



TWO RIVERS URBAN PARK, CAPE TOWN

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT

**Including erven Oude Molen Erf 26439 RE Alexandra Erf 24290 RE
Valkenburg Erf 26439 RE, erven 118877,160695 The Observatory erf
26423-0-1 River Club erf 151832 Ndabeni Erf 103659-0-2 RE**

Case number 16071903

**Submitted to Heritage Western Cape in terms of the
additional requirements of the Interim Comment
dated 3 May 2017 and in terms of Section 38(8) of the
National Heritage Resources Act**

October 2017

Prepared by Melanie Attwell and Associates and ARCON Heritage and Design for: Heritage
Western Cape on behalf of:

Provincial Government of the Western Cape (Department of Transport and Public Works) in
partnership with the City of Cape Town.

Two Rivers Urban Park Heritage Impact Assessment Baseline Study (Supplementary Report) prepared for Heritage Western
Cape, the Provincial Government of the Western Cape in partnership with the City of Cape Town

Executive Summary

This is a Supplementary Heritage Report for the Two Rivers Urban Park intended to respond to the requirements of an Interim Comment from Heritage Western Cape: IARCom received on 3rd May 2017. It is submitted to IARCom in terms of Section 38(8) of the NHRA and in order that The Provincial Government of the Western Cape in partnership with the City of Cape Town, may receive a final comment for submission to the Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning. This does not constitute a stand-alone report and is compiled in order to provide clarifying information as requested by Heritage Western Cape (HWC). This report must therefore be read in conjunction with the report entitled Two Rivers Urban Park Baseline Heritage Study submitted to Heritage Western Cape In February 2017 and considered by the Impact Assessment Committee on 12 April 2017.

HWC (IARCom) requested further information on the following items:

- Discussion of the estuarine system and particularly in respect of the north of the site and its history. For response see **Section One** of this Report.
- The National Khoisan Legacy Project and the National Liberation and Resistance Project undertaken by the Department of Arts and Culture (Province) and the National Government respectively. For Response see **Section Two** of the Report.
- Living heritage in relation to the d'Almeida incident of 1510. For response see **Section Three**.
- The River Club and its relationship to Afrikaner Nationalism. For response see **Section Four**.

In addition, the Committee commented on the fact that community groups had expressed concerns regarding the landscape as a whole. The Committee also noted that the TRUP site was of outstanding cultural and historical significance. For a re-iteration of this item contained in the Baseline Report See **Section Five**.

The Report ends with a combined set of Conclusions (**See Section Six**) which are also contained within the body of the Report. They are summarised as follows:

- The northern and north-western edge of the TRUP site is of high heritage significance in terms of colonial movement patterns centring around Vaarschedrift which served as a crossing point along the movement routes from the North. The edge has been heavily modified by human action. The estuarine system has also been altered by human action to the point that it no longer functions. The restoration of an estuarine and wetland system to the north of the site is not possible without major physical interventions of currently existing barriers and “pinch points”. Amendments to the industrial landscape to the north are unfeasible.
- The Legacy Project and related documentation could not be accessed due to an embargo. The application to the TRUP site in specific terms was subsequently

not possible. However, principles around intangible heritage and living memory were examined and applied as general principles. Key findings were the following:

- Documentation and living heritage are not mutually exclusive.
 - Intangible heritage and living memory do not “freeze” a site but rather serves to explore issues around diversity and significance.
 - Non-site-specific interpretation is of high significance and may usefully be applied.
 - The extensive public participation process associated with the TRUP site has revealed clear requirements from previously marginalized communities.
 - In order to avoid gender disparity in the interpretation of sites, space should be given to the role of women.
- D’Almeida incident and living heritage:
 - There is no evidence for the site of the massacre (despite the DAC claim) that the massacre took place at the confluence of the Black and Liesbeek Rivers. For geographical reasons and documentary reasons explained, this is unlikely. There is no archaeological evidence and no bodies have been found.
 - Making an unsubstantiated claim to “a” site of the massacre without proof should be treated with care as it may devalue the substantial significance of the event.
 - In terms of living heritage, the event is significant both in terms of the revival of First Nation identity, and in terms of the history of the country but cannot without evidence be conclusively linked to the TRUP site.
 - The TRUP site is therefore of outstanding heritage significance in terms of living heritage.
 - The presence of villages “behind Saldanha” are clear and may have been in proximity to the riverine corridors. They provide incontrovertible proof of residence and presence and should be celebrated in terms of living heritage and culture.
- Conclusions to the link between the River Club and Afrikaner Nationalism:
 - The River Club and its related sports fields have no provable link to the rise of Afrikaner Nationalism. There is a peripheral link into the development of sports fields and facilities nation-wide as a response to the findings of the First Carnegie Commission of Inquiry into the “poor-white” problem but this has little to do with Afrikaner Nationalism.
 - The heritage significance of the landscape as a whole.
 - This was dealt with at length in the original Baseline Study submitted and the findings further are amplified in the Supplementary Report. This is particularly with reference to pre-colonial themes. The Report finds that

the landscape as a whole is of outstanding heritage significance. The Report sets out mechanisms for the exploration of intangible heritage and living culture and their expression which would need to be explored at a precinct or area specific level.

Final Comment: The Baseline Heritage Study, together with the Supplementary Heritage Report having met the requirements of Heritage Western Cape's Impact Assessment Review Committee, we now request that HWC supply the Provincial Government of the Western Cape in partnership with the City of Cape Town with a final comment on this application.

This is in order that both the Baseline and Supplementary Reports (Heritage) may be submitted together with other specialist studies as part of the Environmental Basic Assessment Report to the Department of Environment Affairs and Development Planning. This submission is to be made as per the requirements of the National Environmental Management Act (NEMA) and S 38(8) of the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA).

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Statement of independence

The Heritage Report (HR) submitted here was researched and undertaken by Melanie Attwell and Associates and Mr Graham Jacobs of ARCON Heritage and Design. Both parties are members of the Association of Heritage Assessment Practitioners.

The views expressed in the report are the objective, research-based, independent views and conclusions of Ms Attwell and Mr Jacobs. Neither party has any business, personal, financial or other interest in the proposed development apart from remuneration for the work submitted. Neither party has been influenced by the views and opinions of other parties.

Signed M J Attwell

1. Introduction

The Two Rivers Urban Park High Level Heritage Baseline Study (hereafter called the Report) was submitted to Heritage Western Cape's Impact Assessment Committee on 12th April 2017. A presentation was made on the Report by Melanie Attwell and Associates (MA&A); and questions and comments posed by the Committee were responded to by MA&A and NM & Associates Planners and Designers, the lead planning consultants for the project. The project was commissioned by the Western Cape Government: Department of Transport and Public Works who is working in partnership with the City of Cape Town.

The outline, scope and content of the Report in terms of the Notification of Intent to Develop submitted in terms of S 38(1) of the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) had been agreed at a meeting between Heritage Western Cape on 17 August 2016 where MA&A and NM & Associates Planners and Designers, as well as other heritage consultants involved in separate and related heritage studies for the site, were in attendance.

The following was agreed in terms of the NID and confirmed in a letter from HWC dated 25 August 2016:

- That a phased approach would be followed with a high-level baseline study followed by more detailed HIAs. (The NID submitted in July 2016 also made it clear that any detailed and site-specific analysis was to be undertaken in terms of the relevant detailed HIAs).
- The first phase i.e. the Baseline Report submitted and presented to IACom on 12 April 2017, must include the identification of all heritage resources; an identification of heritage resource consultation with the City of Cape Town; a response to the public participation; and a full set of heritage related indicators.

These requirements were included in full in the Baseline Study reviewed on 12 April 2017.

The Interim Comment received on 3rd May 2017 requested further information on the following items:

- Discussion of the estuarine system and particularly in respect to the north of the site and its history.
- The National Khoisan Legacy Project and the National Liberation and Resistance Project undertaken by the Department of Arts and Culture (Province) and the National Government respectively.
- Living heritage in relation to the d'Almeida incident of 1510.
- The River Club and its relationship to Afrikaner Nationalism.

The Committee also noted that community groups present had raised concerns regarding the cultural and natural landscape and *inter alia* the potential loss of open space qualities. For the Interim Comment of 3rd May 2017 see **Annexure 1**.

In relation to the latter and the concerns raised by IACom regarding the planning framework, NM and Associates agreed to make a presentation of the wider planning and development framework for the TRUP. (This was undertaken on 29th August 2017. Members of the public and interested and affected parties were also present and asked questions and made comments).

The Committee noted that, based on the findings of the TRUP High Level Baseline Study and the heritage resources identified, the site is of extremely high heritage significance and for this reason the site may be considered a Grade 11 Heritage Site or a Grade 1 site.

Based on the above, the Committee chose not to endorse the Report, instead providing an Interim Comment entitled, "Interim Comment in terms of Section 38(8) of the National Heritage Resources Act (Act 25 of 1999) and the Western Cape Provincial Gazette 6061 Notice 298 of 2003", and requiring additional information. After consultation with the Acting TRUP Program Manager and NM & Associates it was decided to submit a Supplementary Report to HWC responding to the items raised in discussion. This response was conveyed to HWC by the Project Manager, Mr G Gerber from the Provincial Government Western Cape in a letter dated 3rd May 2017.

Not all requests for information from MA&A, however were raised in open discussion at the engagement with IACom and several issues only emerged after the Committees' closed session.

Explanation regarding the structure of the report

The requirements of the Interim Comment from HWC's IACom require input on items that are not necessarily thematically or chronologically linked. Consequently, this Supplementary Report is structured to respond to each of the Interim Comments separately, and in the order that they were requested. The Report ends with a series of conclusions relating to the items requested in terms of the Interim Comment. Conclusions are included at the end of each Section and again at the end of the report in Section Six entitled "Conclusions" for ease of reference. The Report ends with a request to endorse both the Baseline Study and the Supplementary Report on the grounds that the additional specifications have been fulfilled within the limitations set both by the information available and the policy applications where they exist or do not exist.

The report is structured into the following Sections:

- **Section One:** Discussion around the Estuarine System, particularly of the northern boundary of the Site.

- **Section Two:** The National Khoisan Legacy Project and the National Liberation and Resistance Project undertaken by the Department of Arts and Culture (Province) and the National Government respectively where such information is available. (to be undertaken with the assistance of the Department of Arts and Culture). This information has not been forthcoming and is currently under embargo.
- **Section Three:** The d'Almeida massacre and living heritage.
- **Section Four:** Information regarding the River Club Building and the rise of Afrikaner Nationalism.
- **Section Five:** Landscape based assessment of significance in terms of regional and local significance: A summing up.
- **Section Six:** Conclusions and request for comment
- Annexures 1 and 2
- Diagrams

2. Assumptions and Limitations affecting the Study

The Report is based on the following assumptions:

- That the additional research and analysis in this Supplementary report is required in order to further assess the cultural significance of the sites.
- That values and assessments are based rationally and on evidence. This evidence may be diverse, even conflicting in character, origins and interpretation; but evidence nonetheless.
- That living heritage has its origins in authentic events, rituals and narratives and all efforts are made to achieve historical accuracy.
- In the interests of authenticity - a guiding heritage principle – and, because the report is a response to a legislative process that is potentially open to appeal, the rhetorical question posed by HWC at the meeting of 12th April 2017, “Does it really matter, is it is not true if enough people wish it to be true?” cannot be used as a guiding principle in this report.
- Findings are based on diverse interpretations of historical events of significance which may not (as intangible heritage) be place-specific but are nevertheless considered to be of high heritage importance.
- That assumptions made on tangible and intangible heritage are based on current modes of thought, investigations and international practice, (see ICOMOS 2003). The link between tangible and intangible is strongly asserted. The Report notes that there are no formal guidelines in South African heritage on these matters, apart from a Draft Declaration of 2009 (Maropeng draft document) which has been carried no further. HWC has no guidelines for the mainstreaming of intangible heritage into HIA's.
- That analysis and assumptions on “living heritage” is based on definitions contained within the NHRA (Act 25 of 1999).
- That future work would be required at HWC's request, (as recommended in the Baseline Study) at a Precinct or area HIA level.

- That the role of the Baseline Study and Supplementary Report (as discussed at the meeting of 17th August 2016), is to set parameters within which issues may be identified and recommendations made, and not to provide a comprehensive history of the area and surrounds.
- That public consultation has been extensive and has captured and responded to many of the concerns raised and suggestions made by I&AP's. Meetings, presentations dialogues workshops and one on one meetings are listed on the website: <http://www.westerncape.gov.za/general-publication/two-rivers-urban-park>. Heritage related meetings, workshops, discussions, responses to comment and one on one meetings with I&AP's are contained in Annexure 15.3.1. of the High-Level Baseline Study (Feb 2017).

The Report is also subject to the following limitations:

- That HWC has no set of guidelines for the mainstreaming of living memory, living heritage, symbolism and intangible heritage into HIA's. While the Department of Arts and Culture released a document entitled Draft National Policy on South African Living Heritage or the Maropeng Document in 2009, it has proceeded no further in term of finalisation and implementation.¹ The 2003 UNESCO Convention on the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage² provides elements of guidance in relation to living heritage and intangible heritage and guidance from that Convention has been utilised in the Report.³
- It was unclear why the specific question posed by IACom to establish a link to the River Club and Afrikaner Nationalism was posed at all and what the intention of the requirement was.⁴ After investigation, no link could be proven.
- That the Report is based on information at the time of writing.
- That the authors of this Report, despite their best efforts were not assisted in obtaining the information regarding the Legacy Projects which they were informed recently, were under embargo. Consequently, they were instructed by the project leaders to proceed without the relevant information and reports being obtained from DAC and / or other sources approached, as considerable delays had already been experienced in trying to obtain the relevant material since the inception of the project. This report therefore only utilises information on the Legacy Projects insofar as relevant information was available to the authors at the time of writing.
- In particular, it is noted that the Khoisan Legacy Project remains under embargo at the time of writing.⁵ The provision of the material affecting the Khoisan legacy Projects and the National Liberation Routes was not made available to the professional team, nor was any summing up or progress report provided, despite requests to obtain the relevant reports. Attempts to obtain information from DAC

¹ National Policy on South African Living Heritage First Draft March 2009 reads as a discussion document.

² THE DAC Document is based on this Convention and is referred to on many occasions.

³ The Maropeng Document has utilized the findings of the UNESCO Charter extensively.

⁴ The professional team were not present when the question was posed.

⁵ This restriction was drawn to the attention of IARCom by MA&A at the presentation in April 2017.

have been ongoing since 2016. Correspondence relating to attempts to get information on the project are available upon request by HWC. Because of the lack of specific information on the former, the Supplementary Report has limited its discussion to the implications of the Maropeng Document on South African Living Heritage on the site. It is hoped that this will prove a useful series of guiding principles for the Legacy Project insofar as it affects the site or sites in the future.

- A discussion of the estuarine system is a complex task and the report has attempted to draw on materials available from other specialist studies. These in themselves are complex and in some cases highly technical studies. The specialist studies affecting the nature of the estuarine system are listed in the Bibliographical Section for ease of reference.
- Due to the length and complexity of the High-Level Heritage Study entitled Two Rivers Urban Park Baseline Heritage Study, it is not to be re-used in its entirety. Only the additional requirements made by HWC have been responded to in this Report. In the instance of the assessment of the landscape as a whole (Section Five), extracts of the Baseline Report that are relevant to the understanding of the significance of the site are included in the body of the text. For a full understanding of the character descriptions, historical backgrounds, heritage resource presentation; and cultural landscape significance assessment, please refer to the TRUP Heritage Baseline Study of April 2017.

Section One: Discussion around the Estuarine System as a whole and particularly to the northern boundary of the Site.

1.1. Introduction

IARCom required a “discussion” of the estuarine system and the changes to the northern boundary of the TRUP site. It is assumed⁶ that the discussion was to include an explanation of the estuarine system, how it had altered over the years and what the implications for the changes to the “northern boundary” of the TRUP site might be; as well as the implications for the estuarine system extending beyond the northern boundary in the future. These are discussed below.

Planning and landscape-related discussions about the riverine and estuarine system, its potential in the short and medium term are also briefly discussed in Section 1.1.1. Historical changes to the northern boundary of the site are analysed in terms of historic maps in Section 1.3 and the maps are annotated for ease of reference.

1.1.1. River Corridors and TRUP Planning

The river corridors of the Black and Liesbeek Rivers, their contexts and the implication of the findings have been subject to intensive study throughout the Two Rivers Urban Park process. In addition, their conservation, improvement and the issues around access are

⁶ It was not made clear what the discussion was to include and what impact it was to have on the heritage requirements of the high-level Study.

key determinants of the aims of the Project. The river systems, ecology, biodiversity, water conditions and landscape assessment have featured prominently in public consultations, debates and scenario planning.

Scenario planning included discussions and analysis around the future of the river corridors, improved bio-diversity and heritage features and potentially a stronger (more historic) link with the sea. This was contained within a "Scenario A" which sketched the future of a Wetland Park re-establishing the lost estuarine environment and relationship with the sea.⁷

Ultimately Scenario A was considered desirable but unfeasible in the short and medium term because of the infrastructural adjustments necessary (moving of bridges, rail, de-canalisation) and the massive costs involved and implications of grade changes.

Specialist studies specifically related to the landscape include the following

- Tarna Klitzner Landscape Architect for the Provincial Government in partnership with the City of Cape Town: Two Rivers Urban Park: Green Corridor Management Plan 2016) (in draft).
- Blue Science, Aquatic and water Quality Assessment: Specialist Report for the Two Rivers Urban Park Development Framework, October 2016.
- Nick Helme Botanical Surveys, Specialist Botanical and Ecological Scoping Phase Input: proposed Two Rivers Urban Park, prepared for Royal Haskoning DHV, July 2016.
- Royal Haskoning DHV Two Rivers Urban Park Specialist Report: Modelling of Flood Mitigation Options on the Salt River, 2017.

A full list of studies is available on the TRUP website.

1.1.2. Location in relation to the riverine and wetland systems.

The TRUP site is situated within a significant riverine and wetland system. The system is legible despite the fragmented character of the area created by secure precincts including institutions such as the Alexandra Institute and Valkenburg Psychiatric Hospital where access is restricted. The landscape is most characteristic of a riparian landscape where river edges are natural and not canalised. It is a substantially modified landscape.

The TRUP site is situated at a key point in the City and as a result, opportunities exist for the site to link areas and communities formerly divided by apartheid.

The topography of the TRUP site is defined by the riverine system and contributes to its sense of place, character and scenic variety. (see Fig 1 below).

⁷ Workshop &: TRUP Consultation Process. Further scenarios included Scenario B – an extended wetland Park and Scenario C: A Preserved Park as drafted by the stakeholders themselves. Scenario A is mentioned as it refers to future planning in relation to an estuarine environment.

