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Sea Ports and Sea Power

African Maritime Cultural Landscapes

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Introduction: Maritime Landscapes as an African Approach to Maritime Archaeology

There has been a fundamental shift in maritime archaeology moving away from purely descriptive approaches to material culture, such as shipwreck assemblages and ship construction, towards an alternate focus on examining the social implications of these cultural remains (Babits and Van Tilberg 1998; Gould 2010; Catsambis et al. 2011). The cultural landscape approach has recently been widely integrated into archaeological discourse and cultural heritage management and is well represented in academic publications such as *Journal of Maritime Archaeology*. A cultural landscape represents the idea that cultural identities and collective histories are anchored to the physical landscape features as well as contained within the cognitive perceptions of a given geographical area. This intellectual platform provides a mechanism for researchers to amalgamate a variety of different approaches to analyze the complexity of people's social interactions and relationships with their environment over space and time (Westerdahl 1992; Duncan 2006; Marano 2012; McKinnon et al. 2014; Borrelli 2015).

While the concept of a maritime landscape is very broad, a more focused thematic approach draws together a number of case studies in South Africa, Namibia, Tanzania, and Nigeria with a common thread. Specifically, diverse practitioners in this compilation of papers will address the subtheme of sea ports and sea power as part of understanding the African maritime landscape. Sea ports and surrounds are dynamic centers of maritime culture supporting a rich diversity of cultural groups and economic activities. Strategic locations along the African coastline have associations with indigenous maritime communities and trade centers, colonial power struggles and skirmishes, establishment of naval bases and operations, and World War I and II engagements. Topics highlight an array of tangible and intangible heritage themes such as identity and maritimity, harbor infrastructure and risk, port laborers and fishers, naval shipwrecks and technology, slave trade landmarks and memory, and recognition of global contributions towards port communities that supplement local African maritime histories.

While primarily addressing research themes and questions, a few chapters include discussions about maritime heritage tourism and education. Recent developments in maritime archaeology theory and method have led to the recognition that

training students in the field of both academia and cultural resource management poses new challenges as the discipline struggles to meet the needs of the twenty-first century, and specifically, a more Africanist approach. Engaging with the concept of the maritime cultural landscape, heritage managers can link submerged sites and sites which do not resonate with adjacent communities to a more expansive and inclusive heritage narrative, not focused exclusively on European shipwrecks and cargoes. New narratives about European ships and shipwrecks might include the roles of African crew like Kroomen. Other maritime industries, linked to smaller watercraft fleets like sealing, fishing, and whaling, offer much potential for exploring the evolution of local industry from a multicultural perspective.

Adoption of the 2001 Convention has opened a space for a new discourse on underwater cultural heritage and management approaches and provided a framework from which to propose a strategy for more relevant government intervention. Increasingly professionals and students from the USA and elsewhere collaborate to study heritage sites within international jurisdictions, in this case Africa. Shipwrecks represent global heritage, especially warships or those playing auxiliary war roles, like the Confederate Raider *Alabama*, US Liberty shipwreck *Thomas Tucker* at Cape Point in South Africa, or the German and British WW I and II warships in Tanzanian waters. Another trend is the best practice of in situ preservation and how to effectively monitor, manage, and showcase these diverse maritime sites which are often at risk or have potential for recreational, educational, and tourism ventures (Sharfman et al. 2012). This trend has occurred in tandem with a perceived concern that students are trained for academia in a world in which the job market increasingly has an applied dimension, with students primarily entering employment in private sector CRM, tourism, and historic preservation directly after acquiring an MA degree. Internships, field schools, and summer abroad studies allow students to view maritime archaeology with a global outlook (Bender and Smith 2000; Harris 2013; Harris and McKinnon 2016).

For African countries, adoption of the 2001 Convention has opened doors for a new discourse on underwater cultural heritage and management approaches. It has provided a framework from which to propose a strategy for more relevant government intervention. Although Iziko Museums in South Africa and other groups have implemented maritime archaeology capacity building and training projects in several African countries, the challenge is to sustain these groundwork initiatives with internal funding and support. This volume addresses these current issues within the discipline.

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Lynn Harris (PhD University of South Carolina in 2002) is an Associate Professor in the Maritime Studies Program, History Department at East Carolina University. She is originally from Cape Town, South Africa, and has a background in nautical archaeology, terrestrial archaeology, submerged cultural resource management, and maritime history. Lynn received her BA and Honors degrees in Archaeology, Anthropology, and African Studies at Stellenbosch University in South Africa. Areas of fieldwork experience and research interest include the American South, Africa, and the Caribbean. Her particular interest is the African diaspora and labor history. She teaches courses in underwater archaeology methods, maritime material culture, watercraft recording, and African and Caribbean maritime history with an interdisciplinary Atlantic World perspective. Teaching assignments have included offering summer annual abroad study programs in South Africa or Namibia. Lynn has also directed and co-directed underwater archaeology field schools for graduate students in a variety of locations. She has published on vernacular watercraft, colonial period shipwrecks, public outreach, maritime heritage tourism, and international collaboration in underwater archaeology initiatives. Most recently, she authored and coauthored articles and reviews in the *Journal of Maritime Archaeology, Nautical Research Journal, Historical Archaeology, Journal of Anthropological Research, International Journal of Heritage Studies, Nautilus: A Maritime Journal of Literature, History, and Culture* and *Northern Mariner*. In 2013 she was presented with the Gerald E. Morris Prize by the Fellows of the G. W. Blunt White Library, Mystic Seaport, for an article best representing Maritime scholarship.

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Chapter 1
When Did the Swahili Become Maritime? A Reply to Jeffrey Fleisher et al. (2015)

Elgidius B. Ichumbaki

1.1 Introduction

This chapter is a reaction to the paper by Fleisher et al. (2015) that the Swahili people were not full maritime before 1000 AD. The chapter shows several shortcomings of the paper including that of not clearly defining the concepts 'maritime society' and 'the Swahili people/society'. It is also hereby discussed that the paper is a resurrection of the colonial scholarships which seems to have had been crumbling by 1990s (e.g. see Chami 2009a). In fact, the authors' argument references scholarships of between the 1950s and 1980s which maintained that the region of East Africa was first settled by the Arabs and that it developed links with the rest of the world only after the ninth century AD. The following quotation summarizes their argument:

> …significant changes in inter- and intra-settlement patterns, subsistence, domestic spaces, and material culture indicate that the Swahili became increasingly connected to, and reliant upon, their maritime environment over many centuries—and not early in their settlement of the coast. (Fleisher et al. 2015:103)

For this reaction to be understood, two concepts raised in the paper but either left undefined or partially defined must be defined now and clarified so it will be clear about what I am refuting. These concepts are 'maritime society' and 'Swahili people'. The former concept is covered in voluminous publications which the authors also cite (e.g. see Catsambis et al. 2011; Green 2009; Lane 2005; Staniforth and Nash 2006; Westerdahl 1998). Being guided by Westerdahl's (1998) model, Fleisher and co-authors consider a society to be 'maritime' only if that society's nearby "marine environment influences and is influenced by broader patterns of sociocultural organization,

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practice, and belief within that society" including spatial–temporal demarcations. Additional to this conceptualization, which the authors left out are the material evidence indicative of maritimity–material traces; manifestations; and physical remains that signify the interactions between past humans and water bodies such as ocean, sea, lakes, and rivers (see Ichumbaki 2011:554, 2015:528). Most importantly, these material evidence indicative of 'a maritime society' need not necessarily to be either close or within the respective marine environment. As will become apparent in this chapter, these material remains could be found several kilometres away from the maritime environment but still documenting the maritime-ness of a society.

The second concept that authors did not speak about but which is important in defining the maritime-ness of the East African coast is the 'Swahili people/society'. Quoting Prins (1965), the authors consider Swahili people/society to be those who began living on the coast of East Africa during the mid-first millennium C.E. (Fleisher et al. 2015:101). For this reaction, leave alone the timing of maritime-ness of the Swahili people/society which this chapter counteracts, the timing of when the Swahili people/society began living on the Swahili coast is by itself mispresented. Because there is enough evidence that people started to inhabit the Swahili coast since the Neolithic period (Chami 2004; Chami and Kwekason 2003), for this paper, the Swahili people/society are inhabitants of the East African coast since the Neolithic period, about 20,000–30,000 years ago (Prendergast et al. 2016; Chami 2009b, c, d). Thus, what the authors call 'Swahili people/society' are actually a mixture of the Swahili descendants and 'migrants' from different parts of the Indian Ocean worlds.

Having understood the concepts 'maritime society' and 'Swahili people' it should now become easy to trace 'when did the Swahili become maritime'. This chapter uses both historical and archaeological data to argue that the maritime-ness of Swahili communities is older than estimated by authors (Fleisher et al. 2015). I argue that in their earlier settlements (c20,000–30,000 years ago), the Swahili communities were not passive players in their maritime environment. Instead, they were fully immersed in maritime culture and interacted with both the Ocean and other communities of the Indian Ocean World and the interior regions of East Africa. Some groups learnt to navigate abroad and to adopt cultural tradition which they later brought back home. Furthermore, evidence of daily utilization of ocean resources verifies that the maritime-ness of the Swahili coast societies dates well before 1000 C.E.

1.2 Background to the Academic Discourse on Maritime History of the Swahili Coast

The question of 'when was the Swahili coast first settled and by whom' dominated the region's archaeological and historical studies from the 1950s to the 1980s. Research efforts of the time between the 1950s and the 1980s (e.g. Horton 1984; Chittick 1974, 1980, 1982, 1984; Sinclair 1982) unearthed but did not trust evidence for human occupation predating 800 AD (Horton 1984, 1991, 1996a). Consequently, some scholars concluded that trade and cultural contact between the Swahili coast and other parts of

the Indian Ocean world was a result of Islamic influence and that human activities began after the ninth century AD. Moreover, some of the cultural materials indicating that the Swahili coast area was inhabited during the Stone Age and Neolithic period were neglected without any convincing scientific reason (e.g. Chittick 1966; Gramly 1981; Harding 1961; Isaac 1974). Along the same line, the architectural complexes that are scattered along the coastline from Mogadishu in Somalia to Sofala in Mozambique were seen as results of foreign influence and that local communities did not have any contribution (Garlake 1966). Arguably, it is in the same line of thinking that Fleisher and Colleagues (2015) are of the opinion that it was only from the tenth century when communities of the east African coast became fully maritime.

This thinking by authors appears to emanate from a colonial ideology which views the Swahili coast, a part of Africa, as a region with no history, let alone maritime history prior "foreign settlement". With this thinking, pre-colonial initiatives by local people to use the ocean for their day-to-day utilities are labelled as primitive, prehistoric and/or mythological (Schmidt and Mrozowski 2013). Some scholars suggest these former ideologies are outdated, but with this recent publication there is no doubt that the concept was rejuvenated in academic discourses. Such rejuvenation of 'colonial wisdom', however, is all the more striking because from the 1990s to present, several data sets regarding local contributions of coastal civilizations challenged these previous arguments (Gilbert 2002; Chami 1994).

New research initiatives—multiple corroborating sources including archaeology, documents, and language—have unveiled the origins of the Swahili coast to show the coastal civilizations were either local or a combination of both local and foreign tastes (Chami 2001, 2006a, b, 2009b, c, d, 2017; Moustakim 2012). Adding these insights to the already published research data, I argue that rejuvenation of 'colonial thinking' in the academic discourse denies abilities of Africans to master and control their environment in the historical narrative.

1.3 Documentary and Archaeological Evidence of Early Maritimity

There is much evidence suggesting that communities living along the Swahili coast became maritime from their earlier settlement and not after 1000 C.E. For the purpose of this chapter, I will focus on two forms of evidence: documentary and archaeological data. Collaboratively and interchangeably, the two types of evidence will be combined to show that Swahili communities were active of their maritime environment and not passive.

Documentary evidence highlights that maritime activities, such as navigation, began during the second millennium BC (Sorenson and Johannessen 2004; Chami 2007). During this time, many parts of the world from the Mediterranean and the Nile valley, across Mesopotamia and down the Red Sea to Arabia and the Indian Ocean, were connected to one another. According to Elliot Smith (1928:9, cited in Chami 2017), communities from the above-mentioned parts were in "great social current form of a multitude of intermingling streams that has come down from

remote ages and distant lands to carry us along with it". These interactions were an integral world system and the Swahili coast was never left behind. In fact, the Swahili coast region was very active during the second millennium BC or even earlier. For instance, the Indian Ocean Coast of East Africa was interacting with other parts of the Indian Ocean during the fifth century BC (Lacroix 1998). Also, between the 610 and before 594 BC, Saint Pharaoh Necho and his group sailed to the Red Sea, to the Indian Ocean, to the Atlantic Ocean and to the Mediterranean Sea in Egypt (Lacroix 1998). Arguably, and as shall be discussed in the next paragraphs, these voyages from the Red Sea around Africa and then back to the mouth of the Nile (Cary 1963) must have taken place along the coast of East Africa (the Swahili coast).

This assumption is buttressed by the ancient written documents such the *Periplus* and *Ptolemy* which categorically and vividly prove that the Swahili coast interacted with other world economies at least from the BC periods. A good example is the exchange of cassia, cinnamon, and metal objects between Swahili people and south-west Asians, respectively (Miller 1969). In connection with this trade, civilization in the form of cosmopolitan towns such the metropoles of *Rhapta* and *Toniki*, where various populations met, settled, intermarried, conducted trade, and flourished (Chami 1999a, b; Casson 1989; Huntingford 1980; Cary and Warmington 1963). These two Greco-Roman emporiums, *Rhapta* (located at latitude 8°S) and *Toniki* (located at latitude 4°S), were centres of trade bringing merchants together from various parts of the Indian Ocean World.

In addition to these two towns, there were also islands (although it remains unknown which ones exactly) on which people settled, practiced crafts, fished, and hunted various animals (Chami 2001). The narrative of Iambulus (in Chami 2001:92–93), who visited one of the Islands,[1] of the Indian Ocean along the Swahili coast by around 300 BC provides a good example of how the Swahili coastal people were maritime. With this summarized documentary evidence, the authors still maintain that before the thirteenth century communities of the Swahili coast remained passive of their environment including not recognizing the sea, for example:

> What we [Fleisher and co-authors] know through the documentary record is that coastal elites invested in long-distance voyages at least as early as the 13th century and that a small number of ships owned by Swahili patricians sailed as far as Arabia and, from the 16th to mid–18th centuries, Western India…. (Fleisher et al. 2015:107)

In addition to documents, there are several archaeological data sets which firmly indicate that coastal communities were active maritime participants in their environments. The archaeological evidence is incontrovertible that some of the coastal communities, if not all, were established maritime communities hundreds of

[1] Tanambelo Rosolondrainy thinks that this Island named by Iambulus as 'Island of the Sun' is Madagascar. The assumption emanated from discovering rock paintings at Ampasimaiky rock shelter located in South-western Madagascar. These rock paintings, which have been dated from between the third and fifth centuries BC, according to Rosolondrainy are probably what Iambulus reported as vertical writing systems practiced by islanders. For a broader discussion of this, see Rosolondrainy (2012:173–195).

years before the tenth century, the time suggested by the authors where there was a change towards maritime life. The economic activities of these communities were not limited to coastal areas but also spread to further parts in the interior. An understanding of the complexes in which the maritime cultures of the coastal areas and the hinterland evolved and grew to spread into the interior is here by presented within a chronological framework. The history of the Swahili coast is available in voluminous publications, but a summary provides a contextual foundation for this argument.

Archaeological materials indicate that the establishments of maritime communities along the Swahili coast can be traced back from the Middle Stone Age (MSA). Such timing follows the discovery of several MSA and Later Stone Age (LSA) sites and assemblages at various coastal areas (Kwekason 2011; Kessy 1997, 2009a, b; Knutsson 2007; Chami 1996a, b, 2006a, b; Chami and Kwekason 2003; Chami and Mapunda 1998; Chami and Kessy 1995; Thorp 1992; Gramly 1981; Isaac 1974; Sasi 2006; Harding 1961; Chittick 1966). With these investigations, it is now clear that the coast of East Africa was inhabited from at least 30,000 BP (Chami 2009d). During this habitation period, Stone Age people managed to master their environments (using the sea for their day-to-day lives) and also interacted with other communities from islands of the Indian Ocean and those further inland. As Kessy (2010:53) explains, 'the importation of intrinsic volcanic rocks [from either Kilimanjaro or Comoro Island] for artefact making in the Kuumbi cave–Unguja Island–clearly reflects this situation [the interaction between and among the island dwellers and mainland communities]'. An importation of intrinsic rocks from the mainland to the island was accompanied by exchange of other materials such as beads. For example, after working on a 'stone bowl' burial mound in Ngorongoro crater—North-eastern Tanzania, Louis Leakey (1966) and H. Sassoon (1968) reported beads made of faience and carnelian materials and cowry shells. Although the source of carnelian and faience-made beads is uncertain (as their origin could either be North Africa, Asia, or both), the beads made of cowry shells must have originated from the coast of the Indian Ocean, possibly along the present-day coast of Kenya and/or Tanzania.

Scholars have reported numismatic evidence at both the coast and the interior, all of which came via the Indian Ocean. At the coast of Tanzania in Tanga region, both Neville Chittick (1966) and Mark Horton (1996b) reported various coins described as Roman, Hellenistic, and Byzantine, all dating from between the first and the sixth centuries AD. Moreover, similar coins and others belonging to the empires of Indian Kushan and Roman (of Antoninus Pius and Claudius Gothicus) have been recovered from Zimbabwe dating to between the first and third centuries AD (Horton 1996b). Zimbabwe is very far from both India and Rome meaning that transporting of these beads must have been through the Swahili coast.

Recovery of these materials (beads, coins, and volcanic rocks) from both the Swahili coast and the interior regions indicates that between the last centuries of BC and early centuries of AD, there were interactions between and among communities living on the islands of the Indian Ocean, along the present-day coast of

Tanzania and Kenya (the Swahili Coast) and the interior regions of the same places. Finding materials of coastal origin from the interior (e.g. beads made of cowry shells) and those of interior or Comoro Island origin (e.g. volcanic rocks) from the coast furthermore indicates mutual interactions between and among the involved communities. Moreover, coins belonging to the Roman and the Indian Kushan period are strong evidence that the Swahili were part of the global maritime interactions.

There are other several sources of archaeological evidence that indicate Swahili communities were maritime from an early period.[2] These archaeological material remains indicate the interaction among these communities, proving that they were cognizant of the ocean surrounding them and could navigate to neighbouring mainland and islands. Similarly, sharing cultural affinities and technologies—especially ceramic of the TIW tradition between the interior parts of mainland of eastern Africa (Walz 2005, 2015; Mapunda 1991, 1995, 2001; Haaland 1994/1995; Haaland and Msuya 2000; Soper 1967, 1971), the coastal areas (Fleisher and Wynne-Jones 2011; Chami 1994, 1999a, b; Kusimba 1999; Horton 1996a) and several islands of the Indian Ocean (Moustakim 2012; Chami 2004; Juma 2004; Radimilahy 1998) during the first millennium AD signify that none of the communities lived in isolation. Instead, there was a continuous link between the Islands and the coast, the coast and the interior, and probably the island and the interior as well (Walz 2005; Horton and Middleton 2000; Soper 1967). The archaeological data now show clearly that island communities such as Unguja Ukuu and Tumbe on Zanzibar and Pemba Islands, respectively, interacted with their colleagues in the mainland. This interaction means that navigating the ocean was common. The authors confirm this in the explanation:

> Unguja Ukuu … on Zanzibar Island dates to C.E. 500–900 and is the earliest documented coastal settlement with Early Tana Tradition (ETT)–Triangular Incised Ware (TIW) pottery. This pottery is found at similarly dated sites on the coast and in the hinterland, and it exhibits a high degree of homogeneity in forms, decoration, and assemblage composition…. By C.E. 750, Unguja Ukuu grew to 17 hectares of earth-and-thatch houses. The settlement was abandoned in the tenth century …, perhaps due to fluctuating sea levels …, with sporadic reoccupation from the late 11th century. Chibuene … on the southern Mozambican coast, has a similar history: from C.E. 700–1000 it was a busy coastal village, the entry point for glass beads from India, the Middle East, and possibly South Asia with destinations to the interior …. Tumbe on the north coast of Pemba Island, Tanzania, covered 20 to 30 hectares, with earth-and-thatch houses, evidence of diversified subsistence, and a rich material culture of local and imported goods from the seventh to tenth centuries C.E. … (Fleisher et al. 2015:104)

In summary, there is a need for Fleisher and co-authors to address the contradictions that arise with these acknowledgements and to rethink the timing of the Swahili maritimity. Unquestionably, residents along the Indian Ocean in eastern Africa used

[2] Among others indicative of early maritime-ness of the Swahili communities is the evidence of domesticated animals such as goats, sheep, cattle, dog, and cat as well as birds such as chicken from the limestone caves within the Indian Ocean (Chami 2009a, b, c; Mbasa and Assey 2009).

and continue to exploit the ocean and its shore. Uses include extraction of the shoreline resources such as sand and rocks for building. Other uses are raw materials for traditional medicines and culinary activity, and of course, fishing. All of these observations (and certainly others that scholars engaging in maritime studies have failed to capture) did not begin from 1000 C.E. Indeed, they are as old as the Swahili people themselves who began to inhabit the region during the Neolithic time.

Archaeologists, anthropologists, and other specialists of heritage studies should investigate the physical nodes at which intangible and material elements intersected one another through time. Such studies will reveal ancient locales and maritime activities such as river crossings, communal washing and swimming spots, rock shelters with historical value for traditional healing, and favoured patches of medicinal plants. It is difficult for scholars to reconstruct an entangled set of mnemonics and experiences for the early maritime communities that lived along the coast of East Africa. Such difficulties emanate from the fact that we are not dealing with monuments where physical loss can be mitigated or preserved. The challenge is to synthesize all available evidence, pursue mediating contemporary social relationships, and revise social history to improve understanding of the areas' maritime history with greater clarity.

1.4 Conclusion

The paper investigating 'when did the coastal communities become maritime' rejuvenates a colonial thinking about Africa and its pasts. It is no different than the thinking that 'the whites' discovered both Mount Kilimanjaro and Lake Victoria, as if societies that lived surrounding these places considered them something else. This kind of thinking, however, is not striking and it is a duty of scholars to correct that historical narrative. As Peter Schmidt (2009:2) emphasizes, 'because postcolonial thinkers have crafted important ways of seeing and understanding how colonial influences continue to manipulate the ways in which postcolonial world is constructed, it is only fitting that we examine our own practices, now and over the last few decades through a postcolonial lens'. Against such a scenario, the view of this rebuttal is that authors of the paper did not pay any attention to key works of several scholars working in the region, research that underwrites that coastal communities did indeed interact with several communities living within and outside the Indian Ocean World[3] before the ninth century. Felix Chami puts this very well when he states:

> In ancient times, between about 3000 BC and about 500 AD, people from the old world civilizations sailed the Indian Ocean to visit the coastline of East Africa in search of various resources. People of the Eastern and Southern African region were in what scholars define

[3] Neglecting to recognize these scholars' works is also not surprising because, in some cases, western scholars tend to ignore African intellectuals (e.g. see Harrison 2009; Mafeje 1997).

> as their Neolithic and Early Iron Age periods. They were active in the acquisition and production of materials which were required by the visitors. They also sailed on the Indian Ocean and probably beyond, sometimes in reciprocity of the foreigner's visits and in search of what materials were needed by them. Connections with the African interior were also established for the spread of various resources that were in demand (Chami 2017).

Although the timeframe differs, authors, in essence, support Chami's idea when they say:

> Based on the integration of archaeological, linguistic, and historical sources, it is generally accepted that during the late first millennium B.C.E. to early first millennium C.E., peoples from the near [and far] interior moved into the coastal niche to establish mixed-farming, earth-and-thatch villages, interacting with and likely either absorbing or displacing pre-existing hunting-gathering-fishing communities. Some—perhaps even many—of these early villages had contact with merchant vessels sailing the Indian Ocean on annual monsoon winds and, with them, traded goods and ideas; this pattern continued throughout Swahili history, growing in scale and contributing to their wide spread reputation for mercantilism and as being a maritime society'. (Fleisher et al. 2015:103)

Nevertheless, Fleisher and colleagues (2015:104) maintain that '…. [a maritime society] … is surely more than just living by the sea, using boats, and eating fish [meaning that there should be some kind of complexity]'. While author's argument as stated earlier resonates with other interpretations, one question remains unanswered: how complex should a society be for it to qualify to be a 'maritime' and what scale(s) would be used to measure such complexity. For example, what kind of fishing practices should they had have? What kind of navigation skills and techniques should they develop and have?

In my view, if the authors agree that aspects of Swahili practice and tradition [intangible heritage such as Swahili language, poetry, and music] undoubtedly have deep historical roots, [but which they failed to link up with the material expressions of what they call "a distinctly maritime orientation"], then, they should not be reluctant to accept that societies of the coast of East Africa were maritime from early periods. Indeed from their onset (about 20,000–30,000 years BP) communities of the Swahili coast were maritime. However, levels of maritimity are fluid, changing and transforming from simple to complex and vice versa (Cooney (2003); Hviding 1996). These transformations reached a higher volume between the tenth and fifteenth century before interruptions by the Portuguese, as Kusimba (1999) argues. The resurrection of a colonial wisdom that, because there was a considerable expansion of maritime activities along the Swahili coast beginning the eleventh century, then, the maritimity of the region be traced from that period, as authors have done, needs to be challenged. This chapter sets a good start and I hope more reactions are underway.

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Chapter 2
Port of Badagry, a Point of No Return: Investigation of Maritime Slave Trade in Nigeria

Wale Oyediran

2.1 Introduction

West African history would be incomplete without the recognition of the Badagry Slave Coast. Badagry acted as a depot for the cruelest forms of slave trade recorded in West Africa. It was the final outpost for shipping slaves to the New World. For the captured slaves, the journey began from the hinterland from whence they were transported to the Badagry seaport. From the inhumane activities of the Europeans to the emancipation of slaves, and the inception of Christianity and Western education, this historic town still echoes the sad story of its ancestors and their tales of woe.

Badagry town possesses a rich cultural dynasty that originated from centuries ago and it continues to boast an exciting heritage to this day. The importance of Badagry cannot be overemphasized. First, it served as a major slave market and slave port in Nigeria and was one of the first communities in Nigeria to be urbanized. The British flag (the Union Jack) was first hoisted on the soil of Badagry in 1842 as a symbol of authority to stop the slave trade. This action marked the beginning of a movement towards autonomy for what later became known as Nigeria. Western education took root in Badagry in 1843 with the establishment by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) of the first elementary school called the "Nursery of the Infant Church." These factors have made Badagry a center of attraction for tourists and scholars.

This chapter explores both the pre- and postcolonial archaeological patterns of slavery in Badagry by adopting a theoretical framework of a maritime cultural landscape. While applying the maritime cultural landscape of slavery approach to Badagry archaeology, it will also take into consideration multiple facets of maritime culture: human traces that are directly or indirectly related to, or part of, underwater

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Fig. 2.1 Port of Badagry Archway (Photograph by author)

archaeological sites, historic shipwreck sites, and a variety of land-based archaeological sites including ports, museums, traditional buildings, slave markets, cannons, and anchors (Freire 2013:144).

