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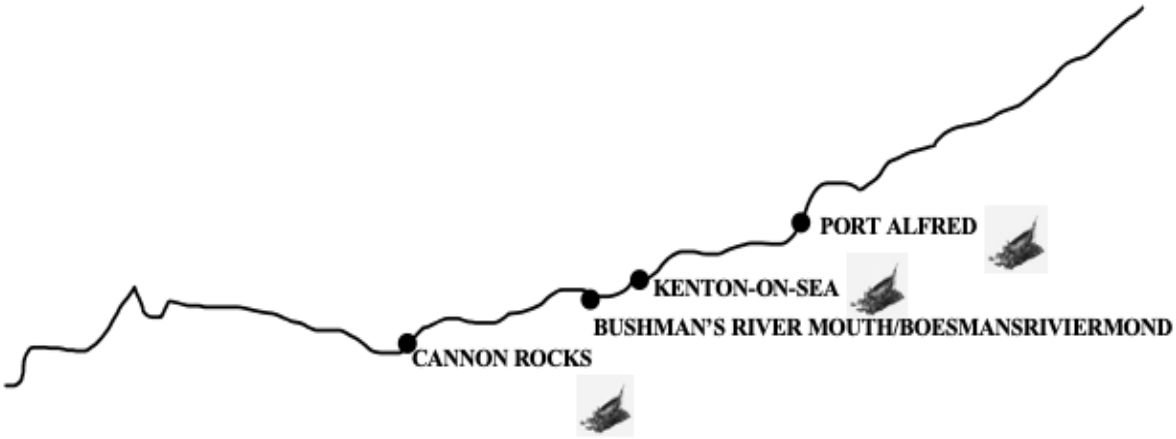
'WHAT IS REMEMBERED & WHAT IS FORGOTTEN: SHIPWRECKS AND SOCIAL MEMORY ON SOUTH AFRICA'S SUNSHINE COAST.'



A THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN ANTHROPOLOGY OF RHODES UNIVERSITY.

By

Ms Emma Jane Dickson-Bow

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Supervisor (s):

Dr Dominique Santos

(d.santos@ru.ac.za)

Dr Janet Hayward

(janet.hayward@ru.ac.za)

Abstract:

Maritime heritage and its representation in South Africa, has been shaped by a settler colonial community heritage consciousness emphasising a heroic moral discourse legitimising local presence by settler communities. While much has been done to decolonise the representation of South African maritime heritage, at the local level small scale memorialisation continues to valorise maritime narratives that highlight the heroic aspects of historical settler colonial society, effectively concealing more fulsome of historical maritime events. Shipwrecks can function as potent tangible and intangible symbols of historical events, articulating a variety of perspectives on what constitutes social memory and history. This thesis examines the extension of public knowledge and representation of shipwreck maritime heritage on the Eastern Cape's coastal belt, known in tourist branding vernacular as the 'Sunshine Coast' (East London to Port Elizabeth). The case study of 'The Volo', a Norwegian barge wrecked near present day Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth (Boesmansriviermond) demonstrates how shipwreck narratives presented at the local public level can articulate a settler colonial community heritage consciousness that erases wider accounts of such stories. The reinterpretation and decentring of settler colonial maritime heritage stories allows for a more diverse and inclusive narrative that has the potential to promote social cohesion and social justice within restorative history work.

Key words: Social Memory, Memorialisation, Shipwrecks, Settler Colonial Societies, Maritime Heritage.

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

LIST OF FIGURES AND ILLUSTRATIONS..... iv

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS..... v

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION..... 1
1.1. A Global Overview..... 3
1.2. Shipwrecks in South Africa's Eastern Cape Province..... 7
1.3. The Categorisation of Race in South Africa..... 14
1.4. Relevance and Importance of this Study..... 16
1.5. Scope of Study: 'The Volo' Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth..... 17
1.5.1. Locating the Town of Kenton-on-Sea and the township of Ekuphumleni..... 18
1.5.2. Locating the Town of Bushman's River Mouth / Boesmansriviermond and the Community of Klipfontein..... 19
1.5.3. Overview of Chapters..... 22

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS..... 26
2.1. Research Design..... 26
2.2. Research Participants..... 28
2.3. Historical Sources..... 31
2.4. Methods of Fieldwork..... 32
2.4.1. Site visits and Mapping..... 32
2.4.2. Participant Observation or 'Deep Hanging Out'..... 33
2.4.3. Fieldnotes..... 35
2.4.4. Formal and Informal Interviews..... 36
2.4.5. Audio Recordings..... 39
2.4.6. Photographs..... 39
2.5. Ethical Considerations..... 40
2.5.1. Consent..... 40
2.5.2. Anonymity..... 41
2.5.3. Questions as Emotional Triggers..... 41
2.5.4. Permission to Audio Record..... 42
2.5.5. Permission for Photographs..... 42
2.5.6. Safety of Researcher..... 42
2.6. Methodological Restrictions..... 43

CHAPTER 3: THE ‘VOLO’: A STORY HIDDEN BENEATH THE SAND..... 45
3.1. A Journey South..... 45
3.2. An Anchor that Reunited a Family..... 47

CHAPTER 4: WHO IS REMEMBERED AND WHO IS FORGOTTEN..... 53
4.1. Charles Butt the ‘Hero’ of Kenton-on-Sea..... 54
4.2. Kaaljan Scheepers die ‘Held’ van Boesmansriviermond..... 59
4.3. Acknowledging the forgotten ‘Coloured’ Presence in the Heroic Rescuers Narrative..... 62
4.4. Klipfontein, Khoe Identity, and the Revival of Political Heritage Consciousness..... 70

CHAPTER 5: AN EVOLVING HERITAGE SYMBOLISM OF THE ‘VOLO’..... 78
5.1. Volo Restaurant, Kenton-on-Sea 78
5.2. The Volo’s Cannon at Stanley’s Restaurant, Kenton-on-Sea..... 81
5.3. ‘The Barracks’, Bushman’s River Mouth..... 81
5.4. The Volo’s Wreck Site, Kwaaihoek 85

CHAPTER 6: APPLYING CRITICAL HERITAGE STUDIES: A COMMUNITY WORKSHOP..... 88

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION AND FINDINGS..... 93

IMAGE REFERENCE LIST..... 100

BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 101

LIST OF FIGURES AND ILLUSTRATIONS:

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Shipwrecks of Southern Africa

1.2. Map of the 'Wild Coast'

1.3. The Wreck of the Grosvenor painted by George Carter

1.4. 1820 Settler Allocated Farms, Albany Region

1.5. Map of 'The Sunshine Coast'

1.6. South Gorah, Kenton-on-Sea

1.7. Olifantshoek – Klipfontein and Neighbouring Farms c.1850

1.8. Map showing the amended boundaries of Klipfontein after transfer to Dirk Janse Van Rensburg

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

2.1 Researchers Field Site Mapping with Notes

2.2 When the Researcher is Photographed in Her Element

CHAPTER 3: THE 'VOLO': A STORY HIDDEN BENEATH THE SAND

3.1. The Volo Stranded.

3.2: Map of the Volo's Journey.

3.3. Anchor of the Volo outside Bushman's River Mouth Town Hall.

3.4. Members of the Knudsen Family Pose for a Photograph by the Anchor of the Volo.

CHAPTER 4: WHO IS REMEMBERED AND WHO IS FORGOTTEN

4.1. Survivors and rescuers of the Volo.

4.2. Charles Butt Sr. outside 'The Barracks' in Bushman's River.

4.3. The Silver Medal for Bravery awarded to Charles Butt.

4.4. Norfolk Pine Trees in front of the Kenton Hotel

4.5. Charles Butt's Grave.

CHAPTER 5: AN EVOLVING HERITAGE SYMBOLISM OF THE 'VOLO'

5.1. Signage of the Volo Restaurant

5.2. The Volo Restaurant and Pub.

5.3. Newly Renovated Volo Restaurant.

5.4. The Volo's Signal Gun at Stanleys Restaurant.

5.5. 'The Barracks'

5.6. Inside 'the Barracks'

5.7. Wreck of the Volo by Clive Gardener.

5.8. Google image marking the wreck of the Volo.

5.9. Images of the Volo en route to Kwaaihoek.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

On the 6th of March 1896, daylight broke through a thick mist that had engulfed the coastline of two emerging coastal farming communities, which became known as Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth (Boesmansriviermond). What the light of day would reveal for the inhabitants of these seaside towns, was a 500-ton barque and its 12 Norwegian sailors who were now stranded upon the shore between Bushman's River Mouth. Several questions would be asked by residents such as where was this ship from, where was it going to, and who helped with the rescue attempt of the crew? I found myself asking these questions when I was first introduced, by my supervisor Dr Santos, to the story of the 'Volo'. I had been trying to decide on my field sites for my master's thesis, when Dr Santos said to me, 'Have you ever heard about the 'Volo'? A ship that wrecked near Bushman's River mouth. I was almost embarrassed to say to her that I had never heard of it, seeing as it was my 5th year at Rhodes University, and I had been visiting the area since the start of my undergraduate degree in 2017. Thus, I was tasked with doing some research about the 'Volo', as what better place to start when looking at heritage and memory on the Eastern Capes, Sunshine coast, than with a shipwreck.

Conceptualising this research brought me to remember many conversations I had with my grandfather who had a great deal of knowledge and intellect when it came to history and geography. When remembering the stories and conversations I had with him it initiated the theme of heritage and memory for this dissertation. However, what truly sparked the theme of memory was my grandfather's inability to remember, due to his dementia diagnosis. His gradual loss of memory made me appreciate the inquisitive nature I had growing up. I was fortunate to have a close relationship with him and the opportunity to ask him questions about our family history, events in his life, and the events that surrounded these. I was able to obtain information before it was forgotten never to be passed down again. This is not an opportunity many people have in life. Often, one chooses to focus on information necessary to them as an individual and in the now, rather than the collective and what has happened in the past. This enables one to disregard that what may not be interesting to one now as an individual, can influence their future within the collective. My shared passion for history with my grandfather is why I have thoroughly enjoyed writing this dissertation despite the challenges I have faced in the last year of my Masters.

This dissertation is important to me as our heritage and memories often define who we are as individuals and as a collective. There are several people who have supported me throughout this journey, and I cannot thank them enough for their love and support. Firstly, I would like to thank my family and friends for always being there to support me I would not be where I am today without their guidance and love. Especially my parents who have always told me to keep chasing my dreams no matter what obstacles I face. I love you both more than words can describe. Secondly, my grandparents who have always been my number one fans and have tried to understand what I'm doing so that they can brag about their academic granddaughter. This dissertation is for my grandfather whose loss of memory has made this research something very close to my heart. Thirdly, I could not have done this research without the support and guidance from my supervisors Dr Dominique Santos and Dr Janet Hayward. Dominique has been a great support system throughout my master's journey and has pushed me to make a name for myself in the world of academia. Janet has been a silent but driving force in ensuring that I achieve the best I possibly can with this research, and I would like to thank her for her support. Lastly, I would like to thank my department for their support and the opportunities they have provided me throughout my postgraduate journey.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

'Memories have huge staying power, but like dreams, they thrive in the dark, surviving for decades in the deep waters of our minds like shipwrecks on the seabed' (J.G. Ballard, 2006). Memories, how they are interpreted and preserved for the future through formal and informal modes of transmission, are vital in the constitution of communities. Social memory as a wider concept of both the psychological and social way of remembering, is a diverse indicator of how people can physically, mentally, and emotionally attach themselves to a particular moment or object in time within their social context. This concept can be linked to the work of Frederic Bartlett, the initiator of modern memory studies (Wertsch, 2009), who suggests that the researcher should acknowledge the 'memory *in* a group' not the 'memory *of* the group' being studied (Wertsch, 2009; Bartlett, 1995). This allows for the memories attached to tangible and intangible heritage to take on a life of their own, generative of community narratives which may justify belonging, or articulate injustice. Additionally, the essence of memory studies links to what Laurajane Smith (2022:623) says about the definition of heritage which 'is charged with representing individual and group identity, sense of place and belonging.' Projects associated with memorialisation and commemoration may acknowledge the presence and histories of indigenous peoples', inviting them into the conversation, but they always inevitably return to a story that stabilises national identity and not the wider heritagescape (Fortier, 2021). This is what Smith (2022:623) indicates as 'the power of heritage and how it is involved with the politics of recognition and misrecognition.'

Sturken (1997) writes, 'What memories tell us, more than anything, is the stakes held by individuals and institutions in attributing meaning to the past.' This statement holds true when looking at how the formation of memory around heritage is manipulated by governments, communities, or individuals to suit their own production of knowledge, needs and understanding of the past in the present. Maurantonio (2014: 219) says that 'memory is a dynamic entity, crafted and recrafted in dialogue with the political, social, and cultural imperatives of the present'. This is elaborated on further by Maurantonio (2014: 221) who says that the formation of memory around heritage is founded on experiences 'from the personal, individual, and private to the collective, cultural, and public.' The memory recollection process has many faces but can easily be manipulated to suit the needs of a specific group. Gross (2002:342) believes that when looking at collective memory it forms an important basis for

nationhood and national identity as 'it establishes a link between generations, which creates an image of temporal continuity and legitimates the existing socio-political order.' This does hold true in that collective memory does establish links between generations allowing for heritages to be passed down. However, what needs to be more closely considered in this aspect is that 'nation-states play leading roles in the construction of heritage as they subscribe to a set of ideas that are consequently embedded through socialization and education' (McDowell, 2016: 40). This links to the idea of Eurocentric ideologies from times of colonialism, as nations are manipulated, by the state or someone who believes they are a higher power, into remembering their own heritages in a certain way. The way collective memory around heritage is manipulated can be seen through how interpretations of the past affect identities and understandings, as well as when certain emphasis is placed on heritages, by political elites and/or public figures, that enter national consciousness whilst silencing or forgetting others (Verovšek, 2016).

Additionally, when it comes to memory in the post-colony and postcolonial identity, Werbner criticises that cultural studies portray 'postcoloniality' as a mere 'condition of the diasporic imagination' (Klaits, 2005: 649). Essentially, Webner illustrates in his work that experiences with the state and state-created domains in the post-colonies lead people to alternatively feel that their own well-being depends on that of others, regarding one another as inferior or alien, in an attempt to 'incorporate the identities and capacities of strangers into their own, or sustain convictions of identity sufficiently flexible to negotiate their interests productively' (Klaits, 2005: 649). Klaits (2005:650), believes that this 'identity strategy' proposed by Werbner reflects 'contested understandings of what is for whose common good, as well as widespread ambivalence about how and for what purposes power out to be exercised.' What this links to is the political and conceptual heritage of knowledge and understandings of memory and identity in the post-colony. What and who is remembered or forgotten based on the memory and identities created within the post-colony. This relates to De Sousa Santos' (2012) work '*Public Sphere and Epistemologies of the South'* where it is mentioned that theoretical and cultural beliefs in the 'public sphere', according to social theories constructed in the global north, are seen to be entirely European. These constructed beliefs are not necessarily universally valid as a general collective thus De Sousa Santos (2012:43) brings forward the epistemologies of the South. Here the emphasis is on 'intercultural translation, understood as a procedure that allows for mutual intelligibility among the diverse experiences of the world.'

This adaptation to identity theory within the field of heritage and memory studies changes how individuals and communities tell their stories.

The study of memory and its definition within the social sciences varies. Bloch (2012: 187), explains 'the English word memory evokes a psychological phenomenon; the inscription of information in the mind or the brain which can then be retrieved at a later moment.' Many writers in anthropology, sociology, history, and some psychologists, note the connection between public manifestations, or the absence of them, and the mental phenomena that the words memory and forgetting, evoke in the cognitive sciences (Bloch, 2012). This relates to the work of Toomas Gross on collective memory. Gross (2002:342) says, 'circumstances, culture and society constrain the ways we employ our memory and recall history.' What Gross (2002:343) is alluding to here is that collective memory is founded on the fact that the past is subject to multiple interpretations and recollections, 'it is constantly altered by means of invention and forgetting.' Bloch (2012: 189), focuses on the topic of memory as 'an internal psychological phenomenon.' Although memory is seen as an internal psychological phenomenon, whereby individuals consciously recall and remember information from their past, it can also be expressed as a wider social memory recollection. This connection between the individual and social memory can be understood through the study of underwater heritage as shipwrecks are potent tangible and intangible symbols of historical events which populate social memory across societies.

1.1. A Global Overview

Shipwrecks have been studied and documented for centuries through independent and interdisciplinary studies in underwater and maritime archaeology, underwater cultural heritage, cultural and social anthropology, maritime and social history, and so forth. According to the 2001 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation's (UNESCO) Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage, there are more than three million vessels lying in the oceans around the world (UNESCO, 2001; Perez-Alvaro, 2019). The study and documentation of shipwrecks allows for the past to be shown as it really was through the tangible and intangible heritage symbols they represent. Additionally, shipwrecks found below and above the surface of the ocean are heritage sites within themselves. Smith (2022:624) says that 'heritage sites, which include museums, are defined as theatres of memory or the cultural tools that societies, groups and individuals use to help negotiate and mediate the meaning of the past in and for the present.' Cultural processes and underwater archaeology

afford ‘direct access to materials that can be evaluated in relation to historical documents to provide explanations that extend beyond the proximate causes of the wreck’(Gould, 2011: 7). Some archaeologists have suggested that archaeological science is hegemonic, an extension of Western cultural imperialism, which achieved its dominance by supressing or ignoring alternative views of the past (Gould, 2011). ‘The victims of such dominance include women, various ethnic minorities, and other groups defined by religious beliefs, low economic or social status, and generally marginal relations to mainstream Western-oriented culture’ (Gould, 2011: 11). This view has enabled several researchers to place extensive focus on the Europe to East trade route (Ulrich, 2013; Vernon, 2013; Oswald, Mead & Castro, 2022), the establishment of colonies and tribes (Crampton, 2004; Hayward, 2017), and wreck sites, to explain more about the social, economic, political histories and actions of human beings.

According to Carman (2009:193), archaeology is a key contributor to the study of heritage and its understanding, and in this setting ‘’heritage’ is always to be understood not as a gift from the past but as a creation of the present.’ Essentially what Carman (2009) is saying is that archaeologists study the material culture of the past, but their focus is also on how it forms a part of our present. This relates to the work of Richard Gould (2011), in *Archaeology and the Social History of Ships.* Gould (2011:4) uses maritime and social history to review several shipwreck findings to critically comment on ‘how empirical, scientifically grounded archaeology affects what we know about our past.’ Gould (2011: 4) believes that the use of underwater archaeology can build a more ‘believable and generalisable idea about how people in past human cultures behaved in relation to their maritime environment.’ This is critiqued in Gould’s research (2011: 4), where he analyses that ‘hypotheses drawn from fine-grained studies of shipping practices today can be tested against the physical evidence of ancient wrecks to provide a picture of what happened that goes beyond the immediate circumstances of the event to connect with the socioeconomic conditions that surround them.’ In other words, this research can be used to comment on how shipwrecks and their survivors, who often integrate into societies or form new civilisations due to not being able to return to the place from which they came, can influence the social, economic, political, and environmental situations in the regions they find themselves once they have wrecked.

More recently, global attention has focused on the neglected area of slave shipwrecks as important sites for the reconstitution of memory as a project of social justice. The ‘Slave Wrecks Project’ (SWP), made up of researchers and institutions, uses “maritime archaeology,

historical research and the study of sunken slave ships to take a distinct approach to the study of the transatlantic slave trade" (Smithsonian, 2022). The projects aim is to humanise the history of the global slave trade to increase people's understanding of a trade that shaped the world we live in today (Smithsonian, 2022). The SWP focuses on historical memory to understand and reinterpret how the slave trade can better be understood by a wider population, in addition to acknowledging memories that have been marginalised. Thus, placing emphasis on the internalisation of group identities when it comes to the topic of slavery (French, 1995). One of their projects was the wreck of São José Paquete d'Africa, a Portuguese slave ship that trafficked more than 7.2 million Africans to the Americas, and the first known shipwreck carrying enslaved African people (Smithsonian, 2022; Omar, 2021).

The São José Paquete d'Africa wrecked off the shores of the Cape (Cape Town), on 27th December 1794, with 512 enslaved people in the ship's hold (Omar, 2021). Of those 512 enslaved people, 212 perished as the ship broke into pieces (Omar, 2021). Those involved in unveiling the story of the wreck are members of the SWP, researchers, divers, maritime archaeologists, conservationists, and curators, from Mozambique, South Africa, Brazil, Europe, and the United States of America (Omar, 2021; Iziko, 2024). The work conducted by this project meant the story of the São José Paquete d'Africa and part of South Africa's slave history could further be remembered, understood, and exposed through tangible remains of the wreck. The outcome of the project resulted in an exhibition, dedicated to telling this section of South Africa's slave history, entitled, *Unshackled History: The Wreck of the Salve Ship São José, 1794,* unveiled in December 2018, at the Iziko Museums' Slave Lodge, in Cape Town, South Africa (Omar, 2021). The exhibition, which was semi-permanent until April 2021, is interactive with tangible touch points to slavery, both locally and globally (Iziko, 2024; Omar, 2021). This project encompasses the impact of heritage production through underwater heritage, the exposure of stories and memories surrounding contested histories and heritages such as that of the slave trade. Tracking the memory of this ship has allowed a journey of belonging and justice for the ancestors and descendants of communities and cultures on this ship. Despite the need to focus on slave wrecks there is still much to be discovered when it comes to how shipwrecks have entered the local heritagescape's of regions, how they contribute to social memory and critical heritage studies.

In the sector underwater cultural heritage, there are a range of challenges to consider such as 'preservation, management, use, sustainability, valuation, politics, identity, human rights, and

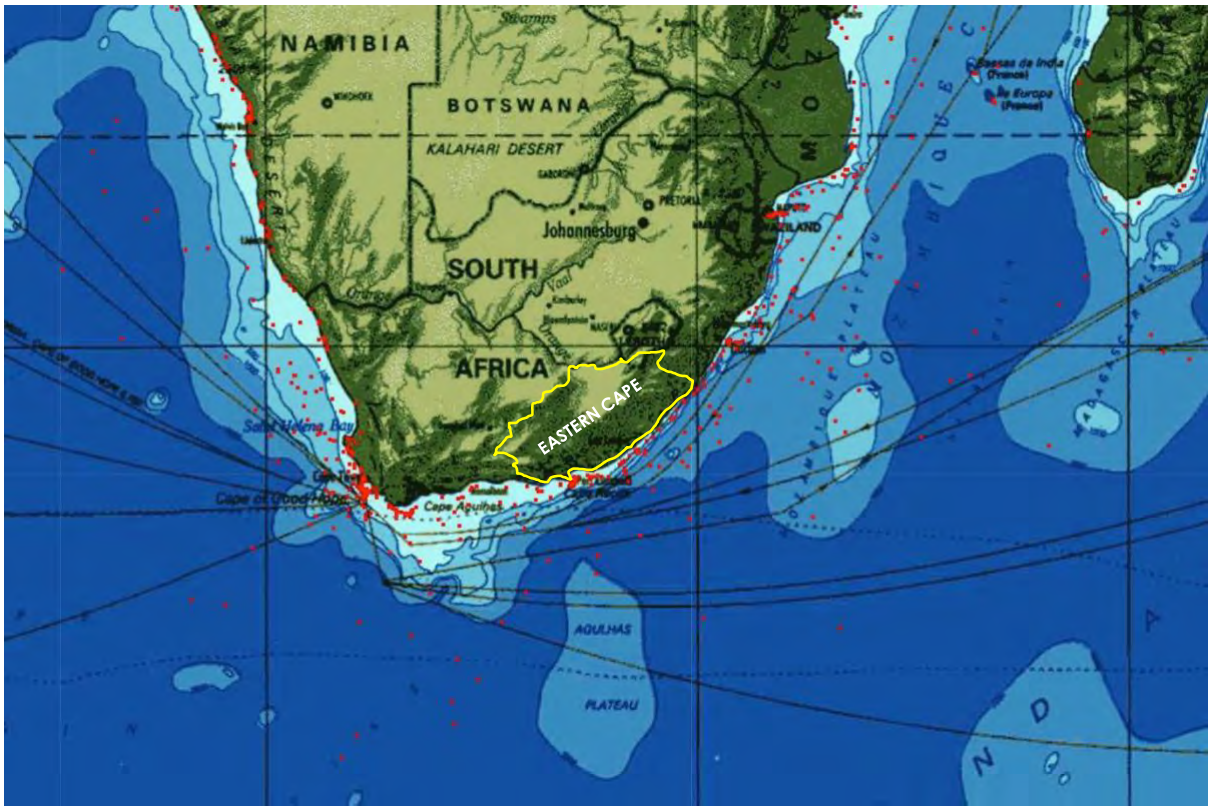
intangible heritage' (Perez-Alvaro, 2019: 25). However, one of the most serious challenges faced by researchers is the effects of commercial and recreational treasure hunting (Gould, 2011). Direct effects include the destruction of submerged and unsubmerged archaeological sites through blasting and scouring wreck sites, and the indirect effects are due to the appropriation of underwater archaeological techniques for profit rather than preservation (Gould, 2011). An early example of shipwreck treasure hunting is the Deane brothers, who in the 19th century recovered guns from the *Royal George*, off Spithead, Portsmouth, United Kingdom, using a diving helmet and dress that allowed them to descend thirty-six metres to the wreck site (Dromgoole, 2013). In the 1940s, the invention of the aqualung, which led to widespread use of self-contained underwater breathing apparatus (scuba) enabled a growth in wreck site treasure hunting (Dromgoole, 2013). This growth was specifically present due to the rapid expansion of scuba-diving, in coastal waters for recreational and commercial purposes, between the 1950s and 80s, leading to the discovery of many shipwrecks and other archaeological remains (Dromgoole, 2013). However, with this growth in treasure hunting activities came legal concerns for the protection of historically significant shipwrecks. Treasure-hunters often sell off valuable items, such as gold coins, cannons, anchors and so forth for exorbitant prices, and transfer the burden of conservation and storage of more ordinary materials such as ships' timbers and cannonballs to museums (Gould, 2011: 337).

This challenge is not a new phenomenon as 'the recovery of material from wrecks on the seabed is an activity that is centuries old' (Dromgoole, 2013: 2). Elena Perez-Alvaro (2019: 12) comments on this challenge by saying, 'the recovery of underwater cultural objects by treasure hunters or the return of cultural object that were part of cargo from colonised countries are still unsolved issues.' Consequently, treasure hunting breaks up collections that should be conserved and preserved by professionals (Gould, 2011; Perez-Alvaro, 2019). This can be difficult to achieve as the legal protection of underwater heritage is always a combination of both international and domestic regulations, which are limiting when disputed arise over items in international or national waters (Perez-Alvaro, 2019). The conservation and preservation of shipwrecks, globally and nationally, bring different issues such as 'politics, identity shaping, human rights, restitution of the material, colonialism, and the use of diplomacy to solve these controversies' (Perez-Alvaro, 2019: 23).