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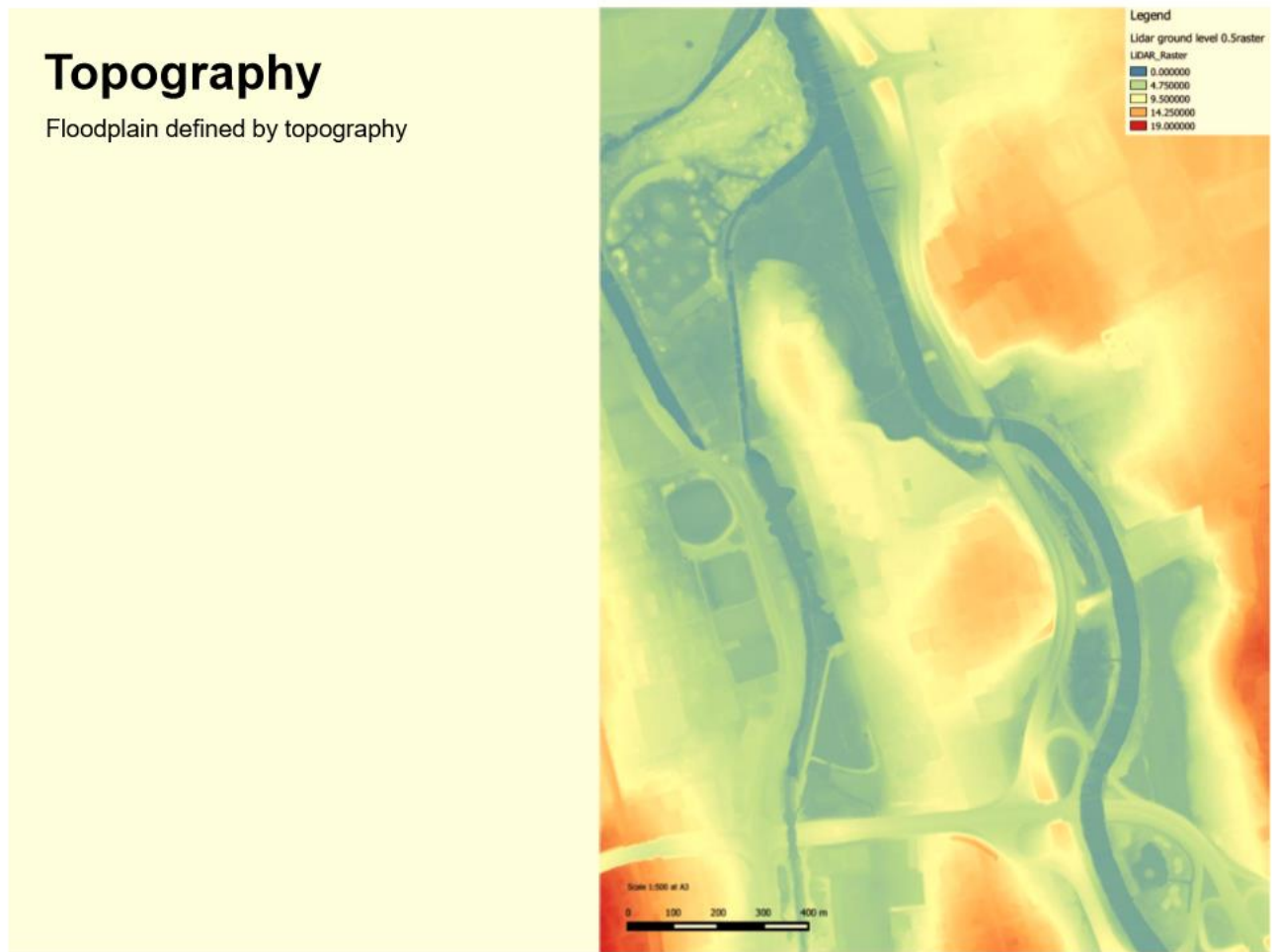


Fig 1. Topography of Riverine System: Showing how the landscape character of the site is defined by the riverine systems and the related topographies. Source: TKLA (2016). This also serves to give an indication of the wetland and historic riverine system.



Fig 2: Current Black, Liesbeek and Salt River systems with road and rail (barrier) networks. The original arms of the Liesbeek is arrowed.

The original (historic) course of the Liesbeek River (currently a “dead arm,” arrowed in Fig 2), and the earlier confluence of the Black and Liesbeek Rivers

(approximate) area (narrowed). Historical sources (see maps 4 to 9) would suggest that the Black and Liesbeek Rivers flowed into an extensive wetland near the Railway bridge (originally called the “Montagu” bridge) which fed into the Salt River. The confluence would then have fed into a wetland system.

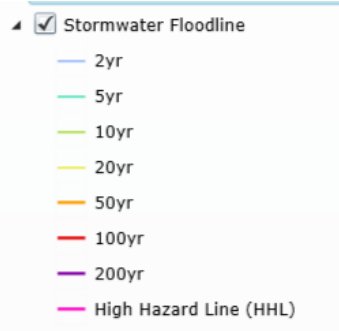
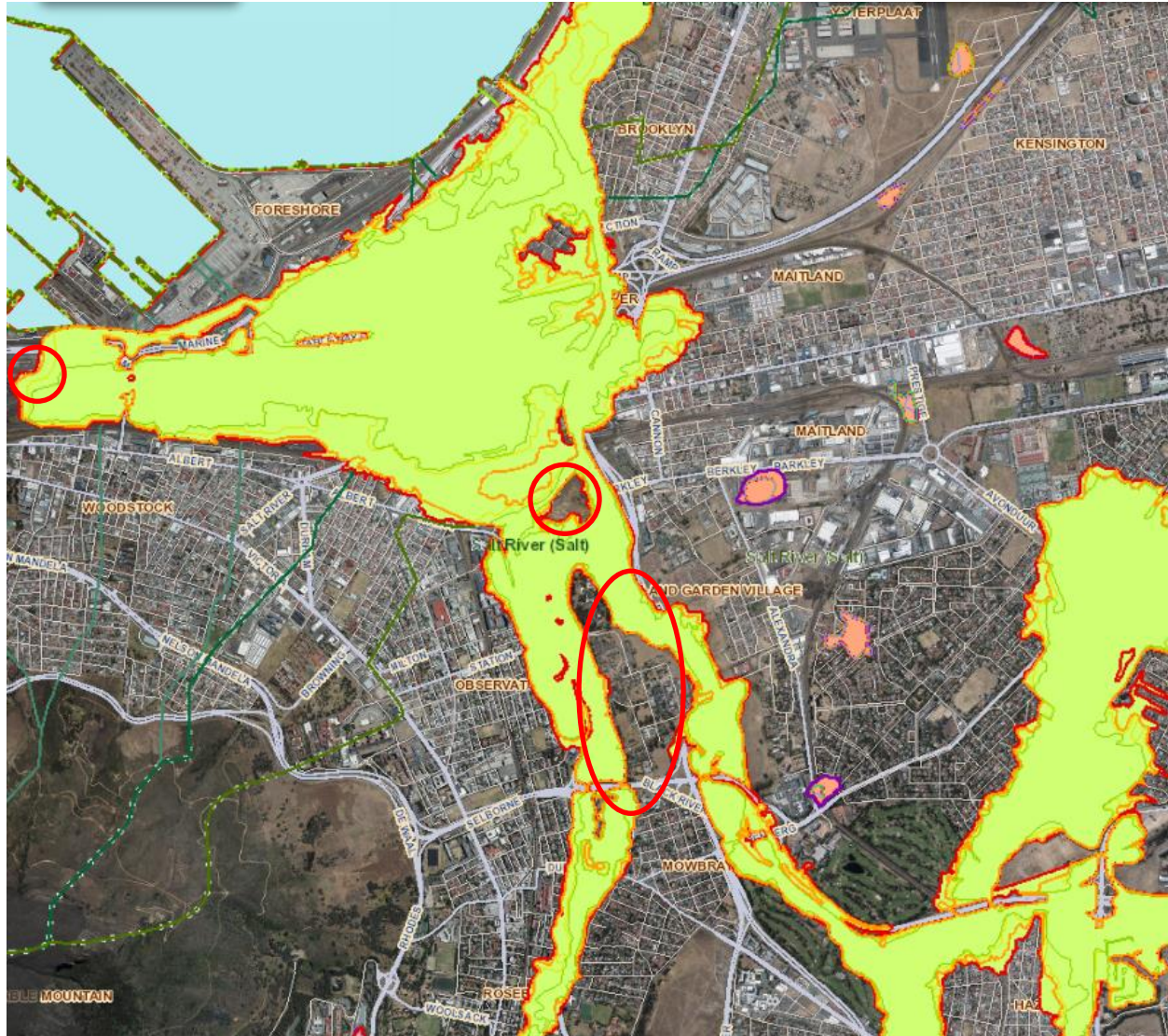


Fig 3. The extended flood prone areas of the TRUP and former estuarine areas from the 2 to the 200-year categories. Source City of Cape Town (date?)

Figure 3 gives an indication of the historic presence of the extensive estuarine system extending from the Black Salt and Liesbeek Rivers into an extensive estuarine environment extending along to the coastline towards the west. It also illustrates graphically the importance of the Valkenburg and (later) SAAO hills in the early fortifications of Cape Town and why Craig's Tower was placed where it was. It also explains where the high ground was in relation to the Vaarschedrift Crossing.

1.2. The nature of estuarine and riverine systems

The wetland and estuarine environments at the Salt River Estuary was a dynamic system and changed over time. The Salt River Lagoon, the wetland systems and even the site of the Salt River Mouth were subject to changes in relation to tides, winds and floods. This is illustrated by historical maps described below. Man-made modifications include the building of bridges, canalisation, land reclamation for harbour use and the development of transport infrastructure, creating a series of barriers to the estuarine system; and altering, and destroying its spatial, landscape and biological character. The historical estuarine system no longer exists as an ecological system.

Caution should therefore be sought in defining historic "fixed points" regarding estuarine systems, as even prior to canalisation and roadworks, the system was in a constant state of flux.

The river modifications affected the northern edge of the site in particular, with the creation of a "pinch point" at the railway bridge⁸ which had implications for flooding upstream and well as altering the wetland environment beyond the railway bridge and later transportation and urban developments.⁹

1.3. Chronological maps showing the modifications to the Rivers and Estuarine system.

The HWC requirement refers to the area north of the boundaries of TRUP and between TRUP and the original estuarine environment and the original coastline. The Report has noted (see above) that the wetlands, Salt River Lagoon, the Salt River Mouth and even the Black and Liesbeek River channels have been subject to a constant and dynamic state of flux by weather, tidal and other environment forces. These forces and the rate of change speeded up with the changes to the landscape occasioned by Colonial settlement. Consequently, the most useful tool for investigation is an annotated series of historical chronological maps.¹⁰ See also **Diagrams 01-03**.

⁸ Originally called the Montagu Bridge

⁹ This would have been as early as 1860.

¹⁰ Not all maps are accurate. The most accurate (about the coastline) are the nautical charts, and the early military maps. It should also be noted that there are no maps accurately representing the precolonial period.

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Fig 4. Detail of the Map Caart der Situatie van de Caap de Goede Hoop Van der Graaff 1786.

This section of the 1786 map shows the confluence of the Liesbeek and Black Rivers, cultivated fields at the edge of the Liesbeek Rivers and the mills on the hills beyond the Black River. There are routes and crossings shown in relation to the river system including a route to the north from Roodebloem and significant a river crossing or Drift over the Salt River. These routes may have been used since precolonial times as routes between Saldanha and the Peninsula. This map is not accurate in terms of the placement of the farmsteads.



Fig 5. The Estuarine system 1786. Detail of the Map *Caart der Situatie van de Caap de Goede Hoop Van der Graaff 1786*.

This extended view shows the estuarine system with the Black and Liesbeek feeding into the South River and the Salt River Estuary. An estuarine system of sandbanks, wetlands and marshes, extends north along the coastline to Paarden Island and beyond. The River mouth appears to have changes or there were multiple river mouths. The map refers to a “Oude Mond” (arrowed) north of Paarden Island. The map shows a clear pattern of routes to the north within areas of potential grazing opportunities which may have been used by the Khoisan before the contact period. There are at this time (1786) 3 mouths to the lagoon which are arrowed.



Fig 6. Plan Militaire de la Peninsule du Cap Bridges Royal Engineer undated but late eighteenth century. UCT Archives BMM 6821. f.1. (713).

While the map is not entirely accurate it does contain an extensive annotated list of place names and shows an extensive series of routes in the vicinity of the TRUP site. It refers to the Salt river (item 2 and 5), the route to False Bay (item 8) or the Main Road, Roodebloem (item z) Domain de Joubert (item W – probably Coornhoop) and refers to Paarden Island (Paarden Ile du Cheval). Here the confluence of the Black and Liesbeek Rivers is identified in the approximate position of the railway bridge (arrowed) but the transport routes are different.

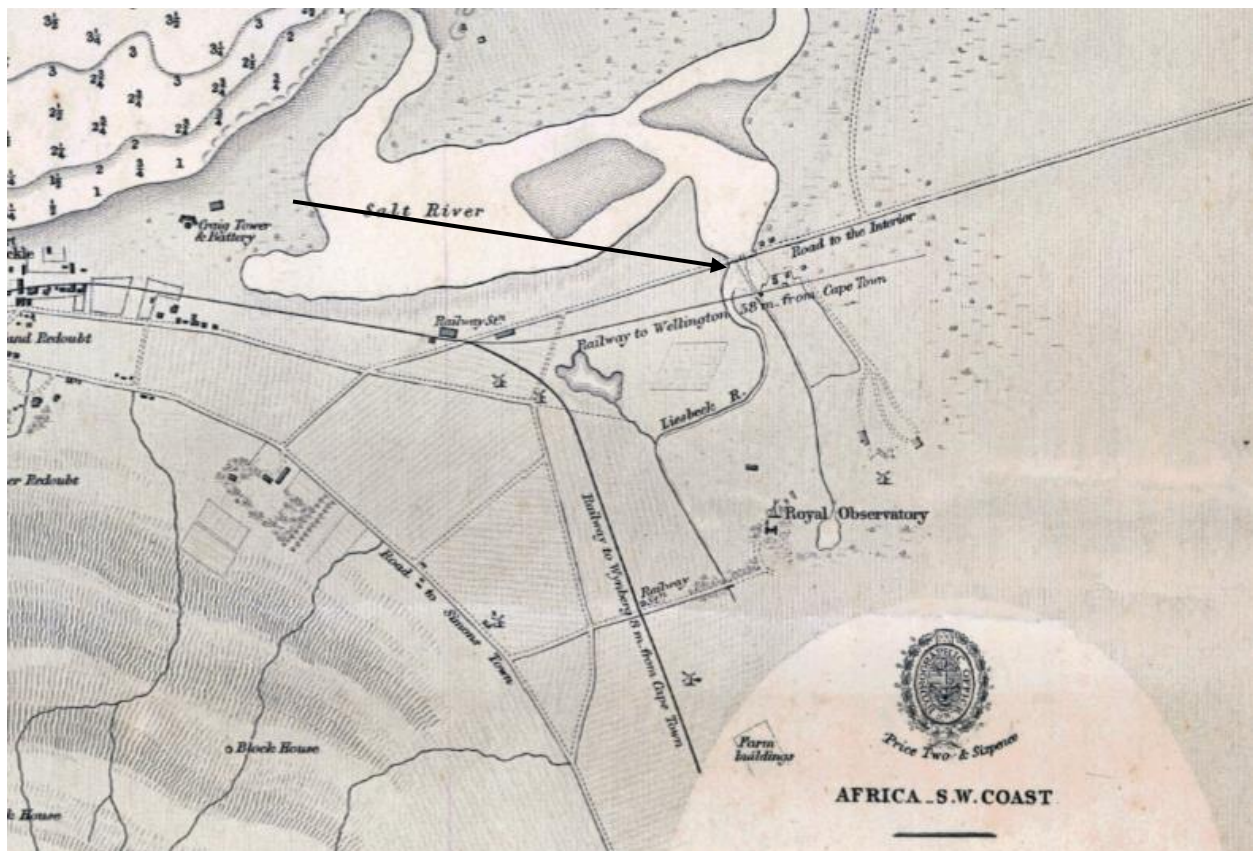


Fig 7. Nautical Chart: W Skead 1858-1860 (detail).

This useful chart shows careful attention the natural coastline before any infill. It also shows the confluence of the Black and Liesbeek Rivers just after the building of the railway bridge. It shows both rivers in relation to the Observatory hill and suggests that the original confluence was beyond the railway bridge to the north of the TRUP site where both rivers fed into a lagoon system which is called the Salt River, just north of the road to the interior. A part of the Liesbeek River is shown as feeding in to a wetland system near Vaarschedrift. Craig Battery remains as a defensive mechanism at the shoreline. Source: City of Cape Town.



Fig 8. Captain Henry Northcott 1887, City of Cape Town.

This shows the impact of the rail system and the Montagu bridge" acting as a pinch point in the riverine system. It also shows the extensive series of wetlands before the bridge extending south along the Black River and the extensive estuarine system after the railway and transport route past Maitland. The railway bridge to Montagu and the hard road (1860) altered the estuarine system irrevocably. See also **Diagram 02**.

