet water for all”, is the extinct Kora name for Cape Town. The name itself holds the indigenous Khoekhoen knowledge of how vital this water was as a resource and how it was shared.

Today these old streams have been diverted to the City’s storm water system and run down to the sea unseen beneath our feet. Ultimately indigenous groups lost access to the sea and the natural resources of Table Bay with permanent European settlement and the building of sites such as the Castle which stands in the foreground to Harrington Square in the present.

Re-establishing knowledge and connection to historic water lines as a key memory to a deeper past and indigenous knowledge can provide a vital way to bring it back into the present.

2. THE GROWTH AND CHARACTER OF A CITY

The foundation of a diverse Cape Town

The area 'Behind the Castle' was relatively open of formal settlement until the early 19th century. This does not mean it was unused and unoccupied. The topography of the 'Cape Sloot' or 'sluit' was a defining feature of this area behind the Castle, recognisable in many drawings and illustrations as a deep ravine of fresh water. This area provided an open social space for slaves (especially washerwomen), so called 'freeblacks', military personnel and a diverse array of residents including the gentry to move through and connect, confront, and engage with one another.

Cradled by iconic buildings

By 1806 key surrounding buildings were providing a cradle to the site: The Castle, the Military Barracks, the Parade Ground, and the farms on the lower slopes of Devil's Peak. Buitenkant Street was a border of the town. Rapid expansion of the town from the 1780s meant the town burst its boundaries.

Mixed residential and commercial character begins

Increasingly from around 1814 the mixed residential and commercial character of the area was beginning to formulate through the likes of Captain Thomas Harington after whom Harrington Street was later (mis)named. Harington ushered in this mix through the building of his stately home along Darling Street as well as all his commercial and trading endeavours at his warehouse and store a few doors down.

3. Roman Catholic Faith, and the freedom of religion

There is a long history of Roman Catholic faith at the Cape that stretches back to Portuguese explorers engaging at coastal sites in the late 15th century. Catholics, however, mostly had to practice in secret until 1804 when the Commissioner General. Jacob Abraham de Mist declared religious freedom. Importantly this didn't just open up Catholic faith, but allowed for Islam to grow and expand so that it would become a significant component of the cultural and religious life of the Cape continuing to the present day.

A centre for Catholic faith

After 1804, Catholic services were held in the Castle itself and then in 1820 Holy Mass was conducted from a warehouse along Buitenkant Street. With the strong military presence of the Castle and Barracks in which numerous servicemen were Irish and Catholic, a Catholic church was built in 1824. It was the first example of a neo-gothic building, which was at the time a revolutionary announcement that the building was a place of Christian worship. The building seems not to have been well built and due to poor roofing and bad storms, the Catholic Chapel's roof collapsed in 1837.

Kanaladorp

Early images of the Catholic Church show the Cape Sloot with slave washerwoman using the stream which by the time of its collapse had lead to a community of freed slaves and Irish immigrants, as well as wealthy elites, living in the vicinity of the Church. Multiple waves of Irish immigrants provide the character to 'Irish Town' as the area also became known. This is essentially the foundation of 'Kanaladorp' which develops close to the neighbouring Zonnebloem. This mix of social strata creates the crucible for an early District Six with a mix of nations, religions, cultural practices and languages.

In 1834 Canterbury Street is named after a freed slave, Hendrik Canterbury, renown as being a hairdresser and wigmaker and knowing the gossip of the town.

Holy Trinity church and school: Mr Lamb's school

The Catholic Chapel collapsed in 1837 but is later replaced (most likely on the same site) by Holy Trinity, a break away from the Church of England, in 1846. With her interest in education and the establishment of Sunday Schools across the Cape, Emma Rutherfoord, worked at Mr. Lamb's school

which was part of Holy Trinity Church. The school had as many as 200 pupils in its care. Church and Mosque run schools were the cornerstone for many of learning for many generations of residents who lived in District Six. This is most likely where 'Lamb's Lane' takes its name from. Even when the first Catholic Church was built it was noted that there was a school that was part of it.

A complex urban nexus
Maps and historic accounts from the 1850s to the end of the century attest to an area with a high density of churches, residences, industries, commercial activities such as the Britannia Inn, from 1860 the 'Theatre Royal' followed by the formal creation of 'District Six' in 1860. This provides much of the diverse and compelling thriving urban nature of the area.

Jewish Immigrants
In the 1880s hundreds of East European Jews escaping pogroms and poverty come to settle at the Cape, and specifically in the vicinity of Harrington Street and surrounds. Their rich culture, religion and languages shaped the sounds, streets, businesses, and buildings of the area. Many of the first synagogues are built in the surrounding area to Harrington Street, especially noted in Constitution Street. Beinkinstadt Booksellers established in 1903, moved here in the mid-1920s. As the first Jewish bookstore in South Africa, it became an iconic building and business in District Six.

3. APARTHEID AND FORCED REMOVALS

Moved by race and segregation
Both Holy Trinity and the various Jewish synagogues effectively closed their doors and left the area in 1940s due to increasing National Party sentiments of segregation and racial division. The Harrington Square area was seen as an area of urban deterioration, too industrialised and too 'mixed' for the likes of what had become middle class white congregants.

Vibrant mixed-use urban character
Between the 1940s to late 1960s this Harrington Square area is characterised by its dynamic and vibrant mixed-use character. Many residents can walk to work in nearby factories and their schools and religious centres. The block itself housed printing works, the Castle Bar, African Wholesalers, a bottle store, informal traders, sawmills, factories, stores, tailors, garages alongside dwellings. Memories of Holy Trinity Church from ex-residents of District Six date to this period especially, however they are also shaped by dynamics of racial exclusion and segregation from the Church which eventually moved to Gardens.

Apartheid planning, removal and destruction and resistence
From 1962 apartheid planning and removals came to shape and destroy District Six. By 1973 the whole of Harrington Square had been turned into an inner-city car park. Resistance against apartheid removals continued beyond the destruction of the area with Friends of District Six forming their Museum body, fighting the development of the area. The District Six Museum continues to activate the Harrington Square site for memory work, storytelling and events.

DEEP TIMELINE FOR TABLE BAY

PRECOLONIAL

Hunter-gatherers and Pastoralists

As Hislop notes there is evidence of hunter-gatherer groups (later referred to as *San*) foraging along the sea shore of Table Bay around 70 000 years ago. Pastoralist Khoikhoi groups were present at the Cape around 1 500 "before the first European explorers landed in the 15th century" (2018: 16).

According to Schietecatte and Hart (2015) in their report "*The first frontier: An assessment of the pre-colonial and proto-historical significance of the Two Rivers Urban Park site, Cape Town, Western Cape Province":*

> "There were Khoikhoi groups on the Cape Peninsula and Table Bay who made a living on the relatively limited resources that Peninsula had to offer, while there were more powerful groups to the north who occasionally came to Table Bay during the summer months. Due to the Peninsula's unfavourable geology, its carrying capacity was limited. It was isolated by the sterile sands of the Cape Flats, however the Liesbeek and Black River valleys formed a verdant strip of good grazing land that stretched from the Salt River Mouth to Wynberg Hill"(3).

As Schietecatte and Hart remind us, "The Khoikhoi had place names in their own languages, however not many of these were recorded. Only once the Dutch settled did standardisation of place names begin…" (8).

Khoikhoi groups at the Cape, having deep knowledge of the environment, followed transhumance patterns where they would "alternate landscapes they used according to season and grazing quality" for their herds (Schietecatte and Hart: 9). They were noted to use the slopes of Table Mountain and Signal Hill as grazing ground for their cattle, and most likely this was associated with the availability of mountain streams.

Khoi groups would have utilised and seasonally inhabited the lower lush Liesbeek river and Black River estuaries for resources and grazing due to the presence of permanent rivers. There were some mountain streams which came directly down passed what would later become the Harrington Square site and certainly this water would have been an attraction to herder groups:

Below: Khoikhoi with cattle. Unknown artist. Early 1700s. National Library of South Africa

> "Smith (1984), in analysing the historic record, observed that major visits to Table Bay by powerful groups of Khoikhoi such as the Cochoqua took place almost exclusively in the summer months – records attest to huge herds of animals and people camping in the Salt River area. This was because if any rainfall was to be had at this time of year in the south west Cape, it would fall on the Peninsula.
>
> Thanks to the permanent aquifers under Table Mountain that supplied the Liesbeek River with water year round, the marshlands at the confluence of the Liesbeek, Salt and Black Rivers would have been extremely important for Khoikhoi herders, especially for those with large herds when they visited from the north west on their summer visits" (Ibid: 10).

It was noted in various colonial records the presence of various Khoi groups across the Cape Peninsula and how sites were interconnected:

> "The Goringhaicona, Capemen, Peninsulars or Strandlopers… who made the Peninsula their home. These groups filled the Peninsula niche. Provided they circulated round the Peninsula grazing their stock in the areas where there was good bedrock – the City Bowl, Observatory-Maitland, Green Point or Hout Bay and the narrow band of good shale derived soil in the Liesbeek Valley, they would have been able to maintain a moderate viable herding community. Any loss of these limited good grazing areas within the Peninsula geological microcosm would have caused the Peninsula Khoikhoi groups considerable economic, social, and nutritional stress" (Schietekatte and Hart: 11).

With permanent European settlement from the 1650s, they were immediately pushed out from the area around the Castle and the initial gardens and farms. With each expansion of the growing town and city, indigenous people had less access to any of resources surrounding the settlement.

There is unfortunately no physical evidence of their presence in the Table Bay area due to the ephemeral nature of their impact on the landscape as well as the dense layering of development that has taken place on this landscape over 400 years of colonial impact, town development, industrialisation, and modernity.

Despite their displacement by colonial settlement, often through violent wars, and the devastating effects of European diseases such as smallpox, the Khoikhoi did not disappear. They "became assimilated into the general population, and were sometimes used as part of a labour force on early District Six land claims was extended to allow for descendants of the Khoekhoe and San, who had been dispossessed before 1913 to claim compensation" (Hislop 2018: 16).

Below: "View of Cape Town from the east in **1762**, by Johannes Rach. In the foreground, the area which would become District Six is still an unstructured wasteland, where a flock of sheep grazes with a Khoi shepherd. The little settlement huddles around the spire of the church behind the Castle. (National Library of SA)" (Pistorius 2002: 20).

‘BEHIND THE CASTLE’

1652 Jan Van Riebeek establishes a simple square fortress soon after his arrival**.** Streets were laid out out including the Heerengracht (now Adderley Street) which was a continuation of the axis of the Company’s Garden which led down to the Bay (which itself was in alignment with a mountain stream that watered the settlement) (Fransen 2004: 27).

1666 Work on a second fortress, which became ‘The Castle of Good Hope’ is began with a pentagonal plan, much used by the Dutch in various colonies.

Hans Fransen notes of the development of the settlement in Table Valley: **“Between the Bay, Table Mountain and the two protecting arms formed by Signal Hill and Devil’s Peak, there was sufficient land for the laying of a town, while the surrounding lower mountain slopes served as peri-urban area: tuine and small farms”(Ibid).**

1700

Zonnebloem farm, on the slopes of Table Mountain behind the Castle was granted as a small loan farm, with the first official grant dating to 1707 (Hislop 2018: 40).

1778

The above View of the Cape of Good Hope, drawn from the Hoeker De Neptunus on 22 June 1778 and the following days (National Archives of the Netherlands. 15.120F). Here the first farms can be seen on the mountain slopes and the road that lies between the Castle and the more town like settlement was the edge of town, already known as ‘Buitenkant’.

1780

The rapid expansion of the town from around 1780, “when the white population rose from eight thousand to eighteen thousand in a matter of twenty years – the town burst its boundaries (Buitengracht, Buitenkant and Buitensingel). But well into the second half of the 19th century Cape Town fit snugly into Table Valley” (Fransen 2004: 27).

1798

THE HANGING GROUND AND THE CAPEL SLUIT

Right: Cape Town as seen from the ramparts of the Castle during the first British Occupation c.1798. A section of a panorama by Lady Anne Barnard. As Jackie Loos notes "it shows the Great Barracks (originally a hospital), the walled execution place where criminals were hanged or flogged, and the main road connecting the town to the interior" (2004: 5).

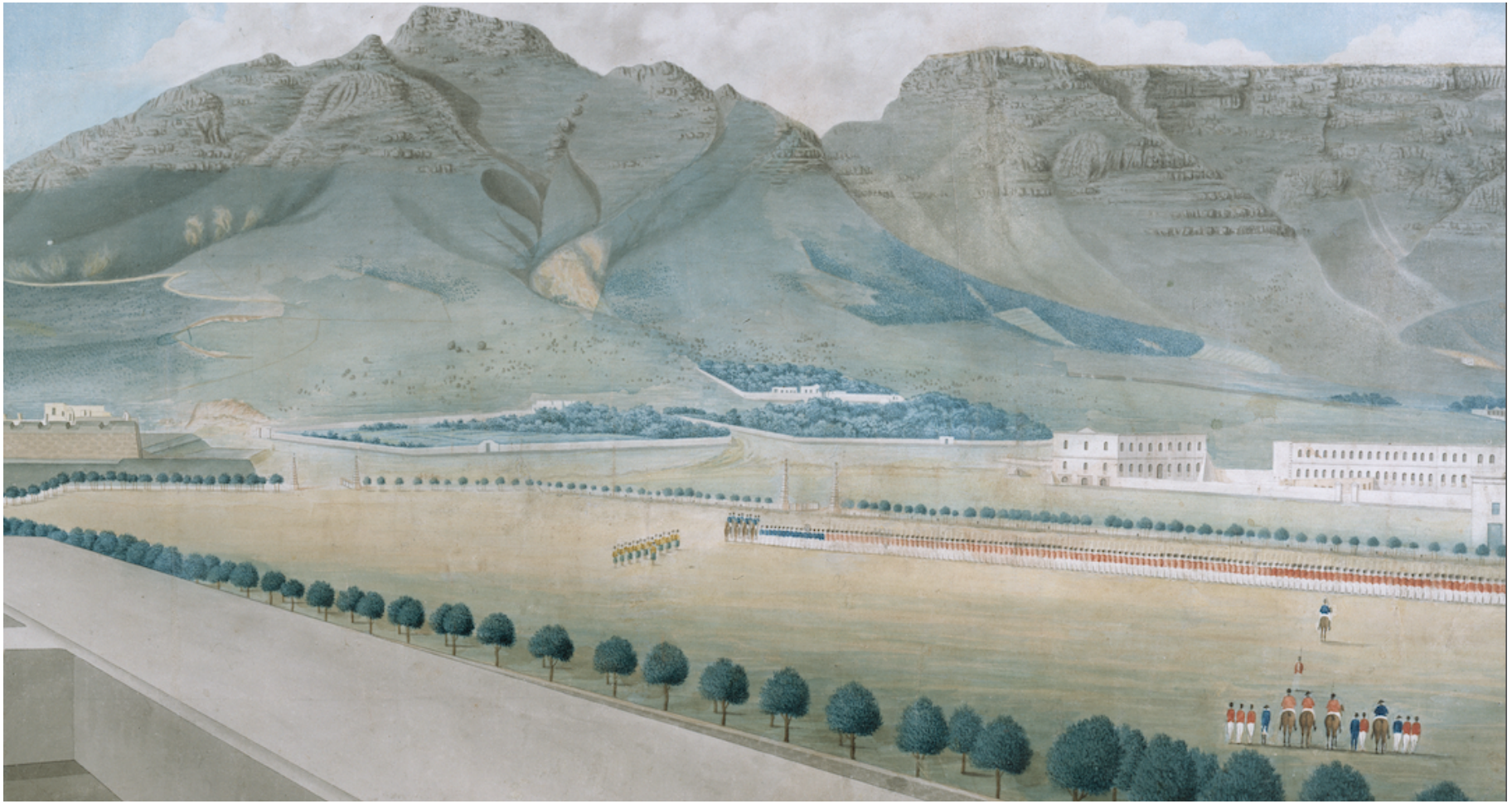
As can be seen in this watercolour, the stream that ran down the mountain through what would later be Vredehoek, carved a deep ravine in the landscape which extended all the way to the Castle and fed the moat (Hislop: 25). In the 19th century 'Canterbury Row' would later be built along the ravine carved by the Capel Sloot or Sluit stream.

