



TWO RIVERS URBAN PARK CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK REVIEW AND PRELIMINARY HERITAGE STUDY

Phase One Report

Submitted by Melanie Attwell and Associates in association with ARCON Heritage and Design, and ACO Associates on behalf of NM & Associates Planners and Designers

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Executive Summary

The report that follows includes:

- a) a review from a heritage perspective of the Two Rivers Urban Park Heritage Baseline Study (2002); and the Contextual Framework and Phase 1 Environmental Management Plan (2003);
- b) a Preliminary Heritage Study (precolonial and early colonial or the contact period) including the early changing role and course of the Black and Liesbeeck Rivers as well as issues around memorialization, significance and archaeology;
- c) the identification and explanation of historical themes (colonial and post-colonial). This includes reference to: agricultural use, medical and scientific use, the role of the two rivers and early industrial use; and
- d) a composite of heritage findings.

This report comprises Phase One of the Heritage Study. It constitutes the first phase of the heritage work on the TRUP and is divided into two parts in order to meet the requirements of the brief as outlined in item 2.1.2.1 on page 64 of the terms of reference. The first part consists of the review of the Baseline Heritage Study (Aikman Associates 2002) and the Contextual Framework Review (2003) and relevant heritage findings arising from those reviews. The second part consists of the following:

- A study of the precolonial and early colonial contact period, undertaken by ACO Associates and attached as Annexure One.
- A study of historical themes drawn from existing reports and secondary information including the early role of the Black and Liesbeeck River, early industry, agricultural settlement and institutional use. This is provided in Section 7 of the report.
- Identification and explanation of colonial themes based on previous baseline studies which are listed in the References.

The report notes that the Baseline Heritage Study prepared for the Two Rivers Urban Park is out of date with much subsequent assessment emerging after its submission. In addition, the City of Cape Town had subsequently developed Heritage Protection Overlay Zones and a Cultural Heritage Strategy which considerably altered the way in which heritage resources were assessed and protected. The heritage studies which emerged after 2002 contain a significant amount of qualitative assessment and additional information which considerably enriches the heritage assessments of the site. However, such reports are place-specific with significant exceptions¹ having been developed in isolation to the impact of proposals on the site as a whole.

A comprehensive collection of data affecting heritage resources is necessary in order to gain an understanding of the heritage constraints and opportunities of the site so as to develop a consistent and informed set of heritage related design informants. This work has started with the collection of data on a site wide rather than at a precinct specific level with Diagrams 1-5 included in the report. The report concludes with a number of findings and recommendations the main one of which is the recognition of the TRUP site as '*frontier*'.

¹ The Valkenburg West HIA Baseline Study (Baumann 2011) has been careful to examine the historical and spatial context as a whole.

List of Acronyms

ACO	Archaeological Contracts Office
CoCT / CCT	City of Cape Town
DEIC	Dutch East India Company
HIA	Heritage Impact Assessment
HWC	Heritage Western Cape
HPOZ	Heritage Protection Overlay Zone/s
HRA	Heritage Resources Act
I & APs	Interested and Affected Parties
PHS	Provincial Heritage Site/s
NHS	National Heritage Site/s
NRF	National Research Foundation

1. Introduction

Melanie Attwell and Associates was appointed by NM & Associates to undertake the heritage component for future conceptual and development planning for the Two Rivers Urban Park. This planning work involves the preparation of a Development Framework as well as potential development parcels to follow. The proposal is a joint Western Cape Government and City of Cape Town initiative and is to be part of an 18 month long examination of unlocking the potential of the area for the future growth of Cape Town and the linking of formerly separated areas of Cape Town.

The current heritage work is to review the existing Two Rivers Urban Park Contextual Framework and Phase One Environmental Management Plan (2003) and the Two Rivers Urban Park Heritage Baseline Study (Aikman Associates, 2002) on which the framework report was based, from a heritage perspective. The intention is to identify potential issues and gaps from a heritage perspective within those documents and examine potential constraints and opportunities.

At the same time, the brief includes a preliminary heritage study to examine historical themes as identified in the scope of work; and to provide advice, insights and information regarding heritage statutory and policy requirements to the project team, as well as the opportunities and constraints presented by the site.

Subsequent to the adoption of the *Two Rivers Contextual Framework and Phase 1 Environmental Management Plan* in 2003, a significant number of heritage studies have been undertaken for the Two Rivers Urban Park on specific sites. These were for the Department of the Western Cape, the City of Cape Town, and others. They are identified at the end of the report in Section 9: References. It should be noted that these reports constitute the bulk of the heritage analysis for the Park.² They have been used within this report to develop a composite understanding of the heritage constraints and opportunities¹ presented in terms of heritage within the Park which are outlined in Section 8 of this report.

The area identified as the Two Rivers Urban Park (TRUP) is strategically situated at the confluence of the Black and Liesbeeck Rivers. The affected land parcels are either privately owned or owned by the NRF, Provincial Government of the Western Cape and the City of Cape Town.

1.1 Report Structure

This report is Phase One of the Heritage Study. Further studies will be undertaken as the statutory process unfolds. It constitutes the first phase of the heritage work on the TRUP and is divided into two parts in order to meet the requirements of the brief as outlined in item 2.1.2.1 on page 64 of the terms of reference.

² This refers chiefly to the heritage work on Valkenburg East and West by Baumann, Winter Abrahamse & Attwell, and the heritage analysis of the South African Astronomical Observatory, by Baumann and Winter, as well as other studies by Baumann and Winter. For a full list see Section 9.

The first part consists of the review of the Baseline Heritage Study (Aikman Associates 2002) and the Contextual Framework Review (2003) and relevant heritage findings arising from those reviews.

The second part consists of the following:

- A study of the precolonial and early colonial contact period, undertaken by ACO Associates and attached as Annexure One.
- A study of historical themes drawn from existing reports and secondary information including the early role of the Black and Liesbeeck Rivers, early industry, agricultural settlement and institutional use. This is in Section 7.
- Identification and explanation of colonial themes including agricultural use, medical and scientific use and industrial use. These are based on previous baseline studies which are listed in the References.

1.2 Brief and Scope of Work

The brief and scope of work for the first phase was identified as the following.

- A review from a heritage perspective of the Two Rivers Urban Park Heritage Baseline Study (2002); and the Contextual Framework and Phase 1 Environmental Management Plan (2003).
- Preliminary Heritage Study (precolonial and early colonial or the contact period) including the early changing role and course of the Black and Liesbeeck Rivers. Issues around memorialization, significance and archaeology.
- Identification and explanation of historical themes (colonial and post-colonial). This includes reference to the following: agricultural use, medical and scientific use, the role of the two Rivers and early industrial use. Further analysis will be explored in the Heritage Baseline Study which forms Phase Two of the heritage component yet to be undertaken.
- A composite of heritage findings.

2. Limitations

The information contained in the report is based on available documentary material, maps, aerial photographs and the findings of previous baseline studies of sites within the Park. Due to budget constraints and the density of information required for the Phase One - the preliminary heritage study, no oral history was undertaken. It is anticipated that oral testimonies will emerge during the extensive public consultation program forming part of the larger study terms.

Heritage information sourced from the City of Cape Town's Heritage Resources Centre is incomplete as the grading and re-grading process for listed heritage resources is ongoing. In addition there are anomalies between the City's formal protection mapping and formal protections identified in the Heritage Western Cape lists particularly in relation to the extent of the proclamation and grading as identified within the HIA reports submitted to Heritage Western Cape after 2003. As a result, this report presents a composite summary of grading information drawn from heritage reports submitted to and endorsed by Heritage Western Cape as well as the (incomplete) gradings of grade 3 structures provided by the City of Cape Town. See Diagram 2 Section 8 of this report.

In the heritage record, the distinction between a grade two site i.e. a site of provincial heritage significance and a PHS i.e. a formally protected Provincial Heritage site, has not always been made. This has been corrected in the revised diagram attached as Diagram 4 in Section 8 which contains a summary of formally protected heritage sites. These consist of those formally protected sites and structures in terms of Section 27 of the National Heritage Resources Act (Act 25 of 1999) as well as those contained within the existing Heritage Protection Overlay Zones (HPOZ) of the City of Cape Town Zoning Scheme. It should be noted that the City of Cape Town intends altering and amending gradings of sites within the Two Rivers Urban Park and extending the HPOZ - particularly the Salt River HPOZ, which may include the entire Two Rivers Urban Park, in the future.

The identification of themes is based on existing heritage work where possible. Further on site and comparative assessment will be undertaken in the Heritage Baseline Study. Section 8 of the Report provides a composite of heritage analysis and information for the full site which has previously not been completed.

No dedicated heritage study is available for the River Club site (erf 151832) although one is in preparation. Such a study will likely consider composite visual impact and view corridors relating to the highly significant Observatory hill site.³

As work has been largely of a desk top nature for this phase, few site visits have been undertaken. Site visits have been limited to those sites within the Park for which detailed HIA's have not been undertaken. These include: Alexandra Institute, Maitland Garden Village and Ndabeni (abattoir site).

3. Location

The area identified as the Two Rivers Urban Park is strategically situated at the confluence of the Black and Liesbeeck Rivers. It measures approximately 297 ha in extent and is situated within the Salt River catchment area stretching from the Cape Flats to Newlands. The catchment areas are generally fully developed with limited open space in the Tygerberg and Table Mountain areas. The confluence of the Black and Liesbeeck areas is characterized into a concrete canal which has altered environmental and water flow conditions.

The area itself is low-lying towards the west with the sports fields of Observatory, rising eastwards towards the Valkenburg and Slangkop (site of the South African Astronomical Observatory or SAAO) uplands and slopes back towards the Black River, rising again to the Oude Molen, Maitland Garden Village, Alexandra Institute and Ndabeni sites. The area of Valkenburg, the SAAO and the River Club are contained within an "island" space between the two rivers. A wetland area extends beyond the Slangkop hill to the north.

The Two River Urban Park is significant from a heritage perspective, comprising a unique series of sites and structures associated with the agricultural, scientific, institutional, industrial and residential growth of the City of Cape Town. In addition, because of its strategic position in relation to the river systems and the historic routes to the north and

³ This site has recently been graded a National Heritage Site and it is likely that the ICOMOS case study is a precursor for it being submitted to the World Heritage Convention as a potential WHS.

south, it has a significant place in the history of Cape Town in terms of the pre-colonial history of transhumance. For a full account of this see Annexure One.

PART ONE

4. The Two Rivers Urban Park Baseline Heritage Study 2002: A Review

The Two Rivers Urban Park and Management Plan: Baseline Heritage Study was undertaken by Aikman Associates in 2002. The Two Rivers Urban Park Contextual Framework and Phase 1 Environmental Management Plan (hereafter the CF) review was informed by the findings of the Heritage Baseline Study (Aikman Associates, 2002). As this latter report had a significant impact on what heritage was assessed and how, the following is summary of the brief, methodology, structure, findings of that report; and the gaps within that report which have also had an impact on the CF.

4.1 Summary of 2002 Heritage Baseline Report

The brief of the report was framed in terms of the objectives of the CF and its precursor the Spatial Development Framework (hereafter the SDF). It identifies the parameters as conserving the “ecologically and culturally sensitive areas, and providing landowners and “potential developers” with the “nature and scale of future development”. The brief was to map:-

- The level and nature of sensitivity of different precincts to inform compatible land use options; and
- Heritage values associated with the cultural landscape.

4.1.1 Methodology

The method employed in the compilation of the heritage study was that of a Baseline Study to inform future planning for the area. No legislative parameters are referred to other than the fact that the report is **not** a Heritage Impact Report in terms of the National Heritage Resources Act but should be used “for the purposes of determining the appropriate scope of study for an HIA”. No mapping and assessments other than a general demarcation of precincts was undertaken.

The methodology was based on the use of site visits and secondary sources. No consultation was undertaken but a list of potential I&AP's was proposed. The report articulates a series of broad statements of cultural significance responding to the criteria of the National Heritage Resources Act. The report concludes with a summary of its findings contained in diagram 6 below which informed the planning of the Contextual Framework. See Figure 1 below.

TWO RIVERS URBAN PARK SDF AND PHASE 1 MANAGEMENT PLAN:
SIGNIFICANT HERITAGE RESOURCES

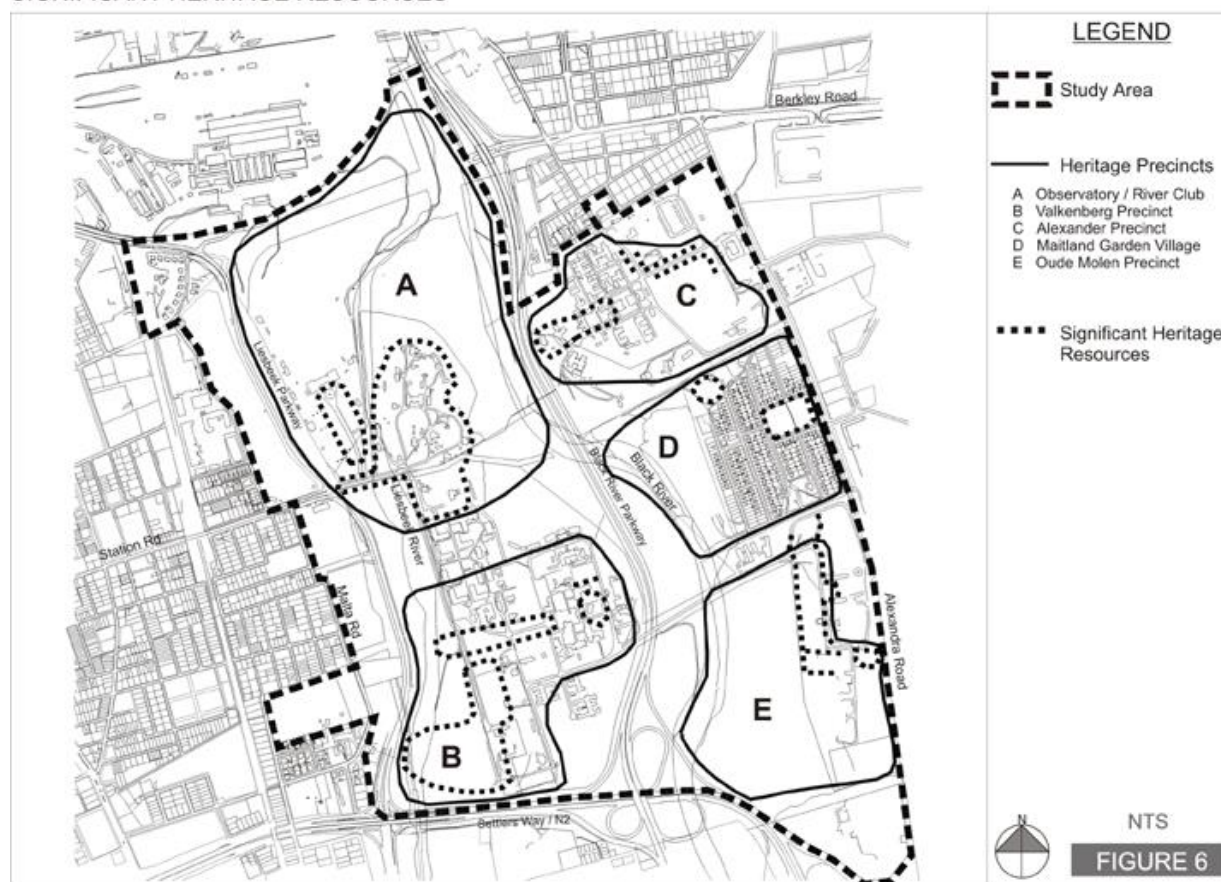


Figure 1: Two Rivers Urban Park: From the Contextual Framework 2003 Fig 6 showing significant heritage resources and precincts.

The figure highlights the following five heritage precincts after which comments on the figure follow.

- A The Observatory and the River Club and a portion of the Valkenburg Hospital Site
- B Valkenburg Manor House and Hospital
- C The Alexandra Institute
- D Maitland Garden Village Precinct extending from Maitland Garden Village to the Black River
- E Oude Molen Village extending from the north boundary to the N2.

The identification of significant heritage resources appears to be diagrammatic and sometimes excludes the most significant part of the heritage resource. For example the Valkenburg Hospital is excluded but the visual axis and foreground is included. The wards of the Alexandra Institute are excluded, and only the central open square and the church at Maitland Garden Village are identified as a heritage resource. The River Club Buildings are excluded and the defined heritage resource refers only to the forecourt. The heritage resources at Oude Molen are unclear. This is understandable considering the intended preliminary nature of the study.

Heritage Precinct A may be considered to be problematic as it consolidates a highly significant and clearly identified heritage area (i.e. the site and surrounds of the South

African Observatory) with the River Club, which is of lesser significance. It also includes a section of the Valkenburg Hospital adjacent to the Observatory and the Liesbeeck River which has no thematic link to the Observatory. While the reason for this may be to link the impact of future planning proposals to impact on the highly sensitive Observatory Hill, they are nevertheless differing heritage resources with differing degrees of sensitivities.

Buildings are not graded or assessed nor are heritage precincts. The relative value of the heritage resources therefore remains unclear. Comparative "values" of sites would be useful in assessing where and how future development may occur.

Furthermore, significant routes, axes, potential archaeological sites and view corridors are not identified. Provincial heritage sites i.e. formally protected sites are not identified and heritage resources are identified but not graded in terms of significance.

4.2 Conclusions in Relation to the Baseline Heritage Study (2002)

The study is general, something alluded to in the study itself. It consists of a general historical background and a series of useful and concise statements of cultural significance (summarized above); and a series of recommendations regarding further study. The Baseline Study itself notes that it serves in a general sense to identify the level and nature of sensitivity of different precincts in order to inform compatible land use options and to articulate heritage values associated with the cultural landscape.

The study provides an identification of heritage precincts although the boundaries may usefully be reconsidered in places. The lack of detail and analysis means that it is insufficient to inform a full contextual framework, particularly in an area of high heritage significance.

There appears to be anomalies in the study – the parcelling together in Precinct A of the River Club, the Observatory and the entrance portion of the Valkenburg Hospital that has not been explained. The two sites have different owners, different histories and different heritage sensitivities and values. The identification of precincts and the demarcation of heritage resources within those precincts are unexplained or not motivated. While the report notes that it may be used "for the purposes of determining the appropriate scope of study for an HIA" there is insufficient detail for this to be used as an informant.

The division of heritage sites into "precincts" while convenient also raises the issues as to how precincts relate to one another particularly where one or part of one precinct has greater heritage significance with another. In this regard, it is recommended that an over-arching scan and assessment of the whole site be undertaken in the future baseline study to identify relative and comparative impacts, to overcome this weakness.

There is insufficient information available to determine the scope and context of an HIA or a series of HIA's should they be undertaken, therefore this can only be decided in relation to future proposals and development triggers.

Certain information necessary for the understanding of the heritage constraints and opportunities have been excluded as a result of the limited nature of the brief. These include age, grading archaeological sensitivity and the identification of other potential heritage constraints. As a result of the limited nature of the brief the heritage related

informants guiding the Contextual Framework and Phase One Management Plan are inadequate for the purposes of providing a full identification of heritage related issues and certainly at a detailed level.

Finally, the presence of the historically significant Black location / encampment at Ndabeni is not referred to in the report. In 2002 this area did not form part of the Two Rivers Urban Park.

4.3 Statutory Parameters

The Two Rivers Urban Park Baseline Heritage Study, as a preliminary study is placed outside any statutory framework. This is important in the review of the potential constraints presented by the site. The National Heritage Resources Act and applicable sections of the Act are therefore not applied.

Relevant sections which should inform future planning at a conceptual and development phase would include the following:

- Section 34 (*buildings over 60 years of age*). There are a significant number in the study area including the whole of Maitland Garden Village, Valkenburg Hospital and supplementary buildings, Valkenburg Manor House, The South African Astronomical Observatory and supporting buildings, buildings of Oude Molen Village and the wards of Valkenburg East, the suburbs of Observatory and Woodstock largely composed of building stock of 80 to 100 years of age, the hospital buildings and the Mill at the Alexandra Institute and many others. These have been mapped in *Diagram 3, Section 8* below.
- Section 35 *Archaeological sites*. These are not referred to in the study. They include early historical archaeological sites at the demolished farms at Malta Farm and Vaarschedrift and the sites of the early 17th century redoubts. These have been identified in *Diagram 4, Section 8* below.
- Section 36 *Burial Grounds and graves*. There is a known graveyard at Valkenburg and a known grave at the Observatory. Both have statutory requirements attached.
- Section 38. *Heritage Impact Assessments*. The Baseline study identifies an intention to establish the extent and scope of future heritage impact assessments. However with the generality of the brief imposed, and the lack of the necessary heritage parameters, the constraints presented by this, has not been clarified.
- Section 31. *Planning*. This refers to a requirement on the part of the planning authority "at the time of the revision of a town or regional planning scheme to instigate the need for the designation of heritage areas to protect any place of environmental and cultural interest.
- *Local authority protections: Urban Conservation (Heritage) Areas*. (See *Figure Two and Diagram 4*). At the time of the Baseline Study (2002) the City of Cape Town had established conservation areas in Observatory and Woodstock. Such areas which are on the periphery of the study area have now become part of Heritage Protection Overlay Zones or HPOZ, managed in terms of the City of Cape Town Zoning Scheme. This means that planned amendments which affect these areas some of which are peripheral to the Park, are controlled in terms of that Heritage Protection Overlay Zone. Road widenings or transportation amendments through

HPOZ's will be affected, for example. Formal protections for the Two Rivers Urban Park have been mapped as *Diagram 4, Section 8* below.