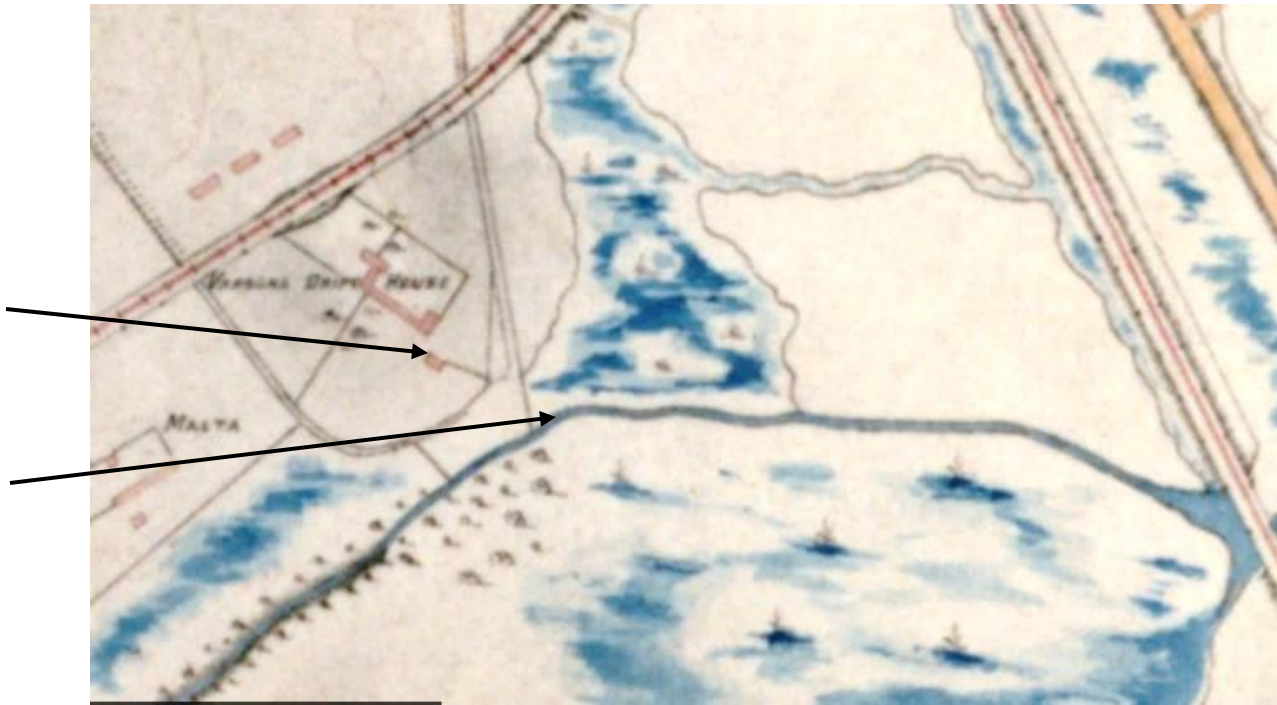


Fig 9: Captain Henry Northcott detail: 1887.

This shows the wetlands and higher ground in relation to Vaarschedrift crossing which suggests that the drift was topographically a useful crossing point to the Liesbeek River and may have been used in early colonial and precolonial times. See also **Diagram 02)**

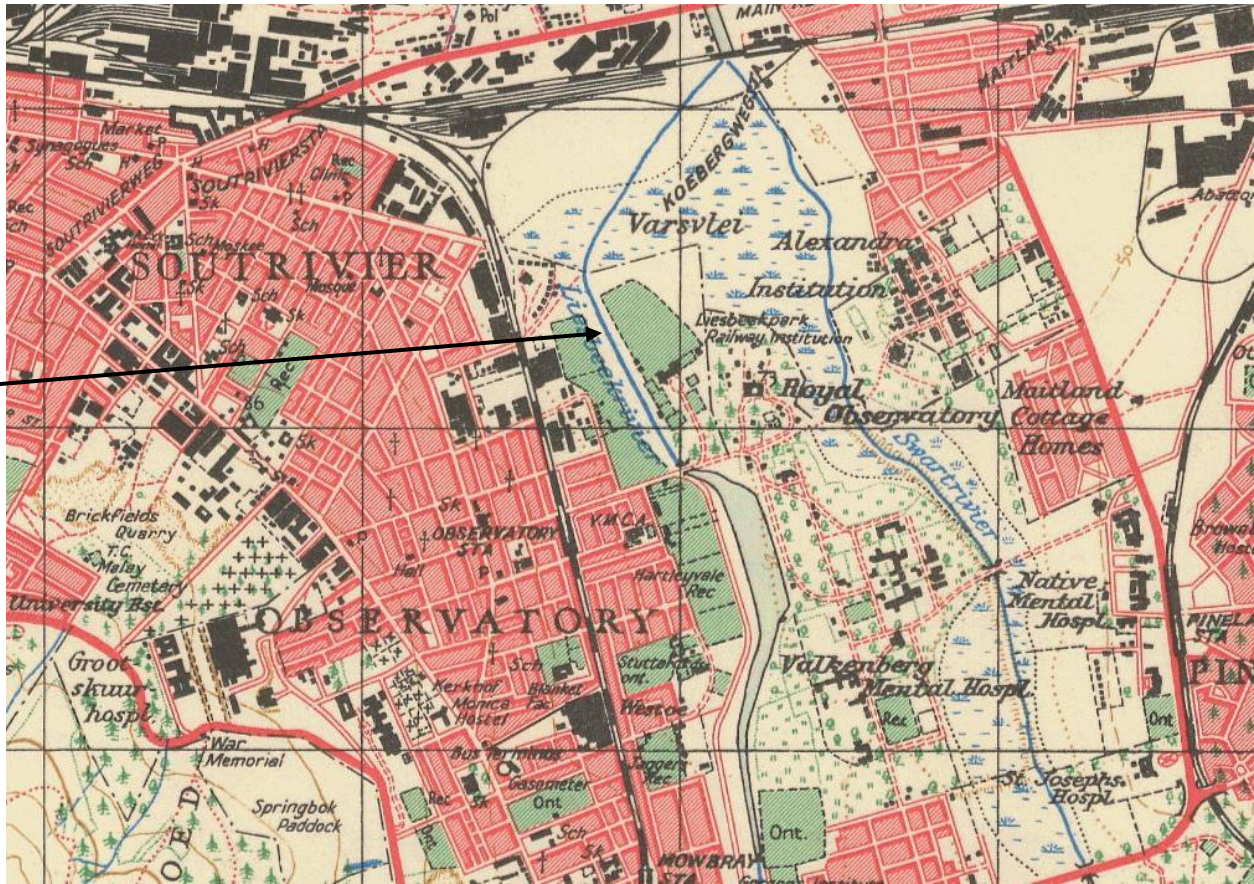


Fig 11. Map of the Cape Peninsula Chief Directorate Surveys and Mapping Anniversary Series 2000. Cape Peninsula 1934. (detail).

This map shows the lake in the Liesbeek River, the Railway Sports fields (later the River Club), a series of sports facilities in the areas originally subject to flooding, and a series of wetlands stretching from the Berkley Road area called the Vaarsevlei. The railway cottages on the high ground of Vaarschedrift have been constructed and the confluence of the Black and Liesbeek Rivers occurs before the railway bridge. The Liesbeek maintains its original course.

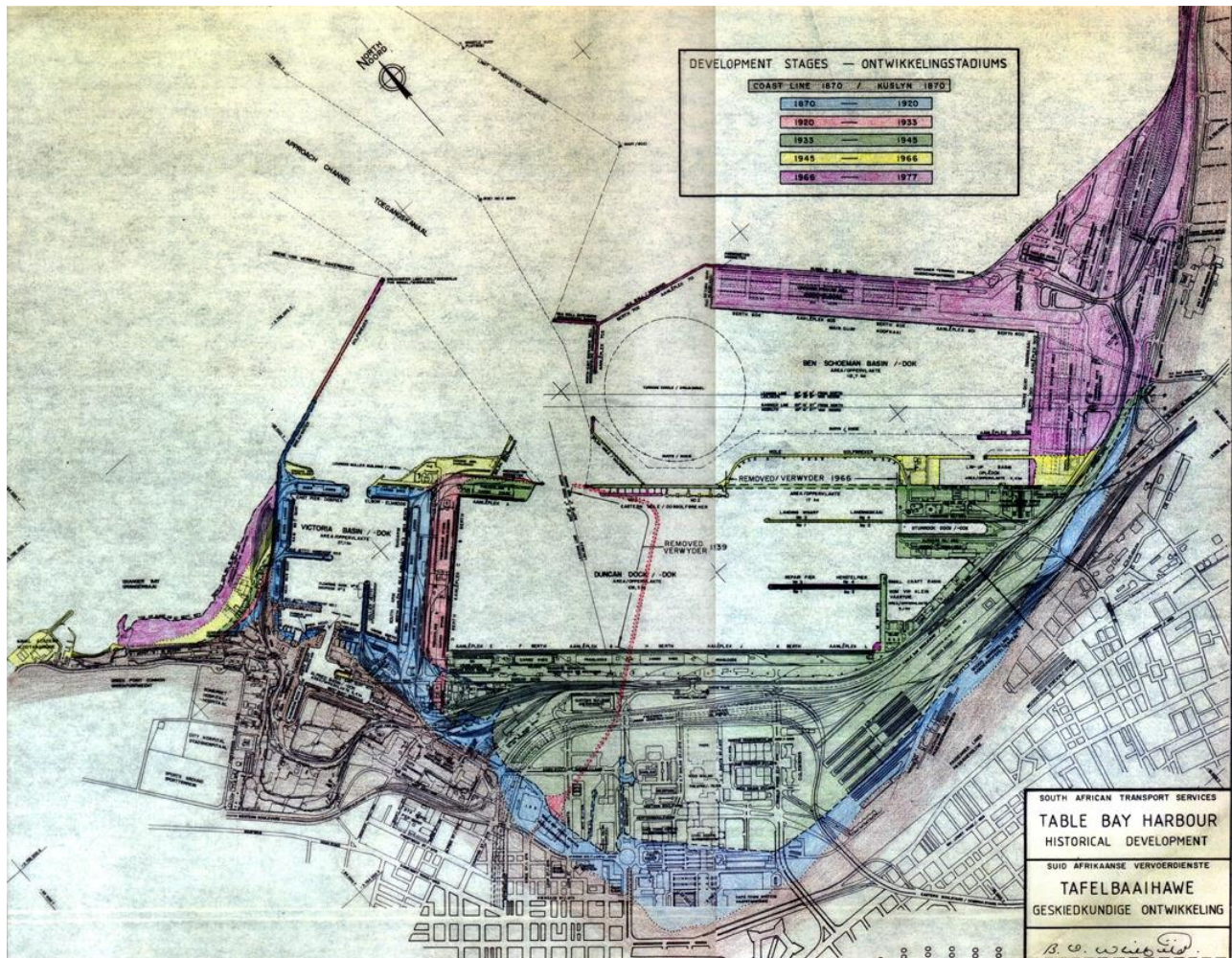


Fig 12. Map of Table Bay Harbour reclamation: City of Cape Town. While this map is short on detail regarding the TRUP site it shows how the shoreline near Woodstock was subject to change after 1920.

Diagram 01 places the wetland system showing potential flood areas as indicators of pre-existing historic wetland and riverine area. It shows how early colonial farmsteads were established on the edge of the wetland system. It also shows how higher elevated areas were used for transport and early movement routes. This is particularly the case at Vaarschedrift and the early route to the north and north-east that was likely to have been used as pre-colonial and early colonial movement patterns. In Fig 01, the exclusionary spatial patterns established by early colonial settlement are apparent. See also Figs 3, 4 and 8.

Diagram 02 (1887) consists of an overlay of historic farmsteads and the Northcott map above shows the rivers, estuarine and wetland systems that existed in 1887 in relation to the TRUP site. The footprints of the historic farms give an indication of how they were situated in relation to the wetland system while retaining access to riverine systems for irrigation purposes. The diagram also illustrates the “pinch point” effect of the Montagu Bridge (now the Railway Bridge) and the hard road to the north. The Liesbeek River's original course is strongly evident as it and the Black River meet in a confluence of

wetland areas extending to the Railway Bridge. In addition to the hard road to the north, the area is criss-crossed with routes and cattle trails, something that would have existed for centuries and may have extended back into pre-colonial times. The prominent of the Observatory in relation to the wetland system and riverine nature of the landscape is strongly evident.

Diagram 03 (1891) is a composite of the Woodstock Sewerage Works Map (1891) and a contemporary overlay and included because of its detail. It shows the Liesbeeck River forking with the north-western stream terminating in a series of ponds and wetlands near Vaarschedrift. The two rivers reach a confluence before the railway bridge which falls just outside the TRUP boundaries. There is an extensive Salt River Lagoon area and the Salt River Mouth remains open leading to an estuarine area.

1.4. Explanations of “river”, “estuarine system” and “wetland systems” along the Salt River, Black River and riparian areas.

Rivers, wetlands and estuaries are complex and dynamic systems based on hydrology, ecology, climate change and - since the early to mid-nineteenth century, in the case of the Salt River site, human action. This has resulted in roadways, bridges, alterations of water flows, canal engineering, soil removal and replacement and changes to topography. Consequently, there is no past pristine condition but a dynamic process of patterns of change which accelerate with roadworks, rail works engineering works; urbanisation and industrialisation.

1.4.1. Rivers

“A river is a product of a myriad of interrelated factors, including topography, geology and climate. Such complex systems determine flow and water quality”.¹¹

Historically, routes taken, rivers forded and crossed and access to water sources were issues that defined cultural geography and history (both pre-colonial and colonial) in the Liesbeeck River Valley. Rivers functioned as systems that were adapted and changed, redirected and used, particularly accelerating in the colonial/industrial period. Both pre-colonial and colonial use was dependent on rivers for the maintenance of pastoral, agriculture and industrial economies. Use of water and wind were the first of the industrial energy sources at the Cape settlement.

Rivers were ecological systems that fed into wetland and estuarine systems - sometimes via a transitional zone. In the Salt River area for instance, the transitional zone expanded to include the wetland transitional zone and the land levelled. This is a low gradient mixed bed alluvial zone with trickle flow through wetland vegetation.

1.4.1.1. The Liesbeeck River

The Liesbeeck River rises on Table Mountain above Kirstenbosch with the main source being the Protea Stream. It is joined by other tributaries before flowing into the Salt River

¹¹ The Water Research Commission Rivers and Wetlands of Cape Town Feb 2009, page Two Rivers Urban Park Heritage Impact Assessment Baseline Study (Supplementary Report) prepared for Heritage Western Cape, the Provincial Government of the Western Cape in partnership with the City of Cape Town

and what was once the Salt River estuary. Part of the Liesbeek River fed into the Salt River Estuary while the second route links up with the Black River before entering the Salt River Estuary creating a substantial wetland between the two systems. The extensive nature of the wetlands is demonstrated in Figs 3, 8 and 10 and in **Diagram 01**.

The Liesbeek is only about 9 kms long and is canalised for much of its length. In addition to canalisation, attempts have been made in the past to alter the form of the River. In 1945 there was an undertaking to widen the Liesbeek River opposite Observatory for boating purposes.¹² As the suburbs of Observatory and Salt River grew closer to the flood plains; they were often affected in winter with housing basement flooding. There were earlier attempts (1916) to relieve flooding by digging canals near the present River Club but they had not proved successful. As one of the large-scale engineering works in post-war Cape Town the City Engineer's Department began a process of canalisation after 1947. At the same time, the City developed the Liesbeeck River Parkway and the sports fields of Malta Park using soil excavated from the floodplains and the newly built canals. Both the canalisation and roadworks of the Liesbeeck River Valley at Observatory were completed in 1961.

The riverine system is now severely impact by urbanisation but still contains areas that are un-canalised and still have the sense of a natural river, which “retains the most character of a natural river, while the rest are no more than ghosts of their pasts”.¹³

For background history of the Liesbeek see *Two Rivers Urban Park Baseline Study* (2017) and ACO-Associates: *The First Frontier: An assessment of the Pre-colonial and Proto-historical Significance of the Two Rivers Urban Park Site*, Cape Town 2015).

1.4.1.2. The Black River.

The Black River featured historically more at its lower reaches than its upper reaches which receive little historical mention. From a heritage point of view the Black River is less significant than the Liesbeek River which carries with it strong connotations of forceful segregation, defensiveness and removal, particularly for the early indigenous peoples. It has however featured increasingly in regional Khoisan historical narratives.

It was a seasonal river and flowed through the marchlands and sand-dunes of the Cape Flats area, reaching the Salt River where is assumed part of the estuarine environment. Changes to the natural environment of the Black River occurred as early as 1813 with the road to the north, and formally in 1845 with the building of the hard road on the alignment of the current Voortrekker Road. This made it possible to transverse the sandy Cape Flats with vehicles for the first time. It was followed by a rail line in the 1860's resulting in a “pinch point on the river system, which altered the nature of the wetland qualities of the Black River and affected its link to the Salt River estuary.

¹² This is visible on aerial photograph 1945.

¹³ Ibid page 114.



Fig 13. Dredging the Black River c 1957 UCT Newspaper Archives.

In 1998, the interchange between the M5 and N2 near Raapenberg allowed a “return” of some of the wetland qualities of the Black River and the allow the development or “restoration” of a valuable wetland habitat.¹⁴

Both the Salt River and Black River are canalised for most of their lengths, except for the section around the Raapenberg Bird Sanctuary which is a protected wetland.

1.4.2. The Salt River Estuary

The Salt River estuary was shallow zone between the wetland areas of the Black, Salt and Liesbeek rivers, the Salt River Lagoon (when it existed) and the sea. Historically, there would have been slow and shallow tidal flows inland in the Salt River estuary relating to tidal and sand movement and resulting on a changing estuarine environment.

Cape Town used to have a large estuarine delta at the mouth of the Salt River. It was most likely that the Salt River formed a delta and that the location of the River mouths constantly changed”. (see Figs 3, 4, 5, 6).

1.4.3. *The Salt River Coastal Lagoon.*

The Black and Liesbeeck Rivers flowed into the Salt River lagoon and an extensive coastal estuary via a seasonal and shifting series of wetlands river flows and tidal lowlands. The estuarine environment extended from the Salt River Lagoon to the Diep River estuary further north. Fig 3 and Diagram 01 gives some indication of how extensive the estuarine system was.

¹⁴ Ibid Page 146.

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The Salt River Lagoon would have been used by the Koina. Historical descriptions and travellers reports corroborate this as well as new historical interpretations. The Lagoon together with the Liesbeek that marked the boundary between the early VOC settlement and the rest of the area. A fort near the mouth was the first to be constructed was named Duynhoop. There was a later fortification at the first mouth of the salt River named Craig's Tower.

The Salt River, Liesbeek River and Black River had a common confluence flowing into the large Salt River Lagoon and wetland. Historical maps show 2 river mouths and "Eerste Mond and a "Tweede Mond" creating an island of a sorts. Some early accounts identify a "Derde Mond", suggesting that the coastline was subject to change over time. (See historical map chronology).

Paarden Eiland was historically a very large sand bar and a true island. 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 lagoon and 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 for the indigenous inhabitants.

In many ways, this estuary allowed the Peninsula only one point of entry and exit via Vaarschedrift. Vaarschedrift 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 had been canalized 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 Drift still exists as a high(er) point of land within a seasonally flooded system. 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 canalized at this point). It is highly possible that because of its position (and because of its name) Vaarschedrift could be the crossing point of early cattle routes and routes of people.¹⁵ Hence the Peninsula was a very contained area in a geographical sense – relatively easily fortified and from which the indigenous people could be excluded via a series of forts and palisades.