The open land between the Castle and some of the first farms situated on the lower slopes of Devil's Peak such as Zonnebloem was loosely referred to as being 'behind the Castle'.

It was not 'empty ground' as this Lady Anne Barnard drawing shows "hurrying figures: military men on guard duty, gentlemen on horseback and slaves carrying water from mountain streams to their master's and mistresses' households…" (Hislop 2018: 6).

Essentially it was an open social space of movement, connectivity, activity for all strata of Cape Town life, but essentially it was on the outskirts or on the edge of the formal town.

This area on the outskirts of town would become a place of settlement for freed slaves. It was especially after the abolition of slavery that many "free-black Malays moved to the outskirts of town" to what would later become District Six and the Bokaap (Ibid). From the 1840s there was especially a surge in freed slaves setting up shelters and homes near the old farms they worked for, such as neighbouring Zonnebloem.



Left: Josephus Jones Panorama of the Cape c.1808 Rembrandt van Rijn, Stellenbosch

1808

This section of the Josephus Jones panorama dating to c.1808 shows the area between the Castle and the Company Barracks as being mostly empty ground with some farm estates set against the mountain which Hislop notes to be estate Werkerlust with its vineyards and gardens on the lower slopes of Devil's Peak with the gardens of Bloemhof (right) and Welgelegen (left) below it (2018: 88). There is no sign yet of any settlement in the area. Welgelegen farmstead is thought to be one of the first houses built behind the Castle, dating to c.1795.

The Barracks can be seen as a key development in this area behind the Castle. They were started in 1772 to be built as a hospital to house 1 500 patients, the completed sections were used as barracks to house the French Troops in 1781 but it was only effectively completed at the end of the VOC rule (Worden et al 1998: 81).

The Grand Parade, which takes centrepiece in this section of the Jones panorama, had been "given better scale and perspective by means of Thibault's fountain and by rows of trees" (Ibid: 27). The Hospital (later Barracks) had Hospitaalplein, later Caledon Square, in front.

1814
Captain Harington: shaping the residential & commercial character

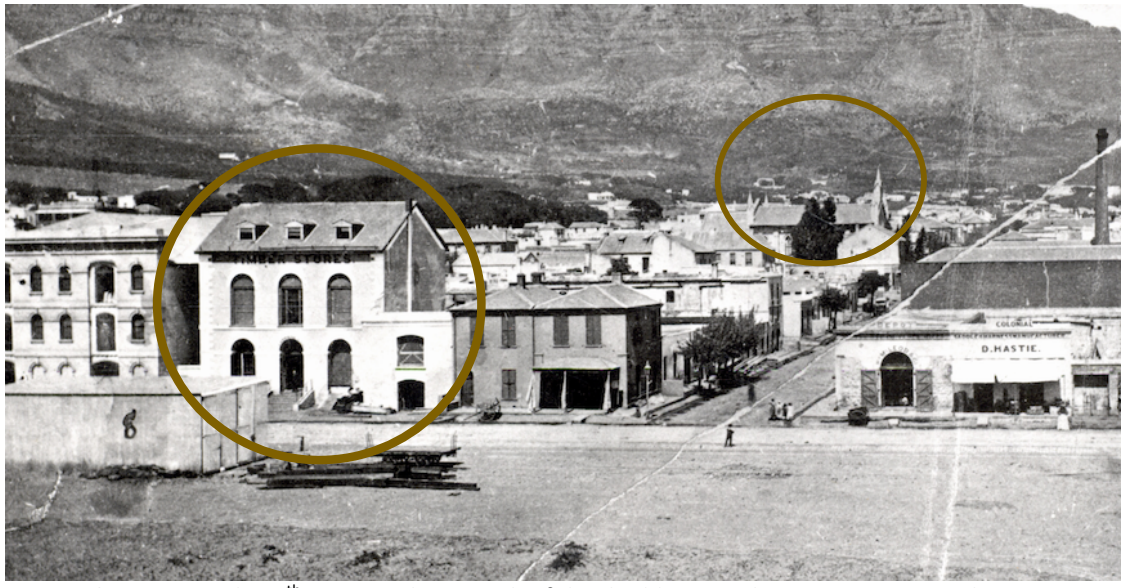
Harrington Street and Square gets its name from a new English inhabitant of the Cape from this period, Captain Thomas Talbot Harington, a "master mariner, [who] came to the Cape in 1814 with his wife, Jemima, after serving in the East India Company" in Bengal (Hislop: 115). He became a "prominent Cape Town merchant – he built Harington House and Harrington Street is (mis)named after him" (Worden et al 1998: 97). He purchased the plot opposite the Castle on the corner of Darling Street in the 1840s. Here traded under the name of Harington & Nisbet where he acted as a merchant…(he) left Cape Town in 1822 and died in Calcutta in 1841 (Hislop 115).

As Hislop notes of this area close to the Castle, it was **"once a sought-after residential address. In the early 19th century, it was still close to the seashore (long before the reclamations pushed back the shoreline) and the Grand Parade was then lined with town houses.**

In those days, residents were used to being awoken by the shouts of early morning hawkers, the sound of and ox wagons rushing to Newmarket and sometimes, by the shouts of drunken brawling soldiers and sailors at night" (Hislop: 114).

Captain Harington had a store adjoining his house which was noted to be of a unique extravagant cost and style at the Cape:
"The design of the house, with its pitched roof, dormer windows and high chimneys – was fashionably English, rather than Cape Dutch…Harington House boasted fine architectural detailing, from the Venetian fanlights over the arched windows, to the plaster decorations on the façade. The ostentatious homestead caused quite a stir in Cape Town at the time, and it became fashionable for wealthy citizens to buy newspapers, books and other imported items at the store. The store and warehouse…were situated conveniently close to the Customs House and wharf, which was near the Castle – an ideal location for a merchant's business" (Ibid: 114 – 115).Customs House would later become the government grain depot and later still a woman's prison.

By the end of the 18th century this wealthy residential character to the neighbourhood had been lost to industrialisation: "with wood sheds and harness makers replacing the elegant villas with their large gardens that had once lined the thoroughfare opposite the Castle. The once grand house was reduced to being used as offices for a timber firm.



Above: An early 20th century photograph of the double storied Harrington House that was once situated along Keizergracht (now Darling Street) in relation to what was then the Holy Trinity Church a bit further up. Note how instrustrialised character by this date. Western Cape Archives and Records Service. Arthur Gribble: AG 719.

A long history Roman Catholic faith at the Cape

(based on the research and articles of Martin Keenan (2017 and 2018) in the Southern Cross Catholic Magazine of Southern Africa, see articles in references)

1498 Portuguese voyages of discovery in the 15th century, navigators consecrated Southern Africa to God by naming natural features after events in salvation history, after the Blessed Virgin Mary, or saints. Vasco da Gama, having sailed for many days out of sight of land, named the land sighted on Christmas day, 1498, Tierra de Natal (the land of the Nativity).

1501 The first Catholic chapel of any sort on South African territory was built at Mossel Bay (no remaining trace exists). The explorers who built it named the bay after a Catholic saint, St Blaise (São Bras).

Between 1652 and 1804 the practice of the Catholic faith was largely conducted in secret. Due to the effects and influence of the Protestant Reformation, the Dutch were anti-Catholic. Under the colonial administration of the Dutch East India Company, or V.O.C., many Catholics lived at the Cape, although they were deprived of Holy Mass. As van der Merwe notes "during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the colonial administration engaged in largely successful efforts to suppress Roman Catholicism in the colony. Other religions like Islam and Judaism underwent the same treatment. Although there were Muslims and Jews in the Cape Colony, no official form of worship was allowed. This would only change with the introduction of the Church Order of De Mist in 1804" (2014: 117).

1685 Six Jesuit priests landed at the Cape on an astronomical mission, however they were not allowed to offer up Holy Mass on shore, nor were the Catholics allowed to go on board to attend Mass. However, they secretly did what they could to attend to the spiritual needs of the few Catholics at the Cape. They wrote about the Catholics they encountered at the Cape, summed up as follows:

"They were fairly numerous;
they were of all races;
they were of all conditions, both freemen and slaves;
their joy was unbounded when they saw the priests;
they came to them "en secret" (meaning privately, rather than clandestinely) in the mornings and evenings; the priests heard their confessions; and the priests visited the sick at home and in the hospital" (Keenan 29 June 2018).

25th July 1804 Advocate Jacob Abraham de Mist, the new Dutch Commissioner-General, declared religious freedom (including of Islam). "The Church Order of De Mist was indeed the first step to a common good with regard to religious freedom in South Africa". Its principles were the baseline underlying both the Constitution of South Africa and the Charter for Religious Rights and Freedoms (Van der Merwe 2014: 123).

In 1804 following de Mist's opening of religious freedom, the Roman Catholic church sent three priests to the Cape and services began in a room in the Castle of Good Hope.

October 1805 Three Dutch priests had come as missionaries and were on the military roll as chaplains, but when the British recaptured the Cape in January 1806, they were repatriated along with the garrison.

1818 Pope Pius VII had established the vicariate apostolic of The Cape of Good Hope with surrounding regions and the Island of Madagascar

June 1818 launched the official presence of the Catholic Church in Southern Africa, even though at that time the vicar-apostolic didn't actually take up residence here.

1 January 1820 Bishop Slater stopped at Cape Town on his way to the vicarate in Mauritius and spent three Sundays there. He said Mass in Rondebosch, introduced to the governor Father Patrick Scully—the Irish priest whom he would leave behind—and approved a committee of elected laymen to run the finances of the Catholic congregation.

13 February 1820 Holy Mass was said on Sundays and Holy Days at 11am in a warehouse on the Buitenkant Street. Owned by Philip Albertus, who was a Catholic, the store or warehouse on the Buitenkant, opposite the Main Barracks.

April 1821 Father Scully asked the Burgher Senate to give him land on which to build a church, parsonage and school. The parsonage and church, built mostly with bank loans (with Antonio Chiappini as guarantor), were both in use before he left for London in July 1824.

28 October 1822 the work began on building the church by building contractor John Crowley under the "direction and superintendence" of Fr Scully.

March 1824 Masonry completed on the church by Crowley

1827 Fr Scully's successor, Fr Rishton, lists the problems with the church building work: "…the building itself remained in an unfinished and deplorable state: an experimental zinc roof laid on unscientifically admitted the rain in all directions; there was no pulpit; and the whole interior arrangement was faulty in every respect." As a result the interior was repaired

1828 The church was noted to be still unfinished, but it was in use from 1824. Fr Rishton, calls the chapel "**a pretty little Gothic building capable of accommodating about 500 persons**". He added: "Great improvements have been made and are making in the chapel."

July 1833 Fr Rishton, listed the chapel's movable property which the churchwardens. An "altarpiece" referred to must surely be the painting of the Flight into Egypt brought from Holland in 1805 with the Dutch Priests. This sufficiently explains the dedication of the cathedral in Cape Town (and the dedication of the vicariate) to **St Mary of the Flight into Egypt**.

1837 The Catholic chapel's collapse was attributable to persistent and torrential rains while the roof had been dismantled pending emergency replacement of the timbers.

April 1838 The arrival of Bishop Raymond Griffith, the first resident bishop in South Africa.

28th April 1851 St. Mary's Cathedral opened with its iconic mid-nineteenth-century neo-gothic proportions and its characteristic lancet arches.

Above: St. Mary's Cathedral situated in Roeland Street.

Below: Image of St. Mary's shared by Michael Fortune on Cape of Diab Facebook page

1823 (- 1837)
The First Catholic Church is built

Buitenkant Street c.1824 just as the Church must have been completed, with a view looking across Caledon Square. The Old Granary can be seen in the centre, with the Catholic Church set to the right with an open space surrounding it and the Barracks to the far-right foreground. Artist unknown from Parliament, Cape Town: 30733 (Plate 05).