5. The Two Rivers Urban Park Contextual FRAMEWORK and Phase One Environmental Management Plan 2003 (CF): The Heritage Component

This section addresses what the CF states in relation to heritage, how the CF uses heritage as an informant, statutory heritage considerations and limitations in respect of contextual informants. The implications of gaps identified in the heritage study for forward planning are identified.

5.1 What the CF says in Relation to Heritage

The objectives and vision of the Contextual Framework CF (2003) in terms of heritage goals

The CF broadly identifies heritage goals as part of a social contract, stating that "cognizance shall be taken on the cultural and social significance of all the recognized sites". The cultural heritage significance is regarded as central to the vision for the site, which is to *inter alia* "conserve the unique cultural landscape". It does not, however identify or articulate what the cultural landscape is or might be, or its component or related parts. The detailed and conceptual focus remains overtly environmental and ecological.

5.1.1 The Heritage Approach and Methodology of the CF

The CF refers to heritage and cultural landscapes but this is not unpacked in any detail that might be useful to its conceptual plan. Its strong ecological and environmental focus is no doubt the result of the fact that the CF and Phase 1 Environmental Management Plan are linked within the same report, and while there is an emphasis on conservation, much of this is devoted to environmental conservation principles.

Basing a conservation approach at the level of principle means that there is little room within the document for adjustment and negotiation around planning and development opportunities within the Park. This makes the CF a conservative document with a strong conservation focus.

The heritage approach and methodology is based on the Baseline Heritage Study undertaken by Aikman Associates (2002). Significant buildings and cultural landscapes in the CF are identified as "structuring elements" but their potential value as anchoring elements or sites contributing to overall landscape character is not fully explored. This is important because the heritage value of certain sites and their contributions to landscape character should be considered a key planning informant. Their role is not only restrictive because such sites may contribute key qualities and informants to future planning.

For the purposes of methodological analysis in the CF, the Park is divided into areas of character which have a strong geographical, historical and contextual basis, conforming

largely to the precincts identified in the Aikman Report. The CF interprets these areas as "Heritage areas where Heritage Impact Assessments may be carried out". This is incorrect as dependent on certain triggers, heritage impacts may be carried out in lesser or greater detail throughout the site. It is also unclear on what assumption this interpretation is made as no full heritage mapping or evaluation was undertaken nor any clear idea of what planning or development alternatives will apply to any given site which affect the statutory triggers.⁴

The identification of character areas may also be criticized on the basis of landscape character. It is unclear in heritage terms why the exceptionally significant SAAO and the lesser River Club form part of the same precinct. In addition to the gap in heritage value they have different histories, uses and heritage sensitivities. However, in this instance it should be noted that visual linkages between the two areas is crucial. The River Club will need to consider visual impact on the Observatory hill as a key constraint in its planning process.

Policy Framework: Item 2.1.CF

No reference is made to the appropriate management of heritage resources in the policy framework and Phase 1 Environmental Management Plan.

Subsequent to the CF an IMEP Cultural Heritage Strategy was approved by the City of Cape Town in 2005. The relevant section of the related policy formulation includes the following: The IMEP Heritage Strategy identified the heritage role required by the heritage authorities in terms of the NHRA (Act 25 of 1999). Relevant to this report are the following extracts:

5.1.2 The IMEP Cultural Heritage Strategy

Policy Framework: Vision and policies: The City's heritage vision includes the following:

"The City's vision is of a unique historic city where the heritage of its past and present inhabitants is respected, protected and enhanced through appropriate heritage management practices; adherence to sensitive, socially aware and appropriate heritage concepts; and integration with other City responsibilities and policy objectives."

The City of Cape Town's heritage policies relative to the development of planning frameworks state *inter alia* the following:

- Access: The City will ensure access to public heritage sites, particularly where the public has traditionally enjoyed rights of access.
- Archaeology: The City will assist the relevant archaeological authority (Heritage Western Cape) in mapping known archaeological resources.
- Community participation: The City will encourage partnerships between itself and the communities and organizations of Cape Town for more effective heritage management.
- Context and Scale: The City will consider the relevance of social and landscape contexts when making decisions affecting heritage resources. The City will

⁴ Section 38(1) NHRA.

acknowledge the significance of scale in making appropriate conservation-related decisions and in evaluating heritage resources within broader contexts. The City will ensure that the character of places based on their context and scale, (rather than individual sites and objects) is protected, wherever appropriate.

- Cultural diversity: The City will ensure that different readings and perceptions of heritage are acknowledged. The City will allow for cultural diversity and contestation, while seeking to be representative of the broad range of places and practices that are meaningful to cultural groups.
- Cultural landscapes: The City will ensure that the cultural landscape is protected and managed as an integral part of development and environmental planning.
- Development: The City will respect existing individual property rights and operate fairly and reasonably in this context in the management of its heritage resources. The City will ensure where possible that development does not destroy and adversely impact significant heritage resources.
- Environmental sustainability: The City will ensure the integration of the aims of social progress, effective protection of the historic environment, the prudent use of resources and the maintenance of significant levels of economic growth and employment as means towards sustainable development.
- Integration into planning: The City will ensure that the integration of identification, protection and enhancement of heritage resources into the economic, environmental and planning processes, as required by law.
- Intangible heritage: The City will ensure that a range of significant heritage resources (many previously unacknowledged) is recorded and protected. The City will assist in the identification and recovery of unrecorded historical and cultural knowledge. It will acknowledge that not all aspects of cultural significance find expression in physical fabric but reside in memory and tradition.
- Urban Regeneration: The City will encourage and facilitate the integration of the conservation and adaptive re-use of heritage buildings into urban regeneration strategies.⁵

All of these policies have implications for planning, conservation, consultation and development within the Two Rivers Urban Park.

5.1.3 Opportunities and Constraints in Terms of Heritage as Identified in the CF.

The CF makes a general comment with regard to the “myriad of historic buildings,” vistas, focal points, and archaeological sites (not identified) “which can provide form and structure to the area”. Such focal points vistas, view corridors and sites of significance which would be useful, even in a general way, are not collectively mapped, however.

No heritage constraints are identified other than buildings being in a state of disrepair. No statutory constraints are referred to. These are very general comments and the significant existing constraints are not referred to, nor mapped and analyzed.

In summary there is insufficient detail to identify heritage related constraints and opportunities. Because of the heritage significance of the area and the age and value of many sites, statutory heritage constraints will be a key planning informant for the Park.

⁵ For the Full Heritage Policy and strategy see IMEP Cultural Heritage Strategy for the City of Cape Town 2005.

Heritage analysis in terms of “buildings and landscapes of cultural significance (page 11 CF)

The identification of buildings and landscape of cultural significance (page 11) refer to areas containing references and focal points “many of which are considered conservation worthy”. It also acknowledges that certain built forms and landscapes will need to be retained “to give order to the urban form, scale and character for future development”. A significant omission in the CF is the highly significant Oude Molen complex within the Valkenburg East Precinct and is highly valued by the community. This is considered a significant gap.

Diagram 4 (10) refers to “Buildings and landscapes of heritage significance” but no comparative analysis is entered into. Because there is no comparative analysis it is unclear why they are significant; which buildings and sites are “fixes”; and which may be modified in the future development planning process. They are at best red flags for further study. No potential archaeological and historical archaeological sites are identified in the CF.

5.1.4 The Purpose of the Contextual Framework

The CF unpacks a series of principles which form the basis of the approach undertaken. These carry a strong cultural conservation message stating that “natural and cultural elements should predominate” (page 13). The proposed land uses and activities which follow have a strong conservationist ethos although in the absence of any clear guidance it is difficult to apply and guide the conceptual framework. For instance reference is made to buildings “that are not historically or contextually significant ... which do not contribute positively to the urban form or adjacent parkland” (Page 14). Such an observation would be useful to guide the conceptual and planning frameworks, if sites or groups of buildings fitting those criteria were identified.

In terms of the specific precincts identified in the design concepts, planning and design guidelines make reference to the heritage sites influencing the form, character and height of future concepts. These are generally well considered although potentially conservative, when the revised role of and vision for the Park is taken into consideration.

Issues around permeability of edges, although not exclusively a heritage concern, allow for a stronger public profile for areas of cultural value.

5.1.5 Conclusions Regarding Precinct-Specific Guidelines, Design Concepts, Edges and Movement Analysis

Heritage constraints and opportunities are acknowledged in the CF in general terms. However, the view tends in parts towards a bucolic and ecologically dominant vision that has implication for the sustainability and feasibility of future planning models. This view is essentially conservative. Stronger thematic links between precincts should be encouraged, including route and landscaping possibilities.

Heritage requirements require an element of specificity, assessment and comparative analysis. The information for this was sketchy at the time but since the CF has now been augmented by heritage studies arising from demolition applications and Heritage Impact Assessments, which allow a more detailed and cohesive system of analysis, more contextually appropriate information is beginning to be available. The role of future

heritage work is to collect and evaluate such useful additional data to develop a cohesive series of heritage related design informants for the Park.

5.2 How the CF uses Heritage as an Informant

The lack of detailed heritage assessment and information, the confusion and omissions with regard to statutory frameworks and the dependence on the Aikman Heritage Report (2002), which by its own submission is identified as a preliminary study only, makes the heritage basis on which this CF is constructed, incomplete.

The notion of cultural landscapes, views towards and from the site, design intention of the existing historical buildings, deep cultural significance of the notion of a “place apart” should receive due cognizance at an early stage of the conceptual planning. It appears that the value ascribed to cultural heritage is largely in the abstract and needs to be further articulated into useful and feasible heritage related planning for the site.

The constraints and opportunities analysis is thin and does not take significant statutory processes into account, nor fully identify the heritage resources areas of character and the planning implications for such resources. Furthermore, Statutory requirements and processes form a key component of heritage assessments and heritage planning. The lack of any statutory related informants is a key gap in the CF. Analysis of statutory informants affecting future development planning for the Park is identified below.

The directive on the focus for the planning of the site has shifted from a strongly ecological and preservationist approach to a focus on the use of the site to integrate a structurally divided city. This requires that heritage decisions, heritage related constraints and opportunities need to be strongly motivated and clearly articulated in terms of a revised vision for the site.

Finally, apart from the Aikman Report, there exists no Park-wide study, containing the elements information, assessments to inform planning of the Park as a whole, at a conceptual and Spatial Development Framework level. This will be undertaken in the Heritage Baseline Study which is underway.

5.3 The Heritage Statutory Terms of Reference in Relation to the Contextual Framework and Phase One Environmental Management Plan

Heritage Registers: S 30 (5). This states the following:

“At the time of the compilation or revision of a ...spatial development plan, a planning authority shall compile an inventory of the heritage resources which fall within its area of jurisdiction and submit such an inventory to the relevant heritage authority, which shall list in the heritage register those heritage resources which fulfill the assessment criteria under subsection (1)”.

Heritage Areas: S 31 (1). This states the following:

“A planning authority must at the time of a revision of a town or regional planning scheme *or revision of a spatial plan* (author’s italics), or the compilation or revision of a spatial plan, or at the initiative of the provincial heritage authority where in the opinion

of the provincial heritage authority the need exists, investigate the need for the designation of heritage areas to protect any place of environmental or cultural interest."

These sections require a detailed investigation and listing of heritage resources according to standard heritage criteria in the site affected by, in this case, the revision of a spatial plan.

5.4 Limitations in Relation to the Extent of the Contextual Informants

The CF adopts a relatively insular approach in relation to heritage analysis as the heritage is limited to the identification of general sites within the Park itself. However, given the surrounding contexts, their common histories and heritage values these need to be linked to the surrounding environments. Such historical developments which traverse the TRUP boundaries include the developments of rail and road routes, barriers, boundaries, topography, river management both upstream and downstream which played a key role in the development of the character of the are not examined.

It should also be noted that the Park is a green space between settled areas, some with strong historical and architectural character. It is pertinent that Observatory and parts of Salt River fall within Heritage Protection Overlay Zones (HPOZ) and carry with them heritage and development constraints.

5.4.1 Limitations Arising out of the Heritage Baseline Study

The Baseline Heritage Study (2002) which formed the basis of the heritage component of the CF (2003) means that the CF has been unable to address many of the required statutory requirements. The CF has also neither achieved a full listing and evaluation of the heritage resources which comprise the full extent of the study area; nor identifies the full extent of heritage related constraints and opportunities.

This is a key weakness in the Two Rivers Urban Park Contextual Framework. The CF certainly in heritage terms, does not achieve full compliance and its aims may only partially be achieved. It should be acknowledged that the CF supplemented the 2002 study with additional heritage information and assessment where it may have been available.

However, subsequent to 2003, a great deal more information, analysis and assessment regarding heritage resources are available and may better inform a new Contextual Framework. Furthermore, the CF 2003 has a strong focus on ecological and environmental conservation, while the heritage constraints are dealt with less specifically.

5.5 What are the Gaps in the CF?

5.5.1 Gaps in the Heritage Record (2002, 2003)

The lack of a full heritage listing and assessment of cultural and heritage resources, according to standard criteria can be considered a gap in the requirements of the National Heritage Resources Act (Act 25 of 1999). This gap also extends to other sections

of the NHRA. In order to assess cultural significance and what elements and areas are affected by the NHRA, other Sections of the Act have relevance. These include:

- Section 34 NHRA. The identification of buildings older than 60 years in order to assess where and how many buildings older than 60 years are present, and thus affected by the Section 34 NHRA.
- Section 35 Archaeology and protected archaeological sites. The identification of known archaeological sites as a result of existing baseline studies and potential for other archaeological sites, may also be considered a gap in the heritage study.

5.5.2 Gaps in the Heritage Grading Record 2015 (City of Cape Town)

The current grading map of the Two Rivers Urban Park (City of Cape Town) is incomplete and will be updated as further information becomes available.

A full City grading and PHS map is a gap in the City record. However, later studies (Baumann 2014, and Baumann Winter *et al* 2014) have identified a composite series of gradings based on previous HIA's. This series of gradings and assessments undertaken within HIA's and Baseline Studies has formed the basis for the gradings submitted in this report.⁶ A composite grading map based on all accepted gradings by HWC is included as *Diagram 2, Section 8*.

5.5.3 Gaps in the Areas Studied

No heritage study exists for Maitland Garden Village despite its historical and architectural significance. No in depth study exists for the Ndabeni area and no full heritage study has been undertaken on the buildings within the Alexandra Institute. These may be considered gaps in the heritage record.

5.5.4 Gaps in the Visual Implications of Analysis

Significant heritage resources carry with them implications for visual impact in relation to scale, bulk, view corridors and sight lines. This is of particular significance when the view corridors and site lines constitute part of the cultural significance of the site. The site lines from the SAAO and the Lion Battery, Signal Hill is such an example.

5.5.5 Gaps in the Archaeological Record

This matter is addressed in Annexure One. See also *Diagrams 3 and 4*.

5.6 Current Information in Relation to the Same Area

Current information in relation to the TRUP area is more detailed as a result of studies undertaken after 2003. Such information allows for heritage detail to augment the understanding of the heritage constraints and opportunities of the site.

⁶ These include Valkenburg East, Valkenburg West HIA, the South African Astronomical Observatory, and Vaarschedrif Archaeological Study.

The most useful composite analysis is contained in the HIA reports undertaken by Baumann and Winter (2012) and Baumann in Le Grange *et al* (2014) – refer to Figure 2 below. This shows the following:

- Formal Protections – the HPOZ and the Provincial Heritage Site
- Other unspecified graded structures of significance
- Key historic axes and views
- Significant landscape contexts and structuring landscape elements
- River corridors and wetlands.

It does not include the Ndabeni part of the Two Rivers Urban Park. Other information contained in subsequent HIA reports useful in the CF, is the identification of potential archaeological sites based on documentary information. These include early colonial and later colonial sites. (See Figures 3 & 4).



Figure 2: Two Rivers Urban Park Heritage Assessment from N Baumann in Le Grange, Regeneration: TRUP Valkenburg Revitalisation Project; and Valkenburg West Phase One HIA November 2012.

Diagrams 1-4 and a composite Diagram 5 show current information based on available sources for the whole Park. (See Section 8).

5.6.1. Current Information in Relation to Formal Protections

Subsequent to the submission of the Contextual Framework, there have been specific advances in local statutory protections in terms of the zoning scheme with the Heritage Protection Overlay Zones for Observatory, Pinelands and Woodstock, as well as the identification of formally protected sites (PHS's) in Pinelands. The City of Cape Town Heritage Section proposes further controls over the Two Rivers Urban Park as part of the

Heritage Protection Overlay Zone forming part of the Woodstock HPOZ but this is in draft form only. There is now a clearer picture of the heritage related design informants including grading of buildings, potential heritage precincts context and linkages, PHS's and landscape context. (See Figure 2 above).

Gaps in the heritage record which will further inform a revised conceptual plan for the TRUP have been undertaken in the following way. The information collected from aerial photographs, maps and the studies referred to above have enabled a consolidated map of buildings older than 60 years, graded structures and formally protected buildings, which provide sufficient insight to inform a revised Conceptual Framework. A consolidated diagram of buildings older than 60 years, formally protected sites, archaeological sites and graded structures, follow as Diagrams 1-5 (Section 8).

The highly significant visual links with the South African Astronomical Observatory and the Lion Battery and Table Bay are identified in Figure 5.



Figure 3. Diagram showing adjacent Heritage Protection Overlay Zone Potential early colonial archaeological sites. The redoubts are early seventeenth century forts, the lines of the palisade fence which constituted the first “apartheid barrier” and were intended to protect cattle: Source Baumann N Valkenburg Hospital Phase 1 HIA November 2012.

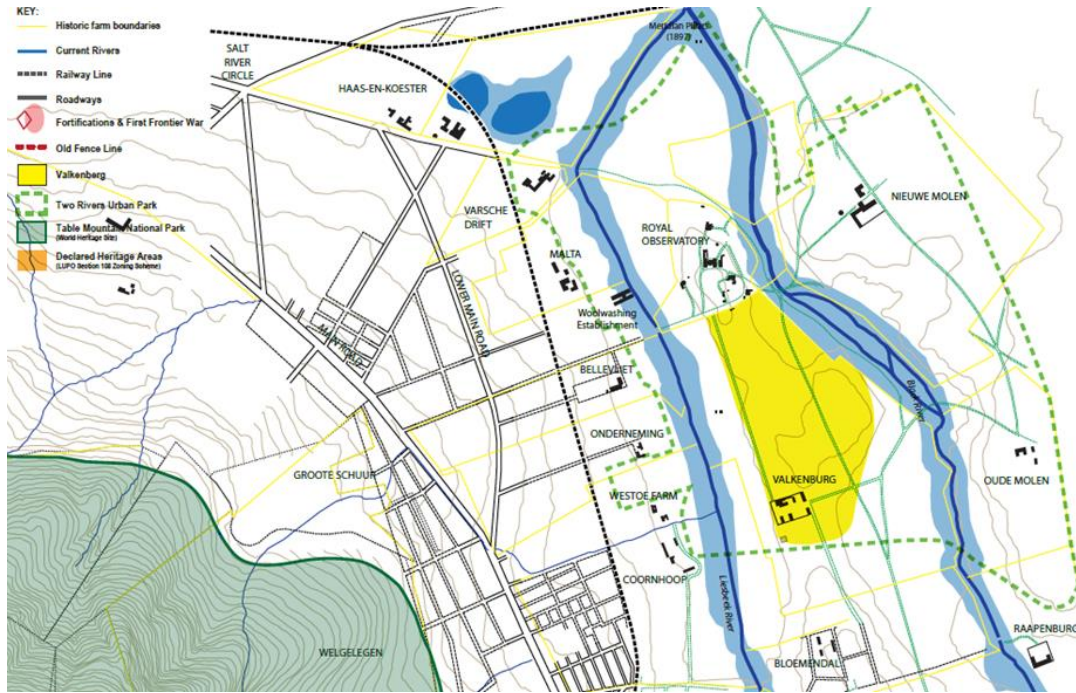


Figure 4: Mapping of the Surveyor General's Topocadastral Cape Flats survey drawn from existing diagrams: compiled 1897. Source N Baumann Valkenburg Hospital Phase One HIA November 2012. The historical archaeological sites within the Park have been superimposed. The Diagram was intended to provide historical context for Valkenburg which is highlighted in yellow.

