Saul Januarie: Biography of a Wagon-maker and Blacksmith from Worcester, Western Cape, South Africa

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A mini-thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree Master of Arts in Public and Visual History, University of the Western Cape, December 2007
I, Cecyl Esau, declare that ‘Saul Januarie: Biography of a Wagon-maker and Blacksmith from Worcester, Western Cape, South Africa’ is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all sources I have quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Cecyl Esau
31 December 2007
Acknowledgements

I have been encouraged and inspired by many to pursue my interest in history, especially that of the rural areas of the Western Cape and in particular my home town, Worcester.

My supervisor Andrew Bank has been an amazing source of encouragement and I highly appreciated his critical engagement.

This study would not have been possible to pursue were it not for the financial support from the National Research Foundation (NRF) and the provision of accommodation by Edwin J. Petersen in the ideal surroundings of Stellenbosch.

I have benefited from the willingness of many relatives and acquaintances of Saul Januarie to be interviewed and share their photographs and recollections of him. A special word of thanks to Yunus Lakay for his pioneering work to transform his barbershop into a visual history of a section of the Worcester community. Thank you also to the staff of the Resource Room at the Kleinplasie Museum for their assistance.

And finally, I dedicate this mini-thesis to the memory of my parents, Maria Susanna (Davids) and Jacob Johannes Esau for inculcating the love of story-telling, humanitarian beliefs and values in me.
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Foreword

I was born in Worcester. Growing up my mother would tell us stories about how her grandmother, who worked for an Afrikaner family during the First World War, would tease them about their support for Germany. On seeing a picture in the newspaper of a sunken German war boat, she would fold the paper in such a way that the caption could not be read and tell her madam excitedly that an Allied war vessel had been sunk. The madam would grab the newspaper from her and on realising that it was a German war boat, would slump into the nearest chair.

On another occasion when her grandmother’s madam urged her grandmother to run to return the hawker’s vegetable basket, she walked with measured steps instead and said: “Miesies, hol tyd is by my verby. Toe my kinders klein was, het ek gehol. Maar nou dat hulle groot, hol ek nie meer nie” (“Madam, running has passed me by. When my children were small, I used to run. But now that they are big, I no longer run.”) As an adult these personal memories informed my sense that the labour, intergroup and social history of the town of Worcester had to be explored.

An opportunity to begin this work opened up following discussions among a number of Worcesterites resident in Cape Town about how best to celebrate the 200th anniversary, in 2020, of Worcester’s colonial history.1 We felt that we need to prepare for that event by researching the life experiences of the marginalised individuals and communities in Worcester in order to ensure a more inclusive celebration of the town’s history. The 150th anniversary of the colonial founding of the town, in 1970, was celebrated along apartheid lines, focusing primarily on the achievements of the white section of the town.2

My quest to contribute to the 200th anniversary of our home town sent me on my very first visit to the Worcester Living Open-Air Museum Kleinplasie in Worcester in 2006. On my visits to the Kleinplasie Museum, I became aware of the absence, or at best the

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1 Those present at the meeting were Melvin Fourie, Aubrey Springveldt, Johnny Issel, Mogamat Cloete, Clarence Johnson, Renfred Fourie and Cecyl Esau.
under representation, of the majority of the town’s inhabitants. I realised that the processes of transforming heritage institutions will be a long and challenging one, but one to which I would like to make a contribution. Firstly, I grappled with the question of how one approaches writing narratives of “ordinary” people, of finding and exploring the human trace. Secondly, I wanted to determine what kind of sources could be located and assess their usefulness in telling that story.

Whilst reading a Stellenbosch University Honours thesis about the history of my home town, I came across a reference to a collection of taped interviews with selected senior residents of the town. Some of this information had been used to compile a radio documentary of Worcester as part of a series entitled, “Ons land en sy mense” (“Our land and our people”). The programme was broadcast in three parts in December 1968 on Radio Suid-Afrika, the Afrikaans radio station of the then South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). The transcripts of those and subsequent interviews are archived at the Kleinplasie Museum. I decided to consult the collection.

The taped interviews were conducted from 1966 to 1980 by volunteers from the Museum. On consulting the index my attention was drawn to the name of Saul Januarie a man about whom I had some prior knowledge. I vaguely recalled Saul Januarie conducting the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church brass band in the 1970s that I had attended as a teenager. Reading the transcripts of the interviews that were conducted with him in 1980 raised the possibility of writing a biography about Saul Januarie, a wagon-maker and blacksmith.

Initially I had thought that Saul Januarie was the grandfather of a friend of mine. On consulting his mother we learnt that Januarie was in fact his grandfather’s cousin, though they had the same name and surname. His grandfather had worked as a labourer on the railways. I then consulted my older brothers about Saul Januarie. They directed me to a cousin whose father and grandfather were members of the Independent Order of True

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Templars (IOTT) to which Januarie also belonged. Fortunately for me, she had researched a land claim of her grandfather’s property and had come across an obituary written at the time of her grandfather’s passing in 1951. In that tribute, Saul Januarie was mentioned as having led the Independent Order of True Templars (IOTT) Brass Band, playing “The Death March” and other funeral hymns at her grandfather’s burial service.

Saul Januarie’s community involvement interested me in deepening my understanding of the various kinds of leisure activities “ordinary” people engaged in Worcester in the early part of the previous century. In addition, the Parkersdam area where Saul resided was a mixed Black African and Coloured area until the end of the 1950s and I was curious to explore intergroup relations prior the implementation of residential segregation in Worcester.

For me this study is an important starting-point to contribute to the exploration of a more inclusive social history of Worcester. It has opened up exciting possibilities of collaborating with individuals, educational and memory institutions in uncovering the complex interrelatedness and social interactions of various groups and individuals in Worcester over the last two centuries.
Chapter 1: Saul Januarie - An Introduction

In this chapter I outline and discuss the three different literatures that will be pertinent to this study: firstly, that on the history of Worcester; secondly, that on oral history and finally on biography, especially those of Worcester notables.

I. White Histories

There are three main texts that deal with the general history of Worcester, all are now quite dated. The first is a thesis by L.P. Naude in 1944. It is a comparative economic and spatial development study of Worcester and the surrounding district as well as the towns of Robertson, Swellendam, Riversdale and Ceres. Naude discusses primarily Worcester’s economic development during the first four decades of the twentieth century. Furthermore, he traces the residential development for the same period, concluding that residential segregation,

het op Worcester heel natuurlik ontwikkel. Ons vind baie min kleurlinge in die blanke woonbuurtes woonagtig, die meeste van hulle woon in die swakste blanke woonbuurt wat grens aan die kleurlingwyk. In die kleurlingwyk woon slegs ‘n paar blanke families (“developed in a natural way in Worcester. We find few Coloureds living in white areas, the majority of them stay in the worst white area bordering on the Coloured residential area. In the Coloured residential area only a few white families are resident”).

According to Naude, the Municipality decided to establish a separate location for Black Africans in 1939.

Omdat naturelle en kleurlinge nie goed saamwoon nie ... [is] ‘n lokasie vir naturelle ten suide van die kleurlingwyk gebou ... Die naturelle lokasie is reeds vol, sommige naturelle woon tussen die kleurlinge. (Because the natives and coloureds can’t live together, a location for natives has been established to the south of the coloured residential area. The native location is already full, some natives are living among the coloureds).

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6 Ibid, p. 16, the translations from Afrikaans, here and in later chapters, are my own.
7 Ibid, p. 17.
The second publication was brought out on the occasion of the Van Riebeeck Festival in 1952.\(^8\) The third is an honours thesis by R.G. Grebe submitted at the University of Stellenbosch in 1970.\(^9\) The Worcester Municipality also published an illustrated brochure coinciding with the town’s 150th anniversary in 1970. It sketched the town’s history in broad strokes and emphasised the industrial and agricultural progress made since its colonial founding.

The Van Riebeeck Festival publication, *Stigting en Ontwikkeling van Worcester*, does not purport to be a comprehensive historical account of the town, but rather “a fragmentary chronology.” According to the preface, it was compiled in a relatively short period - about three months. It was based on written contributions received from members of clergy, businessmen, educationists, medical practitioners and members of the municipal council. The historical account of the town is virtually exclusively written about one section of the town’s communities, the white community.\(^10\)

Grebe’s honours thesis sets out a chronological narrative of the town’s history dating from the time that loan farms were granted along the Hex and Breede rivers in 1746 and 1754, taking it through to 1970. He describes the town’s colonial administration, municipal development, the educational, health-care and religious institutions, social welfare, cultural societies and sports associations, and, finally, the contours of economic development. He devotes the bulk of his thesis to the Afrikaner and English-speaking white communities and deals in a single chapter with European immigrant (German, Italian, Jewish, Portuguese, Greek, Polish and French), as well as Coloured and black African communities. The Polish community was the smallest, consisting of only six members. Grebe’s historical narrative equates Worcester’s history with that of one section of it. Furthermore, the linear historical outline makes no attempt to highlight the impact of segregation and Apartheid on the town and its people.

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On the other hand, there are studies in resistance literature that address this racial imbalance, but only for specific period of Worcester’s history. Willie Hofmeyr deals with the African National Congress (ANC) in Worcester and surrounding Boland towns.\textsuperscript{11} He describes the way that the ANC managed to draw Coloureds and black Africans into its fold in Worcester and the neighbouring towns of Robertson and Bonnievale in the late 1920s and the onset of the 1930s. He cites the example of how ANC members mobilised their own funds to buy a plot of land and built the Winston Hall which became their meeting-place in Parker Street.

Gavin Lewis provides a comprehensive account of the different strands and organisations working among the Coloureds in the Western Cape.\textsuperscript{12} He deals extensively with the various campaigns of the ANC in Worcester in the 1930s. Tony Karon traces the political activities of the Coloured Peoples’ Congress (CPC) in Worcester.\textsuperscript{13} The CPC was established in 1953 and formed part of the Congress Alliance. David Shandler explores the roots and housing struggles waged in Worcester during the the first decade of apartheid.\textsuperscript{14} He discusses in particular the housing struggles waged for decent housing and living conditions during the first decade of Apartheid. Richard Goode provides an account of trade unionisation and the labour struggles waged in the canning industry in the Boland towns of Paarl, Ceres, Wolseley and Worcester.\textsuperscript{15} The value of these books and theses on the different aspects of political resistance in Worcester and surrounding areas is that they are not written about nameless and faceless activists. The names mentioned in these texts give a clear indication of the membership of the various organisations, African National Congress (ANC), Food and Canning Workers’Union (FCWU), and Worcester United Action Committee (WUAC), that enjoyed active membership from both Coloured and black African communities.

\textsuperscript{12} G. Lewis, \textit{Between the Wire and the Wall}: a history of South African ‘Coloured’ politics (Cape Town: David Philip), 1987.
They highlight the importance of doing this work for earlier periods of Worcester’s history and for the many other individuals who did not contribute as directly to the resistance movement. Saul Januarie is just one such individual.

II Sources and Oral History methodology

This study has relied on an extensive interview process. A critical aspect of this process has been to engage in intensive background research into the socio-economic and political processes in Worcester over the period of study, especially with regard to the opportunities and conditions of the labouring classes, the impact of and responses to segregation and apartheid, as well as the use of recreational time. I have attempted to be sensitive to the interview situation, “as there are always two subjects to a field situation, and the roles of the observed’’ and ‘observer’ are more fluid than it might appear at first glance”.

In the South African context “the life histories of ‘‘ordinary people’’ have “been the lifeblood of the development of social history.” The publication of Charles van Onselen’s *The Seed is Mine* was started in 1979.