1.2. Shipwrecks in South Africa's Eastern Cape Province

South Africa has more than 3000 historical shipwrecks, from a variety of countries, scattered along its coastline (SAHRA, 2022), forming an integral part of local heritage imaginations. A large portion of these shipwrecks are located along the coast of the Eastern Cape (See figure 1.1)., a South African province formed out of colonial intrusions; displacement initiated by 200 years of war and the recent erasures of languages and societies, where community memories and interpretations of historical events and objects are deeply contested and revealing of longstanding ideological fault lines. This can be traced through several examples of Portuguese, Dutch, and British colonial intrusions and shipwreck stories in the Eastern Cape.

Figure 1.1. Shipwrecks of Southern Africa



Source: Wreck Site (2024)

Portuguese ships established a presence along the coastline of the Eastern Cape, from Port Elizabeth/Gqeberha to Port Edward, through mariner Bartolomeo Dias (1488), who left the Dias Cross or *padrão* in Kwaaihoek, a symbolic marker of Christian outreach and a marker to represent the limit of a voyage of exploration (Marschall, 2009: 19; Axelson, 1939:28). Port Elizabeth to East London is known in the tourist branding vernacular as 'the Sunshine Coast' (See figure 1.5), whereas north of East London to Port Edward is known as 'the Wild Coast' (See figure 1.2). The African sea trade route from Europe to Asia led to several Portuguese

shipwrecks and marooned sailors, who embedded themselves into local communities along the Southern African Coastline (Santos and Shale, 2022). 'The Portuguese alone lost between 112 and 130 ships *en route* from Lisbon to Goa in the years of 1550 to 1650' (Crampton, 2004: 95). The presence of Portuguese shipwreck survivors in the Eastern Cape can be noted through the *Sáo Joáo Baptista*, a Portuguese vessel wrecked in 1622, at Cannon Rocks (Cannon Rocks Village, 2022, Grossman, 2019: 13-14), carrying human cargo amongst other items. This ship was one of many slave ships sailing past this coastline linking the Indian and Atlantic Ocean trades in people. The ships journey is greatly detailed from when it left Goa, its demise, and shipwrecked crew making their way north to Mozambique, where the Portuguese had trading establishments (Crampton, 2004: 76).

Just north of the Mzimvubu River, Port St Johns on the Wild Coast (See figure 1.2), the survivors met members of the Santo Alberto (1593) wreck. They attempted to convince these people to go with them, however they refused as 'they would not desert their wives or their children' (Crampton, 2004: 93; Axelson, 1969: 199). In mid-1623, 28 survivors of the *Sáo Joáo Baptista* arrived in Delagoa Bay, present day Maputo, in the Portuguese colony of Mozambique. Three sites have been identified as to where parts of the wreck can be found, which are based on survivor accounts, these are a little to the East of Fish River Mouth in the Ciskei, between Cape Agulhas and Breede River Mouth in the South Cape Province, and near Keiskamma River Mouth in the Ciskei bordering the Cape Province (Feely, 1987: 19). The presence of the wreck in Cannon Rocks, near the Woody Cape, has been supported by marine archaeological evidence, a 3.2-metre cannon, and porcelain shards from the Chinese Ming era (Feely, 1987: 19; Crampton, 2004: 93; Grossman, 2019:14). The Portuguese opened the sea and trade route to the markets of the East Indies in the late 1400s, resulting in an increasing number of European vessels passing the Eastern Cape coastline (Crampton, 2004: 19-20; Marschall, 2009: 19; Mellet, 2020: 224). A consequence of the opening in the Europe to Asia trade route was an increase in Dutch and British settlement and their ships wrecking along the Eastern Cape coastline (Crampton, 2004: 20). Additionally, this caused an increase in the presence of shipwreck survivors along the Eastern Cape coastline and encounters with several indigenous communities in the region.

Figure 1.2. Map of the 'Wild Coast'

Source: https://www.wildcoast.co.za/map-of-the-wild-coast

Hazel Crampton's (2004), *The Sunburnt Queen,* is a potent example of European shipwreck survivors encounters with the indigenous communities of the Eastern Cape. Crampton (2004: 12) tells the story of Bessie, a little English girl around seven years old, who was cast ashore in the remote area of Lambasi, the Bay of Mussels, around 1736. The area is now known as Port Grosvenor, after the famous English East Indiaman *the Grosvenor* (See figure 1.3), wrecked in 1782 (Crampton, 2004: 12; Hayward, 2017: 156). Bessie was huddled against a rock when she was found by the Nanga, a Xhosa sub-clan of the amaMpondo tribe, under the authority of Chief Matayi, a member of the Mpondo royal family (Crampton, 2004: 17 & 20). The arrival of Bessie caused great interest due to her appearance and the way she spoke being vastly different to that of the Nanga. Bessie was adopted into the amaMpondo tribe, who gave her the Xhosa name *Gquma,* meaning 'the roar of the sea,' in honour of the environment the

day she arrived (Crampton, 2004: 23). It is not clear how long Bessie stayed with the Nanga, as she was placed under the protection of another white castaway, Badi, who became her father figure (Crampton, 2004: 25). However, when Bessie / Gquma got older her marriage to Tshomane, the son of Chief Matayi was arranged (Crampton, 2004: 25 & 28). Crampton uses the story of Bessie and her integration into the amaMpondo tribe as a gateway into the history of other European ships wrecked along the Eastern Cape coastline and their survivors. Crampton traces the stories of these shipwrecks and their castaways by commenting on their encounters with indigenous communities.

Figure 1.3. The Wreck of the Grosvenor painted by George Carter

Source: Royal Museums Greenwich

Scholars such as Percival Kirby (1953; 1960), Jean Marquand (1981), Ian Glenn (1995), Hazel Crampton (2005), Michael Titlestad and Mike Kissak (2005) have shown in their research that the wreck of the *Grosvenor* has a literary legacy, extending from the 1790s to the present, which encompasses both poetic and fictive renderings of the wreck and its aftermath (Thompson, 2008: 9). Kirby (1953:17), refers to two notebooks kept by William Bazley, an old Natal settler who spent much time travelling in Mpondoland for the express purpose of recording any information he could discover regarding the wreck of the *Grosvenor* (Crampton, 2004: 110; Hayward, 2017: 157). Hayward's (2017: 147), observations on the wreck of the *Grosvenor* provides a means by which to estimate roughly when these shipwreck survivors were incorporated into the culture of both the abeLungu Jekwa and abeLungu Hatu. The abeLungu, 'The Whites', ancestry links to the integration between the people of the Wild Coast and three English castaways, Jekwa, Hatu, and Badi, believed to be Bessie's companions from

her shipwreck party (Crampton, 2004: 45 & 296). There are various controversies and ways in which ideological discourses around whiteness and racial purity were furthered by the emphasis placed on the anxiety about white women being stranded after the wreck of the *Grosvenor*. Another narrative attached to the *Grosvenor* is that of buried treasure. The connection between the *Grosvenor* and hidden treasure has taken hold over centuries, the myth slowly grew over time until the supposed size of the treasure flourished to epic proportions, enabling greed and plans for its recovery by treasure hunters (Crampton, 2004: 106). This links to the challenges reviewed by Gould (2011), Dromgoole (2013), and Perez-Alvaro (2019) with regards to the conservation and preservation of underwater cultural heritage and the effects of commercial and recreational treasure hunting.

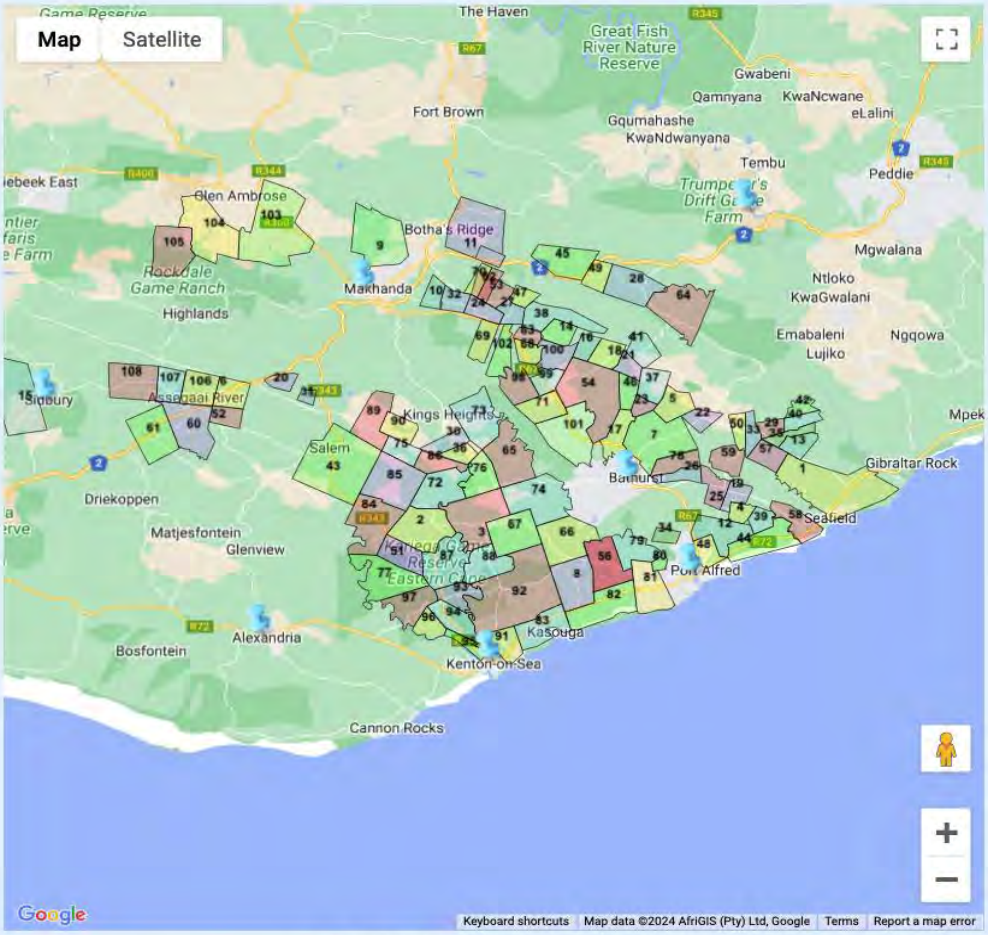
When the Dutch East India Company / 'Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie' (VOC) arrived in the Cape, in 1652, they established a shipping supply station (Moor & Lubke, 2021: 191). "From as early as the 1770s, Dutch Boers (farmers) were granted loan farms by the 'Company'" in the Cape (Moor & Lubke, 2021: 191). During the mid-18th century, there was a gradual movement of Free Burghers from the Cape Colony, who established a presence in the Eastern Cape region looking for land to graze their cattle (Mostert, 1992; Moor & Lubke, 2021: 191). This led to many encounters with the Khoe Khoen groups such as the Hoengiqua and Gonaqu as well as the amaXhosa (Moor & Lubke, 2021: 192). However, with the Dutch expansion into the Eastern Cape, becoming known as frontier country, came amplified struggles for power over land and resources, resulting in several wars with the amaXhosa and Khoe over territory in the Zuurveld until the arrival of the 1820 British Settlers, who became a new power to contend with (Moor & Lubke, 2021: 193).

When Britain experienced economic depression and a wave of unemployment following the Napoleonic Wars, in the early 1800s, its government decided to advertise an emigration scheme to the Cape Colony (Moor & Lubke, 2021: 194). The government received 90 000 applicants but only 4000 people were accepted, these people became known as the 1820 settlers, who would travel to the Eastern Cape in 60 parties from throughout Britain (Moor & Lubke, 2021: 194). When the 1820 settlers arrived in Algoa Bay, they were transported by ox-wagons to allocated plots of land (See figure 1.4) in the Grahamstown / Makhanda and Bathurst districts, including Kenton-on-Sea, of the Albany region (Moor & Lubke, 2021: 194). This explains the large portion of descendants in the Kenton-on-Sea area today, seen through the example of district of the Eastern Cape in the late 1850s. The 1820 settlement of the British permitted a

human buffer zone between the amaXhosa, pushed back to the boundary of the Fish River, and the Cape Colony (Mostert, 1992).

Maritime heritage and its representation in South Africa have been shaped by a settler colonial community heritage consciousness emphasising a heroic moral discourse legitimising local presence by settler communities. While much has been done to decolonise the representation of South African maritime heritage, at the local level small scale memorialisation continues to valorise maritime narratives that highlight the heroic aspects of historical settler colonial society, effectively concealing more fulsome accounts of historical maritime events. Hero stories of white settlers have dominated coastal community shipwreck narratives on South Africa's Eastern Cape coastal belt, known in tourist branding vernacular as the 'Sunshine Coast' (East London to Port Elizabeth). These narratives have excluded the local indigenous people who were there before the settlers arrived. Thus, it is important to explore and acknowledge the missing narrative surrounding those who 'assisted' the hero in the rescue missions of shipwrecks and survivors of these wrecks. This inclusion and acknowledgement will benefit the individual, community and heritagescape of these coastal regions. Drawing attention to the missing narrative is a process South African social scientists have been attempting to incorporate since the abolition of colonialism and apartheid, thus it is an important field of study. The inclusion of intangible heritage such as oral traditions, which depend primarily on memory for their survival, allows for a better understanding of how memories of the land and sea came into being and what their limitations are (Rubin, 2009: 273). Groups as well as individuals are constituted by the stories they tell, as without shared stories about the past of the group, there would be no group identities, or at least they would be fleeting (Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi & Levy, 2011: 177).

Figure 1.4. 1820 Settler Allocated Farms, Albany Region



The original Party land allocations in 1820

1	Bailie	Cuylerville	15	Daniell	Sidbury Park	29	Mandy	Cress Farm	43	Sephton	Salem
2	Barker	Waterford	16	Dixon	Waai Plaats	30	Menezes	Endwell	44	George Smith	George Vale
3	Biggar	Woodlands	17	Dyason	Lushington Valley	31	Mills	Grape Valley	45	William Smith	Stoney Vale
4	Bowker	Olive Burn	18	Erith	New Botany Bay	32	Morgan	Beauty Vale	46	Southey	Lynwood
5	Bradshaw	New Gloucester	19	Ford	Ford's Party	33	Mouncey	Wentworth Park	47	Stanley	Trentham Park
6	Butler	Yarrow	20	Garner	New Birmingham	34	Osler	Pendennis	48	Thornhill	Thornhill
7	Calton	Clumber	21	Greathead	Tivia Dale	35	Owen	Spanish Reeds Place	49	Turvey	Koms Fontein
8	Charles Campbell	Barville Park	22	Hayhurst	Trappes Valley	36	Parkin	Devonshire	50	Wainwright	Harewood
9	Duncan Campbell	Thorn Park	23	Holder	New Bristol	37	Phillips	Lanpeter	51	Wait	Belton
10	Carlisle	Belmont	24	Howard	Salem Hills	38	Pigot	Pigot's Park	52	White	Sharon
11	Clark	Collingham	25	Hyman	Hyman's Party	39	Richardson	Fairview	53	Wilkinson	New Essex
12	Cock	Charles Town	26	James	Bethany	40	Rowles	Rivers Dale	54	Willson	Beaufort Vale
13	Crause	Spanish Reeds	27	Liversage	Wilmot Vale	41	Scanlan	Longford	55	Gurney	New Deal
14	Dalgairns	Blaauwkrantsvlakte	28	Mahony	The Coombs	42	Scott	Scott's Bottom			

Extra Allocations of land between 1821 and 1823

56 Campbell Rietfontein | 57 John Bailie The Hope | 58 Miles Bowker Tharfield | 59 Simon Bidulph Birbury

These allocations were granted at later dates, or may have been purchases from the Government after 1823.

60	Henry Kew	Seven Fountains	61	Cholwich / Gush	Nazaar	62	Peter Clark Daniel	Beggar's Bush
63	Clayton ?	Brenthoek	64	Stubbs & Brown?	Chertsey	65	John Buckley	Holling Grove
66	Henry Crause	Walsingham	67	Benjamin Keeton 1839	Lombard's Post	68	Robert Wood Bagot	Nurney
69	William Ford (Liversage)	Radway Green	70	Shaw	Rockwood Vale	71	George Dyason	Rokeby Park
72	Lt John Crause	Spring Grove	73	J Walker	Wesley Wood	74	Frederick Carlisle	Wolf's Crag
75	William Howard	Woodrow	76	William Gilfillan	Glenfillan	77	Hezekiah Gardner	Harvest Vale
78	William Austin	Tiger Spring	79	Alexander Bisset	Fairfax	80	Henry Nourse	Blink Klip
81	Henry Nourse	Hope Farm	82	Thomas Phillips	Glendower	83	Robert Bovey	Fairview
84	John Gardner	Mount Pleasant	85	Daniel Roberts	Farmer Field	86	Gush, Long ?	Devonshire Farm
87	Henry Fuller	Merville	88	R Dunn	Newton	89		Spark's Place
90	Henry Ulyate / Alfred Murray	Layton Farm	91	John Grant	Grant's Valley	92	London Missionary Soc	Theopolis
93		North Gorah	94		The Gorah	95	George Wood	South Gorah
96	Forestry Department	Crown Nook	97	Ambrose Campbell	The Ghio	98	James Greathead	The Home
99	Albert Staples	Blaauwkrantz	100		Longridge	101	Walter Currie	Langholm
102		Yendella	103	Whites	Table Farm	104	Whites, Cummings, Damant	Hilton Farm
105	William M Bowker	Thorn Kloof	106	Thomas Butler	Mellville Park	107	Joseph Latham	Latham's Farm
108		Assegaai Bush	109			110		

Source: https://www.1820settlers.com/genealogy/settleralbanyfarms.php

1.3. The Categorisation of Race in South Africa

The construction of racial categories in South Africa, is a division that is still present in the region today. A brief outline of the history of racial categorisation and segregation during the colonial and apartheid era is fundamental in contextualising and explaining the racial terms used in this study.

When the merging of the British colonies (Cape and Natal) and the Boer republics (Transvaal and Orange Free State) into the Union of South Africa, in 1910, two racial categories were recognised, 'White' and 'Native' (Hayward, 2017: 14; Posel, 2001: 89). These racial categorisations were developed into policies designed to discriminate against indigenous South Africans. These policies were the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, which enforced racial segregation in towns, and the Representation of Natives Act of 1936, which sought to establish control over the organised African workforce (Hayward, 2017: 14; Kinkead-Weekes, 2009: 105). In 1948, when the National Party was elected to government, the emergence of the apartheid era began, legislations in place were formalised and extended to ensure the protection of white racial purity, political dominance, economic privilege and so called 'civilisation' (Hayward, 2017: 14; Posel, 2001: 89; Seekings, 2008:3). This was achieved through the *Population Registration Act of 1950*, which called for a national register that recorded the race of every South African' (Hayward, 2017: 14). These were the 4 racial categories of White (people of European decent), Native (Bantu or Black), Indian (people of South Asian decent) and Coloured (the most diverse grouping that included indigenous Khoesan, descendants of 17th and 18th century African, East Asian, Chinese, Indonesian and Malaysian slaves, and the mixed offspring of all other groups) (Hayward, 2017: 14; Finchilescu, 2010: 224-8; Posel, 2001: 89 & 102; Seekings 2008:3).

To further ensure segregation between the white minority and the collectively known 'non-whites', policies such as the *Mixed Marriage Act of 1949* and the *Immorality Amendment Act of 1950*, were put in place to outlaw sexual relations and marriages across racial lines (Hayward, 2017: 14). Then came the *Group Areas Act of 1950* and the *Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953,* which both prevented people of different races living in the same residential areas (the effect of which can been seen today with informal settlements and townships throughout the South African interior), attending the same schools or universities, travelling on the same public transport, and sharing recreational areas such as beaches and parks (Hayward, 2017: 14). This discrimination and assault on identity extended into the *Bantu*

Education Act of 1953, which stated that 'Black' South Africans should receive an inferior education that would better situate them as manual (such as farm labourers, trade assistants, gardeners, and domestic workers) or semi-skilled (junior nurses, teachers, and clerks) workers (Hayward, 2017: 14-15). In 1952, the government further oppressed 'non-white' groups through the introduction of Pass Laws, this required Africans to always carry identification (Hayward, 2017: 15; Finchilescu, 2010: 224-5). Africans were prohibited from staying in cities for more than 72 hours, unless employed there (Hayward, 2017: 15).

The above Acts were built upon the *Population Registration Act of 1950* in an 'attempt to produce fixed, stable, and uniform criteria for racial classification which would then be binding across all spheres of a person's life' (Posel, 2001: 98; Hayward, 2017: 15). Judgements made were based on physical appearance, social standing, lifestyle, and were inseparable from perceptions of class and status (Hayward, 2017: 15; Posel, 2001: 88-97; Seekings, 2008:3). The construction of these racial groups created a natural hierarchy, White people at the top, those of African descent at the bottom, 'Coloureds' and Indians lay somewhere in between (Hayward, 2017: 15). When the apartheid regime was abolished, in 1994, with the election of a Democratic Government under Nelson Mandela, the discriminatory acts were also abolished. Although the official racial discrimination of the pre-democratic government was abolished, racial inequality remains apparent in South Africa, over thirty years later. Race groups in South Africa 'have a historical reality that has shaped the subjectivities and worldviews of the South African population' (Finchilescu, 2010: 228; Hayward, 2017: 16). Despite all races having equal rights to education, healthcare, housing and other national resources, the majority of black South Africans continue to experience the aftereffects of a forty-six-year regime through inadequate housing, healthcare, education, and high unemployment levels (Hayward, 2017: 16; Finchilescu 2010: 224; Seekings, 2008: 2-7).

The are many references to Khoesan or Khoe identity in relation to the racial category of 'Coloured' in this research. These terms have been chosen to identify lineages of Khoe identity in the 'Coloured' community of Klipfontein, Eastern Cape. "In 1911 in a process of divide and rule, a range of African people were bureaucratically deprived of their African identity by being labelled 'Coloured', indigenous descendants of various Khoe, San, Malay, African and / or European encounters (Bezuidenhout, 2017:10), while others were labelled 'Natives' as mentioned above (Mellet, 2018: 14). The term 'Coloured' is contextualized in this paper within the frame of the wider revitalisation of Khoe identity provincially and nationally. An example,

of the revitalisation of the Khoe identity is the case of King Khoisan SA and the Union Buildings in Pretoria, South Africa. On the 17 November 2018, a large portion of Eastern Capes Khoe group with King Khoisan SA marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to hand in a memorandum to President Cyril Ramaphosa, arriving on 5 December 2018, where they have been camped in the garden ever since (Maurice, 2023). The memorandum demanded that the government, recognise the Khoe as the first nation people of South Africa, the Khoesan language, Khoe-khoeaab, be regognised as an official language, their ancestral land be returned, and the label 'coloured' as a reference to people of mixed race be removed from official documents (Maurice, 2023; Tshikalange, 2022). King Khoisan SA is still camped outside the union building in Pretoria, he will not leave until the government acknowledge the demands of the memorandum and the identity of the Khoe are acknowledged. Thus, the racial categorisation utilised in this study are used to classify notions of identity and cultural history in the recollection of memories.

1.4. Relevance and Importance of this Study

The relevance of this study is that it demonstrates how shipwreck narratives presented at the local public level articulate a settler colonial community heritage consciousness that erases wider accounts of such stories. The reinterpretation and decentring of settler colonial maritime heritage stories allows for a more diverse and inclusive narrative that has the potential to promote social cohesion and social justice within restorative history work. Acknowledgement of what is remembered, and what is forgotten, in processes of memorialisation from Port Alfred to Cannon Rocks is vital to the research agenda of this dissertation. At the Kowie museum, in Port Alfred, engagement with the curatorship of shipwreck remnants and stories on this coast, contributed to understanding the context of the memorial and heritage spaces established by settler-colonial communities, now operating in an environment in which these triumphant narratives are under pressure to be reassessed. At large this study is an important addition to the field of heritage and memory studies the approach to the topic of shipwrecks invokes a process whereby memories and shipwreck narratives within communities are shared and documented. This research hopes to benefit the participants by allowing them to share their personal memories and stories surrounding their heritage which may have been discarded previously due to colonial and apartheid oppressions on identity. The acknowledgement of someone's personal experience in the wider heritagescape is a process that is rewarding for both the participant and the researcher. Thus, contributing to the wider heritagescape of Eastern Cape's 'Sunshine Coast', its residents and the South African Community Shipwreck heritage.

1.5. Scope of Study: 'The Volo' Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth

'South Africa is known for the stark contrasts which mark the spatial parameters of this situation, a shacks and mansions juxtaposition masking the subtle tones of difference between sectors of the community and amplifying a sense of 'them' and 'us' which remains profoundly racialized in those communities where European descended people are concentrated' (Santos, 2023: 128). This study centres around exploring heritage, memorialisation, and the contested social memory of colonialism through tracking the tangible and intangible remains of shipwrecks which intertwine with coastal community narratives, which may be neither coherent nor unified, on the Eastern Cape's coastal belt, known in tourist branding vernacular as the 'Sunshine Coast' (East London to Port Elizabeth) (See figure 1.5). The primary areas of focus are *Kenton-on-Sea* and *Bushman's River Mouth (Boesmansriviermond),* where the wreck of 'The Volo' has entered the popular heritage consciousness of the region by dominating the local heritagescape. The Volo was a Norwegian barge wrecked on the beach at Kwaaihoek, near present day Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth, in 1886 (BRRAG, 2013). The Volo epitomises the way in which shipwreck narratives can articulate settler colonial community heritage consciousness to emphasise a heroic moral discourse which legitimises local presence. This is linked to how historical memory and social memory around shipwrecks are interpreted and understood in the present as a moral discourse. Accounts of the rescue told on tourist sites and in local circulation focus on the white hero rescuer, Charles Butt, invisibilising the presence and role of indigenous persons, from Klipfontein, involved in the rescue.

Figure 1.5. Map of 'The Sunshine Coast'

Source: Sunshine Coast Info (2023).