Additionally, it considers intangible cultural heritage including maritime ethnography and religious traditions. Badagry has a rich cultural heritage in the form of local stories, folklores, proverbs, poetry, drama, and wise-sayings. The indigenous people of Badagry have preserved the history of the slave trade through these avenues. The objective is to understand how maritime space is related to both land and sea, and what changes and continuities have occurred with the passage of time (Freire 2013: 144).

2.2 Background

Badagry is the second largest commercial town in Lagos State, and it is located 43 miles southeast of Lagos and 32 miles off Seme, a border town with the Republic of Benin. It is situated at latitude 6°25′N and longitude 2°53′E. The town is bordered on the south by the Gulf of Guinea and surrounded by creeks, islands, and a lake. The population's occupations are mainly fishing, farming, craft-making, and salt-harvesting from the ocean. The indigenous people of Badagry are very hospitable and practice Islam, Christianity, and African Traditional Religions. The official population of Badagry is 237,731 according to a census conducted by the National Population Commission in 2006 (National Population Commission 2016).

Before the establishment of Badagry, people lived along the Coast of Gberefu, and this area later gave rise to the town of Badagry. The origins of the people of

Fig. 2.2 Bight of Benin showing Badagry (www.weather-forecast.com Accessed 3/29/15)

Badagry are unknown, and this has created different narratives. Law (1994:33) noted that "Badagri was an extremely heterogeneous community, comprising elements of disparate origins, displaced from their original homelands by the expansion of Dahomey in the early eighteenth century." Oral traditions claim that the area has been occupied since ancient times. According to Alabi (2002:185), "one version of the traditions of origin puts it that the earliest settlers grew out of the ground (*Agbilefu*, later corrupted to *Gberefu*)." Another account suggests that the first settlers came from Ile-Ife sometime between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries. The ancient town mainly served the Oyo Empire which comprised Yoruba and Ogu people. Today, the Aworis and Egun comprise the majority of the people who reside in Badagry, and Ogun State in Nigeria, and regions of the neighboring Benin Republic.

Olusegun Mobee, a descendant of Chief Mobee, who was a prominent middleman during the slave trade in Badagry, suggests that the town "was founded by a farmer who has his farm on its peninsular named Agbede. Agbede's farm was referred to as *Agbedegreme*, which was later, coined into *Agbadarigi* by the Yoruba alien of the south-western part of Nigeria and later into Badagry when the coast of Badagry was discovered" by Ferman Gomez, a Portuguese and a European slave merchant (Alabi 2002:185).

Following Gomez's "discovery" of the coast of Badagry in the early fifteenth century, the town opened up to the new world and later became a strategic slave port in West Africa. Though slaves were also procured from other coasts, Whydah and Badagry accounted for a large number of slave exports. It is reported that for every thousand slaves taken out of Africa, 40 % usually were from Whydah and about 35 % from Badagry. Gomez was the first slave merchant in Badagry and was nicknamed *Huntokonu* meaning a smiling captain by the Badagry people; he later died and was buried in Badagry (Sorensen-Gilmour 1995:82).

Badagry was divided into eight quarters with chiefs and head chiefs in each quarter. The plurality of Badagry chiefs has its origins in the extreme heterogeneity of the city itself. These chiefs were settled in different wards of Badagry and became middlemen for the European countries they came in contact with. For instance, the chief in Boekoh quarters settled the Brazilians; the English occupied Ahovikoh quarters; the French occupied Posukoh quarters; and the Portuguese settled at Jegba quarters. The merchants were allowed to build slave cells in each of the quarters allocated to them for the purpose of keeping their acquired slaves before they were shipped off to the Americas (Sorensen-Gilmour 1995:82).

The city's potential as an Atlantic port attracted its initial founders and later, settlers. "Badagry was not a significant producer itself of either slaves or more 'legitimate' articles of trade for Atlantic or domestic markets" (Sorensen-Gilmour 1995:82). The slaves who were acquired as captives of war through raids to the villages were brought from all over Nigeria and from the neighboring Benin Republic. The port became a major meeting point for slave dealers to negotiate where and by what means they could purchase slaves. The transatlantic slave trade would not have flourished without the involvement of the locals. The Europeans needed the contribution of the indigenous people to successfully carry out their notorious activities. They found the collaboration needed in the African Kings, Chiefs, and other prominent members of the community when they arrived. African elites exploited the opportunity to exchange their countrymen for European goods like fabrics, liquor, guns, gun powder, and other metal wares. Though slavery was a culture practiced amongst Africans before the discovery of the West African coast by the Europeans, the appeal for these foreign items exacerbated this practice (Sorensen-Gilmour 1995:82).

Canoes from the hinterland served to transport slaves to the port before transference to the European ships waiting along the coast. Freeman (2008) discusses how Badagry exported no fewer than 550,000 African slaves to America during the period of American independence in 1787. In addition, slaves were transported to Europe, South America, and the Caribbean Islands. A perusal of the database of the transatlantic slave indicates that the majority of the ships that left the Bight of Benin, a significant departure point at that time, ended up in Brazil, especially Bahia, and the southeastern region of Brazil, consisting of Espirito Santo, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, and Sao Paulo. Other destinations included Cuba, Trinidad and Tobago, and Jamaica (Voyages 2013).

2.3 The Maritime Cultural Landscape

The 1980s witnessed the prevalence of the study of maritime cultural landscape in archaeology with the greatest amount of groundbreaking research conducted on the subject by scholar Christer Westerdahl (1992, 2008). Westerdahl's interest was "to understand maritime patrimony, to communicate its importance as cultural heritage, and to find mechanisms for the protection of this legacy" (Freire 2013:142). For this purpose, Westerdahl defined the concept of maritime cultural landscape as "the

whole network of sailing routes, with ports, havens and harbors along the coast, and its related constructions and other remains of human activity, underwater as well terrestrial" (Westerdahl 2008:212). As Ford points out, "this approach provides physical and theoretical links between terrestrial and underwater archaeology as well as prehistoric and historic archaeology; thus, providing a framework for integrating such diverse topics as trade, resource procurement, habitation, industrial production, and warfare into a holistic study of the past" (Ford 2011).

Since Westerdahl introduced this concept, several authors have adopted it in their research (Parker 1999; McErleean et al. 2003; Freire 2013; Amartey and Reid 2014). Even though a number of authors have utilized this concept, there are several questions regarding the methods and perspectives needed to effectively analyze these landscapes. As a result of this, Ford (2011) has edited papers written by notable authors from the United States, the United Kingdom, Norway, and Australia, aimed at addressing many of the theoretical and methodological questions surrounding maritime cultural landscapes. This chapter utilizes a theoretical framework of a maritime cultural landscape to analyze Badagry's slave history.

2.4 African Middlemen

All the head chiefs in Badagry acted as middlemen during slave transactions, but each had varying degrees of participation. For the purpose of this study, two individuals that participated actively in the trade will be reviewed. The two individuals are Chief Sunbu Mobee and Seriki Abass Williams.

2.4.1 Chief Mobi (Mobee)

Chief Sunbu Mobee was a prominent slave dealer. Historical accounts have it that he accommodated the Brazilian slave merchants in his territory. He provided a parcel of land where the slave barracoons (slave cells) were built. The slave port and jetty that were built by the Brazilians are located in his territory. Chief Mobee was one of the eight Badagry chiefs who eventually signed the treaty of abolition of the slave trade in Badagry district, in addition to conceding the district to the British as the property of their king forever. After the abolition of the slave trade, Chief Mobee sold most slave barracoons and other materials used during the slave trade. The Mobee family, in order to preserve the history of the slave trade, built a museum—the Mobee Family Slave Museum—where the remaining artifacts used during the trade are preserved. He became a repentant slave merchant and was instrumental to the settlement of Christian missionaries in Badagry. He is also credited as being the donor of the parcel of land on which the first two-storey building in Nigeria was built. It is worthy to note that the Mobee family is still very popular in present day Badagry. They are a major force in contemporary Badagry politics (Soyinka 2012:59).

2.4.2 Chief Seriki Abass Williams

Originally christened Faremilekun Fagbemi at birth, Chief Seriki Abass Williams was a slave himself. He was captured at age six and then sold to a slave merchant Abass, a native of Dahomey, present day Benin Republic. Abass, in turn, sold him to a European slave trader called Williams, thus the name, Abass Williams. Williams took a special interest in him and invited Abass to accompany him to Brazil. He employed him as a domestic staff member, a privilege at that time. During his stay in Brazil, Abass learned four different languages: English, Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish. Mr. Williams decided to allow him to go back to Nigeria on condition that he would become his middleman in slave transactions. Abass accepted the offer and went back to Nigeria to become a prominent slave dealer. He settled first in Lagos and relocated to Badagry later.

After the slave trade was abolished, unlike Chief Mobee who sold most of the materials used during the trade, Chief Abass preserved his collection. These items can be found in the Seriki Faremi Williams Abass Museum in Badagry built by his descendants. Items include robes, porcelain plates and bowls, all symbols of class and affluence, as well as trophies presented to him by his Brazilian trade partners. Other materials are original posters advertising the arrival of new consignments, sales invoices, letters of appreciation from his partners, early Bakelite phonograph records, and photographs of him in a meeting with his foreign business associates. The museum also contains relics such as shackles, chains, and other restraining equipment for slaves. Adorning the entrance into the barracoon is the ornate, well-preserved grave of Seriki Faremi Abass (Soyinka 2012:60).

2.5 Slave Relics

Most of the slave relics in Badagry are located in the Heritage Museum in Badagry. The one-storey building served as the office of the former District Officer during the colonial period. The Lagos State Government in 2001 converted it into a museum as a means of preserving the history of the slave days in the continent. Since its establishment, the museum has attracted several tourists from within and outside Nigeria. One of the significant exhibits at the museum is the slave drinking pot. The drinking pot was filled with water on a daily basis and was unclean most of the time as slaves had to struggle to drink from it. The slaves would scoop the water with their hands since they were not provided with cups. The effect of this was the constant sicknesses and deaths that occurred at the time. The various chains used to hold the slave captive and a padlock used to lock their lips are also exhibited in this museum. The sculpture of a gagged slave depicts the heinous act towards the African race.

Other items on display at the museum include paintings of a slave ship, sculptures of domestic slaves, the most ruthless sculptures being that of an escaped slave, captured by a dog. Another significant feature of the museum is its informative clippings

of the abolitionists and facilitators of the slave trade such as Prince Henry, the navigator who initiated the European expedition to West Africa, and Ferman Gomez, the Portuguese who "discovered" the coast of Badagry. The slave markets are also captured in drawings, illustrating the auctioning and branding of the slaves. The graphics demonstrate the harsh separation of parents from their children and portray the gullible nature of some of the African kings manipulated by the European merchants. Behind the museum is a picturesque view of the peninsular where the slaves are transported through the Atlantic Ocean to various parts of Europe.

2.6 Built Heritage and Places of Significance

2.6.1 The Vlekete Slave Market

Prior to the arrival of European slave merchants in Badagry, the Vlekete slave market was the arena for public trials executed by the traditional religious worshippers. By 1502, it was turned to a meeting point where European slave dealers and their African counterparts traded slaves captured from the hinterlands. According to historical accounts, this market was bigger and attracted more traffic than the Eyon slave market in Calabar.

The market opened for business every two days with no fewer than nine hundered slaves sold per week for commodities like iron bars, mirror, cotton, dry gin, whiskey, cannons, gunpowder, gun, and assorted spirits. At the time a big cannon was exchanged for one hundred slaves and a small cannon exchanged for forty slaves. There was no specific number of slaves that were exchanged for other commodities such as dry gin and whiskey. A trader's bargaining power determined how many slaves could be exchanged. However, two slaves were exchanged for a bottle of whiskey at a minimum (Ovia 2011:187).

2.6.2 Slave Barracoons

Barracoons were temporary cells in which slaves were held until a ship becomes available to make the journey across the Atlantic. At the end of each day's transactions, the slaves were chained together by their legs in twos and dumped in the barracoons. Chief Seriki Abass Williams owned about forty barracoons and it is believed that no fewer than 1600 slaves left his compound for the journey across the Atlantic. The barracoons were always overcrowded and with little or no ventilation, and living conditions were appalling. Slaves defecated and urinated inside the barracoons causing sickness and loss of lives. Today, most of the barracoons have been destroyed, but two of the buildings were preserved for research purposes at the insistence of the Lagos State government.

2.6.3 Attenuation Well

The slave's spirits attenuation well is at the half way point along the walking route to the Atlantic Ocean to board the slave ships. According to oral tradition, the African middlemen, in collaboration with the European merchants, deposited a charm in the well. Every captured slave was forced to drink from the well. The belief was that slaves lost the memories of their homeland, they became less aggressive, and finally they were submissive to the instructions of the European merchants. After drinking from the attenuation well, they walked the final leg of the inland slave route toward the Atlantic Ocean to board ship and sail to the new world.

2.6.4 The Point of No Return

The point of no return is so called because it is believed that slaves who reached that point would never find their way back to their place or home of origin. It is a strip of land lying in between the Gberefu beach and the Atlantic Ocean, or can simply be referred to as a peninsula. Slaves were made to walk through this peninsula to the Ocean. The distance between the peninsula and the point of no return is about two miles.

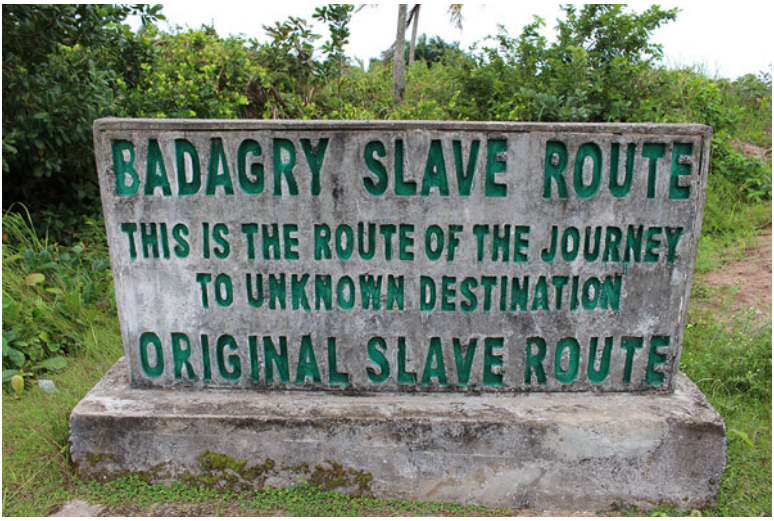

Fig. 2.3 Signage for the slave route (Photograph by the Author)

2.7 Intangible Materials of Slave Trade in Badagry

The history of slave trade in Badagry is engraved in the lives of people of Badagry in different forms and is now handed down from one generation to another, especially in intangible form through their stories, folklores, proverbs, poetry, drama, and wise-saying (Simpson 2008). Oral traditions of centers where slave transactions took place have accounts of what the slave trade experienced.

2.7.1 Songs

A popular song among the Egun (Badagry people and neighboring tribes) was written to remember the lingering sadness of the slave trade and its impact on their community, and especially, reminding them of the era when fathers were separated from wives and children. Examples of songs emphasizes that these captives came from a place they cherished, and longed to see their homeland again. The songs are preserved in Badagry as a reminder that so many were captured from the shores of Nigeria through Badagry and never returned (Simpson 2004).

Oh my home, when shall I see my home?
When shall I see my native land?
I will never forget my home!
My father at home, my mother at home
When shall I see my native land?
I will never forget my home!
(Alaba 2004:14)

2.7.2 Drama

The indigenous people of Badagry have preserved the slave trade history through the dramatization of the slavery experience. This experience is relived during special occasions like the Badagry festival, entertainment of dignitaries at significant community celebrations, and most importantly during the visits of several Africans in the diaspora to Badagry. A group of actors are tied together with ropes or chains at the neck, with their hands tied to their backs and their legs secured at the ankles. Another group of actors, who represents the middlemen, drag them on the ground with sounds of crying and grunting renting the air. They are dragged to a "slave market" where another group representing the Europeans are already waiting with commodities of exchange. A very interesting scene during the drama is the process of bargaining until the final purchase. The European traders are seen stooping at various intervals to examine the slaves carefully before a "purchase" is made (Simpson 2004).

2.7.3 Freedom Dance

The freedom dance is another means by which the Badagry locals transfer the stories of slave experiences to generations. This dance, like the drama, is performed mostly during special occasions. The dance is a depiction of the experiences the slaves went through at the time. In current times, this performance serves the dual function of commemorating the freedom of Nigerians from the gruesome jaws of the transatlantic slave trade and their eventual emancipation from the imposed domination of colonialism (Simpson 2008:12).

2.7.4 Names and Festivals

Names in Badagry have some relationship with the slave trade and its activities. The cannon that was used to enforce compliance to the abolition of slave trade is still on display in Badagry. The cannon has a link with the oral history of Badagry people with the etymology of *Agbalata*, the popular name of Badagry traditional market. This is a remarkable implication on the historiography of Badagry because the topography where the cannon is located is in proximity to the Agbalata market.

An important connection in terms of naming exists between traditional rulers with the use of guns in slave raiding and slave trading related activities. The Badagry kings added that one of the kings of Badagry was called *Soton*, which in Egun language means "the guns are out." This shows a symbolic relationship in terms of naming that existed between traditional rulers with the use of guns in slave raiding and slave trading related activities (Simpson 2004).

Festivals, as integrals cultural traditions in African society, have helped in the transmission of an intangible aspect of a peoples' slave trade history. In Badagry, the "Freedom dance" is associated with abolition of slave trade in the world and Badagry as well. In the words of Simpson (2004), "Freedom dance is the popular commemorative dance which continues to act as local depiction and reminder of the experiences of slavery even in modern times." This dance has become a very significant part of the culture and history of the indigenous people of Badagry.

2.7.5 Badagry Festival

Badagry festival shows the ingenuity and creative power in the history of the people and the ability to reconstruct the tragic contextual features of the past history of the people for celebration and emancipation. The festival started in 1999 and is organized by the African Renaissance Foundation (AREFO), to recollect the activities and the significance of the town during the era of the slave trade. The festival is held annually by the third week of August. Thousands of people both local and foreign travel to Badagry at this period to witness several acts and performances that include

Liberation Day Celebration, Football Competition (Oba Akran Cup), Arts and Crafts Festival, Nature/Water Sport Activities, Vothun Henwhe Festival, Zangbeto Exotheric Masquerade Festival, Gbenepo Royal Carnival, International Day for the Remembrance of Slave Trade and Its Abolition, Carnival Day, Boat Regatta, and more (Badagry Festival 2016).

Of all the activities during the festival, the most significant is the Liberation Day Celebration and the International Day for the Remembrance of Slave Trade and its Abolition. The day usually starts with an international symposium and a lecture on different topics about the slave trade, commonly delivered by a guest speaker. The 2014 edition lecture was on Toussant Louverture and his impact on the emancipation of Africans in slavery (Badagry Festival 2016).

2.7.6 Contemporary Beliefs and Philosophy of the Badagry People About the Slave Trade

The history of slave trade has considerable impact on the belief system of Badagry people. They loathe slavery and will try to avoid its repetition in Nigeria history in any form. There is a slight difference in the narration of the events relating to the slave trade in Badagry. Most local people are eager to discuss the slave trade, but a few, understandably, prefer not to talk about it. It appears that the majority of the locals appreciate the history of the slave trade judging by the high level of participation, especially during the annual Badagry festival. A very important point to note is that the youths are actively involved in the preservation of this heritage. This is visible through their participation during events associated with the remembrance of the slave trade. The youths of Badagry are the main drivers of tourism activities in the area. A high number acquire training as tourist guides to cater for the influx of tourists to Badagry. They invest their time and resources to learn about the history and events during the slave trade and have seized the opportunity for generating income based on historical narrative. This is a welcome development because, while the history of the events of the slave trade will continue to be passed on to the next generation, the revenue derived from their activities will cater to the youths who live in a country where jobs are very rare.

2.7.7 Attitude

The history of slavery has created a bad image and dramatic emotions, most clearly for Africans, whenever it is discussed or remembered, and especially for families who are victims of such history. In many parts of Africa, some families and tribes hate each other as a result of roles their ancestors played in the slave trade. It has impacted the psyche of victim's families, who continue to tell their children how their ancestors were treated, either by a fellow community member or even a local

king. This has a corrosive impact on mutual cohesion and understanding in the society. Badagry is, however, a different case, as most people do not bear any ill feelings towards the families that were involved in the trade. The only visible discord today created by the slave trade in Badagry is the rivalry and animosity between the two families that were involved in the slave trade in Badagry. Oral tradition reveals the families of Chief Mobee and Chief Seriki Abass Williams have a history of rivalry dating to the time of the slave trade. With the slave trade becoming unpopular, Chief Mobee sold some of his barracoons to Chief Seriki Abass Williams. Chief Abass expanded and became more prosperous and influential in the business. This particular rivalry led to each creating a family museum of its own for the preservation of some of the relics and documents of their activities in the flesh trade. The rivalry still continues to date, even as part of Nigerian contemporary politics (Soyinka 2012). This rivalry relates more to current economics than to the activities that transpired during the slave trade.

On a positive note, the intangible materials can be used as a source of revenue to the community members who now see the slave history as a boost, generating funds from research scholars, tourists, excursionists, and visitors. Badagry is a heritage tourism site in Nigeria that appeals to all classes of tourists and Africans searching the global diaspora for their roots prior to capture.

2.8 Conclusion

The activities of the slave trade, spanned over four hundred years, impact the current lifestyles and philosophy of Badagry people. The town records a high influx of tourists and visitors annually, which has huge economic implications for the indigenes. It is hoped that this chapter exposed and highlighted the significance of the port of Badagry, and the tangible and intangible remnants of the process of capture and human bondage. Of significance to this study are not only the iconic places of the past like the barracoons and attenuation well, but also the intangible perceptions in the present like songs, dramas, and festivals. Various components of maritime cultural landscapes, that are vital to the implementation of this concept in Badagry's case, have been identified and discussed. This chapter argues that adapting maritime cultural landscapes to a coastal archaeology methodology will provide conceptual tools for the interpretation of both physical and metaphysical cultural patrimony of slavery and how a specific community takes ownership of this part of their history.

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Chapter 3
"A Gulf Between the Mountains": Slavers, Whalers, and Fishers in False Bay, Cape Colony

Lynn Harris

3.1 Introduction

Crewman Donoghue (Act. bomb. R.M.A) aboard the Cape Station Flagship *HMS Crescent* described the population of Simon's Town in 1904 as "a fair mixture … principal are Africanders and Kaffirs.[1] There are also a large number of Britishers, Malays and Indians … the Kroomen we brought from Sierra Leone we discharged into the dockyard" (Donoghue 1907:20).

This "fair mixture" of people were integrated into the political economy of empire and global networks of trade and travel, simultaneously creating new local subcultures, traditions, and legacies that form a significant part of the social fabric in False Bay society today. The port was a base for seafaring operations connecting the west coast of Africa, the Swahili coast and islands like Madagascar, inland southern African colonial wars, the American Civil War, and the World War I and II.

This study explores the colorful maritime legacy of these Simon's Town laborers through traveler reports, Dutch and English colonial journals, correspondences, log books, bulletins of historical societies in False Bay, and historic site listings. It highlights research projects and management initiatives to address the gaps in the historical record. Local researcher Arthur Davey (1990, 1992, 1993) compiled maritime

[1] *Kaffirs* or Natives was a term used to refer to African laborers from within the Cape Colony in the 1890s. Ethnic tension, especially in dockyards led to the creation of a mixed ethnic intermediary status of locals, many who were descendants of slaves from Africa, Indonesia, Madagascar, and West Indies as *Colored.* The 1904 census listed the Cape population in three groups: Europeans, Africans, and Coloreds (Bickford-Smith 1995:451, 460).

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labor records from the Simon's Town community. Joline Young (2010) addressed the vital role that Kroomen played in the naval town. Jane Ewald (2000, 2010) provides a larger context of industrial labor and freedmen of maritime transportation focusing on the Indian Ocean. Community historian, Ardene Tredgold (1985) and local historical societies compiled colorful historical vignettes of small towns of False Bay, amongst others Kalk Bay, Muizenberg, Glencairn, and Fish Hoek.

In September 1967 Simon's Town was declared a "white group area" by the apartheid South African government with many families forcibly removed or split apart based upon skin color. In order to preserve the heritage of the Simon's Town community, the Simon's Town Museum initiated Project Phoenix in 1996. A committee representative of those forcibly removed from the town was formed to assist the Museum to gather and record the history of Simon's Town's dispossessed people, many with a past ties to whaling, fishing, and small harbor labor economies of False Bay (Salter-Jansen 2010:1–13). Most recently, East Carolina University students and faculty collected assorted data during the 2015 Summer Study Abroad expedition. This included historical research supplemented with photographic inventory of tombstone information in Seaforth Naval Cemetery in Simon's Town, investigations of World War II ruins in Cape Point National Park and the small fishing town of Kalk Bay where traditional handlining for snoek fish is still practiced today. Drawing upon this data the study examines and analyzes the maritime cultural landscape, memory, and legacy associated with this microcosm of a multicultural society.

3.2 False Bay and Simon's Town

Under Dutch East India Company rule in the seventeenth century, False Bay was a "hideaway" and winter anchorage for their fleets, playing a distinctively secondary role to Table Bay city harbor. Yet, it became one of the most valuable fishing and whaling areas for the Cape Town community, especially in the early nineteenth century.

As early as 1656 there was consideration of cutting a canal from Table Bay to False Bay generated by one of the Admirals of the Dutch fleets Ryklof van Goens but it was determined too costly a venture. In 1682, Commander Simon Van der Stel surveyed the False Bay in the vessel *Noord* taking soundings for anchorage and determined that it would be an excellent hiding place for a small fleet of Dutch ships when enemy vessels were watching Table Bay (Theal 1882:63, 274). In 1765 there existed a storehouse, stone pier, slaughterhouse, bakery, workshops, and house for the officer in charge (Leibrandt 1896:3–5; Theal 1882:91–91, 118–119). Furthermore, maroon communities of runaway slaves, with little intervention of the Dutch, used the rugged mountains and network of coastal caves as secret accommodations, plus opportunities for smuggling, and stealing boats. Eusebius Hudson (1764–1828) a local Cape merchant described a group of Simon's Bay maroons as living in "Cave within Cave to a very considerable extent & only two openings in them… being surrounded with sunken rocks around the entrance for Miles and the Tide washes into the cavern for a very considerable way back." He further alludes to maroon alliances and conspiracies with fishing slaves, Cape farmers, and ponders that "It appears strange that the

Dutch Government took no steps to break up this dangerous society…" (Shell and Hudson 1984:62).

The Dutch did not spend many resources developing this port. One remaining landmark structure is the old Residency which housed the Dutch East India Company Governors and included the local slave jail and a brothel. Today, this building is the venue of the Simon's Town museum and historical society. According to British Vice Admiral Roger Curtis despite the shortage of supplies for the Cape, rebuilding of the "tottering" Dutch naval yard facility in a state of disrepair was only possible using the timbers of the British shipwreck *HMS Sceptre* for posts, rails and palisades and ordnance including 15 cannon and carriages (Theal 1897, Volume 3: 77). As the headquarters of British Admiralty during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Simon's Town port hosted warships of many nationalities. One of the most iconic was the Confederate raider *CSS Alabama* that captured Union prize *Sea Bride* in view of the local crowds, shared spoils with the community, and was subsequently immortalized in the folk song *Daar Kom die Alibama* ("There comes the Alabama") (Van Niekerk 2007; Duby 2014:99–117).