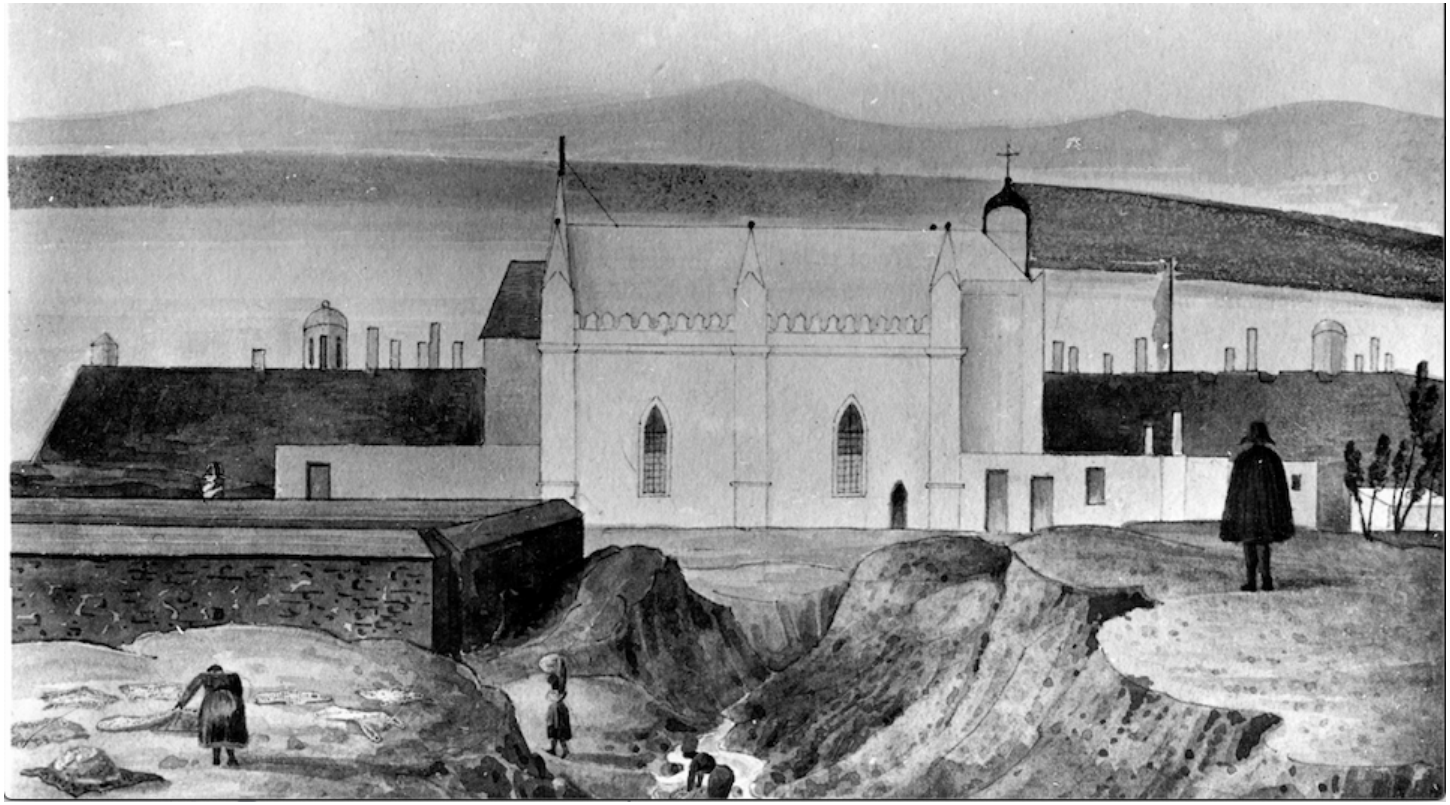
In this illustration the Catholic Church stands prominent on its own in relation to the other iconic buildings of this period. The connection to the Castle where the Dutch priests first held mass in 1804, and to the warehouse or store owned by Philip Albertus in Buitenkant Street, opposite the barracks which was used to host mass in 1820 (potentially the one-story brown building in front of the Church seen in the watercolour above) demonstrates the site-specific development of the Catholic faith in built form in the area behind the Castle.

A comic verse printed in a local Cape Town English-language newspaper in February 1824 evinces affection for Fr. Scully as well as the style of his chapel:

Is this Chapel of Roman or Gothic, or what style?"
said Dick to his friend, who replied with a Pat smile, "I
should rather suppose, from the name of the priest,
Mr. *Scully, 'tis Roman-Golgothic at least"*

(Keenan 21 January 2018: https://www.scross.co.za/2018/01/early-church-anti-catholic-prejudice-at-the-cape/)

Above: Buitenkant Street in c.1824 seen from Caledon Square. The Old Granary and Roman Catholic Chapel are in middle and right background. Artist unknown. Collections of Parliament: 30733 (Plate 05)



Right: A water-colour of the first Roman Catholic Church at the Cape by Henry Clifford De Meillon c.1824 my (Western Cape Archives and Records Service M993).

This drawing of the Catholic Church by De Meillon shows the church site in clear side view detail.

Henry Clifford De Meillon had arrived at the Cape in 1823 after being discharged from HMS Leven due to contracting Malaria in Mozambique. He worked variously as a tutor and English teacher, drawing master and as an illustrator at the Cape. He moved to the Eastern Cape in 1832. This image of the Catholic Church with no small homesteads surrounding it yet but rather just the Castle in background and washerwomen in the deep Capel Sluit stream which ran behind the back of the Church to the Castle, carved as a ravine into the landscape in the foreground suggests that this drawing was made early on in his stay. It was most likely drawn sometime just after the initial building of the church in 1824, but certainly not as late as 1832 as other drawings show a far more built-up settlement area around the church.

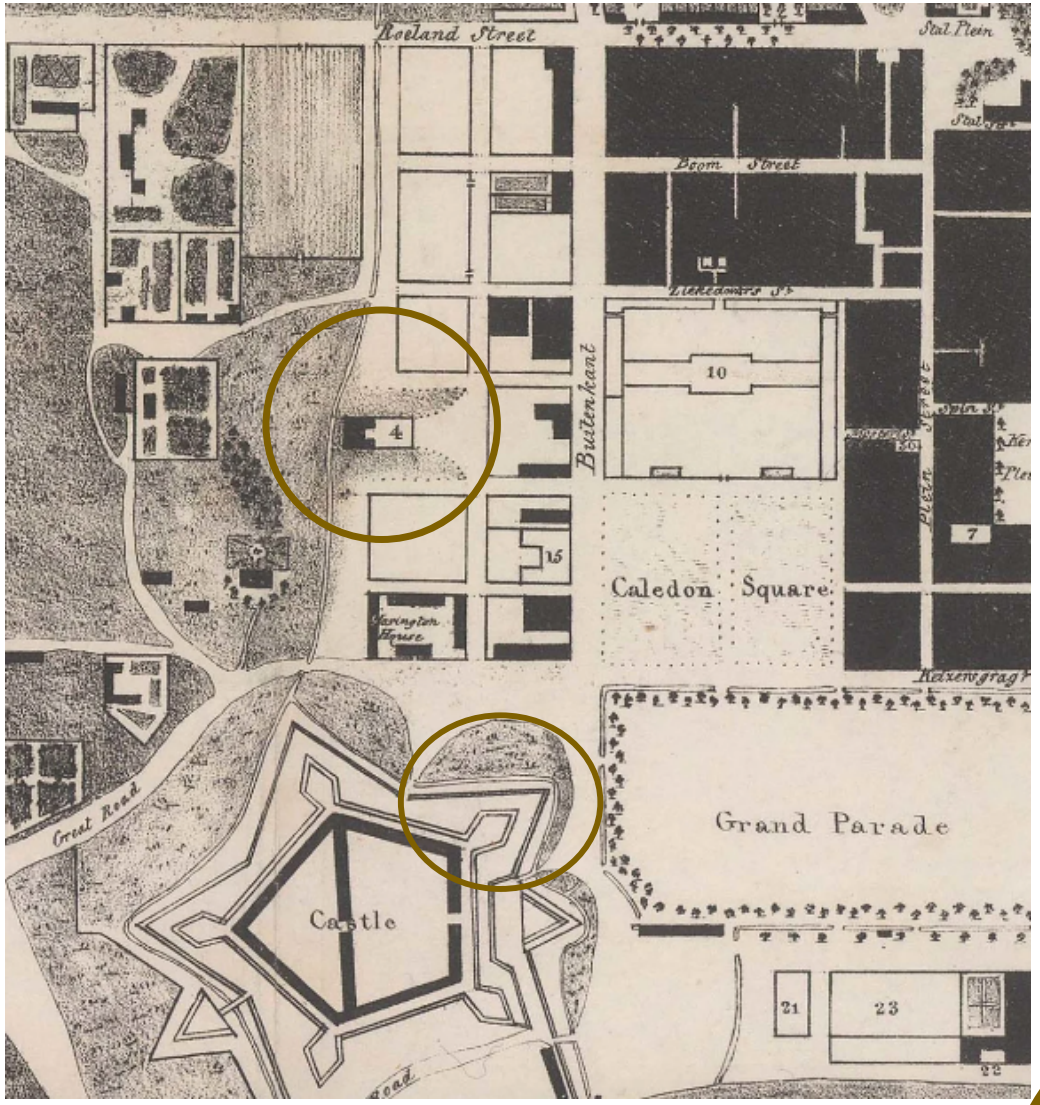
The adjoining building at the back of the Church was most likely the Parsonage and/or school that was noted to be built at the same time as the Church and completed by 1824.

NEO GOTHIC STYLE

According to Keenan: The Neo-Gothic style of the first Catholic Church was **"still a novelty even in England. An architectural historian says Fr Scully's chapel was the first church at the Cape wholly in the Gothic idiom. By the 1840s the style was widespread.**

The significance is that the medieval style coupled with a cross on the end gable was, for the Cape, a revolutionary announcement that the building was a place of Christian worship. There was a bell-cote with bell; an organ fund. Contrary to widespread opinion, it was not small. As mentioned above, Fr Rishton says its capacity was 500.

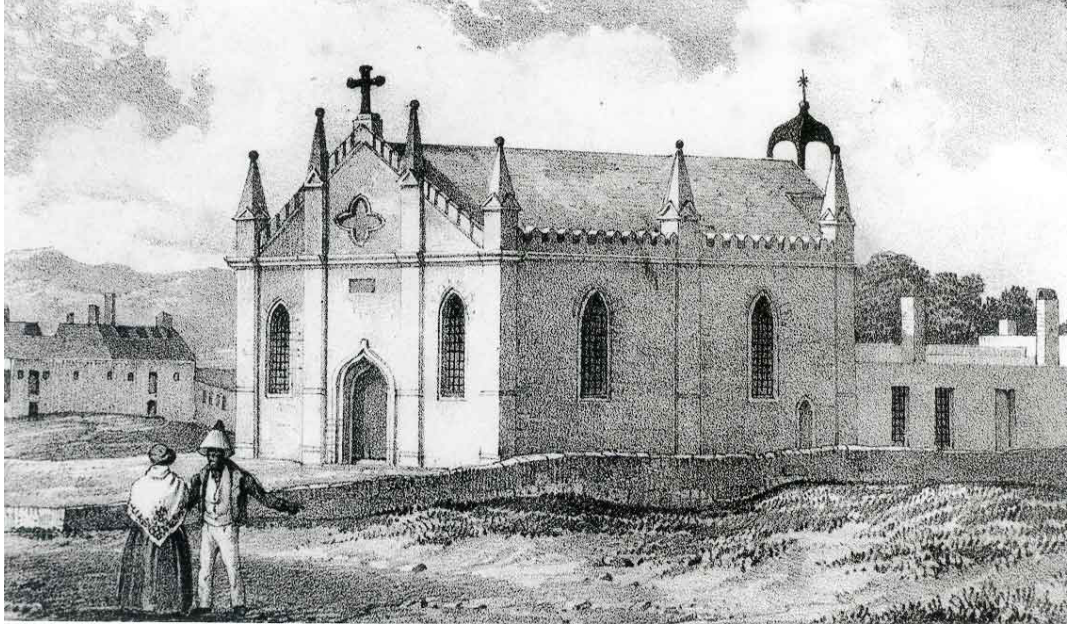
Marten Teenstra, a Dutchman invaliding at the Cape in 1825, wrote that he and a friend rode their horses through the great west door as far as "the unprepossessing altar" (Keenan 26 December 2017: https://www.scross.co.za/2017/12/in-search-of-south-africas-first-chapels/)



1827

George Thomson's Plan of Cape Town 1827. Note the water stream/canal that runs right behind the Catholic Church towards the Castle with the water feeding the moat. Harington House can be seen opposite the Castle

The Thompson plan shows the Catholic Church as being well set back from what would have been Harrington House in front. Another earlier side view from c1833 does suggest that it wasn't set as far back as this in relation to the Castle.



1830

'The first Catholic Church in South Africa (Harrington Street, Cape Town) – from an old print, circa 1830. Shared of Cape Town Down Memory Lane Facebook Page.

1833

Below: This Frederick Knyvett drawing c.1833 looking at the first outer edge of the Castle's wall up towards Buitenkant street shows that the Catholic Church was closer to Harrington Street than the Thompson map suggests. Collections of Parliament: 164 (26) detail.

Right: Pen drawing by Sir Charles D'Oyly 11 May 1832 of 'General View of Cape Town and Table Bay from the below of Table Mountain behind Gore Lodge'. Plate 17. *From The Cape Sketchbooks of Sir Charles D'Oyly*. 1968. A.A. Balkema: Cape Town.

WASHERWOMEN

This pen line drawing by D'Oyly shows the Plattelip stream with slave washerwomen and the old stream running down towards the Castle.

With European settlement in the 17th century, the water and access to its supply was increasingly controlled through a system of canals and fortifications situated along the coast and inland.

As Loos notes, **"laundry was particularly labour intensive, and the practice of sending linen out to be washed rather than drawing on scanty domestic water supplies originated during the first days of settlement and lasted long after the gradual introduction of piped water and drainage in the nineteenth century…there were more than a hundred free black laundresses active in Cape Town by 1820, and the unsupervised mingling of slave and free women helped to consolidate a common underclass culture"** (Loos 2004: 22).

Slave washerwoman used the streams of Table Mountain to earn additional income and have a measure of freedom away from the control of their masters since the time of colonial settlement at the Cape. Platteklip Stream as pictured here was already recognised as a washing place by 1700. The De Meillon drawing similarly shows washerwomen in the foreground of the Catholic Church, testifying to the use of the public space surrounding the Church in the early 18th century. "While waiting for the washing to dry the women would talk with other slaves and freeblacks, so this became a much needed social space" (Hislop: 16).

Above: Drawing of the area behind the Castle and the Catholic Church by Frederick Knyvett 1832-33. The Collections of Parliament 164 (25).

1833

A small growing settlement behind the Castle

The early settlement of the area behind the Castle, that took on the colloquial name, “Kanaladorp – possibly after the Capel Sluit, or canal, which ran through the area, or else it was derived from the Melayu word kanala, meaning ‘to help one another’. Early Kanaladorp had been not only ethnically but socially mixed – residents included people like Maxamillian Thalwitzer, as well as artisans, tradesmen, labourers and prostitutes” (Worden et al 1998: 250).