We might begin by discussing oral history as a source that could be useful in constructing a biography, especially where the subject has left virtually no documentary trace. History has traditionally been conceived of as being about the affairs of state, as well as tracing the economic developments of society. It has in large part been written from the perspective of those who were part of the powerful in society. In this “great man” tradition written sources constitute virtually the sole reference material on which historical accounts were based. This approach is characterised as “documents-driven” history that is informed by the arch-empiricist German scholar Ranke’s approach to the

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17 Ibid p 154.
writing history.\textsuperscript{20} Prins discusses the three criteria which “document-driven historians” require in assessing a source, namely, “precision in form”, “precision in chronology” and evidence being corroborated by “additional texts”.\textsuperscript{21} Historians working with this “document-driven” tradition criticised oral history for being “self-indulgently concerned with tangential issues” and “locked into the irrelevance of small scale”.\textsuperscript{22}

In addressing the above-mentioned concerns Prins draws on Jan Vansina’s comprehensive definition of oral tradition, as “oral testimony transmitted verbally from one generation to the next, or more”.\textsuperscript{23} This could be said to be the case of “a society with an oral culture”. However, this is attenuated “as a culture moves towards mass literacy, although some oral tradition can persist in a dominantly literate environment”. “Personal reminiscence” constitutes another “type of oral source” that is defined as “oral evidence specific to the life experiences of the informant”. Alessandro Portelli also addressed some of these concerns, concluding that “oral sources are credible but with a different credibility”.\textsuperscript{24}

For some decades now oral history has been concerned to provide a voice to those who were previously nameless and faceless individuals on the margins of society. These marginalised groupings and individuals were often not recognised as being capable of taking independent initiative. In short, they were not regarded as being of any consequence, except to serve the needs of the powerful. Oral history provides an avenue for a range of different actors to be heard. In this way it contributes to a multiplicity of perspectives, thereby providing a more balanced and all-encompassing understanding of human experience and circumstances.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid, p. 119
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid, pp. 119-120
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid, p.120
The adoption of oral history techniques and methodology in the writing of history has not gone unchallenged as pointed out earlier. A critique was developed not only by conventional historians, but also within the ranks of oral historians themselves. The former questioned the viability of oral history, especially the “unreliability of memory”.26 However, it is contended by experts in the field of memory that “long-term memory (in what is referred to as) life-review, can be remarkably precise (and stable).”27 This can be compared to an extent with the “weeding” and selection of archival material with the result that “what official archives contain may ... be quite misleading as other sources.”28

III. Biographies of Worcester Notables and Reflections on the Production of Life Histories

Worcester, like any other locality has had many colourful characters since it was established in 1820. The memory of a large number of officers, missionaries and politicians are preserved by having streets named after them: Trappes, Truter, Leipoldt, Hartwig, Söhinge, Le Sueur, Ferus. In 1825 Galant van de Kaap and his clutch of co-conspirators were hanged at Gallows Hill, not far from the Drostdy. Grebe provides a detailed description of the location of graves of Galant and his followers.29 André Brink writes a celebrated fictionalised account of their rebellion.30

Kannemeyer has published a biography about one of the most celebrated inhabitants of Worcester, the poet Christian Louis Leipoldt 31 Leipoldt was the son of a Rhenish missionary and was born in 1880 and spent his first four years in Worcester. In 1884, his father having been legitimated as a minister of religion in the Dutch Reformed Church,

27 Gwyn Prins, ibid, p. 133.
28 Gwyn Prins, ibid, p. 131.
29 Grebe, p.89.
relocated to Clanwilliam. His grave stands in the Pakhuis Pass of Cederberg Mountains above Clanwilliam.

Jaffer published a biography of Ayesha ‘Bibi’ Dawood, a political activist who had joined the Worcester United Action Committee (WUAC), led by John Alwyn in the 1950s.32 Dawood was a Treason Trialist who eventually left on an exit permit33 in 1968 and spent nearly three decades on the Indian sub-continent. She returned to South Africa in 1993. The biography of John Marinus Ferus, commonly known as ‘Hennie’, was distributed in Worcester in 1982, a year after his death, coinciding with the unveiling of his tombstone. It is titled, “Nie Vryheid op ‘n Skinkbord nie” and the authors are Zackie Achmat, Jack Lewis and Marjorie Lewis.34 Black Sash has published four biographies of women from Zwelenthembia. One of these deals with the life and political involvement of Miriam Moleleki who became an organis for the Black Sash in the Boland.35

The biographical texts cited above deal in the main with persons who were either notorious, in the case of Galant, or excelled as a poet and author, in the case of Leipoldt, or were political and community activists, Dawood, Mmoleleki and Ferus. My study wants to explore the biography of a more ordinary working man, a blacksmith and wagon-maker who was part of the temperance movement. However, in telling the story of an ordinary man, I will need to locate it in the context of how biographies are produced and the different approaches to biographical production. Traditional biographies really rely extensively on oral histories.

33 An exit permit was granted to persons the Apartheid state considered to be undesirable and allowed to leave the country with no prospective to return to it. It formed part of the repressive measures, that included house arrest and banning orders.
A key text that deals with these issues is a doctoral thesis by Ciraj Rassool. Rassool proposes “a framework which transcends a dualist understanding of the relationship between the individual and social processes, to open up ways of understanding life histories as productions.” This entails an appreciation that a conventional approach to life history aimed at the development of a chronological time-line based on archival and empirical research is insufficient. He suggests that complexity be introduced in understanding that “the emphasis of narration is also concerned with the multiple genres, locations and formats through which lives have been presented and represented, through oral narrative, academic text and public historical production.”

Rassool cites British historian Maurice Cowling who contends that biography is unable to account for “political phenomena” because

Its refraction is partial in relation to the system. It abstracts a man whose public action could not be abstracted. It implies linear connections between one situation and the next. In fact connections were not linear. The system was a circular relationship: a shift in one element changed the position of all the others in relation to the rest.

Cowling contends that the whole is not explicable through a single life. There is a need to explain the complex interrelatedness of an individual and his/her context as well as accounting for the content, changes and impacts of those interactions between individual, context and others. According to Rassool, the salient aspects of the traditional biography are:

identification with and celebration of achievement, and sought to plot the growth and development of the awareness and power of the ‘biographee’, celebrating the assumed consistency and coherence of character and selfhood. It focused on events rather than experience. Selected moments deemed to be significant – usually centred on achievement – were arranged in some chronological order, following the linear trajectory of the individual’s development. In a search for origins and processes of causation, foundational moments in the formation of

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37 C.S. Rassool, ibid p.12.
38 C.S. Rassool, ibid p.12.
aspects of the individual’s life were sought. These were narrated into a plot of progress and development.\textsuperscript{40}

Such a conception, as propounded in the traditional approach to biography, is referred to as “biographical illusion” by Pierre Bourdieu.\textsuperscript{41} Rassool concedes, however, that

the genre of traditional biography, with an untheorised notion of the individual at the centre and claiming to be about ‘real lives’ of achievement and leadership, has continued to be an important feature of what stands as ‘history’ in the public sphere” and ... has continued to enter the terrain of academic history as well.\textsuperscript{42}

Social history in particular seeks to recover the hidden histories of “social groups excluded or ignored (and subordinated by) more traditional histories of political elites and institutions. Through history from below, social history eschewed ‘great men’ in favour of ‘ordinary people’, the marginalised and the oppressed.”\textsuperscript{43}

This approach by social historians was facilitated by a divergence from the orthodox Marxist view

that people made history only on the basis of conditions which are not of their own making to a conception that it was experience and agency which made the connection between the structural and subjective feeling. In this approach to agency and history, experience was the connection between social structure (‘being’) and social consciousness.\textsuperscript{44}

Social historians working “within a framework of visibility, recovery and reclamation” endeavoured to focus on those social groups and ordinary people marginalised and ignored by utilising oral history as the basis of much of the life history research.\textsuperscript{45} The most prominent example of a life history of an ‘ordinary person’ in South African historiography, based on years of oral history, is Charles van Onselen’s \textit{The Seed is Mine} (1996) which had been in gestation since 1979.

\textsuperscript{40} C.S. Rassool, ibid p. 27.
\textsuperscript{41} P. Bourdieu, \textit{The Biographical Illusion} (Working Papers and proceedings of the Centre for psychosocial studies, no 14), Chicago, Centre for Psychosocial Studies, 1987 cited in C.S. Rassool, ibid p.29.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid p.33.
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid p.33. E. P. Thompson’s \textit{The Making of the English Working Class} (New York: Vintage Books, 1965) is one of the most celebrated studies in this tradition, though one informed by culturalist-orientated Marxism.
\textsuperscript{44} Ibid p.34.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid p.34.
I do rely very heavily on a fairly traditional process of retrieval. To some extent this is necessary in a case where the subject one is dealing with has so little information. In the case of Rassool’s study on Tabata there are a wealth of documents, private and public, as well as speeches. How one narrates these together is something that require a lot of reflection. It is not quite as easy to apply these critically distancing methods in relation to a subject where there’s such a limited amount of information, that one is virtually compelled to use everything one has found and is forced to speculate about things one does not know about. Whilst Rassool provides very important insights into alerting us to the importance of being conscious of how we are constructing biographies and to the degrees of invention that that process involves, the problems in cases of ‘lesser known’ subjects like Saul Januarie and perhaps Bain mean that the more traditional methodologies are still appropriate.

In conclusion this chapter has highlighted the need for a comprehensive and inclusive historical narrative of Worcester and its surrounding areas. Furthermore, the limited number of biographies about Worcesterites needs to be enlarged to gain a nuanced and well-rounded understanding of the people who had inhabited this part of our land. There are still as yet no known biographies of black African men from Worcester. Finally, the discussion on oral history and its methodology highlights the complementariness and difference to a solely documents-driven history.
Chapter 2: Worcester, roundabout the time of Saul Januarie’s birth

In this chapter I discuss Worcester at the time of Saul Januarie’s birth and also highlight some of the personalities who were putting their stamp on it. I draw extensively on the Census Returns of 1904 which gives a quantitative picture of town and district with regard to a selected number of indicators. The racial categorisation of the inhabitants is a salient feature of the Census Returns.

Saul Januarie was one of many colourful and interesting ordinary men and women who served the Worcester community in various capacities in the twentieth century. Pieter de Vos recounts the contribution made to education amongst Coloured people by “Meester” Andreas Fransman.⁴⁶ He was a man of noble character who made an immense impact on that section of the community. De Vos also refers to Anna Tempo, popularly known as “Sister Nanny”, a Mozbieker slave descendant.⁴⁷ Her parents were William and Magavi Tempo. Anna was born in 1867 with twin sister Hester who died at birth. Her father was an alcoholic who later stopped drinking alcohol and joined the local temperance movement.⁴⁸ Anna Tempo was employed by the Schreiner family who were members of the local teetotallers’ movement. When they left to go abroad, in 1888, “Sister Nanny” accompanied them to Australia and the United States of America, and on her return she established the Nanny House for unwed mothers in Cape Town. She also became a leading member of the teetotallers’ organisation.⁴⁹

Another was Augus “Boy” Swartz whose funeral was attended by about 2 500 people in 1951. He started out as a herdsman of Pieter Kloppers later accompanying Kloppers, a travelling merchant, into the interior. On these trips Swartz carried large amounts of cash in a specially designed belt. At the time of his death Swartz had been the leader of the

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⁴⁶ De Vos was born in 1882 in the Worcester District and his father Jakob de Vos was a member of the Parliament of the Cape Colony; Kleinplasie Museum Interviews, 1967.
⁴⁸ Ibid p. 7.
Independent Order of True Templars (IOTT) for a couple of decades, as well as the leader of its Brass Band.\textsuperscript{50}

Nursing sister Maria Pieterse, formerly a matron at Ndabeni, started the first clinic in Worcester at the Parker Street home of J.F. Lyners in 1931.\textsuperscript{51} She worked tirelessly to lay the foundation for primary healthcare in the town. By 1943 the work had expanded to the extent that there were four nursing personnel. By 1952 the staff had grown to five and provided ante-natal and primary health service. Today one of the primary healthcare facilities in Worcester, the Sister Maria Pieterse Clinic, is named after her in recognition of her pioneering work.

\textsuperscript{50} Worcester Standard & Advertiser, 27 July 1951.
\textsuperscript{51} G.G.Rossouw (compiler), Stigting en Ontwikkeling van Worcester – uitgegee by geleentheid van die van Riebeeck-Fees 1952, p.47.
Figure 1: Saul Januarie relaxing in his vegetable garden.
(Undated photograph, supplied by his granddaughter Marie Voight.)