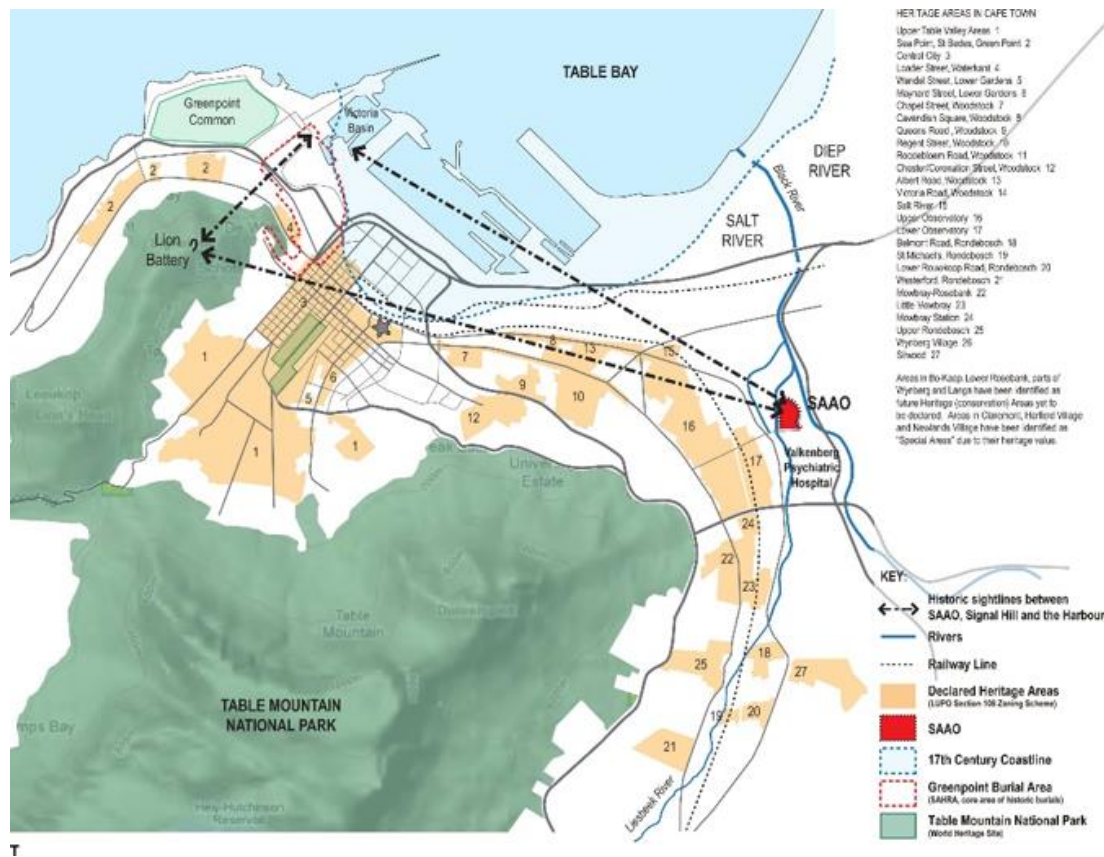


Figure 5: Diagram from Baumann and Winter 2011. SAOA A Heritage Survey. May 2011. This diagram shows the SAOA in relation to the City context and indicates historic sightlines between the SAOA and the Lion Battery and the Time Ball Tower. These visual links may form a significant component in the heritage related design informants for the precincts.

PART TWO

6. Historical Introduction: Themes

The brief for this preliminary heritage study includes the requirement for a summary of previous baseline studies with references to more recent activities including agriculture, institutional use, water management and early industrial use – milling and other industries. Very little information in relation to historical water studies has been identified. As a result a series of historical maps has been used to highlight the historical events relating to the management of the rivers. Otherwise, a summary of the existing historical information based on secondary sources and heritage studies, is used.

The area within the TRUP is historically significant in the precolonial and early colonial history of Cape Town and the Western Cape. It was a contact zone between the early Cape settlement and the Khoen Khoen who travelled seasonally with large herd of cattle and sheep between the Saldanha area and the Peninsula arriving in the Cape Town area in the summer months when the seasonal wetlands of the Salt and Liesbeeck Rivers allowed access to the grazing of the Cape Peninsula. (For a full account of this theme see Annexure One).

Deacon (2003: 2) notes that because of its location close to fresh water, fertile soil and rich grassland; the site has the potential to reflect “any period within South African pre-history” from the Stone Age period to its use by the “first nation” transhumant pastoralists.

Dr Dan Sleight (2003) notes that no Khoi names for sites along the Liesbeeck River and environs are known to have survived, although the names of chiefs who managed the Liesbeeck River Valley grazing are (Sleight, 2004:3). Documentary evidence of their land use and seasonal migrations occurs widely. (For the precolonial study see Annexure One).

6.1 Agricultural Use

The introduction of formal agriculture and the granting of freehold rights marked a fundamental change in the landscape of the Liesbeeck River Valley and indeed the Cape itself. Land was privatised and domesticated, crops sown and homesteads were built. Farming appears to have been mixed and cattle trails remained a feature of the landscape well into the nineteenth century. Thibault (See Figure 12) shows agricultural production before the residential invasions with neat ordered orchards and wheat fields which were irrigated by the Liesbeeck River.

A permanently settled landscape based on agriculture followed, with cultivated (and fenced) lands, farmhouses, werfs, outbuildings and functional road and route patterns. Dairy farming remained a consistent use, well into the twentieth century. Open space for agriculture and cattle farming was gradually taken up by the need for mass housing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The network of cattle trails and routes which crossed the Liesbeeck River Valley towards the Cape Flats was testament to the success of cattle farming begun in the pre-colonial times.⁷

⁷ From Attwell, M for N Baumann. Unpublished Report: Valkenburg West Historical Background Report, Historical and Social Significance, 2012

Two significant open areas remained, the Rondebosch Common - protected by its Public Open Space Zoning and status as a commonage, and the Valkenburg Black River ribbon of riparian fields institutional uses and open spaces stretching from the Alexandra Institute in Maitland to Valkenburg and the Oude Molen. The site by the nature and requirements of institutional use remained surrounded by fields and open areas.

Of the many farms that once bordered the Liesbeeck River, a number of historical homesteads still remain. The Valkenburg homestead is a Provincial Heritage Site and one of the best preserved homesteads along the Liesbeeck River, with its riverine setting relatively intact. It dates to the 19th century probably built on earlier 18th century fabric. Other homesteads are embedded within late 19th early 20th century suburban expansion which became the suburb of Observatory. A summary of the farms in the vicinity of the Liesbeeck River valley is provided below.

The granting of freehold farms along the Liesbeeck River marked the beginning of private land ownership in the country. Early farms in the Two Rivers Urban Park Area include Vaarschedrift near Paarden Eiland, (and a significant entry point to the Cape Peninsula), Malta Farm, Bellevliet, Onderneming, Valkenburg Manor and the Coornhoop of which only a dovecote remains. The position of the agricultural establishments in relation to the Rivers is denoted in Figure 4.

The following agricultural homesteads have been demolished:

- Vaarschedrift. C 1783. The building footprint has been excavated and there are partial remains in the grounds of the Black River Industrial Park.
- Malta Farm, previously Uitwijk, Van Riebeek's farm in 1659. Site now part of the Black River Industrial Park South.
- Coornhoop late eighteenth century, (demolished for Settlers Way). The dovecote is a Provincial Heritage Site (PHS)
- Rheezicht and windmill mid eighteenth century. Site near Arnold Street, Observatory.

The following homesteads remain in an altered form:

- Valkenburg Homestead, a PHS
- Westoe (in Mowbray) a PHS, originally part of the Coornhoop farm, c1740
- Onderneming (in Observatory) a PHS.
- Wrench House (in Observatory) originally part of the Coornhoop Farm, a PHS, 1785.
- The Oude Molen homestead a PHS. (Early mill demolished)ⁱ
- Bellevliet c 1750 -1800.

The following agricultural remnants remain:

- The Nieuwe Molen at Alexandra Institute a PHS, (c1780) once part of a larger agricultural establishment now demolished.

6.2 Institutional Uses

This section of the report discusses the key historical institutional uses.

6.2.1. *Scientific: The South African Astronomical Observatory*

The hill on which the South African Astronomical Observatory is situated within the Two Rivers Urban Park area, is significant in the scientific history of Southern Africa as it was here that the Royal Observatory made significant advances in the astronomical record.

The site has recently been declared a Grade One Heritage site by the South African Heritage Resources Agency, i.e. a site of national cultural significance. A case study has also been undertaken by ICOMOS, (the International Centre for Monuments and Sites) on its outstanding cultural significance (2014). A heritage study was undertaken by Baumann and Winter in 2011 and its findings are cited in the ICOMOS report.⁸ The report notes:

"The observatory campus forms a coherent enclave of scientific buildings. It was administered at first by the Royal Navy and, even following the Simonstown agreement (when the Royal Navy withdrew from South Africa), enjoyed extraterritorial rights. This led to a certain unique atmosphere and a feeling that it was a special outpost of empire. The buildings are all white-painted in the general style of Cape Town, with its Dutch colonial heritage. For much of the twentieth century there was little change or development, leading to a unique atmosphere preserved up to the present day."

"For most of its existence the Royal Observatory was the major contributor to positional astronomy in the southern hemisphere."

The intention in establishing an Observatory at the Cape was to find "accurate star positions and provide a reliable time service to aid the navigation of ships". For the latter function a clear view of Table Bay was essential to pass on visual time signals. MacClear erected a "time ball" visible from the harbour which dropped at 1pm. In the 1860s an electrical signal dropped time balls at the Observatory, Cape Town Harbour, Simon's Town, Port Elizabeth and East London – and fired the Cape Town noon gun (Signal Hill). An electronic signal from the Observatory still fires the noon gun today.

The site chosen was on the low hill between swampy ground near the Black and Liesbeeck Rivers – an area known as Slangkop because of the presence of numerous snakes. Another reason for selecting the Observatory site was that the buildings of the Observatory also needed to be east of Table Mountain for an unobstructed meridian.

⁸ <http://www2.astronomicalheritage.net/index.php/>



Figure 6. Plan of the Observatory c 1888 showing a coherent building grouping and dense tree development and the framing of the forecourt. Of interest too is a pond east of the Liesbeeck River. SAO from Baumann and Winter 2011.

Many artists sketched the Observatory including the astronomer Sir John Hershel, Thomas Bowler and Charles Piazzi Smith. Subsequent astronomers were to make a significant contribution to world astronomy. They include the following⁹

- **Thomas Henderson** astronomer (1831-1833) produced a catalogue of the principal southern stars of an equal accuracy with the contemporaneous work of the best observatories in the Northern Hemisphere. He was also responsible for the most accurate measurements at the time of the distance from the earth to the moon. His most remarkable achievement was to make the first observations from which the distance of a star (other than the Sun) could be calculated
- **Thomas McClear** (1834-1847) whose contribution was important in both astronomy and survey work. After years of measurement he and his assistants Charles Piazzi Smyth and William Mann established the true shape of the Earth in the southern hemisphere, and also made the first accurate geodetic surveys of Southern Africa.
- **David Gill** (1879-1907) who made an enormous contribution to international astronomy pioneering the use of photography in astronomy. Photographs of the bright comet of 1882 drew his attention to the possibility of charting and measuring star positions accurately by means of photography. Gill was responsible for

⁹ This information is obtained from Baumann and Winter 2011 and ICOMOS <http://www2.astronomicalheritage.net/index.php/show-entity?identity=52&idsubentity=1>

organizing a massive international effort to produce a detailed photographic 'Map of the Heavens'. Gill was also responsible for measuring the distance to the Sun to an accuracy that was to remain the standard for nearly half a century. Gill's distances to other stars were regarded at the time as the only reliable determinations ever made in the Southern Hemisphere.

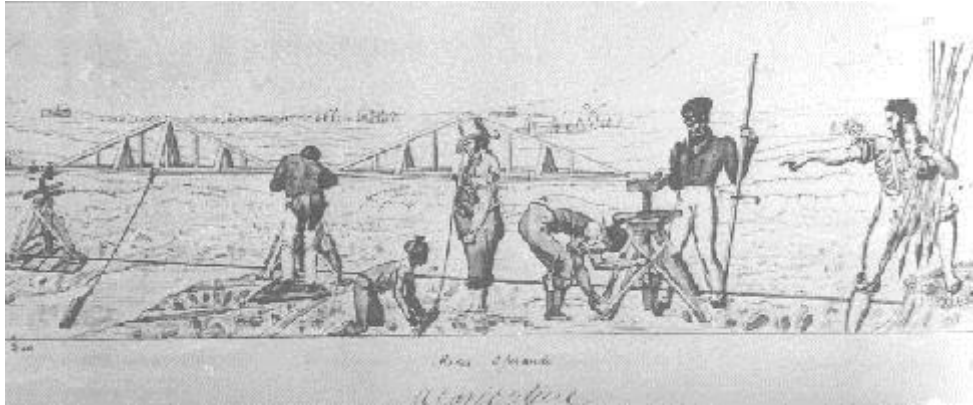


Figure 7: Charles Piazz Smyth, Thomas McClear's assistant (right) and assistants 'create' a base line in preparation for the great survey to establish the shape of the Earth's southern hemisphere.

The Observatory campus consists of a coherent group of buildings with the main Observatory building itself set in a commanding position at the apex of the rise of the hill. This building was designed by Sir John Rennie of the Royal Admiralty in the Greek revival style. Fransen (2004) describes it as a wide H-plan which contains a valuable collection of instruments. The roofs are flat with the domes shown in the early images having been removed. Also situated in the grounds is the McClean building, a structure designed by the renowned architect Herbert Baker, which houses the McClean telescope. Both this structure and the Observatory are formally declared Provincial Heritage Sites.¹⁰

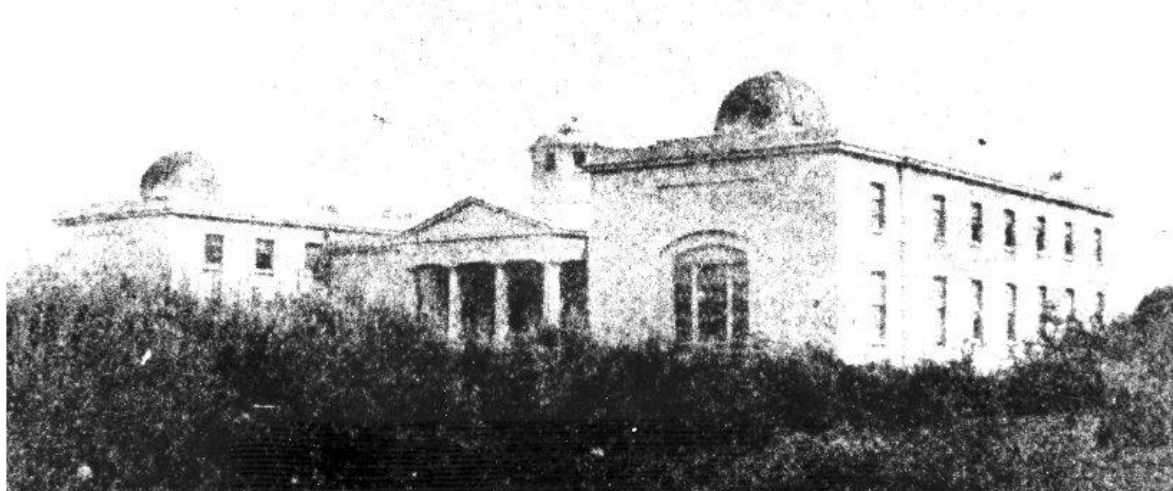


Figure 8: Early photograph of the Observatory Charles Piazz-Smith 1841. This is the earliest photographs taken in South Africa.

¹⁰ This has been superseded by the NHS Grade One protection by SAHRA.



Figure 9. The Observatory from the Black River.

6.2.2. Medical Institutional Use

Institutions in the Two Rivers Urban Park area dominated late nineteenth century and early twentieth century use. For the mental institutions of Valkenburg and Alexandra Hospital, the authorities required that the housing and treatment of mental patients be a distance from town. The distance and isolation of the sites were further enhanced by the barriers presented by the rivers. A designed landscape of trees and buffers separating the mentally ill from common sight completed the sense of isolation and “apartness”. The Porter Reformatory which was initially housed in the Valkenburg Manor house also conformed to the same requirement of being “set apart” and isolated from the citizens of Cape Town.

Deacon (in Baumann and Winter, 2003) notes that while the Black River may have been considered a form a “racial boundary” (Dumbrell 1996) it was equally true that health management and sanitation was often used as an excuse for racial segregation. This was generally known as the “sanitation syndrome”. Unacceptable activities, conditions, uses and persons of colour were accommodated at a distance from the town and hidden. The areas beyond the Black River and near Uitvlugt were appropriately distant and hidden from the town.

Deacon also considers the area around Valkenburg being characterised as a place for institutions “of social or physical “impurity” thereby by exclusion, sanitising the town”¹¹. She cites the other uses of Ndabeni to accommodate black workers after plague scares in 1901, the presence of the abattoirs (1915), the treatment of leper cases, and the use of the Oude Molen site to accommodate black mental health patients after 1913. Another institutional use noted includes a TB hospital at the Alexandra Hospital in 1906, followed by use as a hospital for the “medically defective” in 1918.

¹¹ Deacon, H in Baumann and Winter, 2003, page 3.

6.2.2.1. The Valkenburg Hospital¹²

Valkenburg Hospital West

By 1891 a start was made on a purpose-designed institution for the housing and treatment of the insane at Valkenburg. Scottish architect Sydney Mitchell of Sydney Mitchell and Wilson undertook the first commission, with project management being undertaken by the Department of Public Works under the supervision of DPW architect H S Greaves. At the time Sydney Mitchell prepared the designs for Valkenburg, he had established himself as a successful and well respected specialist in asylum design. The Valkenburg design shows some resemblances to the Scottish asylum designs and hospitals. Valkenburg was developed on a low rise looking west towards the Liesbeeck River, and over time, developed a well ordered picturesque quality in the best of the English landscape traditions. The 1904 Cape Town Guide described the ordered "Britishness" of the context stating, "The Asylum occupies a most picturesque position on a summit of a gentle eminence overlooking a landscape that, except for the mighty mass of Table Mountain overshadowing it might as be an English one"¹³.

The focal point of the design was the double story administration block surmounted by a tower (containing the water tank) and flanked by a series of double storey and single story symmetrical wings extending in an orderly hierarchical progression.

Building plans for the core administration block and wings were submitted by Sydney Mitchell in 1892 but building operations appear to have begun only in 1893 and were completed in stages until 1896¹⁴ when patients were moved across from the "Old Asylum". The first ward block for men was completed in 1894 with a block for women patients being completed towards the end of the same year. It was a mammoth undertaking for the Colonial government and the initial costs were in excess of 40 000 pounds. By 1897 the core buildings were completed including all the north and south wards of the main complex. When shortage of accommodation became an issue, additional female wards were undertaken in 1911 and subsequently extended, followed by an additional male ward to the south in about 1915.¹⁵

Valkenburg Hospital East (Oude Molen Area)

The Oude Molen site was acquired by the Union Government in 1912, and by 1915 the existing buildings may have been converted for use of black patients. By 1917 a process of the construction of wards was underway which lasted until 1920. This part of Valkenburg Hospital was intended for the use of black patients with Valkenburg West remaining for the use of white patients, thus creating spatially and racially divided mental treatment facilities and wards. The wards are F-shaped and grouped around a series of courtyards, similar to the Valkenburg west pavilion style model. Deacon (2003) notes that designs and facilities were more pared down and modest in the Valkenburg east wings that is i.e. those wings designated for the white patients.

¹² For a full background to the Valkenburg Hospital history see Baumann et al, Valkenburg Hospital Phase One HIA. All the information included is drawn from that source.

¹³ The Cape Town Guide SANL A 1979-1448

¹⁴ J Louw and S Swartz. *An English Asylum in Africa: Space and Order in Valkenberg Asylum*. History of Psychology, 2001. Vol 4 No 1, pp3-23.