This Frederick Knyvett drawing shows the first expanding homes set up around the Catholic Church and Constitution Hill area. The early Kanaladorp appeared here not just in open social spaces but in the first homes of ‘Free Blacks’ and increasingly free slaves. Slavery was abolished in 1834, although the apprenticeship period effectively tied slaves into service until 1838. Slaves who lived in urban Cape Town tended to have greater freedom of movement than those in more remote rural contexts. After the ending of slavery, there was an influx of freed slaves from rural areas, skilled in various trades, many of whom moved into Kanaladorp alongside an immigrant Irish and Scottish and later Jewish community. This diverse mix of nations, religions and languages created the crucible for the future District Six.

Right: Pen drawing by Sir Charles D'Oyly 5 May 1832 of 'View of the Catholic Chapel from the Suburbs of Cape Town'. Plate 15. *From The Cape Sketchbooks of Sir Charles D'Oyly*. 1968. A.A. Balkema: Cape Town.

As was noted by Worden, Van Heyningen and Bickford-Smith, The Roman Catholic chapel "drew many of its members from nearby 'Irish town' and from the Scottish and Irish troops in the garrison" (1998: 123).

Note the soldiers in uniform in the foreground. In the 1830s there was still over 1000 troops garrisoned in Cape Town (Ibid: 92).

‘IRISH TOWN’

In the aftermath the second British occupation of the Cape and the Napoleonic Wars, there was a diaspora of immigrants to the British colonies fleeing their impoverished homelands. The Cape received immigrants especially from the western Scottish Highlands and Southern Ireland:

“In 1823 and again in 1840 shiploads of Irish immigrants arrived in the town. By the 1830s the crowded and impoverished are around Plein Street and Constitution Hill was informally known as ‘Irish town’ became a source of much concern to the authorities, who complained that its inhabitants – ‘mainly lower Irish intermingled with some English and Scotch’ - lived in degradation and poverty, and were subject to drunkenness, ‘orgies’ and organised crime. By the 1840s the area was losing its Irish character as freed slaves and other migrants from rural areas moved in” (Worden et al 1998: 96).

This area between Plein and Constitution Street is effectively the area behind the Castle, behind the Barracks and Caledon Square, in the heart of what would later become District Six. As Worden et al note, “There was no formal segregation of residence and the poorer parts of the town were inhabited by people of many ethnicities…’Irish town’, for example, was described in 1838 as a place ‘where many low Irish and coloured people reside.

Seen in the D’Oyly sketch above the area to the side of the Catholic Church had a diverse mix of people, from a man wearing an Indonesian style *toering* hat as seen above left.

Above: Artist with initials ‘J.W.’ c.1842 Collections of Parliament 33039 Plate13.
Right: Artist with initials ‘J.W.’ c.1842. Collections of Parliament

BAPTISING SLAVES

In May 1821 there were complaints made by the church-wardens against Fr Scully:
“The wardens claimed Mass was said only on Sundays; that Fr Scully’s sermons were infrequent and inaudible; that if he made a house visit, he never followed it up; that no school had been built; that he did not properly record baptisms; and **that he was baptising slaves — allegedly in breach of the law.”** (Keenan 26 January 2018).

Doctrines of the Dutch Reformed Church supported the right of a Christian slave to his or her freedom, however in principal only very low numbers of manumission can be seen for the both the 17th and 18th century with the VOC being primary source of both slave baptism and manumission (Elphick and Shell 1989: 188 -189).

Slave marriage was not made legal until 1823, and only baptised slaves were permitted to marry. Muslim marriage conferred a measure of dignity on practising slaves, but their unions were not recognised by law.

1834

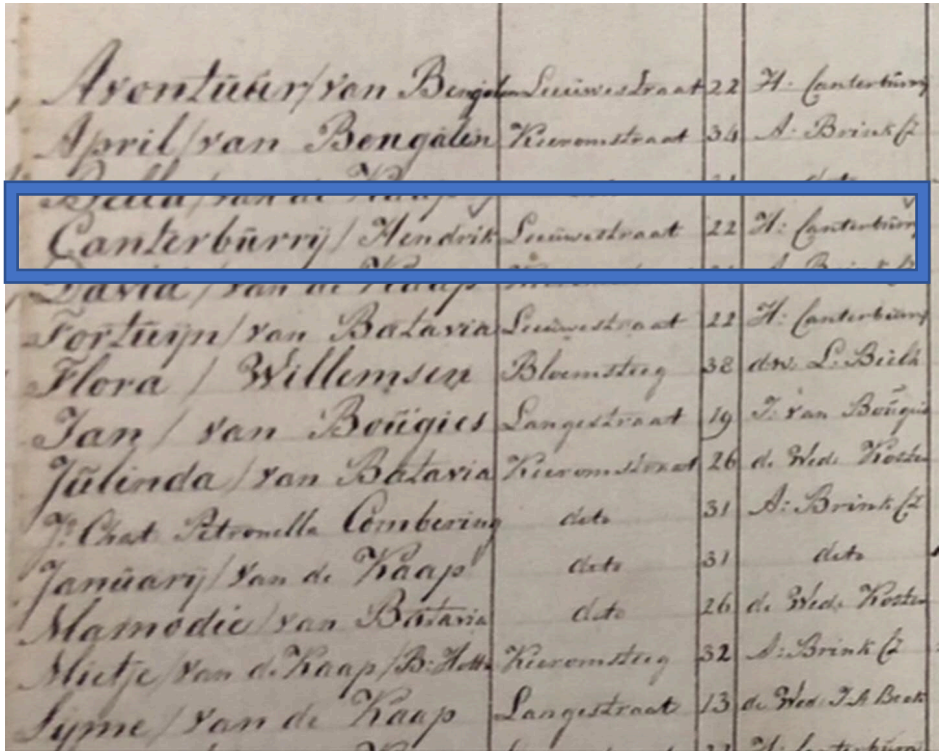
CANTERBURY STREET NAMED AFTER FREED SLAVE, HENDRIK CANTERBURY

As Abdud-Daiyaan Petersen notes: “Of all the thousands of streets in Cape Town, only one claims the status of being named after a slave, Canterbury Street”.

“On 30 August 1800, Mrs Dorothea Elisabeth Scheller, widow of the late Hendrik le Sueur, declared that she had sold and transferred to the manumitted slave Canterburry of Bengal, her slave boy named Damon, a native of this Colony who was born on 31 June 1793. Damon was the son of Canterburry and Christina of Ceylon, also a slave belonging to Mrs Scheller…”. His father also wished that his son be christened and instructed in the Christian religion (CO3897/70).It seemed that when Damon was manumitted he took on the name of Hendrik Cesar Canterburry.

“Hendrik Canterburry junior, the hairdresser, was a colourful personality who lived in Hout Street for many years. According to H.J.W. Picard he must have been a great storyteller and complemented the rather dull local news columns of the first Cape weeklies with a wealth of intimate gossip. He was honoured as a popular figure in Cape Town by naming a street after him..” (Picard, 1968: 111).

As Peterson expands, “Records from 1821 show us that he was listed as a ‘Paruikemaker’ at 22 Leeuwe(n) Street. Setting him apart from regular hairdressers at the time, he was specialised in his craft as a wig maker, a necessary occupation at the time due to the prevalence of wigs worn by both men and women for governmental and social activities. Canterbury was not just known for being a good hairdresser, but also being the most enthralling storyteller and holding all of the Cape Town’s gossip. His reputation earned him a sarcastic Cape expression ‘Dis ou nuus van Kenteborrie’ (English: that’s old news of Canterbury). Due to his colourful reputation as a skilled hairdresser, artisanal wig maker and brilliant storyteller, in 1834 Hendrik Caesar Canterbury became the only slave-born person to have a street named after them: Canterbury Street” (District Six- Cape Town Facebook Page).



Above: Photograph of archival document showing Hendrik Canterburry as a ‘Paruikemaker’ in 1821. **Below:** Snow map dating to 1862 showing ‘Canterbury Row’. City of Cape Town.

1837 the Chapel collapses

The Catholic chapel's collapse was attributed to persistent and torrential rains while the roof had been dismantled pending emergency replacement of the timbers (Keenan 2018). The 'Great Storm of 1837' had a hand to play in the damage of an already vulnerable building. Rev. Raymond Griffith arrived in 1838 as the Vicar Apostolic to the Cape. He found the Church in Harrington Street unsuitable for public worship" We found a small chapel in utter ruin some portions of the walls only remaining, while the materials had been sold by auction and heavy debts remained to be discharges" with the resulting effect that there was no desire to rebuild on the same site.
In 1839 Griffith purchased what was known as the Wachtenburg Garden and obtained permission from Governor de Mist to build a cathedral on the site of what was once part of the Dutch East India Company's gardens. The foundation stone was laid on 06th October 1841 after the designs had been submitted by the German architect Carl Otto Hager. Hager had designed numerous Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa including the NG Moederkerk in Stellenbosch. St. Mary's Cathedral was designed in the neo-Gothic idiom.
(https://stmaryscathedral.org.za/about/history-heritage/)

1841

Multiplicity of religious faiths

As Worden et al note, The VOC's opposition to any religious practice apart from Reformed Christianity was removed in the early nineteenth century. Inhabitants of the Cape Town and surrounds showed considerable religious diversification even by 1841.

The Good Hope Cape Almanack printed an estimate of religious followers at the Cape dating to 18.12. 1841 (terminology as found):

"Dutch Reformed	15,000
English Episcopalians	4,200
Scotch Presbyterians	750
Lutherans	1,800
Roman Catholics	676
Protestant Dissenters	2,069
Mahomedans	6,492
Heathen	1,541 "

While the main Dutch Reformed faith wins clear majority since the establishment of European religion at the Cape in the 1640s, it can clearly be seen that the next largest category were those of Muslim faith, followed by the faith of English colonists. These different religions reflected some of the diverse origins of the Cape's inhabitants. It was noted by the 1840s the area behind the then disused Roman Catholic Church was "covered with hovels" (Worden et al 1998: 120).

Taken roughly three years after the ending of the apprenticeship period of slavery, this estimate demonstrates the huge influence Islam had on freed slaves (originating and descending from all over the Indian Ocean world) and their descendants as a viable self-determining option for identification. The 1804 opening of religious freedom had a huge effect on the growth of Islam: "Several prayer rooms were erected and the first piece of land for a Muslim cemetery was granted to Frans van Bengalen in 1805. Although the first *masjid* was already constructed in 1794 important additions were only made in 1807.

Above right: George Angus 'A Malay School' c.1848 in effect shows a Madrassa from this period. Collections of Parliament 18507

Although Muslims were allowed to practice their faith before 1804, the history of the Muslim community in the Cape confirms the importance of the Church Order of De Mist with regard to freedom of religion. Muslims now had the same rights as their fellow Christian countrymen (Van der Merwe 2014: 121). By 1840 there were two fully constituted mosques in the Bo-Kaap district, by 1860 this had grown to five (Worden et al 1998: 187).

Roman Catholics made up the smallest contingent of religious followers, however they mainly seemed to stem from the nearby garrison stationed at the Castle:

> **"Both Scottish and Irish troops were the mainstay of the regular Catholic masses held at a chapel in Harrington Street from 1822…There was no permanent priest and not until Bishop Patrick Raymond Griffith arrived from Ireland in 1838, setting up a Catholic Academy and founding St. Mary's Cathedral, was Catholism firmly established. Most of the names listed in the first church census of 1838-42 lived in the 'Irish town' areas around Plein Street and Constitution Hill. The early Catholic Church served a distinctly poorer community than other denominations, although not exclusively so: the colonial secretary Christopher Bird was a Catholic" (Worden et al 1998: 123).**

Right: Holy Trinity Church with the markings AG 1593 so potentially taken by Arthur Gribble c1900. Shared by Karen van Tonder on the Cape Town Down Memory Lane Facebook Page.

1846
Holy Trinity Church

As Sigi Howes explains on the Facebook page Cape Town, Down Memory Lane of the Holy Trinity Church: "It broke away from St George's Cathedral in 1846, and the church was built in 1848 (on the site of an older Catholic church from 1822) when this part of District Six was home to quite a few affluent people. Emma Rutherfoord (later Mrs Andrew Murray Jnr) wrote about her charitable teaching work here in the 1850s. The church ran a day school that was attended by both coloured and white children. Mr TJJ Beechy taught here in the 1890s; in 1901 he became the principal of the Feldhausen Public School - today The Grove Primary School….The church was sold when the congregation moved away, and I think that is now Holy Trinity Gardens in Vriende St. I'm guessing the site is where the carpark in front of Charly's Bakery is now" (Facebook)

Holy Trinity was an Anglican Church that is argued to have been built on the same site as the former earlier Catholic Church. It most likely used its foundations and perhaps even lower walling and footings.

The work of Emma Rutherfoord

Emma Rutherfoord was married to Dutch Reformed Church Minister Andrew Murray in 1856 and through him took on much work for the church. She would have been much prepared for her role with her father being an English missionary serving in Cape town with the London Missionary Society. She became one of the founding members, as well as the first president of the *Vrouwen Sending Bond* (Women's Missionary Society).

It was as a young woman that she spent time at the Holy Trinity Church: "The beginnings of Emma's interest in the realm of education began with her mother's interest in the day schools in the Cape which were run by the various churches. There had been a shortage of qualified teachers and Mrs. Rutherfoord had taken it upon herself to volunteer, spending every Thursday at one of the largest schools, Mr. Lamb's School at Trinity Church in Harrington Street, which had approximately two hundred pupils. Emma and her sister Ellen both did their share at the same school and then later at the school in Claremont. It was through this work that Emma gained her training and affinity for work in education" (Pienaar 2019: 31).

In Worcester and in Cape Town, she initiated children's workgroups for mission schools most likely initiated from her earlier experience at Holy Trinity (Kindersendingkrans) (https://andrew-murray.co.za/emmamurray/).

A BREAK AWAY CHURCH OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

"St. George's Simon's Town was the first Church of England church in South Africa and opened in 1814 in Simon's Town. Rev. George Hough was its first minister. In 1819 St. George's suffered irreparable damage from a storm after which Rev. George Hough was moved to Cape Town. The congregation in Cape Town had no building of their own, but met in the Groote Kerk of the Dutch Reformed Church for 27 years until 1834 when St. George's Cape Town was built and opened for church services.