Simon's Town served as focal point of entry for shipwreck survivors like those of English East India vessel *Colebrook* and *HMS Birkenhead* carrying supplies to colonial frontier wars (Theal 1888:264). Deserters of various nationalities, especially Filipino crew from American vessels, settled in the area after a reputed 1840s shipwreck group from Cape Point encouraged others to desert and join their working communities especially in Simon's Town and nearby Kalk Bay. Another memory passed down is that a member of the crew of *Alabama* decided to stay permanently and live as a "fisherman" at Kalk Bay. As Manila men among the crews of other vessels visiting the southern tip of Africa found out about him and reportedly envied his pioneering success, they also decided to jump ship to live and work in Kalk Bay (*Philippine Daily Enquirer*, May 17, 2005:17; *Cape Times Magazine*, October 5, 1946:2; Aguilar 2012:364–388).

In the World War I and II period, Cape Point served as strategic observation point with forts, military outposts barracks, and secret radar stations dotting the mountain sides employing descendants of groups as a labor force to service the naval infrastructure. Once again, the rocky cliffs and caves of False Bay Mountains served as secure places for undercover operations, this time to conduct surveillance activities of the Bay without the knowledge of Nazi supporters in the Cape Colony (Mangin and Lloyd 1998). During the wars, the Colored community played an important role as labor in the dockyard serving as apprentices and in trades as bricklayers, electricians, fitters and turners, plumbers, and other opportunities not available outside the dockyard (Oral Histories of Simon's Town Historical Society 2016 a and b).

3.3 Slaves and Seafaring

Slaves were essential labor for assorted inland farming enterprises during the Dutch and British rules of the Cape, serving as town and city prostitutes, cooks, washerwomen, harbor construction labor, and porters, but also served aboard ships

as cooks, crew, naval personnel, and critical interpreters facilitating trade transactions along the both the east and west coasts of Africa. As early as the 1650s Commanders sent two ships *Hasselt* and *Maria* to secure slaves off the coast of West Africa. In 1776, it was reported that slaves came mainly from Madagascar and Ceylon and most were men, some women and children with some youths placed with master mechanics and taught trades. Slaves served as ship crew in a variety of capacities, often moving into new positions of authority within the context of bondage. One example was Sayyid, a translator who spoke both Malagasy and Arabic who served on several slave voyages starting his career on English ships, and later captured by the Dutch aboard English slaver *Joanna Catherina* in 1673 at St. Helena. The Dutch regarded him not as a slave, but as a prisoner of war employing him as a slave overseer and translator on slaving voyages in 1677, 1678, and 1681. His value on the ship *Sillida* during the later voyage received high praise and that his presence was crucial to govern the captives whose language he spoke. His wife was a slave excused from VOC labor activities and he was granted a house and garden for his growing family. The correspondence of the company refers frequently to his valuable role in the slave trade successes including praise from the Cape Commander Simon van der Stel (Theal 1882:80–81; 208; 227).

In the late 1700s and early 1800s, petitions to sell or purchase slaves in the Cape Colony, especially from Mozambique, are prolific. Many of the ships carrying the slaves docked in Simon's Town and most were British like *HMS Sceptre*, *Oiseau*, and *Star*. Cape Town firms repeatedly requested permission to send ships on slaving expeditions to Mozambique and local farmers pleaded their need for labor to Major General Dundas. Ships carrying captured slave cargoes entered the Simon's Bay, frequently quarantined for possible diseases of the crew and slaves or delayed for legal investigations. Often complicated Admiralty depositions ensued regarding suspected illicit slave cargoes on vessels like *L'Auguste*, *La Africano*, *Collector*, *and Joachim*. On occasion, vessels were reported to be deserted by Master and crew with no official papers, just an abandoned slave cargo aboard (Theal 1897 [2]:372–374, 377–379,417; [3]: 79,126,317, 486–487; [4]:262–267). In 1807, British Parliament passed an Act abolishing the slave trade. In response, the British Navy took up the crusade against the practice, with colonies, and especially ports, benefiting from the release of the captured slaves who were apprenticed to colonists for many years as "prize negroes." Many of these crusading vessels were stationed in Simon's Town, departing on regular missions to seek Arab slave traders around Zanzibar and along the Swahili coastline. On occasion captains and crew died in these risky endeavors amongst others those on board *HMS Penguin* and *HMS Ariel* commemorated in the Simon's Town Naval Cemetery (Tredgold 1985:68).

3.4 Whaling and Fishing

False Bay was also became a favorite bird hunting and fishing areas with exclusive rights and resource exploitation monopolies to those connected to the early commanders, like Adriaan, son of commander Simon van der Stel (Theal 1888:62–63, 304).

The British took control of the Cape in 1795 and revitalized False Bay and Simon's Town as both a naval base and whaling station (Richards and Du Pasquier 1989). Residents in the naval town objected to the smell of the carcasses and boiling blubber so many operations moved to smaller surrounding towns like Kalk Bay (Leibrandt 1906:464). Although the whaling industry was short lived (1795–1805), seal hunting and fishing continued. High prices paid for whale oil spurred a global expansion to expand hunting grounds wherever whales were plentiful and close to shore, including along the coasts of southern Africa.

English and Americans hunted whales initially to the exclusion of the locals, sometimes with their national flags harpooned into the fleeing whale's back. The Dutch rulers opened the whaling industry to colonists in 1792, but *only* using open boats in Table and Simons Bay. Oil was to be sent only to Holland (Theal 1910 [3]:206–207). In 1797, explorer John Barrow recognized the whaling assets of the Cape noting that, "by the Happy position of the Cape, it be established with important advantages to England, a land of central depot for the Southern Whale fishery. It is by no means necessary to resort to South America…" (Barrow 1801 [1]: 5). He described how the "black" whales congregated in the Bay in winter making it easy to hunt at least a whale a day. Whale oil and baleen were some of the most profitable products in the global economy and the early nineteenth century was the high point for whaling, mostly in False Bay. Oil was used for candles, soap, and lamps including for the local lighthouses of the rough Cape coastline (Barrow 1801:342–352, 362; Booth 1964). Jaws, ribs, and vertebrae were utilized extensively for fences and stock enclosures around properties, and even walls and roofs of houses, in the absence of good timber. In a good season, local fishermen would take over 40 southern right whales sheltering in protected waters to calve. The whalers represented a multicultural laboring group, many with whaling experience in other waters, such as Tristan da Cunha and South America. This whaling community grew steadily as emancipated slaves at the Cape, who originated from Batavia, Java, and Malaysia, sought further opportunities and independence in Kalk Bay. Whaling and fishing was a relatively lucrative livelihood, and it was not long before they played an important role in the local and global economy. Ships came into port from around the globe to load up with whaling products, languishing in Simon's Town harbor at risk of weather and theft. One example was *Waterloo* (1821) blown ashore and wrecked. Thereafter the entire vessel and goods sold at a local auction (Tredgold 1985:81, 142).

The success of the open boat "bay" whaling was determined by knowledge of the seasonal migration or gathering of whale pods in the same sheltered areas to calve annually. Children in the community would serve as lookout for whales from the False Bay cliffs or mountain side, building a fire and guiding the whaler to the whale. Each boat carried a crew of six—the harpooner, the helmsman, and three or four oarsmen. The men attached the harpoon to the boat by a strong rope. Often, the harpooned whales dragged boats over long distances, and if the whale turned out to sea instead of running along the shore it was set free. Once it was killed, the whale had to be left floating in the bay, as the boats were too small to drag the carcass back to the station to be slaughtered. The crew noted the bearings and returned to inform the heavier fishing vessels where to retrieve the carcass. Seasonal migration to particular bays was so predictable that the whaling communities could easily station

Fig. 3.1 False Bay Community gathered around a Whale Carcass (Image 10301 Courtesy of Western Cape Archives and Record Service)

themselves in the right place to catch them each season and process the carcasses on the shoreline stations. This accessible resource led to exploitation and a short-lived whaling industry. By 1870 most whalers became fishermen, and the most prevalent activity was handline fishing, still practiced popularly today in small open boats (Richards and Du Pasquier 1989:248; Kirkaldy 1988) (Fig. 3.1).

The early fishing industry employed around 200 men who supplied False Bay communities and the Cape Colony. Their boats were around 5–7 m in length propelled by a combination of oars, spritsail, and a jib. The fishermen utilized sand bags as ballasting materials and large stones (*Bubangbatu*) as anchors. They fished from Kalk Bay as far away as Cape Hangklip and Cape Point 8–16 km out to sea, coming ashore to camp or stay at a local farm if the weather was adverse. Prior to the construction of small harbors in False Bay, many of these small boats were at risk to the weather and surf when the fishermen were ashore. The extension of the railway to Simon's Town in the 1890s and construction of a stone sea wall along the beach further exacerbated the problem by trapping boats on the beach and smashing them up against the wall. Handling and hauling these heavy boats up the beach was very physically strenuous, and 80 % of fishermen suffered physical ailments like rick backs, strangulation of guts, and heart strain according to local physician's reports (Gasson and Stafford 1997:10–11).

Oral history working groups interviewed descendants of three fishing families who ran businesses together, mostly of mixed race identity, choosing the oldest section of the communities. Those interviewed included Poggenpoels, Fernandez, Cloete family members about life in the late 1800s and early 1900s. They shared many details about livelihoods, but also role of the women and children in the families. The women helped

to clean and process the fish, supplementing the income primarily by washing and ironing clothes of the wealthier members of the community. There was a freshwater stream in Kalk Bay that was a community resource for this purpose. The children's job was to fetch firewood for cooking and participate actively in family chores. Afterwards they would go to the beach to swim and play rugby, always very fit and fine swimmers. The local school, called *klip skool*, was racially integrated with only two teachers, although the only two local pubs, at *New Kings* and *Majestic*, were segregated. Men also supplemented their fishing incomes by obtaining contracts to collect guano on Seal Island until 1939 when business was impacted by the war (Trull 1997:40–47).

3.5 Kroomen

Eighty nine Kroomen are commemorated in the Garden of Remembrance in Seaforth, Simon's Town. Although these West Africans from Sierra Leone were engaged on British ships since the 1790s, the earliest record of those buried in Simon's Town was Benjamin Jumbo, head Krooman on *HMS Southampton* in 1842. The first employed in the dockyard came from *HMS Melville* in 1843. The last death commemorated was George Williams on *HMS Flora* in 1923.

Slavery was abolished in the Cape Colony in 1834. Yet, all enslaved people at the Cape continued to work a 4-year apprenticeship for their owners, so only technically freed in 1838. Up until 1838, business and the farming sector were in a state of panic as they feared the loss of labor. The Navy had similar labor needs and Kroomen provided an extremely convenient alternative from 1838 to 1935. Many others, only served a 3-year work contract at the Cape, then headed home. Others remained in the area, discharged themselves and married local women, or were pensioned off in the community. Their jobs in the Simon's Town dockyard included mooring ships, clearing coal from lighters, watering ships, coaling ships, and serving as cooks, mates, stewards, carpenters, and deckhands on board. They used these skills in port too, as domestic servants and for public services. Outlying services included horse riding companions for the Admiral's daughters and a local cab business (Young 2010:69: Davey 1990:51–53).

Local rules about fraternizing with the False Bay community were largely ignored and the Kroomen, in their jaunty sailor's outfits of bell-bottoms trousers and tally caps, were very popular, especially with local women. As a result marriages proliferated, further entrenching them in the local community in 1898 a Cape Government report written by the Major, Mr. F.H.S. Hugo, described them as excellent servants, well-behaved, nondrinkers, and cleanly in their habits. They were the hardest working men he had ever encountered. To stay connected to the Cape colony, they extended their shipboard service contract with the British navy earning certificates, pensions, and good service medals. Those that stayed aboard ships or returned to shipboard service also continued to play a role in South African colonial history. For example, Lieutenant L.T. Dow of *HMS Boadicea* served in a naval force for the second Anglo Boer War and received wounds at the battle of Majuba (Davey 1990:51–53; Young 2010:71).

The Navy housed the Kroomen in the West dockyard where they were not allowed to leave without permissions. By 1901, the Kroo-town expanded as far as the railway station and tents were erected. There were strict laws about repatriation once contracts expired unless, as on one occasion in 1920, they deserted ship. Five men Palm Tree, Jim Thomas, Bestman, Peasoup, and Sierra Leone were pardoned for their deeds and employed in the Royal Observatory, a step up from the hard labor of the dockyard. Amongst West African Kroomen burials are those of a few east African Tindals. Due to political instability in Liberia, plus an expansion of the suppression of slave trade to east Africa in 1870s, replacements on ships were East African Muslims from the coast between Mombasa and Aden known as Seedies. The head of the Seedies unit was termed a Tindal. Although these ships stopped in at the Simon's Town, most Seedies were discharged into ports of Zanzibar. Prior to World War 1, both Seedies and Krumen served in Naval Brigades around Africa and received campaign medals for Abyssinia 1867–1868, Ashantee 1873–1874, Zulu 1879, Egypt 1882–1889, East and West Africa 1889–1900, and Queen's South Africa 1899–1902. They shared a rating system and commanded only amongst themselves. The rating system was comprised of Kroomen: Second Head Krooman, and Krooman and a more elaborate system for Seedies: Head Tindal of Seedies, First Tindal, Stoker Tindal, Second Tindal, Second Stoker Tindal, Seedies, and Stoker Seedies (Davey 1993:157–158; Beresford 1991:15–17).

3.6 Material Culture and Memory

With its Victorian architecture, Edwardian beach houses, and naval monuments like statue of Able Seaman *Just Nuisance*, a Great Dane who was the only dog ever to be officially enlisted in the Royal Navy, the town has a distinctive British naval character while the cultural influences of other ethnic groups left a less visible footprint on the maritime landscape (Bekker 1990; Tredgold 1985; Rice 2001; Sisson 1986; Simon's Town Historical Society).

3.6.1 Buildings and Exhibits

Many buildings were destroyed in the twentieth century or incorporated into new buildings and utilized for other purposes. This includes the old warrant officers club—the officers club known as "hole in the wall" workshops and the oak-beamed building accommodating the kroomen in the early part of the century. The handwrought gates were recycled and used at the new entrance of the west dockyard. Educational initiatives dedicated to the dockyard include *The Transformation Display* at the South African Naval Museum in Simon's Town. The exhibits feature various ethnic groups who served in the Naval Dockyard, those who served in the South African Navy prior to 1994 and the transformation of the Navy post 1994. Another innovative exhibit in a public space is the *Wall of Memory*, signage and panels with information and

historic photographs exhibited along the Main Road running through the center of the downtown. Themes include fishing, whaling, Kroomen, and the impact of the Group Areas Act (Fig. 3.2).

Simonstown Loses Part Of History

THE Simonstown Council yesterday inspected the west dockyard area where old buildings are being demolished to make way for the new main highway at the West Yard bottleneck.

Several buildings dating back to the early 1850's and earlier, which form part of the first naval workshops in the old dockyard, will be demolished.

The old Warrant Officers' Club, known to windjammer bosuns as "the hole in the wall" was the first to go

SLAVE TRADE

A building with huge oak beams, built to house Krooman seamen brought down from the West Coast, and used during the suppression of the slave trade along the Gold Coast, will also go.

The hand-made wrought-iron main gates, a masterpiece of the blacksmith's art, will be reinstated at the new entrance to the West Dockyard.

Fig. 3.2 Newspaper notification of Kroomen building destruction (Photo by Author)

3.6.2 Cemetery

The Garden of Remembrance, originally the Naval Cemetery, fell within the jurisdiction of British War Graves Commission and later passed on to the National Monuments Council. The Council awarded a grant to the Simon's Town Municipality. The National Monuments Council ceased to exist in 1994 and care of the cemetery has been largely sporadic, with the Simon's Town Historical Society serving as active primary stewards. There are about 550 sailors, marines, soldiers, and Kroomen buried in the Garden of Remembrance. Many of the crew were young—some less than 15 years old. The East Carolina University team spent time recording a sample of these gravestone inscriptions for Kroomen in July 2015. Some were more eroded and illegible. The inscriptions, on occasion, included age of the deceased.

3.6.3 Simon's Town Gravestone Data on Kroomen Serving on British Ships in Late 1800s

- *HMS Pandora*
  A Royal Navy gunboat that served in the West Africa and Mediterranean squadrons in the 1860s. After retirement from the Navy, it took two voyages to the Arctic in the 1870s.
  Kroomen: Tom Sharp, Died 1880/J.M. Massey, Died 1880/Tom Cockroach, Died 1881/Black Whale, Died 1880/Jack Glasgow, Died 1881/Jack Smart, Died 30.10.1880
- *HMS Flora*
  A 36-gun frigate, crew of 360, took part in Zulu and Boer Wars, served as a store, guard, and receiving ship in Simon's Town from 1850s onwards.
  Kroomen: Jim Brown, Died 4.18.1882, Age 26/Tom Freeman, Died 6.12.1884, Age 23/Jack Never Fear, Died 26.11.1893, Age 22/Ben Jumbo, Died 16.7.1881, Age 30/Tom Dollar, Died November 1883, Age 40
- *HMS Raleigh*
  One of the fastest sheathed sailing frigates, served as part of a detached squadron in Bombay, Madeira, Falkland Islands, Calcutta, Cape Town, Gibraltar, Ascension Island, decommissioned in 1888 in Simon's Town dockyard under Captain Wilmot Fawkes.
  Kroomen: Jack Jackson, Died 7.7.1886, Age 26/Charles Cole, Died 3.4.1888, Age 25/Jack Everyday, Died 25.10.1885, Age 25/Jim Brown, Died 2.4.?, Age 25/Ben Roberts, Died 7.10.1890/Joseph Mannie, Died 15.9.1888, Age 27/Jack Purse, Died 28.4.1886, Age 22
- HMS *Penelope*
  An ironclad built for the Navy in 1860, designed for shallow inshore work that participated in the Bombardment of Alexandria during the Anglo-Egyptian War of 1882. The ship became a receiving ship in Simon's Town in 1888 and Boer War prison hulk in 1897.

Kroomen: Ben Johnson, Died 29.4.1889/George Baker, Died 29.11.1890/Jim Daws, Died 10.7.1890/Tom D., Died April 1896/John Bull, Died 28.4.1890/Sim Reeves, Died 11.8.1890/Tom Tree, Died 18.9.1890/Jack Smart No.2, Died 24.9.1880, Age 22/Tom Peter No. 8, Died August 1893/Jack Andrews, Died September 1893/Flying Jim, Died 3.12.1889/Sam Lewis, Died 9.10.1889/Dick Dead Eye, Died 21.8.1890/Tom Poorfellow, Died 28.4.1889, Age 24

- *HMS Boadicea*
  A heavily armed iron screw corvette, served in the Boer War, in slave trade raids around Zanzibar, and in 1890s, was the flagship of the East India Station under Commander Vice Admiral William Kennedy.
  Kroomen: George Moses, Died 16.1.1882, Age 22/Dick Dallik, Died 26.7.1882, Age 28
- *HMS Curacoa*
  This corvette served at the Cape and West African Stations in the 1880s. The vessel was transferred to the Australia station in 1890, and thereafter voyaged to the Ellice Islands formally declaring British Protectorates.
  Kroomen: Jim Crow, Died 7.4.1890
- *HMS St. George*
  A first-class cruiser that participated in the Anglo-Zanzibar War in 1896. The vessel served as a flagship for the Cape and West African Station under command of Rear Admiral Harry Lawson and based at Simon's Town and served in WWI.
  Kroomen: Bob Roberts, Died 8.6.1896, Age 22/Tom Bowling, Died April 1896/John Westlake, Died July 1895.
- *HMS Watchful*
  The ship was one of three Albacore class gunboats completed for the Royal Navy in the 1880s.
  Kroomen: Tom Peters No. 5, Died 18.8.1886, Age 18
- *HMS Rapid*
  Rosario-class wooden-hulled screw-driven sloop of the Royal Navy launched in November 1860. Commander Charles Jago took the ship to the Cape of Good Hope Station where it remained until 1866. Afterwards the vessel served commissions in Mediterranean countries including Corfu, Albania, and Malta.
  Kroomen: John Bull, Died 11.3.1886, Age 26
- *HMS Alecto*
  One vessel named *HMS* Alecto engaged in antislavery service off West Africa until 1865. Another was a paddle vessel. It is not verified if Tom Pea Soup served on this vessel or another.
  Kroomen: Tom Pea Soup, Died 23.4.1886, Age 21
- HMS *Simoon* (formerly *HMS Monarch*)
  This vessel served in the British war against the Ashante in West Africa in 1873. It was also a hospital and a water supply ship for troops. In 1904, the vessel was in Simon's Town as the Cape Guard ship.
  Kroomen: Jim Crow, Died 23.10.1904, Age 19 (Fig. 3.3)

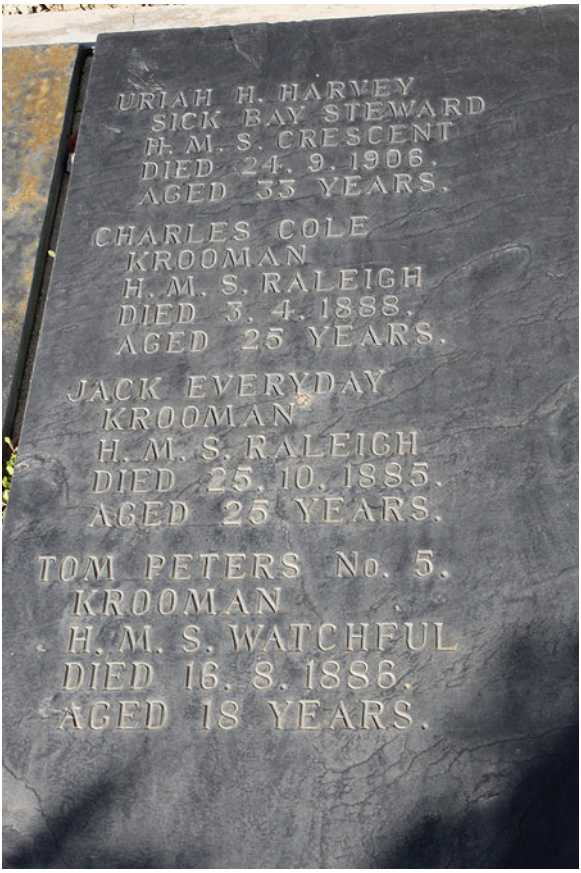

Fig. 3.3 Kroomen gravestones in Seaforth Naval Cemetry (Photo by Author)

3.6.4 Fishing Culture

Other contemporary cultural traditions include the continued heritage of handlining for fish. A typical boat used in the waters of the False Bay today measures approximately 24 ft in length and ranges between 8 and 12 ft in beam. The crew consists of the captain, the mate, and four or five other fishermen, all dependent upon the navigational and fish-finding skills of the skipper. They speak several languages and self-identify as different cultural groups. The primary catch of Kalk Bay is snoek, similar to a barracuda, and extremely profitable in the Cape market. The bait is calamari or pilchards depending on the fish and the fisherman's choice. A piece of equipment unique to the traditional handline fisher is referred to as "the finger thing" (*vinger ding* in Afrikaans language). It is a small piece of leather fitted around the index finger that protects the fisherman from the line. This small accessory aids in gripping the line tightly, to haul the catch in at lightning speed. Keeping fingers well clear of the jagged teeth, the fishermen unhook the slithering fish, break their necks, toss them aboard, and hand cast the lines again. The capital used in a traditional handline fishing yields bountiful results at extremely low cost in gear.

Fig. 3.4 Kalk Bay Snoek Fishing boat (Photograph by Author)

Other fish popular in the market are *Hottentots* (which by American standards are saltwater brim) hake, Red Roman or red snapper, and yellow fish, commonly referred to as king fish. The boats are no longer oar-powered, but run on diesel engines and include fish finders and CB radios, which the skippers operate almost exclusively. Besides the small technological additions, the general premise remains those same as past generations in their families. Women and children play an integral role in the process, waiting at the docks to gut and slice up the fish with great efficiency, and display the fresh catch on the outdoor tables in the small port for immediate purchase by tourists, restaurant owners, and traders who sell the fish from the back of their trucks, mostly at establisheokd locations around False Bay (Fig. 3.4).

3.7 Conclusions

The labor force in False Bay is comprised of a potpourri of descendants originating from early Dutch East India Company and burger (citizen) slaves, British prize cargoes captured from slaving vessels, shipwreck survivors, ship deserters, whalers, and

fishers. Recognition of their historical roles and attempts to discern the often illusive in intangible historical footprints and tangible material culture is positive step towards the ongoing process of writing a more inclusive history and promoting rainbow nation reconciliation.[2] Local stewards are extremely proactive in gathering oral histories, revising and adding new museum exhibits, and making heritage education, in the form of the downtown wall of memory, part of the new daily land- and mindscapes in Simon's Town. The records and collections Simon's Town Historical Society, Sea Forth Garden of Remembrance, and the fishing tradition of the Kalk Bay community are some examples of research sources that present a wealth of future opportunities for historians and anthropologists.

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[2] *Rainbow nation* is a term coined by Archbishop Tutu to describe postapartheid South Africa after South Africa's first fully democratic election in 1994. The phrase was used and elaborated upon by President Nelson Mandela in his first month of office.

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Chapter 4
Technology and Empire: A Comparative Analysis of British and Dutch Maritime Technologies During the Napoleonic Era (1792-1815)

Ivor Mollema

4.1 Introduction

France declared war on the Netherlands and its allies on 1 February 1793. A coalition force was dispatched to the Austrian Netherlands, modern Flanders, to halt the French advance there. After 2 years of fighting, the French forced their way across frozen rivers and captured important cities in the Netherlands. They reached Amsterdam on 20 January 1795. By this time, local revolutionaries had already declared the new Batavian Republic. French success had catalyzed them into action. The stadtholder, William V of Orange, fled to England to avoid capture and continue the struggle against the French. Coalition forces retreated through bitter winter weather until they were evacuated from Bremen (Israel 1995:1120). The Treaty of The Hague of 16 May 1795 firmly placed the Batavian Republic within the French sphere of influence. The Netherlands was now at war with Great Britain.

Conquering Dutch territory in Europe carried global consequences. Upon his arrival in Great Britain, stadtholder William V, leader of the Dutch Republic, signed the Circular Note of Kew in February 1795. It ordered Dutch colonies not to resist British forces (Israel 1995:1127). This allowed for the legal seizure of Dutch colonies by the British. No guarantee was offered for the eventual return of seized colonies. While the territories of Malacca, Amboina, and Sumatra surrendered without a fight, other territories developed anti-British and anti-Orangist feelings and provided armed resistance (Louis 1998:3880). The Cape Colony was captured by force in September 1795. Strong anti-British feeling necessitated the use of force there (Turner 1966:182).

The Treaty of Amiens heralded the brief cessation of hostilities between Great Britain, France, and their allies and client states in 1802 (Harding 1999:272). Several

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colonies were transferred back to Dutch control. These included most of the captured West Indian islands and the Cape Colony (Marcus 1971:216). Guyana, Ceylon, and Dutch outposts in India were permanently absorbed into the British colonial system. The renewal of hostilities on 18 May 1803 meant a recommencing of expansionist British imperial policies (Louis 1998:417).