In the early 20th century much of this great estuary was drained to make way for the Culemborg shunting yards, railway workshops and eventually land reclamation towards the sea. The extensive and natural qualities of the tidal lagoon was interrupted by human action, notably changes to the creation of land masses, drainage and canalisation. Small estuarine patches however remain at the Milnerton Lagoon and at Rietvlei. The historical estuarine system which dominated the coastline from the Salt River to the north to the mouth of the Diep River no longer exist

1.4.4. Wetlands and vleis in the Salt River wetland system.

¹⁵ There is no direct documentary evidence for this.

Wetlands do not generally drain the landscape, and if they drain at all they do so very slowly. They accumulate soil and organic matter,¹⁶ cleansing the water, and therefore have an important ecological function

Some seasonal vleis of the once great Salt River Wetland system remain; including remnants at Rietvlei and Milnerton. There is a significant wetland area at the Raapenberg Bird Sanctuary which falls within the TRUP site and is a protected wetland area.

1.4.5. Concluding remarks about the river, estuarine and wetland landscapes.

In conclusion, within the study area, the river, estuarine and wetland landscape was quite different to what it is today. While the valleys of the Liesbeek and Black River Valleys remain quite well defined (used as a conduit for some of Cape Town's major roads), the rivers themselves have been straightened re-directed and canalized, thus in places draining what were significant areas of marshland and altering the appearance of the landscape and its wetland functions.

In the post war period, the City of Cape Town began a process of canalization to prevent on seasonal flooding that occurred each winter close to the settled areas of Observatory and Woodstock. Engineering work began on the canalization from 1947 and continued in fits and starts over the next two decades.

The present-day wetlands at the confluence of the Liesbeek and Black Rivers at Raapenberg, with the small area of high ground occupied by the Royal Observatory and the River Club, amount to a surviving element of a wetland landscape.

1.5. Human use of the Landscape: Rivers, estuaries, geology, routes: Koina history and the early contact period.

Drawn by the presence of water and grazing, Khoi people lived seasonally in the Table Bay area for thousands of years, arriving in the summer months from the north. The fresh water from Table Mountain the Camissa was particularly plentiful. The area of the Camissa was a significant place for the Koina¹⁷.

Settlements are known to have been present in the areas of Mowbray and Rondebosch near the crossing points of the Liesbeek River Once descending into the flood plains of the Liesbeek River Valley, the Liesbeek River became part of a watered plain extending to an estuarine system. It fed into the Salt River estuarine system, an extensive system that extended north up the coast There is an early description (1654) of the major river systems at Cape Town by Johan Niehaus (as translated). It states

¹⁶ Ibid p 26

¹⁷ The use of the name Koina, is contested. Sometimes descendants prefer the named Khoisan or Khoi; or the group name of Gorinhauqua or Goringchoqua, who are those most associated with living and using the facilities of the Table Bay area (as it was later know). No inference should be drawn from the use of any name, which is undertaken for the purposes of historical explanation only.

Patric Tariq Millet's history of the Koina at Cape Town, "The People of Camissa"

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"The principal rivers of the Cape are two, the Fresh River (i.e. the Camissa) and the Salt River. In addition, there is also a brook called the Liesbeeck. Since it is thickly grown with "Lies"¹⁸. "The Liesbeeck has its source near a wooded hill and flows into the Salt River. It is not more than 12 or 14 feet wide and in some places even less but on the other hand it is very deep".¹⁹

Another visitor Gijsbert Heeck (1655) stated he went wildfowl shooting "along the whole length of the Liesbeeck River. He also noted that" *behind* (writer's italics), Table Mountain we came to a village of the inhabitants...." It lay near a freshwater stream (Liesbeeck) grown with much ...unknown reeds and other scrub, a convenient hiding place for all wild beasts. Around here we saw more than 100 cattle grazing and a quality of sheep with wide tails.²⁰ The area as far as the estuarine environment therefore appeared to be wooded and reeded, and subsequently the landscape changed into a dynamic tidal and estuarine system.



Fig 14. Francois Valentijn: *Nieuwe Kaart van Caap der Goede Hoop* undated but c 1726. This early map (which is not geographically accurate in relation to the origin and position of the Liesbeeck River) shows conceptually the Liesbeeck and Black Rivers flowing into the Salt River, the presence of the Gorinhauqua in the Southern Peninsula and the Goringchoqua adjacent to the west coast; and a route (arrowed) across the River from the north. This may be an early reference to Vaarschedrift (or Fresh water crossing).

What is clear from the historic record and now current Koina histories²¹, is that Khoikhoi groups were wealthy in terms of the number of cattle and sheep they owned. They moved widely and followed grazing facilities. Herds of several hundred to more than 1000 head were not unknown. Farming and moving a herd of this size was not a simple

¹⁸ Reeds.

¹⁹ Johan Nieuhof, Raven Hart 1971 page 26

²⁰ Raven-Hart, 1971 page 35.

²¹ See Tariq Mellet, P, *Camissa*

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task, requiring good knowledge of the river and wetland system, grazing qualities and what routes to use, how to avoid wetland areas and marshes and where to ford the rivers and tidal zones. The Koina knew how to do this, alternating the landscapes used according to season, water and grazing quality between Cape Town and Saldanha. 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. Weather factors played an important role in how the Koina used the land as cattle need to drink at least once a day to survive.

Smith (1984), in (ACO 2015), in analyzing the historical record, observed that major visits to Table Bay by powerful groups of Koina 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. 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 Koina herders, especially for those with large herds, when they arrived from the north west on their summer visits. Early colonial records suggest favored grazing areas were near the Salt River and “behind the Mountain” suggesting somewhere near Rondebosch or Mowbray.

7 December 1653 “The Saldaniers (sic), 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 p 22)

7 April 1654 “On advancing about 1,5 miles 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 number their 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 p 47)

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; 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, 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).²²

1.6. Geology and stock grazing conditions in relation to the landscape

²² Information ACO Associates: The First Frontier 2015.

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While according to Elphick (1977, 1989), (In ACO 2015), the large groups of Koina lived further north in the Swartland, the Vredenberg Peninsula (Cochoqua, Namaqua) and in the South Cape (Chinua, Boricua, Hesse), the Cape Peninsula supported its own groups of Koina despite the fact that the soils of much of the Peninsula were the worst for raising cattle. However, there were enclaves within Peninsula geology that would have supported herding communities. The City Bowl and Green Point are underlain by good shales, as are parts of Observatory, Rondebosch, Wynberg and Steenberg. 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.²³



Fig 15: Soils and Grazing. This shows the presence of soils in the TRUP area identified as" with a sandy texture suitable for moderate seasonal term grazing.

For those groups within the Peninsula niche, provided they circulated round the Peninsula grazing their stock in the areas where there was good bedrock – the City Bowl, Observatory- to Maitland, Green Point or Hout Bay and the narrow band of good shale derived soil in the Liesbeek Valley, they would have been able to maintain a moderate even substantial viable herding community. Any loss of these limited good grazing areas within the Peninsula geological microcosm would have caused hardship the Peninsula Koina groups.²⁴

1.7. The future of the remaining low-lying wetlands system

²³ This is why the current Cape Point Nature Reserve only has small herds of wild grazers

²⁴ ACO Associates: The First Frontier 2015.

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The prediction of climatic changes including water levels and related risks within low-lying coastal areas is recognised in terms of the National Environment: Integrated Coastal Management Act (Act 24 of 2008). Under this Act, risks associated with dynamic changes to coastal zones have been modelled for the next 20, 50 and 100-year timeframes. This is referred to by the City of Cape Town as the Coastal Urban Edge and synonymously identifies draft setback lines. The TRUP site does not fall within the coastal risk zone. It is situated inland of various man-made obstructions including harbour and rail lines. The risks associated with the site therefore are low. Areas below the 1:50, 1:100, 1:120 flood line. These are identified in Fig 16. The River Club area and the north of the site falls within the 120: year flood line. The sports fields along the Liesbeek River Parks (or part thereof) fall within the 1:50 year flood line.

TRUP however falls within the delineated Coastal Zone Protection Zone (CPZ). Requirements for the CPZ are to "protect the ecological integrity, natural character and the economic, social and aesthetic value of coastal public property, avoid increasing the effect or severity of natural hazards in the coastal zone, protect people, property and economic activities from risks arising from dynamic coastal processes, including the risk of sea-level rise".²⁵ It refers to the importance of "maintaining the productive capacity of the coastal zone by protecting ecological integrity."

However, hydrological and ecological integrity is adversely affected by the number of structural interventions including weirs, bridges and canalisations. The bridges have recently been surveyed to masses their impact in flood modelling. (Royal Haskoning DHV 2017).²⁶

²⁵ NEMA CMA 2008:36 NM&A Draft Situational Analysis 2017

²⁶ NM&A page 155 Insert 6.1.

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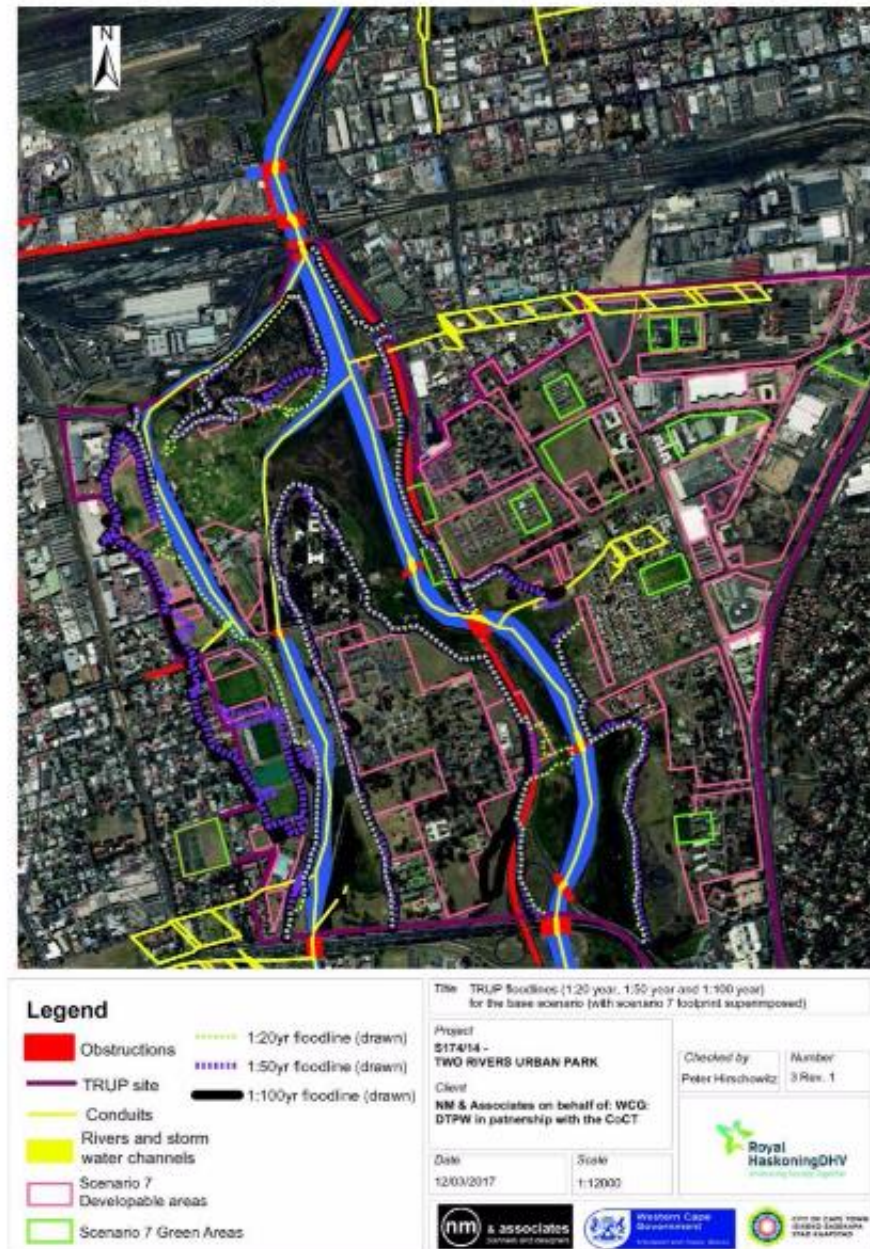


Fig 16. Map of the TRUP site showing the 1:20 year, 1:50 year and 1:100-year flood-lines according to RHDHV together with obstructions developed historically. Source: RHDHV.

Stakeholder comments throughout the public consultation process have supported the ecological imperatives in the approach and regard the following issues *inter alia* as essential requirements:

- Protecting ecological integrity
- Enabling biodiversity corridors
- Enabling wetlands
- Addressing water quality
- Naturalising the water courses

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- Mitigating the adverse impacts infrastructural barriers; and
- Enhancing the experience of the natural landscape.

It is clear that an important role of the site will be meeting the biodiversity requirements and the requirements of a constrained drainage system, particularly in the face of climate change. The river corridors must be sufficiently healthy to contribute to a positive ecological and hydrological role. Wetlands which have been transformed through human use can be rehabilitated as in the case of the Raapenberg Wetlands. Rehabilitated features can play a positive role in the future of the Park and may supported recreational activities.

The proximity of the northern boundary of the site to the coast and to the underutilised and partially derelict Culemborg Yards presents a significant opportunity for the planning of the site to act as a catalyst to transforming this area.

Key mitigation measures in relation to flooding undertaken by Royal Haskoning (2017) DHV reduce flooding downstream and within the site and may also have an impact on the biophysical environment (i.e. changing footprints of wetlands and river banks). Such long and medium-term measures would involve:

- Widening river channels
- Reshaping river banks
- Raising of bridges (pinch points)
- New areas for attenuation of storm-water; and
- New areas for flood detention.

Such mitigation measures have of necessity been rule out because of costs incurred and technical constraints (such as the costs of raising the railway bridges). At present to only potential mitigation is to provide storm-water attention and improved pathways for water flows. There is no possibility in the short to medium term to restore a historical estuarine system.

In addition, any development below the 1:100, 1:150-year flood levels to the north of the site (i.e. River Club area) will need to be assessed against City of Cape Town Floodplain and River Corridor Management Policy 2009, the need to review impact against the wider Salt River Catchment area as a whole²⁷ and the impact on any heritage values (tangible and intangible) associated with the River and estuarine system as a heritage marker or symbol of the vast significance of the site in the history of Cape Town (and South Africa).

1.8. Conclusions regarding the river system to the north of the site in relation to cultural significance.

²⁷ NM&A ibid page 126.



Fig 17. Industrial Development, canalisation and the alteration of the estuarine conditions. Woodstock beach and the salt River Works c 1940. Source UCT Digital Collection.

Due to historical development and urbanisation the estuarine system has all but been lost and the natural wetlands exist only in parts, for example at Raapenberg, Pallotti, Zoarvlei and Rietvlei. Nevertheless, as far as the TRUP site is concerned it is part of a highly significant cultural landscape of which the rivers, river systems and historic landscape form a significant part, both in tangible and intangible terms. The issue is how to acknowledge, celebrate, restore, conserve and memorialise the sites and landscapes of significance. The following are the conclusions.

- The northern part of the TRUP site is of high heritage value in terms of precolonial movement patterns and patterns of settlement as a cattle route from the north is likely to have crossed the river system at the point where the Black and (original) Liesbeek River became the Salt River Lagoon. This would (subject to changes in the riverine spaces) have been in the vicinity of Vaarschedrift area and the railway bridge. This means that this area to the north and within the northern part of the site is of outstanding heritage significance.
- The rail lines form a major barrier between the northern edge of the site and the coast, affecting riverine systems and heritage landscapes. The large tract of land to the north of the TRUP site is used by PRASA as a maintenance and storage area which effectively sterilizes this site. A riverine/cultural landscape/spatial link between the PRASA areas north of the site and the TRUP site is therefore, unlikely in the immediate future.²⁸ Nevertheless, the area before the railway bridge and the original Liesbeek River course which runs along the south-western part of the site, provides opportunities for interpretation and memorialisation²⁹ despite an environmentally and aesthetically blighted area to the north. (See Fig 18 for an

²⁸ NM&A Situational Analysis Report (Draft only) 2017 page 101.

²⁹ See Conclusions.

image of the original Liesbeek River Course in the vicinity (south) of the Vaarschedrift crossing).



Fig 18. The original Liesbeek River area in the vicinity (south) of the former Vaarschedrift crossing

1.9. Conclusions regarding the map analysis particularly in regard to the Northern Boundary

The maps and analysis of the estuarine and riverine systems suggest the following (with consideration given for inaccuracies in surveying):

- The coastline and river mouth(s) were subject to natural change because of floods, deposition of silt and tides. The coastline was substantially amended during harbour reclamation beginning along the Woodstock beach as early as 1920 (see Map 10).
- The area north and north-west of the rail lines was used for industrial and railway purposes and involved amendments to topography by way of landfills. This increasingly involved the destruction of the historical lagoon and wetland system.
- The higher areas around Vaarschedrift and Maitland may have been used for the outspan of cattle historically before crossing the Liesbeek River into the western areas of the Peninsula. This gives the area high heritage significance in terms of historical movement patterns.
- The canalisation of the Black and Liesbeek Rivers has resulted in the alteration of the wetland systems which characterised the area. They are apart from small pockets, destroyed.
- The canalisation of the Liesbeek River has been particularly destructive to the historic course of the river and the area of confluence of the Black and Liesbeek Rivers. Historic maps indicated that the portion of the Liesbeek River west of the River Club is the true course of the River and that the confluence occurred in the

vicinity or just north of the current railway bridge, after both rivers entered a combined wetland area.

- The development of the railway sports playing fields, the development of the Liesbeek Parkway and the Malta Park playing fields resulted in alterations to topography. In the case of Malta Park, soil from dredging the rivers for the purposes of canalisation was used as infill to raise levels.
- A further significant site is the crossing point or “Vaarschedrift” close to the site of Vaarschedrift Farm but on the (old) Liesbeek River.
- The Khoisan Legacy Project has identified the Liesbeek River as a significant linear space in the history of the Khoisan peoples because it was the first frontier and from where their people were excluded from the rights in land. Care should be taken in terms of authenticity to ensure that this frontier refers to the old route followed by the Liesbeek.
- Canalisation adversely affected the historic qualities of the Black and Liesbeek Rivers. It is only in the un- canalised areas of the Liesbeek that there is any sense of the role played by the rivers in the history of the country. Consideration should therefore be given to the “naturalisation” of the riverbanks, where flood modelling permits.
- Finally, while the area towards the north of the TRUP site should be regarded as being of outstanding heritage significance as a key entry point to the Cape Town area in both colonial and precolonial times, the notion of restoring a riverine landscape in this area is unfeasible.
- Since amendments to the industrial landscapes are presently unfeasible, interpretation and signage boards should be placed in pivotal places (see above) to identify and explain the history of the area. Care should be taken (in terms of the Nara Charter and the 2003 Charter on Intangible Heritage) that all histories however conflicting, are represented.