¹⁵ This information is obtained from Baumann Winter Attwell and Abrahamse Valkenburg Hospital Phase One HIA, 2012.



Figure 10: Valkenburg Hospital: Central approach leading to the Administration Block and projecting wings c 1899. J9600 Cape Archives

Institutional use was also extended when the Valkenburg homestead served after 1881 as a reformatory then as an asylum for the mentally ill. This was followed by the construction of the purpose built and designed state-of-the-art facility at Valkenburg Hospital in 1891.

6.3 The Liesbeeck and Black Rivers: River Management

Both the Liesbeeck and the Black River flooded seasonally over the wetlands near Malta Farm, Vaarschedrift and Paarden Eiland.

Hislop (2014) identified the Black River, originally called the Krombooms River, as forming a “protective barrier” for farms and preventing stock theft. The defensive nature of the Black River and Liesbeeck River area was re-enforced by a series of redoubts intended to guard a palisade barrier and retain cattle within the settlement.

The Liesbeeck River, with its streams and tributaries, was an essential component for the growth and development of the Liesbeeck River Valley, extending from Newlands where streams of good fresh water descended the mountain slopes to the flat seasonal wetlands of the Vaarschevallei. The mountain streams remained perennial although they were considerably reduced in the summer months.

The spring waters were used for commercial as well as municipal purposes. A source of fine clear water was situated at the Newlands Spring, which was used for brewing; and the clear Albion spring water at Rondebosch was of such quality that it was used for industrial bottling by Worden and Pegram (Pty) Ltd. The water rights and the related properties were acquired by Anders Ohlsson in the late nineteenth century, as part of his brewing empire. Ohlsson's breweries eventually grew into the giant South African Breweries, later SAB Miller. Anders Ohlsson also used his effective monopoly on the southern suburbs water sources for political advantage.

The small municipalities that developed in the southern suburbs were the municipalities of Woodstock, Mowbray, Rondebosch and Claremont. They were largely dependent on the wells, small springs and the Liesbeeck River for their survival. Noxious industries like the

Mossop Tannery in Rondebosch, the wool washing establishment in Salt River and the Woodstock Glass factory in Observatory used the Liesbeeck water source for industrial purposes.

Water scarcity, increasing pollution and water-borne health problems accompanied rapid urbanisation. The municipalities most affected were those downriver. The poorer, denser Municipalities of Mowbray and Woodstock suffered the most from overcrowding and health and sanitation problems, as well as ongoing water scarcity issues. The Municipality of Cape Town constructed dams at the back of Table Mountain between 1896 and 1907 including the Woodhead and the Hely-Hutchinson dams but still remained affected by water shortages. By 1913 the Municipalities of Cape Town, Green Point, Woodstock, Mowbray and Claremont amalgamated into the Corporation of Cape Town, partly to investigate and fund a new and reliable water source, this time from the building of the Steenbras Dam.

The homesteads of the Liesbeeck River Valley, like Valkenburg (see Figure 11), Bellevliet, Westoe and the now demolished Malta Farm and Vaarschedrift; were situated on higher ground and avoided the seasonal flooding. They also made good use of seasonal flooding. Malta Farm and Vaarschedrift harvested water lilies. The grazing that followed the wet season was good for stock farming. Refer to Figure 4 above or the position of the farmsteads relative to the River.



Figure 11: Archival Image of Valkenburg homestead above the seasonal wetlands. Source City of Cape Town. CCB182.f10. nd

6.3.1 Alterations to the River Course

The confluence of the Black and Liesbeeck Rivers, and the seasonal wetlands which followed the winter rains, the course of the rivers themselves, were altered in order to accommodate transportation routes to the north east. This required bridges across the rivers and wetlands. There also existed a need to control the seasonal flooding as urbanisation in Salt River, Woodstock and Mowbray grew and which required canalisation. Most canalization occurred in the 1940's.

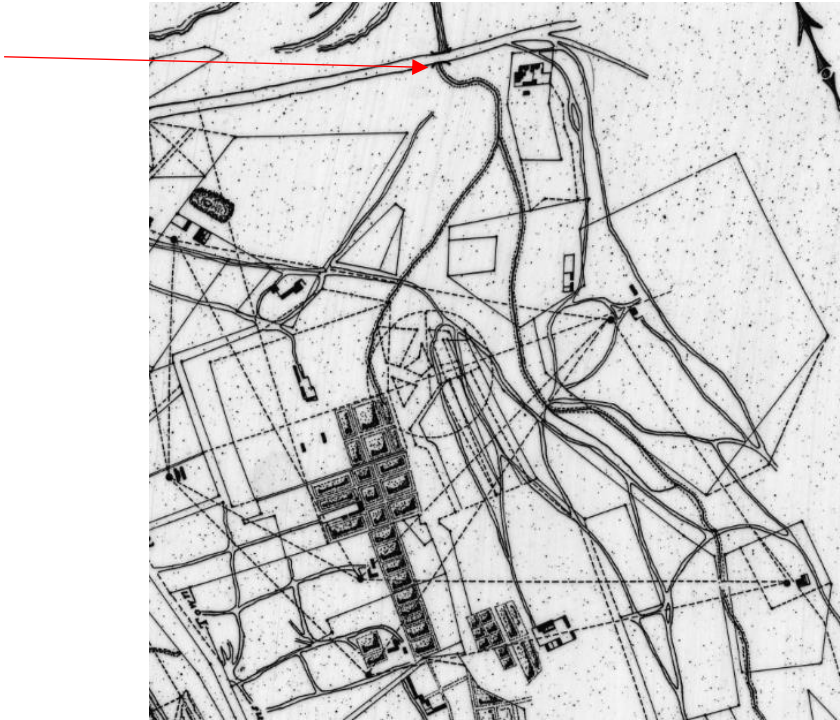


Figure 12 Early bridge: Portion of LM Thibault, Survey of the Abodes and properties 1812-1813 showing a road and bridge over the Black and Liesbeeck. This also shows the ordered agriculture of the early nineteenth century the farms houses and the mills which Thibault appeared to have used for triangulation purposes.

As early as 1813 LM Thibault improved the transportation routes south by a series of bridges across the Liesbeeck, one of which remains under Newlands Main Road. The main route to the north east shows a bridge as early as 1813 (See Figure 12 above).

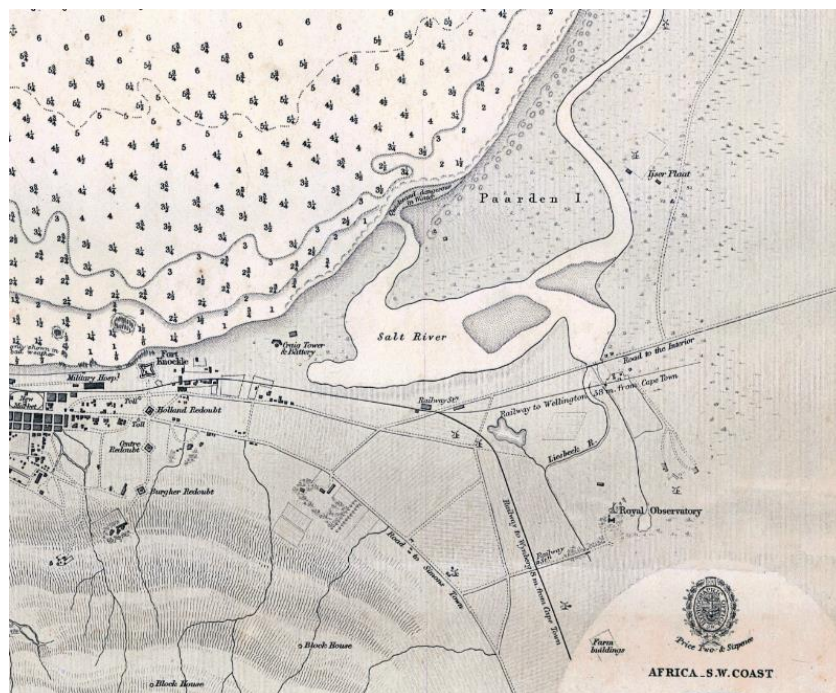


Figure 13: Skead's Nautical Chart 1858-1860, showing the development of the hard road to the interior and the first railway line to Wellington, both traversing the river system. The Liesbeeck here is shown as feeding into marshlands near Vaarschedriff and into the Salt River. At this date no landfill had occurred along the coastal dunes.

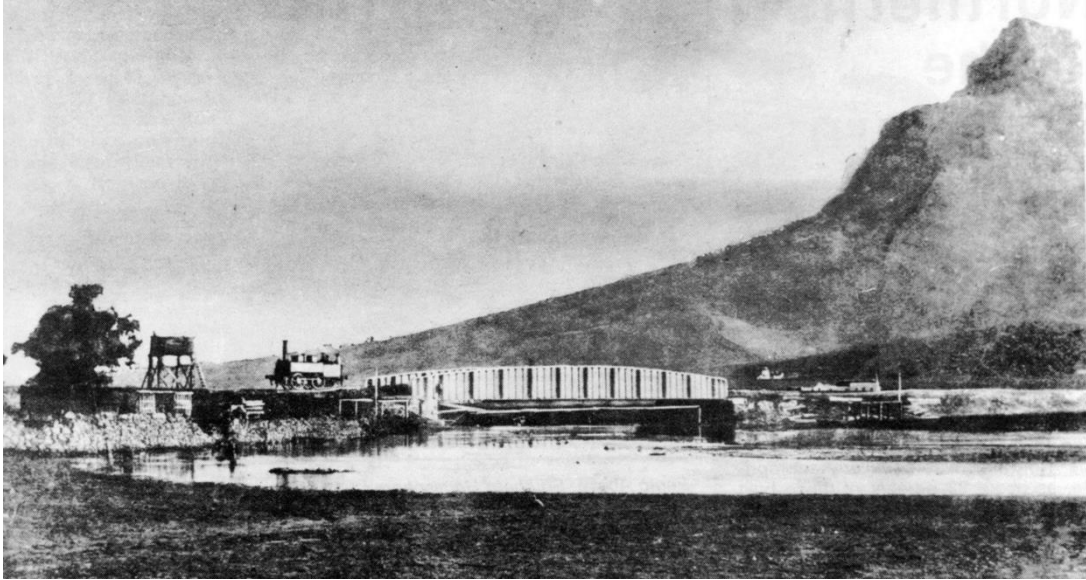


Figure 14. Crossing the Salt River at Vaarschedriff 1860. This was the rail line to Wellington.
Source: ACO.

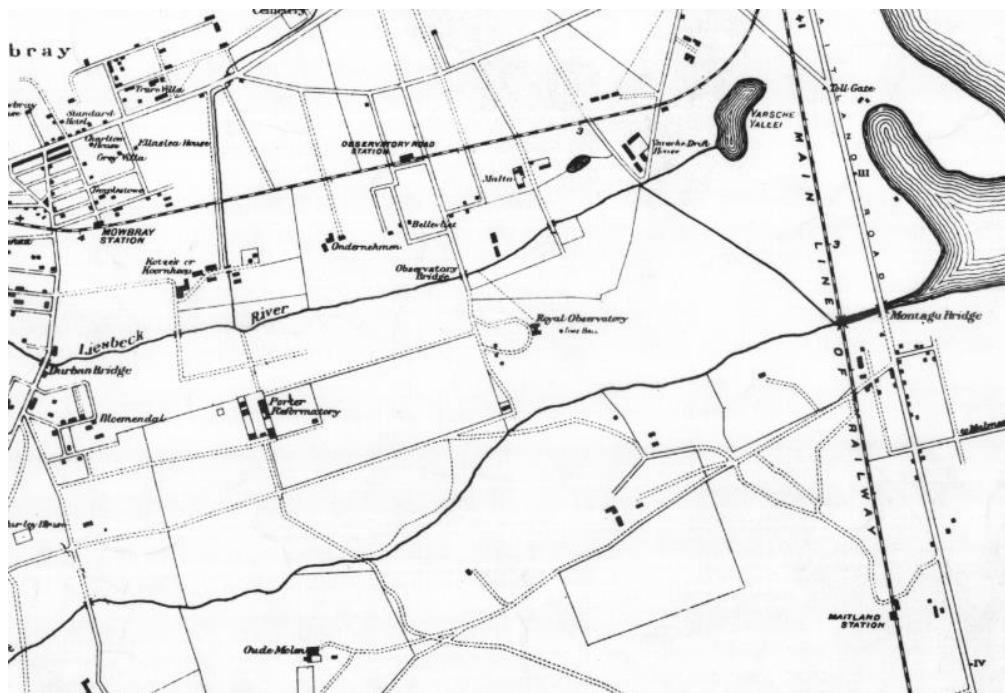


Figure 15: Boyle's Map of the Southern Suburbs 1885. A slightly more detailed map some 20 years later showing the Black and Liesbeeck Rivers emptying into the Salt River marshes, with a part of the Liesbeeck River emptying into the "Varsche vallei". This also illustrates the commanding position of the Royal Observatory in relation to the landscape. The position of the farms in relation to the Liesbeeck River is shown. By this stage Valkenburg werf had become the Porter Reformatory.

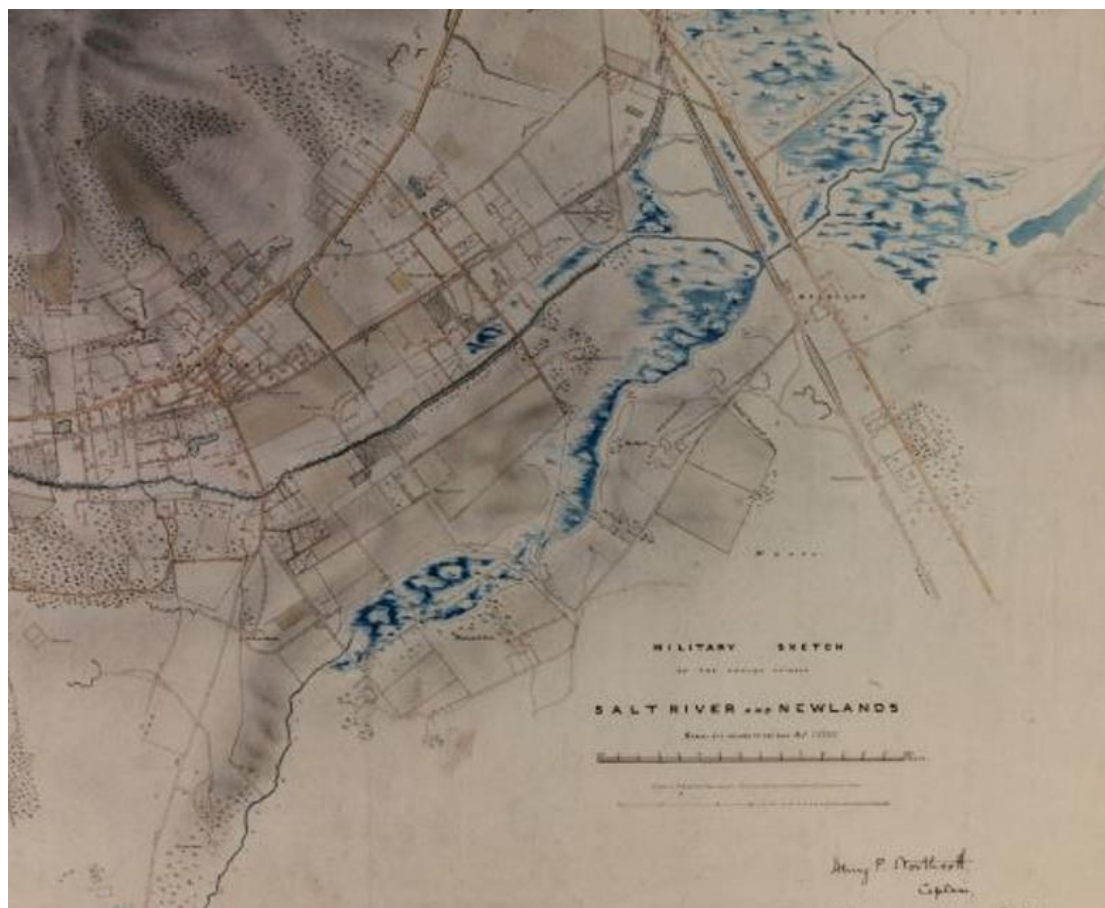


Figure 16. Capt Henry Northcott Military Map 1889. This shows the flooding potential and seasonal wetlands of the Black and Liesbeeck Rivers in the late nineteenth century, as well as the potential flooding on the Vaarschedrift farm. The Liesbeeck River to the Observatory Road appears partially controlled, although flooding appears along the present day sports fields near Malta Park. The potential for flooding as a result of the railway bridge is also graphically illustrated. Source B Martin: City of Cape Town.

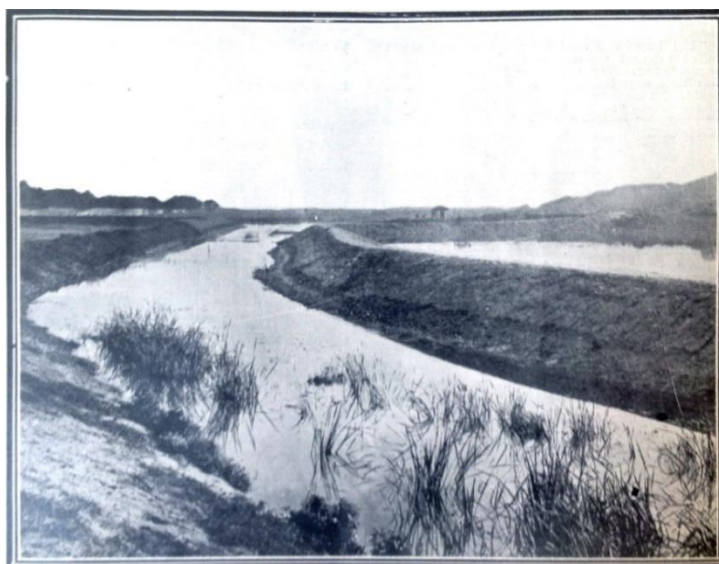


Figure 17. Rare early photograph of the canalisation process with a portion of the Observatory hill on the right. ABE 1917.



Figure 18. C 1930. This shows fundamental changes to the area since 1889 including the beginnings of the process of canalisation west of the Valkenburg Hospital extending to Station Road, with canals being led west of the railway sports grounds and the River, extending to the Vaarschedrift railway workers cottages off Nelson Road and linking with the Black River before the railway bridge. The area itself is fundamentally changes with urban development of Maitland, Maitland Garden Villages and Pinelands.

The first known canalisation of the Liesbeeck River occurred in 1917 in the vicinity of Observatory Road (later Station Road) towards the Observatory. (See Figure 17).



Figure 19: 1945 Aerial photographs showing the wide water body in front of the Valkenburg Hospital and the continuing canalisation of the Black and Liesbeeck Rivers.



Figure 20. Railway line and early industry within evidently marshy conditions near Salt River. Source: City of Cape Town.



Figure 21: Salt River Mouth c1920

6.4 Early Industrial Use: Milling in the Two Rivers Urban Park Area

The use of fresh water for the brewing of beer from as early as the late seventeenth century in the Newlands area has been mentioned. The wheat growing areas of the Liesbeeck River Valley were also served by a number of early windmills, many of which

dotted the landscaped from Salt River to Mowbray, and which made use of the windy conditions.¹⁶ Some of the early farms on the Liesbeeck area had their own mills – Onderneming was one (Hislop 42) and Rheezicht ¹⁷ another. There were also a number of windmills situated in Salt River many of which remained into the nineteenth century.

Because they were so visually prominent, the mills were a significant landscape feature, and served as inspiration for artists. They were sketched for example by Schumaker in the late eighteenth century and by astronomer Sir John Hershel, by Charles D'Oyly and by Thomas Bowler in the early to-mid nineteenth century. The most significant of the early Company mills were the Oude Molen on the current Oude Molen site (now demolished), and its replacement, the Nieuwe Molen which still exists. It is situated in the grounds of the Alexandra Institute and after restoration, was occasionally used as a chapel. The Mill, though surrounded by wards and medical facilities remains a significant landscape feature.

6.4.1. *The Oude Molen - The Mill Has Been Demolished*

The earliest mill in the area, the first industrial enterprise apart from brewing, was Oude Molen. It was intended like the other mills to make use of the wind energy and like all similar windmills was situated to maximise wind opportunities. It was constructed in 1718 on land granted by the Company for a mill for the free burghers themselves. Otto Mentzel describes (1741)¹⁸ a mill probably, the Oude Molen, which was “of brick in the characteristic Dutch style; its head wings and mill shaft turn according to the direction of the wind”. The capacity of the Oude Molen proved too little to cope with the demand and it was replaced in 1743, by the Nieuwe Molen although the Oude Molen remained at least partly operational for another 70 years.