In 1833 the Church of England, which had become reformed and evangelical, was faced with a divisive movement known as Tractarianism, an Anglo-Catholic movement which rejected the Reformation teachings and reverted back to Roman Catholic traditions and teachings. It was not long before this movement started threatening the doctrinal soundness of the South African Churches, St. Georges being no exception.
Rev. George Hough had obvious leanings toward Tractarianism and this was evidenced in his preaching. This caused many in the congregation who still held to the Reformation doctrines and the principles held out in the 39 Articles and who rejected the unscriptural Anglo-Catholic teachings to withdraw from St. George's Cape Town in 1841 and build a second church under the leadership of Rev. T. A. Blair in Cape Town in 1846. The resultant church was Holy Trinity Harrington Street which remained steadfast and true to the Biblical reformed faith, the 39 Articles, and the 1662 Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England. Cameron states that "The remaining congregations of the Church of England in South Africa were scattered and battled to survive on their own. The sole survivor of those days was Holy Trinity Church, Cape Town" (2017).

It was seen that due to the increasing industrialization of the Harrington Street area, many people moved out into the suburbs. As a result, as early as 1941 Holy Trinity Harrington Street "planted" St. Stephen's Bible Church in Claremont. There were also most likely racial connotations to this move with the coming into power of a Nationalist government and increasing segregation based on race.

According to the Church perspective **"in 1970 Holy Trinity Harrington Street moved to a new church building in Gardens because the old building had become difficult to maintain and the Harrington Street area had developed into an industrial area. Today it is known as Holy Trinity Gardens."** (Tokai Community Church History)

In the earlier years of the mid 19th century, it would seem from the work of Emma Rutherfoord that the Church served a mixed community. However, by the 20th century it seemed to increasingly exclude members of its surrounding neighbourhood in its formal worship space on the basis of race.

Below: A view of the back of the Holy Trinity by Jansje Wissema. University of Cape Town Special Collections.

1857

Right: “Cape Town 1857, New Independent Church Caledon Square, drawing of Buitenkant St you can see the church (with the spire) that was next to the Sunday School Hall that became the Fugard, and Holy Trinity towards the back on the right” shared by Sigi Howes on Cape Town Down Memory Lane Facebook page (Original source thought to be National Library of South Africa). Also seen nearby is the ‘Old Granary’ or formerly ‘The Old Customs House’ which was completed in 1814 Customs House would later become the government grain depot hence its name change. In 1826 it housed a police station, goal and courtroom. In 1876 the public works department took over and it housed none other than a

An early version of the Britannia Inn can be seen next to the New Independent Church, a later colour photograph dating to 1897 shows the Inn which was still there in the 1950s and 60s.

1860

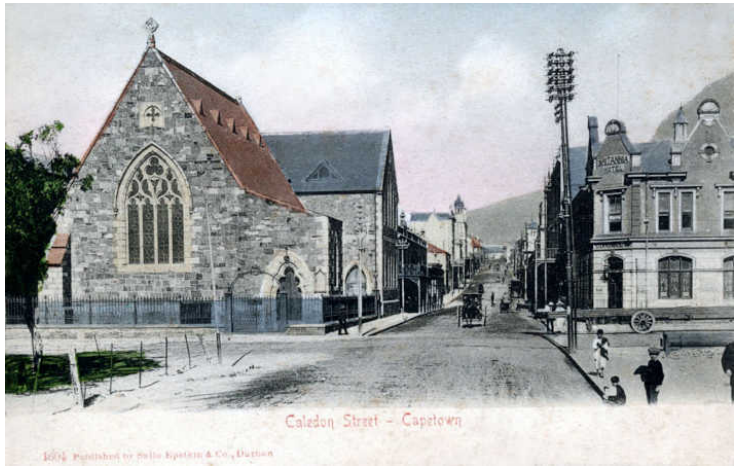
THEATRE

Part of the vital cultural life of Harrington Street in this era was the ‘Theatre Royal’, a professional theatre opened by Sefton Parry on the corner of Caledon and Harrington Street: “The governor’s box was surmounted by the royal arms and ‘splendidly decorated’. The grand entrance opened into boxes, separated from one another by damask curtains, the pit, divided into stalls, was ‘neatly and comfortably cushioned’. It allowed opportunity for all classes of Capetonians, and newcomers to mix…” (Worden 1998: 193).

Inset: Snow survey 1862. City of Cape Town Collections.

1861

The diverse character of ‘Irish Town’ sitting behind the Castle still seemed to remain in the 1860s:



"Eastward up Caledon Street and its parallels towards Zonnebloem, you pass through an entire settlement in which the brogue of the Emerald Isle, the Doric of the North Briton and the 'language of the Cockaigne' have utterly supplanted and rooted out the patois Dutch. It is a rambling, untidy locality. The houses and streets have a newly settled appearance; and the prevailing idea suggested is that of a busy, striving, energetic population having thrown themselves upon the soil, converted into bricks all but a small portion of it, and built houses of every shape and kind on the narrow reverse…” (Pistorius 2002: 28)

1867

‘DISTRICT SIX’ IS CREATED

The area behind the Castle was created as an official ‘district’ of Cape Town, housing freed slaves, immigrants, merchants, labourers and artisans. There is no doubt that Harrington Square was part of the original District Six: “**The area was defined as that "bounded North by the Castle Moat and Canterbury Row, East by the Military Lines at the Toll Bar, South by the Devil's Peak, and West by Constitution Street”** (Pistorius 2002: 28).

1880s

A JEWISH IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY

As part of this vibrant and multi-ethnic community, District Six was home to thousands of Jews. Their culture was heard and felt in the streets: “newly arrived Jews could “converse freely in their *mame loshen* (mother tongue), enjoy Yiddish theatre, read the (…) Yiddish newspaper, eat familiar foods, and pray in the (…) Eastern European mode so alien to their uptown, anglicised and more affluent co-religionists (the Anglo Jews already in the Cape)” (Nudelman 2022).

As Nudelman explains of District Six:
“Jews established their own schools, stores, and community centres in the area. And yet they were also part of the broader neighborhood. In a Jewish Affairs article on the portrayal of Jews in District Six, Gwynne Schrire writes of how Jews would borrow eggs, milk, and sugar from their neighbours on a regular basis. District Six residents Rosa van Gelderen and Hilda Purwitzky became key educationalists at the Central Girls’ School, which was praised for its innovation and experimentation in educational practices (including sex education). This was available to all residents, regardless of religion or race. For the most part, however, Jewish residents were usually the shopkeepers, merchants, cinema-owners and landlords”.

“From 1881, the influx of East European (Russian and Polish) Jews began to arrive. They were refugees from pogroms, economic hardships and prolonged military service. Most of them passed through the Poor Jews Temporary Shelter, which had been set up in London by the LondonJewish Board of Guardians and spoke Yiddish and little, if any, English.

As it was relatively inexpensive to live and work in District Six, so many of these so called ‘litvaks’ gravitated there that it was sometimes referred to as the Jewish quarter. Groups of *Landsleit* – people from the same towns and villages in Eastern Europe– attempted to maintain their identity, forming their own congregations and Landsleit societies.” (capetownhistory.com).

They built synagogues as soon as they could: **the Beth Hamidrash in Constitution Street was consecrated in approximately 1897** but many smaller places of worship were established in houses or rooms. The earliest can be dated back to The Gardens Shul, or "Cape Town Hebrew Congregation" which was established in 1841 with Rev. A.P. Bender as the first Rabbi.

Below: Arrival of Jewish immigrants. The South African Jewish Museum.

Between 1880 and 1914 an estimated 40,000 Jews arrived in the Cape and a further 30,000 between 1910 and 1948. Most of these came from Lithuania, two thirds of these from the Kovno area, towns like Kovno, Ponevez, Shavli, Rakishok, Poswohl and Shadowa with the rest from Vilna, Grodno, Vitebsk, Courland and Minsk. A few others came from outside the Litvak area, like Lodz, Warsaw and Odessa (https://humanities.uct.ac.za/kaplan-centre/discover-our-web-exhibitions-green-and-sea-point-hebrew-congregation-its-origins-2010/eastern-european-jews-arrive).

"The new immigrants settled mainly in District Six, Woodstock and areas close to the city…Most of these immigrants were skilled artisans… These new immigrants with their skills were to have considerable impact on the South African economy at a time when it was a poorly developed colony relying on Great Britain for most of its merchandise and over the years they have made a great contribution to the development of textiles, fashion, food processing, cinema, furniture, glass, chain stores and food chains in South Africa" (Ibid).

In the 1920s there was a predominantly Jewish area around Harrington, Albertus and Buitenkant Streets.

Most of the first synagogues in Cape Town were in District Six, and quite close by to Harrington Street: Synagogues were also noted to be in: Van der Leur, Roeland and Buitenkant Street.

In April, 1901, a "Beth Midrash" for study and prayer under the direction of an Orthodox Rabbi was suggested and started amongst the more Orthodox Jews living in Cape Town. Mr. I.J. Rowtosky was instrumental in getting this started and in 1903 the "Beth Hamidrash Hachodesh" was established in Constitution Street. Rabbi Mirvish as the first Rabbi. This community moved to Vredehoek Avenue, Cnr. Buitenkant Street around 1940 and remained there as the "Beth Hamidrash Hachodosh" but was also known as The Vredehoek Shul or Synagogue until it closed its doors in the early 1990s.

The move to Vredehoek was a similar move as the Holy Trinity Church, due to increasing segregation on the basis of race in the area:

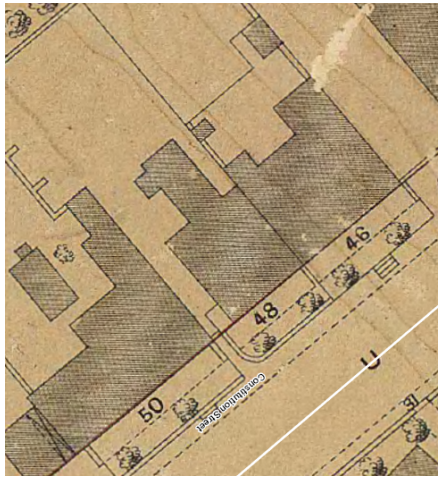
As Haim Pogrund remembers of the Constitution Street shul:

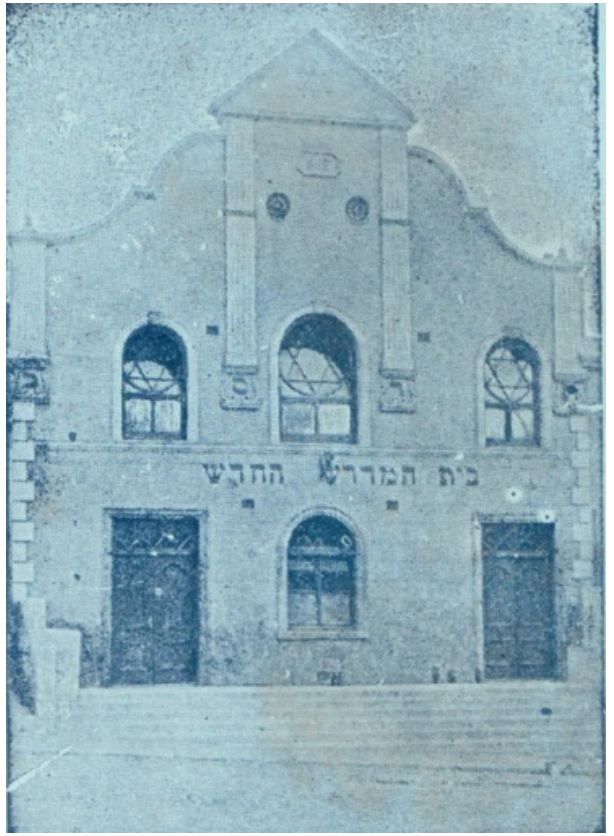
"…the Constitution Street Shul which I do remember vaguely from my childhood. I remember the creaking wooden floors and the very special atmosphere which exuded from the old books as well as from the very religious members of the congregation. It closed down in 1939 or 1940 or thereabouts because of the change in ethnicity of the area and the movement of the Jewish population, and the Vredehoek Shul became it's successor. The Constitution Street Shul was the most orthodox shul in Cape Town and was true to the Litvak Misnagid tradition.

… The Constitution Street Shul completed its functioning in '39 or '40 (I stand to be corrected on the date by a year or two). It was replaced by a very large complex of flats for Coloured people which took the name of the original Dutch East India Co. name of Bloemhof after the original estate".