Saul Januarie derived his livelihood as a blacksmith and wagon-maker. This undated black-and-white photograph portrays him at an advanced stage of his life. He died at the age of 80. The photograph could have been taken when he was in his late sixties or early seventies. Saul Januarie reclines in what appears to be his garden chair. The photograph was probably taken in his backyard where he had a vegetable garden.\textsuperscript{52} He wears a neatly pressed suit and tie with his hat on the ground next to his right foot. His formal attire suggests that he had just returned from a church event. The occasion could have been a

\textsuperscript{52} C. Esau Interviewed Marie Voight, grand-daughter of Saul Januarie, Worcester, 2 January 2007.
Sunday after a church service as the shadows are very short, suggesting it was close to midday. He is smiling at the camera slightly clasping his hands. In my mind this expresses the satisfaction and sense of achievement of a man who had established himself as a tradesman and respectable Worcesterite. His fingers appear swollen, perhaps this was the result of the scar left from the kick of the horse he tried to shoe. He tells this anecdote in Chapter 4.\textsuperscript{53}

Saul Januarie was born in Worcester in 1903. He spent his childhood years in the town of Touwsriver and then returned to Worcester as an adult where he married and spent the remainder of his life. He became well-known as a blacksmith from Worcester from the 1930s onwards. His skills were sought after in the town as well as on the farms in the surrounding area. Januarie was also renowned as a leader of the Independent Order of True Templars (IOTT).\textsuperscript{54} I shall discuss the IOTT in Worcester in chapter five. In 1951 he succeeded Augus “Boy” Swartz as leader. Swartz himself had taken over the reins of the organisation from his father.\textsuperscript{55}

Collecting the fragments of Saul Januarie’s life proved to be a more daunting task than I had initially imagined. Hyslop aptly summarises this situation in his biography of the hitherto little known figure J.T. Bain:

Tracing James Bain’s passage from Dudhope Crescent into the world beyond is no simple matter. The biographer of the renowned politician or author is likely to have access to a substantial collection of personal papers, preserved in some university library. There may be many gaps in this record, but these themselves indicate where to look for the information that might fill them. Finding the trail of someone whose life is unknown to the present ... is a very different task. There is no central archive of his life to which one can go. Bain’s life has to be pieced together out of fragments; a document found in a government department’s records here, a newspaper article there. Fortunately, for Bain’s adult life I have been able to find sufficient material to build a detailed picture of his actions and his thought – but the traces of his infancy and youth are faint.\textsuperscript{56}

\textsuperscript{53} For a discussion of how fragments of life stories can be read from body marks shown in photographs, see A. Bank, \textit{Bushmen in a Victorian World} (Cape Town: Double Storey Press, 2006), pp. 102-127.
\textsuperscript{54} The Worcester branch of the IOTT was established in 1886.
\textsuperscript{55} \textit{Worcester Standard & Advertiser}, 27 July 1951, p.3.
Even pinpointing the date of Saul Januarie’s birth took some detective work. Whilst his death notice states the date and place of birth as 15 June 1900 at Touwsriver, his date of birth in the birth register reveals that he was, in fact, born on 6 July 1903 in Porter Street Worcester. Furthermore, one of his step granddaughters was convinced that he was from De Doorns. It was only after painstakingly combing the death registers for the Worcester magisterial district for the first two decades of the twentieth century that a clearer picture emerged about his immediate family. The information thus obtained painted a life of frequent movement for Saul Januarie’s family, from Porter to Grey Streets and then to Modderdrift agricultural area near Touwsriver. Eventually he returned to Worcester in the 1920s.

He was born a year after the conclusion of the South African War (1899-1902). Although the main theatres of the War were in the northern provinces, the War did impact in various ways on the Worcester community. In his old age Mr Wouter de Vos, born at Fairbairn Street, Worcester on 31st October 1887, could still clearly recall a number of specific incidents that occurred in Worcester during the War. To the east of the town near the road to Robertson a couple of hundred soldiers stayed in tented accommodation and some of them were very unruly. A couple of them were strolling through town on a Saturday and spotted an elderly man sitting on his stoep. They demanded liquor and without waiting for permission entered the house. As they were helping themselves to the wine, the old man’s three sons attacked them and they fled with bloodied uniforms.

On another occasion some of the soldiers interfered with people staying at the Mosque in Durban Street. The people were incensed and attacked them. A soldier was killed with an axe. This led to a weeklong action by the soldiers on the ensuing days. Every afternoon they would go to the mosque and set it alight. As soon as the building was on fire they would douse the flames again. A guard was posted at the scene, but to no avail. When the

57 Home Affairs Western Cape (HAWC) 1/WOC 1/3/57/3/2, 1903 (303), Records Centre, National Archives, Roeland Street Cape Town.
guard turned his attention away, the soldiers would puncture the fire-hose with a bayonet.  

At the time of Januarie’s birth the urban population of Worcester was classified into different racial or ethnic categories: White, Malay, Hottentot, Fingo, Kaffir & Bechuana, and Mixed & Other. Bickford-Smith points out that these ‘ethnic labels’ were arbitrary and based on the perceptions of census enumerators.

Table 1: Population: Worcester Census District, 1904
[Source: Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1904]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Field-cornetcy</th>
<th>Total all races</th>
<th>European / White</th>
<th>Malay</th>
<th>Hottentot</th>
<th>Fingo</th>
<th>Kaffir &amp; Bechuana</th>
<th>Mixed &amp; Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Worcester (urban)</td>
<td>7 885</td>
<td>3 588</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>4 003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goudini (urban)</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worcester (rural)</td>
<td>1 057</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
<td>633</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wagen Boom’s River</td>
<td>631</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>255</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goudini (rural)</td>
<td>1 005</td>
<td>549</td>
<td>286</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voorste Bosjesveld</td>
<td>1 054</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over Hex River</td>
<td>1 464</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achter Hex River</td>
<td>5 988</td>
<td>2 021</td>
<td>744</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>270</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 917</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 1904 Census states the population of the Worcester Census District to be 19 287. This represented an increase of 6 725 inhabitants since 1891 the date of the previous census. The Census District consisted of two urban and six rural field-cornetcies. The urban field-cornetcies were the Worcester Municipality and Rawsonville Village.

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60 Kleinplasie interview with De Vos, ibid supra.
rural field-cornetcies were of Worcester, Wagenboom’s River, Goudini, Voorste Bosjesveld, Over Hex and Achter Hex River. The latter included the villages of Matjiesfontein and Touwsriver. Each field cornetcy was a administered by a veldkornet (field cornet) “whose essential task was to police” the region. He was appointed by the magistrate and his tasks included the “collect(ion) of evidence and (the) examin(ation) of bodies in criminal cases.62

As the Census data indicates, Worcester was clearly a big town in the District, as was Achter Hex whose relatively large population was dispersed across the Hexriver Valley, Touwsriver and Matjiesfontein. About half of the urban population of Worcester, including the one-year-old baby Saul Januarie, were classified “Mixed & Other”. There were still quite a number of people classified “Hottentot”. They resided mainly in the rural and surrounding areas with only 30 “Hottentots” resident in the town of Worcester itself. Furthermore, it should be noted that at this stage they were still not included in the category “Mixed & Other”.

The “Malay” category in the town points to the existence of a small, but possibly coherent, Muslim community. “Malay” refers here primarily to religious affiliation rather than Malaysian or East Indian origin.63 The town had a well-established and substantial white community, over 3,000 strong by this period in its history. The “Kaffir & Bechuana”64 category was mainly comprised of Xhosa migrants from the Eastern Cape; a westward migration from Eastern Cape had accelerated from 1890s.

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63 V. Bickford-Smith, “‘Malay’ was normally used to describe Muslims, whatever their actual origins” (Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice, p.30).
64 Ibid p. 30 “‘Kaffir’ referred to ‘all tribes South of Delgoa Bay, excluding the Fingo and Bechuana”.
Table 2: Worcester Census District: Summary of Occupations by Race, 1904

[Source: Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1904]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>Domestic</th>
<th>Commercial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>European</td>
<td>Other than European</td>
<td>European</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7974</td>
<td>11313</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>Indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1647</td>
<td>2218</td>
<td>731</td>
<td>1629</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The enumerated employment sectors were commercial, agricultural, industrial, professional and domestic. The domestic sector employed the highest number, 4 384 workers. This was followed by the agricultural sector with 3 865 workers; the industrial sector with 2 360; trailed by the commercial sector with 977; and a small professional sector of 247. Europeans dominated the professional and commercial sectors, whereas the domestic, industrial and agricultural sectors had a majority Black employment. 605 household heads for the listed occupations stayed in the town area as opposed to 156 in the Parkersdam area.65 Virtually all the professionals and skilled artisans were resident in the town area. On the other hand, virtually all the semi-skilled and unskilled household heads, for example, labourers, washerwomen and woodcarriers resided in Parkersdam.

Map 1: Census Plan of the town of Worcester 1903

[Source: Western Cape Archives and Records Centre]

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65 Worcester Year Book & Directory, 1904, National Library of South Africa, Cape Town
This map, used by the Census enumerators, shows the layout of Worcester town in 1903. The town had been laid out in 1819 in a rectangular block. It had expanded towards the south of Durban Street with the establishment of Parkersdam where the majority of the town’s residents stayed at the time. The Parkersdam area consisted of two locations, which had been in existence prior to 1880, a smaller location of 25 erven and a larger one of 55 erven. These plots would vary in size consisting of a “dwelling on a plot or garden.” The 1904 Worcester Yearbook & Directory lists the household heads in the entire town indicating their occupation and street addresses. 858 househeads are listed in Worcester inclusive of 174 in Parkersdam. This reflects a predominantly white residential population in the town with a predominantly black residential population in Parkersdam. However, the settlement pattern in the town was more in line with income levels. In general, the higher income group resided above Durban Street and the lower income group resided in the Parkersdam area. It is clear then that the Worcester community at the turn of the 19th century lived essentially in two residential area, the town and the Parkersdam area. The town was predominantly white and the Parkersdam area predominantly black. The 1904 Worcester Yearbook & Directory lists the street addresses of household heads with their various occupational status. Although no racial or colour categorisation is made in the Directory, certain distinctions can be inferred with reference to occupation and surnames.

The extent of mixed residential spaces can be determined to a degree with reference to the surnames of the household heads. Typical Coloured surnames like Africa, Fransman, Jeftha, Kleintjies and Springveldt are listed as resident in different streets in the town area. Similarly, people with the following surnames, associated with whites, were resident in Parkersdam: Kirschbaum, Eichstadt, Levy, Bienedell and Germishuys. This analysis of residential patterns should not create an impression of status.

The early 20th century was a time of rapid change. One notable symbol in Worcester, of this new era was the motor car. One of the senior citizens interviewed by the Kleinplasie

67 Black used collectively to “Malays”, “Hottentots”, “Kaffir & Bechuana”, and “Mixed & Other”.

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Museum, Pieter de Vos, recalls how in his childhood years the town’s tranquility was shattered by the arrival of the motorcar roundabout 1904. Doctor D. de V. Hugo, one of five medical practitioners, was apparently amongst the first to own a motorcar and had a motorcar registration plate 1. In earlier times de Vos recalled the peace being disturbed only by the chimes of the church clock and the peal of market, prison or fire-alarm bells.

Worcester’s electric power generation started in 1916. Since 1897 streetlighting had been provided by means of paraffin oil lighting. However, the light poles were erected on the street-corners of the town area excluding the area known as the location, that is the Parkersdam area where the majority of Black residents stayed. Daantjie Roux and an unnamed black assistant were responsible for the maintenance of the lights, as well as the daily filling with paraffin. Roux went out on horseback every night to light the lamps.

Some of the residential addresses listed in 1904 are described as a yards. These were large plots that were used for the cultivation of vegetable produce for local consumption. However, with the increased demand for housing, these yards provided accommodation to a number of families. Such areas were typically overcrowded with poor sanitary conditions. Some seem to have been established to provide space for freed slaves in the previous century. This might have been the case, for example, with Mrs v.d.Bent’s and Mr H. Grassman’s Yards in Le Seuer Street, and Pieter Voight and Fisher’s Yards in Parker Street.