4.2 Cape Town: Global Politics on a Local Scale

The Cape of Good Hope in South Africa is one of the most strategic military locations in the world (Rippon 1970:303). A force based at the Cape could strangle trade between Europe and Asia. The area also served as a base for naval actions (Marcus 1971:56). Global politics were often played out in a smaller scale on the lands and waters of the Cape Peninsula. This is especially true of the under discussion here. The remains of *Bato* (1806) and *Brunswick* (1805), submerged off of Simon's Town, are symbolic of the turbulent colonial history of the Cape of Good Hope.

The Cape Colony was an important halfway stopover point in European trade with the Far East. Many European nations used the port and its facilities to replenish supplies and allow sick crewmembers to recover at the hospital facilities there (Boshoff and Fourie 2008:7). Researchers at Spatial Analysis, a company specializing in global information systems (GIS), has recorded and plotted the sailing path of merchant ships belonging to the Dutch Republic, United Kingdom, and Spain during the eighteenth century (Fig. 4.1). The maps display the presence of major shipping bottleneck at the Cape of Good Hope.

The colony resumed many of its wartime roles with the renewal of hostilities in 1805. It supplied French bases in the Indian Ocean with food and medical facilities. French privateers and navy ships used the colony as a supply point for their operations in the Indian Ocean (Steenkamp 2012:229, Cape Town Archives Repository

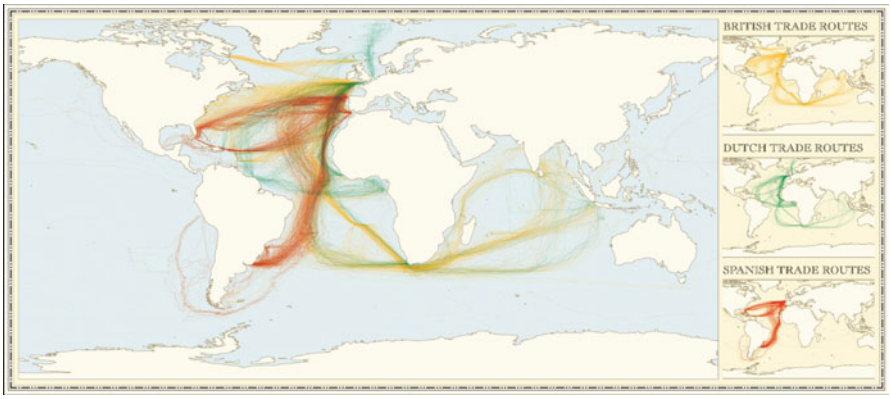

Fig. 4.1 An illustration of European colonial trade. Note the bottleneck of trading at the Cape of Good Hope (Spatial Analysis 2012)

(KAB): BR536,BR537,BR538; Harding 2013:4). It took some time for the British to mount another assault on Cape Town. Commodore Sir Home Riggs Popham and Lieutenant General David Baird assembled a force for an attack in early 1806. Popham arrived west of Robben Island on 4 January 1806 (Clowes 1997:201). The land forces moved out in two brigades on the morning of 8 January and met the Dutch army under General Janssens at Blaauwberg. The British victory there marked the end of Dutch rule in the Cape Colony.

4.3 *Bato*: History of the Dutch 74-Gun Ship of Line

Upon construction in 1786, *Bato*'s original name was *Staaten Generaal* (Rijksmuseum 2014a). After losing the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1781–1784), the Dutch needed to rebuild their navy to its former strength and constructed *Staaten Generaal* and two sister ships as a result. Prior to its assignment with the East India Squadron of the Dutch Navy, *Staaten Generaal* participated in the Battle of Camperdown and was severely damaged.

After the battle, *Staten Generaal* was renamed *Bato* and assigned to the defense of Amsterdam. The vessel departed Texel on 5 August 1802. At the time of sailing, *Bato* carried 36 guns of a possible 74. *Bato* anchored in Table Bay on 25 December 1802. Assigned to the Dutch East India Squadron, *Bato* sailed to Batavia (modern Jakarta, Indonesia) in February 1803 (NL-HaNA, Marine suppl. 2, 2.01.29.03, inv.nr. 109). Damage forced a return to the Cape Colony on 27 February 1804, *Bato* returned to Table Bay. With the resumption of hostilities, the ship was assigned to the protection of South African waters. From July 1805, *Bato* remained in Simon's Bay as a deterrent to any aggressors. Upon hearing of the Dutch defeat at Blaauwberg, *Bato* was burned to avoid capture by the British.

4.4 *Brunswick*: History of the British East Indiaman

Perry & Company completed *Brunswick* in 1792 at the Blackwall Yard near London. *Brunswick* was 1244 tons and carried up to 30 guns (Harding 2013:4). *Brunswick* departed Portsmouth for its final voyage on 20 March 1804. At this time, she was damaged and leaking according to Lloyd's Lists (1805). *Brunswick* started her homeward voyage in May 1805. Damage forced Captain Grant to remain in port and miss the returning convoy. Grant could not afford to wait and decided to risk the passage (Gardiner 1997:29).

On the morning of 11 July 1805, the French ships *Marengo* and *Belle Poule* emerged from a thick fog to attack the unsuspecting Grant (Adkins and Adkins 2006:185). The three vessels arrived at Simon's Town on 13 September 1805. Linois arrived soon afterwards and gave instructions to officials to evaluate and repurpose *Brunswick* (Adkins and Adkins 2006:186). Addison, a midshipman on

board *Brunswick*, witnessed her destruction 6 days later exclaiming, "poor old *Brunswick* running in with all her sails split to ribbons, everything adrift: obviously parted from her anchors, and evidently reduced to the last alternative of running the ship ashore" (Addison and Laughton 1901:362). The ship ran aground and was subsequently dismantled.

4.5 Archaeology and Analysis of *Bato* and *Brunswick*

In July 2014, East Carolina University (ECU) launched an investigation of *Bato* and *Brunswick*. The aim of the investigation was to discover the differences in maritime technologies that each ship possessed. From there, a judgement could be made about the superiority of maritime technology in one nation's naval forces. This could then be expanded and used in analysis of imperial success during the Napoleonic Era. Four aspects were identified for closer study: copper sheathing, ship structure, timber use, and iron knees. These provided a basis of comparative evidence on contemporary maritime technological advances and their respective rates of adoption by the British and Dutch.

4.5.1 Scantling Measurements and Ship Construction

By the Napoleonic Era, European methods of ship construction were fairly similar. In 1727, three British shipwrights entered the Amsterdam Admiralty dockyard: Charles Bentam, James May, and Thomas Davis Bentam and his colleagues introduced the "English" method of construction using draughts and the frame-first construction method (Gawronski et al. 1992:64). Previously, Dutch shipyards did not use plans and the northern shipyards still built their ships using the shell-first method. As part of this process, Bentam also introduced the use of molds. By 1742, van Imhoff and Bentam had succeeded in the complete standardization and modernization of the Dutch shipbuilding industry (Gawronski et al. 1992:21). *Bato*, however, was built in Rotterdam.

The "new" British techniques did not receive an enthusiastic audience there. These similarities allow a comparison of *Bato* construction to the methods used in other, non-Dutch, historical sources. Paulus van Zwijndrecht had already developed his own drafting methodology. Construction methods had to change to accommodate the new drafting techniques. The shape of the hull had to be based on mathematical or scientific principles, much like those of the two English shipwrights, the Bentams. In this case, a number of circles combined in such a way to give shape to the hull. Although scientific principles were shared between Holland and Great Britain, Dutch shipwright Zwijndrecht simply used the principles to design hulls suited for the shallower waters surrounding his home country. Most notably, this included a flatter hull and fuller hull shape.

Interesting structural differences are notable when *Bato*'s and *Brunswick*'s scantling measurements are compared, indicating significant variances in overall ship design and purpose. Less than 1 cm separates the averages in molded dimension. The *Brunswick* sided dimension is over 1.5 times larger than *Bato*'s. In general terms, this indicates a stronger British ship and a weaker Dutch vessel (Tables 4.1 and 4.2).

Timbers labelled F46–51 and F57 were initially identified as frames (Table 4.3).

Further investigation revealed that they are actually planks. Most of the other frames are eroded and on the surface, but only preserved with original full molded dimensions below. These timbers, on the other hand, maintained a consistent molded dimension throughout their recorded length. When compared to the other hull planks (OP1–9), the sided dimension match up very well (Table 4.4). The discrepancy in the

Table 4.1 *Bato* scantlings F21–F30

Frame number	Sided[a]	Molded[a]	Length to reef[a]	Space to next frame[a]
F21	25	18	53	3
F22	25	11	46	2
F23	25	10	22	3
F24	29	23	25	16
F25	15	18	35	200+
F26	25	17	55	200+
F27	22	21	57	7
F28	27	25	75	1
F29	26	10	55	7
F30	20	15	61	Missing frame

[a]All measurements are in centimeters (cm)

Table 4.2 *Bato* and *Brunswick* average main frame scantlings

Dimension	Sided[a]	Molded[a]	Space[a]
Bato	23.9	16.8	2
Brunswick	38	16	2

[a]All measurements are in centimeters (cm)

Table 4.3 *BATO* F46–51 and F57 scantlings

Frame number	Sided[a]	Molded[a]	Length to reef[a]	Space to next frame[a]
F46	36	8	162	1
F47	21	6	163	14
F48	38	4	142	2
F49	43	4	161	Missing frame
F50	37	4	143	1
F51	29	8	160	Missing frame
F57	12	8	290	19

[a]All measurements are centimeters (cm)

Table 4.4 *Bato* and *Brunswick* hull plank scantlings

Dimension	Sided[a]	Molded[a]
Bato	28.69	5.13
Brunswick	32	10

[a]All measurements are centimeters (cm)

molded dimension is explained by the burnt and eroded state of these planks on the outer edge of the wreckage.

An interesting pattern emerges when the hull planks of *Bato* and *Brunswick* are compared. The sided dimension, or width of the plank, are almost equal and do not signify major structural differences. When the molded dimension is examined, however, a striking difference presents itself. *Brunswick*'s hull planks are almost twice as thick as *Bato*'s. This signifies superior British ship construction during the Napoleonic Era.

The structure of large British East Indiamen, like *Brunswick*, was often compared to 74-gun ships, like *Bato* (MacGregor 1980:174). Designed to carry a large amount of cargo for large distances, these ships required a full hull shape to maximize cargo capacity. The bow and stern were not as fine lined as a warship to further maximize hull space (MacGregor 1980:182). A degree of tumblehome also existed in their construction. This increased hull size and allowed for a strong center of gravity. East Indiaman could carry upwards of 30 guns and thus needed to avoid a top heavy design. The rigors of a Far Eastern voyage into tropical waters forced the HEIC to use only the finest ships. Vessels were framed in a manner similar to British Royal Navy vessels (Sutton 1981:55). Large frames with minimal space were used. Only 5–8 cm of space was allowed for a ship to pass inspection. Planking was required to be at least 10 cm thick (Sutton 1981:55).

Brunswick fulfills both of these structural requirements, while *Bato* does not. Its construction represents a clear superiority in British shipbuilding. Thicker frames and planks allowed for long voyages to the Far East. It also accounted for the increased degradation suffered by ships in tropical waters during the long voyage. As a result, *Brunswick* was able to carry out trade and survive where *Bato* did not. The East Indiaman fuelled a drive for imperial expansion by providing a steady stream of commerce between Far Eastern colonies and Great Britain. *Bato* was unable to do the same due to inferior construction. Similar in design to naval ships, *Brunswick* represents a technical, and therefore, a strategic advantage for the British over the Dutch. As a result, the British were able to maintain continued commerce to fuel their global war effort. Far-off, small-scale, and localized conflicts could be undertaken to achieve the ultimate defeat of the Batavian Republic and Napoleonic France.

4.5.2 Iron Knee Measurements

English shipwrights used more iron than continental shipbuilders (Unger 1970:113). In particular, Dutch builders preferred the use of treenails to iron components. British builders attempted to introduce the large-scale use of iron in 1670, but rejected the

concept due to economic concerns. Unger argues that minor experiments continue from this time to the Napoleonic Era (1970:113). Increased iron use resulted in extra strength and decreased wood use. The demands of the Napoleonic Wars on the available global timber supply necessitated the inclusion of more iron in British shipbuilding. Rising timber prices and the reduced cost of iron components made for an easy choice. The inclusion of large iron components in British shipbuilding provided massive long-term advantages to British ships (Unger 1970:113). By 1810, the use of iron knees was prevalent throughout the British East India Company and was being introduced to the British Royal Navy as well (Stammers 2001:115; Goodwin 1987:75).

Three different types of iron knees were discovered in *Brunswick*'s remains: hanging knees, lodging knees, and T-shaped, or plate, knees. Snodgrass made the use of iron knees in the HEIC widespread by 1796. Each of the three served to support the deck or hull, but their specific purpose with the ship's structure varied. In each case, however, the use of iron ensured a stronger, more durable ship. Both hanging knees and lodging knees fall into the category of right-angled knees (Stammers 2001:118). Hanging knees replaced the wooden component of the same name. They supported the underside of main deck beams. In many cases, the lower arm was cranked to avoid the heavy timbers below the deck beam. The lower arm is usually longer. Measurements indicate that this was also the case with *Brunswick*. It was not possible to measure the degree of cranking, but it was clear the metal was bent in some knees and not in others. Presumably, this was done to fit the curvature of the hull and avoid the obstructions mentioned above (Fig. 4.2). Lodging knees attached horizontally to either side of the

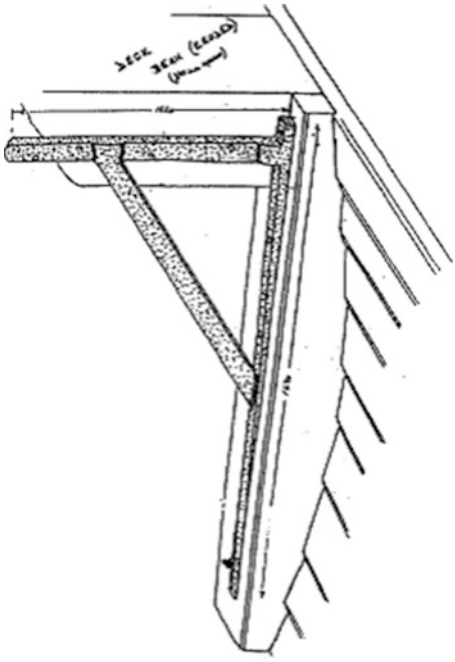

Fig. 4.2 Illustration of iron knee use on the French ship *Invincible* from 1758 (Goodwin 1998:29)

deck beam for additional support (Stammers 2001:118). Both arms were of equal length, as identified on *Brunswick* as well. T-shaped knees acted in a similar way to hanging knees. Designed by Snodgrass, they served to support the main or upper-deck beams. In both cases, the intention was to reinforce lighter scantlings. Stronger knees were used to support the main hold beams. The idea was to simplify knee design and facilitate mass production.

The production of large iron knees indicates a strong industrial advantage for the British. Historical sources indicate that similar advances in iron production did not reach the Netherlands until after the Napoleonic Wars ended in 1815. The ability to produce iron knees also assisted Great Britain in her imperial ambitions. Iron knees required less maintenance and cost less than their wooden equivalent. Great Britain also decreased its reliance on a dwindling timber supply and the crippling cost of building a ship entirely from wood. Lower maintenance requirements and decreased cost made it easier for the British to pursue far-flung imperial expeditions and fight their enemies in all the waters of the globe. The Dutch, still reliant on wood, did not enjoy this freedom. Their smaller scantlings and wooden knees required constant maintenance and repairs, limiting operation capabilities.

4.5.3 Wood Samples

Navies used wood as their primary construction material for hundreds of years. Oak trees required up to 120 years to reach a width of 2–3 ft (Dodds and Moore 1984:14). At this point, a sufficient amount of heartwood was harvested. Bigger ships required larger oak trees that took up to 150 years to grow. The high demand for compass timbers also influenced timber supply (Dodds and Moore 1984:14). Growers chained down branches to ensure the correct curvature was grown. The curved pieces were used in important structural components such as knees, frames, and breast hooks.

Long-term reliance on local forests and increased industrial demands on existing timber supplies forced shipwrights to turn to alternative materials. Increased demands meant higher prices for the construction and maintenance of ships. Even the use of forests abroad could not mitigate the problem completely. This was true in both Great Britain and the Netherlands, although the problem was much more acute in Britain. With the limited availability of white oak, the preferred shipbuilding timber, wood samples from *Bato* and *Brunswick* demonstrate whether British and Dutch shipwrights were forced to turn to other materials, like teakwood or iron.

Almost every single wood sample collected was identified as European Oak (pers. comm. Marion Bamford). Only one sample, located on *Brunswick*'s keelson, was identified as Silver Fir. Accurate measurements of the entire fir piece were impossible due to marine growth. The placement of the piece, however, suggested that it was part of a repair. *Brunswick*'s last voyage took it to China and, eventually, Bombay (Harding 2013:5). The ship halted in Bombay for repairs after her hull started taking on water. By 1775, shipyards in India began to rival European ones for the size and quality of ships produced (Sutton 1981:49). As a result, any repairs *Brunswick* required could have been

completed there. It is possible the repair to her keelson was made there using stockpiled silver fir from the dockyard or from *Brunswick*'s own stores. *Brunswick*'s old age allowed for a compromise in the use of softwood rather than hardwood. On her sixth voyage, *Brunswick* was an aging ship likely to be sold off on her return (Harding 2013:5).

The extensive use of European Oak by both vessels indicates several things. Timber shortage was not yet so extreme to force either nation to seek ship timber far afield. Most likely, the Baltic or German states provided the necessary supplies. Experimentation with other wood species had not yielded sufficient positive results to convince either nation to switch from reliable oak. The only different sample in *Brunswick* results from a repair. No definite conclusion is reached concerning the superiority of either Great Britain or the Netherlands in the use of various timber species during the Napoleonic Era (Fig. 4.3).

4.5.4 Copper Analysis

The archaeometallurgical analysis completed by Duncan Miller provides insight to the production abilities of both the British and Dutch. The copper used in *Bato*'s construction was more pure than *Brunswick*'s. The British copper, however, showed no signs of residual cold work. Both samples showed a lack of annealation, a type of heat treatment used to strengthen metals. Residual cold work permanently rearranges a material's atomic structure by putting pressure on it. In some methods, pressure is exerted until the surface cracks (DeGarmo 1974:349). Rolling is one of

Fig. 4.3 Ivor Mollema taking wood samples on *Bata* wreck (Photograph by Lynn Harris)

the most common forms of residual cold work. The process allows for more accurate results than hot work, like casting. Evidence of this process in *Bato*'s sample indicates that Dutch copper was stronger than the British, giving them an advantage in ship construction.

The difference in purity could be caused by dezincification which occurred while the copper artifacts were deposited on the seafloor (Rodgers 2004:110). In a process known as galvanic dissolution, zinc and tin selectively corrode out of copper alloys due to differences in corrosion potentials (E Corr). The removal of zinc is known as dezincification while the removal of tin falls under destanification. The processes can reduce copper artifacts to a crystalline matrix (Rodgers 2004:110). The physical strength of the artifact is greatly reduced once the reaction is complete (Rodgers 2004:111). Zinc was present in significant quantities in both *Bato*'s and *Brunswick*'s copper (Miller 1997:29, 34). Dezincification may have reduced the amount of zinc present in the copper samples prior to Miller's analysis. If this is the case, the analysis presents an inaccurate picture about copper use in British and Dutch shipbuilding.

The purity of the copper used reveals some of the industrial capabilities of each nation. The addition of tin and lead provided extra strength to a bolt primarily made of copper. Certain copper ship components, like pintels and gudgeons, required this extra strength. Rudder movements exerted large amounts of stress on these components. Zinc hardened the copper and lead facilitated movement (McCarthy 2005:105). The addition of these metals to British copper reveals the existence of stronger copper than the Dutch alloy.

McCarthy cites that Williams' business, the Parys Mine Company, provided the bulk of British copper components to the Netherlands. Closer examination of *Brunswick*'s rudder revealed the industrial stamp of "Forbes" on the gudgeons. The different production methods of both companies could have produced copper of varying characteristics. Williams' adjustable rollers increased tensile stress on the copper during the production, and thus produced a harder copper. Forbes' methods focused on the use of a zinc-copper alloy to harden and strengthen his products. This explains the different alloy and lack of residual cold work on *Brunswick*.

The similarities between *Bato*'s and *Brunswick*'s bolts are undeniable. Measurements revealed that *Bato*'s bolt is in line with *Brunswick*'s. Even if the production methods of the bolts differed slightly, the end result would have looked very much the same. Lloyd's shipping dictated the official required dimensions of the bolts. If they deviated too much, the ship was not insured. As a result, manufacturers produced bolts that looked identical, but differed in their chemical makeup. Without further testing on the recovered bolts held at IZIKO, it is impossible to establish which one is stronger.

4.6 Conclusion

The British display technological superiority over the Dutch during the Napoleonic Era. Iron knees reduced maintenance constraints and limited reliance on a dwindling timber supply. While differences in copper sheathing yielded no advantage,

British shipwrights constructed ships more suited to more distant maritime imperial operations. Analysis of timber samples indicated a short-term benefit for the Dutch as they did not require large-scale innovation to continue constructing ships. Long-term shortages in the global timber supply, however, indicate that Great Britain was ahead of its European competitors in the development of construction techniques requiring less timber. The British utilized their technical superiority throughout the Napoleonic Era. As they captured strategic outposts, France's defeat, and that of her client states, was brought ever closer. The capture of various Caribbean islands, the Cape Colony, and Java were all crucial to the defeat of both France and the Batavian Republic. Far-flung operations like these would not have been possible without the distinct technical advantages enjoyed by the British.

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Chapter 5
Bay of Storms and Tavern of the Seas: The Role of Risk in the Maritime Cultural Landscape of the Cape Town Harbour

Jeremy R. Borrelli

5.1 Introduction

The Cape of Good Hope is situated at one of the most significant oceanic crossroads in the world. Despite the preeminence of the Cape route in world maritime commerce, however, the turbulent geographical nature of the southern Cape coastline has historically caused major problems for shipping and generally hindered the development of harbours and ports. In Table Bay, the colonial government that presided over maritime activity in the bay needed to continually evaluate means of managing conflicting notions of the increasing importance of the Cape Colony and the dangers or risks associated with its primary port city.

This chapter will present a synopsis of thesis research conducted on risk and the growth of the harbour in Cape Town (Borrelli 2015). The aim will be to assess how integral aspects of the cultural landscape, risk and risk management, are reflected in the development of the harbour in Table Bay. Maritime cultural landscape theory and social risk theory will be used to create a framework for analysing the relationship between risk and the creation, development, and evolution of the harbour. Through the application of statistical and geospatial analyses, risk will be assessed as a discernable entity in the cultural landscape of Cape Town. Ultimately, this analysis will demonstrate how risk mitigation is reflected by two central themes in the cultural landscape of Table Bay that result in the formation of a modern harbour in Cape Town.

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5.2 A Maritime Cultural Landscapes Approach

Many archaeological studies of ports and harbours have focused on technological developments and physical structures rather than embracing a more all-encompassing contextual analysis (Rogers 2013:183–184). The cultural landscape approach, however, provides a useful framework for achieving a broader analysis of the complex nature of waterfronts or harbours. The cultural landscape approach recognizes that cultural identities and collective histories are anchored to the physical landscape features as well as contained within the cognitive perceptions of a given area (Duncan 2006:13).

Landscapes exist at the intersection of space, culture, and time. Space is a medium for human activity and does not have significance apart from that activity. According to Ford (2011:1), "until humans utilize a space and make it a place, it does not exist culturally". Therefore, human culture acts as an agent, the natural area serves as a medium, and the interaction between the two results in the formation of a cultural landscape (Sauer 1925:46). This progression is significant as it stresses the agency, or ability, of culture and society to act as a compelling force in shaping the physical and cognitive elements associated with the areas people inhabit. Human action creates or modifies the landscape, and over time, the landscape influences or shapes human action in an ongoing process.

The maritime cultural landscape, developed by Westerdahl (1992, 2011) and others (e.g. Anschuetz et al. 2001; McErlean et al. 2002; Duncan 2006; Ford 2009, 2011), extended the cultural landscape approach to the land/sea interface. It was argued that the boundaries between the land and the sea were seamless components within a singular cultural landscape and one could not be fully understood without reference to the other (Westerdahl 1992:6). In terms of port and harbour archaeology, this theory allowed researchers to look beyond individual sites or installations and instead focus on the broader context of the human utilization of maritime space.

Waterfronts are spaces where the properties of both land and sea intermingle and are altered through human use, action, and experience (Rogers 2013:182). The maritime cultural landscape concept is therefore essential to study the harbours and ports, which represent the physical and cognitive linkage between the land and the sea. It is proposed that risk is a central theme in the creation of any harbour, which influences the cultural structuring and use of the maritime cultural landscape through the reactive responses to risk.

5.2.1 Risk and the Maritime Cultural Landscape

For most people, risk is typically synonymous with a hazard or danger (Fox 1999:12). Another definition posits that hazards represent potential threats to people and what they value, while risk is the measure of hazards (Kates and Kasperson 1983:7027). Beck (1992:21) elaborated upon this notion of risk, deeming it the systematic way of dealing with hazards and insecurities induced by modern society. This suggests that

risk has a position, or purpose within society; as society evolves, humans utilize risk and risk calculation for decision-making at both the individual and institutional level of society. Furthermore, the assessment of risk can be viewed as the cognitive identification of a hazard within a society. Risk management is then defined as the practices and methods by which the future consequences of individual and institutional decisions based on potential hazards are controlled in the present (Beck 2000:xii).

Following Crook (1999:163) risk management strategies function to either proactively or passively manage exposure to hazards in society. Ordered risk management seeks to control the type of risk that is extant in society and further limit social exposure to it through regulation or prohibition of access to the hazard (Crook 1999:170–171). In contrast, neo-liberal risk management strategies provide the individual or group with the means to assess available risk, but ultimately leave the decision of an acceptable level of risk exposure and susceptibility to the society. Each management strategy is reflected in the landscape and functions to reshape the cultural perception and response to risk in different ways.

5.3 Methodology

The explicit application of risk to the cultural landscape approach has only recently been explored in archaeology (Duncan 2000, 2004; Marano 2012; Duncan and Gibbs 2015). The decision to build and utilize a harbour represents the acknowledgment of risk, and since behavioural responses to risk are expressed in cognitive behaviour through the use of the landscape and its physical elements, the cultural assemblage of tangible and intangible material culture contained within any harbour reflects those responses within the landscape. Given the wide scope of potential data, this study will focus on a snapshot of the cultural landscape during British colonization of the Cape from 1806 to 1910 when the initial efforts to mitigate risk through the construction of a harbour began.

To measure the risks associated with Cape Town harbour and how these risks impacted harbour development, shipwreck events between 1806 and 1910 were entered into a database, organized spatially and chronologically, and grouped according to the circumstances of loss. This allowed for the determination of any potential hazards in historic Cape Town using shipwrecks as indicators of risk in the landscape. Using historic maps of the harbour, a progression of harbour expansion was recreated using geo-referencing function on ArcGIS to better visualize the historic landscape and development of the waterfront area.