Although it was demolished, the unique historic qualities of the Oude Molen site relate to the remaining mill house and environs. The first detailed map of the complex is the Thibault survey of 1812-1813 on which the mill house is clearly marked. Dumbrell (1996) notes that the mill house and remaining *opstal* were used by the state for a variety of purposes including the imprisonment of King Ceteswayo between 1879 and 1882. It was formally transferred to the State in 1912 after which the Department of Public Works leased it out on an annual basis.¹⁹ Oude Molen forms the focus of a thriving ecological village.

¹⁶ For a full account of the windmills and watermills of the Southern suburbs see Walton, J, 1974, *Watermills, windmills and horse-mills of South Africa* (Struik), also Hislop J, 2014, *Wheatfields and Windmills of Observatory*.

¹⁷ The mill has been demolished but would have been situated on the corner of Milton and Arnold Road, Observatory (Hislop 61).

¹⁸ Quoted in Dumbrell, 1996.

¹⁹ *ibid*



Figure 22 King: Ceteswayo receiving a visitor at Oude Molen. The opstal can clearly be seen in the background and corresponds to the existing structure. The Graphic June 1882, PHA SAL.

6.4.2. The Nieuwe Molen or the Dekenah Mill: Alexandra Institute Maitland

Hislop (2014) calls the Alexandra Mill, sometimes called the Dekenah mill, or the Nieuwe Molen the “oldest remaining and largest windmill in the country” It stands an impressive four stories high and is visible from a distance away.²⁰ It was a large Company windmill built on the hill overlooking the Black River to replace the Oude Molen. The mill remained operational until the advent of steam-driven mechanisation and industrialisation in the 1870's.²¹ It gradually deteriorated and was stripped of many of its features but was subsequently restored.

The site has a varied history. Around the Nieuwe Molen developed a large *opstal* which is shown as early as 1813. It grew as an agricultural establishment up till the late nineteenth century, when it was acquired by the Colonial Government for use as a military camp in the Anglo Boer War (1899-1902). There was a tented military camp and by 1901 the Colonial Government had started on the construction of a military hospital. The institutional and medical use remained entrenched with the opening of the Alexandra Institute as a mental asylum. A series of buildings, wards and spaces have grown around the original site and the Nieuwe Molen itself is today a Provincial Heritage Site.

²⁰ Hislop pg 86.

²¹ Hislop pg 86.

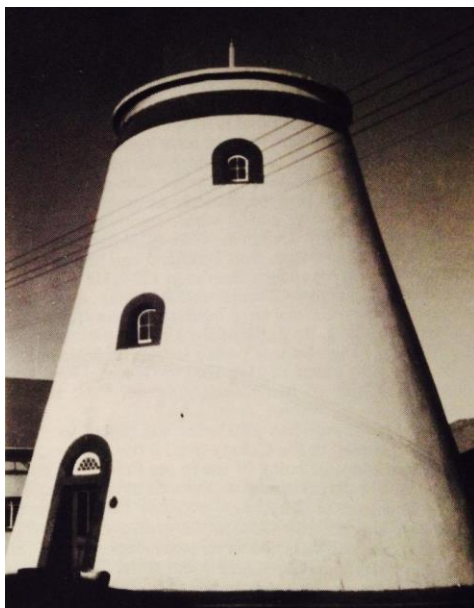


Fig 23. The Nieuwe Molen at the time of the building of the Alexandra Institute in 1921. Source Restorica Vol 10 1981

7. Summary of Findings

In Section 6 it was noted that the Baseline Heritage Study prepared for the Two Rivers Urban Park was out of date with much subsequent assessment emerging after its submission. In addition, the City of Cape Town had subsequently developed Heritage Protection Overlay Zones and a Cultural Heritage Strategy which considerably altered the way in which heritage resources were assessed and protected.

The heritage studies which emerged after 2002 contain a significant amount of qualitative assessment and additional information which considerably enriches the heritage assessments of the site. However, such reports are place-specific with significant exceptions²² having been developed in isolation to the impact of proposals on the site as a whole. The use of Precincts to identify character areas carries with it a danger of assessment on a place specific basis without recognising the impact of planning proposals on adjacent sites or the area as a whole.

A comprehensive collection of data affecting heritage resources is necessary in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the heritage constraints and opportunities of the site in order to develop a consistent and informed set of heritage related design informants. This work has started with the collection of data on a site wide rather than at a precinct specific level with Diagrams 1-5.

The following comprehensive sets of information affecting the whole of the Two Rivers Urban Park has been assembled from available data and grading assessments. They are as follows.

Diagram One: Potential archaeological sites. This shows potential archaeological sites drawn from documentary sources. A strong caveat should be noted here that these may not be the only sites or may not even exist anymore. This simply shows the potential approximate whereabouts of the early colonial redoubts and the footprints of the early agricultural establishments.

Diagram Two. Graded Heritage Resources: This shows sites and structures of conservation significance. These are graded according to standard and accepted heritage criteria and conform to structures of national significance (Graded One), provincial significance (Graded Two) and local significance (Grade Three). Grade Three sites and structures are further graded into sites of outstanding local significance (Grade 3A), sites of considerable local significance (Graded 3B) and sites of local contextual significance (Grade 3C)

The gradings are drawn from composite sources including the City of Cape Town gradings which are still in preparation, as well as various Heritage Impact Assessments and studies which have been undertaken for sites within the Two Rivers Urban Park.

Diagram Three: Structures older than 60 years. Buildings older than 60 years are protected in terms of the NHRA Section 34. The information regarding the age of affected structures has been obtained from the 1945 and 1953 aerial photographs. This evidence suggests that there are a large number of buildings older than 60 years within the Park and on its suburban periphery.

²² The Valkenburg West HIA Baseline Study (Baumann 2011) has been careful to examine the historical and spatial context as a whole.

Diagram Four: Formal Protections. This refers to structures and sites either formally protected or managed according to laws or planning by-laws. There are two kinds of formal protections. The first are buildings and sites which have been formally declared Provincial Heritage Sites and managed and protected in terms of Section 27 of the NHRA.

The second is Heritage Protection Overlay Zones which are managed in terms of the heritage protections accorded to heritage areas in terms of the City of Cape Town's Zoning Scheme. The Observatory HPOZ and the Salt River HPOZ are operational although they affect mostly the residential areas on the periphery of the Two Rivers Urban Park. What will be undertaken in the baseline Heritage Study (in preparation) is a composite series of heritage informants dealing with the site as a whole to ensure that heritage constraints and informants are not dealt with purely in terms of the character precincts but related to the character of the area as a whole.

Diagram Five: Is a composite of the heritage resources and protections.

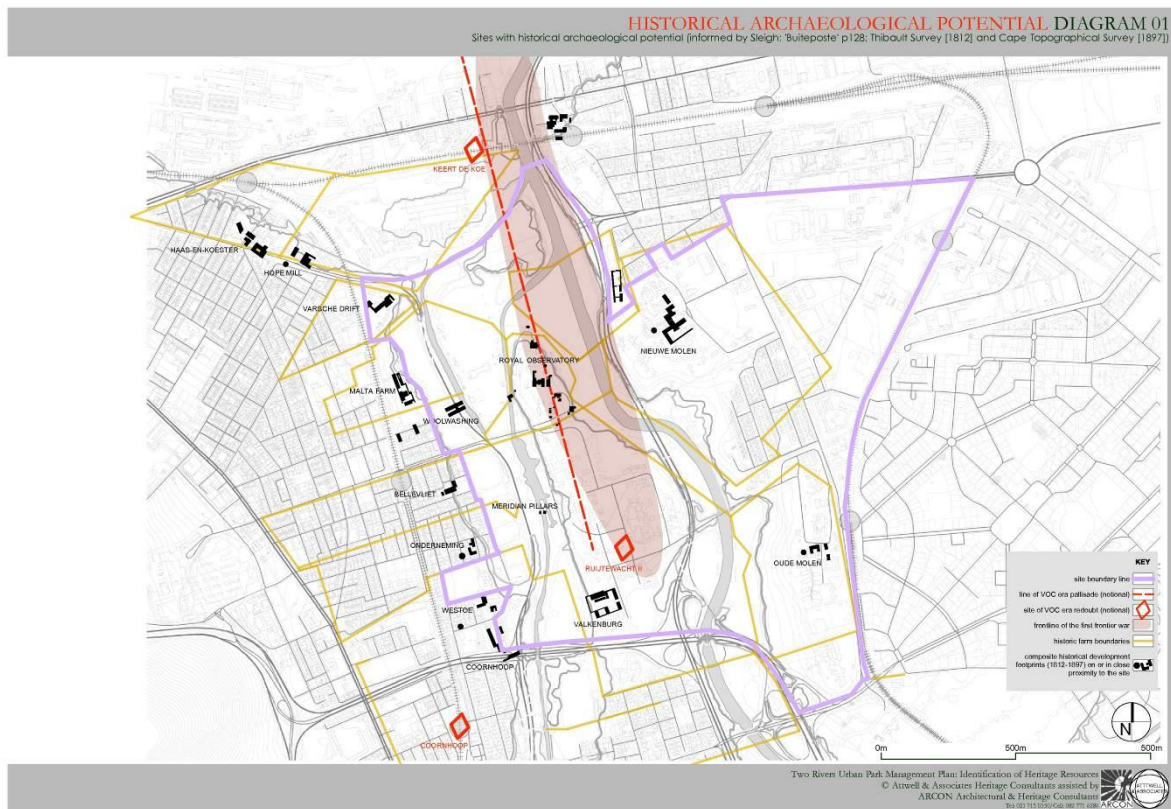


Diagram 1: Potential Archaeological Sites.

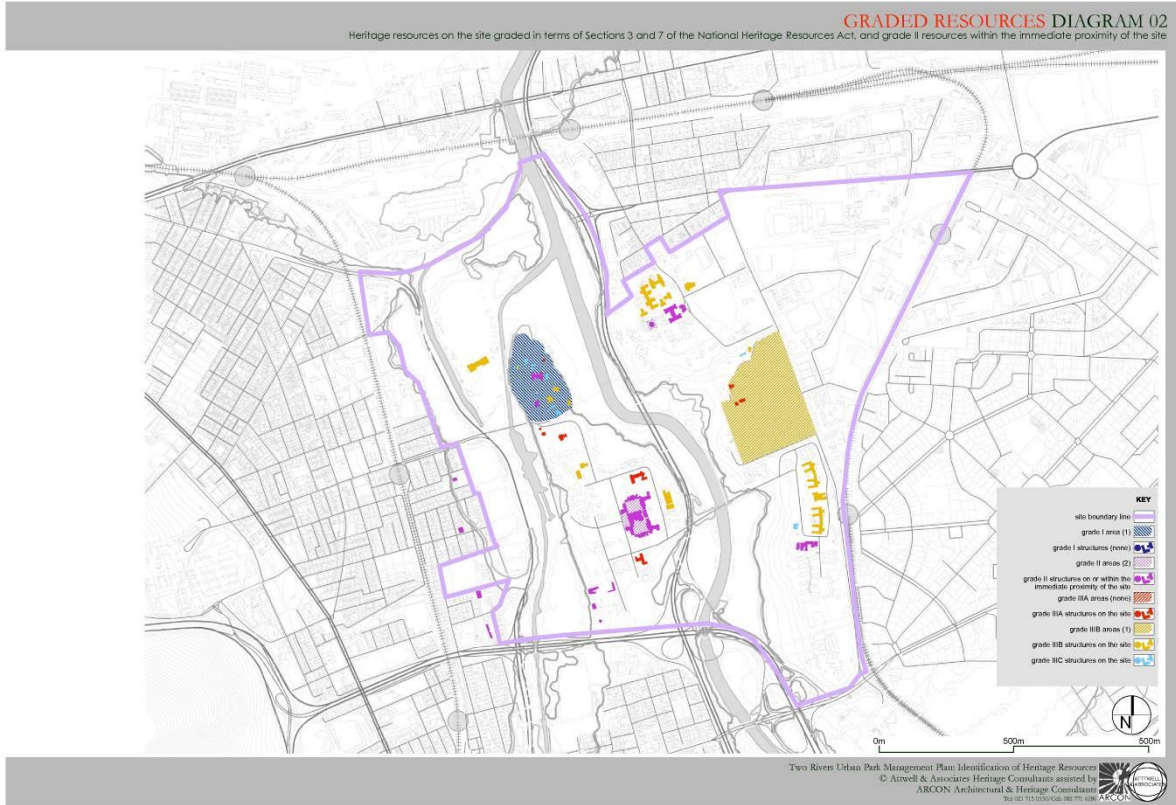


Diagram 2: Graded Heritage Resources.

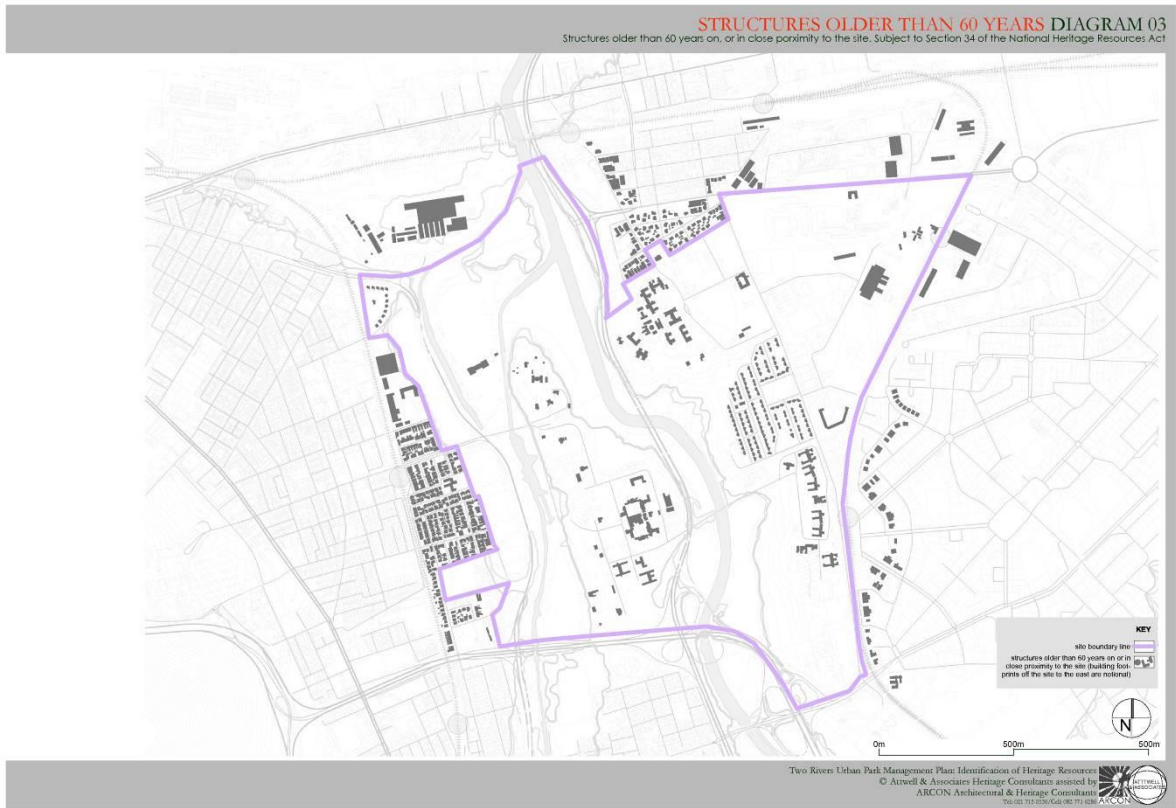


Diagram 3: Structures Older than 60 years.

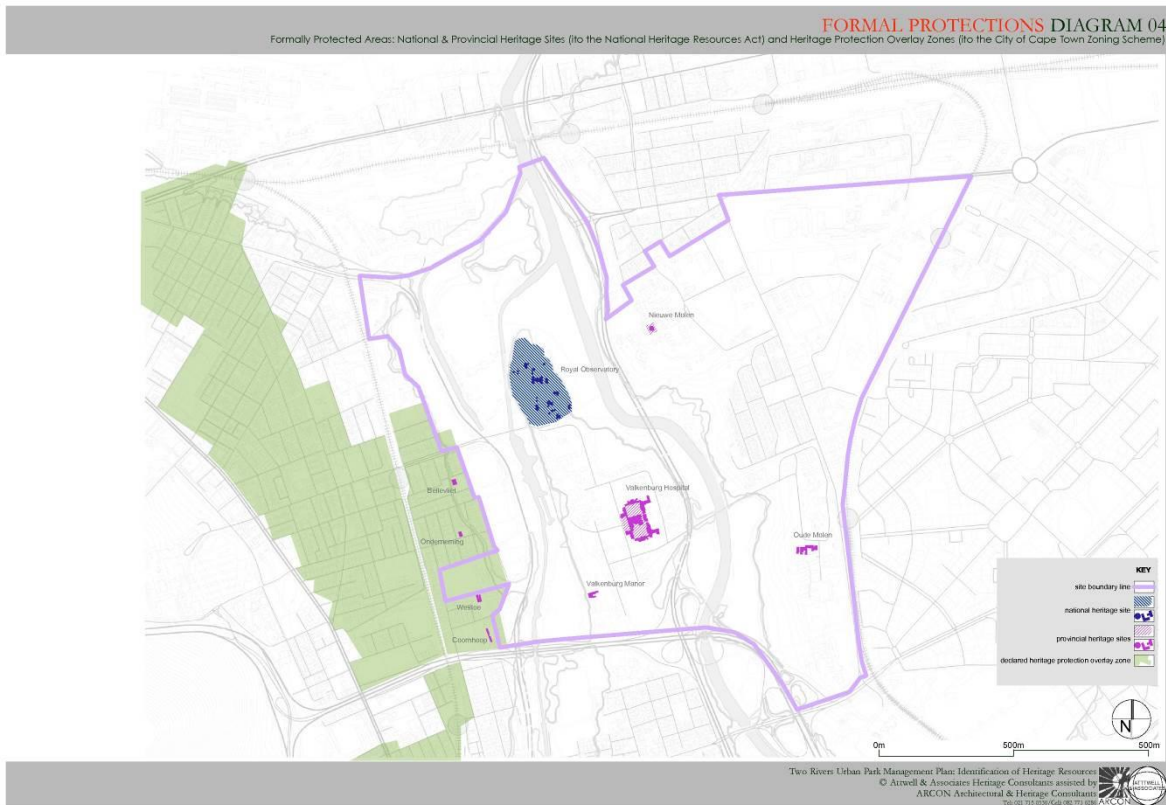


Diagram 4: Formal Protections.

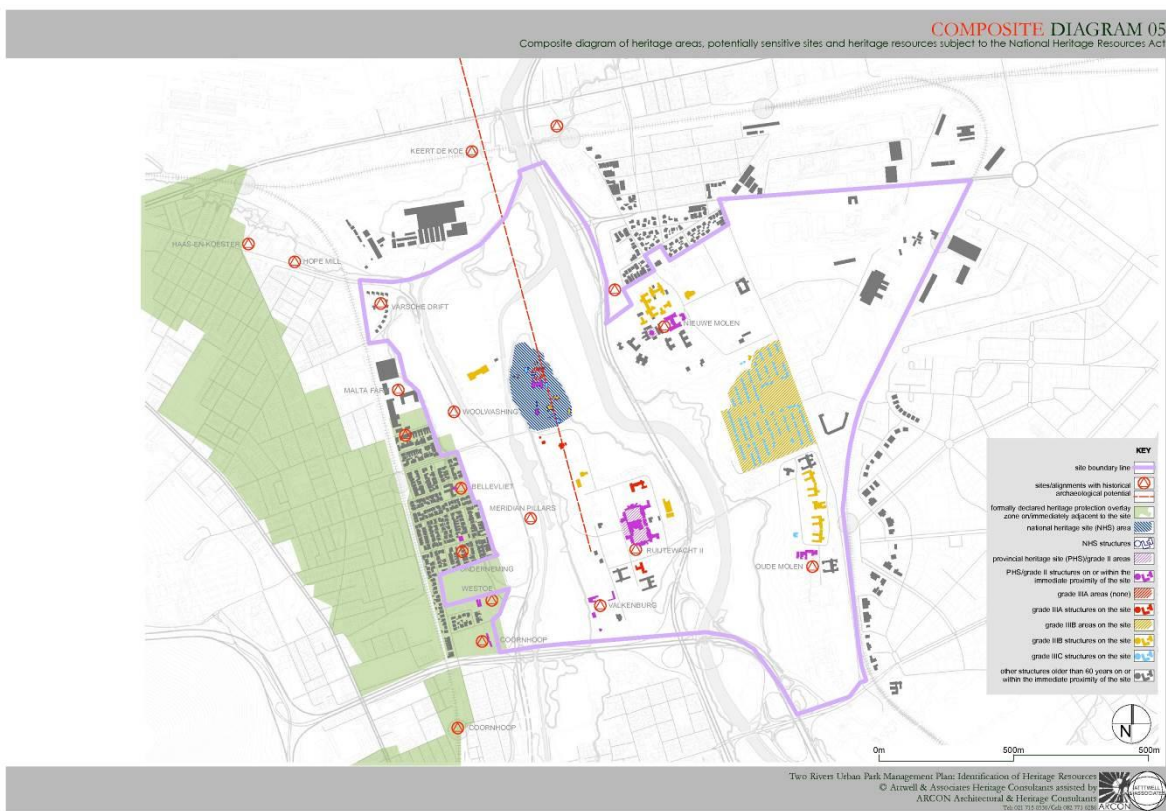


Diagram 5: Composite Heritage Map.