Right: The front façade of the Beth Hamidrash Shul, noted to be situated at 48 Constitution Street.
https://elirab.wordpress.com/2014/05/01/the-cape-town-orthodox-hebrew-congregation/

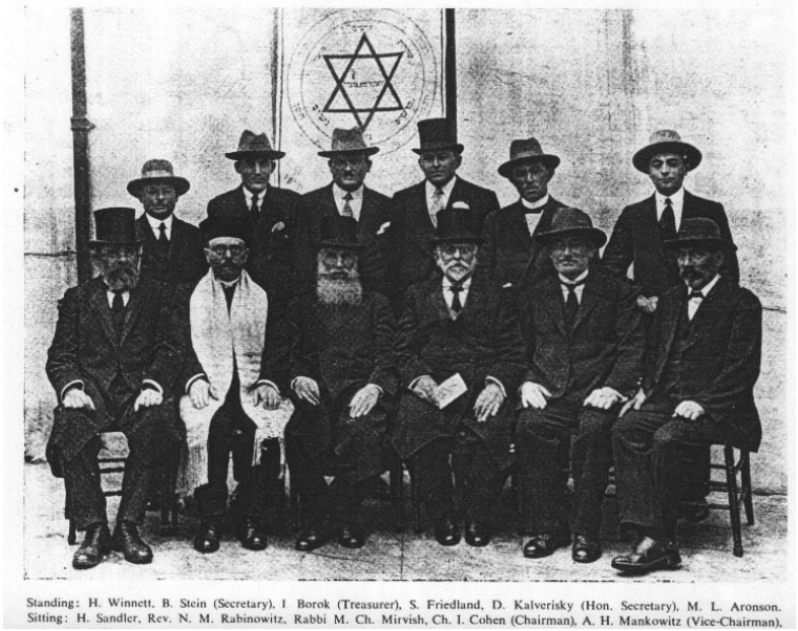
Below: the Thom map update 1900 - 1912 showing how the Shul took up a narrow property front



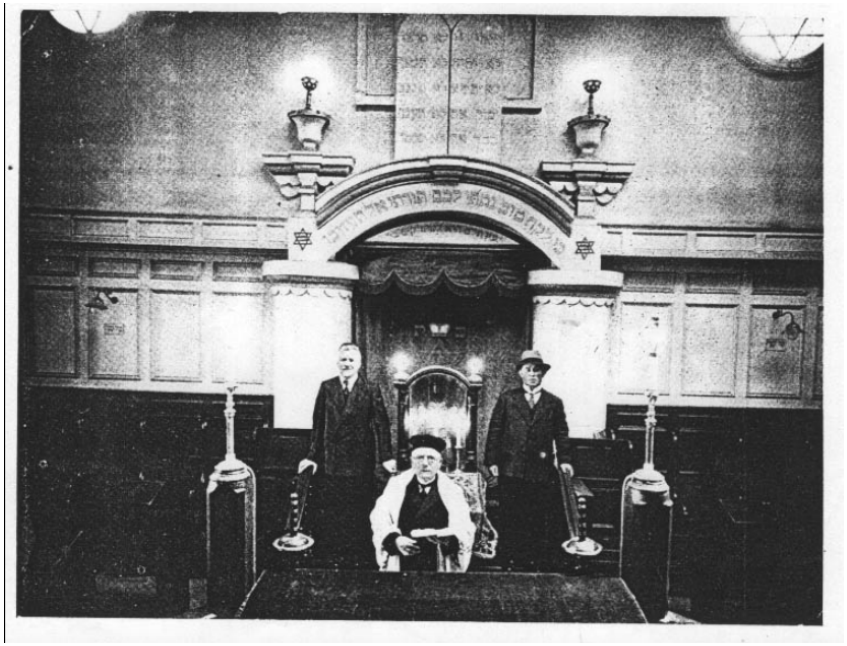


The Shul was situated on the land on which the Bloemhof flats was built. Pogrund recounts what happened to the other shuls in the area:

> "The original Poneveze Shul stood in **Vandeleur street** in District Six and again, upon departure of the Jews it became amongst other things a storehouse as well as a wholesale headquarters. It was an interesting building, small and jammed between two other buildings with a Corinthian pillared facade (of all things), it was in fact a 'shtibel'. I stand to be corrected here, but upon demolition of the historic District Six (our parents original stomping ground), it was left standing"…the old **Roeland Street Shul**…the predecessor of the Schoonder street Shul, of which the building still stood up to a few years ago, and later became the HQ of the Order of St. John".



Standing: H. Winnett, B. Stein (Secretary), I. Borok (Treasurer), S. Friedland, D. Kalverisky (Hon. Secretary), M. L. Aronson.
Sitting: H. Sandler, Rev. N. M. Rabinowitz, Rabbi M. Ch. Mirvish, Ch. I. Cohen (Chairman), A. H. Mankowitz (Vice-Chairman).



Similarly, the following account of the Constitution Street Shul was remembered by in August 2003 by Abe Sher:

> "My grandfather Ansel Leib Sher, a schoolteacher in Lithuania, (among more eminent personalities) was one of the founders of the old Beth Hamidrash Hachodosh, situated in Constitution Street, District Six, Cape Town, not far from the City. It abutted on old farmhouse land which was vacant for a long time. It was owned by the Cape Town City Council, which intended to build flats for the poor coloured people of District Six, who had come to live there during the late 1920's and 1930's. Many Jews lived there from the time of their immigration from Eastern Europe during the latter part of the nineteenth century, but the Jews started to move away from this old area, which had become, in many parts, a slum. The flats were built during 1936/37, also on the site of the above Shul, which was acquired by the City Council. As a result, the Shul moved to Vredehoek, but retained its previous character, unchanged, until about the late 1980's-1990's, when it amalgamated with the now defunct Tifereth Israel (Formerly Roeland Street Shul, then Schoonder Street Shul…
>
> **My memory is that of a devout and learned congregation and of the large long tables at the rear of the Shul, on Shabbath covered in snow white table cloths, and full on both sides with congregants, in deep, concentrated study of Ein Yaacov, Mishna and Talmud**."
> (https://www.jewishgen.org/safrica/synagogues/18/index.htm)

There is in fact still a street in Vredehoek named Rabbi Mirvish Avenue. As Jethro notes "By the 1930s, the Jewish population had left an indelible mark on the District, having established some nine synagogues in and around the area, as well as a number of businesses that spanned from retail to rentals" (Jethro 2009: 26).

Above: Interior of the old Synagogue before demolition, about the 9th Sept 1939.
http://www.jewishgen.org/SAfrica/synagogues/18/JubileeBrochure/index-8.htm
Below: The leadership of the Beth Hamedrash in 1927

Beinkingstadt Booksellers

Beinkinstadt Booksellers (now the Charley's Bakery building) was housed in a Victorian building at 38 Canterbury Street. M Beinkinstadt Booksellers, established in 1903, moved here in the mid-1920s. It was the first Jewish bookstore in South Africa, and the longest-owned by a single family. It closed in 2008, after 105 years. The building has housed Charly's Bakery since 2009.

When it was a bookshop, the main entrance was on the east side in Canterbury Street, but the bakery changed it to the north side. The building used to face Glynndale St on the north side. When Rennie inspected the site in 1978, Glynndale St had been closed, absorbed by a car park created when the whole street block on Canterbury-Caledon-Harrington Sts was demolished c1970 (Rennie 1978: 350).The pediment gable on the right carries the plaster inscription Est. 1898, and on the left Erec. 1901.

As described by Orielle Berry who used to visit the bookshop:

"When the store was opened in 1903 by Mr Beinkinstadt, who arrived in the country from Lithuania, it was a meeting place

for the small but vibrant community of Jews who lived in the area. On the eve of the Sabbath, many residents would gather there…

"As the history of the Jews of District Six has receded or has been subsumed into the iconic status District Six has rightly achieved as a symbol of man's inhumanity to man… it is a salutary reminder of a time when a multi-ethnic and multi-religious community could live together in peaceful coexistence". https://www.atlanticsun.co.za/news/remembering-the-jews-of-district-six May 2018.

As Nudelman explained of the moving out of Jewish residents from the area: "As race became the dominant organising factor in South Africa, Jews were faced with a new challenge. They came to be seen as 'white' and, further, were classified as such. This offered prospects they had never been afforded before…fast becoming an integrated part of the privileged white community." Jews began to move out of District Six to 'whites-only' suburbs: Highlands, Oranjezicht, Gardens, and Higgovale (2022). By the 1960s few Jews were resident in District Six, but remained landlords and business owners.

1940s – late 1960s
MIXED USE CHARACTER

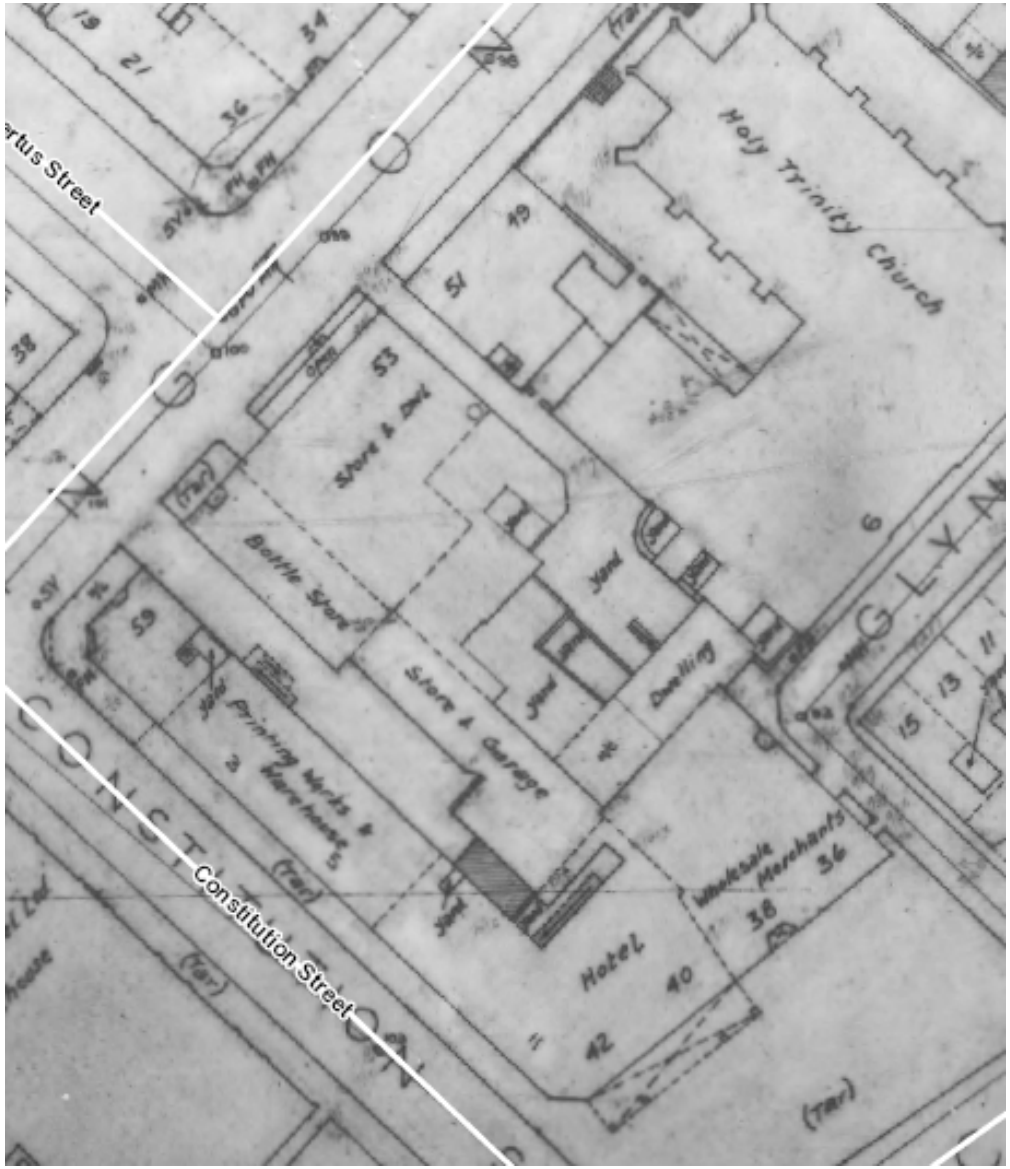
The block Holy Trinity was situated on had a mixed-use urban character. As Pistorius notes of the development of the district, and as witnessed by the moving of Synagogues and eventually Holy Trinity Church:

"While the wealthier classes moved out to the leafy suburbs, the central areas became increasing congested and overcrowded. District Six was no exception….The area's proximity to public services and employment opportunities, particularly local industries and the docks, made it an ideal location for the poor" (Pistorius 2002: 32).

With homes in walking distance of employment in factories and various industries along Sir Lowry Road precinct and even informal trading on the nearby Parade ground and employment at the Docks closeby, District Six was a convenient place to live. Added to this was the social nexus of one's places of worship, schools, shops, extended family, neighbours and entertainment.

Charles George who grew up in this area remembers the various mixed businesses in between the Holy Trinity Church situated along Harrington:

"…now this is the Street I walked down to deliver the Argus towards Caledon Street the printing works next to Donaldson on my way to Argus brothers, the bank (on the) corner (of) Harrington and Caledon Streets. (On the) opposite corner African Wholesalers next to (the) church. After 5 o'clock workers used to drink Lieberstien or Zonnhiemer. We as kids collected the empty bottles and exchanged it at the Castle bar by Mr Stein and his son Harold. Glynndale Street was used as short cut to railway station or bus terminal on parade or just to go shopping in tow" (District Six- Cape Town Facebookpage).



Above: Map showing the 'Castle Bar hotel; next to Printing works and warehouses, a bottle story, various stores and a garage as well as houses and their yards, all situated next to Holy Trinity. 1944 – 66 series City of Cape Town Maps.

THE CASTLE BAR

Formal retail and entertainment spaces were well remembered by ex-residents of District Six. Some even remain in built form in this Harrington Street area (all shared on the District Six -Cape Town Facebook Page).:

Jeffrey Solomon noted of the Castle Bar in 2018:

> "This must be the most well-known pub in District Six (Corner of Constitution Street and Canterbury Street). The Castle Bar. My dad's watering hole on Friday or Saturday night....it still stands today".

Similarly, Mervyn Africa noted of the bar:

> "The Castle Bar was the place where you normally collect old drunken relatives and getting compensated for your time....one of the only pubs that in the apartheid days where the bar owners will closed the doors at 10ish....then allow every race code to drink and mingle....it was quite a jolly affairs and lots of laughter…"

Ironically it was noted by Keith Bergoff that the bar

> "was the haunt of the police from Caledon Square Police Station in Buitenkant Street".

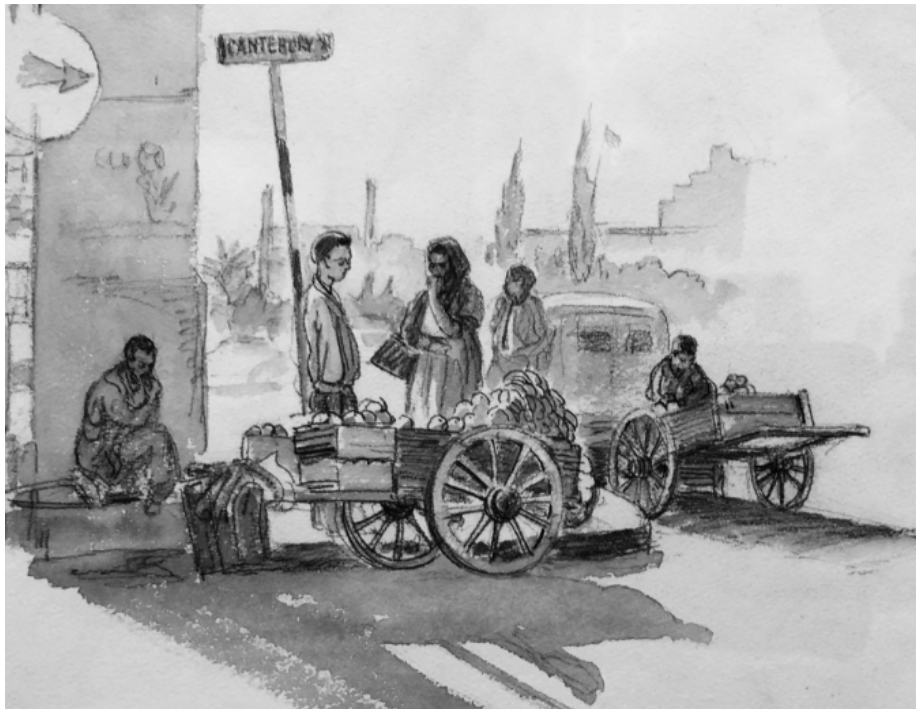
INFORMAL TRADING

What is considerably less represented due to its ephemeral nature was informal trading that happened around the buildings. Many ex-residents of the area remember Yaqoob Noordien known colloquially as 'Boeta Dal' selling blatjang and atchar from outside the Castle Bar as well as fruit and vegetables.