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71 Kleinplasie Museum Interview Mr H de Villiers, 1967
73 Ibid p.49.
Table 3: Worcester Census District: Inhabited Houses

[Source: Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1904]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census District</th>
<th>Total Number of houses</th>
<th>Brick &amp; stone</th>
<th>Wood, Iron, Lath &amp; Plaster</th>
<th>Wattle &amp; Daub, Mud, Sod</th>
<th>Tents, Wagons, Canvas Roofs</th>
<th>All Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Worcester</td>
<td>3205</td>
<td>2651</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above table it is evident that more than 80% of the dwellings in Worcester were built of brick and stone. Another set of data records that slightly more than 40% of these consisted of more than four rooms. It is not possible to determine exactly where the non-brick & stone houses were located. However, it can be assumed that the professional, merchant and landowning classes, both in the urban and rural areas of the Census District, would be occupying brick and stone dwellings. Furthermore, the non-brick & stone houses would be found in both the urban and rural areas. It is fair to assume that at least some of these people census enumerators labelled “Kaffir and Bechuana” resided in dwellings designated “wattle and daub, mud, sod.”

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that Worcester had developed into a spatially divided town in the eighty odd years since its founding in 1820 as a rectangularly laid out residential area. Having been a slave town, it had to make provision for the settlement of former slaves. These were the origins of Parkersdam location and later of the locations south-west of Durban Street. Furthermore, when streets like Napier, Porter and Adderley Streets were extended crossing Durban Street (which used to constitute the southern boundary of the early town), the names changed. Napier Street became Le Seuer Street, Porter Street became Parker Street, and Adderley Street became Grey Street. These changes in street names could have been a way of accommodating the burgeoning number of colonial officials that had served the Cape Colony and the local area of Worcester.

The spatial division was reinforced by the preferential provision of services to residents north of Durban Street including the streetlighting and water-borne sanitation. This skewed provision of municipal services related to the racial divisions of the town. A
white elected municipality catered to the needs of its white residential population. This was the racially divided, small town world into which Saul Januarie was born on 6 July 1903.
Chapter 3: From childhood to early adulthood, 1903 – 1932

In this chapter I explore the early part of Saul Januarie’s life in Worcester and Touwsriver as well as his family background. Furthermore, I explore what could be considered the formation of his worldview from interactions with the Griqua artisans in Touwsriver during the second decade of the twentieth century.

Januarie’s family had been resident in Porter Street since at least 1899, since it is on record that this was where an older sister, Sina, was born.74 In 1900 an older brother, Hendrik, was also born at the same address.75 This was followed by Saul Januarie’s birth three years later.76 I have not been able to establish exactly what kind of dwelling the Januarie family occupied during their stay in Worcester. It might well have been a wood & iron structure in somebody’s backyard. However, some information about Januarie’s parents can be gleaned from the Worcester birth and death registers. His mother Lena’s maiden name was Olivier and she bore thirteen children with her husband Aaron.

Aaron worked variously as a general labourer and a woodcutter in Worcester. A municipal forest was located behind the Drostdy in Somerset Street on the western side of the town. It appears from the archival records that by 1905, the time of the birth of Saul’s younger sister, Lena, their mother’s namesake, the family had moved from Porter Street to Grey Street. Saul was now just two years of age. His father’s name is recorded variously as Arend, Aaron and Arie. The multiple names of Januarie’s father could well have been an attempt to distinguish him from others with the same name and surname. Januarie, after all, was a very common name among the communities descended from slaves, and Biblical names were also typical of that era.

Saul Januarie had twelve siblings. He was the youngest boy as well as the second youngest child. As we have seen he spent his earliest years in Worcester having been born in Porter Street, and moved when he was about two years old to Grey Street. In the

74 Home Affairs Western Cape (HAWC) 1/WOC 1/3/57/3/1, 1899 (326).
75 Home Affairs Western Cape (HAWC) 1/WOC 1/3/57/3/1, 1900 (543).
76 Home Affairs Western Cape (HAWC) 1/WOC 1/3/57/3/2, 1903 (303).
For 1904 there is no listed household head by the surname of Januarie. A number of household heads who were general labourers and wood-carriers are listed. It could well be that Aaron Januarie did not own but merely rented property. What we do know is that some time after the birth of Saul’s sister, Lena, in 1905 his family relocated from Worcester to Modderdrift agricultural area situated in Ward Six in the vicinity of Touwsriver.

We can only speculate as to why the Januarie family relocated to Modderdrift. The most likely cause was the need for work during the post-war economic downturn that lasted from 1905 until the establishment of Union in 1910. However, Saul’s older siblings, whose birth records could be traced, were all born at Modderdrift. This implies that Modderdrift might could have been their initial home. His parents had then migrated to Worcester before the turn of the nineteenth century.

The process of unionisation of the former Boer Republics and British territories provided new economic impetus, stimulating the demand for wine, deciduous fruit and other agricultural produce from the region. In addition, the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 created an expanded market for agricultural produce.

Modderdrift was situated in Ward Six of the Worcester District, an agricultural area that consisted of a number of farming units. Nine farmers are listed in the area. If it is accepted that those farmers who share the same surname farmed together, then there were six farms. The owners are listed in the South African Directory as Binedel, Franzen, Gaus, Viljoen and de Vos. Some of the other units were Buffelskraal (nine units); Karboonaatjieskraal (four units); Roodezant (six units); and, Vendutiekraal (six units).

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77 Worcester Year Book and Directory, 1904, NLSA (Cape Town).
Saul did not attend school as there was no school in Modderdrift. However, we do know that he learned how to count as he later managed his own finances. In addition, he could read music notation, a skill he had learned from a retired professor of music whom we will meet in a later chapter. The educational facilities in the town of Touwsriver were very restricted. The first school established at the “Jubilee Hall” and known as the “Railway School”, had catered for white and black children towards the close of the nineteenth century. The school was administered by the Cape Railways. “Conditions at the school were not very satisfactory”, according J.H. Stassen. This could have been a code for racial disapproval among some white parents of “mixed” schooling. However, it appears that the school was closed for a relatively short period during which time, white learners were accommodated at a private farm school at De Draay by C. du Plessis. When the “Railway School” in Touwsriver reopened, it catered only for white learners. Records for the primary school in Touwsriver are extant from 1913, that is, an admission register for that year. It is not clear how the educational needs of other children were met.

In 1913 at the age of about ten, Januarie lost a younger sister, Fytjie, then aged seven. It appears that he spent the years of World War I, 1914-1918, in Modderdrift. The war years could have proved traumatic, since he lost his mother in 1916 at the age of 53 and an older brother, Arend, aged 26 a year later. As a young boy growing up in the vicinity of Touwsriver Saul Januarie must have been surprised to find a large influx of Griqua people coming to the town on occasional visits to buy groceries, or to attend the Rhenish Mission Church. Andrew A.S. Le Fleur, a leader from East Griqualand, embarked on

82 C. Esau interviewed Dora Oliphant, ibid supra.
86 Viljoen ibid supra, p. 32.
87 Stassen, ibid, p. 67.
88 South African Year Book, 1833-4.
89 Rhenish Mission Church was located behind the Touwsriver railway station, Viljoen ibid supra, p. 28.
settlement and self-reliance schemes in the Touwsriver area.\textsuperscript{90} Michael Besten suggests that Le Fleur selected Touwsriver as a site for settlement “at the invitation of Coloureds there who were impressed with his self-help schemes in the vicinity of Cape Town”.\textsuperscript{91} Le Fleur spent a lot of time between 1910 and 1915 setting up his agricultural projects in Touwsriver, although they did not prove to be too successful.\textsuperscript{92}

In 1917 Le Fleur encouraged Griqua families from Griqualand East to settle in Touwsriver and, according to Besten, “around 700 people eventually migrated to Touwsriver”.\textsuperscript{93} This represented a substantial inflow of people into the Touwsriver community. Le Fleur’s settlement initiatives were a direct result of his political vision, one which Besten refers to as “ethno-nationalism”.\textsuperscript{94} His “ethno-nationalism” was a response to what he perceived as the increasing marginalization of Griqua and Coloured communities. He firmly believed that Griqua identity could best be protected and enhanced through the practice of “self-reliance, self-control, ‘racial’ unity, progression through education and religious separatism”.\textsuperscript{95}

The end of the War coincided with the outbreak of the Spanish Flu. At least 152 people perished in Touwsriver and vicinity as a result of this devastating epidemic. However, there is no indication that any of Saul’s family members succumbed to the disease.\textsuperscript{96}

Besten avers that Le Fleur’s “religious separatism” was promoted by the African Methodist Episcopal Church.\textsuperscript{97} Reverend Van Stavel of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Worcester was on hand to welcome an advance party of Le Fleur’s adherents in Touwsriver in 1919. It would be fair to assume that at least some of Le Fleur’s political, social and economic ideals resonated with some members of the local Coloured

\textsuperscript{91} Ibid, p. 103.
\textsuperscript{92} Ibid pp 106-108.
\textsuperscript{93} Ibid p. 113.
\textsuperscript{94} Ibid p.87.
\textsuperscript{95} Ibid p. 98.
\textsuperscript{96} Death Register HAWC 1/WOC 1/3/57/5/5.
\textsuperscript{97} Besten, M, ibid supra p. 98 and footnote 37 on same page referring to to James Campbell: Songs of Zion: the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) in the United States and South Africa.
community, hence the invitation extended to Le Fleur to implement a settlement scheme in Touwsriver.

Some of the Griqua settlers were tradesmen including “sawyers, blacksmiths and wagon-makers”. Saul, a teenage boy, could very well, on one of his visits to town, have ventured into the workshops of these tradesmen and acquired the interest in the trade that he pursued in his later life. He would eventually spend about 50 years working in the blacksmith and wagon-making sector. Saul might also have been exposed to the ideas of self-reliance and temperance that were part of the Griqua ethos. The seeds of his lifelong involvement in the Independent Order of True Templars could well have been planted in conversation with members of the Griqua community at Touwsriver.

Some time in his late teens Saul Januarie left Touwsriver to return to the town of his birth. He was in search of a better livelihood. In the post-war years there had been increased migration from the countryside to country towns, and from there to the urban areas. Within a few years of Saul being back in Worcester he married. His wife was a cousin, Gertruida Sampson, also born Januarie. They were married by the Reverend Söhinge in the Rhenish Mission Church. Her first husband, Cornelis Sampson, a shoemaker, had recently died in his Parker Street home, after a short illness. Gertruida and Cornelis had three children. Gertruida was born in Sutherland in 1889. Her mother was also named Gertruida; her father was Joseph. Gertruida bore three more children with Saul. They were named Aaron, Magdalena and Joseph. They also adopted a son, Abraham Johannes Appollis.

It is not known what work Saul did prior to entering the blacksmith and wagon-making trade. He could not readily recall when he was interviewed by Ms G.Engelbrecht of the Kleinplasie Museum what kind of work he did prior to working as a blacksmith. Perhaps

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98 Besten, M, ibid supra p. 112.
99 Kleinplasie interview with Saul Januarie, 1980.
101 Gertruida’s parents were Joseph and Gertruida Januarie, Estate 1285/71, Master’s Office Cape Town.
102 Home Affairs Western Cape (HAWC), Death register 1921 number 519.
103 Saul Januarie 5945/83 last will and testament at Master’s Office Cape Town.
this was because he considered himself an accomplished blacksmith and what he had done prior to that paled into insignificance. Or perhaps it was just that his memory of those early years had faded. In all likelihood he would have started work as a labourer in a blacksmith’s workshop before he married Gertruida in 1925. It is unlikely that he would have contemplated marriage, if he had no independent means of income. After all, Gertruida’s first husband had been a shoemaker.

Saul Januarie had a frugal life-style informed no doubt by his membership of the IOTT.\textsuperscript{104} He saved money by buying food on a day-to-day basis and gave his wife only enough cash to buy food for the week-end. By 1931 though he had accumulated enough funds to buy a sizeable plot with out-buildings situated in Parker Street. He purchased it for £100. It was transferred into his name in the following year.\textsuperscript{105} The property measured 175 roods and 72 square feet.