8. Conclusions

8.1 Conclusions and Recommendations Relating to Proto-Historical Findings (See Annexure One).

8.1.1 The Two Rivers Urban Park as an Historic Frontier

While we can never know the exact positions of van Riebeeck's defensive line, watch towers and redoubts there is compelling evidence to suggest that the spine of land between the Liesbeeck and Black Rivers, that now houses the Royal Observatory and Valkenburg Hospitals, played a key role.

The site for the Royal Observatory was chosen in 1820 on account of its key location on raised ground that placed it in line of sight of Table Bay so the falling of the *time ball* could be observed from the Table Bay and the Castle. Descriptions contained in Moodie and the Resolutions indicate that one of the major forts of the DEIC – Khoikhoi confrontation (Fort *Ruiterwacht II*) was built on the same site as its signals could be observed from the Fort and other watchtowers that formed the system.

Indications are that the barrier would have extended through the grounds of Valkenburg Hospital, the next high ground being the site of the Hospital Administration, then southwards possibly across Rondebosch Common before turning westwards to Kirstenbosch. The exact places where incidents and confrontations occurred can never be known, but what is evident is that the historic landscape contained within the land between the Black and Liesbeeck River marks one of the most tangible and earliest historical frontiers that were to eventually herald the fragmentation of the Khoikhoi nation.

The historic records have revealed a number of observations.

- The wetland that encompassed the Black River, Salt River and Liesbeeck estuary (incorporating land in the confluence of the rivers) was of primary importance as grazing land, and was able to support thousands of head of cattle for periods of time. Frequent reference is made to the location as being the place where the Khoikhoi camped. The historic presence of a large outspan in Maitland is an interesting linkage.
- The Dutch identified the fertile valley of the Liesbeeck Valley as prime agricultural land. The turning of the soil evoked the ire of the Khoikhoi as this was good grazing land used by them.
- The "fence" that was erected by the Dutch was a rather *ad hoc* barrier that involved using a mixture of natural features (deepening of the Liesbeeck), a palisade fence in places and compelling the *free burgher* farmers to erect barriers (thorn bushes, hedges, palisades) on the eastern side of their lands. Hence the eastern side of the first land grants as per the 1661 map marks the edge of the DEIC land. This places the "border" firmly between the Liesbeeck and Black Rivers or in certain areas along the eastern bank of the Liesbeeck River.
- The positions of forts and outposts are difficult to determine. Indications are the Keert de Koe was situated close to the railway crossing of the Black River in Maitland, an outpost *Ruiterwacht II* was on the Royal Observatory site and

Ruiterwacht I further south, possibly as far as Rondebosch Common. Consensus of opinion is that the bigger fort, *Coomhoop* was located in Mowbray.

- The Liesbeeck Valley was therefore contested and likely to be the general place of Dutch-Khoikhoi confrontation.
- The evidence from historic records is compelling in terms of identifying the TRUP land parcel as an historic frontier.

The historical evidence is cohesive enough to confirm that the TRUP forms part the first frontier between the Dutch colonists and the Peninsula Khoikhoi. This historical landscape extends from the Salt River Mouth and follows the Eastern side of the Liesbeeck River through the Observatory land, Mowbray, urban Rondebosch to the Bishopscourt area. The archaeology of this frontier has proven to be very sparse, and as to date no physical evidence of the watch towers, forts, or the palisade fence have been found, however it is not impossible that evidence will in time be uncovered.

8.1.2 Significance

The history of the landscape is ancient and tragic. Not only does it mark “the beginning of the end” of Khoikhoi culture but it also symbolises the process and patterns whereby the indigenous inhabitants of Africa, the New World, Asia and Australia-New Zealand, succumbed to the tidal wave of colonial globalisation. Although there are no tangible remnants of the actual places of conflict, forts or outposts or graves, the topography and “place” survive albeit greatly transformed by more recent layers of development. The valley of the Liesbeeck, Black rivers the confluence and remnants of the Salt River estuary exist today. In the context of the history of South Africa this is an historical place. It is suggested in the Annexure One report that the Liesbeeck River itself is worthy of declaration of a grade 2 Provincial Heritage Site along with the remaining open land, the confluence and wetlands.

8.2 Conclusions Arising out of the Contextual Framework Review and the Identification of Additional Themes (See Sections 6 & 7 above).

- The Contextual Framework (2003) did not fully address the heritage related analysis required. Statements made while useful, were of a general nature. This particularly relates to the mapping and assessment of resources. The Two Rivers Park (2002) was intended to be an introductory study. It introduced a general thematic and spatial analysis which is of considerable relevance. Further mapping, assessment and the development of heritage related design informants needs to be undertaken, based on the foundation established by this report. This work has commenced with Diagrams 1-5.
- The examination of historical themes outlined in this report and the precolonial study undertaken by ACO Associates (See 9.2. for their conclusions) indicates highly complex, deeply significant historical sites with a series of overlapping themes and significances. They include scientific, aesthetic, historical, symbolic, and visual and landscape significance.

- In addition, the visual implications of future planning proposals on such sites of significance, requires considered treatment and respect of the heritage resources, and the visual links between them and the landscape.
- Division of areas into character areas is a useful mechanism to analyse the heritage requirements for the site. However the relationship between precincts and their sensitivities should not be lost sight of and a composite series of informants should include impacts of proposals on adjoining precincts.
- The areas contained within the Park has deep symbolic and historical significance.
- Visual links, view corridors visual impacts and visual relationships between sites of significance should be mapped as part of the design and planning informants.
- While the cultural significance of the Two Rivers Urban Park is extensive, wide ranging and multifaceted, its strategic significance as an opportunity to link previously divided parts of the City should not be lost sight of. In this instance a preservationist approach is not appropriate; and care will need to be taken to honour the history, protect significant views and places of significance, while enhancing the area through appropriate and useful development and establishing visual connectivity within the landscapes.
- The process of gradings for the site established by the City of Cape Town and SAHRA should proceed urgently in order for planners to achieve a degree of predictability and certainty about official responses to grading and cultural significance.
- The early history of the area as outlined in 9.1 may inform future planning decisions and plans for memorialisation within the context of an anticipated vision for the site. Early historical findings and mapping based on documentary evidence should be treated with care and circumspection, as the report noted, "The positions of forts and outposts are difficult to determine" and the areas that are mapped in the Diagrams are rough indications of potential areas only.

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Annexure One: The First Frontier. ACO Associates November 2015.

**THE FIRST FRONTIER: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE PRE-COLONIAL
AND PROTO-HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE
TWO RIVERS URBAN PARK SITE, CAPE TOWN, WESTERN CAPE
PROVINCE**

Prepared for:
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November 2015



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Summary

In the absence to date of physical evidence with respect to the archaeology of the Two River Urban Park Land's early history, the general archaeology of pastoralism, environmental factors and primary sources are used to synthesis an understanding on the role this area played in the early history of the Cape. There were Khoikhoi groups on the Cape Peninsula and Table Bay who made a living on the relatively limited resources that Peninsula had to offer, while there were more powerful groups to the north who occasionally came to Table Bay during the summer months. Due to the Peninsula's unfavourable geology, its carrying capacity was limited. It was isolated by the sterile sands of the Cape Flats, however the Liesbeek and Black River valleys formed a verdant strip of good grazing land that stretched from the Salt River Mouth to Wynberg Hill. When Van Riebeeck began to cultivate this land circa 1658, relations with the local Khoikhoi pastoralists took a turn for the worse. Tensions lead to the construction of a cattle control barrier formed in part by the eastern bank of the Liesbeek and the eastern border of *freeburgher* farms. In places a pole fence was built reinforced by cultivated hedges and thorn bush barricades, while a number of small forts and outposts kept watch over the movements of Khoikhoi. This short simple boundary was the very beginning of a process that saw the acculturation of the Khoikhoi during the following century.

While we can never know the exact positions of van Riebeeck's defensive line of watch towers and redoubts there is compelling evidence to suggest that the spine of land between the Liesbeek and Black Rivers, that now houses the Royal Observatory and Valkenburg Hospitals, played a key role. The site for the Royal Observatory was chosen in 1820 on account of its key location on raised ground that placed it in line of sight of Table Bay so the falling of the *time ball* could be observed from the Table Bay and the Castle. Descriptions contained in Moodie and the Resolutions indicate that one of the major forts of the DEIC – Khoikhoi confrontation (Fort *Ruiterwacht II*) was built on the same site as its signals could be observed from the Fort and other watchtowers that formed the system. Indications are that the barrier would have extended through the grounds of Valkenburg Hospital, the next high ground being the site of the Hospital Administration, then southwards possibly across Rondebosch Common before turning westwards to Kirstenbosch. The exact places where incidents and confrontations occurred can never be known, but what is evident is that the historic landscape contained within the land between the Black and Liesbeek River marks one of the most tangible and earliest historical frontiers that were to eventually herald the fragmentation of the Khoikhoi nation.

The historic records have revealed a number of interesting observations:

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Significance

The history of this landscape is that it marks “the beginning of the end” of Khoikhoi culture but it also symbolises the process and patterns whereby the indigenous inhabitants of Africa, the New World, Asia and Australia-New Zealand, succumbed to the tidal wave of colonial globalisation. Although there are no tangible remnants of the actual places of conflict, forts or outposts or graves, the topography and “place” survive albeit greatly transformed by more recent layers of development. The valley of the Liesbeek, Black rivers the confluence and remnants of the Salt River estuary exist today. In the context of the history of South Africa this is an historical place and falls clearly within the ambit of the National Estate as “*landscapes and natural features of cultural significance*” (Section 3.2d National Heritage Resources Act). It is suggested that the Liesbeek River itself is worthy of declaration of a grade II

Provincial Heritage Site along with the remaining open land, the confluence and wetlands.

Recommendations

- In the absence of any archaeological evidence to date, the rivers, the wetlands and confluence and river-side pastures are the remnants of the early cultural landscape. The creation and rehabilitation of further green areas is strongly supported, including where possible the restoration of estuarine conditions (possible demolition of canals in places).
- The Varsche Drift crossings are worthy of further physical heritage survey and assessment albeit that the area lies within a milieu of railway and freeway crossings.
- The confluence of the Black and Liesbeek Rivers has special significance as this is possibly the least untransformed wetland in the study area.
- Any open land within the study area (including hospital and observatory land) should be considered to be potentially archaeologically sensitive and should be screened/surveyed before any transformation or development.
- Physical commemoration of the events that took place on the site should take the form of adjudication of written proposals to this end. Certainly there is potential to develop a site museum that might, for example consider the environmental history of the site, the way that places change as well as the history and culture of the Khoikhoi, however more innovative alternatives may be more appropriate.
- As a first step, the identification of land for heritage grading and the restitution of wetland areas will go to some distance to honouring events of the past.

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1. Introduction

This document is prepared in the context of a proposed development of portions of government land in Cape Town, known as the Two Rivers Urban Park (TRUP). The pages that follow are a contribution to a Heritage Impact Assessment being co-ordinated by Melanie Attwell of Attwell and Associates. The heritage of this landscape is complex and multidimensional, involving significant built environment and a very historic riverine system. The name of the proposed development is derived from the Liesbeek and Black Rivers which flow through and converge within the project area. This report attempts to identify the pre-colonial and early colonial historical significance of the area up to the time when the first farms were granted by the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) in the 1660's.

In reconstructing a picture of circumstances at the Cape prior to, and during the first occupation of the Cape by the Dutch East India Company, information can be deduced from the archival and archaeological records. The archival record is, in this instance are biased towards the European nations as they have a legacy of written word, with the DEIC as arguably the most fastidious of them all. Notwithstanding detailed record keeping, an archive is always limited in that it makes a selection of what to record, what records are preserved and our ability to interpret them. The archaeological record is equally limited in that it is sometimes hard to recognise, is easily destroyed and even harder to interpret.

In the study at hand, the story of events is not recorded by the First Nation people of the Cape, who are collectively referred to as "Khoisan" that refer to members of the San groups (Sonqua, Soaqua, Bushmen) and Khoikhoi herders (historically known by a variety of names of which the derogatory term "Hottentot" is commonly used in the historic record). Oral history was the means by which these people recorded the events of the past and not much of this has survived. What is clear is that the Cape was far from an empty landscape when Europeans first came ashore at Table Bay. Since the rounding of the Cape by Portuguese mariners in the 1400's it quickly became a known fact that the Cape offered fresh water, and the possibility of trade for cattle (fresh meat) – commodities desperately sought by ill and starving mariners.

Before Jan Van Riebeeck established the first permanent refreshment station at the Cape for the Dutch East India Company there had been almost 150 years of contact between European mariners and the inhabitants at the Cape (Raven Hart 1967). European nations called at the Cape regularly to drop off mail, procure fresh water, hunt and if possible barter cattle from the local Khoikhoi. Hence, before the DEIC settlement began, the Cape was already, to some extent, familiar territory for the Dutch, British, French and Portuguese.

This report examines an area of the Cape thought to be the very first frontier or zone of cultural clashes between the Khoikhoi and permanent European settlement. The land in question lies at the outer edges of the Cape Flats, roughly demarcated by the Liesbeek and Black Rivers. Today much of this area is owned by the

Government of South Africa. It has been used mainly for institutional purposes such as health care, containing a range of facilities, and is also the site of the earliest observatory in Southern Africa built in 1820. The land is contested to a degree as modern Khoikhoi groups seek recognition of the history of this landscape in the context of their resistance against colonial rule. We attempt to use archaeological and environmental history as well as the earliest written records of the Dutch to understand the importance of the area in the past, and how it may have been used by colonists and Khoikhoi alike.

2. Sources of Information

Archival information was mainly obtained from primary sources like the DEIC records and archive. The most important sources consulted were the Resolutions of the Council of Policy accessed through the TANAP website (the resolutions have been transcribed and made digitally available in a searchable format) and Jan van Riebeeck's journal transcription by D. Moodie (1838). D. Moodie's publication focuses on the interactions between the Dutch and the Khoikhoi so some degree of selection has taken place that is beyond our control. Some of the excerpts of the resolutions were also taken from Moodie as they were translated into English already. The third strand of archival research are the historical maps. These are available through the websites of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, Atlas of Mutual Heritage where they collate maps and images from several sources, and of course the Brommer Atlas which provides the maps in high quality print.

Secondary sources used are D. Sleight's publications, especially *Buiteposte*, and R. Raven-Hart who has produced a useful work that describes the early encounters and observations of European mariners who called in at the Cape before it fell under Dutch rule.

The environmental and archaeological study has relied on the work of Andrew Smith, a researcher of the archaeology of pastoralism, who has spent a life time trying to understand the nature of early pastoralism at the Cape. He also analysed current farming practises at the Cape and produced information that is critical to understanding the environmental process at work that are likely to have dictated the way in which people used the land. Although a hypothetical model, his work has relevance (Smith, AB 1984). The study also draws on the work of R. Elphick, H. Giliomee (1977, 1989), T. Hart (1991) (student of A. Smith and G. Sampson) as well as the early works of A.J.H. Goodwin (1952).

2.1 Information Restrictions

It must be born in mind that the place names in the historic record are open to question. Before 1652 there was no formal standard by which place names were derived. Often explorers renamed places with a name of their own. False Bay would be known to some as Table Bay and vice-versa, while indications are that Table Bay was at times known as Saldanha Bay (Raven-Hart 1967). The quality and accuracy of the hand drawn maps of the time were poor, and navigation by mariners was at best hit and miss. Furthermore, mariners from diverse nations had no way of communicating with each other to compare notes and discuss the nature of place names. The Khoikhoi had place names in their own languages, however not many of these were recorded. Only once the Dutch settled did standardisation of place names begin, but even so it is noted that names such as the Salt River, Liesbeek and Black (Swart) rivers tended to be used interchangeably in the early days. Thus the early historic spatial record is unsure and caution must be exercised in taking it as gospel truth. A number of scholars have tried to geo-rectify early maps and had great difficulty – this has been tried by UCT's Department of Geomatics, by the City of Cape Town and by ACO with only limited success due to the massive inaccuracy and inconsistencies in the drawings. Some later maps of the 19th century have geo-rectified successfully.

Restrictions of the written archival record have been pointed out above: contemporary selection, modern selection, bias and interpretation. Records written by Europeans reflect their point of view of events which is a major factor that has to be considered continuously.

The archaeological record has restrictions which are inherent. In particular, with respect to highly mobile herding communities who seldom spent enough time in one place to leave an identifiable archaeological signature (Smith et al 1991, Hart 1984).

3. The Environmental History

What is clear from the historic record is that a number of the Khoikhoi groups were wealthy in terms of the number of cattle they owned: evidently herds of several hundred to more than 1000 head were not unknown of. Farming and moving a herd of this size is no simple task. It requires a very good knowledge of the land, the seasonal availability of grazing and water resources. The Khoikhoi knew how to do this. They were not “nomadic” as described in many history books but would alternate the landscapes they used according to season and grazing quality. This is known as *transhumance* – an adaptive and generally well formulated strategy used by most pastoralist groups in the more arid areas of the world. In the Cape, this deep knowledge of the landscape and the seasons was the key to survival and prosperity.

The geology of the Cape is as highly varied as is the climate. The summers are relatively long and dry, becoming increasingly more so the further northwest one travels. While good winter rains often create a lush landscape, in summer only the most southern areas (Southern Cape and Peninsula) get occasional rain, as once in a while cold fronts in the South Atlantic clip the African landmass. These weather factors played an important role in how the Khoikhoi used the land as cattle need to drink at least once a day to survive. Hence cycling one's movements between rainfall areas would have been important (Smith 1984).

The Cape's unique geology means that in certain areas the soils contain the necessary trace elements to raise cattle and other areas where, no matter how good the grazing is, stock will in time get ill from lack of copper and molybdenum (Smith 1984, Hart 1984). The Table Mountain Sandstone derived soils of the Cape are depleted and do not contain the necessary elements for the maintenance of a good herd for a long period. Farmers who keep stock in these areas today have to supplement their animals' feed. In contrast, the shale derived soils of the Swartland and the granites of the Vredenberg Peninsula give rise to good grazing. In the past, it were these areas that carried the abundance of game, and are now used for wheat farming (Table Mountain Sandstone derived soils will not support more than 2-3 wheat harvests).

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

2 December 1652 "In the evening we perceived the whole country covered with fires, from which, as well as from Herry, we learnt that there are thousands of people hereabouts ..." (Moodie p20)

6 December 1652 "meanwhile observed that on the ascent of Table Mountain the pasture was everywhere crowded with cattle and sheep like grass on the fields." (Moodie p22)

7 December 1653 "The Saldaniers, who lay in thousands about Salt River with their cattle in countless numbers, having indeed grazed 2,000 sheep and cattle within half a cannon-shot of our fort." (Moodie p22)

7 April 1654 "On advancing about 1,5 mile from the Fort, behind the mountain, saw several herds of cattle and sheep, and a little further a whole encampment of inhabitants, with women and children, about 100 in numbertheir camp, which consisted of 16 tolerably large dwellings, neatly disposed in a circle and enclosed

with brushwood fastened together as a breastwork, with two openings or passages, for the cattle to be driven out and in ..." (Moodie p47)

24 November 1655 "Near and beyond the Redoubt Duynhoop (Duynhoop was close to the Salt River mouth), we found the country everywhere so full of cattle and sheep, as far as the wood, where our people lie, fully 3 mylen from this, and fully ½ myl broad, that we could hardly get along the road, and the cattle required to be constantly driven out of our way by the Hottentoots, otherwise it seemed impossible to get through; not only were the numbers of cattle impossible to be counted, but the same might be said of the number of herds of cattle; and it was just the same with the people, of whom we could see at one look around us, probably 5000 or 6000, young and old, for their curiosity to see us was such that we were so enclosed by them, that we could scarcely see over them from horseback; there were also 4 to 500 houses, rather large, and pitched in circles close to each other, within which the cattle are kept at night, the circles could scarcely be walked round in a half hour, and looked like regular camps." (Moodie p76).