1.5.1 Locating the Town of Kenton-on-Sea and the township of Ekuphumleni.

The wealthy holiday and retirement town of Kenton-on-Sea, marketed as a 'Seaside Playground' and 'The Jewel of the Eastern Cape's Sunshine Coast', is named after the English county of Kent, known as the 'garden of England' (Santos, 2023: 129). The town emerged through the habit of 1820 British settler farmers from the surrounding areas driving their wagons to the coast for rest and relaxation during the holiday period of Christmas (Santos, 2023: 128; Bezuidenhout, 2017: 6). The summer encampments utilised by these white farmers was on land obtained by the British Crown, following Wars of Dispossession which had taken away territorial control from Chief Ndlambe's amaXhosa, as well as Khoe groups (Santos,2023: 128-129; Peires, 1982), and was sold, in 1868, to Charles Butt Sr as South Gorah farm (See figure 1.6) (Shuttleworth, 1973). From the 1930's, estate agents bought South Gorah,

Figure 1.6. South Gorah, Kenton-on-Sea

Source: https://www.1820settlers.com/genealogy/maps/settlermap_southgorah.php

dividing it into plots, marketing what had now become Kenton-On-Sea as a 'Seaside Playground'. White people who had holidayed at the farm for years were given first option to purchase (Meiring & Richards, 2008: 42; Bezuidenhout, 2017: 7; Santos, 2023: 129). The town has grown over the years giving rise to a village filled with holiday homes ranging from simple cottages to extravagant mansions, many of which stay vacant for much of the year as their owners pursue their social and economic lives in the cities of South Africa (Santos, 2023: 129). The 'street names in the town reflect the celebration of this heritage with streets named after

the original settler farming families, whose descendants continue to hold wealth and land in the area, as well as locations of British summer idyls like Devon, Cornwall and Somerset' (Santos, 2023: 129). Kenton-On-Sea reflects the economic and social legacies of apartheid segregation policies, and the unresolved aftermath of the social chaos unleashed by colonial wars and land grabs (Santos, 2023: 128). It is a community divided by the racial and class categories that were generated by the colonial-apartheid eras and has competing foundation myths which reflect this (Santos, 2023: 129).

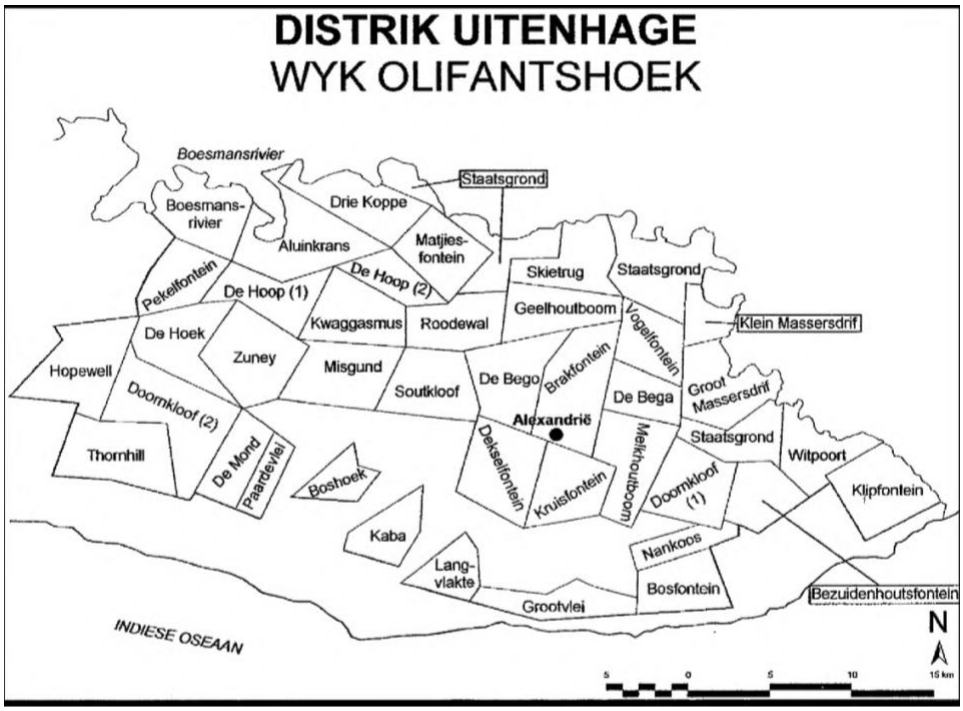
In contrast to Kenton-on-Sea, there is the township of Ekuphumleni, 'Our Place of Rest' in isiXhosa (Santos, 2023: 129). The origins of Ekuphumleni began with the arrival of 5 families from neighbouring farms or were evicted from them to the area now known as Kariega Heights, in the 1960s, where they established a transit camp, looking for opportunities of domestic work for the expanding white population of Kenton-on-Sea (Santos, 2023:129-130). When mass evictions took place on surrounding farms these families were joined by others slowly increasing the size of their camps population (Santos, 2023: 130). By the 1980s, the population of the camp had grown substantially, alongside the growing popularity of Kenton-on-Sea as a town for wealthy retirees, second homeowners and holiday makers, which caused concern about the presence of the camp being on prime property as it had access to 360-degree views of the ocean and river (Santos, 2023: 130). Thus, the apartheid-era municipality in Kenton-on-Sea planned to relocate camp residents to the newly established township Marselle on the opposite side of the Bushman's River, leaving this prime property open for further development (Santos, 2023: 130, Bezuidenhout, 2017: 221-222). This set off resistance against authorities by some of the camps residences who refused to relocate to Marselle (Santos, 2023: 130). In 1994, Ekuphumleni was officially declared a township, due to the presence of a new democratic government, and the residents who stuck with their beliefs were able to continue establishing their roots, in a place they could officially called home (Santos, 2023:130).

1.5.2. Locating the Town of Bushman's River Mouth / Boesmansriviermond and the Community of Klipfontein

Across the Bushman's River from Kenton-on-Sea one will find the village of Bushman's River Mouth / Boesmansriviermond. During the 18th and 19th centuries, Olifantshoek (See figure 1.7), now Alexandria, an area on the western side of Bushman's River Mouth, was a focal point of 'frontier history' (Bezuidenhout, 2017: 7). Olifantshoek held great significance for the amaXhosa people as it was where King Ndlambe's Great Palace was located (Bezuidenhout,

2017: 7). During the early 19th century, Olifantshoek, amongst other districts between the Sundays River and Bushman's River, became a site for fierce resistance of the amaNdlambe

Figure 1.7. Olifantshoek – Klipfontein and Neighbouring Farms c.1850



Source: Bezuidenhout, 2017.

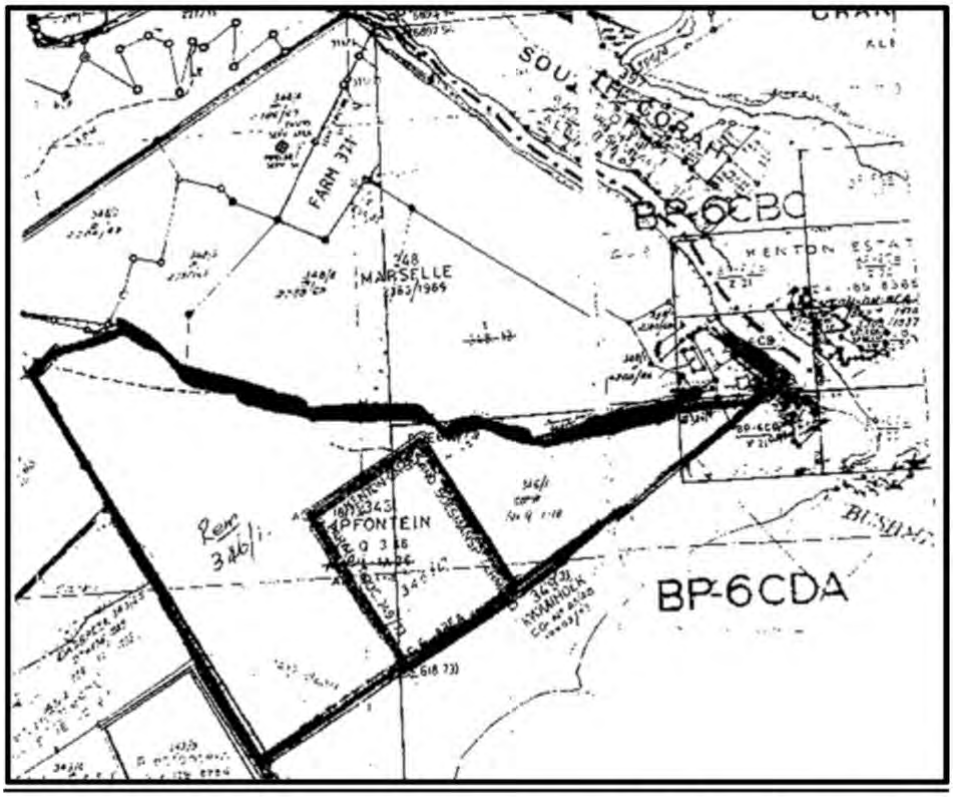
against the colonial forces under Colonel John Graham, whom the town of Grahamstown, now Makhanda, was named (Bezuidenhout, 2017: 7). However, despite their resistance the amaNdlambe were driven across the Fish River out of their territory (Bezuidenhout, 2017: 7). This was not the end of the amaXhosa's battle against colonial forces in the Olifantshoek region. For over forty years, confrontations and battles occurred, as the amaXhosa would raid farms near Alexandria from across the Bushman's River (Bezuidenhout, 2017: 7-8).

Bushman's River Mouth, like Kenton-on-Sea, became a holiday destination for white Afrikaans, connected to the Dutch who arrived in the Cape in 1652, farmers from the Olifantshoek District. Municipal records mention that Bushman's River Mouth had three houses before 1900 and around fifteen before 1920, thus it was a slowly expanding village (Bezuidenhout, 2017: 8). The village 'originally consisted of a few camping sites on the seaward side, owned by the Department of Forestry as well as a few camping spots for those who were permitted on the bank itself, which was on the farm, Berthaville (Portion of Whitney), owned by Thomas Futter' (Bezuidenhout, 2017: 8). In 1926, Futter sub-divided his farm, selling plots at a public auction in 1928 (Bezuidenhout, 2017: 8; Malherbe, 1997: 22). In 1933, the Department of Forestry also sold their plots which resulted in a rapid increase of

houses being built (Bezuidenhout, 2017: 8; Malherbe, 1997: iv). In 1939, more land was acquired by the Local Management board, that had been established in 1937, which enabled the white village to expand inland from the riverbank (Bezuidenhout, 2017: 8). Due to the rapid expansion of the town, the Cape Province declared Boemansriviermond a town in 1941 (Bezuidenhout, 2017: 8; Malherbe, 1997: iv). Unlike Kenton-on-Sea, Busman's River Mouth portrays a more rustic layout with a combination of extravagant houses mixed with smaller bungalows.

In contrast to Bushman's River Mouth, there is the community of Klipfontein. Klipfontein is a private farm located immediately west of Bushman's River Mouth (Boesmansriviermond) and runs parallel to the beach of Kwaaihoek (Bezuidenhout, 2017: 9-10). The farm's first owner was Johannes Booysen, who transferred the farm to a Johannes Abraham Scheepers, both white settlers (Bezuidenhout, 2017: 43). In the early 1860s, an old and frail Scheepers decided to subdivide his farm, giving the piece of land bordering the sea to his worker Dirk Jansen van

Figure 1.8. Map showing the amended boundaries of Klipfontein after transfer to Dirk Janse Van Rensburg



*The bold lines show the portion of Klipfontein transferred to Dirk Janse van Rensburg.

Source: Bezuidenhout, 2017.

Rensburg (See figure1.8), a white man, in 1962 (Bezuidenhout, 2017: 43). It was here the birth of Klipfontein as 'coloured' community with indigenous descendants of various Khoe, San, Malay, African and/or European encounters began (Bezuidenhout, 2017:10). However, not everyone in the community identifies with the term coloured as an identity with several families and individuals identifying as Khoe, from the Korana nation in the Eastern Cape. Dirk and his wife Sarah, who was of Khoe or Malay decent it is not certain, devoted their land into a trust, which enabled their descendants to continue living on the farm in perpetuity, without the risk of being forced off the land due to financial restraints or racially based legislation (Bezuidenhout, 2017: 32-33).

1.5.3. Overview of Chapters

This introductory chapter has served as a wide background and literature review into the topic of heritage and memory regarding shipwrecks about to be discussed in the chapters to follow. The purpose of this chapter was to set the scene and give a broader understanding on what is happening globally, nationally, provincially, and locally. It is here the reader can get an understanding of the relevance and scope of this study more broadly. This study explores the contribution of marginalised communities to shipwreck narratives in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa, specifically in the Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River area, contributing to an understanding of how shipwreck narratives might move across lines of class and race in a community that remains deeply segregated along racial and class lines, as a legacy of its colonial and apartheid past. Secondly, the white hero narrative is valorised in line with the establishment of the settler colonial community in Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth, where the exclusion of social memories that de-centre the white hero as the main protagonist of the Volo's rescue is indicative of the ongoing invisibilization of diverse understandings of the local heritagescape in mainstream representations of the town. Lastly, it explores what shipwreck narratives tell us about the connection between heritage, memory, memorialisation, and community identity in post-conflict societies.

Chapter 2 is an outline of the methodological considerations used in this study. It considers critical approaches to the research methods employed in anthropology, memory, and heritage studies, to frame the highly dynamic setting of the 'Sunshine Coast' where narratives of the past are contested and continually redistributed. The chapter describes and comments on why interdisciplinary approaches, objects utilised as symbols, memory and material culture studies were used to construct the research design, what sampling strategy was used to gain a diverse

demographic of research participants, how historical sources were obtained and utilised by the researcher. Next it outlines several methods of field work utilised in this study such as site visits and mapping, participant observation or 'deep hanging out', fieldnotes, formal and informal interviews, audio recordings and photographs. Lastly, this chapter discusses the ethical considerations within this study and the methodological limitations experienced by the researcher when conducting this research. The chapter has been constructed so that it may be used to provide guidelines for other researchers who may consult these methodological considerations when researching a similar topic of study or use it as a resource for understanding heritage and memory studies in local maritime heritage.

Chapter 3 commences with a background on the 'The Volo' by answering the questions of where it came from, where it was going, why did it wreck, and what happened to the crew after they were rescued. The story of the Volo is outlined with the help of memories and stories recalled by Pat Barnard, the granddaughter of Martin Knudsen, the youngest crew member on the Volo when it wrecked. The concept of intergenerational step-over transmission is utilised to emphasise the importance of generational heritage and memory. The intention of this chapter is to provide the reader with context through memories and family history before discussing the various narratives told in Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth about the Volo's rescue attempt.

Chapter 4 analyses the stories of 'heroes' who assisted in the rescue of the Volo and its crew, as there are a several versions told within the popular heritage culture of the region, depending on which community you come from, Kenton-on-Sea or Bushman's River Mouth, and what language you speak, English or Afrikaans. The chapter begins by separately identifying and giving a background of each white rescuer, Charles Butt and Kaaljan Scheepers, based on the stories told by the community, to understand which hero narrative is specifically remembered in the current local heritagescape and why. Secondly, the chapter will discuss and unpack why there is a need to acknowledge the forgotten 'Coloured' presence in the heroic rescuer's narrative. It is here a background it given on the Khoe, Dutch and British presence in the region, the 'Coloured identity' in South Africa based on the prior background and how this affected the stories told in the region when it came to heroic rescuers. Thirdly, the chapter gives a historical background of Klipfontein, Khoe identity and the revival of political heritage consciousness in the region . This is unpacked utilising the help of Khaikoes Danakxoas (Senior Headwoman) Zelda Masimla a resident of Klipfontein and Khoe descendant of the

Korana nation. Lastly, potential reasons as to why certain narratives have been remembered and others forgotten will be discussed based on responses by participants.

Chapter 5 showcases how the tangible remains of the Volo have been incorporated into the popular local and tourist culture in Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth, using examples and images. Tangible objects from the Volo and intangible memories of its rescuers are constantly evolving as heritage symbols in the region. The chapter elaborates on this with the constant changing of hands of the Volo Restaurant in Kenton-on-Sea and its intangible remnants of the Volo which always seem to be a constant. The aim of this chapter is to explain how symbols are used as a way of interpreting and remembering a specific narrative based on the space it is displayed and what knowledge it can represent for certain groups of people based on the knowledge and/or power they possess.

Chapter 6 discusses the application of Tim Winters approach to critical heritage studies, in a community workshop with a local primary school in Kenton-on-Sea. The chapter discusses how critical heritage studies is a discipline that seeks to address the 'critical' issues that face the world today in relation to issues that involve or extend outwards from heritage (Winter, 2013). Critical heritage studies look at the socio-political complexities of heritage through a critical perspective that those in the conservation profession are often reluctant to acknowledge (Winter, 2013: 533). However, in this case study the complexities of heritage are traced through interactions with community members and critical discussions held within a classroom setting. This classroom setting allowed for a space where critical thinking, in the form of asking questions and challenging stories told about one's culture and heritage, were able to occur more fluidly. Utilising a classroom setting to discuss heritage can enable fruitful discussions when it comes to understanding how people's heritage is remembered and forgotten in the context of their setting and position in society. This is discussed using the example of local hero stories, a theme from the school curriculum, and shipwreck heritage. The chapter comments on how the reinterpretation of stories told within a community can change the way we think about our own heritage and identity.

The concluding chapter surmises the three research questions proposed in this paper in relation to the findings of this study. It firstly summarises the papers findings in relation to how the above questions were answered when engaging with the social memories that surround and are attached to the 1886 Norwegian shipwreck of *'The Volo'*, at Kwaaihoek, near present day

Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth, the primary areas of focus for this research, which has entered the popular heritage consciousness of the region by dominating the local heritagescape. This is done by reflecting on the observations made regarding how the Volo symbolises different communities in a region that remains deeply segregated along racial and class lines, as a legacy of its colonial and apartheid past. Such observations include how heritage is transmitted through the retelling of family stories and shipwreck narratives within the local communities of Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth, as well as the presence of heritage symbolisms utilised in the tourism industry and education system through critical heritage studies, which is telling of how shipwreck narratives can connect heritage, memory, memorialisation, and community identity in post-conflict societies that have valorised the 'superior' over the 'inferior.' Concluding thoughts on the case study of the Volo relate to how the wreck epitomises the way in which shipwreck narratives can articulate settler colonial community heritage consciousness to emphasise a heroic moral discourse which legitimises local presence. This is linked to how historical memory and social memory around shipwrecks are interpreted and understood in the present as a moral discourse. The second conclusion I came to, through this research, was that it is important to note the contribution of marginalised communities to shipwreck narratives, which is seen in the forgotten narratives of Butt's coloured crew and the engagement had with Zelda Masimla, a prominent member of the Klipfontein and Khoe community. Secondly, the significance of this research for the field of social anthropology, maritime and underwater heritage, and social memory will be discussed. Lastly, the possible research projects that can emerge from this topic and this research report will be presented as a concluding observation.

CHAPTER 2
METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The discipline of socio-cultural anthropology has many approaches to empirical research which seek to understand the intersection between the lived experience, texts or discourses, and the social context (Saukko, 2003: 11). To understand this intersection, an interdisciplinary approach of both anthropological and historical methods was used to construct the design of this research, find research participants and historical sources. When conducting fieldwork several social and visual anthropological methods were utilised such as site visits and mapping, participant observation or 'Deep Hanging Out', fieldnotes, formal and informal interviews, audio recordings and photographs. This chapter will outline how these techniques were utilised and adapted for this research in methods of fieldwork used. It will also explain the ethical considerations and the methodological limitations experienced by the researcher when conducting this research. The aim of this chapter is to map how research was conducted for the reader to understand how these anthropological and historical methods were used to tell the story outlined in this thesis. It is presented as a guideline for young researchers who may consult these methodological considerations to research that focuses on shipwreck heritage and social memory in small coastal communities. It can also be utilised as a comparative study by established researchers in the field of shipwreck studies, restorative history, or critical heritage studies.

2.1. Research Design

This research made use of anthropological and historical methods of data collection to link how the remains of shipwrecks intertwine with coastal community narratives, which may be neither coherent not unified. This interdisciplinary approach is well used in anthropology as a foundation for examining cultural complexes from different theoretical viewpoints, both ahistorical and historical (Silverman, 1979: 413). Anthropologist Lin Poyer explores both oral and documentary histories of Ngatik (Sapwuahfik), by examining "the interplay of history and identity on the Sapwuahfik by developing what she calls a 'double-sided' account based equally on written historical documents and oral traditions that she recorded during her fieldwork" (Marshall, 1993: 932). Unlike Poyer, Edwin Ferdon "relies exclusively on historical documents written by Europeans and Americans to reconstruct early Marquesan life", in his book titled *Early Observations of Marquesan Culture 1595-1913 (*Marshall, 1993: 932).

When conducting my research on the connection between heritage, memory, memorialisation, and community identity in Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth, I utilised an interdisciplinary approach to outline these connections. I felt it was important to connect these disciplines to my research, as this integrated approach connects historical data with the ethnographic present rather than providing background information, acknowledging the innate sociality of historical data in relationship to the present (Silverman, 1979: 413). This method is used to understand how historical and social perspectives and interpretations of the Volo shipwreck in Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth, which shifts across lines of class and race, as it is a community that remains deeply segregated along racial and class lines as a legacy of its colonial and apartheid past. This approach also allowed for a more intricate and detailed understanding to develop of how the symbol transcends the object within the case of the Volo by using memory and material culture studies (MCS) as a foundation for theory. Katina Lillios (1999), used this method in her study *'Objects of Memory: The Ethnography and Archaeology of Heirlooms.'* Lillios (1999), uses MCS through a survey of the ethnographic literature by examining the role of heirlooms and their transmission in constructing social inequality in hereditary ranking in chiefdoms.

Art history, archaeology and anthropology are disciplines that focus on the use of objects and symbols to decipher a story of the past. When developing methods around how symbols, objects/things, monuments, or landscapes are heritage within the fields of anthropology and heritage studies two theoretical arguments can be considered. The first is Michael Thompson's (1979) '*Rubbish Theory: The Creation and Destruction of Value',* "which argues that objects undergo a cycle of value-devaluation and revaluation" (Sørensen & Carman, 2009) and the second is anthropologist Arjun Appadurai's (1986) *'The Social Life of Things'*. According to Sørensen & Carman (2009), these two theoretical arguments 'provide frameworks within which the changing value and roles of objects/things may be tracked and dissected.' In this dissertation the use of symbols is explored through the tangible remains of the Volo that can be found in Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth. According to Carroll, Walford & Walton (2021:13), these disciplines only in 'the latter half of the century saw an increased focus on the aesthetics and cultural value of the artefact as a means to shift attention away from the problematic aspects of the politics of representation.' However, there is a need to move beyond the aesthetics and into the context behind the artefacts, as symbols of a wider cultural and human context. In Appadurai's work *'The Social Life of Things'* (1986: 5; Drazin, 2021:61) the following quote sums up this concept:

> *'We have to follow the things themselves, for their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories. It is only through the analysis of these trajectories that we can interpret the human transactions and calculations that enliven things. […] it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context.'*

This does not mean to say that 'following the things' is a specific methodology, nor part of an interdisciplinary field of MCS, rather it is a perspective that can be used within anthropology and the field of heritage studies to critically analyse cultures of value (Drazin, 2021: 61). This is a perspective used within this study to critically analyse how an artefact such as a shipwreck can symbolise so much more than its shell but the story of its voyage, those attached to its story, and the community where it settled. Igor Kopytoff (1986; Drazin, 2021: 61) outlines that "when things are possessed by certain people, they present particular, even particulate, identities and relationships; whereas in other phases they become more generally exchangeable, like emblematic types." Thus, this dissertation follows the method of writing an object's biography of sorts, which entails choosing a specific thing, 'the Volo', and describing a range of different moments or periods in its life (Drazin, 2021:63). Moments and phases within a thing's life are witnessed and experienced by different people, over time communities, people and places attach a specific type of memory to it (Drazin, 2021: 63). The Volo has become a symbol of the community in Kenton-on-sea and Bushman's River Mouth. This symbolism is fundamental in understanding how certain kinds of visual objects can and are used to show, tell, and represent a specific context or community (Carroll, Walford & Walton, 2021:14).

2.2. Research Participants

The research participants involved in this study were people with diverse demographic interests and knowledge on sites of significance connected with shipwrecks on the Sunshine Coast, specifically the Volo in Kenton-on-Sea and Busman's River Mouth. It was important to gain a wide scope of knowledge from different community members whose ancestors were either from local indigenous groups, the Khoe and amaXhosa, 1820 settlers, seasonal visitors and vacation homeowners, tourism officers and local business owners. Each participant played a significant role in the understanding of how the narrative of Volo entered the local heritagescape.

These participants include Pat Barnard who is central to the background of the Volo's journey from Norway to its wreck at Kwaaihoek. Pat is the granddaughter of Martin Knudsen the youngest crew member of the Volo who eventually settled in South Africa after the wreck of the Volo (Chapter 3). Her identification as Norwegian and South African allowed for an integrated recollection of the Volo's story. Iliza and Shelly's ancestors stem from the 1820 settlers who settled in the region and vacationed in the area over generations, thus they knew the region and its history extensively. Their recollections of the Charles Butt story and his connection to the Volo showcased the local settler pride still present in the region (Chapter 4 & Chapter 6).

A pseudonym for the anonymous voice for the community of Ekuphumleni and the tourism industry in the region, is Lwandle. His insight into the history of the region and the shipwreck stories was beneficial for understanding the forgotten narratives in the rescue story of the Volo (Chapter 5). Additionally, the contribution Zelda Masimla, a descendant of the original family of Klipfontein, the Jansen van Rensburg's, gave of Khoe and Klipfontein heritage was substantial in outlining why the voices of the so called 'Coloured' community were left out of the Volo's rescue story (Chapter 5). Zelda was contacted due to previous work I had done with her for another project based in Kenton-on-Sea. The discussions I had with Zelda and Lwandle displayed how historical and social memory perspectives and interpretations of shipwrecks shift across lines of class and race in communities that remain deeply segregated along racial lines, as a legacy of their colonial and apartheid past.

The sampling strategy used to identify participants consisted of participant observation, purposive and snowball sampling. At the start of the study participant observation was vital in immersing myself within the community. It was a way to get to know the surroundings and talk to people who were able to assist as research participants. This is discussed further below in methods of fieldwork). The purposive sampling method, deciding the purpose I wanted an informant or community to serve (Bernard, 2017: 95), was a starting point for identifying key stakeholders associated with heritage practices in Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth. One of these key stakeholders was the Sunshine Coast tourism office where informal interactions with the staff allowed for the snowball method to emerge, permitting further participants to be recruited. One of the staff members grew up in the area, with her family being descendant of 1820 British Settlers, thus her knowledge of the area both in Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth enabled her to suggest numerous people who could possibly

participate in my research. The snowball sampling method was the most effective way to gather participants as Kenton-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth are very small communities where people are in contact with each other daily (Bernard, 2017: 97), through bumping into each other at a coffee shop, the local spar or just simply walking along the street. This was observed through participant observations.