Section Two: The Khoisan Legacy Project and the National Liberation Route and its relationship with the Two Rivers Urban Park

2.1. Introduction: Background and Progress on the Khoisan legacy Project and the National Liberation Route.

Information for this Section requested from the Department of Arts and Culture and the Provincial Government of the Western Cape has not been forthcoming. The documents involved in this project are under embargo. (See Section 3: Assumptions and Limitations).

The following information has been gleaned from other sources.

2.1.1. The National Legacy Projects and the Khoisan Legacy Project:

The Legacy projects which refer to monuments, museums, plaques, outdoor art, heritage trails and other symbolic representations create visible reminders of, and commemorate, the many aspects of South Africa's past.

The South African government has initiated several national legacy projects to establish commemorative symbols of South Africa's history and celebrate its heritage.

The legacy projects include the Women's Monument, Chief Albert Luthuli's house in KwaDukuza, KwaZulu-Natal, Battle of Blood River/Ncome Project, Samora Machel Project, Nelson Mandela Museum, Constitutional Hill Project, Sarah Baartman Centre of Remembrance, Khoisan Legacy Project, Freedom Park Project, Dulcie September Legacy Project, Matola Raid Memorial Project, Bhambatha Project and Albert Luthuli Annual Memorial Lecture.

Ten projects have been completed. The Khoisan Legacy Project was established in 2012 by Eco-Africa but the report has not been signed off by The Minister of Arts and Culture and it remains under embargo.³⁰ However, heritage consultants CTS have begun a process of investigation and mapping of the Khoisan Legacy Projects, working with the Department of Arts and Culture on the Khoisan Heritage Routes. They are developing an interactive online mapping system via a website.³¹ HWC has been informed that the confluence of Black and Liesbeek Rivers was identified as an area of significance in terms of the Khoisan Legacy Route and the National Liberation Route. Section One (see above) suggests that the riverine system changed over time and so fixed points would be difficult to identify with any degree of certainty.

As part of the Khoisan legacy project, TRUP has been identified as one of the sites included in a National Khoisan Heritage Route. The Department of Arts and Culture, in developing an approach to the heritage routes with the intention of memorializing events particularly in terms of precolonial history, appears not to have the intention to preserve or apply for formal protections. The emphasis appears to be on the celebration, interpretation and memorialization of previously forgotten and marginalized histories.

The Department of Arts and Culture has also identified TRUP as the likely location of the 1510 D'Almeida conflict as the earliest site of conflict between indigenous groups and colonial invaders. The Western Cape Museum Services is in the process of investigating the D'Almeida conflict and related significance of TRUP.³²

Investigations in respect of the Khoisan Legacy Project are underway but not complete. A document was drafted by Eco-Africa that identifies the sites to be included in the National Khoisan Heritage Route. There are approximately 300 sites of which the "Liesbeek River" is one. According to this document (which Melanie Attwell & Associates do not have access to), the Liesbeek River was the area where the first free burghers were allocated land by Jan Van Riebeeck to farm in 1657. It was also the area of the first Khoikhoi resistance against land dispossession led by the Khoi leader, Damon. The location is given as point (18.4773111111 -33.9382527778). Current

³⁰ Andrew Hall ECO Africa Email 30 June 2017 pers comm.

³¹ Information kindly supplied by Jenna Lavin-Jacobsen.

³² J Lavin Jacobsen pers comm 5 July 2017

heritage consultants for a heritage route mapping project, CTS notes that this is an approximate co-ordinate as it simply marks the Liesbeek River.³³



Fig 19. Map 1661 Author unknown. The 1657 freehold grants along the Liesbeek River forming an exclusion zone to the Cape Peninsula for indigenous herders. The extent of the wetland area is evident here. Source: ACO Associates 2015 after Atlas of Mutual Heritage.

It is proposed by DAC that the confluence of the Black and Liesbeek Rivers is the site of the d'Almeida conflict. Section 3 of this report suggests that this is unlikely and the conflict is likely to have been sustained over a linear route with the massacre occurring just before the coastline in the sand-dunes.

2.1.2. The National Liberation Heritage Route

At a National Consultative Summit in 2011 it was decided to proceed with the National Liberation Heritage Route. This route is intended to tell the story of the struggle for the country's freedom. In terms of this initiative, the government would deploy 3000 art facilitators to celebrate and display the freedom struggle at selected sites and through selected mechanisms. The Government also initiated several national heritage legacy projects aimed at commemorating the heritage of the country. A number of memorial lectures have been undertaken in terms of the Legacy projects.

³³ J Lavin Jacobsen personal communication, July 2017.

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2.2. Policy frameworks affecting Intangible heritage and heritage in relation to living memory.

Deacon and Dondolo (2007) define intangible heritage as “oral traditions, memories, languages, traditional performing arts or rituals, knowledge systems, values and know-how that we want to safeguard and pass on to future generations” They note it includes “meanings associated with places and objects, making it an essential component of all heritage”. This is equally true of the values associated with the TRUP site. This is in line with the spirit and definitions of the NHRA.

They also state that because “cultural activity plays an essential part in identity formation, it is essential not to lose our ancient knowledge, especially the traditional and indigenous knowledge that has been marginalised for so long”. They note “We need to remember and value diffuse and modern heritage forms like the oral histories of people who suffered under apartheid or other forms of colonialism”³⁴.

It was noted under Section 3 Limitations (see above) that HWC has no clear applicable policy in relation to the mainstreaming of matters affecting intangible heritage and living memory in relation to formally legislated Heritage Impact Assessments. Furthermore, it provides no guidance as to how such findings should be weighted in relation to criteria affecting tangible heritage findings. This report identifies general aspects of the widely (but not formally accepted) International Charters on Authenticity and Intangible Heritage and reaches conclusions in relation to intangible heritage, living memory in relation to the TRUP site. Such policies and frameworks include aspects of the Nara Charter on Authenticity (1994) as amended, the findings of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage (2003) and the draft Document of Maropeng (2009) which is heavily dependent of the UNESCO Convention for substance.

2.2.1. The Nara Charter on Authenticity

The Nara Charter (1994) was developed to address the need to examine cultural heritage within a broader understanding of cultural diversity, noting that underlying cultural contexts should also be considered. It asserts the need for authenticity as part of our understanding of values and asserts that “our ability to understand these values depends, in part, on the degree to which information sources about these values may be understood as credible or truthful”. Knowledge and understanding of sources of information, in relation to original and subsequent characteristics of the cultural heritage and their meaning, is a requisite basis for assessing all aspects of authenticity.

The Charter states that layers of meaning and values may exist in the same site, and that all layers of meaning may be considered part of the nature of authenticity. It

³⁴ Deacon, H and Dondolo L, *The Subtle Power of Intangible Heritage: Legal and Financial Instruments for Safeguarding Intangible Heritage, Social Cohesion and Integration Research Program*, Human Sciences Research Council 2004.

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reaffirms the need for scholarly studies stating “Our ability to understand these values depends, in part, on the degree to which information sources about these values may be understood as credible or truthful. Knowledge and understanding of these sources of information, in relation to original and subsequent characteristics of the cultural heritage and their meaning, is a requisite basis for assessing all aspects of authenticity”.³⁵ Heritage diversity exists in time and place and demands respect for all cultures present regardless of historical bias. Ability to understand values and authenticity is dependent on the degree to which information sources about these value sources are “credible and truthful”, stating that “heritage properties must be considered and judged within the cultural contexts to which they belong”. Where values exist in conflict, “respect for cultural diversity demands acknowledgement of the legitimacy of the cultural values of all parties”.³⁶

The Nara +20 Assessment reaffirms that heritage management increasingly has taken into consideration “the social processes by which cultural heritage is produced, used interpreted and safeguarded”. It acknowledges that further work is needed in this field, recognising the presence of multiple stakeholders in the heritage evaluation process and acknowledging that heritage may be significant to a broad range of communities ...” not forgetting those Communities with little or no voice”.

To achieve judgements on the basis of authenticity it recommends the building of consensus in relation to values and the development of respect within a multi-disciplinary process based on dialogue and consultation.

Where cultural values are in conflict as a research of cultural diversity, the Nara+20 document calls for respect, noting that, “to address such situations, credible and transparent processes are required to mediate heritage disputes”.³⁷

2.2.2. The UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage 2003.

The South African Government has ratified the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. The Department of Arts and Culture's Maropeng Declaration is heavily based on its findings.

Living Heritage is defined as “the intangible aspects of inherited culture, and may include a) cultural tradition; (b) oral history; (c) performance; (d) ritual; (e) popular memory (f) skills and techniques; (g) indigenous knowledge systems; and (h) the holistic approach to nature, society and social relationships”³⁸

The Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage (2009) noted the following:

- Intangible heritage is a mainspring of cultural diversity

³⁵ S 9 Nara Charter on Authenticity

³⁶ ICOMOS: The Nara Charter on Authenticity December 1994 Nara Japan

³⁷ Nara+20 Nara 2014

³⁸ NHRA S 2 (xxi)

- There is a deep-seated dependence between the tangible heritage, intangible heritage and the natural heritage
- Globalization and urbanization poses “grave threats” to the destruction of intangible heritage
- Intangible heritage plays an “invaluable role” of bringing human beings together
- Asserts the value of language as a vehicle for the safeguarding of intangible heritage
- Suggests that the domains of intangible heritage be inclusive rather than exclusive and recommends sub-domains such as culinary traditions, animal husbandry, cultural practices, traditional play and “places of memory”.

2.2.3. The Maropeng Declaration on Intangible Heritage 2009 (Draft only 2009).

While strongly based on the 2003 UNESCO Declaration, the Maropeng Declaration (DAC 2009) provides valuable specificity to the South African context, affirming the definition contained within the NHRA; and stating that aspects of Living Heritage may include: Cultural tradition, oral history, performance, ritual, popular memory, skills and techniques, indigenous knowledge systems and the holistic approach to nature, society and social relationships. The following points emerge in both documents and have relevance to the TRUP site:

- living heritage plays an important role in promoting cultural diversity, social cohesion, reconciliation, peace and economic development in South Africa. It states that “It is important for South Africans to reclaim, restore and preserve various aspects of South Africa’s diverse living heritage in order to accelerate the use of living heritage to address challenges communities are facing today”³⁹.
- living heritage is valuable because it is rooted in the identity of a group or community, but at the same time is dynamic and subject to change “It is constantly being reproduced, developed, and renewed”.
- Safeguarding living heritage does not mean preventing change or “freezing” sites but encouraging continued practice and identification with it by all bearer communities or groups and landowners.
- Community participation is important in the managing of intangible heritage and attempts should be made to seek consent and to discuss living heritage against the backdrop of human rights, seek redress and equity; and promote empowerment.
- It identifies intangible heritage as dynamic and rooted within the “dynamism of culture” and subject to change.
- Should not be seen in terms of hierarchies with one living heritage more dominant than another.

³⁹ <http://www.dac.gov.za/content/living-heritage>

- Language is a form of documentation and can support knowledge production in relation to living heritage.
- Identification in inventorying and documentation are critical aspects in the safeguarding of South African living heritage.
- Archives are valuable sources of living heritage as travellers and missionaries collected information about local communities and populations. Research collected included descriptions of living heritage. Such documents captured living heritage which may have disappeared through colonial oppression.
- These records would constitute part of the historical research that will assist in the documentation and inventorying of living heritage. "Of particular importance are the integrity and dynamic change of living heritage elements. The objective is not necessarily for the research to confirm existing cultural practices and elements, but where applicable, for appropriate research to correct distortions."

2.2.4. Conclusions: Implications for the Khoisan Legacy Projects and the National Liberation Projects.

Deacon and Dondolo (2007) note that safeguarding intangible (and tangible) heritage does not mean preventing change,⁴⁰ but rather it should involve as many stakeholders as possible; and ensure ethical and effective means of ensuring that the significance of heritage forms is safeguarded, including the continuing practice and transmission of intangible heritage. As a result, the protection of intangible heritage does not mean the "freezing" of a site from development but rather a dynamic process of participation, consultation and recognition of the significance of ceremony, tradition, and culture, particularly if such culture has been marginalised in the past.

The following are the implications for TRUP in terms of the above for living heritage and projects arising out of the recognition of living heritage.

1. Documentation and living heritage are not mutually exclusive. Archival sources should be used with care to address distortions and address bias, particularly where no other sources or memories exist. Care should be taken to authenticate assessments.
2. Living memory projects should aim for cohesion and consensus building via public consultation.
3. Living memory projects cannot rely on knowledge and sites being fixed and immutable as living memory is dynamic.
4. Living heritage and intangible heritage does not aim to "freeze" or preserve sites, but rather aims to enrich experiences through interpretation and understanding.

⁴⁰ Deacon H and Dondolo, L 2009 page 65.

5. Site specific knowledge in relation to living heritage is difficult due to the changing nature or the dynamism of culture, the inadequacy of clear evidence and the changing or distorting nature of interpretation, and the priorities associated with interpretation.
6. Non-site-specific interpretation is of the utmost significance.
7. The issue of language is significant as for instance the Khoisan cultural centre may be focussed on the teaching of the languages associated with living heritage.
8. The extensive public participation process associated with the TRUP site has revealed clear requirements from previously marginalised communities. These include:
 - A cultural centre where cultural crafts language, traditions and practices may be undertaken.
 - Places of memory associated with historical persons including the resistance leader Damon, Chief Langibalele and King Ceteswayo.
 - Memorial and interpretative sites for the wars of resistance from the leader Doman and against the attacks of d'Almeida. In the absence of any definitive evidence, such materials cannot be place specific but are nonetheless significant in the broader history of Cape Town.
 - Memorial and interpretative plaques and public art associated with the first apartheid line of exclusion at the Liesbeek River, the traditions of cattle ownership, grazing and movement through the landscape (or transhumance) and space or the practise of lost or recovered knowledge sources associated with the landscape.
 - Memorials and explanations of previously overlooked subaltern history and the presence of women in history. A final point regarding the Khoisan Legacy project and the National Liberation projects insofar as they affect TRUP, is the gender disparity of the memorialisation interpretations which involve warriors, battles and power relationships between men. The role of women in subaltern history particularly is under-represented. An example of this is the significant role played by women in relation to the use of the Liesbeek for washing. This role has been celebrated elsewhere in Cape Town but not at the Liesbeek where it was ubiquitous. Consequently, memorialisation and celebration of the use of the Liesbeek River should take up the role of women.



Fig 20. Women working at the Liesbeek River. Source: Water Research Commission 2009.

Section Three: Background analysis into the site of the death of Portuguese Viceroy Dom Francisco d'Almeida and his men at the Cape, March 1510 in relation to the Two Rivers Urban Park, and examination in terms of living memory.

3.1. Introduction: The revival of the d'Almeida narrative.

David Johnson notes that the d'Almeida defeat at the Cape has till recently been remembered "only sporadically"⁴¹ in South African history despite the detailed Portuguese accounts from the sixteenth centuries; and despite the fact that d'Almeida's "humiliating defeat" changed the future direction of Portugal's imperial conquests and changed the face of South Africa in terms of colonial conquest.

President Thabo Mbeki placed the d'Almeida attack and defeat squarely once in the public domain in a landmark Parliamentary speech on March 26th, 1999. He stated, "in the darkness of our night, the victory of the Khoikhoi in 1510 here in Table Bay when they defeated and killed the belligerent Portuguese admiral and aristocrat Dom Francisco de Almeida, the first Portuguese viceroy in India, has lit our skies forever." The narrative has been further revived by local historians and Khoi identity activists, building on an increased awareness of the event and its significance. It has served as a rallying call for a revived Khoi identity, based on a sense of pride at the defeat of an enemy, and altering the face of South African history. The d'Almeida battle is therefore highly

⁴¹ He refers to Portuguese accounts of the 16th century, the British accounts of 1770-1830 and accounts in 19th century writings at the Cape including John Philips 'Researches in South Africa. (David Johnson, 2012 "Imagining the Cape Colony: History, Literature and the South African Nation. The narrative has also been the subject of a novel entitled "Knot of Stone (N Vergunst)" which is referred to elsewhere in this report.

significant in terms of the growth and realisation of contemporary Khoi identity as well as being significant in the national history of the country.⁴²

Questions remain as to the site of the d'Almeida massacre which followed. No burial or battle site has been conclusively identified through archaeological evidence. Accounts differ as to the site, which is still currently unknown. The Department of Arts and Culture places the site potentially (without clear evidence) at the confluence of the Black and Liesbeek Rivers, for example. It is suggested elsewhere in this report that until the bodies are found there is no clear evidence about the site of the battle. This however, does not minimise the outstanding significance of the event and its consequences.

3.2. The European bias of pre-conquest and early Colonial Cape history in relation to the case of d'Almeida.

There are currently multiple accounts and interpretations of the events of 1st March 1510, many contested interpretations about what took place and why, particularly in relation to the motivation for the attack on the Gorinhauqua villages and the site of the D'Almeida massacre. There is however no doubt that the attack on the village "behind Saldanha" was belligerent, aggressive and intended to do harm. The intention was clear – to steal cattle and to kidnap people.

The South African historian and social activist Patric Tariq Mellet decries the persistence of a European dominated narrative and writes that it is imperative that descendants of the Koina ensure that history is produced from the viewpoint of the descendants of the indigenous peoples themselves. His is the most notable and ground-breaking of the Koina histories, the methodologies used and outcomes analysed. It should be noted that they too are dependent on the historical chronicles that have emerged from the 16th to the 18th centuries. The difference is one of **viewpoint** – to review the narrative supplied critically in light of the socio-political context and from the point of view of the Koina.

3.3. Background: The site of the death and burial of d'Almeida and his men.

3.3.1. Can we use oral history to determine the site of the d'Almeida battle?

Oral history is defined as "a historical method using oral testimony as historical evidence". Oral history is also known as oral reminiscence and refers to the memories of living people collected in an interview of experiences generally experienced first-hand or through oral tradition. "Oral testimony refers to an informant's recollection of an event that they have experienced in their lifetime".⁴³

The study of the event of the death of d'Almeida therefore falls outside the potential of oral evidence in terms of this definition. The only potential for recording evidence of what transcribed comes from the Portuguese survivors of the massacre, who may or may not have been interviewed on their return to Portugal and whose evidence may

⁴² This does not however mean it can automatically be linked to the TRUP site.

⁴³ http://www.archivalplatform.org/blog/entry/oral_histories/

(or may not) form the basis for the accounts collected by the chroniclers Damiao de Gois, Fernao Lopes de Castanheda and Joao de Barros. All information of the events is in fact owed to these chroniclers, even by Khoi historians (who have rightly been sensitive to the nature of the bias in the Chronicles). There is no oral testimony from the Khoi (Koina) themselves⁴⁴. Currently local historians are examining the material in the Chronicles in a variety of ways and subject to the interpretation from different perspectives, including the perspective of the Khoi. Much more work in this field needs to be done particularly by First Nation historians themselves in order to advance the perspective of the Khoi.