It is hypothesised that while van Riebeeck believed that these large groups came down south from Saldanha and further north, specifically to trade with the Dutch, this was not the case. It was just a leg of a seasonal round that had been practised since the Khoikhoi acquired cattle – possibly more than 1000 years ago. After fattening up their cattle on the greener pastures around the Peninsula's permanent rivers, groups such as the Cochoqua from Saldanha would break camp after summer and return to the nutritious winter grazing of the Swartland and the Vredenberg Peninsula. These large groups of Khoikhoi had well trained riding and pack oxen, woven mat houses (*matjieshuise*) that could be quickly taken down and packed when the entire community moved to the next grazing area at short notice.

Cattle to the Khoikhoi were not simply beef on the hoof to be traded in large volumes to the Dutch. They were a way of life, wealth, transport and milk – the key nutritional contribution that could be relied on at all times. Cattle were almost never slaughtered apart from for serious ritual purposes – they were simply too valuable. Hence trading away ones cattle meant severely compromising ones security, wealth and social status. This was something the Dutch did not understand. It was a source of great resentment to the Dutch they they were unable to trade the volume of livestock they required and the Khoikhoi were not prepared to offer them their most valuable possessions.

While according to Elphic (1977, 1989), the large groups of Khoikhoi lived further north in the Swartland, the Vredenberg Pensinsula (Cochoqua, Namaqua) and in the South Cape (Chainoqua, Gouriqua, Hessequa), the Cape Peninsula supported its own groups of Khoikhoi. Generally the soils of much of the Peninsula were the worst for raising cattle, but there are enclaves within the Peninsula geology that would have supported small herding communities. The City Bowl and Green Point are underlain by good shales, as are parts of Observatory, Rondebosch – Wynberg. The Camps Bay slopes would also have been suitable, as were the granites of Hout Bay, that offered the additional blessing of good water in the valley. Further south,

the Peninsula Mountain chain was poor and supported only mountain Fynbos and wildlife specifically adapted to live off the nutrient depleted soils.¹ (.

Autshumato (known as Herri to the Dutch or Harry to the British) made a good living out of serving as a trader and middleman yet at the same time had alliances with the Khoikhoi (the Goringhaicona, Capemen, Peninsulars or Strandlopers) who made the Peninsula their home. These groups filled the Peninsula niche. Provided they circulated round the Peninsula grazing their stock in the areas where there was good bedrock – the City Bowl, Observatory-Maitland, Green Point or Hout Bay and the narrow band of good shale derived soil in the Liebeek Valley, they would have been able to maintain a moderate viable herding community. Any loss of these limited good grazing areas within the Peninsula geological microcosm would have caused the Peninsula Khoikhoi groups considerable economic, social, and nutritional stress.

4. The Importance of the Rivers

Within the study area (the proposed Two Rivers Urban Park), the land's appearance in the past was quite different to that of today. While the valleys of the Liesbeek and Black Rivers remain quite well defined (used as a conduit for some of Cape Town's major roads) and essentially have not changed, the rivers themselves have been straightened and canalised, thus in places draining what were significant areas of marshland. The Salt River, Liesbeek River and Black River had a common confluence flowing into a large lagoon and wetland that extended all the way northwards to Rietvlei. Paarden Eiland was essentially a very large sand bar and a true island in the past. The river broke through this sand bar close to where the eastern side of Duncan Dock is today, and again further north closer to Milnerton (and probably at other places in the height of winter). This massive estuary would have been a huge natural resource, not only for grazing cattle on grasses and young reeds but it also served as a fishing ground of very high quality. In the early 20th century much of this great estuary was drained to make way for the Culemborg shunting yards and railway workshop. In many ways this estuary almost rendered the Peninsula an island with only one point of entry and exit via Varsche Drift. Varsche Drift still exists, as this point of limited access was used for the Union Rail network circa 1870 and for the Voortrekker road crossing into the hinterland (the river has been canalised at this point). Hence the Peninsula was a very contained area in a geographical sense – relatively easily fortified and almost viable as a self-contained unit. The present day wetland at the confluence of the Liesbeek and Black Rivers, with the small area of high ground occupied by the Royal Observatory and the River Club, amount to the last surviving elements of this historical landscape.

¹ This is why the current Cape Point Nature Reserve only has small herds of wild grazers

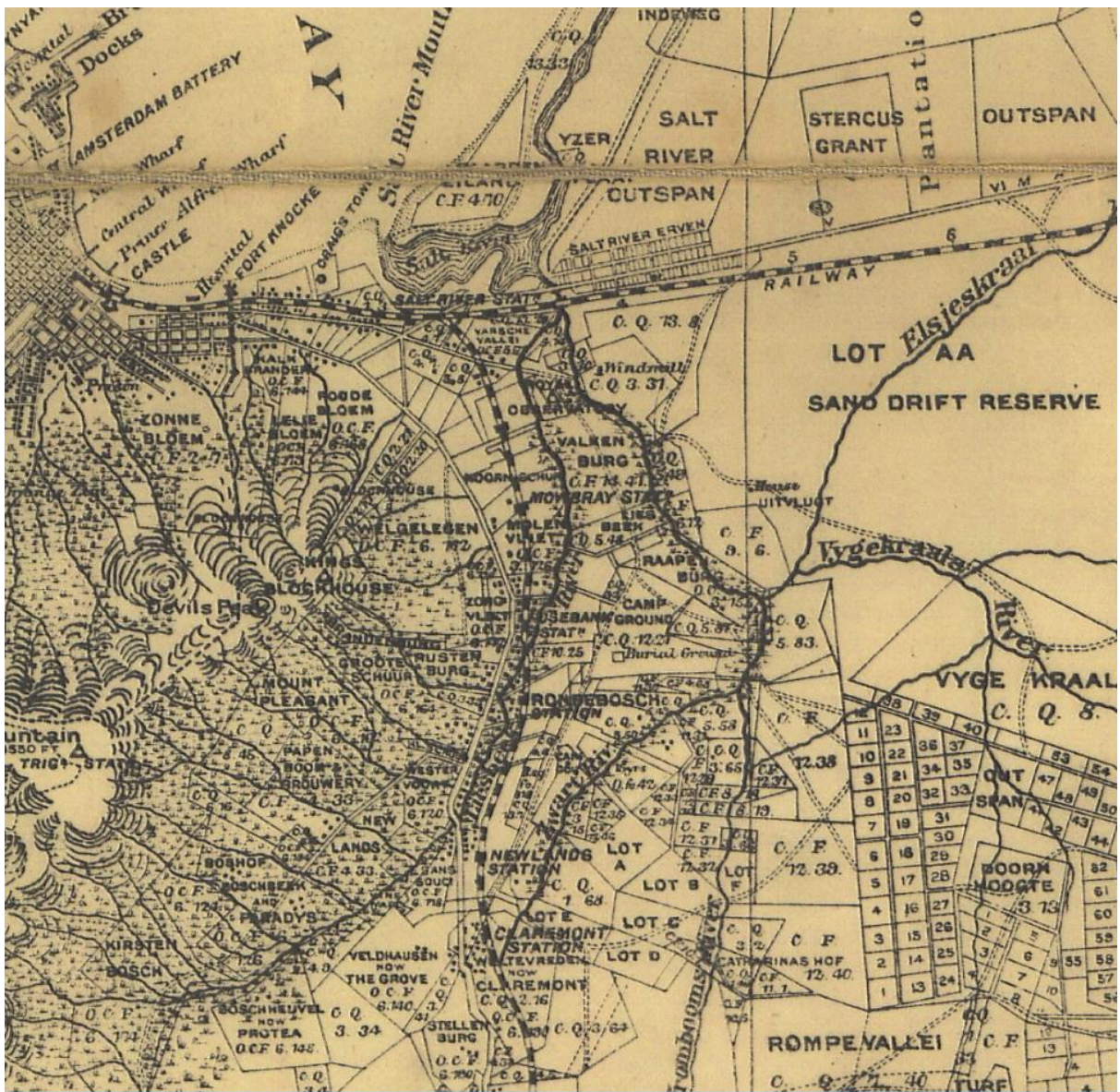


Figure 1: Excerpt from 1880 - 1900 map series (Chief Directorate: Surveys and Mapping) which depicts most of the early farms before major subdivision, but also the Liesbeek and Black Rivers before canalisation. The Salt River estuary is clearly visible. It was reclaimed in the early 20th century for railway yards.

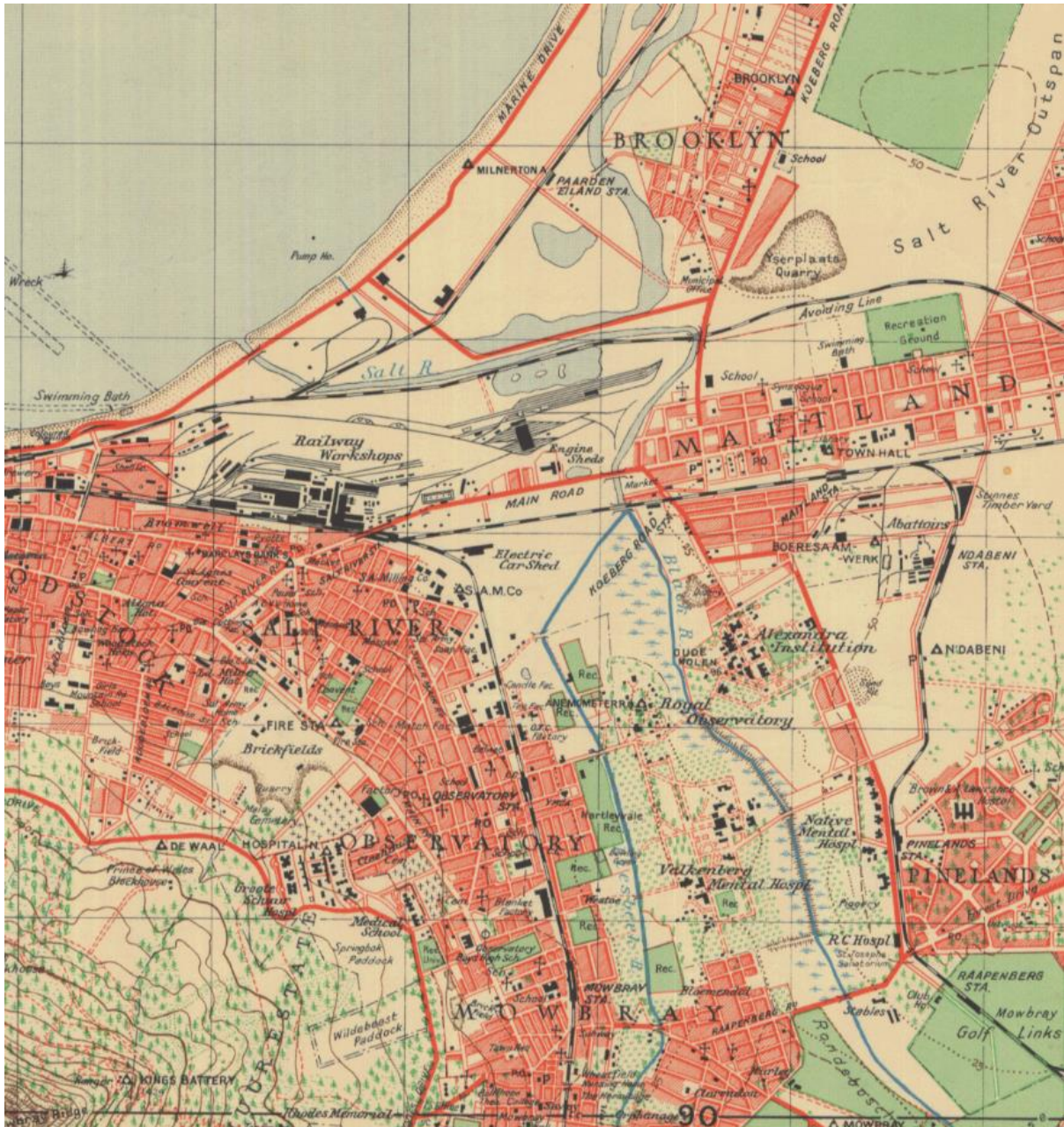


Figure 2. An excerpt from 1:25 000 map of 1935 (Chief Directorate: Surveys and Mapping) which reveals that by that time a large portion of the Salt River estuary had been filled for railway development and the river diverted. Furthermore indications are that the Liesbeek had been straightened for a significant amount of its length. It is of interest to note that the Maitland Outspan became Ysterplaat airforce base.

5. Roots of Conflict

The relationship between the Khoikhoi and mariners from Europe was not always peaceful, although it would seem that respectful trade was generally the norm. While the balance of power rested with Khoikhoi groups, a relationship based on peaceful trade was advantageous as the Europeans needed the Cape's resources for survival. The Khoikhoi did not tolerate unfair conduct as was demonstrated in 1510 AD with the death of Francisco D'Almeida, the Portuguese Viceroy of India. Having conducted peaceful trade with Khoikhoi at *Saldanha Bay* (the name by which Table Bay was known at that time) it would seem that D'Almeida overstepped the mark by sending a group of his men back on a punishment mission during which cattle was driven from the village and possibly some children taken as hostages. The Khoikhoi attacked and killed the Viceroy and more than 50 of his men. It is not entirely clear where this event took place – drawings of the event were done after the time and depict a location more like Buffels Bay near Cape Point (Raven-Hart 1967). Furthermore, the actual account indicates that the event took place at a point "behind the Cape" or after "doubling the Cape" – could this have been False Bay, or even present-day Saldanha Bay? Theories abound, however the truth may never be known until physical evidence of this event is found. D'Almeida and his men's death did not take place within the context of a battle over land, but it does demonstrate that the Khoikhoi held their cattle and their independence in great regard. Given D'Almeida's defeat, Portuguese mariners were very wary of stopping at the Cape.

The experience of the Haarlem wreck survivors more than 100 years later resulted in the reporting of more favourable circumstances to the Dutch East India Company, good farming and grazing land and good trade opportunities (Raven-Hart 1967). This favourable news was instrumental in prompting the Dutch East India Company to set up a permanent station at the Cape for purposes of cattle trading, farming of crops, and provision of water to passing ships.

When Van Riebeeck established the Fort at Table Bay in 1652, he did so on very different premises to those of the earlier mariners who landed at the Cape. At the same time he did not understand the value of cattle to the Khoikhoi. These two elements were at the base of the inevitable clash of interests which was to follow in future years. Before 1652, ships landed occasionally at the Cape to obtain fresh provisions for themselves only, whereas van Riebeeck's intentions (and orders) were to set up a provision station able to supply an entire fleet which would be scheduled to arrive on every outbound and inbound journey. His aim was to obtain a herd large enough to be able to provide for the fleet from its natural increase without having to sacrifice the 'base stock'. On previous landings at the Cape, and during the stay of the Haarlem survivors, the large herds of cattle were noticed and the Europeans obtained what they needed but never appreciated the value cattle has to the Khoikhoi and that they would not be willing to part with a substantial part of their herd, no matter how much copper, beads or tobacco, were offered in return.

When van Riebeeck commenced farming within the present-day city bowl, the DEIC began to move into the grazing resources, which until that time were occupied by the Gouringhaicona and the various Peninsula groups. Autshumato had for many years maintained a balancing act serving as a middleman between the Khoikhoi and mariners from Europe. He was worldly wise, spoke two European languages and played both a mischievous and key role in the early days of the DEIC at the Cape. Indications are that he and the Peninsula Khoikhoi did not enjoy entirely good relations with other more powerful Khoikhoi groups and so did not have the freedom of movement to relocate into areas under the control of those other Khoikhoi *Kapteins*. On several occasions, the Peninsula groups came to ask van Riebeeck for protection against these larger groups, at which occasions they were permitted to bring their cattle 'under the fort' or move it to Green Point or Hout Bay. From the account of events in van Riebeeck's journal, one gets a sense that, during summer time when the inland groups moved onto the Cape Flats and into the river area to let their cattle graze, the local Khoikhoi avoided them by moving to the south of the peninsula (Green Point, Hout Bay, Muizenberg), an area not as accessible for large herds.

In van Riebeeck's journal, one can very easily pick up on his frustration of knowing of, and seeing these large herds of cattle and sheep and not being able to obtain the amount he wanted. In the early years, the large groups of Khoikhoi would come in summer from inland like they had always done and barter some animals with the Europeans like they had 'always' done. But from 1657 onwards, the herds were no longer brought down to the river area. In a conversation with Oedasoa one of the *Kapteins*, it was explained that they thought that the Dutch were in alliance with the Peninsula groups as they "were residing here upon their land" (Moodie p 172).

This points to a situation where the Peninsula Khoikhoi were caught between two fires: the Dutch on the one side and the more powerful Khoikhoi groups on the other side.

5.1 Commencement of Farming

The land that Van Riebeeck identified in 1652 for farming was the best grazing land in terms of the limited resources that the Peninsula had to offer, especially for grazing cattle. At first the bartered cattle would graze near the fort, side by side with the Khoikhoi herds. But it was not long before Van Riebeeck identified the fertile strip behind Table Mountain for the expansion of agricultural activities. The Liesbeek River valley and tributaries were the most fertile land the Peninsula had to offer. Slowly but surely the Peninsula Khoikhoi were shunted from the vicinity of the fort or from being too close to the DEIC herd: the land could not sustain two herds and there were worries that DEIC cattle would 'by mistake' get mingled in the Khoikhoi herd.

The uneasy relationship between the DEIC and the Peninsula Khoikhoi was clear from the beginning: the Khoikhoi enjoyed the benefits of being closely associated with the DEIC (protection, food, drink and tobacco) but at the same time were

worried about the permanency the settlement seemed to take. As early as 19 October 1653 Autshumato and his people led the DEIC cattle away while grazing at Green Point and killed the herd boy looking after it. They stayed away from the fort for a long time, but returned after the cattle had been raided by another Peninsula group. This to-ing and fro-ing continued for years and in the meantime the Dutch continued to absorb more and more of what was seen by the Khoikhoi to be communal grazing land, which given the limited resources of the Peninsula, threatened their very existence.

Van Riebeeck had to revise his strategy to build enough supplies for the fleet, rather than continue being a burden and needing supplies himself, and released Company employees to farm and supply the DEIC at set prices with the needed produce. The DEIC was heavily involved in setting these 'freeburghers' up and belittled the concerns of the Peninsula Khoikhoi.

20 Feb 1657. "Some persons having desired their freedom, and land for cultivation, the Commander went out with them again, in order, as yesterday, to inspect the parcels which they might select, and then to agree upon the preliminary conditions. As was the case yesterday, he visited the camps of Herry and some of the Caepmans, and held with them a conversation of no particular importance, giving them tobacco and brandy etc. ... Herry and the fat Caepman with some of their chief men seeing us looking on, and hearing us talk of building houses here and there ... asked us, if we built houses, and broke up the ground there, which they observed to be our intention, where should they live? We replied that they might live under our protection, and that there was room enough everywhere for them to graze their cattle; that we were going to employ this land to grow bread and tobacco, when we would, like good friends, give them a share etc on which they expressed themselves satisfied, but it might be easily seen that it was not quite to their mind". (Moodie p93)

The granting of farm land to *freeburghers* was a concept that was completely foreign to the Khoikhoi who viewed land as a shared resource over which the concept of ownership did not apply. Within a short while the best and most well-watered land of the Cape Peninsula in the Liesbeek Valley was no longer available. The failure to reach an understanding with the Dutch caused tension to rise.

The Khoikhoi stole ploughing oxen from the DEIC in an attempt to halt the turning of the soil and the Dutch of course retaliated, resulting in a conflict with the Khoikhoi consisting of a few violent confrontations. Doman (also a trader and middleman with language skills) of the Goringhaicona instigated much of the action, being fully aware by this time that a process of permanent land loss had commenced. On 17 May 1659, after the Khoikhoi again stole cattle from one of the *freeburghers*, the Dutch withdrew to the Fort where they remained secure under a force of arms. In time, the frequency of Khoikhoi attacks abated and in September 1659 a small delegation came to enquire if van Riebeeck would be prepared to talk about peace. In reality it was a one-way conversation that resulted in a peace agreement

in words, but not in the hearts. The balance of power had shifted to the Dutch with the local Khoikhoi being very wary of their guns.