\textsuperscript{104} D.T. Beito, “To Advance the Practice of Thrift and Economy: Fraternal Societies and Social Capital, 1890-1920” in \textit{Journal of Interdisciplinary History}, Vol. 29, No. 4, Patterns of Social Capital: Stability and Change in Comparative Perspective: Part III. (Spring, 1999), pp. 585 612

\textsuperscript{105} T 5841 dated 21/9/1932.
1932, in the same year that the Parker Street property was transferred into his name, Januarie’s father died at the age of 75 at Orange Grove, a farm near Worcester. Saul was now 29 years of age. Aaron had not remarried after the death of his wife in 1916. He must have moved some time after her death to stay with his son David, the signatory on his death notice. Dora Oliphant recalls that Saul had a brother who stayed at De Doorns, about 30 kilometres from Worcester, who used to visit him at least once a month with his horse-drawn cart. This may have been David. It may well be that Aaron’s entire household relocated after his wife’s death and that Saul Januarie also stayed for a time at De Doorns. Such a possibility is reinforced by Dora Oliphant’s claim that: “My

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106 Home Affairs Western Cape (HAWC) 1/WOC 1/3/57/5/10, 450.
107 Home Affairs Western Cape (HAWC) 1/WOC 1/3/57/10, 450.
What were the implications of all this for Saul’s development and character? As we have seen, he grew up in a large household. Being part of the younger set of siblings, he would have benefited from the increase in household income as his older siblings gained employment. However, his mother’s passing when he was only thirteen years, meant that he would have had to learn to assume greater responsibility for himself. His father, as noted above, never remarried and this would have reinforced his sense of a need for self-reliance.

Saul’s lack of schooling was no absolute impediment to his advancement in society - though of course we have no means of knowing exactly what direction his life might have taken had he been given access to the skills and literacy that a proper education affords. I imagine him as a curious teenager intent to acquire the kind of knowledge that would open the door to employment beyond Modderdrift. It was only once he moved to Worcester, in the aftermath of the First World War and the Spanish Flu, that he was able to realise some of these ambitions.

Before long he began to focus on learning a trade, probably starting out as a labourer in the blacksmith workshop of Piet Uys in 1924. His yearning to create stability in his life served as a strong impetus to settle down in marriage. He was intent on purchasing his own property and lived frugally to save enough funds to acquire the modest property in Parker Street that provided shelter for his extended family and others in years to come.

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110 Kleinplasie interiview with Bruere Kloppers and Saul Januarie, 1980.
Chapter 4: Working life, 1924 – 1980

This chapter relies extensively on transcripts of interviews conducted by the Kleinplasie Museum, Worcester in 1980. These transcripts form part of a series of oral history interviews conducted between 1966 and 1980. The interviews were conducted by staff at the Museum. All the interviewees, with the single exception of Saul Januarie, were white residents of Worcester. A Numeric Catalogue lists their names together with the recording dates and a brief summary of the content. Some of the topics covered in this project are old residents of Worcester; family histories and interesting incidents; recollections about the South African War 1899-1902; the architectural history of the town; the wagon-making industry; agricultural activities in the district; and important personalities in the town’s history. The information collected in the early years was used to compile a radio programme of Worcester as part of a series entitled, “Ons land en sy mense” (Our land and our people). The programme was broadcast on SABC Radio in three parts in December 1968.111

The quality of the recordings was uneven. In the transcripts observations are made as to the state of the recordings and the inaudibility of certain sections of the audio recording. Furthermore, the inaudibility at critical moments in some interviews, impacts negatively with the result that some information, for example, names and maybe important bits of information, are lost. Some of the interviews were conducted with senior residents at an old age home and others in an open space outside. The interviewers in certain instances used photographs to jog the memories of the interviewees.

Saul Januarie features in three interviews that were conducted as part of information collected to reconstruct a workshop of a blacksmith at the Museum.112 Interviews were also conducted with Van Blerk, Van den Heever, Wouter De Vos en Pieter de Vos on the tools used by blacksmiths, as well as on the wagon-making trade in Worcester.113

112 Kleinplasie interviews with Bruere Kloppers and Saul Januarie, 14 January 1980; Bruere Kloppers and Saul Januarie, 16 January 1980; and, Saul Januarie and Bruere Kloppers, 18 January 1980.
113 Judge van Blerk, Mr Van den Heever, Mr & Mrs de Vos.
first interview in the series with Saul Januarie is dated 14 January 1980. The second was conducted on the 16th and the last, two days later. The transcript does not indicate where the interviews were conducted. However, the transcript suggest that it was in the open, because on a number of occasions there is reference to something being unclear on account of external noise. The second interview deals extensively with different implements used in the wagon-making industry and also explores who the main wagon-makers were in Worcester. Although the third interview started off in same vein, Januarie managed to relate a number of incidents that happened in the industry. In addition, he provides a few personal details, including the length of his involvement in the industry and where he started out his career as a wagon-maker and blacksmith.

It appears from the transcript of the first interview that there was a second interviewee was Bruere Kloppers from Philipsdale, and that the interviewers were Mr C. De Wit and Miss G. Engelbrecht of the Museum. However, at the end of the transcript Saul Januarie’s name is also listed. For the two remaining interviews both Kloppers and Januarie are listed as the interviewees and they were interviewed by Miss G. Engelbrecht.

These illustrate amply Januarie’s extensive knowledge of his trade, its local history and occupational hazards. They present a rich source of evidence about his working life and his recollections of the craftsmanship in the wagon-making and blacksmith sectors in Worcester. This source does, however, have a certain obvious biases. In the first instance, it is very narrowly focused on extracting information for museum crafts and other activities. This means that the personal and social information that is offered up tends to be virtually limited to Januarie’s working life, excluding his childhood and social activities.

Secondly, there is the racial bias of this source. The first interview dated 14 January 1980 states that the interview was conducted by Miss Engelbrecht with Mr Bruere Kloppers. However, during the second part of the interview, Januarie is introduced by Kloppers: “ek het by die museum (unclear) toe het ek vir die nôi gesê dat jy die man is wat Piet Uys gehelp het” (“when at the museum I told the misses that you are the fellow who assisted
Piet Uys"). Throughout the interviews whenever either Kloppers or Engelbrecht refer to white people in speaking to Januarie, they describe them as “baas” or “oubaas”, that is “master” or “old master”. Januarie uses the same forms of address, but frequently just refer to the various wagonmakers or blacksmith by their surnames.

Engelbrecht respectfully refers to Kloppers throughout the interviews variously as “oom” or “meneer”, that is, “uncle” or “mister” as a sign of respect. On the other hand, Januarie - who was already at an advanced age at the time is addressed by Engelbrecht by his first name, indicating the racial unequality.

Finally, a potential limitation of this source is the fact that Januarie’s memory had by then already deteriorated to some extent. When asked as to his age, he stated it to have been 83 although he was in fact 77 years old at the time. However, it is striking that he could recall incidents and events in great detail, as well as share a number of anecdotes about the local wagon-making industry. So despite the biases and constraints of the Kleinplasie interviews, they do provide a remarkable and unusual source of information about Worcester’s tradition of craftsmen, and an intimate knowledge of the local wagon-making and blacksmith trades.

Saul Januarie joined the wagon-making industry in Worcester when it had already been overtaken by the wagon-making industry of Paarl and motorised vehicles were replacing the earlier mode of transport. The industry was established during the 1860s. In its heyday in the 1880s, there were about 80 wagonmakers whose wagons were in great demand in the northern parts of the country. However, the introduction of machinery by the Retief De Ville Company in Paarl, displaced the craftsmen of Worcester. During the first decade of the twentieth century, there were 21 wagon-makers and 20 blacksmiths, white and Coloured, plying their trade in Worcester. Januarie could remember the

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114 Kleinplasie interview Bruere Kloppers and Saul Januarie, 14 January 1980.
115 Gwyn Prins, ibid supra, p. 133 re the ability of long-term memory “especially in individuals who have entered that phase which psychologists call ‘life review’, can be remarkably precise”.
116 R.G. Grebe, ibid supra, p. 228.
117 Worcester Year Book & Directory, 1904.
names of the blacksmiths who had workshops. Most of these workshops were located in Durban Street and a few in Trappes and Baring Streets. Interestingly, Grebe selectively cites only “Jasons, Afrika’s en Jephtas (as) knap wamakers” (“Jasons, Afrika’s and Jephtas as excellent wagon-makers”) from the Coloured community.

Januarie probably joined the blacksmith industry in the early 1920s, and learnt his trade from Piet Uys, a white resident of Worcester. Saul was in Piet’s employ for more than 26 years. Piet had worked as a blacksmith from at least 1904, and was resident in Stockenström Street. His workshop was situated next to his house. Today a florist stands where Uys’ workshop used to be. Although he himself was not a wagon-maker, Uys would contract to undertake wagon-making jobs. In such instances, he would subcontract a wagon-maker to do the woodwork. For example, Uys made wooden wheels and bodywork for the scotch-carts.

Wagon-makers and blacksmiths worked together across the racial divide. The Coloured wagon-makers, like Arend and Koos Springveldt and Koos Benjamin, were excellent artisans. The white blacksmiths, having completed the metalwork on building a wagon, would then enlist the Coloured artisans to do the woodwork. Dassie Fransman and his son Thys worked as wagon-makers for Piet Uys. Piet would make the design and Dassie, Thys and Saul Januarie would be responsible for the ironwork. Dassie Fransman was highly skilled and worked without pre-cast forms, using only measuring rods. His precise workmanship was demonstrated over and again when the different component parts of the wagon had to be fitted together.

119 R.G. Grebe, ibid, p. 228; he cites the following white wagonmakers: Andries le Roux sr. & jr.; James Brett; Philip and Piet Voight; Piet Jooste; Carel Carr; and, Pieter Keet.
120 Kleinplasie interview with Saul Januarie and Bruere Kloppers, 14 January 1980, p.16.
121 Worcester Directory, 1904, ibid supra.
123 Kleinplasie interview with Saul Januarie and Bruere Kloppers, 14 January 1980.
Saul Januarie was not the first Coloured apprentice Piet Uys had trained as a blacksmith. Long before he became involved in the wagon-making industry, Piet was hired to work in Wellington and he had a Coloured man who handled the big hammer in the blacksmith’s forge. At the time Piet left, that man was qualified as a blacksmith.\textsuperscript{124} Januarie’s weekly pay amounted to £1/50 as a labourer and it was probably increased to £2/50 when he was considered qualified as a blacksmith.\textsuperscript{125}

The relationship between Januarie and Uys was based on trust. Uys would show Januarie certain secrets of the trade. For example, he taught Januarie how to temper a spring for a trap. Normally the spring would be heated until red-hot and then put into cold water. However, in this instance, the process would include the greasing of the heated spring with goat’s fat before dunking it in cold water. Whenever Uys was working on a trap, he would exclude Januarie’s fellow worker. This worker, on some previous occasion, was not completely honest in paying over money that he had obtained for shodding horses. Uys would then send him off on an errand to the station.\textsuperscript{126} Saul Januarie, however, would be privy to that knowledge and became proficient in making and tempering springs for traps.

Whilst Januarie was in Uys’ employ, they never went to the surrounding farm to shoe horses.\textsuperscript{127} Horses were brought to town for that purpose. Januarie had a high regard for Piet Uys’ expertise as a blacksmith and regarded him as having a thorough knowledge of horses.\textsuperscript{128} At the time when the National Road passing Worcester was still an untarred hard surface road, draught animals had to be shod regularly. Uys could tell whether a horse had a difficult temper or not, just by looking into its eyes and he would advise Januarie as to how to handle these horses. Before long the apprentice had surpassed the master artisan in this branch of the craft. There was a pair of difficult reddish donkeys

\textsuperscript{124} Kleinplasie interview with Saul Januarie, January 1980.
\textsuperscript{125} Kleinplasie interview with Saul Januarie, January 1980 (part 1). The second part of the same interview states that Saul’s weekly pay was £2/50.
\textsuperscript{126} Kleinplasie interview with Saul Januarie, January 1980.
\textsuperscript{127} Kleinplasie interview with Saul Januarie, January 1980.
\textsuperscript{128} Kleinplasie interview with Saul Januarie, J1980.
that had to be shod every month. Piet Uys could not go near them because on a previous occasion he had beaten them, so Januarie would shod them.129

Januarie recalled another incident relating to his work with difficult horses. Once in the late 1920s, a sergeant of the then Mounted Police came into Uys’s workshop informing him that a difficult horse from Touwsrivier would be brought in to be shod the following day. Januarie was not there at the time, but when the horse was brought in the following afternoon he shod it without any difficulty. When Piet Uys arrived and enquired whether the wild and difficult horse of the Mounted Police had arrived, Januarie informed him that the horse had already been shod. By then Januarie had mastered the art of sensing the nature of a horse and calming it.