3.4. What the sources reveal

3.4.1. Background to the battle

Portuguese historical chroniclers including Damiao de Gois (1501-1573), Fernao Lopes de Castanheda (1501-1559) and Joao de Barros (1496-1570) recorded the events at the area later known as the Cape. These events led to the defense by the Koina and the subsequent death of d'Almeida and his men in early 1510. The Chronicles were recorded some years after the event and there is no way of knowing whether those interviewed were present at the attack or not. None of the chroniclers themselves⁴⁵ were present at the event and the chronicles, were published decades later. Whether interviewees were survivors of the events which occurred is not known but they show a degree of conformity which may provide a measure of confidence in their authenticity. There is no finality however, as the diary of the expedition has been lost and no bodies have been found, contrary to media reports (See **Annexure 2**).

3.4.2. The Koina as military strategists

There were no local eyewitness accounts. The Koina or KhoeKhoe⁴⁶ had no recorded history of the event but their actions as recorded by the early chroniclers provide a glimpse of how they conducted battles, what weapons were used and how they used their knowledge of the terrain in warfare. The accounts of the events which took place in March 1510 provide a glimpse into the specialist nature of cattle pastoralism and the use of trained cattle as an aid in warfare. It has been noted that this battle shows that the cattle were controlled with whistles and words and could be trained to gore the enemy (Fauvelle-Aymar 2004: 4). Steenkamp further elaborates, writing, that the Portuguese “were hit by a phalanx of oxen, the Koina spearmen running behind and between them, effectively protected by the animals from any crossbow bolts that might be fired before they could close into stabbing range” (Steenkamp 2012:3-4).

⁴⁴ It is recognised that the nomenclature Khoi, Koina and Khoi Khoi or Khoen Khoen are contested. The Legacy Project refers to the Khoisan as well.

⁴⁵ D’Almeida records and diaries have been lost.

⁴⁶ The use of the word “Koina” or KhoeKhoe is disputed in quarters. Use of the term or any terminology relating to the First Nation implies no value judgment on the part of the author. In this instance, the “Koina” refer to the Gorinhauqua who travelled seasonally with vast herds between their ancestral lands at Saldanha Bay area and the Cape Peninsula.

The chronicles therefore provide a unique glimpse of the employment of a clear military strategy employed by the Koina in the battle against the Portuguese intruders. They drew the Portuguese into a terrain they were familiar with, where they could claim military advantage and where they could control the outcomes of the battles (Steenkamp 2012:4).

3.5. Summary of events

3.5.1. Limitations:

This summary is drawn from the Portuguese chronicles referred to and which were compiled years after the event. There are no contemporary images, the earliest being drawn some two centuries later and which appear to be completely incorrect.⁴⁷ Matters were further complicated by myths of mystical connections, largely Euro-centric which have recently emerged and been criticised by Tariq Mellet.⁴⁸

Early maps of coastline in the Southern Cape too, were notoriously inaccurate. The events narrated by the Portuguese contain no geographical references apart from a few notable exceptions. These still raise questions about the location of the event as they may refer to a series of places where there were perennial streams in bays including Hout Bay and even False Bay, where there is a stream at Muizenberg.

⁴⁷ They show Spanish rather than Portuguese ships and the Koina using bows and arrows which they did not. It suggests they were drawn without knowledge of the event and may even refer to another event.

⁴⁸ This has been explored in the novel *Knot of Stone* by Nikolas Vergunst.

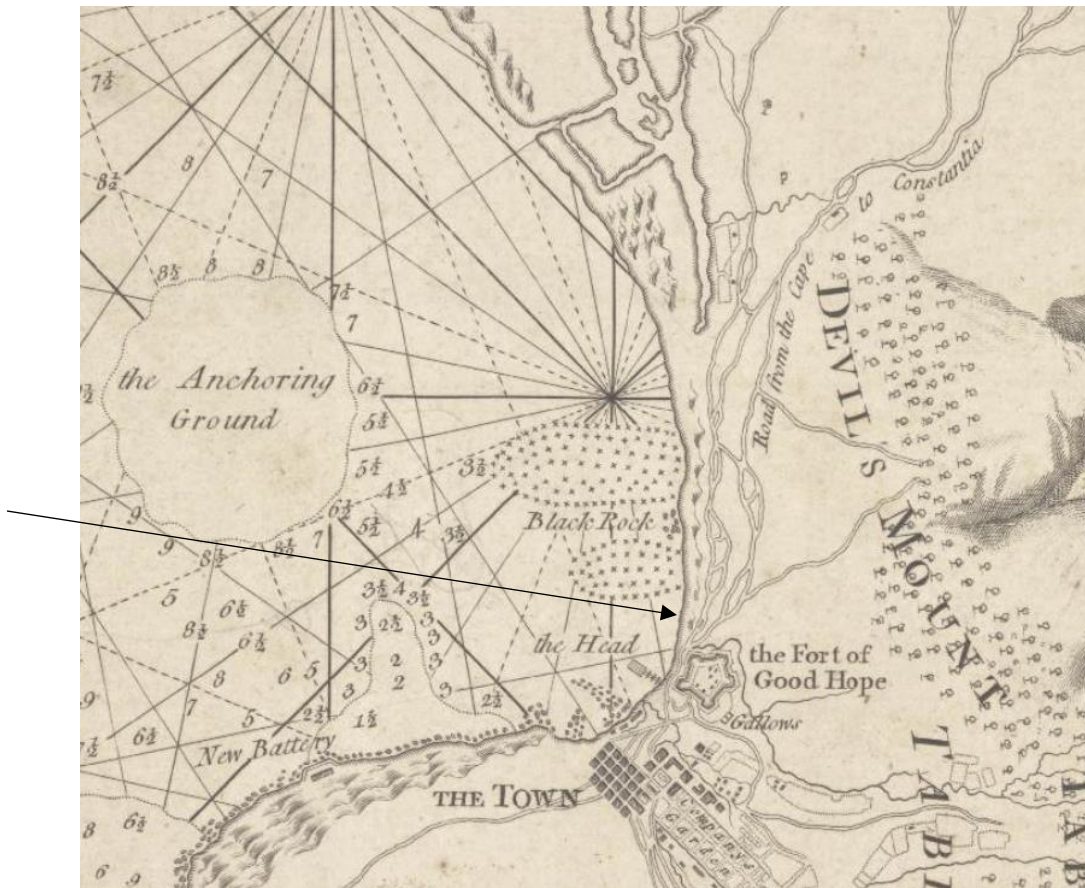


Fig 21. Plan of Table Bay with the Road of the Cape of Good Hope, from the Dutch Survey Johannes van Kuilen 1794, University of Cape Town. This map is not accurate in terms of the river systems or even routes, but is useful because it shows the extensive series of sand-dunes extending along to coast towards the north and well as routes towards the north and south. It shows the Salt River as feeding into the estuarine system. The sand dunes that extended from the Castle to the Salt River Mouth along the Woodstock beach are referred to in accounts of the d'Almeida massacre. The chronicles are clear that the massacre took place near dune systems on the beach near the "watering place" or the Camissa River. This places the site of the massacre closer to the area that later become the Castle and the Imhoff Battery.

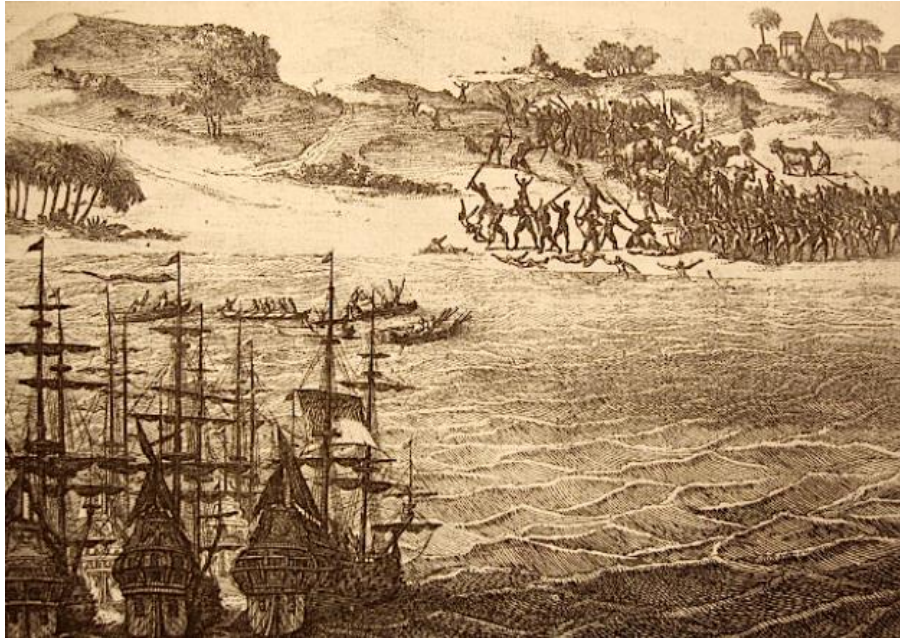


Fig 22. Massacre of Francisco d'Almeida at the Cape of Good Hope, 1510. Pieter van der Aa's 'Nauwkeurige versameling der gedenkwaardigste zee- en landreysen naar Oost- en West-Indië...', Leiden, 1707.

This etching which was created 200 years after the event remains faithful to the narratives. They include the massacre of the beach, the river at the “watering place” and the mountain. The geography is somewhat scrambled and there are several tell-tale inaccuracies – the ships are Spanish rather than Portuguese, the palm trees are problematic and the pyramid shaped rooflines suggest a degree of artistic license. The illustration was undertaken 200 years after the event and suggest that the engraver had read at least one of the chronicles of the event but was unaware of the geography of the area. I suggest that an uninformed reading of this illustration more than any other has added to the assumption that the site is near the Liesbeek River. The chronicles are clear that the River was the Camissa and not the Salt River or Liesbeek River.

3.5.2. The narratives of the battle as drawn from the Chronicles.

The narratives are from the Portuguese perspective show degrees of similarity – for example, the departure from Cochin in November 1509, the arrival at the Cape somewhere along the coastline in February 1510 to collect water, the initial cordial reception on the part of the Koina at some distance from the ships, the initial barter exchanges for cattle, an expedition by about 12 men inland and the abduction of one or more young Koina, followed by the attack and massacre the following day. They are powerfully Eurocentric.

They begin to differ slightly with what follows, but all including Barros, who was the most condemnatory towards the Koina, acknowledge that the Portuguese were to blame. A further subject of debate is how much d'Almeida was to blame for the events which followed.

The following is drawn chiefly from Fernao Lopes de Castanheda (MacLennan 2003: 5-6) and Barros' *Decadas de Asia* (1552-1563), (Raven-Hart:1967:9-11).

Castanheda claims that there were 12 Portuguese men in a first sortie after an initial cordial reception on the part of the Gorinhauqua. In addition to theft, they tried to abduct a person, possibly a child, and were attacked in retaliation. Barros is not specific, referring to an altercation of sorts. Returning to the ships, the men misrepresented the cause of the attack to d'Almeida, placing the blame of the Koina rather than themselves and thus encouraged him into an aggressive retaliatory action. This event took place the next day on March 1st. 1510.

The attack consisted of a force of about 150 Portuguese men. Some sources say they were highly armed with lances and swords, other sources such as Castanheda say that some were so confident that they had not bothered to arm themselves at all (MacLennan: 2003:4).

In attacking the villages (reference is made to villages in the plural suggesting they i.e. the villages) may have been spread out; they abducted children and stole cattle grazing "behind the villages" (MacLennan: 2003:4). The Koina retaliated, ambushing them, using the cattle as a moving shield (see above). Castaneda noted how the soldiers controlled the cattle which the Portuguese were attempting to drive away (steal), stating "the "negroes" (sic) ran very lightly straight among the cattle, and they made them stand still by speaking to them, and they killed the three men (Portuguese men) who were driving them". There is thus evidence that the Portuguese were stealing cattle and that this was an effective counter-attack.

The Portuguese were routed. As they retreated, the Gorinhauqua spread out and attacked forcibly. Castanheda stated, "By this time they had overtaken the viceroy"⁴⁹ (who had been out in front to avoid the dust, i.e. from the cattle) and who continued to retreat. The Koina followed the raiding party in their retreat *to the beach*⁵⁰, harrying them and attacking them with determination and ferocity, to the extent that the Portuguese were forced to draw together in a band, which had the effect of creating a greater target. Castanheda wrote, "As our men were in a band, they never missed them, and so many were wounded that they began to fall, especially those who had no servants to help them along, and those who fell were trodden underfoot by the others and suffocated, for they could not assist them having no weapons of defence" (MacLennan 2003: 5). The long boats which would have taken them to the safety of the ships had left the shoreline and had moored elsewhere closer the "watering place" or the freshwater stream. This would have placed the boats closer to the shoreline near to the (later) Grand Parade.

The death of d'Almeida occurred near a freshwater stream.⁵¹ Castanheda states, "And *near the watering place* (writer italics) there was thrown from amongst them (i.e., the

⁴⁹ i.e. d'Almeida.

⁵⁰ The records are clear they were killed at the beach.

⁵¹ Probably the Camissa which would place the death on or near the Grand Parade or Imhoff's Battery.

Gorinhauqua) a headless lance, which pierced the throat of the viceroy, who wore no gorget, and he fell upon his knees with his hands upon the lance, and feeling he was choking, he took his hands from the lance and thus, fell dead". After his death, the Gorinhauqua launched a strong attack on the remaining men, pursuing them to the "watering place" so closely that they were obliged to enter the water to get closer to the boats. Castanheda estimated 65 dead including 11 captains and the viceroy, other put the losses higher. The following day the survivors returned from the boats to the shoreline to bury the dead (MacLennan 2003:5).

3.6. The site of the battle and the death of d'Almeida

A question has arisen about where the battle took place, where d'Almeida was killed, and where he was buried by his men on 2 March 1510. The accounts summarised above provide only few clues as to where the landings took place, even whether they were in what is now known as Cape Town, Hout Bay or Saldanha Bay. Raven-Hart refers to the expedition to the villages being "behind Saldanha". The most popular explanation of "behind Saldanha" was the area where the Koina were settled for the summer; possibly as Tariq Mellet has identified, around Mowbray/Rondebosch.

As the ship landings took place near the Camissa watering place they would have taken place near the Cape Town Castle/Woodstock Beach area (Woodstock also possessed another small stream). The longboats which took them nearer to the Koina settlement would have potentially been on Woodstock Beach and before the first sandbank near where Craig's Battery was later constructed. However, in the absence of any geographical and archaeological evidence we are unable to provide definitive proof at all about location of the landing.

With regards to the attack on the villages, Barros identifies the villages as being one league distant. A league is approximately 6.2 kilometres but it is not clear whether the attackers west or south-east. Had they marched to the South east "behind Saldanha" they may have reached the area of Mowbray which would conform with the historical account given by Patric Tariq Mellet.⁵² What is recorded according to the Chroniclers, is that the retreat of the Portuguese took place on "a narrow path across a hill" where they were harried by the Gorinhauqua soldiers. This could be the rump of Devil's Peak (although it is difficult to see how the wide lower slopes would contain a "narrow path"). The Portuguese retreated towards the shore "over the sands"⁵³ where they gathered and were killed. Barros notes that the sand dunes were an impediment to movement for the Portuguese stating, "And when they began to reach the sands of the shore they became altogether unable to make a step whereas the Blacks (sic) went over the sand so lightly" He noted that the "common folk" had run on ahead – presumably towards the relative safety of the "watering place" and near where the ships were moored. Fauvelle-Aymar too, notes how the Gorinhauqua drew the invaders

⁵² This account is dependent on the ships anchoring in what was later know as Table Bay, rather than False or Hout Bay.

⁵³ Likely to be the sand dunes of Woodstock beach, or the sand dunes of Muizenberg, although this is less likely.

away from the villages and towards terrain where they could dominate the outcome, with the final assault being launched on the soft sands of the shoreline. (Fauvelle-Aymar 2006:255). However, in the absence of any evidence care should be taken to avoid an assertion about the site of the final massacre.

3.6.1. Site descriptions in the sources

The summary below is based purely on a cautious reading of the archival sources such as they are available, and it should be noted that there is **absolutely no scientific or archaeological material to support this summary**. No bodies have been found and no archaeological material which could be associated with such a battle either has been recovered, despite a pervasive myth that it had.

Matters have been complicated by literary interpretations including a "Knot of Stone", a novel combining clairvoyance, detection and a search for historical origins. It has been a positive force in bringing the d'Almeida narrative to the forefront. It is a work of fiction however, and should only be mined for historical facts with extreme caution and scepticism. The confusion between fact and fiction remains problematic in this matter. In February 2016 for example, the Weekend Argus, published an article stating that a mass grave had been "recently" discovered, leading "experts to reconstruct the scene" and to subsequently identify the remains as those of d'Almeida and his men. (Cape Weekend Argus 27th Feb 2016). No finds were made that the archaeological community were aware of, and no heritage authority has any knowledge of such finds.⁵⁴ It is unclear where the information came from, suggesting that Vergunst's novel was been mined for information - literally confusing fact and fiction. The identification of the site of the shunting yard in Salt River mentioned in the Argus account is a similar site referred to the *Knot of Stone*. Social activist and historian Patric Tariq Mellet expressed concerns that in terms of the novel, the d'Almeida narrative remains deeply Eurocentric.⁵⁵

Professor Alan Morris, a respected archaeological pathologist, while commenting on the significance of the d'Almeida massacre; has described the Argus account by Mr Zenzile Khoisan as containing a jarring historical error", noting very clearly, that "the remains of D'Almeida and his crew **have never been found**".⁵⁶ He surmises that the newspaper report identifying the D'Almeida burial site was confused with a known site, near the railway shunting yard, which was excavated in 1953 (not "several years ago" as reported in the Argus), and found to contain the identified remains of the sailors and slaves of the Portuguese brig the *Paquet Real* which was wrecked in Table Bay in 1818.⁵⁷ The human remains found were therefore **not the remains of the D'Almeida crew or d'Almeida himself**. For a copy of the article by Zenzile Khoisan (which is now also found on "History Online") as well as its refutation by Professor Alan Morris see **Annexure 2**.

⁵⁴ Tim Hart, ACO, A Morris and C Powrie 15th July 2016 pers comm.

⁵⁵ Patric Tariq Mellet describes the book as, "an elaborate plot, complete with pre-modernist intrigues and esoteric themes embracing the real and spirit worlds and secret societies."