18 January 1660 "... the reason why they had made war upon us, was, that we everywhere broke up the best land with the plough, and they thought to prevent that by taking away the oxen with which we did it, That now, seeing that we were strengthening ourselves against their attacks, and as they consequently found it impossible to drive the Dutch from the Cape, they wished again to make peace with us, and to live as before. ... When they were asked why they wished to come to the Cape and make peace, they said it was their birth place, and their own land, full of pure water, after which their hearts always longed, that in Saldanha Bay all was dry and brakish; and that Oedasoia would not allow them to lie on the best places and rivers, and had told them that they must arrange with us, so that they might live in peace and quiet in their own country." (Moodie p198)

6 April 1660 "This day peace was renewed at the Fort with the captain and chief of the Caepmans, Herry, and all the principal and oldest of the tribe; it was promised, upon both sides, no longer to molest each other, but, of the stolen cattle, there was none remaining that could be restored; They dwelt long upon our taking every day for our own use more of the land, which had belonged to them from all ages, and on which they were accustomed to depasture their cattle etc. They also asked, wether, if they were to come into Holland, they would be permitted to act in a similar manner, saying " what would it signify if you remained here at the Fort, but you come quite into the interior, selecting the best for yourselves, and never once asking whether we like it, or whether it will put us to any inconvenience." They therefore insisted very strenuously that they should be again allowed free access to the pasture." (Moodie p205)

Van Riebeeck decided that the best course of action was to build a physical barrier around the DEIC agricultural lands. It is of interest to note that the Council of Policy Resolutions clearly reveals that the initial intent was to build a cattle-proof barrier to stop the Khoikhoi from driving away Company cattle. Parts of the Liesbeek River that were too deep or swampy to drive cattle across were also strategically identified to form a combination of physical and natural barriers. Using natural features, palisade fences and in some areas a wild almond hedge (part of which still survives in Kirstenbosch) a barrier was constructed to control the movement of cattle from areas under DEIC hegemony. The barrier was supplemented with a series of small forts or lookout posts strategically situated on points of high ground close on either side of the Liesbeek River. Work gangs were sent out to steepen the banks of the Liesbeek, and furthermore the *freeburghers* were ordered to secure the eastern borders of their land with thorn and brushwood barriers to prevent the movement of cattle.

6. The Defended Boundary

From the earliest point of the settlement, the DEIC had erected watch towers at strategic places, always fearing an invasion of other European nations. The exact location of these is hard to reconstruct: maps are rather inaccurate and descriptions that might have seemed detailed at the time, but with a completely transformed landscape today, are of very little help. These early outposts were an extension of the fort into the interior and a warning towards the Khoikhoi. They were later incorporated into the defensive line around the DEIC and *freeburgher's* land.

Two of these early redoubts of interest to this report are Duynhoop and Coornhoop.

Wednesday 2 October 1652 *"It has also been decided to position the traenketels (train-oil boilers) at the Salt River ... And, to protect these kettles and equipment, build a small redoubt on a certain high dune just in from the mouth / just in the mouth [as if on an island?] of said river on this side [meaning fort side] ..."* (Resolutions, C. 1, pp 22-24)

Tuesday 17 July 1657 *"They have identified a very suitable and well positioned area for the construction of the principal and strongest redoubt at about 4 to 5 hours from the fort, behind Table Mountain, on a high hill in the plain between Steven and Jan Reijniersz' houses or buildings, where it is very well positioned to protect the Company's planted orchard as well as the Company's and the freeburghers' buildings and sown land parcels. ... So that the mentioned redoubt will have a view from the beach of Table Bay over the cultivated land and the Company's orchard all the way to the Bosheuvcl which is situated in the centre of the nek between the bays, with exception of the Company's fields situated in a valley behind another hill below the forest opposite Harmans' brewery... . Further we thought about the name of the redoubt, which because of its location we approved to name Coornhoop."* (Resolutions, C.1, pp 238-241)

Because of the skirmishes between the Dutch and the Peninsula Khoikhoi, van Riebeeck decided to build a physical border. This is quite well documented in the archival sources.

On 4 August 1659, it is decided to build a fence: *"The commander went out accompanied as on Thursday and Saturday, and for the same purpose, and found, that from the crooked tree between the dwelling of Harman and Brinckman, to the wood of the sawyer Leendert Cornelis van Zeevenhysen, (lying close by the Kloof Pass) a wooden railing, as before described, could be very easily made, so as to prevent the Hottentoots from driving any cattle away, much better than any ditch or intrenchement"* (Moodie p186-187)

9 August 1659 *"After great trouble it has been ascertained that the Fresh River Liesbeeck is so deep, and the banks so steep, from the house of Jan Reyniers to the crooked tree above that of Jan Martens of Vrielants, inclusive, if only cleared of the rushes, that no cattle can be driven through, except at three or four narrow places, which may easily be deepened, and the Hottentoots thus compelled to cross*

between the sea coast and Reynier's house (a measured distance of about 500 roods) or betwixt the said crooked tree and the wood of the free sawyer Leendert Cornelis van Sevenhuysen (an estimated distance of 11 or 12000 roods) to be enclosed by embankment or otherwise. In some place the digging seemed of uncertain advantage It was at length found out ... that ... the cheapest mode would be to enclose the said distances with a fence, like the cattle markets in the Fatherland, that is to say a paling with two rails.... To stop the cattle. ... it will include no other corn land than the Company's, Stevens', Vredens', Boomtien's, and Jan Reyniers' – in all about 170 morgen In the line of this fence, 100 roods from the Liesbeeck and Salt River, and also at the Sand Hills on the coast, it is also resolved to erect two wooden guard houses of 12 feet square, for at those spots is the best look out, and the greatest thoroughfare of the Hottentoots and Saldanhars ; a third guard house shall be placed near the crooked tree between L. Cornelis and the farmers of Vasagie's party, opposite to the Cleyheuvelds and the Bosbergen, under the protection of which the greater part of the free men, and the Company may graze their ploughing oxen. It was next week discovered that the Company might save 1000 Spanish Dollars in nails etc by adopting a different plan for one portion of the line, i.e. a hedge of dead bushes, pega pega, on the 7th Nov the colonists living beyond it were ordered to make a similar fence each along his own land ; along the paling was planted a hedge of "bitter almond trees". p.187 – ." (Moodie p187)

15 Sep 1659 "The Commander went out to examine the fence of dead bushes or pega pega ; some of the heaviest cattle were driven against it to test its efficiency, but they could not break through – 1150 roods had been made by 30 men in 20 days, the greatest difficulty its liability to fire, 3 persons were accordingly appointed to guard it against fire ... a third guard house was ordered to be erected and to be called Hout den bul." (Moodie p191).

30 Sep 1659 "The Commander, after the usual round of inspection ...fixed the site of the third guard house, for which the timber was now ready, and named it Houd den Bul ; 21 men were employed scarping the banks of the river, so as to make it more difficult for Hottentoots to drive cattle over." (Moodie P193)

25 February 1660 "This day we measured the circuit of the Cape settlement (omslag) and found that from the sea shore to the first guard house, the Kuyk Uit, round outside all the Company's and free men's arable land, and over the height of the Bosheuveld to the sawyer Leendert Cornelis, at the Bosberg, was a distance of 3673 roods, that is, from the shore to the principal projected station of the mounted guard, 1320 roods, and the other portion 2353 roods ; along this line it is intended to plough, to the breadth of one roe, for the purpose of planting and sowing, as thickly as possible, bitter almond trees, and all kinds of thorns and brambles of rapid growth ; so that no cattle nor sheep can be driven through ; like the divisions of jurisdiction betwixt the territories of some dukes and lords in Cologne and Germany, with here and there guard houses and watch towers with bars, to protect the farmers from external attacks, for which the guard houses and bars already made, will answer" (Moodie p199)

An un-transcribed map of 1661 (figure 3) gives some clues as to the position of parts of the early defensive line. It extended from the Salt River Mouth where the redoubts *Keert De Koe* and *Duinhoop* were built to keep watch over the northern cattle crossing at Varsche Drift. The term *Keert de koe* means “Turn the Cow” a direct reference to the need to control the movement of cattle from the DEIC held area. It is thought that *Keert De Koe* was built in Maitland, which makes sense because it was close to the crossing point to Table Bay. Cannon Road in Maitland may be a direct reference to the outpost. Until just before 1900, Maitland consisted of a very large outspan (see Figure 1) that lay just beyond Varsche Drift. Outspans can have histories that go back for centuries, in this case the land use probably dates back to when Khoikhoi herdsmen mustered their cattle on the outskirts of the DEIC held area by the Salt River. It is of interest to note that this land now forms part of Ysterplaat Airforce Base.

The City of Cape Town has attempted to geo-rectify the 1661 map which places the outpost known as *Coornhoop* on the site of the Mowbray Maternity hospital. Interestingly the late amateur archaeologist and historian, M. Emms, before the benefit of GIS systems and digital technology also determined that the hospital was the most likely site of *Coornhoop* (Emms, unpublished manuscript housed in University of Cape Town Libraries). This however is in conflict with a description contained in the Resolutions, as the Mowbray site does not enjoy a view of the Table Bay shoreline (obscured by Devil's Peak) nor is it on a hill (anymore). The 1661 map also makes reference to a palisade fence (*schutpaling*), possibly indicated as a faint line on the document. This is clearly placed on land between the Black and Liesbeek Rivers.



Figure 3: This un-authored 1661 map shows the early land grants as well as some of the outposts. The Salt River estuary and Paarden Eiland is also depicted (after Atlas of Mutual Heritage).

If we are to assume that the City of Cape Town and M. Emms are correct in the placing of *Coornhoop*, the next outpost in the line known as *Ruiterwacht* (horsemen's outpost) would have been placed on what is today Rondebosch Common. Dr Dan Sleigh (2004) has produced a plausible map of possible locations of the early DEIC forts may be considered consistent with the balance of evidence in the historic records (see figure 4). He is also in agreement that *Coornhoop* was in Mowbray, *Ruiterwacht II* was on the Observatory site and *Ruiterwacht I* was further towards where Rondebosch common is today.

It is clear from the archival excerpts that the fence was intended to keep cattle in, and not primarily to keep Khoikhoi out. But nevertheless, the effect of this barrier was the exclusion of Peninsula Khoikhoi from their main grazing lands that the DEIC reserved exclusively for the use of the company and *freeburghers*. Still available to them was more marginal grazing along the edge of the Cape Flats, the eastern edge of the Black River estuary and possibly the outskirts of Green Point and Hout Bay. As a result of the conflict Autshumato was imprisoned on Robben Island (from which he escaped), Doman was badly injured and died in 1660. Krotoa (Autshumato's niece) alienated and isolated, succumbed to illness and addiction. Essentially, within 8 years of van Riebeeck landing at the Cape the structure of Khoikhoi society on the Peninsula had all but collapsed. Relegated to marginal existence on the fringes of the DEIC, the Peninsula groups either broke up and joined other groups in the interior or became assimilated into an acculturated existence with the DEIC hegemony.

The truth is that a real and tangible fence did not demarcate the expansion of the DEIC and *freeburghers* into the land beyond it. As a matter of fact, this expansion happened at quite a pace, so much so that in 1661 already the *Coornhoop* redoubt was obsolete and demolished, its building material used for the construction of farm houses.

*Die algehele verswakking van die Skiereilandse Koina, en die voortgesette uitbreiding van die Kaapse boerderybedryghede het hierdie reduit (Coornhoop), wat nou taamlik ver agtr die grens was, ondienstg gemaak. Op 13 Desember 1661 is 50 morgen grond "daer de redoubt Coorenhoop state" afegemeet en in eiendom aan die vryburger Tielman Hendricksz gegee. Volgens 'n kaart van die Kaapse nedersetting in 1661 was daar nie meer as 20 morg onbesette grond in die omgewing van die reduit nie, en Hendricksz se nuwe plaas sou waarskynlik die perseel van die reduit ingesluit het. Ongeveer ses maande later het kommandeur Zacharias Wagenaer die reduit laat afbreek en die materiaal na die DEIC se vrugteboord, 'n musketskoot daarvandaan.....(Sleight, **Buitenposte**: p139)*

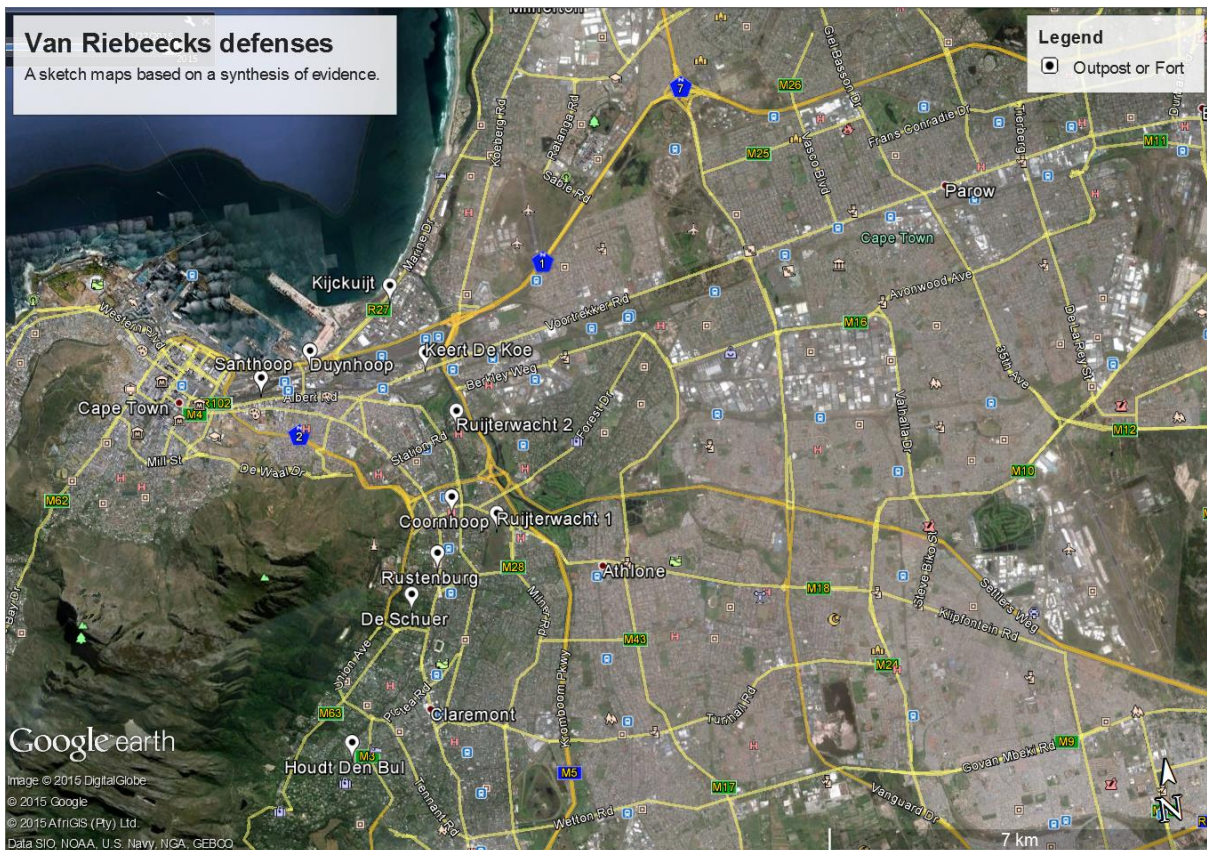


Figure 4: An educated estimate of the positions of the outposts and forts of the early DEIC. This is derived from the work of Dr Dan Sleight and opinions of others.

7. Conclusion

7.1 The Two Rivers Urban Park as an Historic Frontier

While we can never know the exact positions of van Riebeeck's defensive line, watch towers and redoubts there is compelling evidence to suggest that the spine of land between the Liesbeek and Black Rivers, that now houses the Royal Observatory and Valkenburg Hospitals, played a key role. The site for the Royal Observatory was chosen in 1820 on account of its key location on raised ground that placed it in line of sight of Table Bay so the falling of the *time ball* could be observed from the Table Bay and the Castle. Descriptions contained in Moodie and the Resolutions indicate that one of the major forts of the DEIC – Khoikhoi confrontation (Fort *Ruyterwacht II*) was built on the same site as its signals could be observed from the Fort and other watchtowers that formed the system. Indications are that the barrier would have extended through the grounds of Valkenburg Hospital, the next high ground being the site of the Hospital Administration, then southwards possibly across Rondebosch Common before turning westwards to Kirstenbosch. The exact places where incidents and confrontations occurred can never be known, but what is evident is that the historic landscape contained within the land between the Black

and Liesbeek River marks one of the most tangible and earliest historical frontiers that were to eventually herald the fragmentation of the Khoikhoi nation.

The historic records have revealed a number of interesting observations:

- The wetland that encompassed the Black River, Salt River and Liesbeek estuary (incorporating land in the confluence of the rivers) was of primary importance as grazing land, and was able to support thousands of head of cattle for periods of time. Frequent reference is made to the location as being the place where the Khoikhoi camped. The historic presence of a large outspan in Maitland is an interesting linkage.
- The Dutch identified the fertile valley of the Liesbeek Valley as prime agricultural land. The turning of the soil evoked the ire of the Khoikhoi as this was good grazing land used by them.
- The "fence" that was erected by the Dutch was a rather *ad hoc* barrier that involved using a mixture of natural features (deepening of the Liesbeek), a palisade fence in places and compelling the *freeburgher* farmers to erect barriers (thorn bushes, hedges, palisades) on the eastern side of their lands. Hence the eastern side of the first land grants as per the 1661 map marks the edge of the DEIC land. This places the "border" firmly between the Liesbeek and Black Rivers or in certain areas along the eastern bank of the Liesbeek River.
- The positions of forts and outposts are difficult to determine. Indications are the *Keert de Koe* was situated close to the railway crossing of the Black River in Maitland, an outpost *Ruiterwacht II* was on the Royal Observatory site and *Ruiterwacht I* further south, possibly as far as Rondebosch Common. Consensus of opinion is that the bigger fort, *Coornhoop* was located in Mowbray.
- The Liesbeek Valley was therefore contested and likely to be the general place of Dutch-Khoikhoi confrontation.
- The evidence from historic records is compelling in terms of identifying the TRUP land parcel as an historic frontier.

The historical evidence is cohesive enough to confirm that the TRUP forms part the first frontier between the Dutch colonists and the Peninsula Khoikhoi. This historical landscape extends from the Salt River Mouth and follows the Eastern side of the Liesbeek River through the Observatory land, Mowbray, urban Rondebosch to the Bishopscourt area. The archaeology of this frontier has proven to be very sparse, and as to date no physical evidence of the watch towers, forts, or the palisade fence have been found, however it is not impossible that evidence will in time be uncovered.

7.2 Significance

The history of this landscape is ancient and tragic. Not only does it mark “the beginning of the end” of Khoikhoi culture but it also symbolises the process and patterns whereby the indigenous inhabitants of Africa, the New World, Asia and Australia-New Zealand, succumbed to the tidal wave of colonial globalisation. Although there are no tangible remnants of the actual places of conflict, forts or outposts or graves, the topography and “place” survive albeit greatly transformed by more recent layers of development. The valley of the Liesbeek, Black rivers the confluence and remnants of the Salt River estuary exist today. In the context of the history of South Africa this is an historical place. It is suggested that the Liesbeek River itself is worthy of declaration of a grade II Provincial Heritage Site along with the remaining open land, the confluence and wetlands.

7.3 Recommendations

- In the absence of any archaeological evidence to date, the rivers, the wetlands and confluence and river-side pastures are the remnants of the early cultural landscape. The creation and rehabilitation of further green areas is strongly supported, including where possible the restoration of estuarine conditions (possible demolition of canals in places).
- The Varsche Drift crossings are worthy of further physical heritage survey and assessment albeit that the area lies within a milieu of railway and freeway crossings.
- The confluence of the Black and Liesbeek Rivers has special significance as it this is possibly the least untransformed wetland in the study area.
- Any open land within the study area (including hospital and observatory land) should be considered to be potentially archaeologically sensitive and should be screened/surveyed before any transformation or development.
- Physically commemoration of the events that took place on the site should take the form of adjudication of written proposals to this end. Certainly there is potential to develop a site museum that might, for example consider the environmental history of the site, the way that places change as well as the history and culture of the Khoikhoi, however more innovative alternatives may be more appropriate.
- As a first step, the identification of land for heritage grading and the restitution of wetland areas will go to some distance to honouring events of the past.

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