5.4 Historical Background

There were numerous historical issues that influenced the decision-making process of the British government at the Cape, which altered perceptions of risk throughout the development of the harbour in Table Bay. A brief overview of the significant factors along with the general phases of harbour development is presented here:

- Individual jetties were built along the southern shoreline and used as the sole commercial link between the shoreline and vessels at anchor from 1806 to 1870. Boatmen were the sole means of relaying people or cargo to and from the shore.
- The rise of coal-driven steamships prompted competition between increasingly efficient and sizeable passenger-mail steamships that belonged to the Union Steam Collier Company and Castle Packets Company. The further rise in large-draught shipping traffic to the Cape is a major result of the mail contract (Newall 1999b:21).
- Major storms in 1822, 1831, 1842, and 1857 devastated shipping in the bay, with the Great Gale of 1865 wrecking 18 of 28 vessels and 30 small boats over the course of 2 days (*Cape Argus* 1865).
- From 1860 to 1870 a rubble-mound breakwater, an Outer and Inner Basin, and a slipway for ship repairs were constructed (Table Bay Harbour Board 1895:14–16).
- Discovery of diamonds (1866) and gold (1884) stimulated markets in the interior and prompted an influx of travel to the Cape. The Cape Colony would yield 90 % of the world's diamond production, and produce over 15 million pounds of gold by 1898 (Union-Castle Steamship Company 1903:6; Meredith 2008:34).
- Additional harbour improvements were carried out by the Harbour Board which lasted from 1880 to 1902. Major improvements included an extension of the breakwater, the dredging of both harbour basins, the linkage of railways from the interior to the docks, and the addition of the Outer Basin's South Arm, which increased quay space and enclosed the Outer Basin, later named the Victoria Basin.
- War between British and Boers in the interior lasted from 1899 to 1902 and caused incessant congestion in Cape Town harbour as no other southern African port could handle large-draught shipping of troops and supplies (Newall 1999a:2).

The passage around southern Africa was originally labelled the Cape of Good Hope due to the potential profitability for new-found access to Eastern markets. Therefore, until the mid-nineteenth century, Table Bay was typically only perceived as a stopover point on a longer voyage. With the discovery of gold and diamonds in the interior as well as the growth of the passenger and mail-service lines, Cape Town became a destination in its own right. As a result, popular perceptions of the port city changed from not only the Gateway to the East, but also the Gateway to South Africa. This transformation of Cape Town's identity during the nineteenth century had a major impact on shaping the perceptions of risk in Table Bay and consequentially the development of the harbour (Fig. 5.1).

5.5 Evidence of Risk in Table Bay

About 320 total shipwrecks were recorded in Table Bay during the selected time frame. Wrecks were initially grouped into four different zones according to the spatial patterning of shipwrecks in a given area (Fig. 5.2). Of those shipwrecks the circumstances of loss for 220 or 68.8 % of the total sample could be determined. Over 29 different

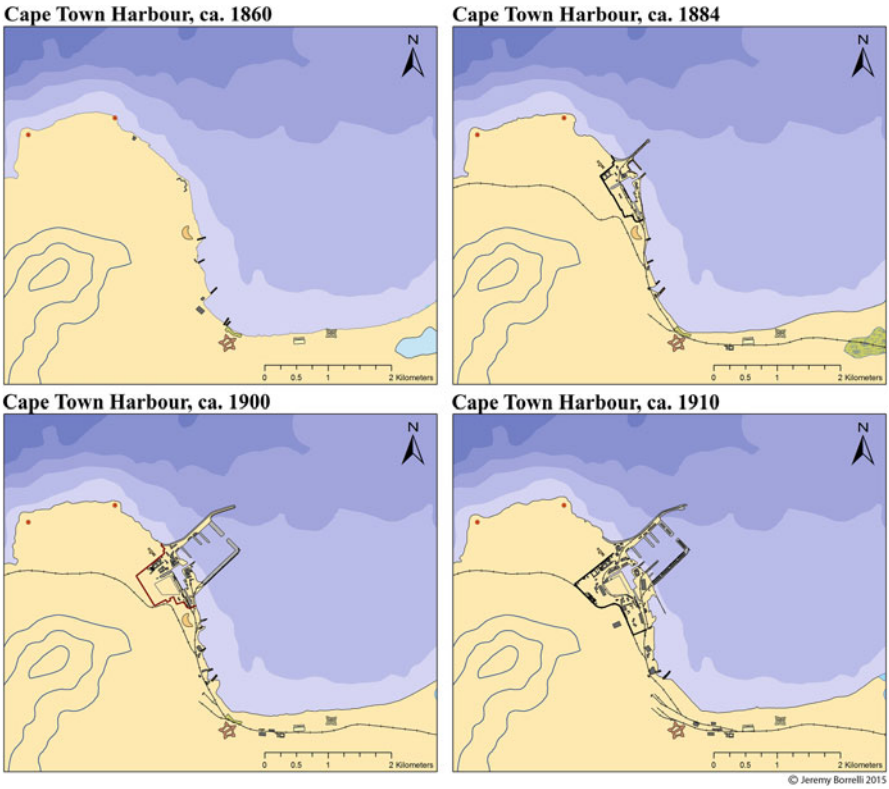

Fig. 5.1 GIS progression of spatial and temporal expansion of Cape Town harbour with relevant harbour works, extent of harbour property, and supplementary infrastructure utilized by the maritime community. Shaded areas represent bathymetric differentiations in the bay (Image by author, 2015)

nationalities were listed on Port Office records for vessels calling at Cape Town, with the number of British vessels nearly doubling that of foreign shipping. Coinciding with this, the number of British wrecks during this period amounts to 161, while the next closest number is 20 American vessels lost. The variation between the numbers of British and foreign vessels is indicative of Britain's dominance in world maritime commerce and the importance of Cape Town for Britain's worldwide shipping interests.

5.5.1 The Bay of Storms

The most prevalent trend in shipwreck activity among the total number of shipwrecks in Table Bay was the amount of ships affected by storm activity. The presence of low-pressure systems along the southern African latitudes causes an inherent danger of major seasonal storm systems from the northwest during winter months.

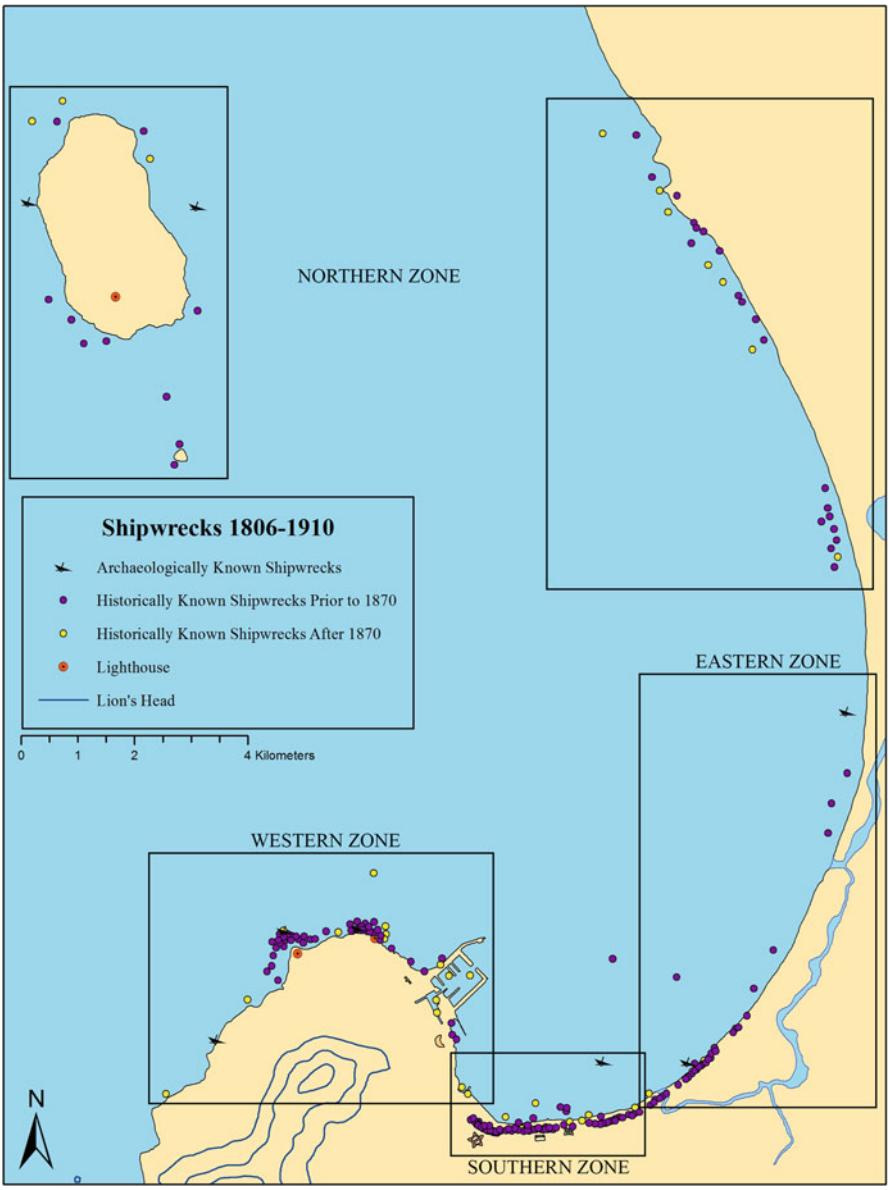

Fig. 5.2 Chronological distribution of shipwreck incidents in Table Bay with a special note indicating the construction of the harbour breakwater

These storms led to the early conception of the region as the Cape of Storms, and the supernatural figure Adamastor who would open the sky and unleash tempests that threatened every vessel rounding southern Africa (De Camoens 1877:146). The effect of storms on wrecking events in the nineteenth century is reflected by the number of vessels lost to these events.

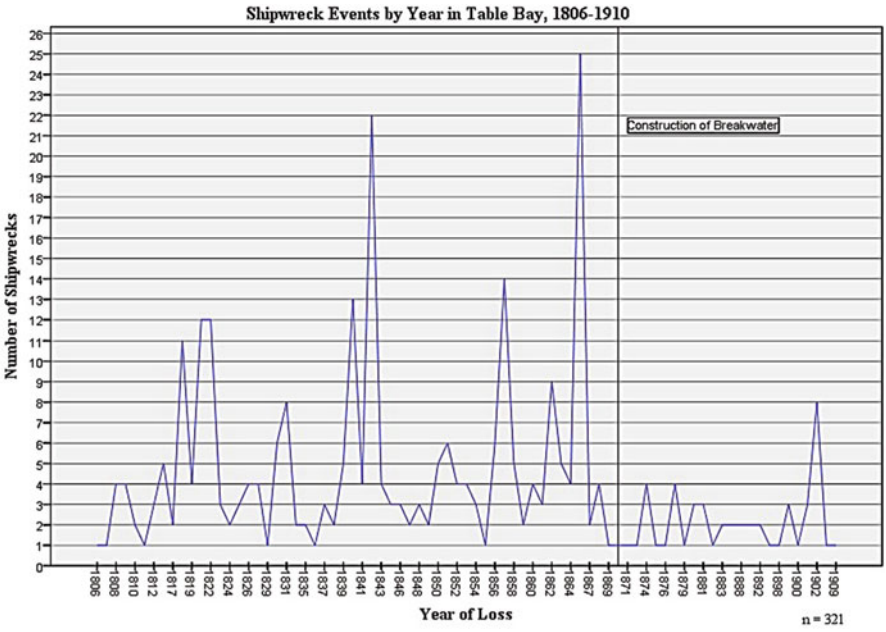

Fig. 5.3 Distribution of historically and archaeologically known shipwrecks from 1806 to 1910. Shipwreck remains were grouped according to spatial patterning and general density of wrecks along the bay

Analysis showed that 44.1 % or almost half of total sample of wrecks were lost in severe storms. Of the 183 shipwrecks prior to the construction of the initial harbour from 1806 to 1860, 47.0 % were caused by northwest storms. The temporal distribution of shipwrecks further revealed a pattern of spikes in shipwreck incidents associated with major storm events (Fig. 5.3). Coinciding with this cycle, when reported locations of wrecks were plotted spatially, there is increased clustering of wreck material caused by storms on the southern shoreline. After comparing this location with the cause of wrecking for that cluster of wreck material, shipwrecks on the southern shoreline alone were caused by storms for 29.5 % of the total shipwrecks in the bay. This is indicative that the natural environment had a significant impact on the risks of using Table Bay during cyclical winter storms and is reflected in the patterning of shipwreck remains.

5.5.2 Shipping Risks

From 1806 to 1910 the steady rise in the number of vessels making the voyage into Table Bay posed certain risks for the harbour. In 1806, a total of 133 vessels were reported to have entered the harbour, while this number increased to 1431 by 1902

(Durden 1992:53). Shipping numbers were bolstered by the Union and Castle passenger-mail liners, which promoted travel to the Cape during the latter half of the century (Union-Castle Steamship Company 1903:9). Until 1870, any transfer of cargo and passengers was solely conducted by individual boats and boatmen who had the ability to charge increased rates despite the inefficiency of the exchange (Soonike 1974:44). This delayed travel time as well as increased exposure to the natural hazards of the bay.

In a similar fashion, the tonnage of ships affected the growth of the harbour. By the time the decision was made to expand Cape Town's Outer Harbour in 1889, the average tonnage of vessels entering the bay numbered in the thousands per vessel. In November 1881, for example, the Union Line was unable to build a proposed new ship of 5000 tons because the bar afforded by the Cape Town dock obliged the company to decline the offer (Newall 1999b:21).

Furthermore, as the industrial and productive output of the colony increased and Cape Town was linked to places such as the gold reefs and diamond fields through the construction of several rail lines, the trade that flowed from the colony through its main port increased the value of adding harbour infrastructure. This is evidenced by a leap in the value of colonial exports from Cape Town from £601,397 in 1886 to £16,109,648 in 1899, before the onset of the Second Anglo-Boer War. The added value of potential profitability from maritime activity also increased the risks of running an ineffective harbour that might hinder any further growth or prosperity for the colony as a whole.

5.6 Risk Mitigation Strategies in Table Bay

The maritime cultural landscape of Cape Town is distinguished by the dialectical relationship between the Cape of Storms and the Cape of Good Hope. This relationship has played a vital role in shaping the general perceptions of risk for shipping around southern Africa, and specifically Table Bay. Similarly, notions of inherent natural danger and the prospect of potential economic opportunity are reflected in the management of risk evident in the growth of Cape Town. As a result, two prevailing themes dominate the cultural responses to risks associated with shipping and the growth of the harbour.

5.6.1 Protection of Ships in the Bay

With the cyclical occurrence of major northwesterly storms that historically devastated shipping in the bay and the rise in maritime activity throughout the century, the dominant perceptions of the harbour were that it was a dangerous but necessary port of call, especially in the wintertime. This was driven by a sense of risk incited by

large-scale natural disasters to shipping caused by storms. The construction of harbour facilities to protect shipping in the bay represented the governmental attempt to control these risks and can be seen as a form of ordered risk management.

According to Duncan (2000:43), periods of ordered risk management should coincide with a decrease in the number of shipwrecks. The breakwater in Table Bay represents the attempt by the Table Bay Harbour Board to control the natural risks in the landscape of Table Bay. In the years following construction of the breakwater, there is a clear drop in the cyclical effect of storms on major shipwreck events (Fig. 5.2). Sailing instructions for Table Bay in the period after harbour construction describe the breakwater as "the most important maritime work south of the equator…to remove the evil reputation that Table Bay has had for its turbulent sea in N.W. gales" (Findlay 1876:210). The breakwater represented a significant feature of the cultural landscape for changing the perceptions of risk in Table Bay and symbolized the taming of the Cape of Storms.

5.6.2 Management of Harbour Operations

During the initial phase of harbour development, vessels were unable to anchor alongside the jetties due to their location in the shallow water near the shoreline of the bay. The factors surrounding use of the harbour during this time created a cultural landscape of risk for shipping that was guided by the lack of sufficient facilities and the agency of boatmen who used the system as a means of extending the shoreline to make a living in the maritime community. Therefore, this period from 1806 to 1870 effectively forced the bay itself to serve as an extension of the waterfront whereby the line between the water and the shore was blurred.

The spatial patterning of subsequent harbour works reflected the management of the risks caused by the intensification shipping activity in the bay (Fig. 5.1). As harbour infrastructure advanced by 1900, the risk of deep draught vessels was lessened though dredging projects and accommodation of high shipping volume continued with infrastructural developments that extended usable space on the waterfront and expanded the capability of the harbour. Whereas the former half of the century represented an unmitigated period of shipping management that fostered the rise of individual agents to dictate the extent and efficiency of the harbour, the Table Bay Harbour Board produced an ordered landscape of risk management through additional public works projects and the effective administration of harbour activities.

Each harbour construction within the landscape of Table Bay was a response to mitigate the risks posed by the evolution of Cape Town from refreshment outpost to the Mother Port for all of South Africa. This created even further risks of increased shipping activity to the Cape in an ongoing process, and led to the need for further improvement. The development of the harbour can be seen as a behavioural response to risks in the cultural landscape that evolved alongside the dominant perceptions of the harbour to eventually bring the port city into the modern era.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter presented a new way to examine ports and harbours through a lens of risk and risk management. Dominant perceptions of risk associated with Cape Town underwent major transformations during the nineteenth century. The actions taken by the maritime community in Table Bay to improve the harbour were driven by the prevailing perceptions of risk and as these actions changed the cultural landscape, the perceptions of risk changed in an ongoing process. These findings demonstrate that risk played a major role in shaping the construction and use of the harbour in Cape Town. The application of this approach to other similar locations with a range of existing cultural material could potentially yield interesting insights into the past usage of different harbours and how these locations were impacted by human behaviour.

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Chapter 6
World War I Shipwrecks of the Western Indian Ocean of Tanzania: Neglected Underwater Heritage Resources

Elinaza Mjeme

6.1 Introduction

The western Indian Ocean was a theatre for most of historical events that occurred on the East African coast. It was an avenue for conducting a network of international maritime trade from the eighth to fifteenth centuries AD between East African coast and Middle East (Horton 1996:416; Mjema 2015:122). The subsequent period from fifteenth century onward, the coast featured Portuguese military operations. The latter was culminated by the WWI and the WWII in the twentieth century (Breen and Lane 2003:477–478). When the WWI in Europe, East Africa colonies did not expect to participate in the power struggle (Anderson 2001:i). Twenty years prior to the war, European colonizing powers, including British East Africa (Now Kenya and Uganda) and German East Africa (Now Tanzania, Burundi and Rwanda), spent much of their resources building colonial infrastructure such as roads, railways and bridges (Von Lettow-Vorbeck 1920:3–18).

The declaration of the war in Europe did not leave the African colonies safe from local conflict. On the 8th August 1914, two British ships, *Astrea and Pegasus*, lying off Dar es Salaam harbour fired an artillery aimed to destroy the wireless tower at Pugu in Dar es Salaam (Von Lettow-Vorbeck 1920:27). The latter was one of the first actions instigating the WWI campaign in East Africa between the British and the Germans. At the occurrence of this offensive incidence by the British navy force, German ship *Königsberg* had already departed from the port Dar es Salaam several days prior. On 29th September, *Königsberg* surprised and destroyed the English cruiser *Pegasus* at Zanzibar. The destruction of *Pegasus* at Zanzibar fuelled the conflict as more British cruisers arrived at the East African coast searching for the

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Königsberg (Harvey 2003:49). By 1918, the war had brought devastating impacts on Indian Ocean. Many vessels were sunk or damaged with hundreds of lives lost. The general list of ships wrecked during the WWI on the Tanzania coast is presented below (see also Patience 2006).

6.2 Overview of WWI Shipwreck Sites

A considerable number of ships wrecked along the coast of Tanzania during the First World War (Patience 2006). These shipwrecks represent important historical events in Tanzania such as the history of colonization and the transfer from German to British rule (Hatchell 1954). Unfortunately, a large numbers of these ships were later salvaged or scrapped, thus little remains at the site of wrecking. Only 4 of the 13 ships wrecked during the war (Patience 2006:133) survived the intensive scrapping and demolition (Table 6.1). Three shipwrecks (*S.M.S. Königsberg, Newbridge and Somali*) located in Rufiji Delta survived intensive salvaging (Hatchell 1954), and are considered here as promising sites for future underwater archaeological research. Another candidate is *H.M.S. Pegasus* found in Zanzibar (Fig. 6.1). Thus,

Table 6.1 Totally and partially salvaged shipwrecks on the Tanzania Coast 1914–1918

SN	Ship name	Date wreck	Place of wreck	Totally salvaged/ scraped	Partially salvaged and scraped
1	*Floating Dock*	1914	Dar es Salaam	Yes, in 1958	–
2	*Hedwig*	1915	Rufiji	Yes, in 1920	–
3	*König*	1914	Dar es Salaam	Yes, in 1924	–
4	*S.M.S. Königsberg*	1915	Rufiji	–	Shipwreck underwater
5	*Kronborg*	1915	Manza Bay	Yes, in 1956	–
6	*Markgraf*	1916	Tanga	Yes, in 1950s	–
7	*S.M.S Möwe*	1914	Dar es Salaam	Yes, in 1922	–
8	*Newbridge*	1914	Rufiji	–	Shipwreck underwater
9	*H.M.S. Pegasus*	1914	Zanzibar	Yes, in 1950	Shipwreck underwater
10	*Rovuma*	1915	Rufiji	Yes, in 1920s	–
11	*Somali*	1914	Rufiji	–	Shipwreck underwater
12	*Tabora*	1916	Dar es Salaam	Yes, in 1956	–
13	*Tomondo*	1915	Rufiji	–	–

Sources: Patience (2006) and Ichumbaki (2015)

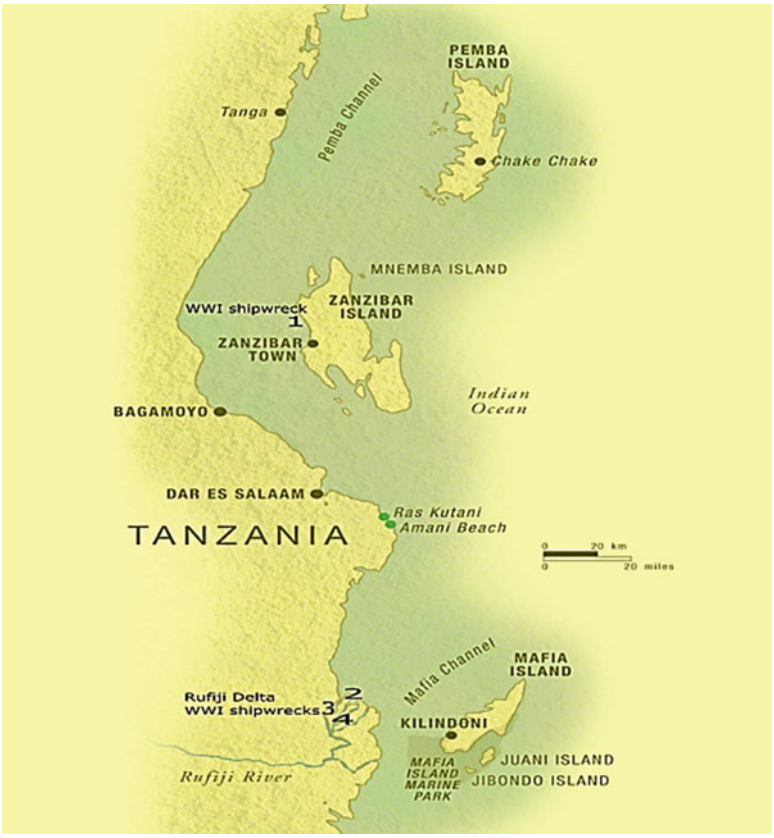

Fig. 6.1 Location of partially salvaged WWI shipwrecks on Tanzania coast. Site key: 1 = H.M.S *Pegasus*; 2 = *Newbridge*; 3 = *Somali*; 4 = S.M.S *Königsberg* (*Map Source*: Expert Africa 2012)

the inventory presented below lists four WW1 shipwrecks on the Tanzania's seabed that have potential for further protection and research.

S.M.S. Königsberg	
Location	: Rufiji Delta
Coordinate	: 07°.52′.13″ S 39°.14′.50″ E
Displacement	: 3300 tons
Vessel dimension	: A length of about 115 m, a beam of 13 m
Builders	: Imperial Navy Yard, Kiel, Germany. 1905

*S.M.S Königsber*g was a city class German light cruiser. Built in 1905, the ship entered the port in Dar es Salaam on April 1914 to participate in local trade fair. But the plan of her operation changed when all indicators for war became evident. On 31 July, ship captain Max Looff ordered *Königsberg* to raid and

attack enemy ships at the entrance to the Red Sea. During these early naval operations, *Königsberg* destroyed the British merchant ship, *S.S. City of Winchester*, on 12th August 2014. On 29th August, the coal supply to *Königsberg* dwindled to a meagre 200 tons, quarter of the normal full load, and thus not sufficient to power the vessel to the sea. Faced with this critical situation, *Königsberg* took refuge in Rufiji Delta, while waiting for collier *Somali* to refuel. By 19th September 2014, the ship was ready for the long voyage back to Germany. On the same day, a report reached Captain Looff that a British cruiser, *H.M.S Pegasus,* had anchored in Zanzibar. Without delay, *Königsberg* sailed to Zanzibar and on 18th September attacked and destroyed H.M.S *Pegasus*, thereafter returning to the delta for repairs.

The destruction of *Pegasus* angered the British who initiated an operation to search for *Königsberg* and destroy the vessel at any cost. Once it became certain that the *Königsberg* was in the Rufiji River, the crew took measures to maintain the vessel until it could be successfully eliminated. In the ensuing months, up to 27 different British ships of war were stationed off the entrance to the river. While the British ships with superior armament managed to blockade *Königsberg* to prevent escape, their ships could not enter into the river to attack and destroy the German cruiser due to deep draught designs. To solve the problem, commanders dispatched two monitors, *Mersey* and *Severn*. On 11 July 1915, the monitors severely damage *Königsberg*, forcing the crew to scuttle the ship. The surviving crew salvaged all ten of the main guns and joined Lieutenant Colonel Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck's guer-

Fig. 6.2 SMS *Königsberg* at Dar es Salaam in 1914 (Photo courtesy of Kevin Patience)

rilla campaign to the interior of East Africa. *Königsberg* was partially broken up in 1963–1965 for scrap, and the remains scuttled in the river. The wreck of *Königsberg* remains at the site of sinking in the Rufiji River Delta today (Fig. 6.2). By 1950 the ship slid sideways into the deep mud of the delta, and the last photograph of any above-water portion was 1965, when only a portion of the freeboard remained above the water level. The wreck is today completely buried in the mud of the river bottom, although the hull itself including funnels and anchor chains is, as far as is known, still intact.

Newbridge	
Location	: Rufiji Delta
Coordinate	: 07°.47′.16″ S 39°.22′.50″ E
Displacement	: 3737 tons
Vessel dimension	: A length of about 104 m, a beam of 14 m
Builders	: William Doxford, Sunderland, England. 1906

Newbridge was British steamer of 3737 tons with a length of about 104 m and a beam of 14 m. The steamer arrived in Mombasa on October 1914 as a collier for British vessels. The blockade campaign at Rufiji delta to seize *Königsberg* and *Somali* necessitated British steamer *Newbridge* to be involved in the exercise. On 10th November 1914, *Newbridge* entered the Suninga arm of Rufiji delta under heavy fire and ultimately scuttled, serving as a German blockading structure. Up until 1930, the mast and top of the funnel remained (Patience 2006: 170), but today the wreck had completely disappeared underwater.