Even though the snowball or 'chain referral' method of sampling was effective in my research method it does not always work out for the better. Mendez (2020:3), explains that when this method is utilised in qualitative research one must assume that the population is special or sparse, and that members of this population know each other. Thus, it is a method "recommended for use only in populations for which this assumption holds true" (Mendez, 2020: 3; Sudman & Kalton, 1986). In Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth this method was utilised due to the close connections of generational settlement in the region based on evidence of 1820 British and Dutch settler descendants still present in the area today. Secondly, the two areas are very small holiday and retirement villages where through observation everyone seemed to know everyone. Many of the encounters I witnessed were based on children going to school together, utilising the same local doctor or dentist, being members of the same local sporting club, visiting the same coffee barista every morning or going to the same church. However, if one had to attempt this method in a larger setting such as Cape Town or Port Elizbeth this may not be an effective method due to larger suburbs, larger networks of people sticking to daily routines of going to work and then home for the day.

The work of Chaim Noy (2008) is an example of how the snowball method was effective and less effective for the researcher. Noy (2008:328) reflects upon two of his qualitative research projects that "explored and documented groups of people whose shared social experience predominantly include movement (technologically mediated movement)." Noy (2008) utilised the snowball sampling method as a way of reaching and tracking both groups' social networks and routes of travel. The first study looked at the experiences and recollections of backpacker tourists, whereby sampling was initiated through acquaintances and advertisements placed in locations frequented by the backpackers (Noy, 2008: 328). This process of sampling was easier for Noy as people were generally friendly, willing to share their experiences and refer other travellers. Whereas the second study explored semi-professional male drivers of low socioeconomic backgrounds in the urban environment of Al-Quds/Jerusalem. In this study Noy (2008: 329) also utilised snowball sampling through acquaintances, taxi, and shuttle drivers,

who then referred him to family relatives and colleagues. When conversing with this sample group Noy found it to be a more difficult process "complicated by suspicions over his own positionality and by misguided expectations among those contacted about what the research could achieve" (Parker, Scott & Geddes, 2019: 5). Thus, overall Noy found that social networks, power relations and social capital can influence the technique of snowballing.

When finding a sample size for informal and formal interviews, I was able to contact or interact with 3-5 people per area to gather a fair representation of each community. This sample size allowed for more intimate formal interviews which enabled more free flowing thoughts, opinions, and interaction on the topic at hand from the interviewee. Data on the background and symbols relating to the Volo's representation was gathered through informal and spontaneous interviews with people in local establishments such as cafes, restaurants, stores, and the beach where Volo iconography operates powerfully in the symbolic domain to mark space and identify places. This method is considered by Driessen and Jansen (2013) as 'Small talk' in ethnographic fieldwork. According to Driessen and Jansen (2013: 252), engaging in small talk is when "people connect by looking, smiling, exchanging words, making connective gestures, and other micro-interactional forms." This connection establishes a 'rapport' amongst people which helps to overcome feelings of awkwardness, newness, strangeness, and otherness by multisensory and multi-layered exchanges, in turn closing the gap between personal and cultural divides (Driessen & Jansen, 2013: 252). "Small talk is a lubricant not only between the researcher and research participants but also in facilitating access to a wider network" (Driessen & Jansen, 2013: 252).

2.3. Historical Sources

Before going into the field archives were encountered as part of a read repository for social memory. This emergent methodological practice articulates a shift for the archive from static repository of facts to a living entity where multiple perspectives can be read in relationship to the wider social world being researched (Ladwig & Roque, 2011). This included archival data, interviews, and personal accounts kept at Cory Library in Makhanda, and newspapers, photographs, and reports of shipwrecks, in the Kowie Museum's exhibits and repositories, in Port Alfred. Focusing on social memory, in both contemporary communities and in the archive, allows for attention to be brought to "the social contexts in which people shape their group identities and debate their conflicting perceptions of the past" (French, 1995: 9). Hayward (2018) researched the descendants of shipwreck survivors along the coast of the former

Transkei, and similarly relied on memories preserved by oral tradition to explore the histories and genealogies of clans descended from Asian and European survivors of shipwrecks that occurred some 300 years ago. The inclusion of intangible heritage such as oral narratives, which depend primarily on memory for their survival, in addition to archival and museum sources, and the portrayal of shipwreck accounts in tourist marketing, allows for a better understanding of how these memories came into being and what their limitations are (Rubin, 2009: 273). Thus, by merging numerous historical sources from archival work this study was able to further contribute to the general topic of shipwrecks, contested local heritages and the wider South African heritagescape.

2.4. Methods of Fieldwork

2.4.1. Site Visits and Mapping

Fieldwork began with site visits as if I was a tourist not a researcher, in places I have been many times before recreationally. The aim of conducting site visits was to familiarise myself with the landscapes, its communities, and ways of life, before approaching potential participants. Essentially, I was mapping out my field sites for potential encounters before moving on to participant observation. I thought it would be appropriate to map out where I could potentially do participant observation within my field sites based on where people mainly congregated or where tourism offices were situated. I printed out a map of my field sites before going to them so that I was able to take notes on where things were for future reference (See Figure 2.1). This enabled me to figure out how I would approach this research and its participants. This process was an enjoyable exercise as people did not really take notice of me due to the area being a well-known tourist destination.

Figure 2.1. Researchers Field Site Mapping with Notes

Source: E.J, Dickson-Bow, 2022

2.4.2. Participant Observation or 'Deep Hanging Out'

After establishing a way forward, the process of what anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1998) coined 'deep hanging out' or participant observation began. Participant observation was embedded in tourist offices, local museums, restaurants, beaches, and other community forums representing diverse demographic interests and sites of significance connected with shipwrecks, formally and informally celebrating and memorialising shipwrecks, which enabled a deep immersion in the terrain of the heritagescape of the Sunshine Coast as it pertained to shipwrecks. Establishing connections via these local institutions, such as the Sunshine Coast tourism offices, permitted the recruitment of participants for interviews via snowballing or 'chain-referral', whereby previous encounters with individuals lead to further networks being built within the community (Beauchemin & González-Ferrer, 2011: 105). I was also fortunate enough to have a gatekeeper into the community of Kenton-on-Sea, as one of my supervisors' lives and has done her own research there, enabling many chain-referrals to occur. However, despite being blessed with 'a way into' my field site, through ideas of where I could go and who I could converse with, this process was fully achieved through dedicated fieldwork and discussions with the Sunshine Coast tourism officer who aided me in finding several gatekeepers into the community.

This is not always a successful way to utilise the snowball sampling method mentioned above as my sample was dependent on my own personal resources and contacts, through my supervisor. In several ways, this was a huge risk to take as a new researcher as my research was at risk of becoming distorted very early on in the research process (Parker, Scott & Geddes, 2019: 5). Utilising the snowball method in this way and the detriment it can have to the sample and researcher can best be explained by Parker, Scott & Geddes (2019: 5) who say that when a researcher finds potential participants through the snowball sampling method, these participants stem from a small number of initial seeds. What these seeds require is an initial awareness of others who potentially fit the research criteria, which if explained well by the researcher can work, however these seeds often make their choices based upon their perception that the new participant they recruit will be a willing and cooperative contributor to the research (Parker, Scott & Geddes, 2019: 5). This is an assumption that the researcher will have to deal with utilising this method as not everyone who is referred to them will be willing to contribute, may not have the time, or may feel that they have nothing to contribute once the researcher has explained their research further. Unfortunately, it can be a hit and a miss with this method.

I did some ‘deep hanging out’ at local restaurants and coffee shops, the ‘local watering holes’ as such, as it is easier to initiate a conversation when someone has had their caffeine fix for the day. Whilst waiting for a cup of coffee it is a great opportunity to chat to a waiter or waitress, a local barista, and even a local grabbing a cup of coffee on a work break, as these encounters were where I had rich conversations. Many of these conversations began with greetings and casual conversation on how people I encountered found themselves in Kenton-on-Sea, what coffee they liked, why they chose to frequent these establishments, or how employees came to work in the establishments that I found myself ‘hanging out’ in. I found that this light form of conversation put people at ease and made them more relaxed to talk to me. These conversations were then followed by what my research was about as people wanted to know more about me, where I was from, and what I was doing in the area.

During the process of ‘deep hanging out’ it is difficult to judge how you will be received and perceived in a space that you are researching and immersing yourself in where you are essentially the ‘outsider’ in the community. On one hand in holiday towns such as Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman’s River Mouth I could have been perceived as a tourist, due to carrying a notebook, camera, and backpack with me, which is not an uncommon sight in the area. However, what did cross my mind as a researcher entering this space was how I would be received as a young white woman and a student wandering around the local streets and eateries observing my surroundings and asking locals questions. The town of Kenton-on-Sea is a dominated white space thus my presence as a young white woman did not seem unfamiliar to its inhabitants and I did not look or feel out of place. This was further reflected in the interactions had with older white generations who were generally friendly and happy to help a young researcher with any questions. I perceived this behaviour by these participants as finding me relatable, especially if they had their own children or grandchildren my age. The reception of this was that many of these participants felt that they would like other people to help or extend kindness if their family members were in the same position as I was in. In saying this, how I was received by black and coloured members of the community was through more formal modes of communication such as handshakes and formal conversation. This was an interesting transition to modes of respect and boundaries between genders, especially when interacting with older males from these racial groups. When approaching the younger generations, young adults, they seemed weary at first of what I wanted, but due to being a young female student the situation quickly became relaxed as we could relate to general topics of studying or working, as waiters and waitresses. However, if I had been a young male approaching a female

waitress in the same way I had this may not have gone as smoothly. This is due to worries of being objectified by the male gaze, being taken advantage of or any occurrence of gender-based violence. Overall, the way one looks, dresses, acts, and approaches situations will be received and perceived in a particular way depending on the generational group, the cultural group, or racial group you are approaching. It is up to the researcher to define themselves and react in the best way possible to these different modes of perception and receival when conducting research.

I particularly did some 'deep hanging out' at the Volo restaurant before and after its renovations. Due to being present prior and whilst the Volo was transitioning, I was able to clearly see the changes in the atmosphere of the venue, its staff and interact with regulars who had much to say on the change. In doing this process I was able to see the changes to the restaurant's display and how they symbolised the Volo's story through the tangible objects they displayed (Chapter 5). It was also an interesting case study of how the take-over of the business with old and new staff did not change the story that was told at the establishment. The staff were very eager to learn about what my research was as many did not know the history behind the name which sparked deeper conversations about my topic whilst they set up tables for their afternoon lunch rush. Some of the staff that had worked for the establishment over its several changes of hands referred me to customers they knew could tell me more about the Volo which was great as they received me in kindness and wanted to help any way they could. I noticed that through my process of deep hanging out I became more comfortable with my field site as people that I had spoken to greeted me in the street if they saw me again and asked how everything was going. It was a great way to further cement myself within the community and become a local of sorts which was a very humbling experience.

2.4.3. Fieldnotes

Each researcher no matter the discipline utilises fieldnotes in their own unique way either as personal recollections and observations or to use as data for their research. These fieldnotes may consist of a written or verbally recorded daily log, observed interactions, noting public communication, ideas that are marinating, rough diagrams and drawings, genealogical charts to be used in appendixes to a thesis or book (Sanjek, 2019: 6-7). Sanjek (1990), asked several researchers why they use fieldnotes and they had varying responses. One researcher mentions that they use it as a form of contextualisation and reconstructing an event saying "There are a lot of things that become a part of my daily life I was sure I'd remember and didn't. Things

you take for granted but you don't know why anymore"(Sanjek, 2019: 7). Whereas another researcher "generated fieldnotes in part because doing so reassured her that she was doing her job" (Sanjek, 2019: 7). Before and after conducting each site visit, participant observation and interview I would make field notes. Once I arrived at a site, I would write down some initial thoughts on my surroundings such as what the weather was like, how many people were around, what the place looked like that I would be entering, how my day or an encounter would possibly go, and if I felt nervous about the day ahead. These small notes may seem irrelevant, but they allowed me to calm my nerves as a young researcher as going into the field can be daunting and they allowed me to capture what was going on around me to get a sense of how others were going about their day. After observations and interviews I would immediately find a spot at the beach or a coffee shop to write down what had happened. For example, had there been any interruptions, were participants nervous, what was my participants body language or tone telling me, what was the environment like and did it add to any of the above observations. These fieldnotes helped when transcribing as I could refer to them when listening to a conversation and piece together the tone of the conversation. They also enabled me to set the scene when writing about the environment or a particular topic within my chapters. Fieldnotes are an important tool even if the researcher feels they are not necessary at the time you often find yourself going back to them for context. Over multiple field trips to the locale, I was able to build relationships and deepen my engagement with the field site.

2.4.4. Formal and Informal Interviews

The qualitative methods of formal and informal interviews were used to gather information from groups and individuals interested in heritage conversations surrounding shipwrecks, their memorialisation and connection to social memory. These qualitative methods were best for documenting, describing, contextualising, and interpreting oral histories and social memory. More specifically interviews initiated conversations about any connections participants ancestors may of have had to shipwrecks on the 'Sunshine Coast', what memories and stories they have about the shipwrecks on the 'Sunshine Coast', how shipwrecks have been memorialised on the 'Sunshine Coast', and how these shipwrecks have been integrated into the local heritagescape. Many formal interviews were conducted in spaces chosen by the participant, enabling participants to be at their most comfortable, these were mainly situated at their homes, offices, or local eateries. Whereas, informal interviews were conducted at local eateries, on the beach, and social media.

Towards the end of my fieldwork, I initiated conversations around how people related to the newly renovated Volo restaurant, previously the restaurant, the *Continental*. This did not link to what staff and holiday goers thought of the shipwreck story itself per se but how the symbolic value of the shipwreck had manifested in the growth of this business in the town, rooting it into the heritagescape of the area. The 'new' Volo showed how the history of settler colonial power and its place in the heritage of the Sunshine Coast, continues to exist in the presence through how people are for the most part positioned socio-economically, including in the ownership by wealthy families based in Kenton-On-Sea and Bushmans, and staff from the local townships of Marselle, Klipfontein and Ekuphumleni make-up the new Volo. This re-inscribes the racial and class inequalities still present in the region and South Africa, where most white South Africans retain economic privilege over other racial groups (Hayward, 2017: 16).

Formal interviews conducted with participants were arranged in advance either telephonically or via email. Whereas informal interviews were often by chance, for instance after a formal interview a participant took me to meet someone they knew could add to my research, or I would be talking to staff whilst having a cup of coffee and they would sit down and converse about my research. Prior to formal interviews, what the research was about, the participants involvement, and a copy of the interview questions, if requested, was sent to the participant, with informal interviews this was done verbally. General questions about the interviewee were asked at the start of each interview to put participant at ease and to ease them into the interview process. If the participants first language was not English, they were given the option to request both interview questions and consent forms in isiXhosa and Afrikaans, that had been translated prior to the commencement of fieldwork. However, most of the formal and informal interviews I conducted were in English, but it was mentioned to the participant that if needed there was an option for interviews to be facilitated with the help of translators in isiXhosa and Afrikaans, to engage with the wider local heritagescape of the region. It was also encouraged for participants to speak in their first language if they felt more comfortable as I would be able to get it translated after the interview and follow up with them if need be. I stressed this method as many terms or sayings get lost in translation which creates a platform for a loss of power in the spoken word that is trying to be documented. This research is about what is remembered and what is forgotten, I did not want a misrepresentation of someone's words to be remembered.

Consequently, there are limits to using a translator, over being a speaker of a language, and what is lost in translating concepts from one language to another. This has a long lineage of critique and reflection in anthropology. There is a lot more to translation than is realised by researchers. "Its invisible components include not only the layers of complexities of language in its linguistic, pragmatic, and cognitive aspects but also the cultural, political, and other contextual components in the expression and transmission of meaning" (Tihanyi, 2004: 739). Researchers must be careful not to manipulate translations to suit extratextual coercive or cultural factors (Tihanyi, 2004: 739). These include concepts, ideas and observations made by participants in the field, even when speaking the same language. "Any ethnographer faces the task of translating words and concepts from one language to another, but also because to 'do ethnography' is to make descriptions, judgements, actions, and theories proper to a specific culture understood in the language of social anthropology" (Hanks & Severi, 2014: 6). In work by Tymoczo and Gentzler (2002, Tihanyi, 2004: 739-740), they discuss the instability and plurality of meaning in translations, which can be deeply affected by the context of power in various societies and circumstances, this includes the role of the researcher and translator in how they generate information received and documented.

"A second source of equivocation lies in the fact that fully accurate translation is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, and yet translation is ubiquitous in social life...Not only experts translate, but ordinary speakers do too, in the course of everyday activities." (Hanks & Severi, 2014: 2). We must pay close attention to the fact that translation is a process in everyday social life, even in monolingual or monocultural societies (Hanks & Severi, 2014: 2). This is due to "bi-or multilingualism, code switching, blending, crossing, paraphrasing, reported speech, and giving accounts are all well-established sociolinguistic phenomena, and all may involve the same key elements as canonical translation" (Hanks & Severi, 2014: 2).

The frequency and duration of informal and formal interviews depended on how many participants were willing to participate individually and collectively. Most interviews were no longer than 40-45 minutes per person as this was a suitable time limit to hold a person's concentration and for transcribing purposes. However, there were a few cases where interviews were an hour to two hours long based on the amount of information the participant had to offer both verbally and tangibly. There were some participants that I followed up with to gain more information or enquire about something that had been said in an interview when transcribing

that I was unclear of. When transcribing interviews, I felt the need to be as accurate as I possibly could thus, I would mainly follow up about the spelling of words or terms used for better clarification.

2.4.5. Audio Recordings

The use of audio recordings when conducting formal interviews created an environment where participants could speak freely without the distraction of the researcher writing notes (McMullin, 2021). This enabled me as the researcher to fully focus on and engage with my participants rather than focus on what I needed to write down, thus allowing for a better relationship to form with participants. This process also allowed for my participants to become more relaxed as the interview process developed as they were not distracted by what I could potentially be writing down about them. At first, some participants were overly aware of the recording device but as the interview went on it became more of a conversation with a friend, with much laughter and charisma rather than nerves and trying not to say the wrong thing to me. These interviews were later transcribed and referred to along with fieldnotes after each interview when writing up this dissertation. I would highly recommend this as a research tool as it allows for a natural conversation to occur with your participants.

2.4.6. Photographs

An important part of this study was visual anthropology using pictures of monuments, memorials and tangible heritage items linking to the field site to visually document what I was seeing as the researcher. Ruby (2005: 162), explains that taking pictures as an ethnographic approach "entails going into the field for an extended period of time to examine, participate and observe social processes surrounding these visual objects." Parkin and Coomber (2009), used applied visual anthropology in a project concerning drug injecting in public places, using photographic representation of injecting sites and video recording these sites from the perspective of the research participant (Pink, 2011: 445). The study showed the sensory and spatial appreciation of behaviour associated with public injecting, information that had not been articulated during semi-structured interviews, through applied visual anthropology (Pink, 2011: 445). This method of ethnographic research was conducted in my study so that my readers could visually understand and link to the theory of shipwrecks and social memory to symbols in their community that they see daily but do not necessarily notice. Ruby (2005: 165) further elaborates that "an anthropology of visual communication is premised upon the

assumption that viewing the visible and pictorial worlds as social processes, in which objects and acts are produced with the intention of communication something to someone, provides a perspective lacking in other theories." I tend to agree with this view as the visual aids within my writing were used as a way of showcasing, visually, the heritage and memory that was being documented, through the written form. Especially, considering that much of this research is based on the tangible remains of shipwrecks which have been used as symbols of white settler pride throughout the communities of Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth.

Figure 2.2. When the Researcher is Photographed in Her Element

Source: E. Sebakwane, 15 August 2023.

2.5. Ethical Considerations

It is important for a researcher to consider the ethical implications their research questions may have on their participants and what participants responses may have on the researcher. This study had the sensitivities of critically engaging with stories, heritage, and how settler colonial narratives are generative of present-day conflicts, tensions and social stratification based on race and class continue to inform people's lives. Discussing memories and identity is an emotional process which was the case for several participants who became emotional when talking about the past. This was particularly evident when I presented my work on the Klipfontein community and the coloured identity at a conference where the Khoe-Korana Nation of the Eastern and Western Cape were well represented. The group became animated when I spoke of their identity and how it needs to be acknowledged in the wider heritagescape of the Sunshine Coast region.

2.5.1 Consent

It is important for a researcher to first and foremost gain their participants consent before their research begins, this can either be done in written or verbal form. Informed consent is defined as "the knowing consent of an individual, or a legally authorised representative, able to exercise free power of choice without undue inducement or element of force, fraud, deceit, duress, or other form of constraint or coercion" (Fluehr-Lobban, 1994: 4, Protection of Human Subjects, Code of Federal Regulations, 1990). The aim of informed consent is to ensure that the aims of the investigation/study and of all professional activities are communicated by the anthropologist to the informant, or those with whom they work (Fluehr-Lobban, 1994: 4). Informed consent ensures that "the rights, interests and sensitivities of those studied must be safeguarded" (Fluehr-Lobban, 1994: 4). Consent, as mentioned above in formal and informal interviews, was negotiated through full disclosure of what the purpose of the study was and what the anticipated participation would involve. In formal interviews, once the participant had been fully informed a consent form was either read to or given to the participant to read (if necessary or requested, a translated isiXhosa or Afrikaans consent form was given to the participant). Once the participant was satisfied with the form it was signed. When recording the participants' interview, verbal consent was communicated and permission to record interviews was included in the Informed Consent form. However, when it came to more informal interviews, or 'small talk' consent was obtained verbally from the participant.

2.5.2. Anonymity

It is important that a researcher takes care not to compromise the anonymity of their research participants and keeps the data collected from participants confidential. Several participants were given a pseudonym during the writing up process when discussing the information, they provided. Participants' personal details were assigned a unique code and stored securely in an encrypted file separate from interview records. Two of the key participants preferred to have their identities revealed and are named in full, with their signed consent. The first named participant is Khoe elder, Zelda Masimla, who has chosen to be a voice for her community. The second named participant, Pat Barnard, has appeared in local and international newspaper articles regarding the Volo, as her family are descendants of several Norwegian sailors who were on board.

2.5.3. Questions as Emotional Triggers

The most serious risk potentially faced by the research participants was that some of the research questions on the contested history of the region may trigger unpleasant emotions for participants such as anxiety, anger, or frustration. If this had occurred, provisions for participants who experienced heightened emotions were mitigated by assuring them that the interview process could be terminated at any time, a family member or friend may join the interview for emotional support or the contact of a respected community member, psychologist, traditional healer, or a pastor could be contacted for them to talk through their trauma or emotions. These contacts were obtained before the interview process in case they were needed. There was only one interview where a participant experienced heightened emotions when asked 'what does memory mean to you?' which brought up a memory of a loved one who had passed away. In this case, the interview process and audio recording were paused for the participant to compose themselves as they wanted to carry on with the interview.

2.5.4. Permission to Audio Record

Before audio recording an interview permission from the participant was obtained, written or verbal. It was stressed to the participant that the recording was only for the purposes of accurately recording their responses. .

2.5.5. Permission for Photographs

Photographs were taken with permission from the participant to visually document the interview process and to create a visual documentary of the project. However, when taking photographs of participants measures were taken to ensure anonymity of identifying features by utilising alternative visual representations. This was done by taking a faceless photograph or having the participant choose a visual feature from their surroundings or a tangible item that they felt represented them visually. This was made clear in the consent form that participants signed.

2.5.6. Safety of Researcher

Researchers are trained to be concerned about the safety of their participants, but they also need to be aware of their own safety in the field especially if they are working alone. In the case of this research, the wreck site of the Volo and the hike to Dias Cross in Kwaaihook are on an isolated stretch of coastline which makes it unsafe to visit the site alone. Thus, provisions for

the isolation of this site were mitigated by attending the site in a group of two or more people to avoid any potential dangers. I visited the wreck site numerous times with friends who were interested to see my research in the flesh and once with a local school who were taking their students on a walk to see the wreck after learning about it in the classroom. Visiting this isolated site in groups allowed for several conversation to be had about the shipwreck.

2.6. Methodological Restrictions

Unfortunately, when a researcher enters the field, it does not always go as planned and methods that you had every intention of implementing, are not. In my case this was due to time restraints, finances, and health issues. If given the opportunity to revisit this research several methods would be implemented to gain more data. Ideally, I wanted to host focus groups with 6-10 participants in each field site at community town halls, church halls or recreational centres to gather more information on the topic. This would have allowed for a diverse interaction of people and their opinions on the topic of study. According to several researchers on methodology, well designed focus groups usually consist of 6-12 participants (Onwuegbuzie, A. J., Dickinson, W. B., Leech, N. L., & Zoran, A. G., 2009: 3). It is best to have a small amount of people within a focus group as it is easier to mediate and a more comfortable environment is created for the participants where they can share their thoughts, memories, opinions, and experiences freely (Onwuegbuzie et al, 2009: 3). These focus groups would have utilised the 'Story Circle' method. This method of group interaction uses words, questions, or topics as prompts to elicit the sharing of viewpoints and memories without debate or discussion, providing an "equitable, collective experience to share their stories" (Research Centre for Leadership in Action: NYU Wagner, 2008). The NYU Wagner Research Centre for Leadership in Action has created a step-by-step programme to follow on how to use this method efficiently which can be found on their website. It was unfortunate I could not carry out these focus groups as they would have added greatly to an overall understanding of local heritage consciousness in the region.

Although I did not get a chance to hold focus groups, I present an outline of this work specifically the remembered and forgotten narratives of the Volo's rescue story, at the Waterways International Conference 2023, held at Nelson Mandela University, where the Khoe-Korana Nation of the Eastern and Western Cape were well represented. A section of the presentation spoke about the 'Coloured' community in Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River

Mouth and what the term Coloured means according to literature and how it differs for people who do not identify with the colonial term. There were many Khoe-Korana people in the audience who had experienced a transition from a so called coloured to Khoe, identifying with, and sharpening their political consciousness around past injustices their people experienced. After presenting I was approached by Chief Margaret Coetzee, Inqua, who said that she was grateful for my presentation as the identity of her people was being acknowledged.