A fish and chip shop was noted to be on the corner of Canterbury and Constitution Street.

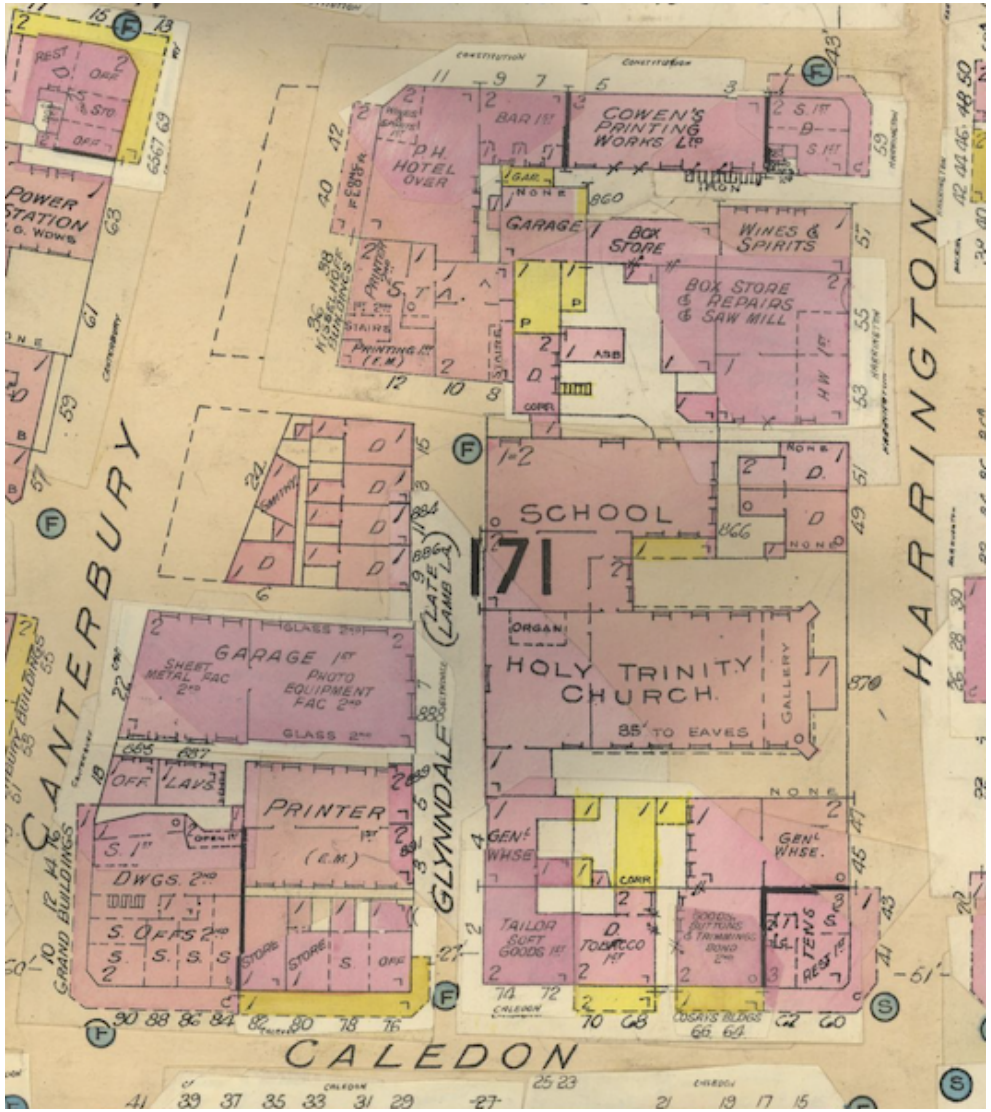
Above: photograph of the Castle Hotel Door shared by Martin Greshoff on the District Six-Cape Town Facebook Page.

Below: Canterbury St by Bruce Franck - In the South African National Gallery, Cape Town. Shared by Martin Greshoff on the District Six Cape Town Facebook Page.



SAWMILLS, FACTORIES, STORES, GARAGES AND DWELLINGS

The Goad 1956 map of the Harrington Square area shows just how mixed use the area was surrounding the Church with its accompanying school building. Various garages, several printers, tailor, tobacco shop, photo equipment factory, wine and spirit sales, a sawmill, stores selling amongst other items trimmings and buttons and a hotel and bar. Amongst all of this was a series of dwellings along Glynndale Street, one which had a smithy attached at the back. There is a complexity to the 'urban wall' (per Pistorius 2002: 90) with various heights of buildings, close proximity, different frontages, and mixed uses. All of which made for a complex interface of residential living, social and religious practices around the church and school as well as retail, commercial and industrial space.



Above: Goad Map 1956 City of Cape Town Collections

Left: Jansje Wissema image with a view up Glynndale road early 1970s looking up towards the side of M. Beinkinstadt store. The back side of the Holy Trinity Church would have been on the right hand side, out of view. University of Cape Town Collections.

MEMORIES OF THE HOLY TRINITY CHURCH

Most of the memories relating to Holy Trinity Church from ex-residents of District Six relate to the period 1950s -1970s. Many of the recollections attest to the exclusion of community members due to race in the height of apartheid:

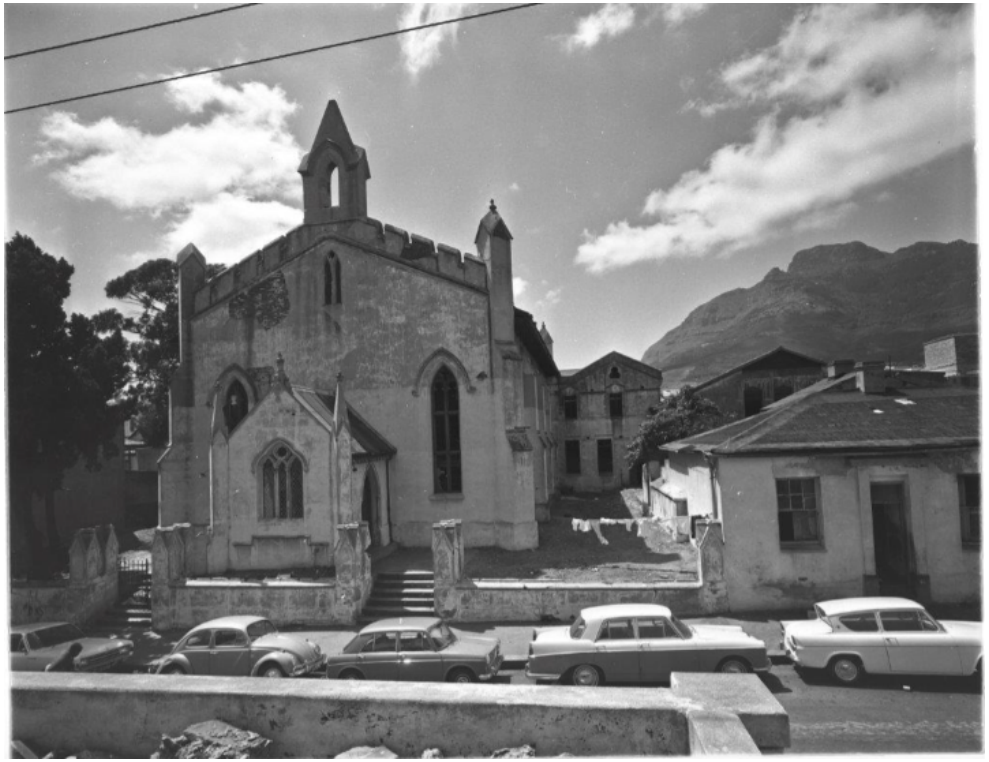
Judith Martin commented on this photograph:

"There used to be a hall on the right (behind) where the house stands. 'We' had Sunday School there…As a child we belonged to this church, but being 'Coloured' we had services at Castle Bridge above the YWCA cafe opposite the toilets. This was The Church Of England in South Africa. The Reformed Evangelical Anglican Church of South Africa (REACH-SA), known until 2013 as the Church of England in South Africa (CESA)… So not connected with St Georges Cathedral…

Martin notes that even though they were a part of the church, because they were coloured, their 'Saint Thomas Sunday School' was held in the hall opposite the toilets situated at Castle Bridge, below the YWCA café. Sunday school anniversaries were held in the Harrington St. Hall while Sunday School picnics often took the form of an outing to Kalk Bay.

Dee Clegg commented:
"I attended this church as a child. My dad has in his possession the clock from this church. The congregation moved to Holy Trinity Gardens".

It seems that the poor condition of the church was noted as one of the reasons the congregation moved and rebuilt. It was argued that the church sold this site to the City Council. Sigi Howes argues the congregation might have moved as early as the 1950s leaving the Church to fall into disrepair.



Charles George comments on growing up in the rubble of the demolished church:

"…I only came to know about this church as youngster as child we played among rubble not knowing this building…as child I could never understand why the church had to go I remember those big pine trees in front of church.."

The Church hall did seem to be "home" to more than one congregation As Eunice Rorich remembers:

"… the Docks mission church had our services in their hall for years".

APARTHEID PLANNING, REMOVAL & DESTRUCTION

1962

“The City Council proposed that most of the properties in District Six be acquired and demolished in a **slum clearance scheme**, so that the area could be redeveloped along modern town planning lines. The government, which had yet to decide on the racial zoning of the area, delayed these plans” (Pistorius 2002: 50).

1964

Construction of **the Eastern Boulevard freeway** caused the first forced removals in this period (which cut away housing along Chapel Street)

1966

“In February 1966 District Six was declared a white group area and all new development was frozen. At about the same time De Waal Drive was widened to provide improved access to the city centre. In the process of such large-scale road engineering works, the old fine-grained urban fabric of the area that once stretched from Sir Lowry Road to the slopes of Devil's Peak, was now marred by the dominance of freeways” (La Grange: 10).

Key to understanding the destruction of District Six is that “its cultural and social heterogeneity, an "alternate ... society with identity" (Pinnock, cited in Hart, 1990:122), was a threat to the apartheid State and a major reason for its demolition” (Pistorius 2002: 13).

1970

In 1970 the area was renamed Zonnebloem after the original farmstead and the first victims of Group Areas removal were evicted. This was the year that the removal of the Holy Trinity Church and the surrounding buildings was initiated.

1973

By 1973 Harrington Square had been turned into an inner-city car park. Many of the surrounding businesses and factory spaces remained intact due to their commercial and industrial character and most likely that they were white owned businesses.

1976

“By 1976 two-thirds of the residents of District Six had been removed at a cost of some R30 million” (Pistorius 2002: 52).

1980s

The construction of the Cape Technikon in the 1980s begins to obliterate the original street grid.

DEMOLITION

This series of aerial photographs between 1968 – 1980 shows Harrington Square's demolition of church and surrounding buildings and replacement with car park. Cit y of Cape Town Collection.

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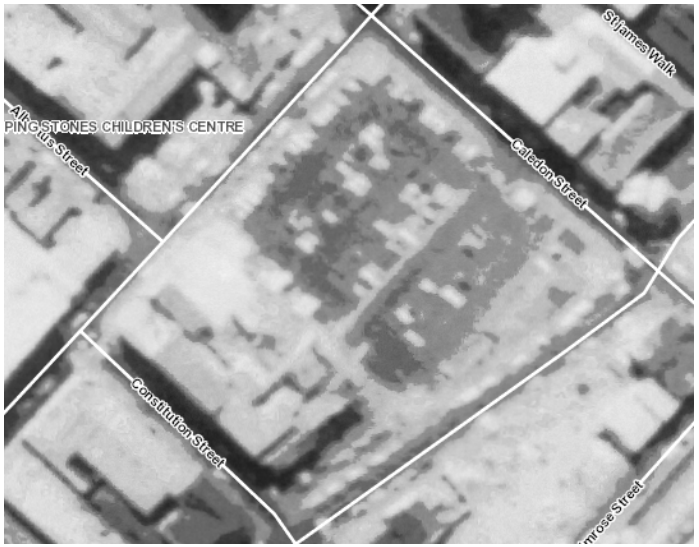
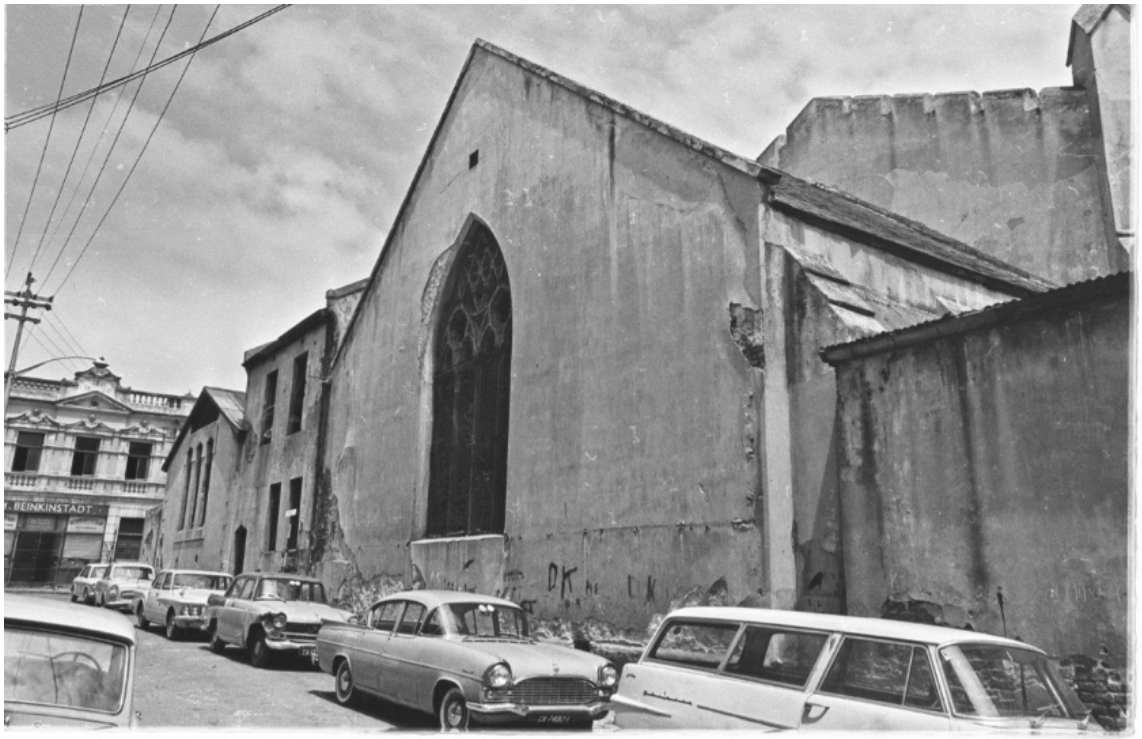
1968