Somali	
Location	: Rufiji Delta
Coordinate	: 07°.51′.33″ S 39°.18′.90″ E
Displacement	: 2638 tons
Vessel dimension	: A length of about 98 m, a beam of 12 m
Builders	: Blohm and Voss, Hamburg, Germany. 1889

Somali was a steamer of 2638 tons, built in Hamburg in 1889. Towards the end of July 2014, the steamer anchored in Dar es Salaam, awaiting for coal cargoes to be supplied to *Königsberg*. The vessel thereafter accompanied *Königsberg* to the Gulf of Aden. On the 21st August, 1914, *Somali* coaled and provisioned *Königsberg* at Ras Hafun on the Somaliland coast. It was arranged that the steamer would again supply coal to *Königsberg* at the Island of Aldabra. After coaling was completed, and *Königsberg* left to Rufiji River, Captain Herm of the *Somali* decided to take refuge in the delta. On 7th November 2014, British cruiser *H. M. S Chatham* arrived in Rufiji delta, shelled and sank the *Somali* to a status of total loss. Researcher Kevin

Patience visited the *Somali* wreck in 2001 and recorded part of the port side of the hull, bridge, top of the boiler, rudder stock and stem frame that were still visible in the heavy undergrowth (Patience 2006:185).

H. M.S. Pegasus	
Location	: Zanzibar
Coordinate	: 06°.08′.95″ S 9°.11′.65″ E
Displacement	: 2135 tons
Vessel dimension	: A length of about 91 m, a beam of 11 m
Builders	: Palmer Yard, Newcastle on Tyne, England. 1896

H.M.S. Pegasus was one of the British cruisers built specifically for the Royal Navy in late nineteenth century. On 8th August 1914, *Pegasus* visited Dar es Salaam and shelled the powerful wireless station, sank the floating dock, and disabled the engine of German vessels in the port. After conducting hostile act in Dar es Salaam, *Pegasus* sailed to Zanzibar. On the 20th September, while stationed in the Zanzibar *Königsberg* suddenly appeared off Chumbe Island and opened fire at 10,000 yards. *Pegasus*, immovable and with guns which were disabled the enemy, was soon reduced to a wreck suffering heavy casualties. After sinking, the guns for H.M.S *Pegasus* were removed and used by Commonwealth forces in the interior of Africa. One of the converted guns is at Fort Jesus in Mombasa, Kenya, next to one of the surviving *Königsberg* guns. Two other guns were displayed on the oceanfront at Dar es Salaam through the 1950s, but have since disappeared.

6.3 The State of Shipwreck Research

Although shipwrecks of Tanzania in the western Indian Ocean are rich historical and cultural resources that deserve further recognition, little effort has been devoted toward in situ documentation or protection. Recently, the Tanzania Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage Programmes (hereafter MUCH) established a project aiming to identify, survey and preserve underwater cultural heritage resources off the coast of Tanzania (Mahudi 2011). The preservation of Tanzania's underwater cultural resources is imperative and efforts to accomplish this task are evident in the actions of governmental institutions and private stakeholders alike. Many of these efforts began in 2009 when different institutions from the government joined hands to form MUCH programme.

Since its establishment in 2009, MUCH has surveyed several sites on the Tanzania coast searching for shipwrecks. The first shipwreck easily located by the team because of its popularity as tourist diving site in Zanzibar is *Great Northern* (Mahudi 2011). The ship was built in England in 1870, and wrecked in 1902 when it struck Fungu Chawamba reef about 8 km off Stone Town in Zanzibar (Ichumbaki 2015:532). In 2009, the team from MUCH conducted a non-disturbance survey by diving in the site in order to ascertain *Great Northern* state of preservation. The team observed that the shipwreck maintained its original structure and equipments.

The shipwreck's historic importance, the location and environment were noted as having archaeological, ecological and recreational significance.

To extend the search of shipwrecks, in 2010 the team surveyed UNESCO World Heritage Site of Kilwa Kisiwani and Songo Mnara (Jeffery and Parthesius 2013). A remote sensing survey team, using a Marine Magnetics Explorer magnetometer, accompanied with diving and ground truthing whenever anomalies emerged, did not manage to locate any shipwrecks of considerable size. Nonetheless, the team found an iron anchor measuring 2.4 m kilometres from Kilwa Masoko (Jeffery 2011). Jeffery and Parthesius's (2013) work suggests that location of the anchor could correspond with the area where one of the 1505–1506 Portuguese ships was believed to have wrecked. While MUCH programme has initiated the shipwreck search survey on a number of sites, the readily available WWI shipwrecks *S.M.S. Königsberg, Newbridge and Somali* in Rufiji Delta and *H.M.S. Pegasus* in Zanzibar have not received scholarly attention and less is known about their state of preservation.

6.4 Challenges in Shipwreck Management

Until recently, researchers neglected shipwrecks of WWI and WWII vintage in Tanzania. The Department of Antiquities in Tanzania has a very limited legal framework and official protocols on how to monitor shipwreck sites, though works have been initiated to manage and conserve these heritages (Mahudi 2011; Ichumbaki 2011; Jeffery 2011). The Antiquities Act No. 10 of 1964 (amended in 1979) and the National Museums Act of 1963 (amended in 1980) have to a large extent managed to protect the land-based cultural heritage resources of Tanzania. However, underwater cultural remains such as shipwrecks, submerged coastal settlements and infrastructures remained with little protective legislation. With the lack of official conventions, shipwrecks are often ignored and destroyed during the implementation of developmental projects in proximity to ports.

Thus far, archaeologists have not conducted any underwater excavations in the region. Currently, there is a problem financing underwater cultural heritage research. The MUCH team enthusiastic and committed since, has slowed down operations due to the lack of research fund (Jeffery and Parthesius 2013). Despite the growing awareness of the range of threats to cultural heritage (Pollard 2012) and the need to revise existing national archaeological legislation to take into account underwater cultural heritage, Tanzania has not ratified the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage. The delay to ratify the Convention exposes the region's rich, diverse and irreplaceable shipwreck heritage to commercial salvage and treasure hunting activities (Lane 2012:34).

6.5 The Future of Shipwreck Heritage Management

To improve the status of shipwreck heritage protection in Tanzania, the Department of Antiquities of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism should implement a legal framework and official protocols on how to monitor shipwreck sites. Archaeologists working along the East African coasts could include underwater cultural heritage in their research agendas and obtain grants that fund a more holistic research design incorporating heritage above and below the water. The Tanzania government and international agencies should consider the benefits of supporting the established programmes like MUCH, so that it continues the operation of searching for shipwrecks site along the Tanzania coast. An area of high priority is the Rufiji Delta where considerable numbers of WWI shipwrecks are located. The government should provide diving gear, surveying equipment and other necessary resources, reducing the costs of hiring equipment (Mahudi 2011). Lastly, Tanzania should ratify the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage in order to study and preserve its irreplaceable shipwreck heritage.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a review of WWI shipwrecks on the Tanzania coast. Albeit in periphery of the conflict, Tanzania's coast participated fully in the maritime operations generated by the war. Conflict resulted in the wrecking of large number of ships and loss of lives. Despite indications by archival and historical sources that many ships were sunk during the war, little has been done to recover, study and preserve the heritage sites. An archival study conducted by the author showed that almost more than 50 % of all ships wrecked during WWI were later salvaged and cut into scrap. Only 4 WWI shipwrecks out of 13 survived and were partially salvaged. These shipwrecks included *S.M.S. Königsberg, Newbridge and Somali* found in Rufiji Delta and *H.M.S. Pegasus* in Zanzibar. The Department of Antiquity needs to improve the legal framework and official protocols to monitor these sites. It is recommended that archaeologists in East Africa consider raising fund to survey and excavate these shipwreck sites. International agencies and the government need to support the Tanzania Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage (MUCH), programme research and prioritize the Rufiji Delta where considerable numbers of known WWI shipwrecks exist.

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Chapter 7
Thomas T. Tucker: A Beached US Liberty Ship in Cape Point Nature Reserve, South Africa

Nathaniel King

7.1 Introduction

During East Carolina University's (ECU) Summer Study Abroad Program 2014, several students and faculty participated in a study of the maritime cultural landscape in False Bay, Cape Peninsula, South Africa. Part of this study was to investigate the wreckage of S.S. *Thomas T. Tucker* (1942), an American Liberty Ship that ran aground near the coastal area known as Olifantsbos Point. ECU students in a previous study undertook examination of this site in 2012. GPS coordinates of the major disarticulated sections, as well as measurements, were recorded at that time. The intent of this survey was to record the locations and level of degradation of the remaining wreckage. This chapter will outline the data collection at the S.S. *Thomas T. Tucker*, and a history of the wreck, its location, a general history of Liberty Ships, and South Africa's role during World War II.

7.2 Historical Background

The archaeological record reveals that South Africa has been home to some of humanity's oldest ancestors (Deacon 2001). Bantu, Khoisan, and Xhosa speaking tribes occupied South Africa prior to European contact. In 1487, the Portuguese explorer Bartolomeu Dias set sail to search for a sea route to India and on February 3, 1488, Dias landed in Mossel Bay (The Mariners' Museum 2016). On his return voyage in 1488, Dias would discover the Cape of Good Hope,

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naming it "the Cape of Storms." The King of Portugal, John II (r.1481–1495) in order to encourage exploration of the route, would later change the name.

Table Bay, located near Cape Town, was used from its earliest days as an anchorage and victualing station for the Dutch East India Company, and later the British East India Company and Royal Navy (Potgieter 2000:160; Mollema 2015:2–3). False Bay, located on the opposite side of Cape Point and near Simon's Town, served as a winter anchorage. Jan van Riebeeck, who was appointed to administer the cape colony for the Dutch East India Company (VOC), led the first group of Dutch settlers. In 1679, Simon van der Stel took over as the VOC administrator for the Cape Colony and construction of the Castle of Good Hope was completed (Potgieter 2000:160).

When the Dutch settled in Table Bay, founding Cape Town, they found temperate weather, a steady supply of freshwater, and fertile soil. Part of the mission for the initial Dutch settlers was to plant crops (such as citrus fruits and cereals) in order to resupply company ships. The easy access to those important supplies allowed for cheaper victuals to be delivered to waiting ships sailing to the Dutch colony of Batavia (Potgieter 2000:161; Boshoff and Fourie 2008:7). This made Cape Town of great importance to fleets sailing towards Batavia or India, as it was a chance for the crews of the fleets to recover from scurvy. While Table Bay proved to be an effective summer anchorage, during the winter months, it could suffer unpredictable and severe storms. False Bay, which was situated on the other side of the mountains and around Cape Point, offered a better anchorage in the winter (Simon's Town Museum 1996). Cape Town, Table Bay, and False Bay's strategic value was not lost on the Dutch, who worked to fortify their colony by establishing shore batteries, building a castle, and stationing vessels to guard the harbors (Potgieter 2000:162). Despite the efforts of the Dutch to fortify and secure their hold on Cape Town, the British saw the value in possessing an outpost at the Cape and would wrest control of the colony during the Battle of Muizenberg in 1795, and again, permanently, after the Battle of Blaauwberg (1806) during the Napoleonic Wars (Fig. 7.1).

The British were involved in the transoceanic trade with their colonies in India and Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka) and suffered casualties among their sailors due to scurvy (Porter 1997:295–296). British authorities realized the value of the anchorages in Table and False Bay, and they took control of the Cape in 1795 until the Treaty of Amiens (1803) returned the Cape Colony to Dutch control. Cape Town would only remain in Dutch hands for another 3 years until the British seized control of Cape Town again after the Battle of Blaauwberg in 1806 in order to prevent the colony and its assets from supporting the French. The Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1814 would permanently cede Cape Town to the British (Simon's Town Museum 1996).

Table and False Bay retained their strategic value during the First and Second World Wars. As a British colony, South Africa was important to the war effort during both world wars. This is evident by the German *Unterseeboot* (U-Boat) traffic devoted to patrolling South African waters. During World War II, South Africa provided men, ships, and harbors to the Allies. As a result, South Africa became a target of the Axis Powers and Germany sent multiple U-boat groups to operate in South African waters during the war, *Gruppe Eisbär* (Group Polar Bear), *Gruppe Seehund* (Group Seadog), and an unnamed group (Potgieter 2000; Helgason 2016; Bizley

Fig. 7.1 Map showing Table Bay, Simon's Bay, and location of *Thomas Tucker* (Google Earth image adapted by author)

1994:77–78). The most successful was *Gruppe Eisbär*, which was responsible for the sinking of 231,432 GRT of Allied shipping, ranging from Cape Town to Natal (Helgason 2016; Bizley 1994:77–78). This is compared to *Seehund*, which sank 74,664 GRT (Helgason 2016; Bizley 1994:90–94). With the constant threat of U-boat attacks, Allied merchant vessels sailed in convoys with escorts in an attempt to deter attacks. South Africa, after the devastating attacks on Allied merchant shipping in its territorial waters, established a network of secret radar stations to detect surfacing U-boats and to direct antisubmarine aircraft patrols (Bizley 1994:94–97). The U-boat attacks did little to deter Allied shipping from utilizing South African ports, and as the war progressed, Allied convoys became more adept, and attacks off the coast of South Africa came to a halt.

7.2.1 History of Liberty Ships

The Liberty ship program can trace its beginnings back to a Lend-Lease program to outfit the British merchant fleet in the late 1930s, as Europe teetered on the brink of war. The outcome of this program was the Ocean-class tramp steamer. The Ocean-class tramp steamer was a simple, easy to produce design that featured a single triple-expansion Scotch-type coal-fired boiler, which was advantageous for Britain over a more modern oil-fired boiler as Britain had great reserves of coal (Elphick 2001; Lee 2009). The Ocean-class vessels also offered the advantage of modern manufacturing methods from the Kaiser Shipyards (Elphick 2001). When the United States needed to modernize their merchant fleet in preparation for war, the Ocean-class steamer was used as a template for the Liberty ship, and later the Victory ship.

The construction of Liberty ships began with the Lend-Lease Act of 1941, which authorized the US government and private firms to lend or lease military supplies and equipment to Britain and other allied nations (Elphick 2001:17–18).

With an outdated merchant fleet, the United States struggled to support the Lend-Lease Act. The aging fleet was further crippled when, between September 1939 and December 1941, 892 merchant vessels belonging to nations at war with the Axis powers were sunk in the North Atlantic (Cooper 1997:2). In order to fulfill its directive and upgrade the merchant fleet, the US Maritime Commission elected to use the British design as a template to manufacture a cheap and, to some degree, expendable vessel. The United States Maritime Commission modernized some of the features of the Ocean class, such as welding the hull instead of riveting it, which saved steel, and using oil-fired boilers instead of coal. Using obsolete, triple-expansion steam engines allowed for the quick production of engines and parts across several manufacturers and allowed the ability to interchange parts from the different manufacturers. The individual parts for the vessel would be manufactured and assembled into sections at various plants across the United States and then be sent to shipyards across the country, assembled into sections, and then put together (National Park Service [NPS] 2000) Liberties had five cargo holds, and a carrying capacity of 10,800 deadweight tons (4,380 net tons). Liberty ships carried between 38 and 62 civilian merchant sailors and 21 to 40 naval personnel as an "armed guard," who operated defensive guns and communications equipment (NPS 2000; Elphick 2001:110-124; Hoehling 1990).

The goal of the Liberty ship program was to produce ships at a rate quicker than the Axis Navies could sink them, and a total of 2751 Liberty ships were built from 1941 to 1945 (Elphick 2001:17). The ships were expected to have a service life of 5 years, and were considered expendable; surprisingly only 196 Liberty ships were lost due to enemy action (Elphick 2001). These innovative ships were able to provide the logistics that the Allies required to win the war, and by 1943 Liberty ship tonnage was produced at a rate which exceeded what the U-boats could sink (Elphick 2001). After the war, Liberty ships were sold off to other nations to help rebuild their merchant fleets. While the Liberty ships were not able to match the private merchant ships' speed, serviceability, and capacity in the postwar years, their affordability made them essential while merchant fleets rebuilt (NPS 2000).

7.2.2 Construction

Liberty ships were built in shipyards across the country. Major shipyards in Maine, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Texas, Florida, Alabama, and California all launched Liberty ships from their slipways. While many shipyards were turning out vessels for the war effort, Liberty ships were unique in that they used an assembly line style of manufacturing which streamlined the process and cut down the time required to launch a ship. On average, it took around 30–44 days to construct a Liberty. The record for construction of a Liberty ship was set during the

construction of the S.S. *Robert E. Peary*, which was completed in an astonishing 4 days 15 h and 29 s (Elphick 2001:80). Liberty ships were built to handle a variety of tasks, and could be modified to handle various missions. It was not uncommon to have a Liberty ship transport cargo and then be modified at the port where the cargo was delivered to return wounded service members back to the states, only to be modified again to carry tanks or even live animals to another theater.

The rapid construction of Liberty ships was accomplished through an assembly line fashion. Parts were manufactured at factories and then sent to the shipyard where they were added to the major sections. These sections were added to the ship as it was being built. Shipyards operated at capacity for 24 h a day, 7 days a week to reach production goals set forth by the US Maritime Commission. In order to keep this level of construction going, workers from all backgrounds were used in the shipyards, to include older men, women, and minorities (Elphick 2001; Fabry 1987).

7.2.3 S.S. Thomas T. Tucker

S.S. *Thomas T. Tucker* was constructed at the Houston Shipbuilding Corporation in Houston, Texas. The vessel's keel was laid on June 16, 1942, and the vessel launched on August 31, 1942, at a length of 422.8 ft, a beam of 57 ft, and a depth of hold of 37.8 ft (Lloyds Shipping 1942). S.S. *Thomas T. Tucker* was on its maiden voyage from New Orleans, Louisiana to Suez, Egypt with 8172 tons of cargo (7106 tons of Lend Lease, and 1066 tons of British purchases) for British forces in North Africa (Harris 2014:100). While approaching Cape Point on November 27, 1942, the vessel ran aground near Olifantsbos Point in an unfortunate turn of events. Sailing through South African waters at a time when U-boat attacks were at a fever pitch, the crews were concerned about attacks. When one of the ships in the convoy reported having come under attack, the convoy started to zigzag in an attempt to evade torpedoes.

The crew of the *Thomas T.* Tucker thought they were nearing Cape Town (mistaking Albatross Rock for Robben Island), and although they were in a dense fog, the captain thought they were in Table Bay. Not knowing their compass was off by an astounding 37°, the crew relaxed and during this time, the vessel ran aground. Locals who built a ferrocrete road out to where the vessel was stranded and utilized a floating dock system to recover the cargo salvaged the vessel. The locals were saddened to learn that all the American Thanksgiving food items, such as hams, turkeys, and plum puddings, had gone bad when the ship's refrigeration system was left open shortly after running aground (Harris 2014:100). The vessel broke into two sections while salvage was being undertaken, and an estimated 3200 tons of cargo remain on part of the wreck in 40 ft of water (U.S. Maritime Commission 1946). The vessel is currently in eight pieces and is heavily degraded due to weathering and wave action (Fig. 7.2).

Fig. 7.2 *Thomas T. Tucker* stern section and wreck site, facing East (Photo by author, 2014)

7.3 Methodology

The primary purpose of this pre-disturbance survey was to determine if there was any evidence of specific site formation processes that could be unique to Liberty Ships. This data was collected by taking scaled photographs, measuring the remaining sections, and recording GPS fixes. The GPS data was taken in UTM coordinates and on a Garmin brand GPS. All measurements were taken in metric. No scaled drawings were completed for this site. The conditions on this site varied. On July 26, 2014, the weather consisted of high winds, blowing sand, rain, some hail, and thunder. There were no diving operations on this site. The plan was to construct a GPS map on Google Earth and compare it to the previous fieldwork to determine if the sections have changed positions. The teams were divided, and each was assigned sections of the wreckage to measure, draw, and photograph. Another consideration for the site was the possibility of ambush by baboons, a frequent problem to park visitors. The field gear consisted of yellow "Rite in the Rain" field books, one 50 cm photo scale, two Garmin GPS units, one 1 m ruler, two Canon cameras, and three Kelson measuring tapes. Each team was assigned specific sections of the wreck to record. No cultural material was removed from the site. A Geocache that was discovered was removed from its hiding spot, photographed and recorded, then returned to the spot where it was found.

The site is on a rocky section of coastline, with several substantial disarticulated parts of the vessel, mostly from the stern. The site is exposed at low tide, and partially

covered during high tide. Broken kelp is often present on some of the sections that are submerged and native animals including baboons and various bird species often frequent the site. Also on the site are the remains of a small fishing boat, and part of a whale skeleton, which provide useful landmarks on the beach. The stern section is the most prominent feature on the site. It is heavily degraded and rests near several larger disarticulated pieces of the ship. Hawsepipes, salvage floats, and additional unidentified pieces of wreckage are scattered around the beach. According to archival research, there may be a large section submerged off shore. Once at the site, the gear was stored in a central location until the weather worsened and the gear was moved under a piece of wreckage.

7.4 Site Formation

7.4.1 Fasteners, Rivets, and Welds

When liberty ships were constructed, the emphasis was placed on modern techniques that could speed the process up and use fewer raw materials. As a result, Liberty ships are supposed to have fewer rivets used in the construction process than the original *Ocean*-class vessel (Elphick 2001; Sawyer and Mitchell 1973). From what is evident on the *Tucker*, this is not the case. Liberty, ship construction methods varied from shipyard to shipyard, and as a result, there was no complete uniformity between vessels. Rivets were used on several of the interior sections. However the major sections were welded together, and several of these welds are still holding. There is a difference in the deterioration of the rivets that are exposed, as well as the eyelets due to a difference in material. The eyelets are made from wrought iron, and this is evident by the appearance of corrosion. The remains of *Tucker* are primarily steel with some iron (rivets, internal components, and the aforementioned eyes). The steel sections of the shipwreck are a brownish-orange color, and sections show the flaking associated with the corrosion of steel (Rodgers 2004:73). There are several pieces of disarticulated ship structure laying around the wreck site, with only the stern section being readily identifiable. Two pontoon floats from the salvage operation are also on the wreck site and are degrading, exposing the foam core.

One problematic construction feature that plagued several liberty ships during their service, was steel quality (Harris et al 2010). The steel suffered from embrittlement at certain temperature ranges, especially in the North African theater. Cracks on the decking and on the hull were recorded in 30 % of the liberty ships. The *Tucker*, without chemical analysis, does not show any signs of this stress. It would be worth investigating this to determine if the weakness of the steel played a role in how the ship broke apart once it struck the rocks. It is worth noting that salvage attempts were undertaken at the direction of the Wartime Shipping Administration,

and the section of the ship that was ashore was cut up in order to sell the steel, which may have impacted the distribution of the disarticulated sections (U.S. Maritime Commission 1946).

7.4.2 Cultural Impacts

The wreck site of *Tucker* is a popularly visited site. The Geocache, discovered on the wreck, gives some indication of annual visitation. What the log shows is that most of the visitation is in the summer months (November–February), trailing off at the start of winter. *Thomas T. Tucker* is well advertised at the visitor center for the Cape Point National Park visitor center. The visitor center contains documents about the construction, and it contains a copy of the ship's registration certificate as well as an account of the wrecking of the vessel by two junior crewmembers. There are also several internet blogs that show the site is popular with tourists and local who are hiking the shipwreck trail.

There is no evidence on the wreck of visitor vandalism. While visitors do climb on some sections of the wreckage, this action is strongly discouraged by park personnel. However it is not feasible to suggest that Cape Point Nature Preserve station a park ranger at the wreck. There also does not appear to be damaged because of souvenir taking, and this is likely due to the lack of any items that could hold some sort of value; most likely because those items were removed at an earlier date.

There is a means of monitoring visitor traffic to the shipwreck. The site is a "maritime geocache," where "geocachers" conduct a sort of scavenger hunt to find the hidden cache treasure. The cache on the *Tucker* wreck site is placed where no climbing is required and with minimal intrusion. The cache contains a logbook, where finders can log their names and hometowns, and a link to a website where visitors can comment on the cache. The comments on the website allow an archaeologist or heritage site manager to monitor activity and comments on the site to keep abreast of any changes, such as African Oystercatcher (*Haematopus moquini*) birds nesting within parts of the wreckage (Groundspeak, Inc 2016).

7.4.3 Biological Impacts

Due to the wreck being located in an active surf environment since it broke apart eighty years ago, it has degraded significantly when compared to liberty ships that rest at depth. While the underwater environment is no less dynamic, the beach environment where the *Thomas T. Tucker* rests is subject to high winds, blowing sand, and wave action. The sections most at risk are those close to the waterline. Sections B, C, and the stern piece are those most at risk of degrading due to the wave action acting in conjunction with the wind and sand.

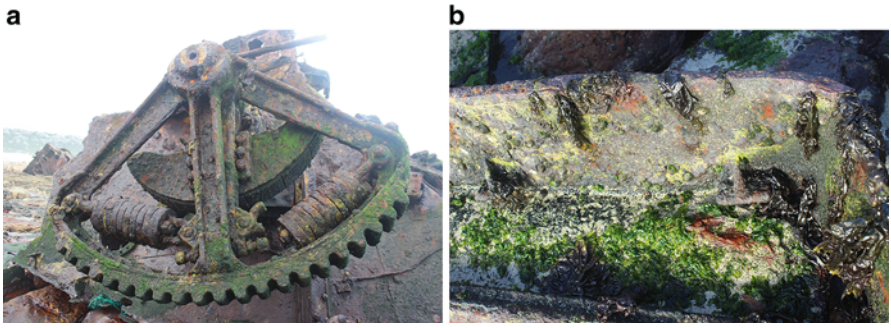

Fig. 7.3 (**a**, **b**) Sections of Thomas Tucker showing marine growth (Photo by author)

There is very little biological impact on the site. There are some algae growths on some of the pieces that are submerged during high tide and in the tidal pools. This growth does seem to damage the pieces, at least at a non-microscopic level. It is recommended that future research examines a sample of the wreck with the algae growth to determine if the growth has any adverse effects on the stability of the wreck. The only other noted biological impact is that the African Oyster Catcher uses some of the exposed sections to construct their nests. The African Oyster Catcher is listed as a near-threatened species on the watch list of South Africa. There was no evidence of nests when this survey was conducted, but past nests have been noted on the geocaching website (Groundspeak, Inc 2016) (Fig. 7.3).

7.5 Conclusion and Recommendations for Future Research

The S.S. *Thomas T. Tucker* shows evidence of continued degradation due to environmental factors. Intervention would be possible. However the cost associated with it would make such a measure unfeasible. It is recommended to document as much of the site as possible before the wreck either falls apart or washes out to sea. Another recommendation for future research is to take samples of the steel and determine if the *Thomas T. Tucker* suffered from the low-grade steel that plagued many of the liberty ships. A third recommendation is to conduct further research into the wrecking account in an attempt to establish exactly how the vessel wrecked and to verify the account in the documents from the US National Archives that a major section rests just off shore in 40 ft of water with 3200 tons of wartime cargo still aboard. Finally, it is also recommended that any future research examines the impact, if any, that the algae growth may have on the shipwreck pieces that are submerged in tidal pools and/or during high tide. Continuing to document this site

is important, as the vessel is quickly deteriorating. The vessel has already survived 80 years of exposure on the rocky, sand-blasted beach, but it may not last another 80. It is important that archaeologists continue to glean as much data as possible from this site in order to contribute to our understanding of how these unique vessels break apart and degrade over time.