⁵⁶ Alan Morris Emeritus Professor, Letter to the Editor Weekened Argus 5th March 2016.

⁵⁷ Alan Morris ibid.

It is possible that this archaeological find, incorrectly attributed, together with the “findings” of the Vergunst novel have led to the growth of a narrative of sorts of a known site containing the remains of d’Almeida and his men. But it is one which has no grounds in empirical and archaeological evidence.

Equally, the reference to the d’Almeida battle occurring at the confluence of the Liesbeek and Black Rivers, i.e. near the Observatory Hill as identified by the Khoisan Legacy Project is problematic, considering the nature of the terrain⁵⁸ and because it does not fit the geographical information that is available. The Khoi would have been unlikely to have led their cattle at the forefront of the battle into a wetland or even a dry reeded area. D’Almeida is said to have been killed near the “watering place” and it is known he moved ahead of his men because of the dust as they retreated and were attacked.

The chronicles reference to a “path” and “dust” confirms that the area was slightly higher than the wetlands. The reference to deaths near the “watering place” and on the shoreline near the dunes would place the massacre considerably further to the north-west of the TRUP site.

3.7. Summary and findings

3.7.1. A summary of geographical references

Geographical references contained in the account are vague. In summary, the geographical references in the archival accounts note - villages about 6.2. km away (one league); a watering place where there was fresh, non-saline water⁵⁹, a retreat over a shallow hill; a narrow pathway, and massacre on the sand-dunes not far away from the watering place. What is not mentioned, and it is a significant omission considering the presence of cattle, is **the crossing of a river or estuary**.

The raiding parties would have been **unlikely** to seek out fresh water in an estuarine environment i.e. at the mouth of the Liesbeek and Black Rivers when there was a good perennial stream nearby and one which was known to mariners. This suggests that should the “watering place” be in the vicinity of where Cape Town⁶⁰ is today⁶¹, and should the villages 6.2. kilometres away be in the vicinity of the south west or flowing from the lower slopes of the Southern Peninsula, then the route to the villages may have been along the Lower slopes of Mowbray or Rondebosch (Behind Table Mountain) and the massacre may have been just north east of the Grand Parade in the vicinity of the

⁵⁸ It is extremely unlikely that the Gorinhauqua, skilled as they were in the use of cattle in warfare would drive their cattle into swampy terrain.

⁵⁹ This excludes the Liesbeeck and Black River Mouth near Paarden Island especially in the later summer months when the events took place.

⁶⁰ The perennial Capelsloot would have existed at the shoreline near the present-day Grand Parade

⁶¹ Near the Grand Parade or near Fort Knokke.

Woodstock Beach probably somewhere near the later Castle, the Imhoff Battery Craig's Tower.⁶²

The chronicles refer to a place of the villages" behind Saldanha". In the 16th century Saldanha referred to Cape Town. This is known because an earlier description of the voyage of Antonia de Saldanha in 1503, referred to the watering place at Table Bay saying, "And it was his fate to carry a pilot...who took him into this side of the Cape of Good Hope, asserting that they had doubted it. And by that reason he took in water there, this place is today called the *Aguada de Saldanha*⁶³ – a very celebrated name among us.... because of the many noblemen that died there at the hands of the natives of that land as shall be seen in its place." "Because he did not know where he was...he climbed a mountain, very flat and level on the top which we now know they call the Table of the Cape of Good Hope, from whence he saw the end of the Cape (i.e. Cape Point) and the sea that was beyond it to the east".⁶⁴

This suggests that the watering place which he called *Aguada de Saldanha* and which the indigenous people called *Camissa* was known to early mariners and sought out for fresh water. The stream lead down the mountain to the sea. "Behind Saldanha" therefore referred to a place behind the watering place or a distance of 6.2 kilometres away from the watering place.⁶⁵

3.8. How does this information relate to the Two Rivers Urban Park?

The lack of reference to the fording of rivers (which with cattle would have been a major event) suggests that the skirmishes, attacks and final massacres are likely not to have occurred in an area where it was necessary to cross rivers, or in an estuarine environment which even in summer was reeded and damp. Thus, as the site of the Two Rivers Urban Park which is a riverine landscape is unlikely as the place of the battle and it would be misleading, in the absence of any evidence to propose that it was.

Therefore, in the absence of any firm evidence either in terms of material culture, archaeology or a clear geographical description we will need to state that, **we cannot say exactly where the battle took place. We also cannot say it took place within the boundaries of the Two Rivers Urban Park.** We know it was a running battle along a dusty path and that the massacre occurred on the beach, near the watering place. This does not fit the description of the TRUP site. Should the geographical references in the chronicles have some degree of credibility, we can surmise that the graves occur somewhere between the "watering place" at Cape Town and the early beaches of Woodstock and Salt River.

⁶² I have no empirical proof for this other than a creative interpretation of the geographical references contained in the Chronicles. We also have no indication as to whether the Chronicles were based on survivors' reports. An archaeological excavation revealed bodies of ship survivors near Fort Knokke in 1953

⁶³ Water of Saldanha or the watering place. This suggests that Saldanha was first named after the watering place not the bay.

⁶⁴ Barros (1/7/2) in Raven Hart.

⁶⁵ This may equally may apply to Hout Bay.

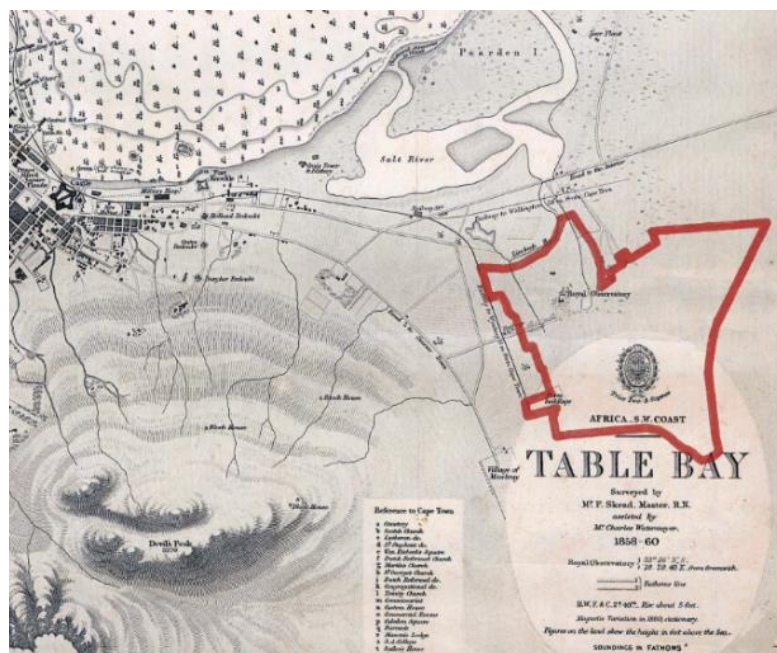


Fig 23. Portion of Skead's Nautical Chart showing the natural coastline in 1858 in relation to the approximate position of the TRUP site. Attackers and defenders clearly would have had to cross substantial areas of wetland to reach as coastline unless they took a route north to north-west of the TRUP site.

3.9. The significance of the event in terms of living heritage.

Whatever perspectives are highlighted, and whether the site of the graves is found, the massacre of d'Almeida and his men was a highly significant event in the history of South Africa. This was because the Portuguese subsequently avoided the Cape as dangerous. They considered it inhabited by people who fiercely defended their rights. There was no appetite for Portuguese conquest and settlement at the Cape after the d'Almeida event. Despite ships calling to collect water (and potentially to leave messages) there was no colonial monopolistic mercantile and settlement interest until the Dutch East India Company's refreshment station some 150 years later.

In the present time of the resurgence of Khoisan or Koina identity⁶⁶ and culture, the battle and victory over d'Almeida is a rallying point for Koina resurgence and a source of pride. Despite its significance it is only now being investigated from the Koina or Khoisan point of view.⁶⁷

It must therefore rightly be memorialised and interpreted, whether on the TRUP site or not. The ideal site would be on a site where in the future the bodies were found.

⁶⁶ The term Koina is used in this report. However, it is accepted that the terms Khoen Khoen, Koina and the collective Khoisan are contested terminologies.

⁶⁷ A Morris, Emeritus Professor letter to Cape Argus 5 March 2016.

3.10. Conclusions

Despite the enormous cultural and historical significance of this event, particularly in terms of the living heritage of the First Nation, we have no evidence for the site of the running battle and the massacre and burial of D'Almeida and his men. Geographical references are vague and until any archaeological evidence is uncovered, no claims can be made with any degree of confidence. The situation of the villages 6.2 km "behind Saldanha" is less in doubt. It should be emphasised that it would be a disservice to so significant an event if an assumption (possibly an incorrect assumption) was to be made about the site based on incorrect information, or in this case, no substantive evidence.

This does not alter the significance of the event and there is a strong need for it to be memorialised and interpreted from the position of the First Nation rather than the biased perspective of a strongly Euro-centric nature.

In terms of living heritage, the TRUP site is strongly linked to perceptions of contemporary First Nation identity. It is suggested that mechanisms should be explored for the story to be told on the site but with the focus being on the narrative rather than the identification of site to avoid inaccuracies. Any attempt to "claim" that the TRUP site was the site of the battle and the massacre should be resisted at all costs as there is no proof that it was. In fact, all the evidence points against it, particularly in terms of the massacre. The presence of "villages" behind the Freshwater Stream (Camissa) suggests that memorialisation of the settlement forming the focus of the Portuguese attack is both possible and desirable.

Section Four: The relationship of the River Club to Afrikaner Nationalism.



Fig 24. The Riverclub built in 1939 on lands allocated by the South African railway for social welfare and recreational purposes for white workers.



Fig 25. View south-east across the Golf Course, originally wetland towards the current confluence of the Black and Liesbeek Rivers.

4.1. Introduction

Two Rivers Urban Park Heritage Impact Assessment Baseline Study (Supplementary Report) prepared for Heritage Western Cape, the Provincial Government of the Western Cape in partnership with the City of Cape Town

In their Interim Comment of 3rd May 2017, HWC's IARCom required information regarding a purported link between the River Club and Afrikaner Nationalism. This was not an issue raised in the Precinct-based HIA for the Riverclub⁶⁸ nor was it a requirement in terms of the Response to the Notification of Intent to Develop for that precinct. It appeared to be an issue that if required, was best investigated at a precinct level.

After research to establish a link between the site and the rise and expressions of Afrikaner Nationalism, as required by the IARCom response to the high-level Baseline Study, none was established.

4.1. Historical explanation

Jeremy Seekings (2008) noted that by the late 1930's, "South Africa had developed a welfare state that was remarkable in terms of both the range of risks against which it provided and its coverage of the poor – although only for poor white and coloured people"⁶⁹. The origins of this coverage can be found in the *First Carnegie Commission of Inquiry into the Poor White Problem in South Africa*. The sports fields and facilities of the South African Railways in the Liesbeek River Valley and other sports facilities constructed at the same time was part of a general initiative to provide poverty-stricken and socially depressed workers with healthy social outlets and improve their quality of life. This was a country-wide phenomenon and not restricted to Observatory or the South African Railway. In time, there was a struggle between the roles of state, church and social welfare facilitators which retarded the development of the welfare state.⁷⁰

The following historical explanation has relevance.

The Great Depression of 1929 had an adverse impact on the economy of South Africa. The situation was made worse by a severe drought which caused a migration of a poor, largely unskilled rural population to the cities including Afrikaans speaking "poor whites". There was extensive unemployment in Cape Town and visible extreme poverty across all races. The official focus was however on the "poor white problem" and to a lesser extent on unskilled "Coloured" workers. For Black South Africans, the situation was worse as they were heavily discriminated against. The South African Government provided severe restrictions to African urbanisation in a series of discriminatory legislative enactments which followed and supplemented the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923.

The issue of extreme poverty among white workers became highly politicized in the mid 1920's and the early 1930's. Government attempted to provide employment through large state-run projects and government enterprises such as the railways. This system increased after the Pact Government in 1924 when the South African Railways became a significant employer of "poor white" workers.

⁶⁸ Undertaken by B O'Donoghue for the Riverclub 2017.

⁶⁹ Seekings J., September 2008, "The Carnegie Commission and the Backlash against Welfare State building in South Africa 1931-1937," *Journal of Southern African Studies* Vol 34/3, p 515.

⁷⁰ Seekings J 2008: 515.

The South African Railways welfare program originated in a pilot welfare scheme devised and run by the Continuation Committee of the National Conference on the Poor White Problem, Kimberley 1934, or the *Volkskongres*. It was headed initially by the sociologist Dr Hendrik Verwoerd (later Prime Minister), and thereafter effectively by Dr G. Cronje. The *Volkskongres* was a follow-up of the *Carnegie Commission of Investigation into the Poor White Problem, 1929-32*, widely regarded as the first 'scientific' social study to be carried out in South Africa and catalyst for the development of the social sciences in the country.⁷¹

One of the findings of the Carnegie Commission was that "poor whites" required improved welfare, education and socialization. The South African Government Railways responded (as did other large state employers) with a variety of mechanisms for socialization, involving sport, welfare, nutrition and recreation. Such sports and recreational facilities were set up and run in association with the National Advisory Council for Physical Education.

The South African Railways employed a significant number of skilled and unskilled (white) workers at the Salt River Railway Works in the 1920's and 1930's. They owned substantial tracts of land associated with rail yards and works in the Salt River/Woodstock Area. The River Club area was low-lying, subject to flooding and not useful for industrial purposes. The sports fields at the River Club were established in about 1935 as part of the program to build up the health and morale of the railway workers. By 1935 the low-lying land in the vicinity of the River Club was leveled and converted into sports fields. They appear to have initially been fields for soccer and rugby with the Sports Club building following a few years later in 1939.

Ultimately the welfare program did not survive within the SAR. Relationships between the SAR and the "Upliftment Committee" were strained and there is evidence to suggest that the Railways objected to the meddling of the Committee in the lives of their railway employees.⁷² The South African railways employed more Afrikaners after 1948. It became a pool for Afrikaans speaking workers, both skilled and unskilled in an employment system based on racial exclusion. However, by that time the social welfare experiment had failed.

The welfare programs set up in the 1930's had been strongly linked to the poor white issue. The Government instead planned a new system of political employment opportunities linked to the Nationalist Government based on patronage and exclusion of black and "Coloured" workers from urban employment opportunities.

The fields and club facilities were for the exclusive use of white railway workers. As a greater number of Afrikaners were employed at the Salt River Railway works after 1948 no doubt the membership would have included Afrikaans-speaking members.

⁷¹ Tayler J, "Combatting Unfavourable Conditions": Experiments in Scientific Social Work and Community Development in the South African Railways, 1935-50, *Kleio* 36:1, 107-125.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00232080485380051>

⁷² Tayler J, *ibid*.

The development of sports facilities at the River Club is therefore more strongly associated with the “poor white problem” through social welfare projects rather than the growth of Afrikaner Nationalism. After 1948, Afrikaner Nationalists did try to make use of the “poor white” issue for political gain but the link to the River Club is weak and tangential, almost non-existent.

4.2. Conclusions

The inevitable conclusion from the above is that the significance of the River Club is not related to the rise of Afrikaner Nationalism and the employment of Afrikaans-speaking workers at the Salt River Railway Works. There is a very peripheral link between the site and the Carnegie Inquiry but it has little to do with the rise of Afrikaner Nationalism.

Issues affecting the rise of Afrikaner Nationalism therefore do not in our opinion affect the cultural and historical significance of the River Club.

Should HWC require further information in this regard, it should be undertaken at a precinct- based assessment of the River Club site.

5. Section Five: The Landscape as whole

5.1. Cultural significance as identified in the Baseline Study 2017

The issue of the cultural significance of the landscape of the TRUP site including the Black and Liesbeek River Corridors was explored extensively in the Heritage Baseline Study under the following headings:

- Character areas
- Statements of Cultural Significance
- Heritage related design informants (high level).

The following is a summary⁷³ of the findings regarding historical/cultural significance for the River corridors, wetland areas and the topographical landscape as a whole. For further historical and geographical information see *Section One: Discussion regarding the Estuarine System*.

5.2. Cultural/historical significance and the impact of topography on the landscape as a whole

The following specifically refers to the impact of the topography and its relationship with the precolonial and early colonial history.⁷⁴

Cultural significance is defined as “Aesthetic, architectural, historical, scientific, social, spatial, linguistic, or technological value or significance” (NHRA).

⁷³ For a review of the description of the landscape and the Green Corridor System see pp 70-72, Statement of Cultural Significance see p72, and Heritage Related Design informants see 81-85, Two Rivers Urban Park High Level Baseline Heritage Study Attwell and Jacobs Feb 2017.

⁷⁴ See Also ACO Associates 2015.

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The Two Rivers Urban Park as a landscape is significant from a heritage perspective, comprising a unique series of sites, memories and structures of significance. Because of its strategic position in relation to the river systems and the historic pastoral routes to the north and south, it has a significant role in pre-colonial history in terms of the history of transhumance and the indigenous residents of the Cape and their struggles to retain their land. As a result, it plays an important role in the cultural identity of the First Nation.

The site is recognized by stakeholders for the wealth and value and information it contains about past histories and narratives extending back to precolonial times. The cultural heritage and natural landscapes of the TRUP are closely linked with the cultural landscape have evolved from the constraints and opportunities presented by the topography and the riverine systems.⁷⁵ The use of the site has produced overlapping patterns of use and significance including the following:

- The use of the site for summer grazing by transhumant pastoralists, largely the Gorinhauqua and Goringchoqua during the pre-colonial period.
- The placement of barriers and the development of frontiers by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) to limited access to fertile land and water systems.
- The sites of the granting of the first lands under individual tenure; and the introduction of private property ownership and use in the early Dutch Colonial Period.
- Early industrial use and the development of windmills to support agriculture in the area. These include the Oude Molen, and the Nieuwe Molen which remains.
- The presence of early homesteads and werfs which faced the Liesbeek River and used the riverine system for the purposes of irrigation using channels, weirs and dams.
- The cultural landscape of the area including mature tree plantings and avenue of trees.
- The cultural landscape of the area and the memories, traditions and cultural events that have come to be associated with it.
- The topography of the site contributing to a sense of place.

All the above responses to landscape are retained either in memory or spatial relationships and add a series of cumulative values and significances to the site. The remnant structures and patterns of use and their visual spatial relationships need to be considered in understanding the cultural significance of the site.

5.3. Cultural/Ecological significance of the landscape as a whole

The TRUP area is also an area of high social ecological and visual significance. It is a multi-layered and complex series of overlays of sites and associations of value. It includes such values as ancestral use, ancestral memory, historical significance, institutional and scientific significance, significance as a green space containing

⁷⁵ Baumann N, In *Regeneration: TRU-PARK/ Valkenburg Revitalization Project* 2013.