CHAPTER 3
'THE VOLO': A STORY HIDDEN BENEATH THE SAND

On the 6th of March 1896, day light broke through a thick mist that had engulphed the coastline of two seaside towns Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth (Boesmansriviermond). There are two possible explanations as to how the seaside village of Kenton-on-Sea received its name. The first explanation is that Captain Henry Somerset, the son of Lord Charles Somerset, Governor of the Cape of Good Hope from 1814-1827, named the town after Kenton Village in England (Tylden, G, 1943: 27; Seeff Property Group, 2024). Somerset arrived in the Cape Colony in 1817 and was fighting in the region of the Eastern Cape in 1846. The second explanation is that Thomas Henry Tilt, a grocer from Grahamstown, who bought a portion of land from the Charles Butt Jr in the early 1920s, named the area after the village of Kenton, in England where he lived (Meiring et al, 2008: 27; Seeff Property Group, 2024). What this day light revealed to the inhabitants of these small seaside towns, was a 500-ton barque and its 12 sailors who were now stranded upon the shore between Bushman's River Mouth and Kwaaihoek (See figure 3.1). The presence of this mysterious barque on the Eastern Cape's Sunshine Coast would raise many questions about where it came from, where it was going, why did it wreck, and what happened to the crew after they were rescued? The intention of this chapter is to answer these questions for context before discussing the various narratives told in Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth about the Volo's rescue.

3.1. A Journey South

In 1891, Arendal, Norway, master shipbuilder Ole Martin Olsen put the finishing touches on his fifth barque, the 500-ton 'Volo' (Speed, 1999). The barque, owned by Chr. Eyde & Hein shipping company, was 150.6ft in length, 36ft in width, 16ft in breadth with three masts. In 19th century Norway the economy was built on three export pillars: wood, fish, and shipping services (Tenold, 2019). Thus, it is not surprising that since the 14th century the important shipping centre and port of Arendal was home to Norway's largest fleet of sailing ships for timber exports (Speed, 1999; Britannica, 2013). In the 1800s, settlement in Southern Africa aroused the interest of schooners from Arendal, who saw an opportunity to provide the region with timber for building (Speed, 1999). Thus, on the 30 November 1895, the Volo's journey

south from Gothenburg, Sweden, to Lourenço Marques (now Maputo, Mozambique) began, with Baltic pine planking as its cargo (Speed, 1999; Chetty, 2017). The Volo had been sailing for four months with no sight of land, when it successfully made its way around the tip of Southern Africa into the Indian Ocean and past the burial grounds of the 'Cape of Storm', that had consumed several Norwegian ships before it (See figure 3.2). This journey has been feared by sailors for centuries as the treacherous storms and high seas have engulphed over 3000 ships along this coastline since maritime voyages began (SAHRA, 2022). On 5 March 1895, the ships master, Captain Martin Karinius Olsen had made a 'dead reckoning' that he was 200 miles (322 kilometres) south of any land (Lester, 1996; Chetty, 2017). However, the next day, 6 March 1896, the crew realised this could not have been further from the truth as strong easterly winds drove rough seas and thick fog engulfing the 'Volo' and its twelve-man crew (Lester, 1996). With the crew gripping tightly to the rigging, a look out cried, 'Rocks on the port bow. Hard a-starboard,' seconds before the barque was struck, holed, carried over the reef and cast upon the beach between Kwaaihoek and the Bushman's River Mouth, Eastern Cape, South Africa (Speed, 1999; Chetty, 2017). The wild coast claiming yet another ship for its records. But what happened to the crew?

Figure 3.2: Map of the Volo's Journey

Source: Edited Google Map, E.J. Dickson-Bow, January 2024.

3.2. An Anchor That Reunited a Family

There are several memories and stories attached to the wreck of the Volo in Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth but one story in particular links to the crew of the Volo and their presence in the region after the wreck occurred. It may seem unconventional to skip the rescue story of the Volo and its crew (See chapter 4) this early in the paper but the following story about the Volo's anchor sheds light on who the crew of the Volo were, and why it has such a strong connection to the heritagescape of the Sunshine Coast region.

In front of the town hall in Bushman's River Mouth, fixed to a paved circle with a mosaic compass and surrounded with a semi-circle retaining wall, stands the anchor of the Volo (See figure 3.3). Attached to this anchor are memories and stories of the land and sea. Some of these memories and stories are attached to the heritagescape of the South African Eastern Cape region and others the heritagescape of the Norwegian town of Arendal. The memories and stories attached to Volo's anchor are of voyages around the Baltic Sea, down the Atlantic, through to the Indian ocean. These voyages reveal rich memories of trade and enterprise for

Norwegian shipping from Arendal. They are a physical reminder and representation of the barque and its wreck. It is a tangible representation of the crew who survived to tell the tale of the wreck and their descendants. This anchor holds a significant reminder of those who have past and those who remain. The anchor of the Volo is specifically significant to the Knudsen family as it is a physical reminder of their ancestor's presence and settlement in South Africa.

Figure 3.3. Anchor of the Volo outside Bushman's River Mouth Town Hall

Source: E.J. Dickson-Bow, 14 October 2022.

I met with Pat Barnard, the great-granddaughter of Knud Knudsen who was a part owner of the Volo ship, at her home in Riversbend, just outside Bushman's River Mouth. Pat is a well-known local figure, with her family's story published in local estate agent literature and tourist paraphernalia aimed at highlighting he interesting heritage of the region for visitors and potential home buyers, such as the *Pam Golding Kenton-on-Sea Holiday Guide of 2019.* Her family story is also part of the circulation of heritage stories in the Volo's country of origin, Norway. An article was written about the story of Volo and Pats reunion with her family by Jan Speed, it was published in *Vårt Land,* a daily newspaper circulated in Oslo. Consequently, transcending the heritagescape and memories of the Volo back to its Norwegian origins.

Pat and I discussed her family history and the significance the Volo holds for them in detail. Pat relayed the story of the wreck the way she had been told it by her mother and through her own personal research. Pat's great-grandfather Knud Knudsen had two sons Carl (Charles) and Martin who were both on board the barque when it wrecked in 1896. Martin is Pat's maternal grandfather and was the youngest skipper and ducker deck hand aboard the barque. After the

wreck the Knudsen brothers did not go back to Norway but rather moved around the Eastern Cape region, exploring the unfamiliar land they found themselves on. The story Pat knows about the brother's journey in the Eastern Cape is that they ended up in Bedford, a small farming town approximately 151.4 kilometres from where the Volo wrecked, where they began to work in construction. Pat has several photographs and architectural planning designs of the buildings in Bedford that the Knudsen brothers helped build, such as the Bedford Club House, which still stands today. After a long period of time, it is believed that the eldest of the Knudsen brothers, Carl, went back to Norway to start his family, whereas the youngest Martin went back to Norway but chose to come back to South Africa, it is assumed by Pat to marry a South African woman he met, her maternal grandmother Maude. Thus, creating a foundation for Martin Knudsen's family in South Africa and the presence of his descendants in the region today.

Pat's mother, Olga June, was the youngest daughter of Martin Knudsen. She took on the role of being the family heritage keeper, passing down the family history to Pat through stories, photographs, family trees and documents. Heritage is often maintained through informal and intimate practices within families and communities, such as photo albums, keeping documents like family trees, birth, death, and marriage certificates, displaying family heirlooms in the home, telling ancestral stories to children and so forth. From an anthropological point of view, this pattern of behaviour is called intergenerational step-over transmission, where the vitality of the lived cultural heritage is directly associated with the quality of communication between the oldest and youngest generations (Murin, 2016). For Olga, her heritage was something very important and close to her heart. This importance of heritage and memory was something Olga had passed down to Pat, which enabled her to begin a journey of self-discovery, where she would find out more about her Norwegian family and their connection to the Volo. 'Identity and the search for it is one of the main drivers leading to interest in traditional culture' (Lenovský, 2005; Murin, 2016: 66). This connects to Murin (2016: 64) who says, local culture and collective memory in older generations is associated with the sentiment of 'ancient times' or reminiscing about the past, whereas for younger generations it is associated with a search for identity in the world they live in. Pat's story and its connection to the Volo displays how heritage is transmitted through the retelling of stories between people within her family, in Norway, and within the local communities of Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth.

Pat explained that ‘over the generations of time, concerning our family, they lost connection with this Norwegian family.’ This was something that did not sit well with Pat. This concern later led Pat to an encounter with journalist Jan Speed. Jan Speed is the great-grandson of Captain Ohlsen, who was captain of the Volo when it wrecked. In 1999, Speed journeyed to Bushman’s River Mouth from Norway as he wanted to gain knowledge about the wreck and his family’s connection to it. Pat and her husband hosted Speed, showing him around the area and sharing the knowledge they had accumulated about the wreck. Pat discussed her lost connection with her Norwegian family and how it was unsettling for her. Thus, when Speed went back to Norway, he placed a supplement in the Norwegian newspapers stating that he had been to Bushman’s River Mouth, in South Africa, had met Ms Pat Barnard and that they were looking for their Norwegian family, as well as any information about the Volo. After some time, Pat received a phone call, she recalls it as follows:

> *‘So, I get the phone call on a Sunday evening, and I hear this foreign accent and I immediately knew this was a connection, and he says to me, I think we’re family. So, I said, well, you know what by the sounds of things, well, obviously it is. And they're coming out to visit. So, they came out to visit. There was the father and the three sons that came out to visit and they brought their wives and some of their children.’*

Figure 3.4. Members of the Knudsen Family Pose for a Photograph by the Anchor of the Volo

Source: Pam Golding Kenton-on-Sea Holiday Guide 2019.

The phone call Pat received was very emotional as she 'immediately knew this was a connection' to her and her family. The special encounter Pat had with some of her Norwegian family when they came to visit South Africa set in motion the idea for a larger family reunion. Thus, in 2001, Pat organised a Knudsen family reunion at Bushman's River Mouth (See figure 3.4.), as this is where an emergence of Norwegian and South Africa heritage began for the Knudsen brothers and their decedents. Carl's family travelled from Norway (Sandnes, Arendal and Bergen), and Martin's from the interior of South Africa (Bushman's River Mouth, Port Elizabeth, East London, and Johannesburg). At the time of the reunion, the Volo exposed itself for the first time in 50 years, which Pat said, 'created a very emotional atmosphere for the family especially those that had never met each other.' Amongst those who were present to represent Carl Knudsen's family were the sons of his daughter Ruth, Jan, and Finn, with their wives, and for Martin Knudsen's family his daughters Majorie and Olga June were present with their South African descendants. Representing the 'hero rescuers' of the Volo's crew were Charles Butt's granddaughter Ivy Butt and her grandson Ference Toth, and 'Kaaljan' Scheepers' distant relative Coris Krog-Scheepers.

An outcome of the Knudsen family reunion was the restoration and erection of the Volo's anchor outside the town hall, which is where the family function was held, in 2001. The anchor now symbolises the Knudsen family's heritage, memory of their reunion, and their encounters whilst in Bushman's River Mouth. The Knudsen family placing the Volo's anchor outside a prominent public space in Bushman's River Mouth has altered the local heritagescape of the region by incorporating their Norwegian heritage and their family's integration into the white South African society.

This reunion enabled one of Pat's Norwegian family members to write a book about the Volo and the Knudsen family. In the first part of the book he describes, in Norwegian, the history of where the Volo was built, what the boat was used for, and the routes it travelled prior to it wreck. The second half of the book, in English, describes some family history and the reunion between the Norwegian and South African families. There are only 10 copies of this book which were shared amongst family. It is a wonderful book and a great record for future generations to learn their family history. The reunion Pat had with her family and the erecting of the anchor outside the townhall inspired her to approach the local municipality, Ndlambe Municipality, for permission to create a space to showcase the heritage of her ancestors as it is relevant to the heritagescape of the region. Pat says:

> *'I went to the point of wanting to open up like a museum to put the history up of all these things. I had applied to the Ndlambe Municipality a number of times. I had a project that would support me from that side... I applied three times and I thought, well, you know what? Um, at the moment it's probably not of any benefit to them (the municipality) ... But I still feel there's still room for it.'*

Pat's idea for a museum showcasing the tangible and intangible heritage of the Volo would have greatly contributed to the tourism industry in the region but unfortunately nothing has come of this project. The reason for the collapse of Pat's idea is due to issues of a location for it as the best location for a micro-museum or an information plaque with images of the Volo would be close to the anchor. Thus, outside or within the Bushman's River Mouth Town Hall would be a great place to showcase these items of heritage. However, Pat says:

> *'...the problem there is that the caravan park and that building (the townhall) there obviously all belongs to the municipality. And there is here say about the caravan park. There could be problems relating to those properties. There is no title deed for those properties that are there as well. So, um, what will ever happen to that? I'm not sure.'*

What will eventually become of this idea is uncertain, but it would be a fundamental addition to the local heritagescape, especially if the development of this public heritage site incorporated a more inclusive narrative of the Volo's story and it rescue. The inclusion of stories from the Khoe and coloured-identifying communities in Bushman's River Mouth would enable a more

diverse look into the Volo's story and rescue from a community indigenous to the region. Acknowledgement of this community is discussed further in the next chapter (Chapter 4).

The background story of the Volo and the Knudsen family is essential in understanding the ships origin story and how its history has entered the heritagescape of the Sunshine Coast through the Knudsen family's descendants. The story told by Pat Barnard acknowledges Murin's importance of the intergenerational step-over transmission that contributes to a story that travels between the communities of Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth. The Volo's origin story leads into who is remembered and who is forgotten in its rescue story. The Knudsen family acknowledges Charles Butt, a farmer from Kenton-on-Sea as the main rescuer of the Volo's crew and have the original copy of the certificate received by Butt from the Office of the Civil Commissioners in Bathurst for his rescue efforts. However, there are several other narratives recalled that need to be acknowledged in the remembrance of the Volo's rescue. These narratives encompass how the story of the Volo, and its memory has proceeded over generations. The story of the Volo, its rescue and its tangible remnants have remained constant in the heritagescape of the region, despite transformations over time and space into communities that remain deeply segregated along racial lines, as a legacy of their colonial and apartheid past. These tangible remnants need to be dissected further to understand what has been remembered and forgotten over transformations of time and space in the region.

CHAPTER 4
WHO IS REMEMBERED AND WHO IS FORGOTTEN

For centuries, valiant fiction and non-fiction narratives have been told of heroes and acts of heroism. These stories, whether fact or fiction, provide people cognitively and emotionally with wisdom, meaning, a sense of hope, inspiration, and growth if the narrative has a particular message to be learnt (Allison and Goethals, 2015:). What is not emphasised or acknowledged is that heroes do not always work alone. Most often within a hero's narrative the hero has some form of guidance or assistance from another being who is just as important in the hero's story. The factors or persons that contribute to a person becoming or being deemed a hero are often left out of the narrative. Acknowledgement all depends on who is telling the story or from which perspective the story is being told. Consequently, this chapter will analyse the 'heroes' who assisted in the rescue of the Volo and its crew (See figure 4.1) as there are a several versions told within the popular heritage culture of the region, depending on which community you come from and what language you speak. The English-speaking community tells the heroic rescue story of the Volo by Charles Butt, a seafarer turned farmer in Kenton-on-Sea (Shuttleworth, 1973), whereas the Afrikaans-speaking community recognize J.A. 'Kaaljan' Scheepers, a farmer from Klipfontein, a farm second from Bushman's River Mouth and on route to Alexandria, as the Volo's hero (Du T. Spies, 1965: 286; Bezuidenhout, 2017: 43). This chapter will separately identify and give a background of each rescuer, based on the stories told by the community, to understand which hero narrative is specifically remembered in the current local heritagescape and why. Secondly, those who have been 'forgotten' within the hero

Figure 4.1: Survivors and rescuers of the Volo

West to Wild Coast Accommodation, 31 March 2016

narrative and why will be critically discussed. Lastly, potential reasons as to why certain narratives have been remembered and others forgotten will be discussed based on responses by participants.

4*.1. Charles Butt the 'Hero' of Kenton-on-Sea*

The first rescuer or 'hero' of the Volo and its crew to be mentioned in archival accounts, recollected by members and teachers in the Kenton-on-Sea community is Charles Butt. Charles Butt Sr. was born 8 December 1834, in Littlehampton, Sussex, England, to a family of highly reputable sailing ship builders (Lythgoe, 2023; Shuttleworth, 1973). When Charles was a baby, his father William George Butt decided to emigrate the family to South Africa, thus joining the already established 1820 Settler community in the Eastern Cape (Shuttleworth, 1973). The Butt family had a particular love of the sea, spending many family holidays at the Bushman's River Mouth which is where Butt found his love for the sea and the area (Shuttleworth, 1973). It was in this area of the frontier that Charles decided to make a home for his family. In 1868, Butt purchased South Gorah, for the sum of £400, a plot of land between Bushman's River Mouth and Kariega, which is now the front section to Kenton-on-Sea (Shuttleworth, 1973). After acquiring the land, Butt trained a Coloured crew, from across the Bushman's River, to operate a 'whale boat', fitted with a sail, from the river mouth, and whenever weather conditions were suitable, he would hoist a black ball from a mast at his house to bring the crew down to the shore" (Shuttleworth, 1973, Meiring et al, 2008).

Figure 4.2: Charles Butt Sr. outside 'The Barracks' in Bushman's River

Source: E. J. Dickson- Bow, 7 November 2022, Bushman's Bar and Grill

When the Volo wrecked on the morning of the 6th of March 1896, it is believed that Butt was the first person to observe and assist the distressed crew of the 'Volo' (Lester, 1996). The credibility of Butt being the first person to notice the Volo in distress has never been

questioned, as it has been recorded in several archival accounts and recalled by members of the community that Butt noticed three masts sticking out above the fog from his home, which in present day Kenton-on-Sea is *Norfolk Ridge* residential housing complex, succeeding the site of the Kenton Hotel (Lester, 1996; Shuttleworth, 1973, BRAAG, 2013; Meiring, 2008). Realising there was trouble Butt immediately signalled to his crew to launch their fishing boat from the mouth of the Bushman's River (Lester, 1996; Shuttleworth, 1973; Meiring, 2008). Their boat quickly capsized when attempting to launch through the rough surf (Shuttleworth, 1973). When 62-year-old Butt made it to the scene, 1000km along the shoreline towards Kwaaihoek, he saw the surf breaking over the 'Volo' and its crew in the rigging (Lester, 1996).

Local resident and 1820 settler descendant Iliza recalled her version of Butt's rescue to me, she added to the above saying: 'Without hesitation Butt swam through the cold water using one arm to reach the ship and its crew. Butt had suffered a stroke affecting one side of his body making his attempts slightly more difficult.' Iliza's telling of the story emphasises the strength, virility, heroism and overcoming of significant, potentially debilitating challenges to undertaking such a rescue. Megill (2011:196) says, 'Memory is an image of the past constructed by a subjectivity in the present.' This is in relation to the Halbwachsian model that states, collective or individual memory is determined by an identity that is already well established (Megill, 2011: 194-195), which can be seen through Butts legacy and hero story that remains and is told in Kenton-on-Sea. Memory in the case of how Iliza recalls Butts story is a continuous collective memory as it 'retains from the past only what still lives or is capable of living in the consciousness of the groups keeping the memory alive' (Halbwachs, 2011: 142-3). This collective historical memory does not exceed the boundaries of the group telling the story in the way that it is remembered or portrayed. Halbwach (2011, 145) states, 'Every collective memory requires the support of a group delimited in space and time.' In Kenton-on-Sea this group is the descendants of Charles Butt and the descendants of 1820 Settlers in the region such as Iliza. Thus, Butts story acts as a metaphor for a much larger collective historical memory of the settlement and establishment of the 1820 settlers and their descendants, in the town that became Kenton-on-Sea.

The additional information told of Butts condition added to the origin story of his heroism. Eventually, Butt managed to return to shore with a thin line thrown to him by the Volo's crew, this was then attached to a stronger rope, by Kaaljan Scheepers, this was used to pull the 12-man crew and their cat to safety (Lester, 1996; Shuttleworth, 1973). The Butt family gave the

crew shelter, food, and clothes at their farmhouse (BRRAG, 2013; Meiring, 2008). This generosity likely contributed to Butts portrayal as the main hero within the Volo's rescue story. In the versions of the story told here by Iliza and others, the emphasis is on Charles Butt, Scheppers, and the crew of the Volo, including how they enter a relationship after the wreck through being hosted by Butt at his farm and becoming welcomed guests. The story does not speak about the homes of the crew, where they lived, what their names were, or how they cared for themselves, how they may or may not have been welcomed home by their community, who this community was, or if they were also invited to the home of Charles Butt after the rescue.

Figure 4.3: The Silver Medal for Bravery awarded to Charles Butt.

Source: Royal Humane Society, 2023

In recommendation by the magistrate of Bathurst Butt was awarded a silver medal (See figure 4.3) by the Royal Humane Society in London for bravery (BRRAG, 2013; Meiring et al, 2008). The Silver award from the Royal Humane Society is the oldest award of the society and is for 'people who have put themselves in extreme personal danger, carried out a very long and arduous rescue and returned repeatedly to a highly dangerous situation' (Royal Humane Society, 2023). The organisation has been 'recognising bravery since 1774' (Royal Humane Society, 2023). Butt was also honoured by the Norwegian Government, who sent him a medal and a photograph of the Volo in full sail (Meiring et al, 2008: 17). Butt also received half the timber of the wreck for his 'heroics' (BRRAG, 2013; Meiring et al, 2008; Shuttleworth, 1973). Butt used this timber to build a new home, replacing his old stone one (Shuttleworth, 1973).

The utilisation of wood from shipwrecks was not a new concept on the Sunshine Coast as in the pre-colonial era shipwrecks were used as a source of goods and useful, valuable materials for survivors or locals who found objects lying upon the shore. This is the case for the 1622 Portuguese wreck of the Sáo João Baptista, in Cannon Rocks, a small seaside village bordering the coastal belt of Addo Elephant National Park on the West side and Boknes village to the East (Cannon Rocks, 2023, Grossman, 2019). The survivors of the Sáo João Baptista, built shelters and a little church from the wood of their wrecked ship, covered them with canvas and

gold-embroidered Chinese cloth, presumably obtained through trade prior to their wreck (Vernon, 2013). Unable to build another ship, the group was prepared to walk the east coast of Southern Africa till they found familiar faces (Vernon, 2013). Before embarking on their journey, the group managed to obtain 17 cows, through trading with an indigenous community they encountered, nails form the ship were collected for possible barter along the route, and jewels were sealed in a leather bag, it can be assumed to keep them safe (Vernon, 2013). Thus, Butt receiving timber from the Volo is part of a longer trajectory of shipwrecks being a source of goods and materials for locals in this area. We do not know in this version of events if the crew who assisted Butt also received a reward for their efforts in the form of civic acknowledgments or material remains from the ship.

Figure 4.4: Norfolk Pine Trees in front of the Kenton Hotel

Source: Good Old Kenton Facebook Page, 11 February 2021

To recognise the Norwegian wreck Butt purchased four Norfolk pine trees (See figure 4.4) from an Indian trader in Durban, in the now Kwa-Zulu Natal province (Shuttleworth, 1973). Two of these trees were planted in his daughter's flower garden outside the newly built farmhouse (Shuttleworth, 1973). Once the Norfolk pine trees had fully grown outside the old Kenton Hotel, they became navigational beacons for sailors travelling past the coastline. Today, the trees are enclosed in a gated community called 'Norfolk Ridge.' The other two Norfolk's Butt gifted to his friend George Wood Jr. who planted them in front of his home in Grahamstown, 'Woodville', which he inherited from his father (Shuttleworth, 1973; Salzwedel, 2012). 'Woodville' is now 'Brookshaw Home for the Aged' in Grahamstown/Makhanda (Salwedel, 2012). By buying the Norfolk Pines, Charles Butt Sr. showed the local community as well as the Norwegian community that he was acknowledging Norwegian culture and the wreck of the 'Volo'. Again, adding to his dominant remembrance in the narrative of the Volo's story.

When Charles Butt Sr. died, 9 July 1906, he was buried on his land 'Bellevue' in Kenton-on-Sea, with a view of both the Kariega mouth and the Bushman's River mouth (See figure 4.5).

In 1923, he was joined by his wife Frances Hannah Butt, nee Gravett. Over time this beautiful view has been tainted by the development and gentrification of the Kenton-on-Sea area. However, there is no place Charles Butt, and his wife would rather be than by the ocean, as their grave plaque says, 'and still a garden by the water blows.' The presence of and accessibility to Butt's grave, close to the centre of Kenton-on-Sea, is a constant reminder to the community, old and new, of his story, which leads back to the tale of the Volo.

Figure 4.5: Charles Butt's Grave

Butt's Grave Site

View from Butt's Grave Site

Plaque on Butt's Grave Site

Source: E.J. Dickson-Bow, 1 November 2022.

In summation, the heroics of Charles Butt cannot be disregarded. His position as the forefather Kenton-on-Sea and the presence of his descendants within the community and Sunshine Coast region today appears to be why his narrative is the dominant one in the region. The heroic story told of Butt's rescue attempt functions as an origin story for Kenton-on-Sea. According to Gandy and Matthew (2010: 25), 'Origin stories give meaning to existence, define codes of morals, and bond societies together.' Butt's heroic rescue story, as recalled by Iliza and other 1820 settler descendants, can be seen as a metaphor for a larger symbolic story that represents heroism, grit, and courage in Kenton-on-Sea as a collective memory. The origin and recollection stories of Butt's arrival in Kenton-on-Sea and his rescue attempt offers a window into how people lived, how they related / relate to the environment, and what they believed / still believe about their place in the wider universe (Gandy & Matthew, 2010).

A critique to this origin story is that there is more to the story than what is told or remembered collectively for the community and region at large. There are several other heritages seeking cognitive and physical attention in the region. This can be related to what De Sousa Santos (2016) says about colonial domination, that it involves the deliberate destruction of other cultures and the destruction of knowledge. This destruction of knowledge is what De Sousa Santos (2016:18) calls *epistemicide*: 'the destruction of the knowledge and culture of these populations, of their memories and ancestral links and their manner of relating to others and to nature.' The concept of epistemicide is that there needs to be 'an engagement with the ways of knowing from the perspectives of those who have systematically suffered the injustices, dominations and oppressions caused by colonialism, capitalism, and patriarchy' (De Sousa Santos, 2016: 18). Thus, what does need to be commented on are the origin stories of those that are simply given a small nod in the narrative of the Volo's rescue, such as Mr Scheepers who aided Butt from the Bushman's River side and Butt's 'Coloured' Crew.

4.2. Kaaljan Scheepers die 'Held' van Boesmansriviermond.

Despite Charles Butt being seen as the central rescuer of the Volo and its crew in Kenton-on-Sea there is another rescuer mentioned within the archives, 'Kaaljan' Scheepers. I struggled to find a significant amount of information on 'Kaaljan' Scheepers which can only be assumed to be due to information being in Afrikaans, which when I did find I translated into English, or they are in smaller archives within Alexandria that I did not have an opportunity to access. Die held'/ 'the hero' of the Volo's rescue, amongst the Afrikaans-speaking community in Bushman's River Mouth (Boesmansriviermond), was 31-year-old Johannes Abraham 'Kaaljan' Scheepers. 'Kaaljan' Scheepers was a farmer from Klipfontein, a farm on route to Alexandria from Bushman's River Mouth (Bezuidenhout, 2017). Scheepers was born on the '2 April 1865 in Rautenbach's Drift', Bushman's River Mouth, thus he was familiar with his surroundings and its community (de Villiers, 2003: 10). When it comes to the day the Volo wrecked near Bushman's River Mouth, it is said that Scheepers, alongside Englishman Charles Butt, had been struggling in the surf to assist the crew of the 'Volo.' However, the story told by the Afrikaans community regarding Charles Butt's involvement in the rescue is vastly different to its English version. It can only be assumed that this was the case as Scheepers was the Charles Butt of Bushman's River Mouth.