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Chapter 8
On Desolate Sands: Beached Shipwrecks in the Namibian Coastal Landscape

Jennifer J. Jones

8.1 Introduction

At an increasingly noticeable rate, numerous shipwrecks are exposed worldwide with reports and articles detailing the widespread phenomenon of beached shipwrecks. They are remnants of continual interaction with and use of the world's coastlines. Beached wreck sites provide clarification about larger historical pictures and cultural landscapes. Their value demands equal consideration although, up until now, few have acknowledged their potential informational, symbolic, and even economic values. The archaeological remains of ships in the beach zone are part of a complex system, being periodically exposed and reburied, they vary between being both visible and frequently forgotten features of the coastal landscape. These limited and nonrenewable resources play an important informational role as tangible pieces of maritime heritage that also document dynamic coastal processes, providing unique environmental information.

Shipwrecks do not occur in a cultural or environmental vacuum—they are part of a complex system (Russell 2005) that exposes the cultural and social identity of a group of people, as well as the dynamic changes of the coastal environment. These shipwrecks may have conflicting identities, but each is integral to the complete representation of a cultural, historical, and environmental legacy. As somewhat stable structures within a dynamic system, beached shipwrecks may act as a constant on which processes and environmental changes work on multiple scales, revealing changes to shoreline morphology, adaptation to human and natural agents, and exposure of agents of deterioration. But their exposure and reburial makes them transient phenomenon, as well as highly vulnerable to changes in exposure, creating time constraints and access issues. Shipwreck remains in the beach zone are highly susceptible to variations in stability (natural and anthropogenic) within the landscape. These variations in turn

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affect decisions regarding perceptions of importance and management strategies. Challenges to certain management strategies may result in these resources being damaged, ignored, or forgotten, leading to a potential loss of pertinent social, economic, and physical formation. Although little can be done to prevent natural coastal processes, a better understanding of them allows for their mitigation and management. At the same time, an understanding of values and attitudes toward the beached wreck resource and associated management practices may guide practitioner decision-making and allow for the development of appropriate and innovative strategies of management.

Beached wrecks on the Namibian coast have become part of a dynamic environmental and social system. They serve as icons for a unique historical and environmental context against a backdrop of desolate, desert landscape. In this they provide interesting cases for archaeological and cultural heritage management on multiple levels. The substantial coastline of Namibia is the final resting place for ships of various types and origins, each representing a piece in the country's cultural and environmental history. Ships found on Namibia's coast are part of the larger maritime cultural landscape that includes a history of diamond mining, whaling, shipping, indigenous genocide, and slave labor. Each vessel carries identities, memories, and provides a collective social history not only through their past use, but also as part of the isolated desert landscape of the Skeleton Coast, which makes them part of the contemporary cultural landscape.

Unfortunately, research is limited for these sites and others, not only because of the location within a restricted environmental zone, but also the Namibian government's dynamic and often precarious relationship with the protection of cultural resources and outside researchers. This in turn provides unique and difficult scenarios for the management of cultural heritage in coastal Namibia. Unique attempts at management of Namibia's coastal cultural resources are necessary to provide a lasting legacy of the country's history and culture as it pertains to its own people, and the cultures of those with which it has established relationships. In this, beached wreck sites provide the opportunity to examine the line between preservation and access, sustainable archaeological tourism, and archaeological indicators for dynamic environmental change (Fig. 8.1).

8.2 Environment

The Namibian coastline stretches approximately 1570 km from the Kunene River in the north to the Orange River in the south (Fig. 8.1). Sand and gravel beaches with occasional cliffs and headlands make up the coastal zone. The coast has been shaped by "the dynamic interplay between sediments coming from on land, [derived from wind swept dunes and ephemeral rivers] and the waves, tides, and currents which characterize the eastern margins of the Atlantic Ocean" (Goudie and Viles 2014:18). Namibia's coastline and associated changes such as erosion are under intense discussion for scientists and managers alike. Landsat data has shown that Namibia's coastline is changing, but the changes are very complex, and at times the coast is eroding, while at others it is advancing. The Namibian coast is considered one of the most

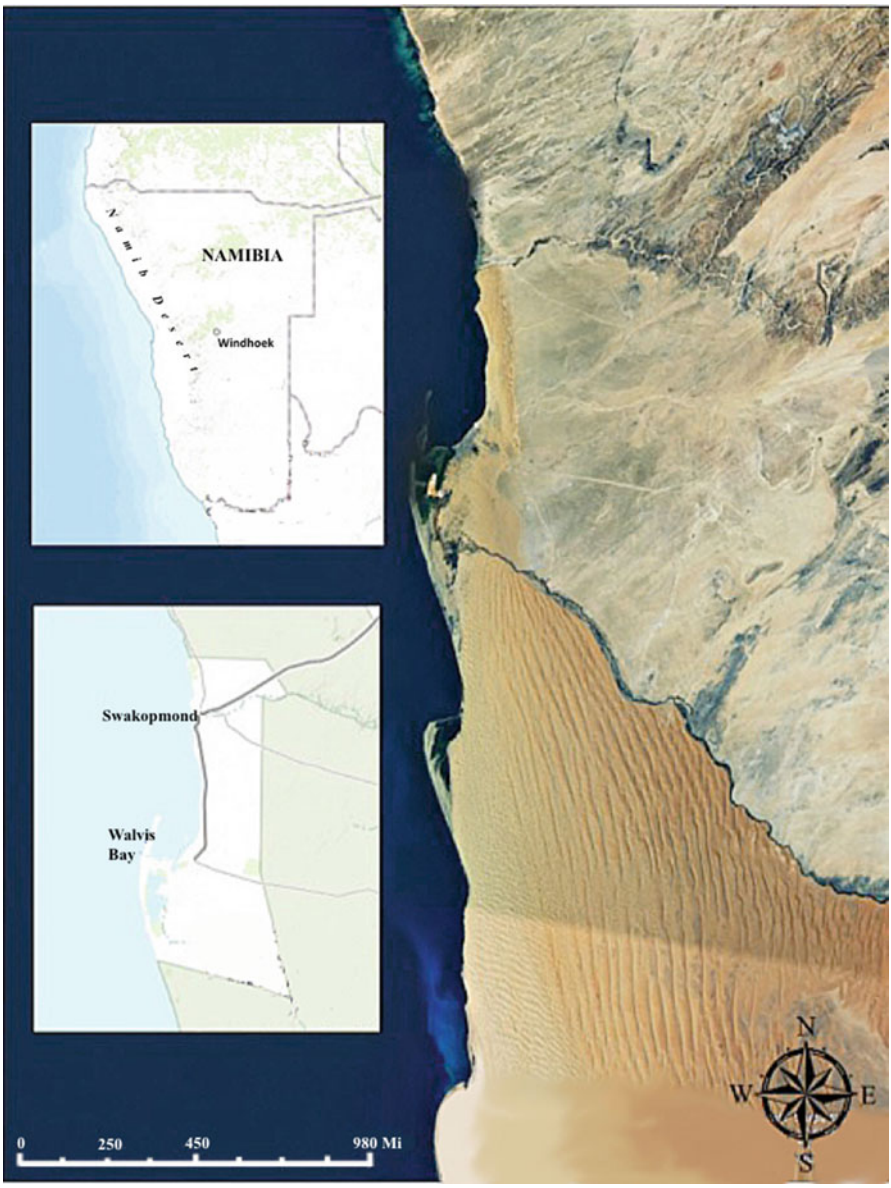

Fig. 8.1 Map of Namibian coastline (Figure by Author)

rapidly changing coastlines in the world. The coastal strandplains have been shifting at an astonishing rate of hundreds of meters in just several years (Wilkinson et al. 1989). Driven by the drift of Gondwanaland, the narrow strip of Namibia's coast displays a variety of mechanisms (i.e., strong winds and longshore currents) that together present a varied and changing environment. The swell environment and near-constant

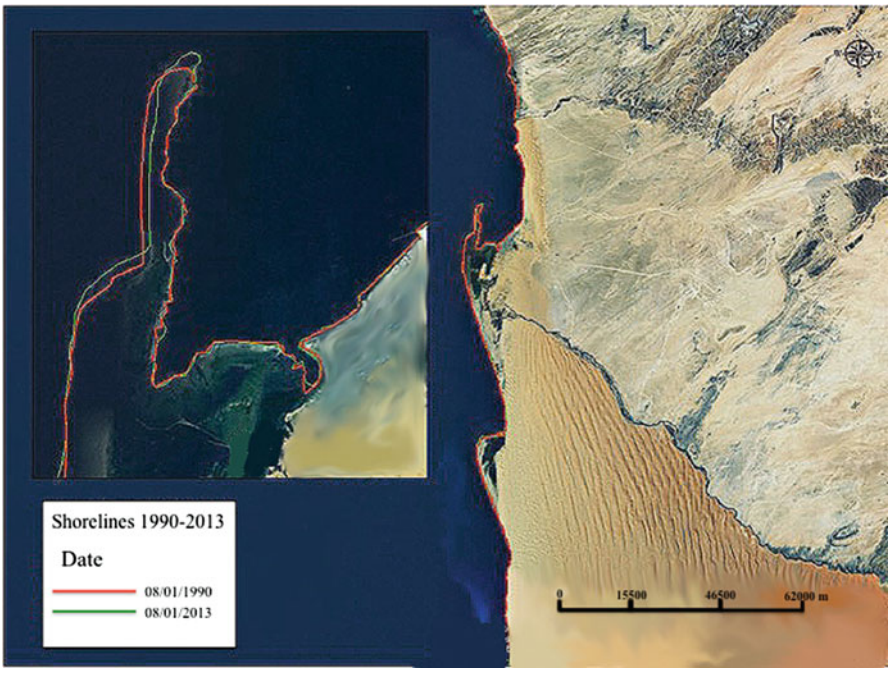

Fig. 8.2 Changes in coastline shown using GIS (Figure by author)

large waves which support important fisheries have brought commercial endeavors to the Namibian coast for centuries. However, few natural refuges have created only two ports, Walvis Bay and Luderitz, along the entire coastline. Heavy surf and dense fogs, a product of the coast's position adjacent to the Benguela Current, have made the Namibian coastline dangerous for both launching from and reaching shore. Once called the "Land God Made in Anger" by interior Bushmen and referred to as "The Gates of Hell" by Portuguese sailors, the wreckage throughout Namibia's history of contact has leant to the region its current name: The Skeleton Coast. This region has been declared a national park consisting of both a limited access wilderness and a recreation area devoted to a desert-based tourism. Despite the inhospitable environment, the remains of whale and seal bones along with notable wrecks provide the material remains of a long, complex cultural and natural history that have become part of a dynamic contemporary landscape (Fig. 8.2).

8.3 Historical Background

A brief history of Namibia reveals a precolonial region with complex social and cultural traditions revolving around indigenous groups such as the Nama and Herero, who were important to precolonial trade in the region. Before the immigration of

Germans to Namibia, groups such as the Oorlams and missionaries established links with the Cape through roads and larger cities such as Windhoek. With the arrival of Germans in the 1880s came the dividing of Africa that controlled Namibia as a German region of South West Africa, with the exception of Walvis Bay, which lay in the hands of the British. Rebellions and conflict with the precolonial populations led to war and concentration camps, and the eventual genocide of nearly 75 % of the Herero population. After the surrender of Namibia to British South Africa, the country exchanged one colonial experience for another as segregation spread through the region in the policy of apartheid. Namibia did not receive national independence until 1990.

Part of the historical context of Namibia is an economic history that brought the Namibian coastal peoples in contact with Dutch, British and American whalers, the Dutch East India Company, Norwegian diamond miners, and Liberian work crews. For centuries Namibia's fisheries have been subjugated to exploitation by foreign industry rather than small-scale subsistence. Whaling activities by European and North American vessels brought the first commercial interests to Namibia in the eighteenth century when the commercial taking of right whales began with the Dutch West Indian Company in 1726. This went into full swing in 1773 when American, French, and British whaling vessels were documented off the coast at Walvis Bay, a date from which intensified whaling was documented on the Namibian coast until 1803. After 1850, whaling vessels were still visiting the southern African west coast particularly for humpback whaling. Modern whaling continued into the 1930s when right whales "had effective[ly] disappeared from Namibian inshore waters, although they were still present in small numbers along the southern African coast in winter" (Roux et al. 2015:1136). With depleted whales stocks due to overfishing, interests turned to guano in the nineteenth century; pilchard, anchovy, and rock lobster in the twentieth century; and shallow- to deep-water hake into the twenty-first century (Paterson et al. 2015).

Mining exports have also provided major profits from Namibian resources for several centuries. Mining and processing operations have included shore-based transport and labor camps to technologically advanced operations. The main mining materials out Namibia have been copper, uranium, and diamonds. Copper deposits have been worked since European exploration began, but have been intensely mined since the early twentieth century. Uranium prospecting began in the 1960s, culminating in the 1980s. However, diamonds have been the number one export in value. Diamonds were discovered in Namibia in 1908, being easily mined by "shoveling up the Namib sands along the coast and on underwater terraces" (Longmire 1990:216). Rich diamond fields have been worked along the vast coastline producing an extensive cultural landscape.

All of these components are archaeologically visible in Namibia's modern coastal landscape. From mining camps and whale bones, to the vessels that aided in trade and industry, the country's coastal zone preserves the legacy of centuries of cultural and environmental history. However, in Namibia, archaeologists are faced with a puzzle—conditions have been good for the preservation of cultural remains of human interaction and settlement, but the arid environment has also ultimately been hostile and inhospitable to contemporary human occupation and further use (Wallace and Kinahan 2011). Archaeological emphasis of management and research has thus been

focused on only specific areas and periods and resulted in neglect of others, and it is found that "the archaeological research agenda is set by general questions of human development, the possibilities of investigation that arise in any particular region, and the interests of individual archaeologists or research programs" (Wallace and Kinahan 2011:16). Therefore, avenues of research such as maritime and underwater archaeology are only of recent interest to archaeologists studying in the country.

8.4 Management Background

Namibia, a developing, sub-Saharan democracy, has a range of unique environmental and archaeological sites on the tipping point between access and preservation. Resources such as shipwrecks are also protected under the National Heritage Act of 2004, as well as Namibia's 2011 ratification of the UNESCO 2001 Convention for the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage. The Namibian National Monuments Act condemns interference with sites and only allows adequately trained personnel who have been granted permits to work in this area; however, mining, road construction, and agricultural activities being exempt. Regardless, there is a problem controlling access to these archaeological sites, especially in diamond concession areas where approval depends solely on the discretion of the mining companies, further highlighting the importance of legislators and law enforcement agencies (Werz 2007). Although legislation is in place to protect and preserve archaeological resources, this is often insufficient, being further highlighted by the fact that only 12 out of 90 designated national monuments are archaeological sites—none of these being in the coastal zone (Wallace and Kinahan 2011).

There is no formal infrastructure for nautical archaeology research either in situ, or the recovery and conservation of finds from the marine environment (Werz 2007). At times, visiting researchers are encouraged to work with Namibian organizations in a mutually beneficial process utilizing permits and local organizations. Avocational groups such as the Windhoek Underwater Club (WUC) have been recording sites within the region since the 1980s. They have been instrumental in compiling historical information, representing maritime archaeology on the Namibia Scientific Council, and collaborating with various entities and consultants for excavation and preservation. Their recent collaborations with international archaeologists have highlighted the importance of maritime cultural resources to avocational national interests and the continued grassroots efforts to aid in the preservation of archaeological materials.

8.5 Beached Shipwrecks

Beached vessels along the Namibian coast are commonly visible, with vessels exposed at low tide, through extreme erosion, or fully exposed far inland. Each vessel represents the peril of the Skeleton Coast as well as the cultural and environmental

history of the region. However, two wreck sites have been signaled out because they not only portray the complex history of the region but also serve as unique case studies in archaeological research and cultural resource management: surfboats at Meob Bay and *Eduard Bohlen*.

8.5.1 Meob Bay Surfboats

One-hundred and eighty kilometers south of Walvis Bay, a divided headland creates Meob Bay, with long stretches of sandy beaches backed by large salt pans (Werz 2008). Just on shore at Meob two small vessels of varying condition lie amongst the remains of past resource exploitation. The vessels are surfboats with double-ended, rocker-shaped hulls, shapes typical of the small workboats utilized along the West African coast for many purposes. Given the construction elements, the two small vessels beached at Meob Bay may have played vital roles in various aspects of Namibia's economic and cultural history. From the eighteenth century onwards, the area of Meob was one of the popular embayments of southwestern Africa for whaling. The surfboats found at Meob are similar in construction and design to those found in manuals and logbooks from the height of American whaling in the South Atlantic. In the early twentieth century, German settlers and international mining companies subcontracted local and additional West African community labor to maneuver surfboats for the purpose of offloading supplies for the diamond mines.

These small but seaworthy vessels also had similar qualities to those found at Meob. And thus, their similarity provides that the vessels could potentially serve as archaeological markers of a cultural history related to both American whaling and diamond mining infrastructure along Namibia's coast. Whether part of the whaling history or more recent diamond mining history, the Meob vessels are important features of the larger coastal landscape of Namibia, which warrants further management initiative; however, trips to this region of the country are not as regular as would be warranted, as the isolated landscape and difficulty obtaining research permits prevent regular monitoring. The vessels thus pose a predicament of management and preservation (Harris et al. 2010).

8.5.2 Eduard Bohlen

Launched in 1891 at the Blohm and Voss shipyard as a purchase of the Maritime Society of Congo, *Eduard Bohlen* served as a mail, cargo, and passenger steamship, later joining the African Steamship AG Woermann-Line. The steel-hulled steamship was the first vessel to transport mail between Germany and West Africa. Owners of the African Steamship Company intended to exploit the lucrative trade route between Europe and Africa transferred the vessel to a new company under the Belgian flag in 1895.

Fig. 8.3 *Eduard Bohlen* (Photo by author)

However, in 1898, *Eduard Bohlen* was transferred back to the Woermann-Line and sailed again under the German flag to West Africa, an area at the time fraught with turbulent colonial and indigenous conflict. During a period of colonial wars, the Herero living in Swakopmund were captured and incarcerated aboard *Eduard Bohlen*, and the male prisoners sent to work as slave laborers in the South African mines. After use as a prison ship, *Edward Bohlen* returned to passenger service combined with delivery of diamond mining supplies. In 1909, the vessel grounded 100 m from shore on the Conception Bay strandplain as it headed for Spencer Bay from Swakopmund. (Harris et al. 2012)

The vessel, once utilized by colonial communities with an illustrious history, also became an integral part of the dark history of Namibia. *Eduard Bohlen* now stands as an iconic part of this remote desert landscape, beckoning tourists to this untouched environment. The wreck of *Eduard Bohlen* is often touted as the icon of Namibia and a symbol of the nation's heritage. As is seen from the vessel's history, *Eduard Bohlen* served many different purposes during both its life history and after its grounding (Harris et al. 2012) (Fig. 8.3).

Eduard Bohlen is also a prime example of the effects of a notoriously harsh landscape on archaeological preservation and management. Strong winds, rapidly changing temperature and humidity, the movement of sand dunes, and the complex and dynamic geomorphology have effects on the small- and large-scale preservation and management of the site. Rapidly shifting sandspits and strandplains may have caused not only the vessel to wreck, but also be moved inland nearly 400 m. The vessel has also created a large coastal dune, representing a sand trap, a combination

of hull orientation and prevailing southwest winds. Movement of sands in and around the wreck causes abrasion of the iron, while the humidity causes corrosion. *Eduard Bohlen* also serves as a wildlife habitat, and in the past, the vessel has also been the site of filming that took extreme measures for their story line, while the site continues to be an attraction for desert tourism (Harris et al. 2012).

Given the extreme environmental surroundings that have created a unique archaeological site, the *Eduard Bohlen* is a complex management case. It is an icon of the nation's history as well as a testament to the enduring coastal desert landscape. But apart from the limited number of travellers allowed to visit the region each year that can ultimately interact with the site, its management is scant. Systematic evaluation of the vessel and further assessment of the vessel's remaining structure are needed to prevent the vessel from being completely lost within the dune it has created. Local stewardships and innovative strategies in heritage and sustainable tourism may provide platforms for monitoring change and preventing further loss.

8.6 Heritage Management and Sustainable Tourism

Tourism and the concepts of environmental sustainability are on the forefront of Namibian national policy. Namibia is a vast and environmentally diverse country with significant coastal resources that span a wide range of habitats. The current approach to tourism in Namibia is private and demand-driven, where seasonality, poor economic conditions, and long haul destinations present challenges to the industry (Asheeke and Katjiuongua 2008). Despite these, Namibia is the fourth fastest growing tourism economy in the world given its unique and pristine environmental characteristics (i.e., largest sand dunes in the world, Big Five wildlife, sparsely populated areas, and a wild coastline) (Asheeke and Katjiuongua 2008).

Desert tourism in Namibia is a fast growing sector of the tourism industry incorporating elements of adventure tourism and ecotourism; however, the tolerance for increased numbers of visitors in this unique ecosystem is low (UNEP 2006). The interaction with communities on the desert fringe and the sense of freedom that comes with a seemingly boundless and open area often make tourists that encounter the desert feel they can act without consequence for the cultural and physical environment. However, given the scarcity of natural resources such as plant cover and the starkness of the environment, these sites are highly sensitive to human passage (UNEP 2006). Essentially what makes the resource unique and valuable also renders it vulnerable.

Growth in the result of significant Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programs, as well as increasing collaboration between the government and private sectors, all which seek to enhance the environmental aspects of the country while spreading the economic benefits of tourism (Asheeke and Katjiuongua 2008). The Government, nongovernmental organizations

(NGOs), and many other members of the private sector recognize the need for tourism development that preserves the delicate ecosystems of Namibia (Asheeke and Katjiuongua 2008). Given the rural nature of much of Namibia, sustainable tourism's contribution to local development in the country is growing considerably. Diversified livelihood strategies are essential given the environmental conditions that include arid regions with marginal rainfall and the common occurrence of drought, where communities seek other activities to supplement income apart from agriculture and riverine resources (Ashley 2000). These management programs focus greatly on maintaining the physical environment, but with little being discussed in terms of sustaining the country's vast archaeological resources. However, increasingly cultural aspects such as archaeology are being incorporated into the sustainable tourism scheme.

Namibia's rich cultural heritage, alongside the unique natural resources, offers the opportunity to expand cultural tourism for the purpose of cultural resource preservation. National programs are working to help integrate culture into national development policies. Within the focus of national ownership and participation, programs are prompting the Government of Namibia to effectively integrate cultural heritage into the planning and management process through the development of a national knowledge base of cultural heritage, the strengthening of the capacity to manage such resources, and raising awareness of the capabilities of sustainable development in cultural diversity (MDG Achievement Fund 2013). Strategies towards preservation of archaeological sites in Namibia could take a myriad of avenues to accomplish not only preserving the archaeological sites but also allowing them to be used sustainably.

Given the mechanisms already in place in the country, it would be feasible to incorporate archaeology into the existing community-based environmental stewardship groups that have been extremely successful in maintaining the country's natural resources and collaborating with tourism groups. This approach also serves to promote the local and regional community rather than specifically the national interests. This approach has been shown to generate income for heritage conservation through the aid of local businesses, which implement income-generating schemes directly for conservation and management when larger scale or upper level attention fails to generate benefits for the local or regional context (Aas et al. 2005).

8.7 Archaeological Indicators of Environmental Change and Tools for Management

Archaeology is increasingly used to examine the nature and processes of environmental change, focusing on chemical analyses of material remains and mechanisms of human adaptation. Archaeological resources may also serve as baselines for environmental characteristics whose shifting nature manifests itself in the archaeological record. The effect of environmental processes on archaeological systems is

evident, and the interaction of the archaeological remains with their environment poses challenges and opportunities for archaeologist. Sites, or portions of them, may be destroyed or become less visible, but the processes may also reveal buried sites and present evidence of past processes, and in some cases provide protection for the cultural resource with burial (Schiffer 1987).

Therefore, archaeological materials may be monitored in terms of their ability to provide information about changes to the environment in which they are located. Geographical and geological techniques in current archaeological and geomorphological research provide increasingly precise and accurate data on multiple scales of measurement and analysis. The greatest applicability of these techniques to such research lies in the ability to generate data on multiple scales through a combination of technologies over both the short and long term. Given the characteristics of the coastal zone, beach environments, and beached shipwreck sites, a combination of techniques is most likely to provide the most encompassing and accurate view of each site. For example, in conjunction with photogrammetry and LiDAR, unmanned autonomous vehicles (UAVs) techniques provide potential data on coastal landscape change, sand coverage of a site, and site formation processes within the context of the larger maritime landscape, which is essential in understanding the relationship between the wreck and its associated physical and social landscape. Data-derived UAVs in combination with terrestrial laser scanning (TLS) can provide a complete picture of a site and its associated landscape features. The combination of these methodologies along with software utilizing structure-from-motion (SfM) is seen to be effective for interdisciplinary studies and has implications for management, providing a record of the vessel itself, including any important site-specific details and its current state of preservation as well as the broader context of the site within the surrounding landscape.

8.8 Conclusions

Beached shipwreck sites in Namibia, as in elsewhere, must be managed with attention given to the unique circumstances of not only the physical environment for purposes of conservation, but also the unique cultural and social dimensions that are present in both the current society and within its history, and their protection and proper management is essential to enable archaeologists and other scholars to study and interpret it on behalf of and for the benefit of present and future generations (ICOMOS 1999:1). As a potentially important and valuable resource for various stakeholders (e.g., cultural resource managers, archaeological researchers, local/state/federal resource and landscape managers, communities entities, and the general public), an understanding of vessel remains within the beach zone allows us to view these remains not only as a piece of the past but also as part of current and future coastal processes and change, thus making these resources a beneficial part of the present as well as a tangible symbol of the past.

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Chapter 9
Benefits, Burdens, and Opportunities in South Africa: The Implications of Ratifying the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage

Jonathan Sharfman, Jaco Boshoff, and Jonathan Gribble

9.1 Introduction

South Africa has faced significant underwater cultural heritage management challenges since legislation aimed at controlling activities being undertaken on historic shipwrecks was first promulgated in 1979. Despite the efforts of heritage managers, maritime archaeologists, and international stakeholders, a long precedent of treasure hunting, souvenir collection, and looting has dogged the practitioners in their endeavors to protect and conserve submerged sites. In recent years, public apathy towards underwater cultural heritage has further hampered efforts to gain official support amongst policy makers and the institutions that fund heritage management. Within the context of a policy framework focused primarily on the management of colonial shipwrecks and a shipwreck heritage narrative that has been driven by treasure hunters, the underwater cultural heritage resource has failed to gain meaningful stakeholder interest and therefore has remained outside of the heritage management and maritime archaeological mainstream. Recent developments, including South Africa's accession to the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage, the realization of high profile archaeological excavation, and a shift towards locally relevant heritage management models, have seen South Africa begin to emerge as a regional leader in underwater cultural heritage management and practice. These advances mean that South Africa must now examine both its internal

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position on underwater cultural heritage and, with the availability of its established and skilled pool of practitioners, consider its responsibilities in promoting the field in sub-Saharan Africa.