Januarie recounted numerous other such experiences. On one occasion a farmer wanted Januarie to shoe his horses on a farm in Du Toit’s Kloof some kilometres from town.130 Initially Januarie was reluctant, but later he relented. The farmer assured him that all the horses, except one, were tame. After he had shod the tame horses, Januarie tied a neckharness around the wild horse’s neck. Nevertheless, the horse took aim at Januarie and kicked him while he was driving a nail into its hoof. His hand was injured and permanently scarred as a result of the injury.

On another occasion a farmer named Johannes Rabie brought a stallion from Kimberley to be shod. Saul was already advanced in years at that time. On three occasions the horse gave Saul the slip, but on each occasion it was brought back. It seemed that the stallion sensed that Saul was a threat to it. The farmer was nowhere to be found to assist or calm the horse. Out of sheer desperation Saul managed to summon some help and tied the horse’s legs, sat on it and shod the horse!

Januarie insisted that shoeing horses was a dangerous job. Another incident occurred on the farm of Hans Rabie when Januarie had an inexperienced youngster as an assistant.

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129 Kleinplasie interview with Saul Januarie, January 1980.
130 Kleinplasie interview with Saul Januarie, January 1980.
During the process of shoeing, the horse became restless and Saul warned the youngster not to put his feet between the horse’s legs. But the youngster did not listen. The very next moment the horse took off and threw the boy to the ground and he sustained serious injuries as a result. Saul also told a story about a worker who sustained a serious injury to his hand whilst shodding a mare. He was given some brandy to clean his wound. The wound was dressed and he consumed the brandy. On being asked why he drank the brandy, he responded by saying, “die kwaad moet nou van binne af uitwerk” (“the evil must be purged from the inside”).

As a blacksmith Saul had a variety of tools. His stock-in-trade were his anvil, hammers, tongs and bellows. Richard Titus, the museum guide, in the photograph below, works in the blacksmith’s workshop at Kleinplasie Museum, Worcester. He points out the marks made by Saul Januarie on his anvil. The anvil was donated to the Kleinplasie Museum by Januarie’s daughter, Lena. Marks of various shapes and sizes were made whilst beating hot iron into shapewith a variety of hammers. According to Titus, a veterinarian bought Januarie’s bellows. Januarie later made his own hammers and tongs. In addition, he fashioned a variety of items that were used in the process of putting iron bands on wheels for the different horse and ox-drawn carts.

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131 Kleinplasie interview with Saul Januarie and Bruere Kloppers, 14 January 1980, p. 18.
A local businessman P.A. Venter donated a big pair of bellows to the Museum which Januarie had given him. However, these were in need of extensive repairs. It is not clear from the transcript why Januarie had given the bellows to Venter. Januarie explained that they could be repaired with new soft leather that could be obtained from Moses, a shoemaker, opposite the police station in Adderley Street. It is not clear what happened to rest of his extensive set of tools.\textsuperscript{133}

The work of a blacksmith was demanding and his working day often began before sunrise, and sometimes continuing late into the night. Every evening Januarie would put the bands of iron in a smouldering heap of fire and wake Uys at three o clock in the morning to weld the wheels. Usually this work would require three to four men. However, Januarie and Uys managed to accomplished those arduous tasks on their own.

When Uys retired from the blacksmith trade in the early 1950s, Januarie started out on his own. On his retirement Uys bought a farm.\textsuperscript{134} Uys sold some of his tools and donated a pair of bellows and an anvil to Januarie. Januarie bought other tools at an auction. Piet Uys died around 1955.\textsuperscript{135} By this time Saul Januarie had established himself as a competent and industrious tradesman in his own right. Besides, Uys’ enterprise must have had an extended client base among the farming community in the Worcester district that appreciated Januarie’s skills. He regularly received fresh produce from the farming community as an indication of their appreciation for his services.

Saul Januarie started his own workshop in Adderley Street next to the current Department of Home Affairs. The property belonged to Mrs Cloete.\textsuperscript{136} The business offered a range of services in addition to shoeing of horses. These included the sharpening of tools, axes, picks and crowbars. In addition, he repaired the refuse and sanitation wagons of the Worcester Municipality and mended broken bicycles.

\textsuperscript{134} Kleinplasie interview with Saul Januarie, 16 January 1980.
\textsuperscript{135} Kleinplasie interview, with Bruere Klopper and Saul Januarie, 14 January 1980.
\textsuperscript{136} C. Esau interviewed Mr A, Worcester, 3 August 2007.
Januarie even tackled putting the iron bands on a Spider Phaeton’s four wheels on his own. This popular two-seat cart resembled a spider’s four thin, long legs set widely apart.\textsuperscript{137} Each wheel required a relatively narrow iron band and he would leave those bands in a smouldering heap of fire the night before and early the following morning would try to find a helping hand. If unsuccessful, he would take two tongs and fit the iron wheels himself.\textsuperscript{138}

\textbf{Figure 5}: Example of a Spider Phaeton Wagon exhibited at the Kleinplasie Museum, Worcester.
[Photograph taken by C. Esau November 2007]

\textsuperscript{137} Hennie van der Merwe, “Die Tradisionele Wamakersbedryf in Suid-Afrika met spesifieke verwysing na die Paarl” (M.A. Thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1983), p. 46.
\textsuperscript{138} Kleinplasie Museum interview with Saul Januarie, January 1980.
With the implementation of the Group Areas Act of 1950, Saul Januarie was forced to relocate his workshop to the south of Durban Street, which became the dividing line between black and white residents. This Act was implemented from the late 1950s through to the mid-1960s in Worcester. According to Johannes Johnson, the Group Areas Act affected Worcester less dramatically than some of the other country towns in South Africa. This was the result of the systematic work done by a lawyer, P.A. Malan, who was also a founder of the National Party. Malan would befriend Coloured families who were still resident above Durban Street and persuade them to relocate to below Durban Street, offering to buy their properties in exchange for his properties in Parkersdam. Malan had befriended Johnson’s father, who was resident at 46 Baring Street, and offered to buy up his property. In exchange he offered at £100 two properties in Parkersdam, one in Leseuer Street and the other in Mylne Street. The last Coloured family to relocate in this manner was the Lawrence family who resided in Fairbairn Street. The net effect of this was that all the Coloured households had already relocated to below Durban Street before the implementation of the Group Areas Act. The African Methodist Episcopal Church and the Congregational Church Schools were examples of actual forced removals in terms of the Act.

Januarie now set up his workshop in the yard of Jaffe, a Jew. The workshop was located in a dilapidated building at the present location of Surur’s Garage in Durban Street. The yard was filled with scrap metal and there were stables for a few of Jaffe’s horses. Directly opposite was the workshop of a white blacksmith, Victor “Belie” van Rensburg. He benefited more than Januarie in obtaining work from the Worcester Municipality, repairing their horse-drawn refuse wagons. Januarie’s sons, Aaron and Frederik, also known as ‘Frikkie’, assisted him at his new workshop. In addition to the traditional blacksmith activities like shoeing horses, he maintained horse-drawn carts, as well as decorating them. Januarie adapted and diversified his blacksmith trade with the decline of horse-drawn modes of transport. He built canopies for lorries and scaffolding required

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in the construction and building trades.\textsuperscript{144} He continued to travel to the surrounding farms offering farrier services. Later, after his wife’s death in 1970, Aaron did much of the traveling to the farms as Januarie’s own health declined.\textsuperscript{145}

Saul Januarie was good at establishing a rapport with youngsters. These bonds were fostered through his involvement in the Independent Order of True Templars, which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. He would repair their bicycles in exchange for rendering some assistance in the workshop, like cleaning or fanning the flames with the bellows.\textsuperscript{146} Sometimes he would give them money to go the Palace Bioscope to attend a matinee show in exchange for helping out in the workshop. The Palace Bioscope was close to Saul’s workshop. The two other bioscopes at the time, Scala in Stöckenstrom Street and Twentieth Century in High Street, were patronised by white people only. The Palace Bioscope had shows during the week as well as two shows on a Saturday. One of the popular serials that were shown at this bioscope was “Doctor Fu Man Chu”, which made such a huge impact on sections of the youth that it resulted in the formation of the Fu Man Chu gang in lower Parker Street.\textsuperscript{147}

Januarie interested some of those youngsters in his trade and his passion and commitment influenced the career choices in some cases.\textsuperscript{148} Gary Crotz, then nine or ten years old, tells how they played rugby on an open space behind the African Methodist Episcopal Church, close to Januarie’s workshop and that the old man would sometimes watch them play. Now and then he would ask them to lend a hand. Crotz had a keen interest in the work of artisans in his vicinity, and developed an interest in what Januarie was doing. Crotz stayed in Le Seuer Street opposite Thys Fransman who made coffins, a cabinet-maker Quint, and a basket-maker Jacobs. Every afternoon after school, Crotz would go to

\textsuperscript{144} C. Esau interviewed Ivor Uys, Worcester, 1 October 2006.
\textsuperscript{146} C. Esau interviewed Harris Sibeko, Worcester, 30 March 2007.
\textsuperscript{147} Interview with Charles Brown, Worcester, 30 March 2007. Also see B. Nasson, ‘She preferred living in a cave with Harry the snake-catcher’: Towards an Oral History of Popular leisure and Class Expression in District Six, Cape Town, c. 1920s-1950s for a rich reconstruction of the world of bioscope and gangs in District Six in the mid-twentieth century in in P. Bonner (ed.) Holding their Ground: class, locality and culture in the 19th and 20th century South Africa, (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press), 1989.
Januarie’s workshop and assist with fanning the flames with the bellows, heating the iron rods and other tasks. Saul Januarie kindled the interest and love in Gary Crotz of the skill and art of the trade of a blacksmith. He learned to temper metal to attain the required hardness.

After his wife died in 1970 at the age of eighty Januarie could no longer pursue his trade with the same vigour as before. His wife had been a pillar of strength to him and dealt with the tenants on the yard. Januarie now relocated his business to his backyard at 132 Parker Street where he continued to sharpen a variety of tools when required.\(^{149}\) His son ‘Frikkie’ died in 1977 and Aaron also died at some unknown later date.\(^{150}\)

Saul Januarie’s knowledge of the blacksmith trade was sought after and he was an acknowledged expert in the trade. For example, the young female museum worker who interviewed him in 1980 had brought a flat rectangular object to be identified. She asked him to explain the object’s use. He told her that it was a curler that was used to curl the horses’ manes for the exhibitions held at the annual agricultural shows. Initially, she disbelieved him. However, he proceeded to explain how the instrument was heated at low temperature and how a horse’s mane was to be curled.\(^{151}\)

Working with iron on an anvil and with hammers provided an ideal opportunity to Januarie to practise his other main interest - music. On a typical day a fire would be made and the flames fanned by bellows. Iron bars would be put into the fire until they were red-hot and then removed to an anvil. Januarie and his sons would then proceed to deftly shape the iron into the required form with the sound made by their rhythmic strokes, creating a sound like that of an orchestra.\(^{152}\) Often Saul, who was a leading member of

\(^{149}\) Kleinplasie interview with Saul Januarie, January 1980, Worcester.

\(^{150}\) Adam Liebenberg retired as a wagon-maker, blacksmith and farrier in April 1978 at the age of seventy-three years. He started out as a workshop assistant with James Brett and later worked with Aaron Springveldt. During the First World War he worked as a blacksmith and farrier in France. During the Second World War he worked as a wagon-maker and farrier in the former Transvaal and Natal. At the time of his retirement the only other person who worked full-time as a farrier, was Aaron Januarie, Saul Januarie’s son, *Worcester Standard & Advertiser*, 24 April 1978.

\(^{151}\) Kleinplasie interview with Bruere Kloppers and Saul Januarie, Worcester, 14 January 1980.

\(^{152}\) Interview with Abe Jantjies, Worcester, 30 March 2007.
the Independent Order of True Templars Brass Band, would also compose part of a musical piece on the anvil.\textsuperscript{153} It is to this other passion and its community context that we will now turn our attention.

Chapter 5: Music and Temperance

In this chapter I explore Saul Januarie’s involvement in cultural and religious societies in Worcester. I track his association with the Temperance Movement in Worcester, as well as his active involvement in the IOTT’s Brass Band.