In 1896, when the Volo wrecked, Bushman's River Mouth only had two houses, one of them being *'The Barracks'* owned by an English family, the Gardener's, whose descendants still

occupy the house today. The rest of the area was utilised as a popular camping spot by English and Afrikaans farming and settler families in the area (Du Toit Spies, 1965: 285). At the time of the Volo's wreck, it just so happened that this popular camping spot was occupied by the Afrikaans speaking Scheepers family, who were holidaying at Bushman's River Mouth. In an interview with Professor Du Toit Spies (1965), Kaaljan's son Fredrick Scheepers, who was 6 years old at the time of the Volo's wreck, recalled his version of the event as follows, it was a stormy night, and the winds were so strong that the campers had to fasten their tarps and secure their tent lines (Du Toit Spies, 1965). This weather recollection coincides with several narratives about the evening the Volo wrecked. According to Frederik, 'a ships foghorn blared incessantly in the gust of the storm' (Du Toit Spies, 1965: 285). By the morning, the storm had subsided and the Scheepers family had just enjoyed breakfast when 'a coloured man, Harry, brought news that a ship had run aground just above the mouth' (Du Toit Spies, 1965: 285).
It is possibility Harry could have been one of Scheepers farm workers from Klipfontein on holiday with the family to assist with anything they needed, or he could have seen the wreck from a section of the farm bordering Kwaaihoek. After further investigation, it was revealed that a sailing ship lay clear behind the surf stuck on a sandbank (Du Toit Spies, 1965). Upon hearing this news, Scheepers ordered for oxen with food and warm clothing to be brought to the scene, while he rode there on horseback with a few helpers (Du Toit Spies, 1965). The names of these helpers are not mentioned, in any written or verbal record, but it is a possibility they were workers from Scheepers farm, members of the established Klipfontein community, farmers from the surrounding area, and/or other campers there that day. Frederik recalled that when told the news everyone went over the dunes to see if they could see anything, but the wreck was three quarters of a mile (approximately a kilometre) west of the of Bushman's River Mouth (Du Toit Spies, 1965).

When Scheepers and co reached the beach opposite the ship, someone was already present, it was Charles Butt, ex-sailor, and fisherman from Kenton-on-Sea (Du Toit Spies, 1965, Lester, 1996). Due to Butt's sailing background, it was assumed that he correctly interpreted the distress signals, crossed the river in his boat, and was consequently the first on the scene, trying to reach the Volo and its crew through the surf with a life belt around his body (Du Toit Spies, 1965). Butt informed the cohort that the ship 'already had a leak and that it was only a matter of time before it would be smashed by the waves' (Du Toit Spies, 1965: 285). Despite several attempts Butt 'could not get through the surf', according to the English version he did on his third attempt (Lester, 1996).

It was after Butts third ‘failure’ that Kaaljan jumped into the sea and swam, past Butt, towards the Volo that was approximately three hundred yards from the beach (Du Toit Spies, 1965: 286). When Scheepers reached the ship, ‘the current almost swept him away, but the sailors threw him an empty chest with a thin line attached to it’ (Du Toit Spies, 1965: 286). Scheepers swam back to shore with the chest attached to a thin line, he was received with a stronger line, this was attached to his horse Tempest to aid in pulling the crew to shore one by one, as there were not enough people to pull the line (Lester, 1996; Du Toit Spies, 1965).

Other narratives say he rode Tempest into the waves like the ‘die tweede Woltemade’ / ‘the second Woltemade’ (Lester, 1996, Du Toit Spies, 1965:284). In 1773, Wolraad Wolteman noticed the Jonge Thomas, a Dutch East India ship docked at the mouth of the Salt River in Table Bay, had hit the rocks due to strong seas (SAHO, 2023; Wallis, 2000). The ship was sinking, and its crew in distress when Wolteman was passing by on horseback (SAHO, 2023; Wallis, 2000). Wolteman rode into the water on his horse with a rope to tow people to shore. Wolteman managed to rescue 14 crew members before he and his horse drowned when crew members wanting to be rescued clung to the horse, pulling down both rider and animal with them under the waves (SAHO, 2023; Wallis, 2000). Once the crew were safely on shore, ‘it is said that a local resident, supposedly Butt, concluded that these men needed brandy to warm their insides, to which he went and fetched some’ (Du Toit Spies, 1965:284).

According to Du Toit Spies (1965:284), the irony in the story told about Scheepers is that the man who brought the brandy (Charles Butt), not Scheepers ‘who raced into the waves and used his horse to pull the crew to safety, was the one who received a medal for bravery’. I would argue that Scheepers should have received formal recognition alongside Butt for his bravery. This formal recognition could have been achieved in the form of a certificate or written acknowledgment for local records as they both risked their lives in the rough surf to save the crew of the Volo. Although that is not what occurred, Scheepers should have received more recognition within the recollection of the Volo’s rescue story as Butt would not have been able to do it alone. Scheepers rescue story is not as well known in the Sunshine Coast area due to the dominating narrative of Charles Butt’s rescue. Scheepers was also just as generous as Charles Butt in his provision of clothes and food for the crew of the Volo. Another person who needs more acknowledgement within the Volo’s rescue is ‘Harry’ the ‘coloured’ man who came to inform Scheepers of the wreck. If Harry had not informed Scheepers of the wreck, he

may not have been there to assist Butt in the rescue of the Volo's crew. I began to ask, who was Harry, what was he doing there and where did he come from? However, there is no more information mentioned about Harry which was unsettling as his role is just as important as the other rescuers.

4.3. Acknowledging the forgotten 'Coloured' Presence in the Heroic Rescuers Narrative

In the early 20th Century, the Union of South Africa was founded by the British as a result of the Anglo-Boer War or South African war 1899-1910, fought between the British and the descendants of the Dutch Settlers, who had established two independent republics outside of the British Cape and Natal Colonies (Mellet, 2018, Boezak, 2017). Essentially, the war was deemed a 'White man's war' where both sides wanted to establish dominance and power over their colonised territories. 'In 1911 in a process of divide and rule, a range of African people were bureaucratically deprived of their African identity by being labelled 'Coloured', indigenous descendants of various Khoe, San, Malay, African and / or European encounters' (Bezuidenhout, 2017:10), while others were labelled 'Natives' (Mellet, 2018: 14). Due to colonialism, the identities and narratives of the indigenous people have been discarded or simply left out despite the rich knowledge and perspective they possess. Southern Africa has an extensive history of indigenous communities, in this case the Khoe, utilising their traditions, knowledge, and skills of the lands, rivers, and oceans by assisting setters who were unfamiliar with their surroundings. However, their traditions, knowledge, and skills were exploited by settlers during periods of colonisation, later being manipulated and passed down to their descendants.

The Khoe, who are pastoralists, 'regard land as a gift from *Tsui*, one name for the Supreme Being' (Boezak, 2017: 255), it is something they respect wholeheartedly, taking only what they need from the land and giving thanks to Mother earth for her provision. This is why water connects their identity and harmonises their relationship to Mother Earth and the Sea (Boswell & Thornton, 2021). 'Water is vital for various rituals and cleansing ceremonies' (Boswell & Thornton, 2021: 153). In the eyes of the Khoe land is not something that can or should be privately owned by anyone, but for the colonists, land was just another commodity (Boezak, 2017). When settlers began to erect fences and walls, demarcating the land and creating boundaries, it disrupted the Khoe from being able to access natural resources such as spring water or rivers which were vital for their livelihoods and that of their livestock (Minguzzi,

2021:24). An example of this can be seen with the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck and the 'Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie' (VOC) in 1652.

From 1600 to 1652, the Camissa Khoe settlement had established a multicultural interaction with voyagers through an emerging refreshment station and proto-port settlement in Cape Town (Mellet, 2020: 197). Consequently, 'van Riebeeck's intention was to control the water resources and to establish a VOC monopoly of trading with the ships that would cut out independent Khoe traders completely'(Mellet, 2020: 225). Van Riebeeck had quickly realised that the land had immense possibilities (Oliver & Oliver, 2017). A year later he released nine Company servants to farm full-time on the eastern side of Table Mountain, enabling the materialisation of the halfway station as a colony (Oliver & Oliver, 2017; Pearson, 2012). By establishing these farms, the Dutch limited Khoe pastoralists access to the rivers and arable land for grazing their livestock. The result of this was the eviction of pastoralist from their ancestral land of the rivers, land that had been utilised during the summer seasons when the wetlands dried out and made the area rich for pastoralism (Meltzer, 2022). To prevent the Khoe from raiding the company's livestock, van Riebeeck decided to create a defensive barrier along the eastern boundary of the settlement (Jaffer, 2011; Böeseken, 1948). In 1659, the construction of a wooden fence began from the mouth of the Salt River, through Rondebosch to Kirstenbosch, using the deeper parts of the Liesbeek River as a barrier (Jaffer, 2011; Böeseken, 1948). However, to reduce building time a hedge of indigenous almond and thorny shrubs was planted (Jaffer, 2011; Böeseken, 1948). In 1660, leading Khoe chiefs approached Van Riebeeck to declare their land rights stating, 'that the Cape was their birthplace and their own country – and highlighting the absence of what they had once had which was an abundance of fresh water' (Meltzer: 2022).

Currently, the land surrounding the Liesbeek river is still an issue for the Khoe community, as the site has been chosen for the development of the 'River Club', a multi-purpose complex that is set to house Amazon's new African headquarters, which includes the confluence of the Liesbeek and Black rivers (Meltzer, 2022, BusinessTech, 2023). What is left of the area, that Khoe in the Peninsula and adjacent areas called home, is now surrounded by suburban residential or office development (Meltzer, 2022). The case of this development was brought to the courts by the Observatory Civil Association (OCA) and Tauriq Jenkins, a representative of the Goringhaicona Khoe Khoen Indigenous Traditional Council, claiming the site was of great historical value to the First Nation people (BusinessTeck, 2023). 'The lands of the rivers

were of core social and economic importance to Khoe people and continue today to bear meanings of spirituality and identity, linked to memory, orality and intangible history' (Meltzer, 2022). The Western Cape High Court initially ruled in favour of the groups plea to stop the project, saying that not enough consultation had been done regarding the environment and historical value (BusinessTech, 2023). However, the ruling was overturned by the South African Court of Appeal, in November 2022, as the City of Cape Town believe the development will assist in preserving and protecting First Nations heritage, in addition to creating great economic benefit to affected communities (BusinessTech, 2023). This is said to be achieved 'through rehabilitating a portion of the Liesbeek River and creating green spaces, while also establishing heritage infrastructure in partnership with First Nation groups' (BusinessTech, 2023). However, the question remains will this be done or will the Khoe community lose another piece of their identity.

This relates to the case of the wreck of the Volo where indigenous knowledge of tides and currents would have been crucial to aiding the white settlers in their rescues. The indigenous account of events is crucial to understanding what details may have been forgotten or untold. However, when conducting research on the Volo I was unable to find detailed written or oral accounts of Butt's 'Coloured Crew' or this mysterious 'Harry' that alerted Scheepers of the wreck. The lack of information recorded about these peoples is telling of the white dominated narrative embedded in Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth. This was unsettling as the white stories told about the Volo have been recorded and passed down for generations but the narratives of the Coloured community in this region have simply disappeared due to the passing of elders who knew these stories or due to the Volo not being a topic of interest for the vastly different cultural group. Before unpacking the forgotten 'coloured' community in the Volo's rescue narrative it is important to explain what is meant by the term 'Coloured' within this context.

Historically, in South Africa, the 'term 'Coloured' has been broadly defined as persons of mixed racial and ethnic heritage' (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012:85). It has widely been accepted that the origins of the 'Coloured' people can be traced back to the colonial contact between European settlers and the indigenous Khoisan communities, a combination of the 'First People' the Cape San or |Xam and the 'Foundation people' the Khoena or Khoe, along the Cape coast of Southern Africa (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012: 92; Mellet, 2018: 7). This lineage can further be extended to 'a multi-faceted slave heritage of Africans, Indians and

Southeast Asians; and then too – exiles, indentured labourers, sailors, merchants and other migrants of colour' (Mellet, 2018: 7). According to Petrus and Isaacs-Martin (2012:88), the 'Coloured identity' in South Africa is difficult to define as it encompasses a wide variety of peoples and perspectives or interpretations of this identity that influences the way it can be defined. Petrus and Isaacs-Martin (2012:88), 'use the concept 'Coloured identity' to refer to a dynamic and fluid identity belonging to a specific group in South Africa.' Whereas Mellet (2018: 13), uses the term 'Coloured' lightly as he believes it is an umbrella race term that conceals myriad origin points, which he uses the metaphor of a river tributary to describe, and obscures the indigeneity of many of these origins in Africa generally, and Southern Africa particularly.

'Coloured identity' is often attributed to persons perceived as being of mixed racial and ethnic descent, who overtime and due to several factors have undergone changes in their own perceptions of what it means to identify as a 'Coloured' person (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012:88). When the South African Apartheid government came into power in 1948, it ensured the superiority of the white Afrikaner group by creating legislation to subordinate non-white groups (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012). The racial categorisation of groups into White, Native and Asian, branded through the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, and the Separate Amenities Act, assumed these groups had their own distinctive identities (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012:93, Mellet, 2018:10). Persons of mixed descent could not be categorised into any of these 'main' racial groups as they did not 'fit in' to them based on their physical features. Thus, the Apartheid government created a separate category: 'Coloured' (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012:93, Mellet, 2018:10). Not only did this categorisation process make those who were non-white feel inferior it was distinctly present for persons of mixed race who in some ways were told they did not have an identity.

This background on the Coloured identity in South Africa is telling of why the Butt's 'Coloured Crew' or Scheepers' worker 'Harry' have only been acknowledged with a simple mention with no context in the stories recalled of the Volo's rescue. This became a 'haunting' of missing information for me as a researcher as those who oppress tell the story not those who are oppressed. Thus, it is a haunting ideology of the power of influence within heritage and memory. Especially for the stories that are untold or those who have become unknown due to this power of oppressive narratives. When researching sensitive topics of heritage and memory we become "acutely aware of the haunting presence of settler colonialism, of profound global

inequalities, and of reactionary efforts to silence the past" (Good, Chiovenda & Rahimi, 2022: 439). This 'haunting' brought me to the question, how can this lack of information be reinterpreted into some form of acknowledgement in the present? Interviews with participants from Ekuphumleni township, Kenton-on-Sea, and Klipfontein, a farm just outside of Bushman's River Mouth, provided some sense of connection and engagement with the larger community involved in the story of the Volo's rescue. They also spoke to the larger context of indigenous interpretations of shipwrecks and their aftermaths, and the inadequacies of origin stories of the area which inaccurately foreground Europeans as the first settlers, invisibilising the already existing and diverse communities who had inhabited the land for many generations, and were also being transformed by the arrival of European people and culture, including ideas about land ownership and private property, and the resulting changes in political rule and balance of power.

Lwandle is from the Tshezi clan of the ama-Bomvana tribe. In 1650, parts of tribe under Dibandlela, the grandson of Njilo the progenitor of the Bomvanas, migrated from Natal (Kwa-Zulu Natal) to Pondoland (in the former Transkei, Eastern Cape) to avoid disputes over cattle (Thompson, 1932). The Bomvana tribe resided in Pondoland until 1837 when they were driven out of the region into the territory of the ama-Xhosa, land to the east of the Mbashe River and including the Cwebe forest, a no-man's land (Thompson, 1932; Palmer, 1998). It was here the Bomvana were given permission by the Xhosa Chief Hintsa of the Gcalecka, in exchange for ten cattle (Palmer 1998), to obtain territory between the Bashee and Umtata rivers and along the coast, south-east of Tembuland, which became known as Bomvanaland, now Elliotdale (Thompson, 1932: 191). Lwandle says that his people have never been forced to speak Xhosa. However, what they were subjected to was intermarriages between the tribes, which explains the extension of the Bomvana throughout the Xhosa dominated Eastern Cape.

Lwandle, was born in Salem, a small village not far from Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth. Salem is in a region known from the 18th century as the Zuurveld, which formed part of the frontier zone between the amaXhosa and the colonists of the Cape (Ross, 2018). From the later 18th Century onwards, the Zuurveld became an area of conflict between the amaXhosa and the Cape Colony, who were expanding eastwards pursuing land on which they could establish farms (Ross, 2018: 637). Between 1779 and 1802, this conflict resulted in three wars between the Cape Colony and sections of the amaXhosa, with neither side being able to achieve permanent dominance of the area (Ross, 2018). After the Cape Colony was consumed by the

British Empire, the British strengthened their defence of the Eastern Frontier by organising the immigration of 4000 Britons, known in South African Historiography as the '1820 settlers' (Ross, 2018). A group of these settlers were granted land in Salem to farm livestock, 'this commonage overtime became 66 square kilometres in size' (Ross, 2018: 637). In the 1940s, the land was divided up into private land amongst the owners of the *erven* in the village, thereafter no African had a right to live on the commonage, unless given permission by landowners, nor could they run stock on the land or find other ways to make a living (Ross, 2018: 637). Since this decision, Salem has been 'subject to land claims by descendants of the original inhabitants expelled from the land under the Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994' (Ross, 1998: 637). Lwandle completed his primary education in Salem, then his high school education in Port Alfred and finally his tertiary education in tourism, in Port Elizabeth /Gqeberha. Lwandle now lives in Ekuphumleni with his family as it is an easier commute to his job in Port Alfred.

Ekuphumleni, 'Our Place of Rest' in isiXhosa, is township just outside the white town Kenton-on-Sea (Santos, 2023: 129). The origins of Ekuphumleni began with the arrival of 5 families from neighbouring farms or were evicted from them to the area now known as Kariega Heights, in the 1960s, where they established a transit camp, looking for opportunities of domestic work for the expanding white population of Kenton-on-Sea (Santos, 2023:129-130). When mass evictions took place on surrounding farms these families were joined by others slowly increasing the size of their camps population (Santos, 2023). By the 1980s, the population of the camp had grown substantially, alongside the growing popularity of Kenton-on-Sea as a town for wealthy retirees, second homeowners and holiday makers, which caused concern about the presence of the camp being on prime property as it had access to 360-degree views of the ocean and river (Santos, 2023: 130). Thus, the apartheid-era municipality in Kenton-on-Sea planned to relocate camp residents to the newly established township Marselle on the opposite side of the Bushman's River, leaving this prime property open for further development (Santos, 2023, Bezuidenhout, 2017). This set off resistance against authorities by some of the camps residences who refused to relocate to Marselle (Santos, 2023). In 1994, Ekuphumleni was officially declared a township, due to the presence of a new democratic government, and the residents who stuck with their beliefs were able to continue establishing their roots, in a place they could officially called home (Santos, 2023).

When beginning to converse with Lwandle, I asked him if he had any stories to share about the river and ocean in his community, he brought up shipwrecks instantly. As a tourism officer in the region, Lwandle was deeply familiar with the role that shipwrecks played in the marketing of the region as a tourist destination rich in sunshine, fun and heritage sites. The marketing of shipwrecks in the Sunshine Coast tourism industry can be seen through pamphlets available for tourists and locals to visit Port Alfred's Kowie Museum to learn about 'Shipwrecks in the River and Ocean' (Kowie Museum, 2024), Sunshine Coast Tourism heritage maps are available, with detailed information about historical sites in the area, for self-guided tours which include several wreck sites that can be visited (Port Alfred, 2024), and local Facebook pages such as *Sunshine Coast Tourism Port Alfred* and *Kenton-on-Sea & Boesmans Tourism* update their sites with information on local shipwreck stories in the region.

Lwandle immediately located the heritage of shipwrecks, and the story of the Volo in particular, as one which privileged a settler-colonial narrative and invisibilised the presence of the indigenous populations he identified with, "…there are shipwrecks here all over this coast, and the Volo on the other side of Bushman's there is nothing written down about us". Lwandle elaborated further on his words, expressing how this lack of information on the workers was concerning for him and his community:

> *'I mean, who were those workers? Because the farmer wasn't alone. He asked his workers. We know that he asked his workers, but who were they? Anyone mentioned that? So that is some of the things that concern us. Said, Okay, man. It's not only that thing… it's not only the Volo shipwreck that is happening like that, and the farmer is mentioned everywhere, by his name and all that, but the workers nothing.'*

After Lwandle expressed these concerns to me, we spoke about how he had come to know of these stories both growing up in the area and as an employee of a tourist office:

> *'Our grandfathers told us. About, um, also hearing from the other people, and also mostly with the Khoi people. They were the ones that were here, so he had stories from Khoi people about, uh, what's happened, um, in the Volo. But nothing is written down and it's only the word of mouth.'*

The knowledge that Lwandle and members of his community received from their elders is such an important part of oral history and social memory in this context that exists in parallel with the versions captured in newspaper stories, and the transmission of the oral stories told in settler-colonial descended communities, both Afrikaans and English. This form of memory transformation plays a significant role in many African communities. Oral tradition is important, but it can be lost over time resulting in a loss of memory and stories. Thus, what interested me was how Lwandle's ancestors came to know this information themselves and if it was from people who were on the farms closest to the wreck site. Lwandle replied that they got this information from:

> *'People... they got the stories from the people that were on the farms, and it's not only the people on the farms, because the Volo happened on the beach. Then there was a community hall and people were looking what is happening and all that. Whereas the operation was done by the farmer and his workers.... And maybe few people do help but the other people just stand there. And then from the others they said, it was the first time they see white people or so many, or some of them they, I don't want to come, they don't want to know what is going on there. So that was it.'*

This information added to why information on what fully occurred the day the Volo wrecked, and the involvement of the 'Coloured' crew and workers was possibly lost over time as some people found the event significant enough to pass on, whereas others did not. However, to know that members of Lwandle's community, who were not necessarily there when this event occurred find the lack of information about their ancestors or members of their community, unsettling was a breakthrough for my research. Ekuphumleni was not yet established as a settlement when the Volo wrecked, however workers from the surrounding farms at the time of the wreck are very likely to have descendants in the Ekuphumleni and Marselle communities today. Thus, the story of the Volo fits into the broader narrative of this post-apartheid settlement as members of the community were unsettled by the lack of information within the Volo's narratives which shows that historical memory and social memory surrounding shipwrecks can be interpreted and understood in the present as a moral discourse for the community of Ekuphumleni.

The historical and social memory that is interpreted and understood as a moral discourse here is the perception that the white community controls and manipulates local history and heritage

to serve its own interests, and invisibilises the contributions or even existence of other communities in the process. This moral discourse was constructed by colonial powers and under Eurocentric ideologies. Due to this one-sided way of thinking our universalisms have been based on the realities of this one side, making anything on the other side of this constructed reality invisible (De Sousa Santos, 2016). 'This exclusion and silencing of the other side of the line is such that what happens there does not compromise the universality of our ideas, because they do not count as reality, because the people that live there do not count as humans in the modern understanding of humanity' (De Sousa Santos, 2016). Thus, what is created is a sub-humanity that is seen as all those inferior to the capitalistic colonial patriarchy. This school of thought needs to change and bring forward the epistemologies of the South. De Sousa Santos (2012:43) emphasises that there is a need for 'intercultural translation, understood as a procedure that allows for mutual intelligibility among the diverse experiences of the world.' This adaptation to identity theory within the field of heritage and memory studies changes how individuals and communities tell their stories. Lwandle believes that this kind of research is important as much of South African history is one sided and if you do not go to the communities who were not acknowledged to hear their side then there is no balance. South Africa is rich in history and many indigenous communities have stories to share that are not a part of the written narrative according to Eurocentric versions of written history. This conversation with Lwandle made clear that shipwreck narratives can tell us a lot about the connection between heritage, memory, memorialisation, and community identity in post-conflict societies.

4.4 Klipfontein, Khoe Identity, and the Revival of Political Heritage Consciousness

Khaikoes Danakxoas (Senior Headwoman) Zelda Masimla is a resident of Klipfontein and identifies as a Khoe descendant of the Korana nation. Klipfontein is a private farm located immediately west of Bushman's River Mouth (Boesmansriviermond) and runs parallel to the beach of Kwaaihoek (Bezuidenhout, 2017: 9-10). The farm's first owner was Johannes Booysen, who transferred the farm to a Johannes Abraham Scheepers, both white settlers (Bezuidenhout, 2017: 43). In the early 1860s, an old and frail Scheepers decided to subdivide his farm, giving the piece of land bordering the sea to his worker Dirk Jansen van Rensburg, a white man, in 1962 (Bezuidenhout, 2017: 43). It was here the birth of Klipfontein as 'coloured' community with 'indigenous descendants of various Khoe, San, Malay, African and/or European encounters' began (Bezuidenhout, 2017:10). Dirk and his wife Sarah, who was of Khoe or Malay decent it is not certain, devoted their land into a trust, which enabled their descendants to continue living on the farm in perpetuity, without the risk of being forced off

the land due to financial restraints or racially based legislation (Bezuidenhout, 2017). In their joint Will Dirk and Sarah stipulated 'that upon the death of the first spouse, the farm Klipfontein would be administered by a trust, giving the second spouse unrestricted use and enjoyment rights and remaining in undisturbed possession of the farm' (Bezuidenhout, 2018: 46). When Dirk died the will gave usufruct rights to their five children Klaas, Carel, Jantje, Kaatje and Anna (Bezuidenhout, 2017). At the time, the children would have been given the derogatory names *'Bastaards'* or *'Basters',* being children born to 'mixed' parents who were European and African or Khoesan descent (Bezuidenhout, 2017: 45). When the children died, the said rights of the Will respectively descended to and transferred onto their eldest surviving sons, so that the rights as stipulated would always be possessed by the eldest male child representing one of the five siblings (Bezuidenhout, 2017). The Will also instructed that 'if a usufructuary does not have a male heir or is childless at his/her death, his/her rights will either be assumed by one of the other usufructuaries or passed on to his eldest nephew or grandson'(Bezuidenhout, 2017: 47). The requests presented in the Will have been upheld till the present with decedents of the five still living in Klipfontein and carrying on their lineage. One of these decedents being Zelda, who is from the Jacobs lineage of Jantjie Janse van Rensburg.