9.2 Policy Framework

Since the amendment of the National Monuments Act (No. 28 of 1969) in 1979 (No. 35 of 1979) to empower the relevant Minister to declare any wreck older than 80 years a national monument, South Africa has experimented with various approaches to the management of historic shipwrecks and other underwater cultural heritage. It was not until the late 1990s, however, that serious consideration was given towards halting commercial salvage activities. Maritime archaeologists and associated practitioners began to understand the potential that shipwrecks offered in contributing data for interpreting the past, resulting in a global shift away from an antiquarian approach to shipwreck research and management, towards a responsible, archaeological methodology.

In the South African context, three key policy and legislative documents have guided heritage managers in developing the structures in which underwater cultural heritage management currently takes place. The 1996 ICOMOS Charter on the Protection and Management of Underwater Cultural Heritage established a broad reference framework for managers concerned with submerged heritage resources. It encouraged archaeological best practice, responsible project management, and an inclusive public approach to research activities. While it highlighted the incompatibility between maritime archaeological objectives and commercial exploitation of underwater cultural heritage, and discouraged heritage institutions from supporting the latter, its authority did not extend to national legislation and it placed no legal obligations onto states. South Africa's heritage management authorities adopted the Charter as a guideline for permit applications taking place under the provisions of the National Monuments Act. Although this did not discourage treasure hunting, it bound permit holders to basic archaeological standards and laid a foundation that allowed for an evolution of management practices.

South Africa reviewed and redrafted its own heritage legislation following its transition to democracy in 1994. The resultant National Heritage Resources Act (No. 25 of 1999) defined shipwrecks older than 60 years as archaeological sites automatically protected as national heritage resources. This classification was significant in that it implied that wrecks should be protected and managed using the principles applied to terrestrial archaeological sites. The Act was, however, silent on commercial exploitation of shipwreck sites and, while managers at the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), the national heritage management institution established by the National Heritage Resources Act, made efforts to adopt policy that outlawed treasure hunting, legal advisors suggested that such policy encroached on legislation and was thus outside of SAHRA's authority. This allowed stakeholders from the salvage community to successfully argue that precedent should dictate that

the permit system, and division of recovered finds between state and salvor, be continued. Other state institutions had greater freedom in interpreting their obligations under the Act and organizations such as Iziko Museums drafted policy in which collaboration with commercial shipwreck projects was undesirable.

In 2008, the South African Department of Arts and Culture began a broad public consultation process aimed at determining attitudes towards the ratification of the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage (the Convention). Arguments from archaeologists, heritage managers, salvors, divers, and other stakeholders were heard and a vote was taken to ascertain support for ratification. The vote came down narrowly on the side of advocates *for* the Convention and the Department took the decision to ratify. It was not until 2015 that the instrument for accession to the Convention was finally lodged with UNESCO. In the interim, the Department and underwater cultural heritage stakeholders drafted a new national Shipwreck Policy which began to outline structures for future management and research. While the policy has yet to be formalized and passed, it has the potential to be a powerful document in formulating South Africa's internal management frameworks and its role in underwater cultural heritage in sub-Saharan Africa.

9.3 Reviewing Maritime Archaeology and the Underwater Cultural Heritage Resource

The narrative that has driven public perceptions of what constitutes underwater cultural heritage resources in South Africa (and globally) has continually been shaped by the treasure hunting and salvage sectors whose interests are served by focusing on a particular category of shipwrecks, namely treasure ships. The emphasis on this element of South Africa's maritime past has allowed the commercial sector to publicize their work through generating exciting content of adventure and riches and to promote the notion that they were "doing archaeology." A South African historic shipwreck permitting system that supported commercial exploitation also endorsed collaboration between archaeologists and salvors. As a result, several high profile projects enjoyed assistance and cooperation from the small pool of maritime archaeologists and underwater cultural heritage managers. In the public eye then, maritime archaeological endeavors were just elevated forms of treasure hunting.

The legislative framework and the context within which it was applied also compelled the heritage fraternity to focus their attention on the same shipwreck resource. In their efforts to manage and control salvage activities, managers and practitioners had little time to investigate other research interests. Little investigation of maritime heritage resources outside of shipwrecks continually reinforced perceptions of what maritime archaeologists did: collected objects valuable from shipwreck sites that, having been created as a result of an accident, were neither part of South African history nor relevant to local heritage.

By 1999 when the National Heritage Resources Act was promulgated, underwater cultural heritage, maritime archaeology, and maritime heritage had been firmly

contextualized as shipwrecks—and irrelevant to the new democracy's changing sociopolitical milieu. Underwater cultural heritage and maritime archaeology enjoyed little public or official support. Maritime heritage practitioners recognized the challenges presented by the narrow definition their field and made efforts to actively seek out elements of the maritime past that had broader appeal and that reflected the complexities and influences of the maritime past. Maritime archaeologists at Iziko Museums and at SAHRA took advantage of the new legislation by shifting the focus of their activities from regulation of salvage to primary research. Both institutions secured funding from the National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund to develop maritime archaeological programs directed towards expanding the underwater cultural heritage disciplines. Iziko began investigating the archaeology of the transatlantic and Indian Ocean maritime slave trades and SAHRA implemented a National Survey of Underwater Heritage that began assessing the extent of maritime heritage resources, including nontraditional heritage sites such as stone-walled fish weirs. Both projects recognized the knowledge gaps associated with the field as well as the need to establish a baseline set of data that could be used to determine what it was that actually required management and how such management should be applied. It quickly became evident that not only was there a vast historic shipwreck resource about which only a small amount of information in a select sector was available, but that there was a complex maritime chronicle composed of myriad site types that were relevant to the evolution of South Africa. The projects also showed that archaeological sites did not exist in a vacuum. Just as the spatial contexts of objects on individual sites were valuable markers for interpreting site-specific behaviors, so the contexts of sites within wider systems of related sites and geographical features were tools for understanding bigger social structures. Without explicit expression, maritime archaeology and underwater cultural heritage management shifted towards adopting a maritime cultural landscape approach to their methodologies.

A maritime cultural landscape approach to underwater cultural heritage had significant implications for both maritime archaeological practice and heritage management. In the case of the former, a landscape approach facilitated projects with global reach such as the Slave Wrecks Project, a multi-partner, multinational program with Iziko Museums, the George Washington University, the Smithsonian Institute and the United States National Park Service at its core, that incorporates a network submerged and terrestrial sites and archives on four continents. In the case of the latter, management institutions such as SAHRA were able to redescribe the relevance of underwater cultural heritage within landscapes that were unambiguously significant to South Africa's past and its historical development. The change towards a landscape approach to underwater cultural heritage was essential for furthering the development of maritime archaeology and for establishing new management models.

While South Africa had taken a significant step in the advancement of maritime archaeology and underwater cultural heritage management, it required a policy framework that accommodated and supported an international cultural landscape approach. While the National Heritage Resources Act provided a local operational

structure, the 2001 Convention was, and continues to be, a necessary treaty through which South Africa's maritime heritage practitioners can achieve their goals.

9.4 Benefits and Burdens: The Implications of Ratification

Ratification of the 2001 Convention offers several immediate benefits to managing underwater cultural heritage amongst which four are of primary importance. Firstly, the 2001 Convention serves an important function as a supporting policy for the National Heritage Resources Act. It directly addresses many of the gaps that exist in the Act and that have muddied the management waters. Most significantly, the 2001 Convention—in Article 2, paragraph 7—outlaws commercial exploitation of underwater cultural heritage. For heritage managers grappling with interpretation of an Act that is silent on salvage, the 2001 Convention provides clarity and direction. In the South African context, this is perhaps the most important section of the treaty as it establishes a new platform from which applications for activities aimed at underwater cultural heritage can be assessed. Supported by the Rules contained in the Annex to the 2001 Convention and the prescripts of national legislation, South African maritime heritage managers are provided with a solid managerial framework.

The promotion of international cooperation and the obligation for the State party to consult stakeholders in decision-making processes gives further support to heritage managers. Permissions for activities aimed at underwater cultural heritage sites can be taken utilizing the experience of multiple international partners. Furthermore, collaborative partnerships with external stakeholders offer opportunities for implementing archaeological best-practice methodologies and for capacity building at local managerial level.

The 2001 Convention adds a new arrow to the quiver of international heritage management treaties that South Africa has ratified. Implemented in conjunction with, for example, the 1972 World Heritage Convention, the 2003 Convention on the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage, and others, South Africa can holistically conserve and manage maritime cultural landscape in their most diverse sense.

Finally, ratification of the 2001 Convention places South Africa as a role-player within an international heritage management community. South Africa can call on, and contribute to, maritime heritage expertise. South Africa can establish itself as a regional leader in developing maritime archaeology and underwater cultural heritage management and can develop strategies that are relevant in developing world contexts. Simply put, the ratification of the 2001 Convention has delivered South Africa an opportunity to better manage its underwater cultural heritage and to share its experiences as a pioneer for contextualized underwater cultural heritage management in sub-Saharan Africa.

There are, however, certain burdens that South Africa must now shoulder. These can be divided into internal and external obligations: States who are party to the 2001 Convention are obligated to establish a competent authority (Article 22) to implement the Articles and Rules therein. South Africa already has a heritage management

institution, SAHRA, established within its national heritage management framework whose mandate includes the protection and management of underwater cultural heritage. While this unit is recognized as the competent authority, it is questionable whether it can fulfil the requirements set out in Article 22, namely:

> "… the establishment, maintenance and updating of an inventory of underwater cultural heritage, the effective protection, conservation, presentation and management of underwater cultural heritage, as well as research and education."

This is a significant load, especially within the capacity and financial constraints of developing world nations. SAHRA's Maritime and Underwater Cultural Heritage Unit's treasury-assigned budget has not been increased with the ratification of the Convention and its three-person underwater cultural heritage staff complement has not been expanded. Furthermore, the unit is restricted by national legislation and SAHRA's current strategy. Being the compliance agency that issues permits for archaeological research, the unit cannot undertake field activities beyond non-disturbance site assessments. Even these cannot be implemented independent of external assistance. Under current diving regulations promulgated by the Department of Labour, dive teams must include at least four members of which only two can be in the water at any one time. While assessments add data to SAHRA's existing shipwreck database and can contribute towards decision-making and the development of management tools, there is little new information being generated and few new sites being located and recorded.

Article 2.9 and Article 20 compel State Parties to encourage access to underwater cultural heritage and raise public awareness of its significance and value. Again, the current structures and capacities directed at underwater cultural heritage management and research both within the competent authority and external institutions cannot sufficiently confront these obligations. Funding and capacity constraints have limited SAHRA's ability to comprehensively inventory, ground-truth and assess the underwater cultural heritage resources for which it is responsible. The Agency does not yet know what constitutes the resource that it is expected to manage and, therefore, struggles to draft management models that can address the diverse sites that fall within its mandate and to promote elements of the resource to the public. In the absence of site data, SAHRA cannot institute and promote strategies for responsible access to submerged sites. Other governmental agencies, such as Iziko Museums, together with NGOs and public stakeholders support public awareness raising efforts through their projects and education programs but are limited by the same capacity and funding challenges. Projects such as the excavation of the Portuguese slave ship, *Sao Jose*, have contributed to awareness and to the expansion of perceptions of underwater cultural heritage in a meaningful way, but represent lone examples within a considerable maritime history. Taken together, stakeholders have made inroads into raising awareness, but must expand their efforts if any effective buy-in is to be achieved.

The legal implications of ratification of the 2001 Convention require deeper investigation. Several Articles within the Convention require that South Africa takes a more hands-on approach to management of activities that may affect submerged resources

and nationals who may participate in such activities. Articles 3–5, 7–12, and 14–18 require that State Parties expand the jurisdiction of underwater cultural heritage management to include other policing agencies dealing with maritime activities. South Africa is obliged, for example, to prohibit its nationals from participating in activities that are in contravention of the Articles of the 2001 Convention and must appropriately control entry of vessels within its ports, Territorial Waters, and Contiguous Zone. The current legislative and jurisdictional frameworks for heritage managers are not conducive to interdepartmental cooperation and legal enforcement.

Externally, South Africa is obliged to broaden its stakeholder engagement. Article 19 requires State Parties to cooperate in the implementation of the 2001 Convention and to share information internationally through appropriate database portals. Currently, South Africa's shipwreck databases are publically inaccessible either because they are restricted or because they require payment for access. Cooperation between governments has been limited. South Africa has cooperated on a project basis with state institutions in the Netherlands and, to a lesser extent, in the United Kingdom, but has failed to draft bilateral or multilateral agreements aimed at underwater cultural heritage management and research. South Africa has taken a particularly arm's length approach to dealing with its neighbors and with the sub-Saharan region. Instead of forming regional collaborative agreements, as encouraged by Article 6, to share capacity, expertise, and infrastructure, South Africa has taken a more introspective stance to developing the field. While it is true that Iziko Museums (through the Slave Wrecks Project) and the South African NGO, African Centre for Heritage Activities (through its development programs), have implemented capacity building and training projects in Mozambique, Tanzania, Kenya, Madagascar, and Senegal, none have been internally funded or otherwise supported.

9.5 Where to from Here? Opportunities of the 2001 Convention

The ratification of the 2001 Convention offers opportunities to address the challenges that have dogged underwater cultural heritage for more than three decades. Once again, South Africa's heritage managers find themselves at a crossroads. The institutions mandated with safeguarding the past can either continue with current management strategies or can utilize the opportunities offered by the 2001 Convention to advance the field.

If the latter is the preferred path, several key areas for change have been identified. Firstly, the 2001 Convention expands the scope of the resource from the shipwreck focus of the National Heritage Resources Act to include:

> "…all traces of human existence having a cultural, historical or archaeological character, which have been partially or totally under water, periodically or continuously for at least 100 years…" Article 1.1.a

Where this is significant in the South African context is that it allows heritage managers an opportunity to engage with underwater cultural heritage outside of the confines of the shipwreck narrative that has found little traction with broad sections of local society. South Africa can reassess what its underwater cultural heritage is and make it relevant to all. Increasing the stakeholder base through increasing the scope of the field will facilitate the amendment of national legislation to better serve heritage management. By highlighting the relevance of the tangible traces of underwater cultural heritage, law enforcement institutions can more easily identify with the rationale behind protection and policing, presenting lead-ins for interdepartmental cooperation.

Expanding the scope of underwater cultural heritage and embracing maritime cultural landscape provides investigators better research prospects. Linking the submerged and terrestrial heritage landscapes increases the number of access points for maritime archaeologists and others interested in the maritime past without establishing a need for diving practitioners. Increasing numbers of research programs aimed at underwater cultural heritage will result in higher academic and public output, raising the profile of the disciplines and increasing pressure on management authorities to better conserve and control the resource.

It is perhaps prudent for the South African authorities to revisit and revise their underwater cultural heritage legislation, as encouraged by the 2001 Convention. While the National Heritage Resources Act provides an overarching management framework, it may be valuable to amend the Act to incorporate and make explicit a national policy on underwater cultural heritage. It is the opinion of the authors that it is incumbent on South Africa to establish a better more effective competent authority that contributes to the development of underwater cultural heritage as a relevant element of the past and as an attractive field for engagement and participation.

It is suggested that a nonpermanent authority that is removed from, and independent of, the compliance aspects of SAHRA's current functions be formed in order to encourage archaeological research and excavation. Capacity that already exists within government institutions, the academy, and civil society should form the core of an association of practitioners, supported by core government funding, that make up the authority. It would be the duty of the authority to actively develop underwater cultural heritage as a research field and to create opportunities for employment.

Any development strategy would require multilevel foci. Despite South Africa's relative wealth of expertise within the region, there are still capacity gaps. There is an urgent need for an academic program aimed at underwater cultural heritage and maritime archaeology. Currently, only the University of South Africa offers opportunities for postgraduate studies in maritime archaeology although it relies on external supervision. The University of the Witwatersrand has incorporated maritime archaeology into its fieldwork courses in the form of enlisting assistance from external tutors to provide Nautical Archaeology Society training on a volunteer basis. No formal maritime archaeological or underwater cultural heritage training is offered at tertiary level (either in South Africa or anywhere else in the region). The development of capacity and opportunities in maritime heritage disciplines hinges on the mainstreaming of maritime archaeology in the academy.

At regional level, South Africa has an opportunity to become a leader in the underwater cultural heritage field and its associated disciplines. Infrastructure is already available in South Africa as is expertise who, together with capacity sources throughout the region, can draft a framework for collaboration, development, and training and that begins to address the scope of underwater cultural heritage as applicable within the sub-Saharan, developing world milieu. Again, regional cooperation relies on support from government stakeholders.

But what if South Africa changes nothing? South Africa's current underwater cultural heritage management structure is arguably the most mature in sub-Saharan Africa. There is already legislation that guides and regulates activities and which advocates the tenets of the 2001 Convention. Shipwreck sites which were the most threatened are well protected. The ratification of the 2001 Convention has now ensured that commercial exploitation is incompatible with the ethos of heritage management in South Africa and shipwrecks now truly enjoy the same status as terrestrial archaeological sites. Would there, then, be any implications if South Africa were to continue with its current management approach? The simple answer is no. Shipwreck sites and by extension other underwater cultural heritage sites would continue to be legally protected. Is that enough? As discussed, South Africa's maritime heritage managers and practitioners do not know the state of the underwater cultural heritage resource or its scope. Management strategies cannot control unregulated and illegal looting and salvage and struggle to address making underwater cultural heritage relevant. Currently, the maritime archaeology is the exclusive domain of a small pool of practitioners and is underrepresented in South Africa's authorized past. As such, it is irrelevant to the majority of the populace who are disinclined to support management efforts and development. The consequences of South Africa not considering opportunities offered by the ratification of the 2001 Convention are not necessarily a loss of heritage material, but the exclusion of an element of South Africa's past from the heritage mainstream and a decline in interest and capacity.

9.6 Conclusion

South Africa undoubtedly faces challenges in the management of underwater cultural heritage and in promoting and developing the disciplines associated with the field. Heritage legislation has focused on shipwrecks and a colonial past that is of little interest to most South Africans. Capacity development has stagnated as interest in maritime history has subsided and the management and research institutions have struggled to find support for maritime archaeological activities from government. Within this context, heritage managers have found it difficult to execute their duties and to effectively protect and promote underwater cultural heritage. The ratification of the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage offers an unparalleled opportunity to address these challenges.

Through implementing the Articles of the 2001 Convention and through enforcing the Rules contained within its Annex, South Africa is obliged to develop capacity, put

managerial infrastructure in place, and encourage research. By adopting the broad definition of underwater cultural heritage, South Africa can expand the scope of the disciplines and unlock a significant research potential. Most importantly, the 2001 Convention presents a space for South Africa to grow underwater cultural heritage, support regional development, and engage with the discipline ways which were previously unavailable. The ratification of the 2001 Convention must be viewed not as the end of a process, but as the beginning of a new approach to underwater cultural heritage with new opportunities and new responsibilities.

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Chapter 10
Epilogue

Wale Oyediran and Lynn Harris

The contributors to this volume share several common discussion threads and themes in their research. These include:

- Concepts of maritime landscape and defining maritimity or maritime-ness in African communities
- Challenges of revising heritage management agendas focused on shipwrecks and an African colonial past and opportunities presented by the 2001 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage
- Development of infrastructure in historic African ports where high incidences of shipwrecking depleted colonial resources
- Stewardship and monitoring environmental and human impacts on African maritime heritage sites
- Researching iconic shipwreck sites underwater and on beaches that represent sea power and imperialism, especially Dutch, British, and German
- Recognition of maritime cultural manifestations within tangible and intangible maritime heritage beyond shipwrecks, like gravestones, song, drama, and oral history
- Community memorialization of their heritage through exhibits, displays, and tourism trails

Ichumbaki argues that the maritime landscape of Africa has a much earlier time frame extending back to the Neolithic and the Stone Age that is neglected by some scholars. The concept of maritimity needs to be revisited and should include not only seafaring but habitation, exploitation of resources and trade along the Swahili

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coastline. Like other contributors he calls upon archaeologists and anthropologists to investigate understudied areas in the maritime landscape such as the physical nodes at which intangible and material elements intersected one another through time. Such studies will reveal ancient locales and maritime activities such as river-crossings, communal washing and swimming spots, baptismal pools, rock-shelters with historical value for traditional healing, and favored patches of medicinal plants. Early maritime trade is apparent from archaeological assemblages listed in African authored reports that many researchers have ignored or have been unaware of the existence of these works.

All authors utilize a variety of interdisciplinary data sets. Using archaeology to supplement or contradict historical research is often challenging. Mollema successfully navigates between ship construction data of early 1900s British and Dutch shipwreck, in African waters, to draw conclusions about sea power. He explores quality of timbers, strength of construction, and composition of metals to reinforce and conclude that the British ship was superior, playing into concepts of sea power in a strategic African colony. Borrelli's chapter analyzes the risk effects of Table Bay and the British official's behavioral responses to it during the nineteenth century. He uses a range of theories and methodologies to demonstrate risk perception of the local officials and how Table Bay was transformed over the period. He emphasized that risk and risk management defined the construction and use of the harbor. These conclusions are further validated with empirical data correlating the volume of shipwrecks and additions of port structures like breakwaters, docks, jetties, and wharfs at certain time periods. This author stresses that perceptions of risks are not static, but have changed through time. Different officials conceived of risk as more or less urgent, requiring a certain response in terms of infrastructure. Examining the set of historical and archaeological records provides insights as to whether there was actually a dividend. Ultimately, the high losses incurred by shipwrecks depleted the nation's investments in sea power.

Harris' study addresses the naval port in the Cape Colony, Simon's Town in False Bay, also administered by the Dutch and British. In contrast, this port was neglected in terms of infrastructure. The Dutch officials abandoned the idea of building a channel between Table Bay and False Bay because it was too costly. It was logistically extremely difficult to find and transport building materials to the area and the first British admiralty complex was constructed from shipwreck timbers of *HMS Sceptre*. More importantly, the chapter highlights critical players, other than the British and Dutch settlers, who contributed to the local workforce and global economy. A significant portion of the naval community in Simon's Town comprised Kroomen from West Africa serving on British naval vessels, who often retired here. Slaves, fishers, whalers, and port workers supporting the naval community who were deserters from American ships are originated from Indonesia and the Swahili coastline. Although the Cape was the Africa base for the Royal Navy, the larger population was not Anglophile, but a mosaic of cultures from Atlantic and Indian Ocean seaboards, indigenous peoples, with new subcultures emerging. Only in the last two decades has the South African community begun to study, showcase, and celebrate this diversity as an integral part of the historical narrative and tourism ventures in False Bay.

Jones examines remains of ships on beaches and their importance towards tourism. She opines that these remains, though sometimes neglected, could provide useful information toward maritime history and critical data on coastal changes over time. She advocates a sound management approach for the preservation, studying, and interpretation of these remains. Finally, she rallies all stakeholders to consider the remains not only as symbols of the past but also as part of the present and the future as well. Oyediran touches on this point too when he discusses the contemporary beliefs and philosophy of the indigenous people of Badagry about the slave trade. He also highlights how a community takes ownership of their history through the selection of tourism sites and associated histories. Similarly, Mjema's study is a call to action to research, protect, publish, and showcase archaeological sites for tourism, Tanzania's maritime heritage, especially those sites that represent global history and sea power, namely WWI shipwreck sites.

Both Mjema and Jones' case studies are German ships, iconic symbols of sea power. *Eduard Bohlen* served as a mail, cargo, and passenger steamship between Germany and West Africa. In 1898 *Eduard Bohlen* was sailed again under the German flag to West Africa, an area at the time fraught with turbulent colonial and indigenous conflict. During a period of colonial wars, the Herero living in Swakopmund were captured and incarcerated aboard *Eduard Bohlen*, and the male prisoners sent to work as slave laborers in the South African mines. After use as a prison ship, *Edward Bohlen* returned to passenger service combined with delivery of diamond mining supplies, the mainstay of the German economy in south West Africa. In Tanzania, German and British shipwrecks represent stark reminders also of a national power play in the colonies. German occupation in Tanzania lasted from 1880 to 1919 followed by British from 1919 to 1961. From 1884, Namibia was a German colony called German South-West Africa. The League of Nations mandated its administration by the British Union of South Africa after WWI.

King, like Jones, addresses site formation processes of an iron shipwreck, representing sea power, stranded on a dynamic coastal zone. Both call attention of the urgency to document and study these sites which are disappearing rapidly due, primarily, to natural forces. These variables include metal corrosion, algae, wind scouring actions, strong surf, bird nests and guano, and wildlife habitats for baboons, hyenas and jackals. Fortunately, beach wrecks are accessible to stewards beyond the small number of scuba divers. The authors discuss the roles of local groups in shipwreck management in the local park system, namely the Cape Point Nature Reserve and Namib-Naukluft National Park. In particular, the roles are the Windhoek Diving Club members and Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programs in Namibia. King points out the value of the geocache activity as monitoring public access on the wrecks. The cache contains a logbook, where finders can log their names and hometowns, and a link to a website where visitors can comment on the cache. The comments on the website allow an archaeologist or heritage site manager to monitor activity and comments on the site to keep abreast of any changes, such as African Oystercatcher (*Haematopus moquini*) birds nesting within parts of the wreckage. Jones advocates more experimentation with noninvasive technology to record

endangered beach wrecks, for example, in conjunction with photogrammetry and LiDAR, unmanned autonomous vehicles (UAVs)—all techniques that provide potential data on coastal landscape change.

American heritage on African shores is another theme present in both King and Harris's studies. Two shipwrecks, a Confederate raider and WWII Liberty ship, are emblems of global warfare and tangible heritage that left reminders in the Cape and wider sphere of South Africa. These topics deserve more attention of historians and archaeologists. Songs are often the most poignant signatures of memorable events in a community. For example, the song devoted to *CSS Alabama* celebrating its meaning to the African hosts is a popular component of choral, folk, and big band music festivals today. Oyediran in his chapter identifies how slave memories are preserved in Badagry, Nigeria through songs. These songs project the narratives of slaves in a foreign land and how they cherished their homeland and longed to return. He also discusses how the indigenous people of port Badagry have preserved the slave trade history through the dramatization of the slavery experience. This experience is relived during special occasions like the Badagry festival and entertainment of dignitaries at significant community celebrations.

Oyediran also traces the origin of the slave trade from the hinterland to the point of no return. These hinterland communities are of great significance to the narrative. The ports can be viewed as administrative centers radiating, economically, both inward and outward. Future studies in maritime landscapes could address this connection in more depth. Examples related to the topics in the book include inland and riverine colonial warfare with indigenous combatants like Zulu war and Yoruba war. Railways were important part of the infrastructure bringing trade, war goods, and people to port cities in Africa in the late 1800s. Other modes of inland maritime transportation that could be further explored are African-built canoes, war crafts, river barges, and steam boats all contributing to expanding imperialism. Building upon Ichubaki's call for a more expansive and earlier framework, another productive theme would be the non-European trade links and networks along the coastlines, in estuaries, on lakes, and up the river systems of Africa in a second edition of African maritime landscapes! Sharfman, Gribble, and Boshoff's chapter also endorses the agenda of a less European or colonial era focus for heritage practitioners, with the view that it is a historical topic that will be more meaningful to the majority of South Africans and garner more Government support.

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