1971

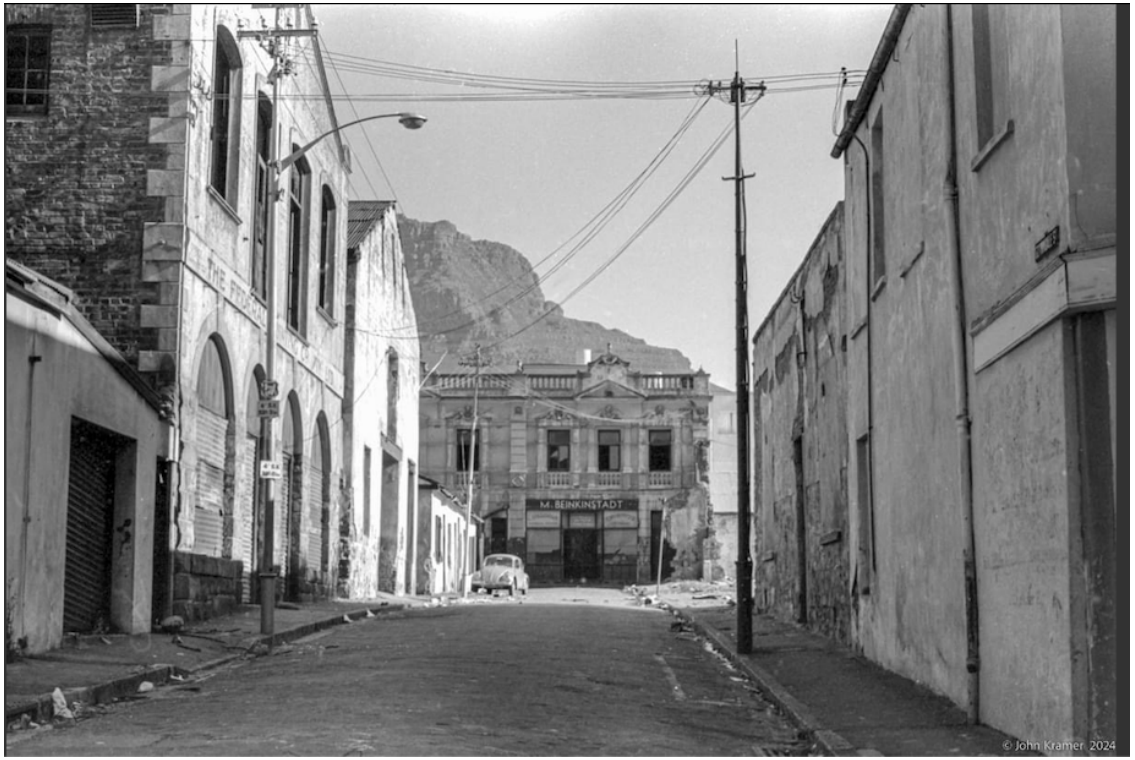
1973



1980



Above: An image by Jansje Wissema potentially around 1969 or early 1970 where the back of the Holy Trinity Church and its school building is still intact along Glynndale Lane. University of Cape Town Libraries.



Below: A photograph taken by Glynndale Lane by John Kramer shared by Martin Greshoff on District Six- Cape Town Facebook Page. It seems to show the small window in time in which the Holy Trinity Church was demolished while the rest of the street still remained, sometime in 1970 before the whole block was cleared by 1973 to make way for a parking lot.

RESISTENCE

There were many acts and processes of resistance to the apartheid regime by residents of District Six who mobilised politically through community groups and schools to try to fight the State in Group Areas removals. This timeline highlights just a few of the developments that happened after removals took place that advocated for return and redress.

1979

The Cape Technikon, a White technical university, was constructed, and that same year a group of people consisting of religious groups and community figures established a group calling themselves the 'Friends of District Six'. The dominant view of Zonnebloem as 'tainted' land ensured the failure of the Cape Town Municipality to re-develop a large part of the land.

By the early 1980s

60 000 people had been removed from the city's core to its distant periphery.

1984

The destruction of District Six was complete. Aside from a few buildings the landscape was stripped and cleared.

1986

BP Southern Africa launched an initiative aimed at redeveloping District Six as a "racially open area" by setting up and funding a new Section 21 company, Headstart Developments…while the Headstart initiative was supported by the City Council and the business sector, many community groups opposed it and it was politically controversial" (Pistorius 2002: 58).

1987 - 1989

In 1987 the 'Hands off District Six (HODS)' alliance was established, aimed at preventing the redevelopment of District Six. In a historic 1988 HODS conference held at at Zonnebloem College, a call was made for the establishment of a memory project or museum to honour the memory of District Six. This call was realised in 1989 through the creation of the District Six Museum Foundation" (African History Online).

1994

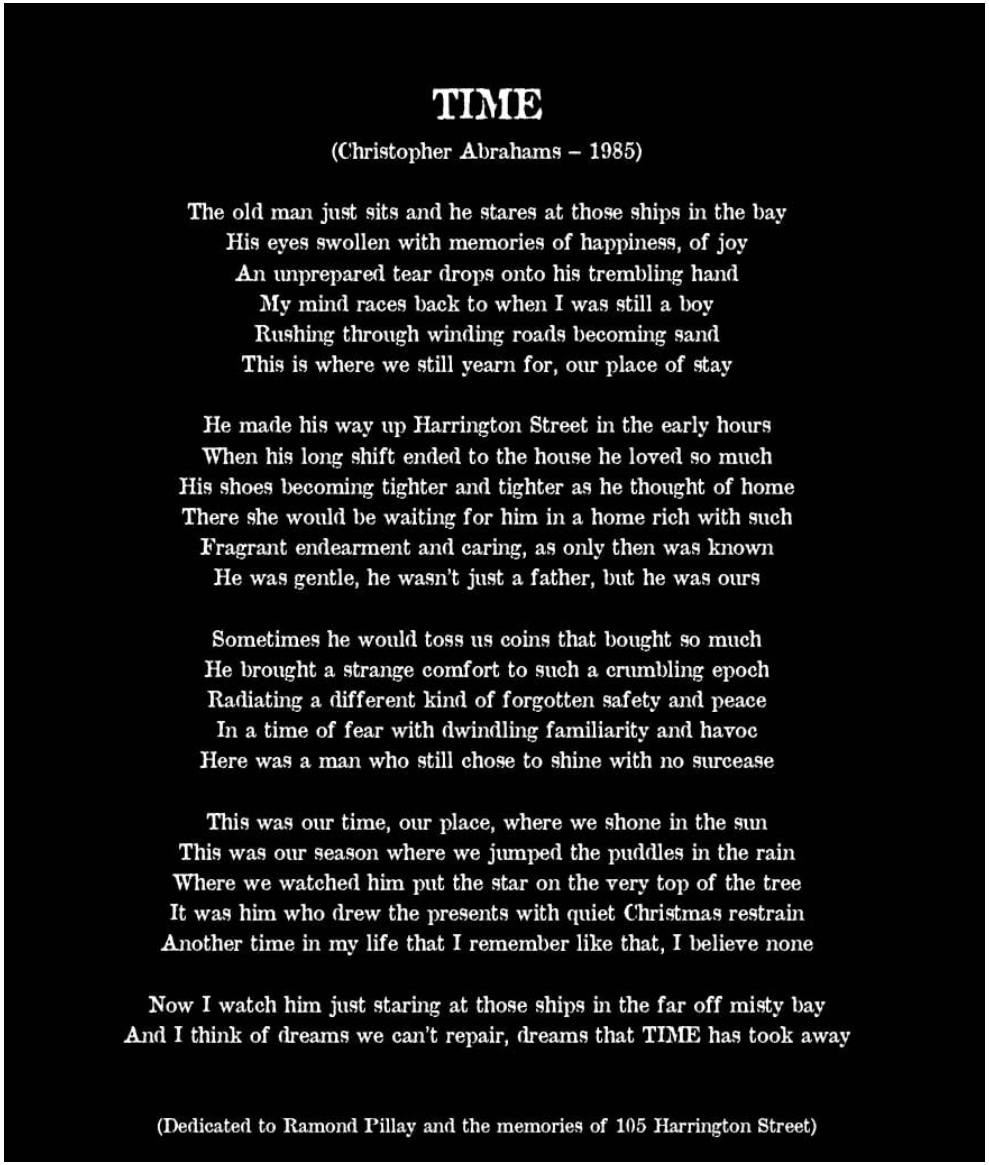
After the first democratic elections claims for restitution were made by families, which had been forced out of District Six. Under the Restitution of Land Rights Act, those who experienced forced removals after 1913 were entitled to claim for land and/or compensation from the state. In the case of District Six, a claim was put forward whereby the community would return wholesale, instead of through individual claim.

2004

The first 24 families moved into their new homes in District Six.

2021

A fundraising event by the District Six Museum was shut down on Heritage Day 2021 amid claims of racism after a resident complained about the noise levels. The museum's director Chrischene Julies says they were **"shut down and forcefully removed" before they could even start their planned "7 for 7" fundraising campaign at the Harrington Square parking lot behind the museum… As South Africans, we use Heritage Day to speak about the cultural wealth of the nation and to celebrate tolerance and diversity, but repeatedly, we have to fight to use spaces in District Six – spaces that people were forcibly removed from…Harrington Square is not a parking lot or just an open space to us – it had a church, printing work and homes on it. This blocking off of access is not about permits – it's about feeling uncomfortable when black bodies occupy that space…"**
(Valentine 2021 https://www.dailyvoice.co.za/lifestyle-entertainment/lifestyle/watch-racist-silences-district-6-event-687a1849-24dd-4321-94fe-ae256be6b639)



TIME

(Christopher Abrahams – 1985)

The old man just sits and he stares at those ships in the bay
His eyes swollen with memories of happiness, of joy
An unprepared tear drops onto his trembling hand
My mind races back to when I was still a boy
Rushing through winding roads becoming sand
This is where we still yearn for, our place of stay

He made his way up Harrington Street in the early hours
When his long shift ended to the house he loved so much
His shoes becoming tighter and tighter as he thought of home
There she would be waiting for him in a home rich with such
Fragrant endearment and caring, as only then was known
He was gentle, he wasn't just a father, but he was ours

Sometimes he would toss us coins that bought so much
He brought a strange comfort to such a crumbling epoch
Radiating a different kind of forgotten safety and peace
In a time of fear with dwindling familiarity and havoc
Here was a man who still chose to shine with no surcease

This was our time, our place, where we shone in the sun
This was our season where we jumped the puddles in the rain
Where we watched him put the star on the very top of the tree
It was him who drew the presents with quiet Christmas restrain
Another time in my life that I remember like that, I believe none

Now I watch him just staring at those ships in the far off misty bay
And I think of dreams we can't repair, dreams that TIME has took away

(Dedicated to Ramond Pillay and the memories of 105 Harrington Street)

'Time', a poem by Christopher Abrahams who lived at 105 Harrington Street, written in 1985, shared on District Six Facebook Page.

CONCLUSIONS

This report clearly demonstrates how the long and layered history of diverse people, buildings and the topographical landscape of Harrington Square have been shaped and influenced by complex and contested processes of change.

Much of this history, however, remains hidden or obscured, subsumed and effaced by a parking lot where the oppressive built tarred form does the speaking, which creates a kind of social silencing where a feeling of 'belonging and place' is dislocated.

The site and its history is far from uncontested, however with so many lines of connection and diverse histories Harrington Square has great potential for offering connection to Cape Town's beginnings and its rich, complicated past.

Over generations the site has been a gateway to immigrant communities and freed slaves, all rich in culture and religions which would later shape the diverse and complex mix that makes up the roots of the people of the City. It was an important site of access to water, the city and its opportunities.

Heritage interventions on the site should consider the potential of reconnecting the site to:

- Historic water lines and the associated knowledge of indigenous groups as well as to the social life and placemaking of slaves and frees slaves (washerwomen for example).

- To consider the freedom of religion as a key theme in discussing the history of the site in relation to the Catholic and later Holy Trinity Church of England site and its school, but also in relation to the Jewish history of the site and area and even how this period and era was a crucial part to the rise of Islam.

- The diverse and complex mix of 'Kanaladorp' and people like freed slave Hendrik Canterbury should be highlighted.

- The memories associated with ex-residents of District Six who were forcibly removed and how the block was razed to create a car park is part of the witnessing of what happened here.

Due to its history it is an appropriate site to be a public space. Any heritage interventions should be community led, offering a considered process to engage with the history of the site (that might still continue to be built on).

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Accessing the memories of ex-residents has meant a multi-pronged approach beyond academic papers, towards newspaper articles and websites. Absolutely key to bringing in the voices and stories has been the incredible archive and platform that exists on Facebook dedicated to District Six, run by Martin Greshoff. The voices and stories, photographs and even documents that run this report are given living and breathing life because so many residents and ex-residents have shared onvarious pages. This study could never be truly representative of everyone's memories and stories making the importance of community involvement in memorialisation work and projects crucial.

Cape of Diab Facebook Page run by Michael Fortune:
https://www.facebook.com/groups/capeofdiab

District Six Facebook page: https://www.facebook.com/groups/rememberD6

Cape Town Down Memory Lane:
https://www.facebook.com/groups/102476831771

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