In Klipfontein, ''Colouredness' is seen as a multi-faceted identity that is constituted and contested from within' (Bezuidenhout, 2017: 14). 'Many of the local people identify with their Khoi origins, wishing that they could trace back their roots, while a few others emphasised their trekboer, Afrikaner or English ancestry to explain the genealogy of their surnames' (Bezuidenhout, 2017: 14). Zelda is a fundamental example of this in her community as she has questioned where she comes from, why the farm was left to her ancestors, and how should she identify as a person from Klipfontein, questions not openly discussed in the community by elders. Zelda once asked an elder to explain it to her to which her reply was *'My child, you don't go into these things because it's never been mentioned, and you are just a child.'* Zelda did not accept this as she felt a strong longing to find out more about her community, thus she began her emotional journey of discovering her Khoi roots in the Korana nation. This discovery of her identity enabled her to formally decide to no longer identify herself as Coloured, which she had been told she was since she could remember.

On a provincial level, the recognition of the Khoi identity legally has been an ongoing battle in the Eastern Cape. In 2017 on Human Rights Day , Zelda's Chief Gaokx'oab Doup Opperman,

together with a Khoi group from Port Elizabeth/ Gqeberha Paramount, Chief Crawford Fraser, the Steenkamp Clan and the Steerman Clan, to name a few, walked for six days barefoot from Port Elizabeth/Gqeberha to the Premier in Bisho submitting a memorandum for the removal of the term 'Coloured' from the statues of South Africa (Oreilly, 2017). It was a fight for the Khoi people's true identity, which they claimed was stripped from the indigenous people when the Europeans descended on the Cape (Oreilly, 2017). This walk was for the recognition of the Korana nation and the regaining of their Khoi identity in the Eastern Cape as well as nationally. 'The memorandum was accepted by the secretary to the Legislature Vuyani Mapolisa who said it would be processed'(Oreilly, 2017).

On the 17 November 2018, a larger portion of Eastern Capes Khoe group with King Khoisan SA marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to hand in a memorandum to President Cyril Ramaphosa, arriving on 5 December 2018, where they have been camped in the garden ever since (Maurice, 2023). The memorandum demanded that the government, recognise the Khoi as the first nation people of South Africa, the Khoisan language, Khoe-khoeaab, be regognised as an official language, their ancestral land be returned, and the label 'coloured' as a reference to people of mixed race be removed from official documents (Maurice, 2023; Tshikalange, 2022). King Khoisan SA is still camped outside the union building in Pretoria, he will not leave until the government acknowledge the demands of the memorandum and the identity of the Khoe are acknowledged.

Zelda has chosen not to be anonymous for our discussion as she felt it was necessary for the sake of my research that her voice and the voices of her people be heard, as they have had to fight for their own identity to be recognised as a cultural group, as the first people of the soil. She firmly believes her people have been silenced enough in the past and in the present, which can be seen above with King Khoisan SA. Zelda and I met for our discussion at the Volo eatery, a newly renovated establishment in Kenton-on-Sea, that symbolises the wreck of the Volo with tangible remains from the wreck site and displays of photographs on its walls of the ship, its wrecked crew, and the white rescuers. However, what is not symbolised or remembered in this establishment are the 'coloured' peoples who also aided in the rescue of the Volo, there is no mention of these people or their stories. Thus, this environment seemed fitting as we were about to discuss the forgotten narrative of the 'coloured' crew who aided in the Volo's rescue. The establishment further presented a much deeper basis for our discussion as it is a key symbol of the white local-settler pride in Kenton-on-Sea (See Chapter 3). This white local-settler pride

and the unacknowledged culture of indigenous cultures was echoed when a middle-aged white woman commented on Zelda's traditional headpiece moments into our interview:

> ***Woman:*** *I love your hair thing.*
>
> ***Zelda:*** *(Awkward laughter) It's not a hair thing...it's a headpiece.*
>
> ***Woman:*** *I know. Your Alice band... I mean.*

This was an uncomfortable moment as it further displayed the divide that is still present in this region when it comes to the acknowledgement of local indigenous culture, especially in a community that believes it has diversified. This encounter echoed the very ones I was trying to acknowledge and debunk when it came to the story of the Volo's rescue and the 'Coloured' narratives that were unacknowledged. Despite this interesting encounter Zelda and I continued with our discussion about the Volo and the unidentified 'Coloured' crew.

When asked about the story of the Volo Zelda recalled the story of Charles Butt and the fact, he received a medal and certificate for his heroics, which can be found at Stanley's restaurant one of Butts old farmsteads just outside of Kenton-on-Sea. What Zelda found the most interesting about the Charles Butt story was the mention of his 'Coloured' crew. This was something we had in common as we both wanted to know more about who these people were and where they came from. Zelda had the following to say on the topic of Butts 'Coloured' crew:

> *'I've never heard that the people that was with him, the let's say so-called 'Coloured' because we're not coloured, I don't classify myself as a 'Coloured'. I've never heard that any of them you know were given a prize or you know a certificate or whatever to say that we are thankful because with him alone (Charles Butt) he could have never done that. He needed people to help him to save this ship and to save these people that was with him but never have I heard that any of our people in the community where I come from (Klipfontein) has rewarded for saving, assisting, and helping. In a way, you can say no this is something a certificate that you can go back and look at, you know, to say these people (Butt's 'Coloured' Crew) were part of... they were assisting during this time and we're giving thanks to them or to say that in one of our people's homes*

there is a medal hanging or there is a graveside that has been acknowledged. We've never been acknowledged for assisting during those times and even until now all these years we've been doing all the good to everybody out there, but no one acknowledges the good deeds that our people are doing. I mean if you take back to the Second World War there were many of our forefathers that went and fought during the Second World War but never have you heard that we've been acknowledged for what our people has done. It is very sad though to us as a community because we were the first people here and to say thank you to someone doesn't cost a lot.'

The hurt and frustration in her voice as she was telling me this information was both moving and powerful in my search for memories about this forgotten narrative of the 'Coloured' community in the region. The lack of information and acknowledgement of these crew members, who have simply just been called 'Coloured', is revealing of the settler colonial narrative present in this region. Despite extensive research in the area, the memory of these crew members and their assistance in the rescue of the Volo has been disregarded by not mentioning the crew by their names, which has erased *their* memory from the narrative. This lead Zelda and I to discuss who these unidentified crew members could have been and where they came from. Zelda is very passionate about history, heritage, and identity. She battled for many years to figure out and trace who she was and where she came from as it was not something openly discussed in her family. Thus, she enlightened me on the background of her people in the region:

Zelda: *We were the only so-called 'Coloured' community that you could ever find during those days. When they came here (the 1820 settlers), we were here. So, those so-called 'Coloured' people that we are talking about is my forefathers...It is my forefathers.*

Emma: *And that would have been from?*

Zelda*: From Klipfontein. Because Klipfontein is the only 'Coloured' community that is still in existence around Kenton (Kenton-on-Sea). If you go far back into the history of Klipfontein. We've been, they found us here in the early 1800s.*

Emma: *Yes.*

> ***Zelda:*** *Like I say, our people were part of the Second World War. It just tells you. We've been here all the time. We, we were here. They found us here. They found us on this land. And yet, still... we have to fight.*

At this point in our discussion, we were able to identify where these 'Coloured' crew members were from. However, this is where it became difficult to track down their stories as we did not know the names or surnames of these people. Consequently, even if we did know the names of these people it is not guaranteed that we would find anything. I say this as I recalled the story of Kaaljan Scheepers and his worker 'Harry' to Zelda. It is known that Harry was a coloured man from Klipfontein as that was the Scheepers farm but who was Harry? We know about people in the Khoi community being named Harry after Harry the Strand looper but who was this, Harry? This story ignited something in Zelda who replied:

> *'What was Harry's surname? Who's Harry's children? Are they still here? Because my grandfather's name is Harry, from the Franz side of the family. So, and as I know, our names originate from the first people. So, my grandfather must have inherited his name from one of the people that was there before him. So, who was this person? Why is his surname not mentioned? Is there something that is hidden here? Is there something that we are afraid of that might come out? Everybody just leaves things. Which says that I'm not going to go deeper into it because if I go deeper into it, I might get hurt, I might get killed, I might get locked up, for speaking the truth...So, why not mention who was this other people? ...Why one person get recognition to say that this was that person? Now we, we go back to the name so-called 'Coloured'. So, there also they did not even know who we were. We were 'so-called'... and there again...We've not been recognized.'*

This fear of discussing one's background in Zelda's community is due to them not having had a voice in the past and if they attempted to make their voices heard they were shut down by others who deemed themselves superior. Many of the elders in Klipfontein would not talk about the things that happened in the past as it was traumatic and hurtful for them to relive these memories. Zelda feels that it is almost as if the elders do not want the future generations to know about the struggles they had to face or hear about the harmful things that happened to them as a form of protection against the past. Yet, in some way this takes away the knowledge

and passing down of memories for the future generation to know where they come from and how they can move forward as a community. Burying the information of the past is just as harmful as reliving it.

The lack of information shared amongst the community in Klipfontein when it comes to certain aspects of the past brought me to ask Zelda how this information that is 'not there', or information that is lacking can be acknowledged. Not all information is written down or passed down orally as what one culture deems relevant or important may not be the same for another. In the event of the Volo this could have been the case, but it is important to acknowledge that members of the Klipfontein community were present and helped. Zelda could not have summed up my thought any better by saying:

> *'It is about bring acknowledgement to this whole story, to all the cultural groups that were involved in this.... You know, this also brings some sort of healing in our area. Because there is a lot of hurt and hatred around us.'*

What is important to note from this chapter, is that the white hero narrative is valorised in line with the establishment of the settler colonial communities in this region. The exclusion of social memories that de-centre the white hero, whether Butt or Scheepers, as the main protagonist of the Volo's rescue is indicative of the ongoing invisibilization of diverse understandings of the local heritagescape in mainstream representations of both Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth. Consequently, the discussions I had with Zelda and Lwandle displayed how historical and social memory perspectives and interpretations of shipwrecks shift across lines of class and race in coastal communities that remain deeply segregated along racial lines, as a legacy of their colonial and apartheid past. This it is not surprising when one knows about the history of South Africa and more specifically this region of the Eastern Cape, as this event occurred in a time where colonialism had a firm hold over South Africa from the British and Dutch settlers. What would be interesting to note is how many other coastal communities, with a history such as Ekuphumleni and Klipfontein, have also been left out of or are mentioned in the local hero tales of shipwreck rescue attempts along the South African coastline due to colonial advancements. Furthermore, who has been remembered and who has been forgotten in the story of the Volo's rescue is not necessarily about whose history it is but rather acknowledging in full those who were present and contributed to that event collectively. There is not one side to this story and thus the above should be remembered in unison. This links to the evolving

heritage symbolism of the Volo and how it has been remembered through the tangible remains present in Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth, which are attached to the above narratives.

CHAPTER 5
THE EVOLVING HERITAGE SYMBOLISM OF THE 'VOLO'

The story of the Volo and its tangible remains have been incorporated into the popular local and tourist culture in Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth. There are several establishments, communities and individuals in Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth that remember the story of Volo's rescue by local 'heroes', and this is visible through memorabilia collected by local settler families that have been passed down through generations. These forms of remembrance have created an opportunity for residents to showcase local history to tourists who can immerse themselves with the tangible and intangible reminders of the wreck. This opportunity is great exposer for the tourism industry in both Kenton-on-Sea, a town with luxurious vacation homes predominantly occupied in the holiday seasons, and Bushman's River Mouth, a town with houses and holiday homes that have a more rustic feel. This chapter will showcase how tangible objects from the Volo and intangible memories of its rescuers are constantly evolving as heritage symbols in the region. This will be done using several examples from different spaces in Kenton-on Sea and Bushman's River Mouth that have symbolised the Volo.

5.1. Volo Restaurant, Kenton-on-Sea

In Kenton-on-Sea, the memory of the Volo has been capitalised on through the establishment of a restaurant, bar, and club with the same name and a symbol of the boat used as its signage (See figure 5.1). When talking to the manager of Volo I asked why the owners choose to name the establishment Volo. The manager replied by saying, 'They believe the story is a huge part of the towns narrative and they have kept the name for that very reason.' This establishment, on 23 Kenton Road, has always been used to symbolise the Volo in the form of an eatery. It has changed many times, but the interior has always had something to do with the Volo. After going for a

Figure 5.1. Signage of the Volo Restaurant

Source: https://thevolo.co.za/ , 2023

Figure 5.2. The Volo Restaurant and Pub

Source: E.J. Dickson-Bow, 14 October 2022.

walk along the beach to visit the wreck site, from Bushman's River Mouth towards Kwaaihoek, one can go to the Volo for a 'Volo's Best' pizza or a drink in the bar, where previously one could find a photograph of the Volo in a frame on the wall (See figure 5.2), this has now been moved to the entrance of the newly renovated restaurant (See figure 5.3.1). When you walk into the bar your eyes are automatically drawn to a model of the ship in glass between the bar and the restaurant (See figure 5.2). A new addition to the Volo's newly renovated décor is the original steering wheel of the Volo which was purchased by the owners in 2023 (See figure 5.3.2). These pieces spark much conversation over a drink or dinner at the establishment where someone can tell you the Charles Butt version of the Volo's story as that is the narrative widely discussed in Kenton-on-Sea. However, what was interesting when talking to the staff of the Volo is they did not know much about the history of this ship. The staff of the Volo, which

Figure 5.3. Newly Renovated Volo Restaurant

5.3.1 Restaurant Foyer

5.3.2. Steering Wheel in Bar area

Source: E.J. Dickson-Bow, 14 December 2023

predominantly consists of people from the Ekuphumleni and Marselle townships, were told a basic version of the ship's story by their manager so that if any customers asked them a question about the name of the establishment or its memorabilia they could answer. However, much of the staff who have remained at the establishment, despite it changing hands several times, say that the local white people who have been in or have been visiting the area for years tell them the Volo's story or point to the memorabilia and share stories about them. This is what the Volo is about, it is a space to enable conversation and reminiscing, by elderly white members of the Kenton-on-Sea community, using the Volo's tangible objects, 'teaching' those around them, such as the staff of the Volo how are from the areas of Marselle, Klipfontein and Ekuphumleni, through the paraphernalia displayed. This further contributes to the emerging heritage symbolism of the Volo in Kenton-on-Sea.

In relation to anthropological theory, the abovementioned is best understood through the work of French theorist Henri Lefebvre. Leferbvre's 'Theory of the Production of Space' states that one of the most dominant forms of space is those that centre themselves on wealth and power (Fuchs, 2019: 135). This is present in the newly renovated *Volo*. Lefebvre's methodology seeks to formulate an understanding of how space is utilised in society (Fuchs, 2019: 135; Lefebvre, 1991: 229 & 346). The central argument of this methodology is that humans do not only produce social relations and use values, but when doing so they also produced social space (Fuchs, 2019, Lefebvre, 1991). Social space has physical borders and conceptual boundaries that are socially produced but are always interpenetrated and superimposed by other spaces (Fuchs, 2019: 135; Lefebvre, 1991: 86). Spaces in society can be intentionally manipulated by humans to produce signs that make objects symbolize and/ or take on specific meanings within that space (Fuchs, 2019: 136). In the *Volo* restaurant, local white settler pride for Charles Butt and his rescue attempt of the Volo and its crew is symbolised through memorabilia from the ship and photographs on the walls of the white rescuers. The term used for this manipulation of space is 'dominated space' (Lefebvre, 1991: 164). The concept of dominated space achieves its full meaning when it is contrasted against the 'concept of appropriation' (Lefebvre, 1991: 165). This is present at the *Volo* through no mention or physical acknowledgement of the 'Coloured' crews and workers who assisted in the ships rescue. When a space is modified to serve the needs and possibilities of a particular group, in this case white settlers and their descendants, then that space has been appropriated by that group (Lefebvre, 1991: 165). The production of space not only includes the groups who manipulate the space but what these

groups leave behind within public spaces as memorials and symbols of the past, which is the establishment of the *Volo* restaurant and its contents.

5.2. The Volo's Cannon at Stanleys Restaurant, Kenton-on-Sea.

When Charles Butt died, his farm, South Gorah was divided between his three sons, William, Arthur, and Charles Jr. William and Arthur sold their portions, whereas Charles Jr kept his portion which was the furthest from the coast. When Charles Butt Jr. died, in 1942, the farm was occupied by his wife Eva Maud Neilson (Lythgoe, 2023). The farm was later purchased by their son Hugh 'Stanley' Butt, known as Stan (Butt Cat, 2022). The farm, known as Eve's Retreat, on the R343 out of Kenton-on-Sea towards Grahamstown/Makhanda, became the site for Stanley's restaurant. Stanley's restaurant is a symbol of the Butt family's legacy in Kenton-on-Sea and their involvement in the rescue of the Volo. One can find the Volo's signal gun (See figure 5.4) at the restaurant, thus keeping the memory of the ship and its rescue attempt alive within the Butt family (BRRAG, 2013). Stanley's is also said to be where Butt's medal for bravery can be found as well, sparking much conversation over their famous fish and chips. The presence of these tangible items shows how heritage is shaped by politics and power in that the Butt's can continue to interpret their version of the story within the local heritagescape of Kenton-on-Sea.

Figure 5.4: The Volo's Signal Gun, Stanleys Restaurant

Source: Ms D. McNeill, N.D.

5.3. 'The Barracks', Bushman's River Mouth

Tucked away behind a jungle of trees one can find *'the Barracks'*, home of the Gardner family and one of the first houses built in Bushman's River Mouth. Identifiable by a windsock sticking out above the trees (See red arrow on figure 5.5), the Barracks is a treasure trove of tangible items from the wreck of the Volo (See figure 5.6). In some ways, 'the Barracks' can be seen as an informal museum due to it housing several items belonging to the Volo. However, this is not the case as not everyone knows about this special little spot in Bushman's River Mouth, unless you are friendly with its owner. Many of the items at the Barracks were collected by or

gifted to Clive Gardner, who was a family friend of Charles Butt Sr. The first item that catches your eye before entering the house is a life preserver from the ship hanging on the wall (See figure 5.6.6). Secondly, there are four framed photographs of the barque on the wall, just under the life preserver. In the first frame (See figure 5.6.4), first photograph is of the Volo beached on the shore at Kwaaihoek and the second is of the Volo once wood had been removed. In the second frame (See figure 5.6.5), the first photograph is of the Volo's crew on the beach with their rescuers and the second one is of Charles Butt and the Gardner's outside the Barracks. These authentic photographs most likely taken by Gardner in 1896 have been used in many parts of Bushman's River Mouth and Kenton-on-Sea to represent and symbolise the Volo. Thirdly, the front door of the barracks are the doors from the barque. Walking through these doors feels as if you are stepping back in time onto the ship itself before it wrecked. Fourthly, the kitchen doors of the Barracks are the galley doors of the Volo. Lastly, as you walk into the house on the right wall there is an article in a frame written by Clive Gardner about the rescue and wreck of the Volo in 1975 (See figure 5.7). The Barracks symbolises in many ways a mini version of the Volo itself due to the tangible objects that make up the ambiance and design of this house.

Figure 5.5. 'The Barracks'

Source: Google Maps, 2024.

The Barracks in many ways resembles an 'unofficial museum,' if it was open to the public. The collection of tangible objects the Gardner's have accumulated from the Volo are presented for private appreciation, but the objects could be "found in nationally accredited museums or those cultural heritage collections curated and presented by local governments" (Klimaszewski & Nyce, 2014: 180). This amateur collection is made up of local items that are no longer useful in daily life, thus the space exists in part as an aide-mémoire to remind locals or heritage enthusiasts, if they know about the space, of what occurred in the community and region (Klimaszewski & Nyce, 2014: 180). It is just unfortunate that many people do not get to see these objects up close as they are potent symbols of what was left behind by the Volo's wreck and its crew.

Figure 5.6. Inside 'The Barracks' (Left to Right):

1 & 2: Front Door of 'The Barracks'

3: Kitchen Door of 'The Barracks'

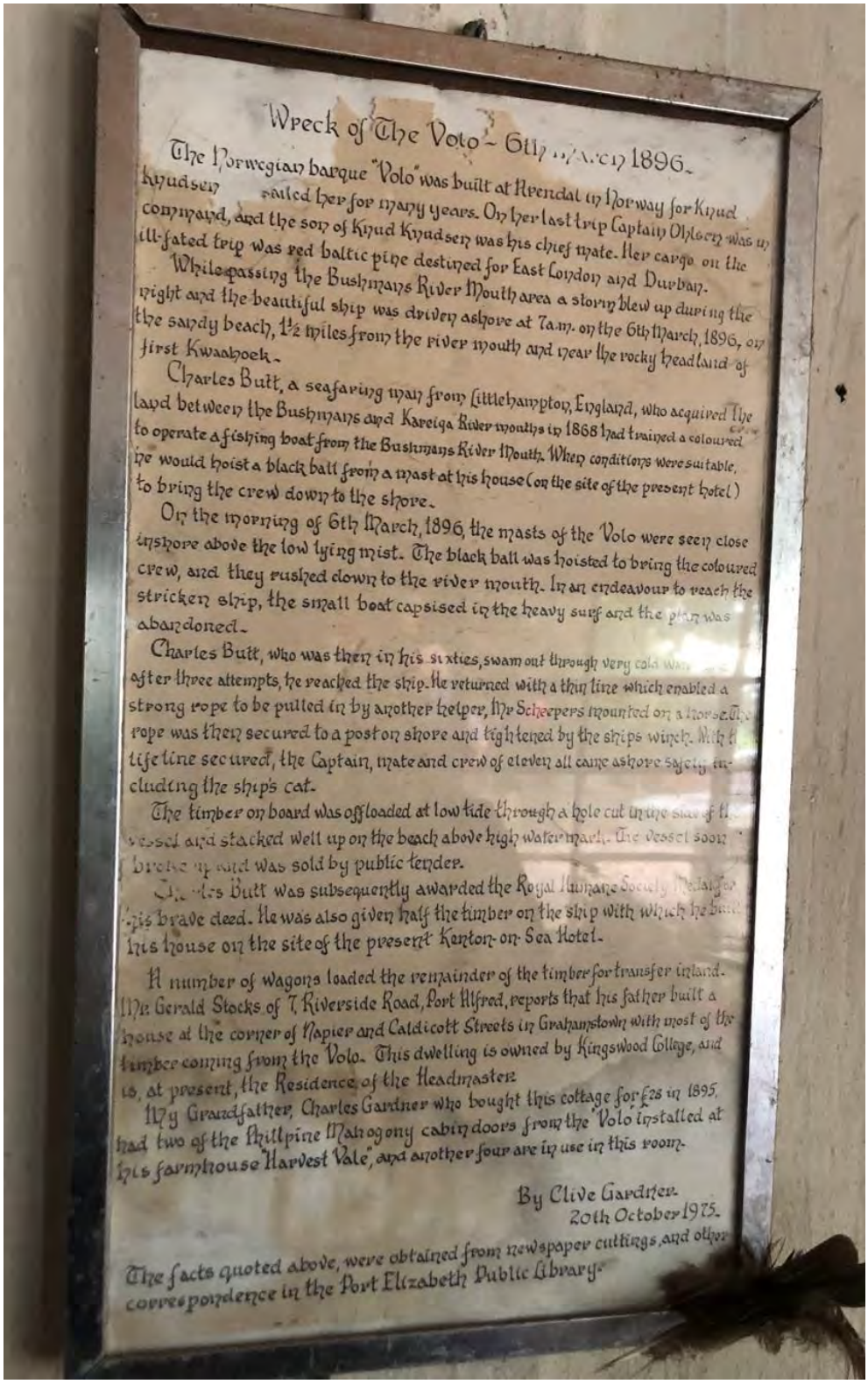
4: Photographs on display of the Volo wreck.

5: The Crew of the Volo and "The Barracks' with Charles Butt and Clive Gardener in view.

6: Volo Life preserver

Source: E.J. Dickson-Bow, 14 October 2022

Figure 5.7. Wreck of the Volo by Clive Gardner



Wreck of The Volo - 6th March 1896.

The Norwegian barque "Volo" was built at Arendal in Norway for Kjud Kjudsen and sailed her for many years. On her last trip Captain Olsen was in command, and the son of Kjud Kjudsen was his chief mate. Her cargo on the ill-fated trip was red baltic pine destined for East London and Durban.

While passing the Bushmans River Mouth area a storm blew up during the night and the beautiful ship was driven ashore at 7a.m. on the 6th March, 1896, on the sandy beach, 1½ miles from the river mouth and near the rocky headland of first Kwaaihoek.

Charles Butt, a seafaring man from Littlehampton, England, who acquired the land between the Bushmans and Kareiga River mouths in 1868 had trained a coloured to operate a fishing boat from the Bushmans River Mouth. When conditions were suitable, he would hoist a black ball from a mast at his house (on the site of the present hotel) to bring the crew down to the shore.

On the morning of 6th March, 1896, the masts of the Volo were seen close inshore above the low lying mist. The black ball was hoisted to bring the coloured crew, and they rushed down to the river mouth. In an endeavour to reach the stricken ship, the small boat capsised in the heavy surf and the ship was abandoned.

Charles Butt, who was then in his sixties, swam out through very cold wa[ter] after three attempts, he reached the ship. He returned with a thin line which enabled a strong rope to be pulled in by another helper, Mr Scheepers mounted on a horse. The rope was then secured to a post on shore and tightened by the ships winch. With the life line secured, the Captain, mate and crew of eleven all came ashore safely including the ship's cat.

The timber on board was offloaded at low tide through a hole cut in the side of the vessel and stacked well up on the beach above high water mark. The vessel soon broke up and was sold by public tender.

Charles Butt was subsequently awarded the Royal Humane Society Medal for his brave deed. He was also given half the timber on the ship with which he built his house on the site of the present Kenton-on-Sea Hotel.

A number of wagons loaded the remainder of the timber for transfer inland. Mr Gerald Stocks of 7 Riverside Road, Port Alfred, reports that his father built a house at the corner of Napier and Caldicott Streets in Grahamstown with most of the timber coming from the Volo. This dwelling is owned by Kingswood College, and is, at present, the Residence of the Headmaster.

My Grandfather, Charles Gardner who bought this cottage for £28 in 1895, had two of the Philipine Mahogony cabin doors from the Volo installed at his farmhouse "Harvest Vale", and another four are in use in this room.

By Clive Gardner.
20th October 1975.