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valuable vegetation, a historic place of barriers. It also includes contemporary significances such as a socially valued, recreational landscape within a riverine setting and significance as a landscape presenting an opportunity for the redress of past barriers and inequalities.

5.4. Living heritage and cultural significance

A highly important aspect of the significance of the Park is contained in the concept of "living heritage" which refers to intangible aspects of inherited culture and may include elements such as "tradition, oral history and popular memory, ritual, and indigenous knowledge systems". S 2 [xvii].

The National Heritage Resources Act identifies the significance of *associational values* in the identification of cultural significance. Such values may be based in memory and present intangible associations with place. The NHRA refers *inter alia* to:

- "Places buildings structures and equipment of cultural significance" (all of which are present in the TRUP); and
- "Places to which oral traditions are attached or which are associated with living heritage." These may be present at the TRUP in relation to links with formerly marginalized groups.

Consequently, the TRUP site contains both tangible and intangible heritage values which are rooted in the past histories of the sites and the wider surrounding environment; and which affect its contemporary significance.

Identification of intangible heritage aspects is highly important to the identification of cultural significances which could be both notional and associational. Cultural significance relating to intangible and living heritage should be considered within the context of a range of historical themes and events as well as the cultural significance of the site as a whole. These are identified further below.

Intangible aspects of heritage as identified do not refer only to the TRUP site but affect the Cape Peninsula as a whole and the West Coast area, all of which were affected by pre-colonial seasonal migrations and other relevant historical events. They affect the River Club area, the PRASA owned land and other areas in proximity.

5.5. Thematic analysis of the landscape as a whole

From a symbolism and historical perspective, the TRUP landscape is thematically complex and multi-layered, with remnants and symbolism of the historical past as well as contemporary significance for those who value and identify with them. The following, often conflicting themes are or were present on the site:

- Presence of the First Nation history, pastoralism and seasonal movement.
- Barriers conflict and exclusion from ancestral lands.
- Farming.
- Institutional use.
- Exclusion and containment (medical).

- Innovations in health care.
- Social and racial differentiation.
- Natural biodiversity and scenic landscape.
- Industry.
- Recreational use⁷⁶.

5.6. Statement of significance of the landscape as a whole

The TRUP is an outstanding example of a historically evolved landscape extending from pre-colonial to colonial times, where the links to the riverine landscape have played a significant and multivalent role in its use.

- The TRUP is of cultural significance in terms of its pre-colonial and post-colonial history. Within the site identification of potential areas for commemoration and explanation of the role and the rights of the First nation to the area have been suggested. Potential sites have been identified for commemoration of the First Nation's history and struggle as well as other historically disadvantaged groups.
- The rarity value of a wetland system within an urban environment, together with the presence of rare plant life contributes to the cultural significance of the river corridors. The dominance of the river corridors as defining elements is re-enforced by the orientation of sites towards the Black and Liesbeeck Rivers and the historical use of topography and sightlines. Canalized portions of the river detract from the visual significance of the historic riverine system.

5.7. Statement of significance of the riverine systems in terms of the pre-colonial history of the site.

- The entire TRUP is of symbolic value to the First Nation as a visible example of historical exclusion and loss of rights, division and apartheid. The partial remnant of a "pristine" and unbuilt landscape serves to re-enforce notions of what the landscape represented to those who were excluded.
- The riverine system may be considered to have heritage significance in light of the role it played in the history of the area, and considering the landscape and the nature of transhumant pastoralism. This includes the value of the river system to transhumance, the wars against the indigenous people, the erection of barriers on the high ground, the fording of rivers, the introduction of agricultural settlements along the edge of the river system and finally, the development of tracks and transport routes and the development of bridges and weirs to cross and the rivers and control water flow.

⁷⁶ Adapted from Nicolas Baumann Heritage Consultant *Heritage Impact Assessment Phase 1 Valkenburg West Hospital*, November 2012.

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- The rivers and the intervening hills have come to represent a landscape of memory for the First Nation
- The Liesbeek River is of outstanding (provincial or national) significance in that it represented the first barrier and process of forced exclusion for the first nation and the beginnings of the loss of rights. The need to reclaim at least symbolically and in terms of living heritage is therefore high
- The TRUP site represents in contemporary terms a nexus around which issues of cultural and identity, ceremony and cultural practice may be celebrated.

5.8. Conclusions regarding cultural significance and living memory of the landscape as a whole.

For the reasons identified in 5.7 above, the Riverine corridor of the Liesbeek River, its original course and its subsequent canalization is identified as being of outstanding cultural significance. The Black River is less significant but nevertheless an important local component of the history of the area as well as defining the topography of the TRUP site.

Mechanisms for the celebration of cultural significance of the area should include the following:

- Respect and protection of the wetland areas, not only for their ecological and bio-diversity and recreational value but also their heritage landscape value.
- Recognition of the Liesbeek River as being of outstanding Provincial or National significance in terms of the history of South Africa.
- Recognition of the crossing at Vaarschedrift as being of outstanding cultural value in the precolonial history of pastoralism.

Exploration of a detailed set of mechanisms **at a Precinct or site level to memorialize**, narrate and celebrate the history of former marginalized groups including the First nation traditional clans and women may include the following:

- A narrative plaque to the washerwomen of the Liesbeek on or near the Liesbeek River in an area that was traditionally used for washing.
- A narrative plaque commemorating the narrative of Chief Langibalele, a Chief imprisoned at Robben island and who was involved for years with the planting of trees at the Government Location at Uitvlugt.
- An explanatory plaque on the Ndabeni site, explaining the fact that it was the first segregated "location" and served as a model for future segregated living environments.
- A celebration of the crossing point at Vaarschedrift along the old site of the Liesbeek Rivers.
- A cultural centre at Ndabeni detailing in much the way the District Six Museum has done, the history of forced removals.

- A cultural centre on or near the Oude Molen Site where the First Nation may explore and celebrate notions of preservation of language, cultural and religious ritual.
- A plaque and explanation regarding the imprisonment of King Ceteswayo at Oude Molen.
- The role of the Oude Molen as the first industrial VOC milling site.
- A plaque containing an explanation about the settlements “behind Saldanha” in the vicinity of Mowbray and an explanation of the role of the indigenous peoples who lived in the area regarding the expulsion of d’Almeida (without claims to the site of the massacre).

It should be noted that, as in the Legacy Projects, such explorations of significance and culture and such identifications do not preserve a landscape absolutely or prevent appropriate development but use the unique cultural qualities of the area and the narratives which shaped it to enrich an understanding of diversity and cultural significance.

6. Combined Conclusions

The following conclusions which were drawn at the end of each section discussed above, are combined and repeated here for ease of reference in respect of the supplementary Baseline information requested by IACOM.

6.1. Conclusions regarding the estuarine system with specific reference to the northern boundary

- The northern edge of the TRUP site is of high heritage value in terms of precolonial movement patterns and patterns of settlement as a cattle route from the north is likely to have crossed the river system at the point of where the Black and (original) Liesbeek River became the Salt River. This would (subject to changes in the riverine spaces) been in the vicinity of Vaarschedrift area and the railway bridge. This means that this area to the north and within the northern area of the site is of outstanding heritage significance.
- The rail lines form a major barrier between the northern edge of the site and the coast, affecting riverine systems and heritage landscapes. The large tract of land to the north of the TRUP site is used by PRASA as a maintenance and storage area which effectively sterilizes the site. A riverine/cultural landscape/spatial link between the PRASA areas north of the site and the TRUP site is therefore currently unlikely because of the massive infrastructural costs involved⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the area before the railway bridge and the original Liesbeek River course provides opportunities for interpretation and memorialisation ⁷⁸ despite an environmentally and aesthetically blighted area to the north.

⁷⁷ NM&A Situational Analysis Report (Draft only) 2017 page 101.

⁷⁸ See Conclusions.

6.1.1. Conclusions regarding the map analysis particularly in regard to the Northern Boundary.

The maps and analysis of the estuarine and riverine systems suggest the following (with consideration given for inaccuracies in surveying):

- The coastline and river mouth(s) were subject to natural change as a result of floods, deposition of silt and tides. The coastline was substantially amended during harbour reclamation beginning along the Woodstock beach as early as 1920 (see Map 10).
- A significant site therefore involves the historic confluence of the Black and Liesbeek Rivers which has also been identified as significant by the First Nation. This is more complex than it looks because both Rivers fed into a vast wetland system before the building of the railway bridge.
- A further significant site is the crossing point or “Vaarschedrift” close to the site of Vaarschedrift Farm but on the (old) Liesbeek River.
- The area north and north-west of the rail lines was used for industrial and railway purposes and involved amendments to topography by way of landfills. This increasingly involved the destruction of the historical lagoon and wetland system.
- The higher areas around Vaarschedrift and Maitland was used for the outspan of cattle historically before crossing the Liesbeek River into the western areas of the Peninsula. Topography and existing documentation suggests that the Vaarschedrift was an important fresh water crossing for indigenous and settler communities.
- The canalisation of the Black and Liesbeek Rivers has resulted in the alteration of the wetland systems which characterised the area. They are apart from small pockets, destroyed.
- The canalisation of the Liesbeek River has been particularly destructive to the historic course of the river and the area of confluence of the Black and Liesbeek Rivers. Historic maps indicated that the canalised portion of the River west of the River Club is the true course of the River and that the confluence occurred in the vicinity or just after the current railway bridge, after both rivers entered a combined wetland area in the vicinity of the golf course.
- The development of the railway sports playing fields, the development of the Liesbeek Parkway and the Malta Park playing fields resulted in alterations to topography. In the case of Malta Park soil from dredging the rivers for the purposes of canalisation was used as infill to raise levels.
- The Khoisan Legacy Project has identified the Liesbeek River as a significant linear space in the history of the Khoisan peoples because it was the first frontier and from where their people were excluded from rights in land. Care should be taken in terms of authenticity to ensure that this refers to the old route followed by the Liesbeek.
- Canalisation adversely affected the historic qualities of the Black and Liesbeek Rivers. It is only in the un- canalised areas of the Liesbeek that there is any sense

of the role placed by the Rivers in the history of the country. Consideration should therefore be given to the “naturalisation” of the riverbanks, where flood modelling permits.

- While the area towards the north of the TRUP site should be regarded as being of outstanding heritage significance as a key entry point to the Cape Town area in both colonial and precolonial times, the notion of restoring a riverine landscape in this area is unfeasible in the short to medium term because of the existing infrastructure that stands in the way of a unified riverine system and the costs involved in such a program..
- Since amendments to the industrial landscapes are unfeasible, interpretation and signage boards should be placed in pivotal places to identify and explain to history of the area. Care should be taken (in terms of the Nara Charter and the 2003 Charter on Intangible Heritage) that all histories however conflicting, are represented.

6.2. Conclusions and Implications for the Khoisan legacy Projects and the National Liberation Projects.

The following are the conclusions in terms of living heritage and projects arising out of the recognition of living heritage.

- Documentation and living heritage are not mutually exclusive. Archival sources should be used with care to address distortions particularly where no other sources or memories exist.
- Living memory projects should aim for cohesion and consensus building via public consultation.
- Living memory projects cannot rely on knowledge and sites being fixed and immutable. Rather it needs to focus on the dynamic nature of change.
- Living heritage and intangible heritage does not aim to “freeze” or preserve sites, but rather aims for enriching experiences through interpretation and understanding.
- Site specific knowledge in relation to living heritage is difficult due to the changing nature or the dynamism of culture, the inadequacy of clear evidence and the changing nature of interpretation and the priorities associated with interpretation.
- Non-site-specific interpretation is also of the utmost significance and sites have been identified in TRUP where celebration and memorialisation may occur
- The issue of language is significant as the Khoisan cultural centre may be focussed on the teaching of the languages associated with living heritage.
- The extensive public participation process associated with the TRUP site has revealed clear requirements from previously marginalised communities. These include:

- A cultural centre where cultural crafts language, traditions and practices may be undertaken
- Places of memory associated with historical persons including Chief Langibalele. Although not referred to by the public this should include the Khoi resistance leader Doman.
- Memorial and interpretative sites for the wars of resistance from the leader Doman and against the attacks of d'Almeida. In the absence of any definitive evidence, such materials cannot be place specific.
- Memorial and interpretative plaques and public art associated with the first apartheid line of exclusion at the Liesbeek River, the traditions of cattle ownership, grazing and movement through the landscape (or transhumance) and space or the practise of lost or recovered knowledge sources associated with the landscape.
- Memorials and explanations of previously overlooked subaltern history and the presence of women in history. A final point regarding the Khoisan Legacy project and the National Liberation projects insofar as they affect TRUP, is the gender disparity of the memorialisation interpretations which involve warriors, battles and power relationships between men. The role of women in subaltern history particularly is under-represented. An example of this is the significant role played by women in relation to the use of the Liesbeek for washing. This role has been celebrated elsewhere in Cape Town but not at the Liesbeek where was ubiquitous. Consequently, memorialisation and celebration of the use of the Rivers should take up the role of women.

6.3. Conclusions in relation to the d'Almeida massacre and living heritage

- Despite the enormous cultural and historical significance of this event, particularly in terms of the living heritage of the First Nation, we have no evidence for the site of the burial of D'Almeida and his men. Geographical references are vague and until any archaeological evidence is uncovered, no claims can be made with any degree of confidence. Documentary evidence suggests the graves are elsewhere. We are aware that there was a running battle along a path where the cattle raised a lot of dust and a massacre on a beach as the Portuguese tried to reach the ships which had moved closer to the "watering place" or the Freshwater stream in the vicinity of where the Castle is today.
- The situation of the villages 6.2 kms "behind Saldanha" is less in doubt. It is proposed that any narrative plaque be set up in the vicinity of Coornhoop or Mowbray which is approximately the correct distance from the "Watering Place". It could be linked to the d'Almeida attack by saying, "From this site, the First Nation defended their settlements and attacked Portuguese aggressors..." and describing the events as they occurred. It should be emphasised that it would be a disservice to so significant an event in the history of the First Nation if

an assumption (possibly an incorrect assumption) was to be made about the site based on incorrect information, or in this case, no evidence.

- The significance of the event: This does not alter the significance of the event and there is a strong need to it to be memorialised and interpreted from the position of the First Nation. The bias until the present has been strongly Euro-centric.
- In terms of living heritage, the TRUP site is strongly linked in terms of perceptions with contemporary First Nation identity. It is suggested that mechanisms should be explored for the story to be told on the site but with the focus being on the narrative rather than the identification of site, which is problematic for the reasons described at length above. Any attempt to "claim" that the TRUP site was the site of the battle and the massacre should be resisted as there is no proof that it was. In all the evidence points against it, particularly in terms of the massacre. The presence of "villages" behind the Freshwater Stream (Camissa) suggests that memorialisation of the settlement forming the focus of the Portuguese attack is possible and desirable.

6.4. Conclusions in relation to the River Club and Afrikaner Nationalism

- The significance of the River Club and related site is not related to the rise of Afrikaner Nationalism and the employment of Afrikaans-speaking workers at the Salt River Railway Works. There is a very peripheral link between the site and the Carnegie Inquiry but it has little to do with the rise of Afrikaner Nationalism.
- Issues affecting the rise of Afrikaner Nationalism therefore do not affect the cultural and historical significance of the River Club.
- Should HWC require further information it should be undertaken at a precinct based assessment of the River Club site.

6.5. Conclusions and recommendations in relation to the heritage significance of the landscape as a whole, particularly in terms of pre-colonial history.

The Riverine corridor of the Liesbeek River, its original course and its subsequent canalization is identified as being of outstanding cultural significance. The Black River is less significant but nevertheless an important local component of the history of the area.

Mechanisms for the celebration of cultural significance of the area might include the following:

- Respect and protection of the wetland areas, not only for their ecological value but their heritage landscape value.
- The recognition on the one hand of the Liesbeek River as being of outstanding significance in terms of the history of South Africa; and on the other, recognition of the Black River as being of strong local significance.
- Recognition of the crossing at Vaarschedrift as being of outstanding cultural value in the precolonial history of pastoralism.

- Exploration of a detailed set of mechanisms at a Precinct or site level to memorialize, narrate and celebrate the history of former marginalized groups including the First Nation traditional clans and women. These may include:
 - A narrative plaque to the washerwomen of the Liesbeek on or near the Liesbeek River in an area that was traditionally used for washing.
 - A narrative plaque to the Khoi resistance leader Doman and the resistance battles of the 1660's over land and property.
 - A narrative plaque commemorating the narrative of Chief Langibalele a Chief imprisoned at Robben Island and who was involved for years with the planting of trees at the Government Location at Uitvlugt.
 - An explanatory plaque on the Ndabeni site, explaining the fact that it was the first segregated "location" and served as a model for future segregated living environments.
 - A celebration of the crossing point at Vaarschedrift along the old site of the Liesbeek Rivers.
 - A cultural centre at Ndabeni detailing in much the way the way the District Six Museum has done, the history of forced removals.
 - A cultural centre on or near the Oude Molen Site where the first nation may explore and celebrate notions of preservation of language, cultural and spiritual ritual.
 - A plaque and explanation regarding the imprisonment of King Ceteswayo at Oude Molen.
 - A plaque an explanation about the settlements "behind Saldanha" near Mowbray and the role they played in the repulsion of d'Almeida and the Portuguese.

It should be noted that, as in the Legacy Projects, such explorations of significance and culture and such identifications do not preserve a landscape absolutely or prevent appropriate development but use the unique cultural qualities of the area and the narratives which shaped it to enrich an understanding of the diversity of Cape culture and history.

6.6. Final Comment:

The Baseline Heritage Study, together with the Supplementary Heritage Report having met the requirements of Heritage Western Cape's Impact Assessment Review Committee; it is recommended that HWC supply the Provincial Government of the Western Cape in partnership with the City of Cape Town with a final comment in order that it may be submitted together with other specialist studies and as part of the Environmental Basic Assessment Report to the Department of Environment Affairs and Development Planning; and as per the requirements of the National Environmental Management Act (NEMA) and S 38(8) of the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA).

7. Annexures and Diagrams

Annexure 1: Interim Comment: IARCom

Annexure 2: d'Almeida article: Z Khoisan and reply Prof Alan Morris

Diagram 1: Historic settlement (Historic and archaeological sites) in relation to the topography and the flood-lines of the TRUP site.

Diagram 2: Capt. Henry Northcott imposed on the TRUP site including wetlands, farmsteads and routes.

Diagram 3: Map of Sewerage Disposal Woodstock 1890: Composite Overlay with the Two Rivers Urban Park boundaries.

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