Table 4: Religious Affiliation: Worcester Census District, 1904

[Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1904]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>European or White</th>
<th>Other than European or White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salvation Army</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregationalist</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Reformed Church</td>
<td>2 202</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutherans</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhenish</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>3 423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Methodist Episcopal</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>563</td>
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<td>44</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>165</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td></td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Table above lists membership of different faith-based societies in the Worcester District in 1904. While the Dutch Reformed Church dominated the architecture of the town in Church Street, the Rhenish Mission Church in Adderley Street served the majority of its inhabitants. The latter was built in 1834. The other religious buildings were the Salvation Army’s Church in Porter Street, the Congregational Church in Church Street, the Anglican Church of St James the Great in Waterloo Street, and the Mosque and the Jewish Synagogue which were both in Durban Street.

The Dutch Reformed and the Rhenish Mission Churches had the largest membership with the former having a predominantly “White” membership, whilst the latter had a predominantly “Other than White” membership. Interestingly, both churches had a limited mixed membership.154 The Salvation Army, Congregationalist, Roman Catholic,

154 Census of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1904.
Church of England and the Lutheran Churches all had a larger mixed membership, while the Muslim, African Methodist Episcopal, Jewish and Baptist faith communities had either exclusive “European” or “Other than European” membership.

Saul Januarie was a member of the Rhenish Mission Church in Adderley Street. One of his granddaughters, Judy, recalls that her grandmother, Gertruida, Januarie’s wife belonged to the African Methodist Episcopal Church. It was situated towards the bottom end of Napier Street on the northern side of Durban Street, the dividing line between the town and Parkersdam areas.\(^{155}\) This Church had the second largest black congregation with 169 members. The Rhenish Mission Church had the largest following with 3 423 members. Saul’s parents, Aaron and Magdalena (Lena) Januarie, probably belonged to the Rhenish Mission Church. They had in all likelihood been members of the Touwsriver Rhenish Mission Church community as well, which had been established from around the turn of nineteenth century.

It was in the Rhenish Mission Church in Worcester’s Adderley Street that Januarie and Gertruida were married in 1925. But Januarie now apparently now also joined Gertruida’s African Methodist Episcopal Church (A.M.E.) and would come to play an increasingly prominent role in the church’s brass band led by Johnny Brown.\(^{156}\) Johnny Brown had been bandmaster for some years and retained this position right through to the 1970s.\(^{157}\) One of his sons recalls that Saul Januarie took over as bandmaster for a period of two years after Johnny had a squabble with the local pastor.\(^{158}\) The pastor wanted the brass band to function like all other church organisations and engage in monthly fundraising activities. Brown was of the view that the band’s main function was to provide music. He did shift work at a bakery and had little time to engage in additional activities like fundraising.

Johnny Brown acquired his musical knowledge in the Second World War.\textsuperscript{159} He was a member of a regiment that had a brass band component and he also learned musical notation and arrangement whilst a member of this army brass band. On his return to civilian life he shared his knowledge with others, including the Christmas Choirs like the Fleet and indeed Saul Januarie.

Saul Januarie was a teetotaler. He did, however, smoke cigarettes, and was in the habit of chewing tobacco.\textsuperscript{160} Having spent his teenage years in Modderdrift, Touwsriver, he must have witnessed how the tot system destroyed many a household and undermined the moral and social fibre of his community.\textsuperscript{161} He wanted to know what ingredients were put into the wine that caused such radical personality changes in people.\textsuperscript{162}

The Rhenish Mission Church in Worcester had an active Teetotalers’ Association, established towards the end of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{163} As a member of the Rhenish Mission Church Januarie probably joined this Association in the early 1920s. Later he would join the interdominational Independent Order of True Templars (IOTT).\textsuperscript{164} The first sub-temple of this Order was established in Worcester in 1886.\textsuperscript{165} It was a society that campaigns for the total abstinence from alcohol. Its parent organisation, the Independent Order of Good Templars (IOGT) had been established in the Cape Colony in the 1870s, but allowed for exclusive white membership. Januarie would eventually become the leader of the IOTT in Worcester following Augus “Boy” Swartz, whom we met in an earlier chapter.

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
  \bibitem{holt}Farm labourers working on Boland farms were given wine as part payment throughout the working day ensuring a docile labour force. See also Mack P. Holt (ed), \textit{Alcohol: A Social and Cultural History} (Berg Press: Oxford andNew York, 2006), pp. 62-73.
  \bibitem{mills}Wallace G. Mills, \textit{The Roots of African Nationalism in the Cape Colony: Temperance, 1866-1898}, p. 205
  \bibitem{abrahams}Abrahams, F.E. (n.d.), \textit{Kort Geskiedkundige Oorsig van die SWD Hoë Tempel 3 Mei 1899 – 3 Mei 1999}, p.1
\end{thebibliography}
The photograph below shows the members of the Independent Order of True Templars (IOTT) in 1936. It was obtained from Yunus Lakay who runs a barbershop in Worcester. His walls are adorned by photographs of local personalities and events. It is said that when a person dies and the family has no image of the departed, they enlist Yunus’ assistance to locate a picture of the deceased. The date 1886 is inscribed in the top left corner of the photograph referring to the date of the establishment of the IOTT in Worcester. In the top right-hand corner the date 1936 is inscribed, suggesting that the photograph was taken at the Golden Jubilee Celebration of the IOTT in Worcester that year.

Figure 6: Photograph of the IOTT and its Brass Band Worcester 1936. Saul Januarie stands at the extreme left in the back row.
[From the collection of Yunus Lakay Barbershop, Worcester]

This photograph shows 61 members from the adult section of the IOTT. The 38 women and 23 men pictured ranged in age from seventeen to seventy. The photograph appears to have been taken outside the Rhenish Mission Church in Adderley Street, judging by the distinctively ornate windows in the background. Immediately underneath the letters IOTT, a portrait photograph of Pastor Daniel Peter Gordon of the African Methodist
Episcopal Church has been inserted. Two other portraits of woman members are on either side of the group. I have not been able to identify them.

Members of the IOTT Brass Band occupy the back row with all but two of the band members holding their musical instruments. Brass Band members were not necessarily members of the IOTT.\textsuperscript{166} They are dressed in their distinctive band uniform, whilst the other IOTT members wear sashes with various embroidered insignia. According to Wallace Mills, in his regional history of the Temperance Movement, within the IOTT “there was a hierarchy of degrees and leadership positions, marked by grandiose titles, distinguishing regalias and elaborate rituals for passage from one ‘degree’ to another.”\textsuperscript{167}

The musical instruments held by the Band members are from left to right: an alto horn, a tuba, a cornet, an euphonium, another euphonium, a slide trombone and an alto horn. Saul Januarie, then thirty years of age and in full uniform, is standing to the extreme left in the back row holding his hands behind his back. Moses Swartz the only son of Augus ‘Boy’ Swartz Moses Swartz then seventeen is standing in the middle of the back row holding a cornet in his right hand. His grey-headed, bespectaled father, then fifty-five, is seated in the second row, fifth from left to right. Moses’ future wife Annette Davids, is seated in the second row, third from right to left, and her brother, John Davids, is seated in the front row, fifth from left to right. Annette and John were my mother’s siblings.

There were a number of other brass and string bands performing in Worcester during the middle decades of the twentieth century. The performances of brass bands were an integral part of the town’s annual agricultural shows.\textsuperscript{168} In one year the programme featured the Worcester Volunteers Brass Band;\textsuperscript{169} in another it featured the military brass band from Cape Town. De Vos relates an incident that concerned a retired policeman, Tom Thacker. He had the reputation of being very strict and did not tolerate any

\textsuperscript{166} C. Esau interviewed Mr A, Worcester, 3 August 2007.
\textsuperscript{168} Kleinplasie Interview with Mr P de Vos, Worcester, 1967.
\textsuperscript{169} Members were drawn from volunteers who had served during the wars on the eastern frontier in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century
drunkenness on the streets. After he retired from the police, he stayed for a while in Worcester but later decided to relocate to the Eastern Cape. On the day that he left Worcester, the Coloured community turned out in force led by a string band under the leadership of one Gideon Jefta. They marched up Napier Street, carrying a broom, “sweeping” Thacker out of town. The assembled crowd sang, “Vat jou goed en trek Ferreira” at the top of their voices.170

Saul Januarie’s predecessor as band leader, Augus Swartz, is remembered as an accomplished musician with agile fingers. He would play a very small banjo with gut strings called a “djoekie”.171 Swartz received some of his musical training from a retired professor of music, P.K. de Villiers, and from an Italian Caprara. In addition, he served as the bandmaster of the Brass Band of the Rhenish Mission Church. When Augus Swartz died in 1951, Januarie took over as leader of the IOTT Brass Band.172

The Templars met in the IOTT hall at 66 Durban Street near Le Sueuer Street not far from the present-day Worcester Fruiterers. Every third Sunday afternoon the Brass Band would march through a section of the town. They started out in Rainier Street, then turned down Hamner and into Le Sueuer Street, up Buitenkant Street, before proceeding into Parker Street and then returning to Durban Street. As they wound their way through the town, throngs of people, especially children, would join the marching column. The adult members of the organisation were always on the look-out for young men who were drunk in public. Sometimes the parents of these young men would approach members of the IOTT to intervene. The young men would be invited to the house of one of the adult members and recruited to join the organisation.173 In this way they sought to inculcate sober values and cultivate morally responsible conduct amongst the town’s youth.

Figure 7: The IOTT Brass Band marching in Worcester c. 1970. [Photograph from the collection of Yunus Lakay Barbershop, Worcester].

This undated photograph, also obtained from Yunus’ Barbershop, depicts a march by the IOTT Band in Le Seuer Street. The Riverview Flats are faintly visible in the top right-hand corner, helping to date the photograph as they were constructed in late 1960s and early 1970s. The marching column is heading up towards Durban Street, having just made its way from downtown Riverview.

At the head of the marching column, behind the drum major whose shadow is visible, is the lead drummer with a member of the Band of Hope next to him.\(^{174}\) The Band of Hope was the junior section of the IOTT. At least two banners are on display with the one behind the drummer inscribed “IOTT WORCESTER”. Many of the marchers are girls dressed in white, some of whom are flanked by male band members. Note also the children who line both sides of the road on the pavements watching the passing column.

Although Januarie was not literate, he could read musical notation. He was taught to read musical scores by Professor de Villiers. Sakkie Ferus emphatically stated that Januarie “was 'n werksman van Professor De Villiers” (“was a product of Professor de Villiers”). De Villiers spent two periods in Worcester; the first from 1904-1911 and the second from 1939 onwards. The assertion by Ferus is difficult to sustain in the light of January’s membership of the Brass Band whilst De Villiers was absent from Worcester. It could be that January learned to play by ear earlier on and that De Villiers taught him to read musical notation after 1939. De Villiers is credited with having initiated numerous other musical groups. These included the “Worcester Band”, the “Worcester Philharmonic Society” and the “Worcester Academy of Music”. He stayed in Riebeeck Street and would travel with his horse and cart to the Dutch Reformed Mission Church Practicing School to present music classes to Sakkie Ferus amongst others.

From time to time Januarie and his band members would be invited by one of his clients to play hymns on farm on a Sunday afternoon. Usually the farmer would send his own transport to collect the band in town. On other occasions, Januarie hired transport for the Band members.

The children, organised into the Band of Hope, were taught sober habits and their interest in music was cultivated. Occasionally they were shown religious films on 8mm reel. One of the leaders of the Band of Hope was a woman called Taraset. Whenever the Brass Band marched through the streets, the Band of Hope would form the rearguard. On arrival at the hall in Durban Street the Band members, wearing their blue and red sashes, would form a guard of honour for the members of the Band of Hope led by Taraset. After a short ceremony they would disperse.

On Easter Monday the Band started out at the IOTT hall where a bazaar was opened by a senior member, Koos Januarie. The Band would then play its favourite hymn: “Prys die Heer met blye galme”. From there it would proceed to the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church in Napier Street where Pastor Gordon would officiate and they would strike up their favourite hymn again.\footnote{C. Esau interviewed Mr A, Worcester, 3 August 2007.}

On Christmas Eve the Band marched through town playing carols. As usual they set out from the IOTT hall and proceeded through the streets in the white section of the town and on to the local hospital.\footnote{C. Esau interviewed Joseph Januarie, Worcester, 21 December 2006.} From there they would go to each member’s house to perform Christmas carols for their families. The Christmas Eve programme would be concluded in the early hours of the morning on Christmas day at the home of the bandmaster Augus “Boy” Swartz. This tradition of marching through the entire town on foot, playing wind and string instruments must have been a grand, if tiring occasion for these musicians.