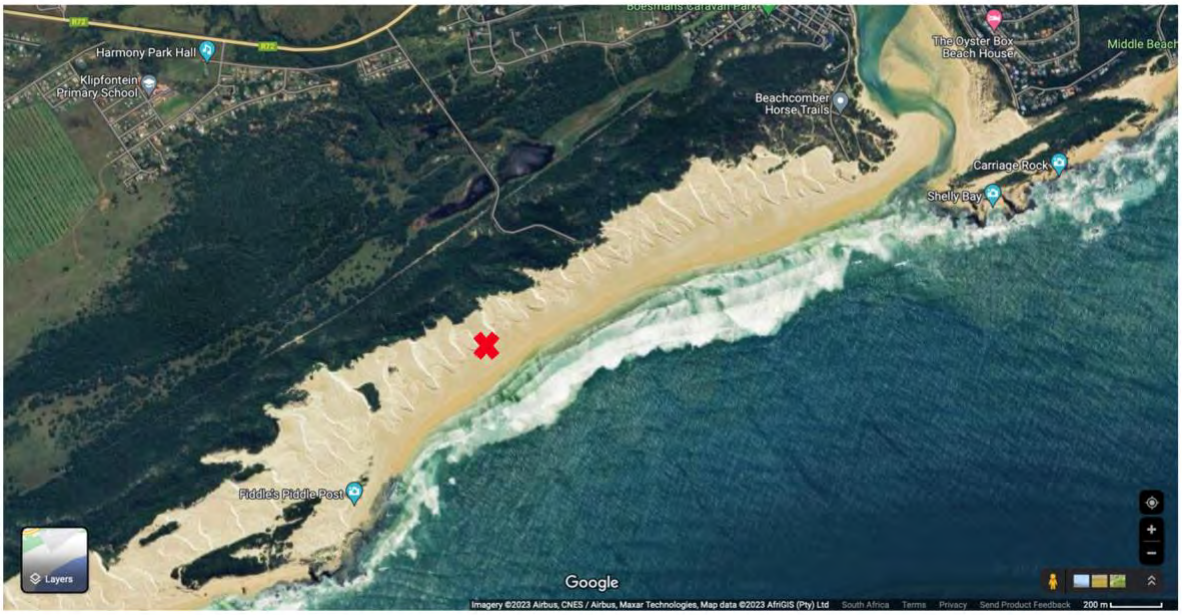
The facts quoted above, were obtained from newspaper cuttings, and other correspondence in the Port Elizabeth Public Library.

Source: E.J. Dickson-Bow, 14 October 2022

5.4. The Volo's Wreck Site, Kwaaihoek

Between the Bushman's River Mouth and Kwaaihoek tourists and locals can take guided or self-guided tours to the location of the wreck (See figure 5.8). When walking the beach several years ago one could visibly see pieces of the wreck and its anchor gears (See figures 5.9.1-3) (BRRAG, 2013). However, not much of the wreck is left, over time parts of the barque were used by local farmers in Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth, to improve their seaside cottages (BRRAG, 2013). At present, what is left of the wreck can been seen during seasons of heavy wind and rain which expose fragments during low tide. Habitually this event does not happen for years at a time, the last time being mid-September 2023, after a spring tide engulphed the Sunshine Coast bringing strong winds and rain. A spring tide also known as a 'King Tide' occurs during a new or full moon (National Ocean Service, 2023). This causes the gravitational pull of the sun to be 'added' to the gravitational pull of the moon on Earth, causing the oceans to bulge more than usual (National Ocean Service, 2023). This causes high tides to be slightly higher and low tides to be slightly lower than average (National Ocean Service, 2023), thus exposing the coastline more so than usual. Due to the spring tide, I was able to see the wreck in its glory which I had not been able to do (See figures 5.9.4 & 5.9.5), due to the wreck being mostly submerged beneath the sand. This allowed for an interactive experience with the wreck which put into perspective the visual story behind the Volo and its rescue.

Figure 5.8. Google image marking the wreck site of the Volo



Source: Google Maps, 2023.

Figure 5.9. Images of the Volo Wreck on route to Kwaaihoek

1: McNeill, ND.

2: McNeill, ND.

3: McNeill, ND.

4: E.J. Dickson-Bow, 2023.

5: E.J. Dickson-Bow, 2023.

What the above examples relate to in theory is artefact-oriented anthropology and heritage symbolism within local communities. According to Henare, Holbraad and Wastell (2007), anthropologists often explain away their own surprise with recourse to more familiar conceptions when it comes to how artefacts can be engaged with on their own terms. What this means is that there is often an assumption that artefacts or heritage symbols are systematically independent from the significance informants seem to 'attach' to them (Henare et al, 2007: 1). What the above examples have shown is that artefacts and heritage symbols are congenial with the significance informants attach to them. In addition to this, the ethnographic research conducted aimed to follow the concepts proposed in Henare et al (2007) *'Thinking Through Things.'* By utilising the concept of thinking though things by theorising artefacts ethnographically there is the hope that it may lead to a revision of our analytical assumptions about what counts as a 'thing', in turn generating a way of thinking critiques how assumptions made by researchers when it comes to artefacts and heritage symbols maybe inappropriate (Henare et al, 2007). This opens the door for a more critical heritage approach when it comes to theorising artefacts ethnographically and understanding heritage symbolisms in communities as "other people's understandings on this score (including not just their ideas about things but also their assumptions) might be different from what we take to be our own when writing anthropologically" (Henare et al, 2007). The examples explored within this chapter have set the foundation for further discussions on how critical heritage studies can be applied within the Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth communities. This will be discussed in the next chapter where a community workshop about the story of the Volo was held with one of the local primary schools in Kenton-on-Sea.

CHAPTER 6
APPLYING CRITICAL HERITAGE STUDIES: A COMMUNITY WORKSHOP

Critical heritage studies is a discipline that seeks to address the 'critical' issues that face the world today in relation to issues that involve or extend outwards from heritage (Winter, 2013). Critical heritage studies look at the socio-political complexities of heritage through a critical perspective that those in the conservation profession are often reluctant to acknowledge (Winter, 2013: 533). Winter (2013) argues that critical heritage studies, at its most significant level, means a better understanding of the various ways in which heritage can act as a positive enabler for complex and multi-vector challenges that face societies today, such as cultural and environmental sustainability, economic inequalities, conflict resolution, social cohesion and so forth. The idea of this discipline is to safeguard heritage and culture which can be done in several ways, including academic scholarship, education, heritage institutions and organisations, and community projects. In this case, critical heritage studies were implemented through a community workshop at a local primary school in Kenton-on-Sea. The aim of this workshop was for an interaction with community members so that they had the opportunity to create their own meaning, reframe narratives, alter knowledge production, and reconfigure social relations (Kryder-Reid, 2018: 692), when it came to how the story of the Volo is interpreted and understood in the community and a classroom setting.

Three weeks before the spring tide exposed the Volo, I was invited to join a small local primary school, from Kenton-on-Sea, on a field trip to see the wreck site of the Volo. The children were excited to take a walk to the wreck as it is exciting to see the physical history after learning about it in a classroom. Unfortunately, the wreck was buried under the sand, but this was no issue as the children rushed to what was exposed and started to dig to find this buried treasure. One of the children encompassed her inner archaeologist by bringing a paint brush to dust away the sand, this was a special moment of respect for the heritage she was embracing.

The children had been learning local history which they can then pass on to others. The children and teachers were given an extended talk, about the missing stories of Butt's 'Coloured' crew, by one of the learners ' parents, Concha, who had an interest in her practices, and was a new resident of the town without ancestral connections, having moved there with her family a few years previously. When discussing with Concha why she chose to do this extended talk about the Volo she had the following to say:

So, I think when I read the story of the Volo, I do remember reading the story properly for the first time on the Sunshine Coast Tourism site. As an academic, I'm trained in reading against the grain of things, the first thing I noticed was this guy's name, what's his name? Charles Butt. That effectively the story of the rescue of the Volo is the story of Charles Butt, as it's told on the Sunshine Coast Tourism site. But I noticed that it said, 'helped by his coloured crew.' Now my family are mixed, between me and my husband, our children have European, African, Asian and Khoi heritage, so this term coloured is one which circulates in some of the extended family who identify with it, but for me it's important to both question the term, and also be aware of when people of colour or mixed heritage are left out of historical accounts.

So, I was like, okay, well who were they? So, I wanted to know who they were. I wanted to know all about them. So, they were obviously helpers. It wasn't one guy. You know, the way I'd heard it was kind of like one guy going out on a horse and single handily doing this rescue. And as soon as I saw that, I was like, okay, it was a group effort. And of course, that meant just, you know, politically I'm aware of how the contribution of people of colour to all parts of how the country was built, from the labour provided, the skills provided, all of it, is invisiblized. And I just thought, oh, here's another example. So, this heroic rescue story, there's obviously a whole bunch of people here who are invisiblized in the telling of this story.' .

Concha felt it was her responsibility to tell this extended version of the Volo's story as a parent of children of mixed heritage as she did not want them to receive one particular version of the story. Thus, she offered to do this extended version of the Volo's story for her children's class as:

'...I needed them to, within the space of the authority of the school to hear the bigger story, but also not just to hear the big story and think that's the truth, but to think about truth, and how is truth made, and are we allowed to ask questions about the stories we here? Yes, we are, and how do we ask those questions? And how do we look at stories and figure out what questions to ask when we have them? So, I just did a session with the school. It was supposed to just be with one class, but it ended up being with the whole school.'

The above method used by Concha distinctly links to her background in academia and her understanding of critical thinking when it comes to heritage. To utilise critical heritage studies effectively, according to Winter (2013:541), 'the task is finding, and connecting with, people who are willing to look outside their own scholarly and professional tradition and accept there are bigger issues at stake.' Thus, the above interaction with Concha and the school was a way to further expand critical thinking and views about heritage for the children and teachers, to show how different perspectives, interpretations and moral discourses depending on who is telling the story. This critical thinking was explored further when interacting with the children and teachers:

> *'I just asked them to tell me what they knew about the Volo . Then I asked them questions like who helped the hero? And I drew pictures on the board as we did it, to kind of like, like cartoons, to kind of illustrate. And I kept answering, okay, so do we see what Who's missing from the story? Do we know their names? No. Why don't we know their names? Well, because only some people's names got remembered. Because they were? Why? Because they were powerful, they were in charge, they were the bosses. So, their names got remembered and the workers names didn't get remembered. What about now? Do the workers names get remembered or do the bosses names get remembered. So that's kind of how I just got them thinking about, um, what might be missing in the stories they hear about where they live. Um, and, and for all the children, whatever their backgrounds were, I felt it was important to kind of think about, um, whose stories get told and why, and how might we, um. I tried to find out the bigger story that includes everybody who was there.'*

This interaction is significant for critical heritage studies "as students strive to be fully accepted into mainstream society, they try to dissociate themselves from their families by purposely not speaking their first language or connecting with their cultural heritage' (Parker, 2010). Many children in the ethnic minority attempt to fit in by adopting a 'fake' identity and accept at face value what they are taught at school without question (Parker, 2010). Thus, children need to be taught to feel positively about their identity, cultural and ancestral heritage (Parker, 2010; Urrieta & Quach, 2000; Lee & Hebert, 2006). This can be done 'through the process of interpretation and dialogue, differences are often diminished, whereby trust becomes an enabler of position re-evaluation and the opening up of new horizons' (Winter, 2013: 54). I asked Concha how the children and teachers reacted to her exercise. The children were excited to

learn something new as it was like an adventure. Whereas the teachers seemed to be impacted greatly by Concha's discussion as some of them were emotional to learn more about the place where they live, who they are and where they come from, but have just not had an opportunity to find out this information until now. Concha recalls that for many of the white teachers it was an eye-opening experience.

This was exactly what happened for one of the white teachers, Shelly, who grew up in Kenton-on-Sea. Shelly knows the Charles Butt story of the Volo from walking to the wreck site as a child with her grandfather and father to see if it was exposed. She had the following to say about Concha's extension of the Volo's narrative:

> *'My first reaction was, 'how foolish of me not to have figured at least part of this out for myself.' It felt like a really important moment, in that classroom, as we all collectively had an 'ah-ha' moment. It felt like something had been put back where it belonged...I always thought the story was so important for our children to learn, because it makes history so relevant, and it becomes a part of our own story. After hearing the whole, broader story, it truly becomes our own. Unsung heroes get the recognition they deserve, and it is such an excellent example of 'history is told by the conqueror'. If we are open to it, and we dig a little deeper, our perceptions can be challenged.'*

It was great to hear this reaction from one of the teachers as this is the reason this extended discussion occurred. I further asked Shelly if she thought the extension of Volo's story was an important inclusion to the narrative being taught to the children:

> *'I always thought the story was so important for our children to learn, because it makes history so relevant, and it becomes a part of our own story. And after hearing the whole, broader story, it truly becomes our own. Unsung heroes get the recognition they deserve, and it is such an excellent example of 'history is told by the conqueror'. If we are open to it, and we dig a little deeper, our perceptions can be challenged'.*

The unsung heroes of the Volo getting the recognition they deserved was something many of the teaching assistants, who are of colour, were interested to hear as it was not just the white man who does great things. This extended narrative of the Volo using symbols such as images,

pictures, and the visit to the wreck site itself made the story feel new as it was finally mentioning people who had been forgotten as well as remembered. The children specifically enjoyed the visual connections and sharing their own knowledge when asked questions about what they have learnt about the Volo.

The evolving heritage symbolism of the Volo utilised in the tourism industry and education system through critical heritage studies is telling of how shipwreck narratives can connect heritage, memory, memorialisation, and community identity in post-conflict societies that have valorised the 'superior' over the 'inferior.' What is important to note from this chapter is how emerging symbols of heritage, especially in the form of shipwrecks, can be utilised to change ways of thinking about the past in the present. This can be done by reinterpreting the tangible and intangible remains of shipwrecks that can be found within coastal communities. Shipwrecks have historical and social memories attached to them and the above examples show how these can be symbolised long after the event occurred.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION AND FINDINGS

Memories, how they are interpreted and preserved for the future through formal and informal modes of transmission, are vital in the constitution of communities. Social memory as a wider concept of both the psychological and social way of remembering, is a diverse indicator of how people can physically, mentally, and emotionally attach themselves to a particular moment or object in time within their social context. This study was guided by three questions: how is historical and social memory around shipwrecks interpreted and understood in the present as a moral discourse? Secondly, how do historical and social memory perspectives and interpretations of shipwrecks shift across lines of class and race in communities that remain deeply segregated along racial and class lines, as a legacy of their colonial and apartheid past? Lastly, what can shipwreck narratives tell us about the connection between heritage, memory, memorialisation, and community identity in post-conflict societies? These questions were answered by exploring the heritage, memorialisation, and the contested social memory of colonialism by tracking the tangible and intangible remains of shipwrecks which intertwine with coastal community narratives, which may be neither coherent nor unified, on the Eastern Cape's coastal belt, known in tourist branding vernacular as the 'Sunshine Coast' (East London to Port Elizabeth). To conclude this research, I will firstly present a summary of my findings in relation to how the above questions were answered when engaging with the social memories that surround and are attached to the 1886 Norwegian shipwreck of *'The Volo'*, at Kwaaihoek, near present day *Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth,* the primary areas of focus for this research, which has entered the popular heritage consciousness of the region by dominating the local heritagescape. Secondly, the significance of this research for the field of social anthropology, maritime and underwater heritage, and social memory will be discussed. Lastly, the possible research projects that can emerge from this topic and this research report will be presented as a concluding observation.

The first observation made within this research was how heritage is transmitted through the retelling of family stories and shipwreck narratives within the local communities of Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth. This was presented through an interview conducted with Pat Barnard, the granddaughter of Martin Knudsen, the Volo's youngest crew member at the time of the wreck. Barnard's journey to find out more about her family's heritage set in motion a reunion with her South African and Norwegian family, reuniting the Knudsen brothers in spirit and memory through their descendants. Pat's search for her identity in relation to the

Volo shows how local culture and collective memory in older generations is associated with reminiscing about the past, whereas for younger generations it is associated with a search for identity. Furthermore, Pat's story displayed how heritage is transmitted through the retelling of stories between people within her family, in Norway, and within the local communities of Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth. The Volo's background and its connection to the heritagescape of the Sunshine Coast through the Knudsen family led to finding out more about who is remembered and who is forgotten in the rescue story of the Volo.

The above observation and encounter with Pat lead to the first concluding thought of this research, that the Volo epitomises the way in which shipwreck narratives can articulate settler colonial community heritage consciousness to emphasise a heroic moral discourse which legitimises local presence. Thus, what is important to note here is that such discourses do not merely 'hang in the air', they have serious political and ideological consequences for 'Others', those whose own stories and lives occupy the margins or are merely erased. Kenton-on-Sea is a place heavily marked by British settler colonialism. The Volo and the attention paid to its rescue story in Kenton-on-Sea has in many ways erased the histories and present realities of multiple 'Others' in the region. This is linked to how historical memory and social memory around shipwrecks are interpreted and understood in the present as a moral discourse. What this study has shown is that the presence of settler descendants in Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth is a core reason for the ongoing white settler pride still present in the region. This is expressed through accounts of the Volo's rescue told on tourist sites and in local circulation which focus on English settler Charles Butt as the hero rescuer, invisibilising the presence of others involved in the rescue. The invisibilization of others involved include Butt's 'coloured' employees, most likely from the 'coloured' community of Klipfontein, who would have travelled across the Bushman's River by boat to his farm South Gorah for work, 'Kaaljan' Scheepers, an Afrikaans farmer from Klipfontein who aided in the rescue from the Bushman's River side, and the mysterious 'Harry', a 'coloured' man who came to inform Scheepers of the wreck. If Harry had not informed Scheepers of the wreck, he may not have been there to assist Butt in the rescue of the Volo's crew. I began to ask, who was Harry, what was he doing there and where did he come from? However, this study was unable to find sufficient background and information about 'Harry' which was unsettling as his role of informant is just as important as the other rescuers. Subsequently, what the missing narratives of the indigenous people in the rescue story of the Volo presented for this research was that the white hero narrative is valorised in line with the establishment of the settler colonial communities in this region. This further

perpetuates how perspectives and interpretations of shipwrecks, shift across lines of class and race in communities that remain deeply segregated along racial and class lines, as a legacy of their colonial and apartheid past. The exclusion of social memories that de-centre the white hero, whether Butt or Scheepers, as the main protagonist of the Volo's rescue is indicative of the ongoing invisibilization of diverse understandings of the local heritagescape in mainstream representations of both Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth. Furthermore, it brings to light what 'other' stories are missing in the 'heritagescape' of Kenton-on-Sea.

Additionally, who has been remembered and who has been forgotten in the story of the Volo's rescue is not necessarily about whose history it is, but rather it is about acknowledging in full, as a moral discourse, those who were present and contributed to that event collectively. There is not one side to this story, thus the above narratives should be remembered in unison to further represent wider perspectives and interpretations of shipwrecks, rather than present one narrative that preserves the dominant social memory of settler pride in the region. The dominance of settler pride present on the Sunshine Coast disregards the narratives and memories of the indigenous community that continues to remain deeply segregated along racial and class lines, as a legacy of the region's colonial and apartheid past. This links to the evolving heritage symbolism of the Volo and how it has been remembered through the tangible remains present in Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth, which are attached to the above narratives. This can be utilised in reviewing other stories that showcase a lack of acknowledgement for communities or individuals who contributed to a particular event or moment in time.

This observation led to the second conclusion I came to, through this research, which is that it is important to note the contribution of marginalised communities to shipwreck narratives. In Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth, these narratives stem from the Coloured community of Klipfontein. This is particularly so for coloured identity and its relation to the Khoe identity in the Klipfontein area. Zelda Masimla's journey of discovery in her identity as a Khoe woman was a potent example of how through tracing her heritage and memory, she was able to finally understand who she was. Additionally, the story shared by Zelda links back to the national narrative of heritage recognition and management in South Africa such as the recognition and safeguarding of one's identity, culture, traditions, and social memory. The national heritage narratives are echoed in the dominant narration of the heritage preserved and managed in Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth through what has

chosen to be remembered of the Volo and whose story is told. The discussion had with Zelda displayed how historical and social memory perspectives and interpretations of shipwrecks shift across lines of class and race in communities that remain deeply segregated along racial lines, as a legacy of their colonial and apartheid past. This led to an important observation based on prior knowledge of the history of South Africa and more specifically the Sunshine Coast region of the Eastern Cape, as the wreck of the Volo occurred in a time where colonialism had a firm hold over South Africa from the British and Dutch settlers.

The second observation made in this study is that the evolving heritage symbolism of the Volo utilised in the tourism industry and education system through critical heritage studies is telling of how shipwreck narratives can connect heritage, memory, memorialisation, and community identity in post-conflict societies that have valorised the 'superior' over the 'inferior.' What is important to note is how emerging symbols of heritage, especially in the form of shipwrecks, can be utilised to change ways of thinking about the past in the present. This can be done by reinterpreting the tangible and intangible remains of shipwrecks that can be found within coastal communities, such as that of the Volo. This reiterates that artefacts and heritage symbols are congenial with the significance informants attach to them. When analysing the *Volo* restaurant, where local white settler pride for Charles Butt and his rescue attempt of the Volo and its crew is symbolised through memorabilia from the ship and photographs on the walls of the white rescuers, the work of French theorist Henri Lefebvre was consulted as a key guiding tool for how a dominated space is produced. Dominated space by white settler colonial pride is present at the *Volo* through no mention or physical acknowledgement of the 'Coloured' crews and workers who assisted in the ships rescue. Additionally, this showed that when a space is modified to serve the needs and possibilities of a particular group, in this case white settlers and their descendants, then that space has been appropriated by that group. The production of space not only includes the groups who manipulate the space but what these groups leave behind within public spaces as memorials and symbols of the past, which is the establishment of the *Volo* restaurant and its contents. The examples of how the symbols of the Volo have been displayed and remembered in Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth relate to artefact-oriented anthropology and heritage symbolism within local communities. What this presents is that shipwrecks have historical and social memories attached to them and the examples used, in Chapter 5, show how these can be symbolised long after the event occurred. The use of

critical heritage studies to connect with heritage, memory and the community is something that is important for future generations to understand the importance of where they come from and how to challenge authorities that do not acknowledge their identity and sense of self.

There are several factors that make this research significant for the field of social anthropology, maritime and underwater heritage, and social memory. Firstly, this research focused on the importance of stories and memories in shaping community presence within maritime and underwater cultural heritage discourses. This was seen through the physical interactions had with the Volo's tangible remains on the beach at Kwaaihoek, the memorabilia found at 'the Barracks' and within the Volo restaurant, as well as the stories told, and memories transmitted about the Volo and its rescue in Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth. Secondly, this study has been significant in highlighting the anthropological aspects of shipwrecks which are often overlooked. In this study, these aspects are the memories and symbols attached to the tangible object of shipwrecks and their remains, how the remains of shipwrecks, whether presented physically or in memory, affect the communities they reside in and their descendants long after the event has occurred, and lastly how the erasure of multiple 'other' histories, heritages and memories, due to a dominant narrative constructed through colonialism and capitalism, influences which story remains dominant within a region's heritagescape over generations. The tangible heritage conservation of the Volo that is present in Kenton-on-Sea and Bushman's River Mouth draws scholarly attention to how visible artifacts and symbols of history present themselves within societies where several heritage discourses are intertwined. Thirdly, this study demonstrated how shipwreck narratives presented at the local public level articulate a settler colonial community heritage consciousness that erases wider accounts of such stories. The reinterpretation and decentring of settler colonial maritime heritage stories allows for a more diverse and inclusive narrative that has the potential to promote social cohesion and social justice within restorative history work. Additionally, acknowledging what is remembered, and what is forgotten, in processes of memorialisation and engaging with a curatorship of shipwreck remnants and stories contributes greatly to understanding the context of the memorial and heritage spaces established by settler-colonial communities, now operating in environments in which these triumphant narratives are under pressure to be reassessed. Lastly, at large this study is an important addition to the field of heritage and memory studies as the approach to the topic of shipwrecks invokes a process whereby memories and shipwreck

narratives within communities are shared and documented. The acknowledgement of someone's personal experience in the wider heritagescape is a process that is rewarding for both the participant and the researcher. Thus, contributing to the wider heritagescape of Eastern Cape's 'Sunshine Coast', its residents, the South African and international community Shipwreck heritage.

The possible research projects that can emerge from this topic and this research report are looking at the deeper narratives behind the remembrance of the Volo in the indigenous communities in the region to gain a wider range of opinions and memory recollections in how the Sunshine Coast region remains deeply segregated due to its colonial and apartheid past. This research could look at the shipwreck narratives and social memory in the communities of Klipfontein, Marselle, and Ekuphumleni in more depth. Thus, contributing to a wider narrative on the forgotten narratives of indigenous communities on the Sunshine Coast. Additionally, another topic of exploration is a comparative study of shipwrecks on the Sunshine Coast that have entered popular heritage culture as symbols of a wider social memory in the region. This can be done using the wreck of the Sáo Joáo Baptista (1622), in the small village of Cannon Rocks, where two cannons and an anchor, salvaged from a reef on the western side of the Swimming Bay in 1962, have been displayed in the form of a memorial or plinth as a reminder of how the town received its name as well as a mute testimony to the dangers encountered by seafarers in the past. Additionally, research here can link to the kinds of identities and understandings of the past that are attached and its relationship to the present which might be valorised by the forms of memorialisation undertaken in Cannon Rocks. This case study could be compared to the Volo's missing narratives and missing public memory of trade and slavery that has not been fully identified in Cannon Rock. Thirdly, another project could engage with the curatorship at museums along the Sunshine Coast. This research could contribute to the context of the memorial and heritage spaces established by settler-colonial communities, now operating in an environment in which these triumphant narratives are under pressure to be reassessed and reformed. Potentially, research could bring together groups of people in the region who can revaluate the missing narratives that are not presented in museum exhibitions. In turn, creating more elaborate and diversified exhibitions on shipwreck narratives and social memory. Lastly, the story of the Volo and its integration into the popular heritage culture of a small coastal community can be compared to that of international example/s where the same use of social memory and shipwreck narratives have occurred.

Overall, the story of the Volo is one that encompasses how memories and stories have been passed from one generation to the next before they were forgotten never to be passed down again. This is not an opportunity many people have in life when it comes to their individual and collective heritage. Often, one chooses to focus on information necessary to them as an individual and in the now, rather than the collective and what has happened in the past. This enables one to disregard that what may not be interesting to one now as an individual, can influence their future within the collective. Through this research, shipwrecks have shown to be more than just tangible objects that lie on the ocean floor, are buried beneath the sand or broken upon the rocks of shorelines. Shipwrecks are potent symbols of heritage that carry memories across the ocean. These memories hold stories from the places they come from, the crews that are on board who may be of different social, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds, the cargo they carry whether in goods or people, the rescuers, or the communities in which the survivors of the wrecks may settle. Maritime heritage and its representation in South Africa have been shaped by a settler colonial community heritage consciousness emphasising a heroic moral discourse legitimising local presence by settler communities.

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