Januarie played the cornet, a brass musical instrument like a small trumpet, and he was an excellent music teacher.\footnote{A.S. Hornby, \textit{Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English}. (Oxford University Press, 2005).} During his spare time he was always teaching youngsters to play musical instruments.\footnote{C. Esau interviewed Mr A, Worcester, 3 August 2007.} It is said that he had a smart way to teach eager music students and they would easily master reading musical notation.\footnote{C. Esau interviewed Sakkie Ferus, Worcester, 24 February 2007.} Augus “Boy” Swartz had a songbook that contained all the marching musical pieces which Januarie played. He referred to them as “selections”\footnote{C. Esau interviewed Mr A, Worcester, 3 August 2007.}. According to Sakkie Ferus, Januarie, together with Pietie Sass from Touwsriver and Augus Swartz, were the music pioneers among the Coloured community of Worcester. Furthermore, Johnny Brown and Saul Januarie became pillars of the musical community in Worcester and were sought after from church bands, brigades, Christmas Choirs as well as popular bands. Johnny Brown could write the musical notations for virtually all instruments including drums.\footnote{C. Esau interviewed Floris Brown, Worcester, 28 March 2007.} This tradition was
later entrenched by Johnny Lyners, John Kannemeyer and Floris Fischer who became excellent music teachers.  

In his later years Saul Januarie served as chief templar of IOTT at Worcester. When he could no longer play his cornet on the regular march through the town, he would walk alongside the Band ensuring that everything was done properly. 

As noted at the end of the last chapter, he had a rare talent of combining work and music. He would compose various musical pieces using his anvil and variety of hammers. He would use his medium size hammer to figure out tunes on his anvil. He often worked at the tunes for some days. Unfortunately though, none of these unusual compositions have survived. Nor indeed are there any surviving musical instruments once held in the hands of Saul Januarie.

One further notable annual event on the IOTT calendar was celebrating the anniversary of emancipation of the slaves. Every year on the first of December a concert was given at the IOTT hall in Durban Street. This tradition presumably began from the IOTT’s very early years when former slaves were still numbered among Worcester’s population. On other occasions these concerts were held at a shed at the station. They presented an opportunity for slave descendants to showcase their musical and acting talents. Comedy was a key ingredient of these Emancipation Day celebrations. Old man Jaffie Klaasen’s act was about the Marbles and Wagon Wheels. A man from the Wagon Wheels fell in love with a Marble lass. However, a warning was sounded that the Wagon Wheels might crush the Marbles, alluding to the undesirability of romantic relations between the mighty and powerful and the small and vulnerable. Of course the history of slavery itself

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191 Slaves were emancipated on 1st December 1834; see E. Mason, Social Death Resurrection: Slavery and Emancipation in South Africa. (University of Virginia Press, 2003) pp.254-256 for a vivid description of how the day was celebrated throughout the Cape Colony.
included many tragic tales of such unequal liaisons between slave-owners and their female slaves.  

Another act involving the Marbles and the Wagon Wheels was about Abon the horse. Old man Jaffie wanted the horse to cart a load and sent one person from each group to fetch Abon. After some time they returned without the horse. The old man was indignant and wanted to know why they did not bring the horse, to which they replied that Abon was lying on its side unable to move. He wanted to know why this was so, to which the reply came that Abon had suffered cramps. Old man Jaffie was about to hit the roof demanding to know why it suffered cramps to which the Marbles and Wagon Wheels responded in unison, “because it was lying on its side”. This repartee elicited a raucous response from the audience.

One of the favourite musical items performed annually was a duet by Minnie and Gerty Francis, prominent members of the Band of Hope. Minnie and Gerty would be accompanied on banjo and guitar performing mostly hymns. Another act involved people dressing up in rags as slaves, wearing masks imitating various personalities, and speaking with a slave accent seemingly infused by some clicks from a Khoi-Khoi language.

Saul Januarie spent his leisure time pursuing his interests in temperance activities and his love for music. His house in Parker Street became the hub for those activities. Not only did his grandchildren join the Brass Band but many others did as well. Mr A joined at the age of 11 years. However, it appears that by the mid-1970s, when many of the temperance stalwarts were passing on, and the popular bands made their appearance, interest in the IOTT started to wane. The musical tradition started by Augus Swartz, Saul Januarie and Johnny Brown passed on into the Christmas Choirs that provided music at public occasions, like funerals and Easter and Christmas. In more recent years some like,

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194 N. Penn, Rogues, Rebels and Runaways (Cape Town, 1999), pp. 9-72.
196 Interview with Joseph Januarie, Worcester 21 December 2006.
197 Interview with Mr A, Worcester, 3 August 2007.
Johnny Brown’s sons, Floris, John and Charles started pop bands like Restless Children and Bacaraj.
Chapter 6: Rethinking Kleinplasie

Saul Januarie died at the age of eighty-three years, at his home in Parker Street, on the fifth of August 1983. He was buried from the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Le Seuer Street. He had maintained his community involvement in the Independent Order of True Templars to the end and attended church regularly. In addition, he had been an avid musician becoming a leader of the Brass Band of the Independent Order of True Templars and for a short period also the bandmaster of the Brass Band of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Le Seuer Street. His standing in the Worcester community also derived from his craftsmanship as wagon-maker and blacksmith. In these concluding pages I wish to reflect in a practical way on how his lifestory, or at least aspects of it, might be incorporated in a more public forum through reconstructing parts of the exhibition hall and “Smithy” at Kleinplasie Open-Air Museum in Worcester.

At the entrance to the Living Open-Air Museum at Kleinplasie, a display banner outlines its current Mission Statement:

Our mission is to collect, hold and interpret artefacts and information for the benefit of the entire community. We focus on the lifestyles of the first indigenous inhabitants and the pioneer settler farmers of the Western Cape and their descendants, as well as on the local history of Worcester and surrounding areas. Our aim is to foster pride and a sense of ownership in our shared history among all peoples of our country.

This mission statement has been formulated recently. It signifies a break with the previous approach where the focus was exclusively on the representation and celebration of Afrikaner and white cultural and economic development without the acknowledgement of the various historical roles played by other communities and individuals in the region. Kleinplasie Living Open Air Museum, Worcester, sets out to reconstruct aspects of rural agricultural development of the nineteenth century. It hosts a number of activities including “baking bread, making candles, twisting tobacco, milling, forging, distilling witblits”. A number of period buildings are scattered over two or three hectares and “home industries and farming activities are practised in and around different buildings”. Visitors follow a circular route which starts at the kapstyl house, a mobile a cooking
shelter of 18th century trek farmers. Other interesting stops are the rectangular tobacco shed, an early homestead building and a labourer’s cottage, places where candles and soap were made, a watermill for the milling of wheat, a blacksmith’s workshop with a lighted fire, a wine cellar with witblits stills and the exhibition hall.

The exhibition hall presents a history of agricultural development in the Western Cape. Here the Khoi-Khoi are represented as the first farmers. Jan van Riebeeck, in his familiar role as the founder of the Cape Settlement, is depicted along with storyboards about the Free Burghers. The “Khoi Khoi Way of Life” is represented in terms of veld food, utensils and the way in which they organised their kraals. The lifestyles of the independent Khoi Khoi – their access to land and animals is then contrasted with the dependent production relations depicted as emerging with white settlement. Here we are shown the roles and different kinds of shelters provided. The most striking examples of the latter are the early farmstead with period furniture in the different rooms as opposed to the labourers’ and shepherds’ quarters which consist of a single sparsely furnished room. Furthermore, the farmstead has a thatched roof, whilst the roof of the labourer’s dwelling is made of inexpensive rye-straw.

In all the other roles portrayed at the Museum black people play a subservient role to whites. Black people are landless and are only visible selling their labour power on farms and agriculturally-based industries. Nowhere are they represented as innovators or entrepreneurs. Only white people are featured as such.

The museum is silent on representations of the often very violent processes whereby the Khoi Khoi and San were dispossessed of their lands, as well as on the structuring of unequal and discriminatory productive relations. However, it is unambiguous in its celebration of “the lifestyle of the early Cape pioneer farmers”. They were indeed pioneering in constituting relations of exploitation in the productive relations between themselves and the dispossessed indigenous people as well as slaves.
Opportunities exist today to rethink the representation of Worcester’s history at the Living Open-Air Museum at Kleinplasie in the context of the democratic transformation of our country. Since 1997 the transformation of heritage institutions has gathered pace and favourable conditions obtain to transform and enlarge on the existing representations of Worcester’s history at the Museum.\textsuperscript{198} The twentieth century in South Africa has been characterised, amongst other things, by racial discrimination and resistance to it. Worcester was one of the leading places in the Western Cape where resistance to Apartheid was waged since the late 1920s. For example, in 1981 at the funeral of Hennie Ferus, an ex-Robben Island political prisoner who had been banned and lived under house arrest for many years the ANC flag was raised for the first time since it was banned in 1960.

The biography of Saul Januarie that has been constructed here lends itself eminently to complement and enlarge the present exhibitions on wagon-making and the work of blacksmiths. Currently, the blacksmith workshop is situated in a “Smithy” building that consists of two rooms. In the main room is a forge and a pair of bellows used to fan the flames. There are a number of tools, tongs, hammers and an anvil for working with iron. The guide, Richard Titus, is on duty to provide explanations and demonstrations on different aspects of blacksmithing.

It is proposed that a laminated map indicating the various locations of the wagon-making and blacksmith workshops in Worcester could be displayed on the walls. This map could also indicate the names and pensketches of those artisans. In addition, short, written descriptions of the various tools and their uses could be laminated and pasted below these objects. Finally, the unique “music” of the anvil could be communicated by the guide inviting a visitor to join in working iron on it.\textsuperscript{199}

\textsuperscript{198} C. Cornell, ‘Whatever became of Cape slavery in Western Cape museums?’, in Kronos Vol 25, 1998/99 (Univerisity of the Western Cape), where she critiques slave representations at four museums and suggests how it could be remedied inexpensively.

\textsuperscript{199} Craig Stinson, “Anvil Chorus”: The Aesthetics of a North Carolina Blacksmith’, in Southern Folklore Volume 51 Number 2, 1994 (University Press of Kentucky)
A second area where Januarie’s artisanship could be documented is in the exhibition hall with the various kinds of wagons. Currently a number of different kind of wagons - ox-wagons, “spider” wagons, phaetons and gigs - are displayed in a section called “Carriages” and “Horse and Harness”. On one of the walls a poster entitled “The Animal-Drawn Vehicles of Old South Africa” depicts eight different kinds of carriages. On the opposite wall there is an exhibition of shoeing tools. Drawing on information generated by this research, I suggest that Januarie’s anecdotes about shoeing horses could be printed and distributed in a storyboard and in museum leaflets. In addition, an illustration could be provided which describes how a horse is shod.

The museum is at present also silent on the slave history of Worcester and its surrounding areas. The history of slavery is a crucial aspect of the town and region’s past, one that can no longer be ignored or suppressed. Other museums, like the Iziko Slave Lodge in Adderley Street in Cape Town, are beginning to address more squarely this crucial, if uncomfortable, aspect of the region and country’s history. I would suggest that the narrative on the slave concerts contained in this research be used as part of a depiction of the memory of slave ancestry in the area. This could eventually form part of a fuller narrative on slavery in the Worcester magisterial district.

Furthermore, the museum does not give any indication of the wealth of leisure activities of Worcester’s citizens. One of the examples that could be addressed is the history of brass bands in Worcester notably that of the IOTT Brass Band from the days of Augus “Boy” Swartz and Johnny Brown through to those of Saul Januarie. There were other bands with rich histories, including amongst others the Excelsior Brass Band under the leadership of Hennie Issel senior. By addressing itself to these aspects of popular and community culture, Kleinplasie Museum could begin to walk the path towards providing a more inclusive account of the community and individuals in Worcester’s past.
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